

THE
DICTIONARY
Historical and Critical
OF
M^R PETER BAYLE.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Carefully collated with the several Editions of the Original; in which
many Passages are restored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a
Translation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.

BY

M^R DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

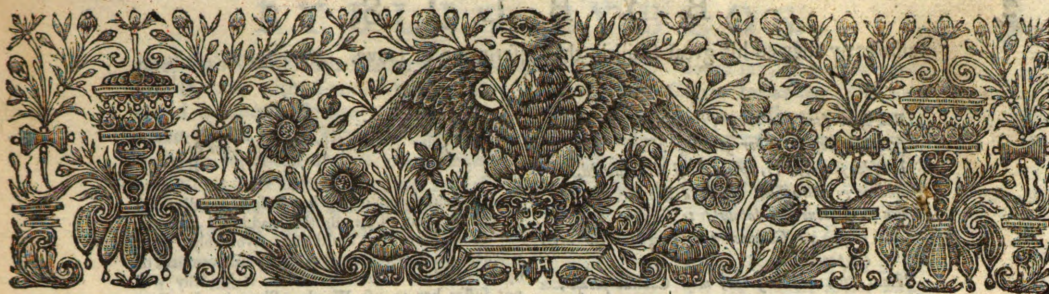
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M D C C X X X.



Mr BAYLE's

Historical and Critical

DICTIONARY.

B.



BYBLIS, Daughter of *Miletus*, and the Nymph *Cyanea* [A], fell in Love with her Twin-Brother *Caunus*, and endeavoured to inspire him with the same Passion; but, not succeeding in it, she was so distracted with Grief, that she hanged herself (a). *Ovid*, who tells us this, in one of his Poems (b), says, in another, that she ran after *Caunus*, 'till she was quite tired. He adds, that, her Strength being wasted, she fell down, and obstinately lay on the Ground, and cried abundantly, notwithstanding all the Care the Nymphs took to comfort her; and that she consumed herself in Tears, and was metamorphosed into a Fountain (c). He admirably describes the Progress and Symptoms of This Incestuous Passion [B], and, had he wrote no other Verses, would have sufficiently

(a) See Remark [D].

(b) *Ovid de Arte Amandi*, lib. i.

(c) *Id. Metamorph.* lib. ix, fab. xis

[A] She was Daughter of *Miletus*, and of the Nymph *Cyanea*.] This *Cyanea* was Daughter of the River *Meander* (1); but some Authors say, that *Miletus* married *Eidothea*, Daughter of *Eurytus*, King of *Caria*, and that *Caunus* and *Byblis* were born of This Marriage (2). Others affirm, that the Name of the Mother of These two Children was *Aria* (3); others call her *Tragasia* (4). Authors differ likewise as to their Paternal Grandmother's Name; for some say, that *Miletus* was the Son of *Deione* (5); others say, that *Acacallis*, the Daughter of *Minos*, was his Mother (6). They agree better in This, that *Miletus* left the Isle of *Crete*, and built a City in *Asia*, which was called by his Name. *Minos* was the Cause of This Retreat. He thereby designed to prevent the Violence of his Ambition, or of his Love. *Ovid* represents *Minos* as very uneasy at finding himself old, and seeing *Miletus* in the Flower of his Age: This Disquiet, too common to Those, who reign, made him look upon *Miletus* as a Man capable of dethroning him,

Tunc erat invalidus, Deionidenque juventæ
Robore Miletum, Phœboque parente superbum
Pertimuit, credenque suis insurgere regnis,
Haud tamen est patriis arcere penatibus ausus.
Sponte fugis, Miletè, tua — (7).

*Asfirm with Age, Miletus now he fears,
Vain of his Birth, and in the Strength of Years;*
VOL. II. N° XXXI.

And now regarding all his Realm as lost,
He durst not force him from his native Coast.
But you, by Choice, *Miletus*, fled his Reign, &c.
GAY.

You will find, no doubt, in the *Greek Words*, I am going to quote, an amorous Prince, who made himself dreaded: *Ἐπει δὲ ὁ παῖς νύμφῃ, καὶ ἐγνέτο καρδὴ, καὶ δεγασθεῖ, καὶ ὁ Μίνως κατὰ πῶτον ἐνεχείρει βιάσασθαι, τότε νύμφῃς ὁ Μίλητος ἐμῶς εἰς ἀναλόν, βυλῇ Σαρπηδό- νος, εἰς Κάριαν ἀποδιδράσκει* (8). As he grew up, he became beautiful, and strong; and *Minos*, falling in Love with him, offered Violence to him. Upon This, *Miletus*, by the Advice of *Sarpedon*, taking Ship by Night, fled into *Caria*.

[B] He admirably describes the Progress and Symptoms of This incestuous Passion.] *Byblis*, at first, was ignorant of her own Passion. To kiss her Brother often, and fall about his Neck, seemed to her a good Action; She confounded This with the lawful Affection which is due to a Brother. She continued in This State of Ignorance, even when she perceived how careful she was to make herself fine, and how desirous to appear handsome, when she was to see *Caunus*.

Paulatim declinat amor, visuraque fratrem
Culta venit, nimiumque cupit formosa videri.
Et, si qua est illic formosior, invidet illi;
Sed nondum manifesta tibi est; nullumque sub illo
Igne facit votum, veruntamen æstuat intus (9).
A

(8) *Anton. Lib. beral. ibid.*

(9) *Ovid. ibid. ver. 462.*

(1) *Ovid. Metamorph. lib. ix. ver. 450.*

(2) *Anton. Lib. beral. cap. 30. pag. 155.*

(3) *Scholiast. Theocriti ad Idyll. viii.*

(4) *Nicenetus apud Parthen. de Amator. Affect. cap. 11.*

(5) *Ovid. ubi supra, ver. 444.*

(6) *Anton. Lib. beral. ibid.*

(7) *Ovid. lib. ix. pag. 443.*

sufficiently shewed his great Skill in the Description of Love. *Antonius Liberalis* relates

*But Love (too soon from Piety declin'd)
Insensibly deprav'd her yielding Mind.
Dress'd she appears, with nicest Art adorn'd,
And ev'ry Youth, but her lov'd Brother, scorn'd.
For him alone she labour'd to be fair,
And curst all Charms, that might with her's
compare.
'Twas She, and only She, must Caunus please;
Sick at her Heart, yet knew not her Disease.*

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Neither This, nor the Grief she conceived against the Fair Ones of the Neighbourhood, opened her Eyes. Her Fire burnt without casting a Light; It did not yet inspire her with a Wish for the Cure. She went so far, as to be pleased with giving Caunus the Title of *Sir*, rather than That of Brother; and chose rather that he should call her by the Name of *Byblis*, than That of Sister.

Jam Dominum appellat, jam nomina sanguinis odit,
(10) *Ib.* ver. 467. Byblida jam mavult, quam se vocet ille forem (10).

*She call'd him Lord; for Brother was a Name
Too cold, and dull, for her aspiring Flame;
And, when he spoke, if Sister he reply'd,
For Byblis change That frozen Word, she cried.*
Ibid.

And yet, whilst she was awake, she had not the Boldness to hope for any thing: It was in her Sleep that she began to be familiar with Those impure Imaginations; She dreamt often of her Brother, and thought once she enjoyed him.

--- placida resoluta quiete

Sæpe videt quod amat, visa est quoque jungere patri
(11) *Ib.* ver. 470. Corpus, & erubuit, quamvis sopita jaceret (11).

*'Till gentle Sleep an easy Conquest made,
And in her soft Embrace the Conqueror was laid.
But O! too soon the pleasing Vision fled,
And left her blushing on the conscious Bed.*
Ibid.

She was ashamed of it, though it was but a Dream; but, the next Day, she made many Reflexions upon it, and wisht to have many such Dreams.

Dummodo tale nihil vigilans committere tentem;
Sæpe licet simili redeat sub imagine somnus.
Tectis absit somno, nec absit imitata voluptas.
Proh Venus, & tenera volucer cum matre Cupido!
Gaudia quanta tuli! quam me manifesta libido
Contigit! ut jacui totis resoluta medullis!
Ut meminisse juvat! quamvis brevis illa voluptas,
(12) *Ib.* ver. 479. Noxque fuit præceps, & cæptis invida nostris (12).

*So that no Guilt my waking Thoughts employ,
Let me in Dreams the Transport oft enjoy;
No Witness can, in Sleep, the mimic Bliss destroy.
O Sea-born Goddess, with thy wanton Boy!
Was ever such a charming Scene of Joy!
Such perfect Bliss, such ravishing Delight!
N'er bid before in the kind Shades of Night.
How pleas'd my Heart! in what sweet Raptures lost?
Ev'n Life itself in the soft Combat lost.
How in Remembrance does The Transport last!
Tho' short the Bliss, and soon the Night was past.*
Ibid.

Soon after, she was vexed, that the Quality of Sister forbade her to hope for That of Spouse: She represented to herself the Gods, who had married their own Sisters, and could not believe, that Mortals could enjoy such a Prerogative.

Sunt superis sua jura: quid ad cœlestia ritus
(13) *Ib.* ver. 507. Exigere humanos, diversaque fœdera tento (13)?

*But what are their Prerogatives above
To the short Liberties of Human Love?*
Ibid.

She must either get rid of her Passion, or die; she is sensible, that, if her Brother had loved her first, he would have been heard very favourably; from whence she concludes, that she must venture to open her Mind to him by Letter, if Modesty will not suffer her to use Words. She takes her Pen, and, after a thousand Agitations of Mind, she declares her Passion. She represents several past Things to her Brother, by which he might have guessed, that she was in love with him; she puts him in mind of certain Sighs, which she had fetched, and of her Custom of embracing him, and of I know not what, that might have made him sensible, that her Kisses were not Those of a Sister.

Esse quidem læsi poterat tibi pectoris index
Et color, & macies, & vultus, & humida sæpe
Lumina, nec caula suspicia mota patenti,
Et crebri amplexus, & quæ, si forte notasti,
Oscula sentiri non esse fororia possent (14).

*Wan Looks, and weeping Eyes, have spoke my Pain
And Sighs discharg'd from my heav'd Heart in vain.
Had I not wish'd my Passion might be seen,
What could such Fondness, and Embraces mean?
Such Kisses too! (O heedless lovely Boy!)
Without a Crime no Sister could enjoy.*
Ibid.

She protests, that she has done all she could, to extinguish This Flame; and that she has only recourse to him, after having tried all other Remedies in vain. She exhorts him to leave the Examination of what is just and unjust to old Folks, and to make use of the Privileges of Youth, in a Thing, of which the greatest Gods have set an Example; *Et sequimur magnorum exempla deorum* (15), and wherein he need not fear the Opposition of a Father, nor the World's Censure, since their Amorous Commerce may be concealed under the Familiarity, which Decency authorizes between a Brother and a Sister. Lastly, she begs of him to take pity on her, and that he would not be the Cause of her Death.

Nec nos aut durus pater, aut reverentia famæ,
Aut timor impedit: tantum absit causa timendi.
Dulcia fraterno sub nomine furta tegemus.
Est mihi libertas tecum secreta loquendi:
Et damus amplexus, & jungimus oscula coram.
Quantum est quod desit? misereere fatentis amor,
Et non lassuræ, nisi cogeret ultimus ardor:
Neve merere meo subscribi causa sepulchro (16). (16) *Ib.* ver. 557.

*We gain one blessing from our hated Kin,
Since our Paternal Freedom hides the Sin.
Uncensur'd in each others Arms we lye;
Think then how easy to compleat our Joy,
O pardon, and oblige, a blushing Maid,
Whose Rage the Pride of her vain Sex betray'd;
Ner let my Tomb thus mournfully complain,
Here Byblis lies, by her lov'd Caunus slain.*
Ibid.

It was not long before the Bearer of This Letter brought her an account of Caunus's Indignation. This was a Thunder-Stroke to her, and made her faint away; but, recovering from her Swoon, she uttered such Complaints, as shewed, that she would not be discouraged. She blamed herself for having made use of a Letter; and she fancied, that her Words might have been more effectual, and that, perhaps, the Messenger, having mistaken his Time, had hindred the good Success of her Letter.

Forfitan & missi sit quædam culpa ministri:
Non adiit apte, nec legit idonea, credo,
Tempora,

BYBLIS. BYBLOS.

3

lates the Issue of This Matter somewhat differently [C]. Some say, that *Byblis* was not in love with *Caunus*, but, on the contrary, that *Caunus* loved her [D], and could not persuade her to consent to the Gratification of his Desires. They deprive her, a little after, of the Honour of This noble Resistance; They suppose, that she repented of her Hard-heartedness, which had engaged him to leave his Country; and that she ran up and down the World, in quest of this dear Brother; and that, not being able to find him, she hanged herself (d). Others relate This Adventure in such a manner, as neither dishonours *Byblis*, nor *Caunus* [E].

(d) See what will be quoted of *Conon*, in Remark [D].

Tempora, nec petiit horamque, animumque vacan-
tem.

(17) Ib. ver. 611.

Hæc nocuere mihi — (17).

Perhaps, my careless Page may be in Fault,
And in a luckless Hour the fatal Message brought.

Ibid.

She revolved in her Mind every Thing, which might excuse her in her new Attempts; so true it is, that the Passions are ingenious to flatter themselves, and that they may be taken for Animals, and even Those sort of Animals, which are most industrious to seek their Food. She resolved to declare herself by word of Mouth; she spoke again and again, without being discouraged at the fruitlessness of her Intreaties. *Caunus*, tired with refusing, before she was tired with being refused, forsook the Country.

If *Ovid* had not deserved, in this Place, as much or more, than in a thousand others, the Censure of the Grammarians, who found, that he dwelt too long on Particulars; he would have made a Perfect Description. 'Lascivior aliquanto est Ovidius, inquit Fabius, Lib. 10. Institutionum Cap. 2. & nimis amator ingenii sui; & mox, Ovidii Medea videtur mihi offendere, quantum vir ille præstare potuerit, si ingenio suo temperare quam indulgere, maluisset. Et hic sane fatendum est, lascivire ipsius ingenium, nactum scilicet materiam sequacem & genio suo affinem (18). — *Ovid*, according to *Quintilian* Lib. 10. Instit. Cap. 2, is too luxuriant, and too fond of his Genius; and afterwards; *Ovid's* Medea seems to me to show what the Poet was capable of, had he rather tempered, than indulged, his Genius. And it must be confessed, that his Genius runs riot upon this Occasion, having so copious and suitable a Subject to work upon. Note, that I mention only Part of the Touches, which he gives us.

(18) Farnab. in Ovid. Met. lib. ix. ver. 591. pag. 225.

[C] Antoninus Liberalis relates the Issue of This Matter somewhat differently.] He says, that *Byblis*, being offered very considerable Matches, despised them all; and that, not being able to resist the violent Passion she had conceived for her Brother, she resolved to cast herself head-long from the Top of a Mountain. She was ready to execute her Design, when the Nymphs, touched with Compassion, hindered her. They did more than That; for they cast her into a deep Sleep, and, whilst she slept, changed her mortal Condition into an immortal One, and called her the Nymph *Hamadryad Byblis*, and admitted her into their Community. The Water, which ran down the Mountain, from whence she would have cast herself, was called *Byblis's* Tears (19). Others pretend, that the Fountain, which was called *Byblis*, was formed where This Maid had wept, and hanged herself (20).

(19) Anton. Lib. Metam. cap. xxx.

(20) Photius, & Parthenius, de Amator. Affect. cap. 11.

[D] Some say ——— that *Caunus* loved Her.] One of *Conon's* Narratives, whereof *Photius* has left us some Extracts, imports, that *Caunus*, having tried several means, in vain, to obtain the Enjoyment of his Sister *Byblis*, left his Country; and that it was not known, what became of him. This grieved *Byblis* so much, that she forsook her Coun-

try likewise, and led a vagabond Life, and at last was so afflicted, Πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἱκέτης ἀνταγορεύσα, *Obfrustrator amores animo fracta* (21), at the Consideration of the ill Success of *Caunus's* Love, that she made a Halter of her Girdle, and hanged herself. *Caunus*, wandering up and down the World, came into *Lycia*, where the *Naid Pranoë* told him, that *Cupid* had revenged him, since *Byblis* had hanged herself; Τὰ τε συνέχευεν δὲ τῇ Βυβλίδι λέγει, καὶ ὡς ἐχρησάτο τῷ ἐρωτικῷ δίκῳ. That is, according to *Andrew Schot's* Translation, quæ Byblidē accidisset narrat, utque amore sit vacilla mori. She added, that, if he would marry her, He should reign over That Country. The Proposal was accepted (22). *Parthenius* relates, I. That *Nicænetus* had reported, that *Caunus*, loving his Sister against his Will, left the Country, and undertook long Travels, and that *Byblis* was much afflicted at her Brother's Absence. II. That most Authors say, that it was She, who loved *Caunus*, and intreated him not to be cruel to her; and that he abhorred The filthy Proposal, and retired to the *Leleges*, where he built a City, which was called *Caunus*; and that *Byblis*, finding, that her Passion continued, and that she had forced her Brother to leave his Country, was so overwhelmed with Grief, that she hanged herself on a Tree (23). The Scholiast upon *Theocritus* followed the less common Tradition: ἡς (Βυβλίδος) λέγει, ἡγεσθαι δὲ Καύνοσ, ἀπέλασσε Μίλντων (24). *Stephanus Byzantinus* followed the other Tradition; that *Byblis*, being in love with her Brother, strangled herself, because he fled from her (25). *Hyginus* only says, that the Passion she had conceived for her Brother made her kill herself (26). *Eustathius* says the same thing (27); and here are two Verses of *Ovid* agreeable to the same Tradition:

Byblida quid referam vetito quæ fratris amore
Arsit, & est laqueo fortiter ulta nefas (28) ?

Byblis' incestuous Passion need I name,
Who expired in Death the guilty Flame ?

[E] Others relate This Adventure in such a Manner, as neither dishonours *Byblis* nor *Caunus*.] Consider the above-mentioned Narrative of *Nicænetus*: You will only find there, that *Caunus*, to his great Grief, was in love with his Sister, and absented himself from her; and that *Byblis*, being very much afflicted at his Absence, desired his Return, and shed many Tears on That Occasion. All these things are compatible with the severest Virtue; for it may be supposed, that *Byblis* wished only, that her Brother might conquer his Passion, which kept him out of his Country. To feel a criminal Passion, and to oppose it so far, as to retire from the Object, which is loved against one's Will, is no crime. It is a Thing as involuntary as Pain; It is not to be answered for, unless it be consented to; and take notice, that *Nicænetus* praises *Caunus* for having always loved Justice. Καὶνὸν ἐτίμησεν ἀεὶ δικαίοντα. *Democritus* (29). She brought forth *Caunus*, who ever loved Justice,

(21) Photius, Biblioth. Codicē 186. pag. 423. de Cononis Narrat. ii.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Parthen. de Amatoris Affectionibus, cap. 11.

(24) Schol. Theocriti ad Idyll. viii.

(25) Steph. Byzantini. in Καύνοσ ex Edit. Berkelii.

(26) Hygin. cap. 243. pag. 299.

(27) Eustath. in Dionys. Perieget. ver. 533.

(28) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. i. v. 283.

(29) Parthen. ubi supra.

BYBLOS, a maritime Town of *Phœnicia*, between *Tripoli*, and *Berytus*, was situated on a Hill, and was the ancientest Town in the World (a), if we may believe some Authors (b), who say, that it was built by *Saturn*, Son of Heaven and Earth. *Malcander*, and his Wife *Astarte*, who reigned there, gave *Isis* a good Reception, when she went thither, to seek the Body of *Osiris*, which the Waves of the Sea had cast on That Shore (c). The Grammarians have grounded on This Journey one of their Etymological Observations [A]. Some Inhabitants of

(a) Stephan Byzant. in Βυβλος.

(b) Sanchoni. apud Eusebium Prepar. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10. pag. 37.

(c) Plutarch. de Iside & Osiride. pag. 357.

[A] The Grammarians have grounded on this Journey of *Isis* to *Byblos* one of their Etymological

Observations.] Let us remark, in the first place, that the Word Βύβλος signifies the Plant, which supplied

Byblos reported, that *Osiris* was buried in Their City, and that it was in honour of Him, that They practised the Ceremonies, which were thought to be used in honour of *Adonis* (d). The City of *Gebel*, or *Gobel*, mentioned in the ninth Verse of the Twenty seventh Chapter of *Ezekiel*, was That of *Byblos*, if we may believe *St Jerom* (e), which may be confirmed by the Translation of the LXX. It is also thought, that the *Byblians* were employed, by *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, to prepare the Materials for the Temple of *Solomon* (f). They shook off the Yoke of the *Tyrians*, and set up a distinct Kingdom. They were afterwards Tributaries to the Kings of *Persia* [B]. This City, having been subdued by *Alexander*, remained subject to the *Ptolomy's*, Kings of *Egypt*, 'till *Antiochus the Great* had taken *Phœnicia* from them, which he made a Province of the Kingdom of *Syria*, in the third Year of the CXLth Olympiad, and the CCCCXXXVlth of *Rome* (g). The Civil-Wars having overthrown This Kingdom, *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, made himself Master of the Upper *Syria*; and then there arose a Tyrant, who established his Authority in *Byblos*. He was beheaded by *Pompey's* Order (b). *Strabo*, in saying This, observes, that *Byblos*, the Royal Seat of *Cinyras*, was consecrated to *Adonis* [C]. The Goddess *Venus* was particularly honoured there [D]. *Isis* had a Temple there also (i). *Byblos* was assigned to the Maritime *Phœnicia*, in the Division, which was made of the Provinces, under the Christian Emperors. It's Bishops appeared in the first Council of *Constantinople*, and in That of *Chalcedon*. The *Genoese* delivered it from the Dominion of the *Saracens*, in the Year 1106; but it fell again under the Yoke of the Infidels, after the Victory, which *Saladin* obtained over the Christians, in the Year 1187 (k). There was a very strong City in *Egypt*, which was called *BYBLOS*. This we learn from the Extracts, which *Photius* made out of *Ctesias* (l). See also the Dictionary of *Stephanus Byzantinus*.

(d) Lucian, de Dea Syria, pag. 879. Tom. II.

(e) Hieron. de locis Hebraicis.

(f) 1 Kings v. 18.

(g) See the fifth Book of Polybius.

(b) Strabo, lib. 16. pag. 521.

(i) Plut. ubi sup.

(k) See Father Noris de Epochis Syromacedonum. Differt. iv. cap. ult. pag. 466, & seq.

(l) Phot. cap. 72. p. 120, 125.

supplied the Matter, of which Paper was made; and let us relate next, what the Etymologists say of it. They affirm, that *Byblos* was so called, because it was the Place, where *Isis*, lamenting *Osiris*, laid down her Diadem, which was made of Paper (1). Others will have it, that This Name proceeds from hence, that Paper, in That City, might be preserved for any length of time, without being spoiled in the least (2). Consult *Stephanus Byzantinus*, and the Author of the great Etymologicon.

[B] The Byblians were Tributaries to the Kings of *Persia*. *Arrian* relates, that *Enulus*, King of the *Byblians*, served, with his Ships, in *Darius's* Fleet; but, understanding, that *Byblos* had capitulated with *Alexander*, he forsook the *Persian* Party, and went, with his Ships, to the *Macedonian* Fleet (3).

[C] *Strabo* — remarks, that *Byblos*, the Royal Seat of *Cinyras*, was consecrated to *Adonis*. I shall set down The Passage of *Strabo*, to shew the Carelessness of the Ancients in their Writings. 'Η μὲν ἐν Βύβλῳ, τὸ τῷ Κινύρῳ βασιλεῖον, ἱερὰ ἐστὶ τῷ Ἀδωνιδῷ· ἢ τυχόν τι μὲν πλεονάζει. Πιομνήσις πελεκίσας ἐκεῖνον (4). That is to say; *Byblos*, the Residence of King *Cinyras*, is consecrated to *Adonis*. *Pompey* delivered it from Tyranny, by ordering his Head to be cut off. This is the most natural Sense of The Words. *Cinyras* had established the Seat of his Tyranny at *Byblos*; but *Pompey* caused his Head to be cut off; and by that means restored The City to it's Liberty. Now it is improbable, that *Strabo* had This Thought, and, if it was his Meaning, he would be guilty of extreme Carelessness, since he would, of a sudden, produce a Tyrant, called *Cinyras*, and leave us, without saying any Thing of Him. He was not obliged to be more prolix, if it be supposed, that he speaks of the ancient *Cinyras*, the Father of *Adonis*: for That Name was sufficiently known. I believe he means Him; and, if so, what shall we do with his ἐκεῖνον? What can we refer it to? Observe, that his Latin Translator has ill rendered the ἱερὰ ἐστὶ Ἀδωνιδῷ, by, in qua sunt Adonidis templa. *Pinedo* has taken notice of This Fault (5). Let us observe a small Oversight of Father *Noris*: *Adonis*, says he (6), filius fuerat *Cynerae* (7) apud *Byblum* regis, ut ex *Plutarcho* & *Ovidio* prænotavi. — *Adonis* was the Son of *Cinyras*, King of *Byblos*, as I have before observed from *Plutarch* and *Ovid*. Now it is certain, that he had not alledged *Plutarch*; but

Strabo, concerning This; and that *Ovid*, whom he had cited, does not say, that the Father of *Adonis* was King of *Byblos*, nor Husband of the Mother of That *Adonis*. He supposes, that This Mother was the Daughter of *Adonis's* Father, which was the general Tradition. Nevertheless the Author expresses himself in this Manner. *Cyneras fuit & vetustis Bybli regibus, qui ex Zmyrna conjuge Adonim puerum formosissimum suscepit* (8). — *Cinyras* was one of the ancient Kings of *Byblos*, who had, by his Wife *Zmyrna*, the most beautiful Youth, *Adonis*.

[D] *Venus* was particularly honoured there.] She had a Temple there, wherein the Ceremonies of the Worship of *Adonis* were performed. *Lucian* speaks of it as an Eye-witness: Εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Βύβλῳ μύρα ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης Βυβλίου. Ἐν τῷ, καὶ τὰ ἑργία ἐς Ἀδωνὶν ἐπιστράξαν (9). *Vidi etiam Bybli magnum Byblie Veneris templum, in quo ritus quosdam sacros in Adonidem peragunt*. He mentions also another Temple of *Venus*, consecrated by *Cinyras*, on Mount *Libanus*, a Day's Journey from *Byblos* (10). He went to see it. Father *Noris* thinks, that, perhaps, it is the same Temple, which *Constantine* caused to be demolished (11), and which was consecrated to *Venus Aphacitis*, near Mount *Libanus*, and the River *Adonis* (12). I think This ought not to be questioned, since *Eusebius* observes, that The Temple of That *Venus* stood upon Mount *Libanus*. The Surname of *Aphacitis* was taken from the Place where That Temple was built, as *Zosimus* observes (13); and it is probable, that *Macrobius* speaks of This *Venus*, in the Twenty first Chapter of the first Book of the *Saturnalia*, and not of *Venus Aribitis*, as it is in the Editions (14). What he says relates to the Worship of *Venus* and *Adonis* among the *Assyrians*; and he tells us, that the Statue of That *Venus* was on Mount *Libanus*. *Eusebius* observes, that many infamous Things between Men and Men, and Men and Women, were committed in the Temple, which *Constantine* caused to be destroyed (15); but *Sozomen* says only, that the Heathens affirmed, that, on a certain Day of the Year, the Efficacy of the Invocations caused a Fire, in the Form of a Star, to descend from the Top of Mount *Libanus*, which fell into the neighbouring River. They pretended, that This Fire was *Venus* herself, whom they called *Urania* (16).

(9) Lucian, de Dea Syria, pag. 878. Tom. II.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 880, 881.

(11) Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. 5c. Sozomen. lib. ii. cap. 5.

(12) Noris de Epoch. Syro-Maced. Differt. iv. pag. 467.

(13) Zosim. Hist. lib. i.

(14) See Seldenus, de Diis Syris Synt. ii. cap. 3. pag. 204.

(15) Euseb. ubi supra.

(16) Sozom. lib. iii. cap. 5.

BIGOIS, a Nymph, who had written, in *Tuscan*, a Book concerning the Art of interpreting Lightenings. This Book was kept at *Rome*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, with some others of That Nature (a).

(a) Servius in Aeneid. lib. vi. ver. 72.

BIGOT (EMERIC), one of the most learned, and most honest Men, of the XVIIth Century, was of Roan (a), and of a most illustrious Family of the Long-Robe [A]. He was born in the Year 1626 (b). The Love of Learning diverted him from public Employments; he applied himself solely to Books, and Sciences: He wonderfully increased the Library, which his Father had left him [B]. Once a Week an Assembly was held at his House, for learned Conferences. He corresponded by Letter with a great many learned Persons: His Advice and his Abilities were useful to many Authors; and he endeavoured to promote The Good of the Commonwealth of Learning. He published but one Book [C]; but it is probable he would have published more, if he had lived long enough to finish them. Mr Menage within the Kingdom, and Nicolas Heinsius in a Foreign Country, were his two most intimate Friends [D]. He had contracted none of the Defects, which Learning draws after it: He was modest, and an Enemy to Contests. It may be said in general, that he was one of the best Men in the World [E]. He died at Roan, the eighteenth of December, 1689, being about Sixty four Years of Age.

(a) Histoire des
Ouvrages des
Savans, Febr.
1690, pag. 266,
267.

(b) Ibid.

(1) Febr. 1690,
pag. 266, 267.

* Prefatus au
Mortier, scellé
from a kind of
Cap which is the
Mark of their
Dignity.

(2) The Goth
Epigram of the
2d Book of Pal-
quier is addressed
ad Edmericum
Bigotum Tiber-
menis in Sena-
to Rotomagen-
si Presidem.

(3) Taken from
Mr le Labou-
reur's Additions
to the Memoirs
of Cassinow,
Tom. I. p. 884
& seq.

(4) In the fore-
going Remark.

(5) He should
have said Som-
menil. Proper
Names are
bravely disguised
in Father Jacob's
Works.

[A] He was of a most illustrious Family of the Long-Robe. According to the fine Elogy, which Mr de Beauval consecrated to him, in his *History of the Works of the Learned* (1), he was the Son of the Dean of the Court of Aids, and of a Daughter of Mr Groulard, first President in the Parliament of Normandy; and he reckoned, among his Ancestors, two Presidents of Sovereign Courts, one Advocate-General, and six Counsellors in the Parliament. Let us unfold this a little, according to the Particulars, which Mr le Laboureur supplies us with. LAWRENCE BIGOT, Lord of Tibermenil, was Advocate-General in the Parliament, when the City was taken from the Protestants, in the Year 1562. He was a zealous Catholic, and contributed greatly to the hanging many People at Roan. The Huguenot Historians have complained of his Rigour. He died the thirteenth of July, 1570. He was the Son of ANTONY BIGOT, Lieutenant-General to the Bayliff of Roan, and Father of HEMERY BIGOT, Lord of Tibermenil, who had the Reverfion of his Father's Place, with a Dispensation of Age, by a Patent of the first of November 1551, registered in Parliament the Twenty first of August, 1552; and he exercised it, from the Year 1570, to the Year 1578, when he was raised to the Dignity of President in the same Parliament. He had opposed, in the same Year, the Motion made to the States of Blois for excluding the King of Navarre from the Succession to the Crown of France, as Tuannus observes in the Sixty third Book of his History. Several of his Letters have been printed with Those of Stephen Pasquier (2). He left no Children. This Family was continued by JOHN and STEPHEN BIGOT, Brothers of the Advocate-General. I omit the Posterity of John Bigot; as for Stephen, he had twelve Sons, and six Daughters. LAWRENCE BIGOT, Sieur de la Turgerie, one of his Sons, was the Father of STEPHEN BIGOT, Counsellor in the Court of Aids at Roan, who transmitted his Office to his Son WILLIAM BIGOT, Father of WILLIAM BIGOT, Counsellor in the Parliament of Roan. JOHN BIGOT, another Son of Stephen, was Lieutenant to the Bayliff of Roan, and had no other Heir but his Son JOHN BIGOT, Sieur de Sommenil, Counsellor in the Court of Aids at Roan, who collected, in his large Library, the Originals of the History of the Province of Normandy, and who had nineteen Children by his Wife Barbara Groulard, Daughter of Claudius, First President in the Parliament of Roan; among others, JOHN, Sieur de Sommenil, Counsellor in the Parliament of Normandy, NICOLAS Sieur de Cleuville, who succeeded his Father in his Office, and HEMERY BIGOT (3), who makes the Subject of This Article.

[B] He increased the Library, which his Father had left him. I have already (4) said something concerning This Library of Mr Bigot, the Father, in quoting Mr le Laboureur; but here is an Author, who speaks more amply of it. "John Bigot, Elq; Sieur de Sommenil (5), and Cleuville, Dean of the Counsellors of the Court of Aids of Normandy, understands Books very well, of which he has made a magnificent Library, consisting of above Six thousand Volumes, among which there are above Five hundred very good and rare Manuscripts, which he communicates freely to

those, who want them for the Public; for which he will ever deserve Praise (6)."

[C] He published but one Book. It is the Life of St Chrysostom, composed by Palladius. Neither Fronto Ducaeus, nor Sir Henry Savil, could ever find the Greek Text of this Work; there was only a Latin Translation of it, composed by Ambrosius Camaldulensis. Mr Bigot found the Greek at Florence in the Great Duke's Library, and published it at Paris, in the Year 1680, with the Latin Translation he had made of it, and some other Treatises. The *Journal des Savans* gave a particular Account of it; but without saying any thing concerning a Letter of St Chrysostom to the Monk Casarius (7). Consult the Journalists of Holland, who have often mentioned it (8). Here are the Words of one of them, who mentioned it last of all: "Mr Bigot's Design was to add the Epistle to Casarius, which he had found in a Library at Florence, to the Life of St Chrysostom; but it appeared to express against Transubstantiation, that the Examiners obliged him to suppress it (9)."

[D] Mr Menage was one of his intimate Friends. Of all the Passages of the *Menagiana*, in which Mr Bigot is mentioned, I shall only copy That of the Seventy fifth Page. "If I was forty Years of Age, I should weep bitterly for Mr Bigot's Death; but I am so overwhelmed with my own Evils, that I can no longer be sensible of Those of others. I am as unhappy as Priam, who survived his whole Family. Mr Bigot lodged at my House, Thirty five Years ago, every time he came from Roan to Paris, and we never had any Difference. He was singular in one Thing: as he spoke but little, he never told me any thing he designed to do, notwithstanding the Intimacy, which was between us; inasmuch, that, when he went to Rome, he said nothing of it to me till a Day or two before he set out. When he took his leave of me, he only asked me, if I had any Commands for him. I lose much by his Death. He wrote to me, not long before, that, for my sake, he was going to read all the old French Poets, and that he would impart to me all that he should find proper for my Origin of the French Tongue. The Library, which he left, is worth at least Forty thousand Livres. He was a Man of great Learning; and the Learned of Holland expected his Letters as so many Decisions of the Difficulties they proposed to him. It was a beautiful Friendship, which lasted thus long between These two great Men without any Interruption. The Poet, who said, that These kind of Friendships are happy (10), might with as much reason have said, that they are rare. Mr Menage dedicated his *Anti-Baillet* to Mr Bigot.

[E] He was one of the best Men in the World. I cannot better comment on this Text, than by the Words of Mr de Beauval. "There never was a more sincere or faithful Friend, says he (11); and he owned himself, that it was a Praise, which affected him most. He was a Man of an Integrity not common in this unhappy Age, and such an Enemy to Ostentation, that his Modesty went as far as his Simplicity of Manners. His peaceful and calm Temper made him incapable of the Noise and Quarrels, which Jealousy creates among learned Men."

(6) Father Jacob in his *Treatise of Libraries*, pag. 681. printed in 1644.

(7) *Journal des Savans*, March 1680. pag. 103. Edit. of Amst. You will find the following Words there in praise of the Author.

Mr Bigot, famous for his noble Library, and who has been a long time an Honour to Learning at Roan.

(8) *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lett.* June 1635. Art. III. pag. 605. June 1686. Art. VII. pag. 685, & alibi.

(9) Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, Febr. 1690, pag. 267.

(10) Felices ter & amplius, Quos irrupta tenet copula: nec malis Divulsus querimoniis Suprema citius solvet amor die. Horat. Od. 13. l. 1. The Epistle Rari would make as true a Sense as the Epitaph Felices.

(11) Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, ubi supra.

[F] He

(c) Paris Gazette,
Dec. 24. 1689.

Age (c). He has shewed, by his Will, that he died with the same Affection for the Good of Learning, which he had during his Life [F].

[F] He shewed by his Will, that he died with the same Affection for Learning, which he had during his Life. He has entailed his Library upon his Family, to avoid the dividing of it, and in-

trusted Mr Bigot of Monville, Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, with the care of it, having left a considerable Legacy to increase it every Year (12).

(12) Ibid.

(a) La Croix du
Maine, pag. 141.

BIGOT (WILLIAM), born at Laval, in the Country of Maine (a), a Physician, and a Philosopher, was a learned Man in the Reign of Francis I. It was believed, that the learned Peter Castellani conceived some Jealousy against him, and that, for fear his Glory should be eclipsed, he hindered him from having any access to the King. Others say it was a Calumny, which Melanchthon believed too rashly [A]. It is certain, that the means, which, it is said, Castellani made use of, to render William Bigot odious to their Common Master, is very improbable [B]. The Story concerning it in the Menagiana, is not exact [C]. Bigot must have

[A] It was a Calumny, which Melanchthon believed too rashly. We have two things to do; we must shew what Melanchthon published, and what was said against him on That Subject. These are Melanchthon's Words: 'Duo sunt in Gallia viri excellentes docti, Castellanus, & Bigotius. Et quia Castellani disputationes crebro à Rege audiuntur, hortatur quispiam ex proceribus ut Bigotius etiam audiretur. Interrogat Rex in quo doctrinæ genere verferetur. Cumque alii honorifico testimonio eum ornarent, tandem Castellanus, qui augeri ejus opinionem nolebat, interpellans, Quid, inquit, tantopere prædicatis? Est Aristotelicus. Rex interrogat qualis sit ea descriptio. Dicam, inquit Castellanus. Aristoteles desoxozes/lav adfirmat meliorem statum esse quam regnum. Hac voce apud Regem sciebat se omnem auctoritatem & Aristoteli & ejus studiosis detraxisse. Cumque Rex interrogaret an hoc scripserit Aristoteles, & ceteri id adfirmarent, audivissetque defendere Bigotium Aristotelicas sententias, delirare Aristotelem inquit, & negavit se defensionem harum ineptiarum auditorum esse. Facile vicit Castellanus tali iudice (1). — There are, in France, two very learned Men, Castellani and Bigot. And, as the King is frequently present at the Disputations of Castellani, some one of his Courtiers advises him to hear Bigot. The King asks, in what kind of Learning he is conversant. And, when others give him an honourable Testimony, Castellani, at length, who was unwilling his Fame should increase, interposing, says, why this a-do about Bigot? He is an Aristotelian. The King enquires what That Description means. I will inform your Majesty, says Castellani. Aristoteles affirms an Aristocracy to be better than a Monarchy. He knew, that, by this Declaration, Aristoteles, and his Followers, would lose all their Credit with the King. And the King, having asked, whether Aristoteles wrote so, and others affirming the same thing, and hearing that Bigot maintained the Aristotelian Doctrines, declared that Aristoteles was mad, and that he would never hear one, who defended these Follies. Castellani easily gained his Cause before such a Judge. The Author of Castellani's Life refutes this with some Force. What he says deserves to be set down at length. A Bigotio Gorgiam quendam in vicis & quadri-vitiis proficiente ita privatim & publicè lacessitus convitiisque appetitus fuerat, & scripto apud exteros traductus, ut meritò eum odio prosequi posset veredetur. Nam & Philippum Melanchthonem calumniis ita illi infestum reddiderat, ut is nimium credulus & facilis ea de ipso scriberet quæ nos, propter publicam causam, non sine gemitu legere poteramus. Nempe Castellani ex eo calumniatorum esse genere qui, invidia concitati, mendaciis confictis bonas causas apud Reges oppugnant & deteriores redderent. Argumento esse Bigotium, quem ille Philosophia Aristotelica præstantem, ne sibi & suæ gratiæ obesset, eum odiosum Regi reddere meditaretur. Aristotelem, quod laudato paucorum & populi principatu unius imperium improbasset, apud Regem graviter criminatus esset. Quod totum cum esset vanissimum, & à Castellano Aristotelem amante & admirante alienissimum, nec minus improbe à Bigotio confictum quam à Melanchthone leviter literis mandatum, Bigotium tamen postea in gratiam receptum Regi commendavit, atque

'illi quæ à Rege petebat apud Nemaufenses impetravit (2). — He was so attacked, and calumniated, both publickly and privately, and so exposed in writing to Foreigners, by Bigot, who set up for another Gorgias in Towns and Highways, that he seems to have had some Reason for the hatred he bore him. For he had so exasperated Philip Melanchthon against him, by his Calumnies, that the latter, too credulous and easy of Belief, wrote such Things concerning him, as, for the sake of the Public, I could not read without Grief: To wit, that Castellani was one of those Calumniators, who, excited by Envy, prejudice Persons in the Favour of their Prince; that Bigot was an Instance of it: whom he endeavoured to render odious to the King, on account of his being an Aristotelian, that the other's Credit might not ruin his Interest at Court. He brought an heavy Accusation against Aristotle, before the King, for preferring an Aristocracy, or Democracy, to a Monarchy. Which being all false, and far from Castellani, who was a Lover and Admirer of Aristotle, and no less unreasonably invented by Bigot, than rashly committed to writing by Melanchthon, yet, receiving Bigot into favour, he recommended him to the King, and obtained for him of the King, what he wished for at Nimes. It appears from these Words, I. That Bigot, in Imitation of the ancient Sophists, and namely of Gorgias, declaimed, and read Lectures, every where. II. That he had spoken ill of Castellani, both in private and public. III. That he made his Peace with Castellani; and that, by the Recommendation of this reconciled Enemy, he obtained, from Francis I, what he wished for at Nimes.

[B] The means, which it is said Castellani made use of — is very improbable. I shall not repeat Peter Galland's Remarks against Melanchthon's Narrative, but make some, which he has not made: I. It is no ways likely, that Francis I enquired what an Aristotelian Philosopher was? He was too knowing a Prince, and took too much care to have an exact Account of the State of the University of Paris; in a word, he had had too many Conversations with learned Men, to be ignorant of Aristotle's Name, and what a Follower of Aristotle was. The Question, which he is said to have asked, would be likely, notwithstanding That Prince's Learning, if to be a Peripatetic had been a rare and a new thing in France; but, as there was almost no body in the Philosophical Chairs, who did not make an open Profession of Aristotle's Philosophy; nothing is more unlikely, than to suppose, that That Prince was so surprised with an Idea of Novelty at the hearing the Name of an Aristotelian Philosopher, as immediately to require an Explication of these Terms. II. The flourishing State of the Peripatetic Sect at that time, and the great Respect, which was paid to Aristotle, do not permit us to believe, that Castellani thought he was able to wound the Reputation of a Rival by calling him a Peripatetic. It would have been taking a wrong way to weaken the Praises, which were bestowed upon Bigot in the Presence of Francis I. III. The Professors of Philosophy in the Universities of France do not explain Politics; and it would have been ridiculous in those times to have said; I will explain to you what an Aristotelian Philosopher

(2) Petrus Gallandius in vita Petri Castellani, n. 74. pag. 130, 131.

(1) Melanchthon in responsione contra Clerum Coloniensem. Editio, Anno 1543.

have been a great Philosopher, since he was very much praised by *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* (b). He published some Treatises, both in Verse and in Prose [D]. It is a Mistake to say, that *Calvin* reproached him with holding the Truth in Unrighteousness [E].

Bongars had never heard of our *William Bigot*; for, in a Letter, which he wrote the sixth of August, 1596, he desired to be informed, who he was [F].

I have several curious Particulars to add to this Article. Our *William Bigot* was Son of *JOHN BIGOT*, and was born towards the end of the Month of June, 1502; for he says, in a Letter, dated at *Basil*, the Twenty seventh of December, 1536, that he left *France* at the Age of Twenty eight Years, and that it is six Years and a half since he was banished his Country. He was, therefore, Thirty four Years and a half, when he wrote this Letter. Few Authors make such Complaints of their Enemies, as this Philosopher does in his Works. *We perpetually meet with some apologetical or antilogical Letters, designed to refute the Calumnies of his Adversaries. This obliges him to let us into many Particulars of his Life* [G], some of which even

sopber is: He is one, who prefers Common-wealths before Monarchies. IV. It is most certain, that *Francis I* protected *Aristotle* against *Ramus*. The Author of *Castellan's* Life says, that That Prince had like to have condemned this Rebel against *Aristotle* to the Gallies (3). So that there is reason to think, that *Melanchthon* did not relate the Matter as he should have done. He was mis-informed, and suffered himself to be pre-possessed without hearing both Parties. Nevertheless, his Words have gained Credit, and I find no Body, who speaks of our *Bigot*, without taking for certain what *Melanchthon* published of him. So much Power the Stars of some Men have to immortalize any Story, whether it be true, or false; agreeable, or contrary, to all Appearances!

Naudé was in the common Error: See here what he says: '*Erasmus* might have appeared among the Learned Men, whom *Francis I* drew after him by the Chains of his Liberality — if he would have accepted the Principality of his Royal College, or Canonship of Fifteen thousand Livres Revenue, which he offered him several times; and likewise *William Bigot*, who was the first Philosopher of his time, if his High Almoner, the Bishop of *Macon*, had not diverted him from the Desire he had to have him near his Person †, that he might not have a Learned Censurer of the Discourses he made every Day at the King's Table (4).'

[C] The Story inserted in the *Menagiana* is not exact. This is the Story: '*Peter Galland* was envied, and his Enemies would have sent for one, whose Name was *Bigot*, a great *Aristotelian* Philosopher, from *Normandy*, to supplant him. *Francis I*, who had been told of him, asked *Peter Castellan*, what he was? *Peter Castellan* answered, that he was a Philosopher, who followed *Aristotle's* Opinions. And what are *Aristotle's* Opinions, added *Francis I*? Sir, replied *Peter Castellan*, *Aristotle* prefers Common-wealths to Monarchical States. This made such an Impression on the King's Mind, that he would hear no more of This Mr *Bigot*. Thus *Peter Castellan* served his Friend very dexterously (5).'

I could make some Objections against This Account. I. Our *William Bigot* was not a *Norman*, but a *Manceau*. II. His Ability in the *Peripatetic* Philosophy could not supplant *Peter Galland*, who only taught Philosophy. III. *Melanchthon*, who ought to pass for an Authentic Writer, as to this matter, since he was the first, who related it, does not say, that The Business was to supplant any Professor of *Paris*: He says, that They would have introduced *Bigot* to *Francis I*; that That Monarch, who had heard *Peter Castellan* discourse so often, might also hear the Discourses of This *William Bigot*. Observe well, that, when the only Author, who speaks of any Fact, commits a Mistake, his Narrative cannot be altered without a new Error. I except the true Discovery of the Fact. IV. We learn from the Life of *Castellan*, that, at his Recommendation, *Francis I* granted This *Bigot* a thing, which he desired. How can it be said, then, that That Prince would hear no more of This Mr *Bigot*?

[D] He published some Treatises both in Verse and Prose. Some of his French Verses were printed with the Poems of *Charles de Sainte Marthe, Uncle*

of *Scavola* (6). *Gesner* mentions a Collection of Poems, *Gulielmi Bigotii Lavallensis*, printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1536 (7). He adds, It is seven Years, since I saw the Author at *Basil*. Among other Pieces in That Collection, there was, *Catoptron ad emendationem juventutis factum carmen: epithalamium quoddam, & epigramma in Empiricum* (8). *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* mentions This Title: *Gulielmi Bigotii Lavallensis Christianæ philosophiæ prælium, opus cum aliorum tum hominis substantiam luculentis expromens rationibus; Tolosæ apud Guidonem Boudevilleum 1549* (9). Probably *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* hinted at This Book, when he said: '*Sic videmus ejusdem rei diversas esse notiones: quas barbare quidem barbaris, sed non inscite apud doctos, formalitates appellabamus. Hæc quidem risui sunt atque contemptui novis Lucianis atque Diagoris culinariis: sed non neglecta sunt à maximo Philosopho Gulielmo Bigotio, qui quidem pene solus hoc summum jus hodie tuetur recondita philosophia* (10). — Thus we see there are different Notions of the same thing, to which we gave the Appellation of Formalities; a Term, barbarous to Barbarians, but with the Learned not improper. These appear indeed ridiculous and contemptible to our Modern Lucians, and Kitchen Diagoras's; but they are not neglected by the great Philosopher *William Bigot*, the only one, at present, who maintains this supreme Justice in the Mysteries of Philosophy.'

[E] It is a Mistake to say, that *Calvin* reproached him with holding the Truth in Unrighteousness. Here is what we find in the Notes of a very Learned Man on *Castellan's* Life. '*Ad quem (Bigotium) extat epistola Joannis Calvini data IV Kal. Januarii MDLVII. in qua eum increpat quod à superstitionibus, id est, à professione fidei Romanæ non recederet. — There is extant a Letter of John Calvin to Bigot, in which he blames him for not departing from Superstition, that is, from the Profession of the Romish Faith.*' This Letter of *Calvin* is the Two hundred forty sixth (11), it is written to one *Peter Bigot*, who did not give Glory to God by professing the Truth. *Calvin* had formerly lodged at his House. The Name of *Castellan's* Adversary was *William Bigot*: It is not therefore He, to whom *Calvin* wrote.

[F] *Bongars* desired to be informed, who he was. He asked this question, after he had read the Letter, which *Joachim Camerarius* had written to This *William Bigot*. It is at the end of the third Book of the second Volume of *Joachim's* Letters. '*Stibarum quis fuerit, nisi molestum est, explica, & quis Vilelmus Bigotius Gallus, ad quem extat epistola sub finem tertii libri* (12). — Inform me, if it be no trouble to you, who *Stibarum* is, and who *William Bigot* the Frenchman, to whom there is extant an Epistle, about the end of the third Book.'

[G] The Disputes, which he had — obliged him to let us into many Particulars of his Life. He was not quite a Year old, when his Nurse died of the Plague. Observe, by the way, that they were obliged to procure him a Nurse out of the Country, no Woman of the Town being willing to bring him up, because he was born with two Teeth. The Death of his Nurse, preceded by That of thirteen other Persons of the same Family, was the beginning of our *Bigot's* Misfortunes. Not one of the Neighbours would undertake the Care

(b) See the End of Remark [D].

(6) La Croix du Maine, pag. 141.

(7) Gesner, in Biblioth. p. 287.

(8) Ibid.

(9) In Supplemento Epitome Gesnerianæ.

(10) Jul. Cæsar. Scalig. Exercit. 307. n. 15. pag. 946; ad Cardan.

(11) In Editione 3. Hanov. 1597.

(12) Bongars, Epist. 130. ad Camerari. pag. 488. Edit. Hag. 1695.

(3) Galland, ubi supra. n. 47. pag. 75.

* *Erasmi*. Epist. ad Christoph. Messiam. item ad Goclenium, item ad Joan. Hond.

† *Richer*. in axiomat. Polit.

(4) *Naudé* Ad. dit. to the Hist. of *Louis XI.* pag. 369. 370.

(5) *Menagiana*, pag. 147.

(c) See the Remarks of the Author CARDAN, and particularly Remark [T]. even favour of the Ingenuity of Cardan (c), so injudiciously are they advanced (d). He (d) Citat. (13). informs us, among other things, that his Wife's Gallant was punished just as (e) Between Citations (13) and (14). Abelard was. See, below, Remark [G] (e).

of him, or even inform his Relations of it; in a word, he was exposed without pity under a Hedge by the Side of a great Road. His own Father, drawn that way by other particular Affairs, found him in this Condition. As he grew up, his Education was intrusted with Persons, who did not take all the necessary care of it; so that he no sooner withdrew himself from their Discipline, than he plunged into Debauchery. Falling into a Scrape at Antwerp, he was obliged to retire into the Country. This Retreat was of no small Service to him; It brought him back to a Relish for Study. He applied himself to Greek, which he acquired without a Master, and in a very short Time. The other Sciences cost him no more Time, or Pains; he affirms, that he was obliged to his First Masters only for a little Latin; and as for Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Medicine, &c. he was *αὐτοδιδάκτωρ*, Self-taught. After having passed some Time in this Retreat, he resolved to go into Germany, that he might be more at Liberty. He took this Journey in Company with Mr du Bellai de Langey, who was sent by the King to the German Princes, to inform them of his Majesty's Pretensions; which Negotiation was carried on with great Secrecy; and Mr du Langey was to appear in some Courts only in the Habit of a Jewel-Merchant. Our Bigot came to Tubingen, and was there admitted Professor of Philosophy. Happening to quarrel with the other Members of the University, who were displeased at his endeavouring to refute the Philosophical System of Melancthon, he was obliged to retire to Basil, in 1536, where he continued for some time. At last, he returned to France, and found a sure Protection in Mess. du Bellai, his Patrons. Budæus would have kept him at Paris; and procured him the *stipendium regium Philosophi*; but Castellan prevented it. Read the following Account of this Matter by one William Figulus, who wrote Notes on a Poem of Bigot's to JESUS CHRIST, which I shall take notice of hereafter. Budæus Bigotium, Germania regressum, rogavit stipendium regium Philosophi præferret Aulæ, quam sequi parabat; quo de Bigotius vicissim egit cum Cardinale Bellai: Mecænate suo, id ut ferret: sed longe aberat ab illo sibi desiderato scopo Bigotius, cum id apud Franciscum Regem tacita invidia & oblectatione quidam Aulicus interrupisset, non obscuriore certe Academiz Parisiensis quam Bigotii damno. Qui fit autem is, in responsione Melancthonis ad Colonienfes invenies: id nunc Bigotius insinuat, & id quidem miris fatis, cum eo invito ea invita claudatur (13). — Budæus desired Bigot, who was come back from Germany, that he would prefer the Royal Stipend of a Philosopher to the Court, which he was preparing to follow; and Bigot, in his Turn, asked permission to do so of his Patron the Cardinal du Bellai: but Bigot was far from gaining this favourite Point, being defeated in it by a certain Courtier, who, through envy, misrepresented him to King Francis, not less to the Loss of the University of Paris, than that of Bigot himself. Who this Courtier was, you will find in Melancthon's Answer to those of Cologne. Bigot now insinuates this, and indeed by a strange Fate, since, against his Will, it is unwillingly shut up. — Does he mean the Post of Regius Professor of Philosophy? However it be, Bigot, being disappointed, turned his Thoughts to other Employments. He was offered a Chair in the University of Padua, with a good Salary: he refused it, and chose to go Nismes, whither he was invited to regulate the University, which one Baduellus had there begun. The Zeal, which he shewed in defending the pretended Privileges of this University, raised him many Enemies, who recalled Baduellus. It was then a Kind of War between the two Masters, and their Scholars. Bigot had some Arrests of the Parliament of Toulouse, confirming the Conventions he had made with the Town. He even came to Paris; and, by the means of his Friends, and parti-

cularly Cardinal du Bellai, he obtained Letters from the King, and other Persons of the Court, addressed to the Governor, and Principal Men, of Nismes: but, thinking to enjoy a certain Tranquillity in that Town, and having for that purpose sold all he could of his Patrimony at Laval, he went to Toulouse, where he found his Affairs in a Situation very different from what he expected. His Wife, by whom he had already had two Daughters, not keeping her matrimonial Faith, and having yielded to the Caresses of a certain Compeer of hers, a Player on Instruments, who dwelt at Bigot's House, it happened, that the Adulterer, whose name was Petrus Fontanus, met with the Punishment of Abelard; in a word, he lost the true Tokens of his Manhood: but, what added to the Misfortune of our poor Husband, was, it's being discovered, that the principal Actor in this Tragedy was one Antonius Verdanus, an old Servant of Bigot's. This was enough for the Enemies of Bigot; and the Opportunity appeared too favourable, of plunging him into Difficulties, for them to let it slip. His Wife was carried off. He was accused of the Crime of Mutilation, and several others, all which demanded his Head. He delivered himself up to Imprisonment too rashly, and continued a long time in Confinement. He even expected to lose his Head, so great was the Power of his Enemies, and such malicious Turns did they give to all his Actions. At last, an extraordinary Session, which was held at Puy in Velay, delivered him from his Prison, but not from the Misery, to which this Affair had reduced him; which yet was not over, with respect to Civil Proceedings, in 1549, when he published his *Christiane Philosophie Prædium*. Tired with so many Attacks, he says, in several Parts of This Book, that his Stars promise him, that he shall die towards the North, and out of his own Country; that he wishes he could leave This ungrateful Land, and retire to die at Metz. It is his favourite Town: he could not forbear addressing to it several Verses, in his Poem to JESUS CHRIST, and to beg of it never to reject him. All This is taken, partly from an Apologetical Epistle, and another Antilogical Epistle, &c. The Apologetical Epistle is in a Collection, of the Publication of which you have taken no notice; It is This; Gul. Bigotii, Lavallensis, somnium ad Gul. Bellaium Langæum, Mecænatem suum, in quo cum alia tum Imperatoris Caroli describitur ab Regno Gallia depulso. Ejusdem explanatrix somnii Epistola, quæ se item & Gul. Budæum a quorundam calumniis defendit. Ejusdem Catoptron, & alia quædam Poemata, cujus prius inemendatus: Parisiis, 1537, 8vo. The Antilogical Epistle is to be found together with the *Christiane Philosophie Prædium*, Opus cum aliorum, tum hominis substantiam, luculentis expromens & exemplis & rationibus, Gul. Bigotii, Lavallensis, Autore. Ejusdem & ad Jesum Christum Carmen supplex, & Antilogica Dedicatrixque Epistola (14), perapte tam Prædium quam reliquis ipsius Christiani scriptis prælegenda: Tolosæ, Guid. Boudewillai, 1549, fol. I have already observed, that the Carmen Supplex was commented on by William Figulus. His Notes are inserted in This Edition, together with others, which he wrote on other Verses of the same Bigot, which are at the end of the same Volume (15).

The Memoir, which I have made use of just as it came to my Hand, is very proper to inform us of two Things; the One, that Mr Lancelot knows how to make an excellent Use of the Books, which the Mazarine Library furnishes him with; the second, that nothing is more necessary to the Author of such a Work as This, than to consult All the Prefaces, All the Epistles Dedicatory, All the Apologies, and All the Writings, called *Eristique*, and All the Remarks of Authors. It is in them we find a great many Particulars of their Lives.

(13) Gul. Figulus in hæc verba Bigotii. Denique miris invito invitata est mihi clausa Lutetia fatiis.

(14) Ad Joann. Card. Bellaium.

(15) Taken from a Manuscript Memoir, communicated by Mr Lancelot.

BILLAUT (ADAM), known by the Name of *Master Adam*, was a Joiner of *Nevers*, who became a pretty good *French Poet*. He made himself first known in his own Country, and to the Princesses of *Gonzague* (a), who resided sometimes in their Dutchy of *Nevers*; and afterwards he ventured to go to *Paris*, where he met with some Patrons. He took this Journey in the Year 1637 [A]. The Duke of *Orleans* honoured him with a Pension (b). This new Poet published a Collection of Poems, entitled *Les Chevilles de Maître Adam*, and did not fail to add to it the Verses, which many Poets of his Time made in his Praise. The Abbot de *Marolles* honoured it with a Preface, which favours of a Panegyric, and wherein he does not forget to inform us, that *Peter Billaut*, and *Joan More*, our Poet's Father and Mother, were originally of the Village of *St Benin des Bois*, in the Country of *Nivernois*. It appears by *Master Adam's* Verses, that he intruded himself among the *Grandeess*; but I do not believe that he grew rich by the Poet's Trade [B]. He died the nineteenth of *May*, 1662 (c). Mr *Baillet* was not lavish of his Praises on him [C]. I have heard it said, that he was obliged to return to his Joiner's Trade for a Livelihood; but I do not believe it.

(a) The Princess Mary, and the Princess Anne, the first of which has been Queen of Poland.

(b) See the Preface to the Chevilles.

(c) Romauld, Histor. and Chron. Journal, October 19, pag. 450.

[A] He came to Paris, in the Year 1637. All the Proof I have for it, is a Passage of the Abbot de *Marolles*, wherein he says, that, being at *Nevers*, in 1636, he was saluted one Morning by Mr *Adam Billaut*, who repeated some of his Verses to him, and gave him some Copies of them. This Abbot adds, that he promised the Princess *Mary* to proclaim the Merit of This rare Poet, and that *Master Adam* came to *Paris* the Year following. He was known there, continues he, to the *Grandeess*, and to all the Court (1).

good Estate to his Children (3). He had a Pension from Cardinal *Richelieu*, as may be inferred from his desiring one of his Friends to solicit the Payment of it (4).

(3) He had a Wife, and some Child en. Preface of Mr de Marolles.

[C] Mr *Baillet* was not lavish of his Praises on him. Master *Adam*, says he (5), surnamed *Billaut*, commonly called the *VIRGIL OF THE JOINERS*, left us his *Chevilles* (Peggs) his *Villebrequin* (Wimble) and his *Rabot* (Plane), and his other Tools, which he thought to immortalize by consecrating them to the Deities of *Parnassus*. — Unless it be known that he was an illiterate Joiner, he will pass for an indifferent Poet, and perhaps, for a Black guard of *Parnassus*. — For it must be confessed, that *Master Adam* does more Honour to the Joiners, and other Tradesmen, than to the Poets, and the Muses.

(4) Chevilles, pag. 110. Edit. of Roan, 1654.

(5) Jugemens sur les Poetes n. 14.38.

(1) Memoires de l'Abbé de Marolles, pag. 107.

(2) In the Epistle Dedicatory of his Chevilles to the Count d'Arpajon.

BILLI (JAMES de), Abbot of *St Michel en l'Herme*, was one of the learned Men of the XVIth Century. He translated several Works of the Greek Fathers into *Latin*, and particularly *Gregory Nazianzen*, to the Satisfaction of good Judges (a). I designed to publish a long Account of him; but I could not meet with his Life, composed by *John Chataud* (b); so that I refer my Readers to *Moreri*, and shall only observe some Mistakes of the learned Mr de *Launoi* [A], who published two Letters, which inform us, that *James de Billi* complained much of being at *Paris*. He complained of it, among other Reasons, because Provisions were dear, and because he was obliged to lose part of his Time with the Ladies [B]. His Sister, who lived with *Madam de Montmorency*, was the occasion of it. It is not

(a) See Mr Baillet, Jugem. des Savans, n. 873.

(b) See Tessier Biblio. Bibliotheque, pag. 170.

[A] Some Mistakes of the learned Mr de *Launoi*. He has inserted, in his History of the College of *Navarre* (1), two Letters of *James de Billi*, written to *James Pelletier*; and he believed they were written in the Year 1582. This shews, that he did not know, that the Author of those two Letters died in the Year 1581. *La Croix du Maine* affirms it. Mr *Baillet* takes it for granted in divers places of his *Jugemens*. *Moreri* notes the Twenty second of November 1580. But *Thevet*, in the second Tome of the *Elogies*, pag. 292, marks the Twenty fifth of December 1581. He is more in the right than *Moreri*. The Ignorance of such Things is nothing, and can do no prejudice to a learned Man; But I cannot apprehend, that a Man can discover his Ignorance in much more considerable Matters, without some Prejudice to himself. By publishing these two Letters, as written in the Year 1582, Mr de *Launoi* must have believed, that the Prince of *Condé* was then in Prison; that the Admiral, having gathered the broken Remains of the Army, passed the *Loire*, and committed great Ravages; that the Duke of *Guise* pursued him with long Marches, &c. All these things are plainly contained in the first of *James de Billi's* two Letters, with this Circumstance; that the Prince of *Condé* had almost made his Escape out of Prison, which induced the Queen to have him removed to *Chartres*. It is plain, that This Letter was written in the beginning of the Year 1563. The Date, which Mr de *Launoi* produces, is, *Lutetiae 10. Calend. Feb. 1582* (2). Without doubt, he found the Date of the Place, and of the Day, in the Original, and added That of the Year to it. I know not what grounds he could have for

his Conjectures; but it is certain, either that he did not consider the Contents of That Letter, or that he was but little skilled in our Modern History. Moreover, the Publication of those Letters shews, that he did not understand Greek; for he left several Faults, which the Printers had committed, in some Greek Words, which our Abbot had made use of. For example, This Verse of *Homer*,

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἵσυχθαί ἐδομεν ἀχρυν-
μενοι πρὸς.

was printed thus,

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐδομεν ἀχρυν-
μενοί πρὸς.

[B] He complained, that he was obliged to lose part of his Time with the Ladies. If you desire to know all the Reasons, why he was sorry, that he had left his Province, read his own Words; 'Hic omnia perturbata, morbis infesta; hic extrema annona caritas, hic meo succo victitandum, hic cursitandum, litigandum, & sororis causa, quae apud Magistri Equitum uxorem educatur inter puellas, tempus terendum & perdendum. — Every thing here is in Confusion; The City is unhealthy; Provisions are dear; Here I must live upon biting my Nails, or sucking my Thumbs; I am obliged to hurry up and down; I must engage in Quarrels; and, upon my Sister's Account, who is educated among the young Ladies in the Master of the Horse's Family, must squander away my Time. This latter point favours but little of the Abbot; neither are we speaking of a Court-Abbot, but of an Abbot, who was a great Grecian, and who minded nothing but his Studies. [C] Here

(1) Page 360.

(2) That is, January 23.

VOL. II.

not universally agreed, that his Translation of Gregory Nazianzen is a good one : I am going to shew, from some Particulars, that it is not [C].

[C] Here are some Particulars, which shew, that his Translation of Gregory Nazianzen is not a Good One.] It was first printed at Paris in 1569, and at Cologne in 1570, and then again at Paris in 1583. This last Edition was made by the Care of Genebrard, and dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII; it is much the most ample, and exact. It is this Version, which is placed over against the Greek Text, in the Edition of Paris, in two Volumes, by Morel, in 1609 (3). Father Louart, a Benedictin, who intends to undertake a new Edition of Gregory Nazianzen, reckons, among the difficulties, which will retard the Execution of this Enterprize, the Necessity of revising the fine Translation of the Abbot Billy (4). Though it should answer still less to the Text, says he (5), than has been observed by the Editors themselves of Paris, in 1610 and 1611, in their Prefaces —

(1) Ibid.

(2) Du Pin, Biblioth. Tom. II. pag. 222. Edit. Amst.

(4) See Memoires de Trevoux, July, 1704. pag. 1247. Edit. of France.

(5) Ibid.

The profound Veneration paid to the Memory and Learning of this great Man, will always be a reason for preserving his Version as much as possible. And if what the learned Petavius remarks upon St Epiphanius, that it is more difficult to correct a Translation, than to make a new one: if This, I say, be not true in relation to a learned and polite Version, such as That of the Abbot de Billi, This will lessen the Pains, at least will spare the disgust of too severely censuring the Faults, which have escaped This learned Abbot, who, otherwise, was so perfect a Master of the two Languages. For the rest, Father Sirmond is not the only Person, who has corrected This Version. It is scarce to be known again in the *Dogmata Theologica* of Petavius, in which St Gregory is cited in almost every Page. What is more remarkable is, that, besides the great Knowledge this learned Jesuit had of the two Languages, he was likewise a perfect Master of the Divinity of the Greek Fathers.

How complacently soever this is expressed, it plainly gives us to understand, that the Translation of our Abbot de Billi is very imperfect.

The same Benedictin refutes what had been advanced in a Memoir, communicated to the Journalists of Trevoux, that the Abbot de Billi gave up his Manuscript to the Bookellers. 'This illustrious Abbot, says he (6), published his Latin St Gregory twice in his Life-time. As for the Abbot de Billi's Greek Manuscript, it was never in a Condition to be printed. Some will be surprized at the No-

(6) Ibid. pag. 1248, &c.

(7) La Croix du Maine, pag. 93.

(8) See the Biblioth. Francoise of du Verdier, pag. 395.

(9) Billon's Fort Inexpugnable, pag. 229.

BILLON (FRANCIS de), Secretary, born at Paris, published a Book, entitled, *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'Honneur du Sexe Feminin**, which he dedicated to Catherine de Medicis, and to some other Princesses (a). His Epistle Dedicatory is dated from Rome, in the ancient Field of Mars, in the Year 1550. It is a whimsical Book (b), in which Henry Stephens found many Blasphemies, which consist in Comparisons between the ancient Prophets, and the Secretaries of the King of France (c). It was printed at Paris in the Year 1555, in Quarto. I have quoted it sometimes. The Author was a Nephew of a Bishop of Senlis [A]. I think he had been Secretary of William du Bellai, Lord of Langei.

[A] He was Nephew of a Bishop of Senlis.] The fourteenth Chapter of his Book contains *The Pen's Petition to the Ladies in favour of the Secretaries*. They have only 'seized, says the Pen in That Petition (1), the Fruits of my Letters - - - like the Engineer of this Fort, who spent all his Substance in building of the same, for the eternal

BION, a Bucolic Poet, born at Smyrna [A], lived in the Time of Ptolomy Philadelphus [B], who reigned from the fourth Year of the CXXIII Olympiad,

[A] He was born at Smyrna.] The Epithet *Σμυρναῖος*, that attends him every where, is a good Proof of it; it may be confirmed by the Verses of Moschus, wherein mention is made of the Sorrows of the River Meles for the Death of it's Son Bion. That River runs by Smyrna.

Τὴν τοι, ὦ Σμυρναῖον λιγυρότατε, δούτερον ἀλγόν.
Τὴν τοι, μέλαν, ἦν ἄλγος ἀπώλετο πρὸν τοι Ὀμήρου.

velty of This Proposition, after what Chataud has said of it in his Elogy of the Abbot de Billi, and what Genebrard wrote concerning it to Pope Gregory XIII, in the Year 1582, immediately after the Death of This Abbot. This Letter is still to be seen in three Editions of Paris. I have in my Hands this pretended Greek Manuscript of the Abbot de Billi, the very Original, which passed from this Abbot to Genebrard, and from his Hands into Petavius's Library, whence the Bookellers of Paris had it, to print, as they said, the Greek Text, revised by the Abbot de Billy. I am ready publicly to produce it, and to prove, that the Greek Text was never restored by the Abbot de Billy, nor by any other. St Gregory — is — the only one of the four Doctors of the Greek Church, whose Text remains in the Corruption of the first Edition, if even the Paris Edition has not very much added to it (7). It is certain, even by the Confession of the Editors of Paris, (first and second Preface) that this Abbot left nothing as to the Greek Text of St Gregory, but what is in an Edition of Basil, printed by Hervagius, in 1550, in which, by dint of guessing, we read, in the Margin, and sometimes between the Lines, here a Latin, and there a Greek Word. — It is a Chaos, which I believe the illustrious Author himself could not clear up, were he to return at present into the World. — Morel, in his Preface, speaks almost in the same manner of this Manuscript; and all, who please, may be convinced of it by their own Eyes. It was, however, this pretended Correction of the Greek Text by the Abbot de Billy, which was given into the Hands of a Corrector of the Press, who, not being able to make any thing of it (which was no wonder) printed neither the Edition of Basil, nor this pretended Correction, but One, I know not what, formed out of those two, as his Fancy directed him. — I appeal, after this, whether it was honest in the Bookellers to impose upon the Public by so deceitful a Title, as That of the Abbot de Billy; *Jacobus Billius* — — — *cum MSS. Regiis contulit, emendavit, &c* (8). This is enough, I. To undeceive Those, who have a good Opinion of the Work of this Abbot. II. To render suspected what Bookellers affirm.

(7) Ibid. pag. 1250.

(8) Note, that the Memoir of Father Louart is to be found likewise in the Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, Ocl. 1704, pag. 382. &c.

The Impregnable Fort of Female Honour.

(c) Henri Etienne, Apologie d'Herodote, chap. XIV. pag. 94.

(2) It is perhaps a false Print for Billon.

(1) Moschus, in Epithelio Bionis.

This, O most sonorous of Rivers, is to you a new Occasion of Grief: You first lost Homer; now you deplore another Son.

[B] He lived in the Time of Ptolomy Philadelphus.] See here the Proof of it. Theocritus was afflicted for the Death of Bion; and he lived in the Time

B I O N.

II

to the second Year of the CXXXIII. There is some probability that he passed the best part of his Life in Sicily [C], or in Greater Greece (a). He was an excellent Poet, if we rely on the Lamentations of his Disciple Moschus. The few Pieces, which remain of him, witness the fame, in the Opinion of very good Judges. Bion died of Poison, as Moschus plainly observes (b). There are many Editions of the Idylls of these two Poets; but the best of them is, without doubt, That of Paris, of 1686, with a Translation in French Verse, and some Remarks (c). See what the Journalists said of it [D]. It was soon after reprinted in Hol-

(a) Græcia Major. This was the Name of That Part of Italy, which we call the Kingdom of Naples.

(b) Taken from Bion's Life, prefixed to the Translation of his Idylls, by M. de Longe-Pierre.

(c) M. de Longe-Pierre is the Author of both.

Time of That Ptolomy: it follows, then, that Bion lived also at the same time. This Proof would be much stronger than it is, if the fix Verses, which precede these Words of Moschus, ἐν δὲ Συρακούσισι Θόρυξος, interque Syracusanis Theocritus, did not pass for a Supplement of Musurus (2). That Author, finding an Hiatus there, filled it up, supposing that Moschus mentioned the Complaints, which the Death of Bion had excited among the Poets in several Countries. This Supposition connects the beginning and end of That Hiatus very well; but, because it is not the only expedient to find this Connexion, there is reason to doubt, whether Moschus had the Thought, which Musurus ascribes to him, and, consequently, it can be no longer certain, that Theocritus was represented, there, as then alive.

(2) See the Remarks of Mr de Longe-Pierre, pag. 177, 180.

(3) Nel li' ro primo de Poeti Bucolici Ciceroniani. Lorenzo Crasso quotes him in his History of the Greek Poets, pag. 89.

(4) Sono molte altre le prove dell'autorità portata dal Vintimiglia che almeno crede d'abitazione Ciceroniana Bione. Lorenzo Crasso, pag. 90.

(5) That is, Homer.

[C] He spent the best Part of his Life in Sicily.] It is Moschus again, who supplies us with Proofs of this Fact. I have not seen how John Vintimiglia makes use of them (3), to prove, that Bion was of Sicily, or, at least, that he resided there (4), but it is very probable, that these two Verses were chiefly considered by him:

Ἀμφότεροι παλαιὸς πεφιλῆμένοι. ὅς μὲν ἔπινε
Παρασίδῃ κρήνας, ὃ δ' ἔχεν πόμα τὰς ἀρεδύσας.

Ambo fontibus chari erant, alter (5) bibebat

B I O N, surnamed the Borysthenite, because he was born at Borysthenes (a), was a Philosopher of much Wit, but very little Religion. He flourished about the CXXth Olympiad (b). He was much beloved by Antigonus, King of Macedonia; and, as he had a Boldness, which came near to Impudence, he made no scruple to confess to him, that he was the Son of a Freed-man, who became a Bankrupt, and of a Harlot [A]. He despised the Platonic Philosophers, whilst he was an Auditor of Crates; afterwards he took the Habit of a Cynic; then he addicted himself to Theodorus, who was a professed Atheist; and, lastly, he was a Disciple of Theophrastus, who was the Head of Aristotle's Sect. He loved Pomp and Ostentation, and shewed himself in several Cities. He caused himself to be followed, at Rhodes, into the Place of Exercise, by several Sea-men, who had the Complaisance to dress themselves like Scholars at his Sollicitation. He must needs have been very eloquent, to persuade Sailors to such a Thing. He had a good Genius for witty Sayings [B], as we may judge from some of his, which have been preserved

(7) Nella Storia di Sicilia.

(8) In Elegiis Sæculorum qui vixerunt memoria literis floruerunt.

(9) Nell' Antica Siracusa apud Lorenzo Crasso ubi supra, p. 90.

De fonte Pegaseo: alter (6) tenebat poculum de fonte Arethusa.

Lorenzo Crasso observes, that John Lascaris, in his Illustrations of Sicily, as he is quoted by Maurolicus (7), does not mention our Bucolic Poet Bion, but another Bion, who was of Syracuse, and a Rhetorician by Profession. Jerom Ragusa, a Sicilian Jesuit, speaks only of This Rhetorician (8). Bonanni maintains something like a Paradox: He pretends, that Moschus speaks only of Theocritus: Sappia chi legge, says he (9), che nel sopradetto Idillio non si può intendere Bione poeta Bucolico, perche costui non fu Siracusano, ma Smirneo, e fiori dopo Moscho. Così medesimamente per nessuna ragione vi può esser inteso un altro Bione il quale è Siracusano, perche egli non fu poeta, ne scrisse cose pastorali, ma fu Rhetorico. Bion, the Bucolic Poet was not of Syracuse, but of Smyrna; and Moschus cannot be supposed to mean another Bion, who was of Syracuse, because That Bion was not a Poet, but a Rhetorician.

[D] The best Edition of This Poet is That of Paris. See what the Journalists say of it.] Viz. The Paris Journal of the nineteenth of August, 1686; the News from the Commonwealth of Learning, in the Month of Septemb. 1686, Artic. I; The Acta Eruditorum of Lipsie, at the second Edition of the first Volume of the Supplements. I do not believe it has been mentioned in the Bibliotheca Universalis.

(a) There was a Town, and a River of this Name: The modern Name of the River is Dniester; it runs thro' the Frontiers of Moldavia and Poland.

(b) See the Remarks [G] and [K].

[A] He made no Scruple to confess to Antigonus, that he was the Son of a Freed-man - - - and of an Harlot.] The manner in which Antigonus asked him; Τίς σὺ δὲν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; ποῦ τοι πατὴρ ἦδ' οὗτος; Who are you, what Contryman are you, and of what Family? made Bion believe, that the King had been told, that he was of very mean Extraction; so that he thought his best way was to own the thing; and indeed, he would have lost more by denying it, than he would have got. Wherefore he freely confessed whatever the Public knew about his Father and Mother, and ended with a Verse of Homer, the better to answer Antigonus, who had made use of one of the same Poet's Verses, when he asked him who he was. Ταύτης τοι γένεαις τε καὶ αἵματι εὖ χρομαί εἶναι. Such are my Father and Mother, and I glory to be born of them. He added, Let Pericles and Philonides leave this out of their Histories, and do you judge of me by myself (1). We find in Athenæus what Bion's Mother's Name was. Καὶ Bion δ' ὁ Βορυσθενίτης φιλόσοφος ἐταίρος ἦν υἱὸς Ὀλυμ-

(1) Diog. Laërt. lib. IV. in Bion. init.

πίας λακωνίης, ὡς φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς (2). Bion, the Borysthenite, the Philosopher, was the Son of a Lacedæmonian Harlot, named Olympia, according to Nicias of Nicæa, in his Succession of the Philosophers. She had a fine Name, and her Country was at a great Distance from the Place, where she was married. It would be in vain to ask, whether she had prostituted herself in her own Country, and whether she went to live near the Borysthenes, that she might pretend to be a Woman of Honour in case of Necessity, or that she might thrive better among the Barbarians, who are not so nice, as the Inhabitants of Greece: The Books say nothing of This; but it appears by her Son's Answer, that she was taken from a Place of ill Fame, when she met with an Husband. Μήτηρ δὲ, οἷαν ἐ τοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀπ' οἰκίᾳ (3). My Mother was taken from a Bawdy-house; and such a Man as my Father could not pretend to a better Match.

(2) Athen. lib. XIII. chap. VI. pag. 491, 492.

(3) Diog. Laërt. ibid.

[B] He had a good Genius for witty Sayings.] This Passage of Horace must be understood of Him.

Carmines

preserved [C]. He was no less successful in the making of Parodies. In all likelihood it was he, who, considering how difficult it was to please different sorts of People, had a Thought about it, which *Dion Chrysostom* refutes [D]. He retired to *Chalcis*, as *Aristotle* had done; but it is not said, that it was on a like Occasion; and, falling sick there, he did as most impious Men do, he ran into another Extream [E]. He became superstitious; he had recourse to Ligatures, and to an hundred other things, which, in the Judgment of the Vulgar, were Preservatives,

(4) Horat. Epist. II. lib. II. v. 60.
Carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur Iambis;
Ille BIONEIS sermonibus & fale nigro (4).

You think, perhaps, Heroic Numbers best;
Iambic Measure is Another's Taste.

A Third, to gratify his Spleen, would abuse
Bion's sharp Stile, and the Satiric Muse.

(5) Porphyryon, an ancient Commentator upon Horace, says so. See Cruquius on those Words of Horace.

(6) Dacier on This Passage of Horace.

(7) Acron.

(8) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 52.

(9) Plut. in Amatorio, pag. 277.

(10) Diog. Laërt. lib. IV. n. 49.

(11) Ibid. n. 48.

(12) Cicero, Tusculan, III. cap. 26.

(13) Diog. Laërt. n. 49.

Chabot remarks, on this Passage, that most Interpreters understand Comedies by *Sermones Bionis*. Their Meaning is, that *Aristophanes* having excelled in Comedy, and *Aristophanes's* Father's Name having been *Bion* (5), the Epithet in question was given to Comedies. This Pretence is groundless: *Aristophanes's* Father was called *Philip* (6); and, if the Character of *Bion Borysbenites* be narrowly considered, it cannot be doubted, but that these Words of *Horace* are meant of Him. An ancient Scholiast upon That Poet (7) has hit the Mark; for he explains *Bionis*, by *satyricis, lividis, amaris, carmine maledico*. 'Bion autem, he goes on, *Sophistes cognominatus mordacissimis veribus est usus, quibus* ita omnes laceravit ut ne *Homero* quidem parceret. '----- *Bion the Sophist wrote very satirical Verses, in which he attacked every body, nor spared even Homer himself.* Why should he spare *Homer*? he spared neither *Socrates*, nor *Jupiter*; he slandered Men, and Gods, indifferently. See the following Remark. He had the Art of making People laugh. *Ἦν δὲ καὶ διαλεικὸς καὶ πολὺς ἐν τῷ γελοῖῳ διαπορῆσαι, φοβητικὸς δὲ νόμασι καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡρώων.* *Erat autem & spectatorum studiosus, risumque moovere auditoribus maxime peritus, gravibus nominibus adversum res utens* (8). He had an impetuous Spirit, which made him overstrain things. Thus I translate *φοβητικὸς νόμασι ἡρώων*; and the Latin Translator of *Plutarch* seems to me to have misunderstood the Place, where it is said, that the young Beards of handsome Boys were, as *Bion* expressed it, so many *Harmodius's* and *Aristogiton's*, because they make the Tyranny of Love to cease, as soon as they appear. This is an Instance of Those strong, quick, and strained, Expressions, which were usual with our Sophist. *Plutarch* makes use of the Word *φοβητικώτερον*, which I think is very ill rendered by That of *importunus*. Here is the whole Passage: *Ἐτι δὲ φοβητικώτερον ὁ σοφιστὴς Βίων τὰς τῶν καλῶν τριχὰς Ἀρμόδιος ἐκάλει καὶ Ἀριστογείτονας, ὡς ἅμα καλὸς τερασνίδος ἀπαλαττομένης ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσχάτας.* Et quando *Bio* *sophista* importunus nonnihil formosorum crines *Harmodios* vocavit & *Aristogitones*, quod iis enatis pulcra tyrannide amatores sese abdicare cogantur (9).

[C] We may judge of it from some of his Sayings, which have been preserved. *Moreri* mentions some of them, but has not made choice of the most remarkable. The way to the other World, said he (10), is very easy; People go thither blindfold. He found something contradictory in Funerals; They burn People, as if they were insensible; and lament them, as if they were sensible (11). He looked upon it as a Folly to tear one's Hair in Time of Affliction, as if a Man were less sensible of Grief, by making his Head bald. *Laërtius* does not mention This; It is *Cicero* who reports it: *Hinc ille Agamemnon Homericus & idem Aëciannus,*

Stindens dolore identidem intonsam comam.

In quo factum illud *Bionis*, perinde stultissimum regem in *Iulian* capillum sibi evellere, quasi caloitio maeror levaretur (12). This Jester expressed the Debauchery of *Alcibiades* very lively: In his Youth he robbed Women of their Husbands; and, when he was grown up, he robbed Men of their Wives (13). What was intolerable in his Jests, was, that he jesting up-

on Morality and Religion. If *Socrates*, said he, had occasion for *Alcibiades*, and did not make use of him, he was a great Fool; if he had no occasion for him, his Continency is no great Matter (14). To ridicule what was said of the Punishment inflicted on the *Danaïdes*, he said, that they would be more severely punished, if they were condemned to carry Water in Vessels, which have no Holes in them. *Ἐλεγε τὸς ἐν ἀνὰ μᾶλλον ἐν κοιλίᾳ εἰς ὀλοκλήσεις καὶ μὴ τετραμένους ἀγγείας ὑδροφόρον* (15). Dicebat *ei* qui essent apud inferos magis profecto cruciandos si integris quam si perforatis vasis aquam ferrent. And, because it is a common Observation, that Divine Justice sometimes punishes the Faults of the Fathers in their Children, he said, that it was more ridiculous, than if a Physician should give Physic to a Son, or a Grandson, to cure his Father's, or his Grandfather's Sickness. *Ὁ γὰρ Βίων τὸν Θεὸν κοιλῶν' α τὴς πατρίδας τῶν πατρῶν γελοιώτερον εἶναι εἶπαι ἰατρὴ διὰ νόσον πατέρα καὶ πατέρα ἐκγονον ἢ πατέρα φαρμακούνους* (16). Etenim *Bio* Deum qui malorum liberis supplicia inferret magis agebat ridiculum esse medico qui filio aut nepoti ob morbum patris vel avi medicinam adhiberet. *Plutarch* shews the Falsity of this Comparison with great Solidity. It is easy to shew, that there is something false in most of *Bion's* witty Conceits. However, they are, for the greatest part, the Effect of a quick and happy Imagination; and it may be said, in general, that most witty Conceits have their false Side. His Impudence in turning Religion into Ridicule ought to have been restrained; for a serious Refutation does not near so much harm as the Jests of a witty Man. Young Persons suffer themselves to be led away by these kind of Mockers, more than can be imagined; And *Bion* spoiled many of them (17). This was unavoidable, considering the Boldness, with which he employed his Wit against a false Religion, which Ignorance and Impolture had made an hundred times more ridiculous, than Religion, in itself, and in it's true State, is excellent.

[D] He had a Thought on the Difficulty of pleasing different sorts of People, which *Dion Chrysostom* refutes. *Bion* said, that, unless a Man was a Tart, or *Thasian* Wine, it was impossible he could please many People. *Dion Chrysostom* calls this Thought a very insipid one; 'for, says he, it has often happened, that, at a Table of Ten Persons, a Cold Tart has pleased some, and an Hot one others; but perhaps, adds he, *Dion* pretends to speak of a Tart, which was both hot and cold at the same time (18). An Author, whom I shall often have occasion to refute, has falsified This. 'It is reported, says he (19), of *Bion*, the Philosopher, that, to please every body, he wished himself a Tart, because, he said, every body loved it; but *Dion Chrysostom* shews, in the Sixty fourth Oration, that he is grossly mistaken, and that his Wish is the true Wish of a Madman; because, said he, every body does not love Tarts alike; for some love them hot, and others cold; one will have them round, another square; one will have them soft, another hard: And therefore, said *Dion Chrysostom*, *Bion* should have desired to be Gold or Silver, to please every body; and yet, if I may find fault with *Dion Chrysostom's* Opinion, as he has passed his Judgment on That of *Bion*, I would say, that *Dion Chrysostom* is as much mistaken as *Bion*; for several People love neither Gold, nor Silver, no more, than if there was none in the World; and therefore I say, such a Desire is a fantastical One.'

[E] Being fallen sick, he did as most impious Men do; he ran into another Extream. I have heard a Gentleman say, who belonged to the Count de

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid. n. 50.

(16) Plut. de sera Numin. vindicta, pag. 561.

(17) Laërt. n. 53.

(18) *Dion Chrysostom*. Orat. 65. pag. 612.

(19) *Caract.* Doctrin. curios. pag. 704.

vatives, and Charms. *Diogenes Laërtius* ridiculed him, as he deserved, upon that Account [F]. *Bion* suffered much in his Sicknefs, being affifted by none of thofe, who took care of the Sick: At laft, *Antigonus* fent him two Perfons, who attended him (c). *Bias* and *Bion* have fometimes been confounded with each other [G].

Diogenes

(2) Taken from *Diogenes Laërtius*, in the Life of *Bion*. It is in the 4th Book, §. 45. & seq. of the Amsterdam Edit. 1692.

(20) He, who was killed in a Battle near Sedan, in 1641.

de *Soiffons* (20), that *Saintbibal*, a famous Unbeliever, made great Complaints, that no Man of their Sect had the Gift of Perfeverance. They do us no Honour, faid he, when they lie on their Death-Bed; They difgrace, and belie, themfelves: They die like other Men, confeffing their Sins, and receiving the Sacrament. He might have added, that They commonly praftife the minute Part of Superftition. The Example of *Tullus Hoftilius*, alledged by the Author of the *Thoughts on Comets* (21), is admirable on this Subject. A long Sicknefs brought That Prince fo low, that, after having flighted Religion, he became at laft Superftitious, and a Promoter of Superftitions. 'Ipfe quoque longinquo morbo est implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti fimul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium, quam facris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvifque superftitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum impleret (22). — He lay sick a long time. Then was That undaunted Spirit fo broken, as well as his bodily Strength, that He, who before thought the Confideration of sacred Things unworthy of a King, immediately fell into Superftitions of all kinds, and even forfeited the People with Rites and Ceremonies.' This Conduct is not to be wondered at; moft of Thofe, who live in Prophanenefs, live only in Doubts; They do not attain to Certainty; when, therefore, they fall fick, Irreligion being no longer of any ufe to them, they take the fafeft way; That, which promifes eternal Happinefs, if it proves true, and makes them run no hazard, if it fhould prove falfe. They confels to a Prielt; They do every thing elfe, ad majorem cautelam. All Readers have admired This Thought of Mr *Boileau*.

(21) Pag. 354.

(22) Liv. Dec. I. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Qui fait l'homme intrepide, & tremblant de foibleffe,

Attend pour croire en Dieu que la fièvre le preffe,
Et toujours dans l'orage au Ciel levant les mains,
Dès que l'air est calmé rit des foibles humains (23).

(23) Sat. I. ver. 253.

This makes th' intrepid Wretch, with Heav'n at odds,

'Till Sicknefs preffes, to deny the Gods:
In Storms he prays; but, when the Blast fubfides,
Weak, fuperftitious, Mortals he derides.

To this may be referred This Paflage of *Guy Patin*; 'My deceafed Father told me, that Mr *du Maine*, the Head of the League, faid, that Princes had no Religion before they arrive at above forty Years of Age; when they grow old;

(24) Patin, Lett. 64, of Edit. 1.

--- cum numina nobis
Mors inflans majora facit (24).

(25) Lib. 8, pag. 333.

Concerning thefe Latin Words, fee *Silius Italicus* (25). And, as for the reft, I refer you to the Remark [F], of the Article DES BARREAUX. [F] *Diogenes Laërtius* ridiculed him, as he deserved, on that Account.] The Verfes wrote againft him (26) are very pretty; here is a Latin Translation of them:

(26) Le Biene, 2e 55. lib. 4.

Bionem Boryfthenitem, quem Scythica tellus
produxit,
Dixiffe audivimus, reverâ nihil effe Deos.
Ac fiquidem id dogma tueri perfiftiffet, meritò
dicendus effet
Senfiffe ut vifum fuiffet, etfi malè vifum effet.
At nunc, quàm in longum morbum incidiffet,
ac mori pertimefceret,
Qui Deos non effe dixerat, qui fanum non viderat,
Mortalibus qui illuferat, dùm Diis immolarent;
Non pro foco folum, ariſque, ac menſa,
Nidore, adipe, thureque Deorum nares implevit;
Nec folum, peccavi, dixit, delictis parcite:
VOL. II.

Sed & anni collum facile porrexit excantandum,
Bracchiaque loris perfuafus devinxit (27);
Rhamnumque & lauri ramum janua impofuit:
Cuncta adminiftrare magis quàm mori paratus.
Stultus qui mercede voluerit Deos effe:
Quafi tunc effent, quàm illos Bion demùm effe
arbitraretur.

(27) *Bion* laughed at this in one of his Books, as may be inferred from *Plutarch*, de Superftitione, pag. 168. D.

We have heard *Bion*, the Boryfthenite, born in Scythia, affirm, that, in reality, there are no Gods; And, if he had persevered in defending This Opinion, it might juſtly have been ſaid, that he thought as Things appeared to him, though he ſaw them in a wrong Light. But, now, falling into a long Sicknefs, and being afraid to die, He, who denied the Exiſtence of the Gods, who never entered a Temple, who laughed at Men that ſacrificed to the Gods, This very Man, not only before the Hearth, the Altar, and the Table, filled the Noſtrils of the Gods with Savour, Fat, and Frankincenſe; not only ſaid, I have offended, forgive me my Sins; but even ſtretched out his Neck to be charmed by an old Woman, and was prevailed upon to tie Bandages about his Arms. Nay he even laid a Bramble and a Branch of Laurel over his Door, being ready to go through any Ceremony, but That of dying. Fool that he was, to believe in the Gods only for Intereſt as if They then only began to Be, when Bion was, at length, brought to acknowledge their Exiſtence.

See the uſe, which Mr *du Rondel* has made of This in his excellent Life of *Epicurus* (28). His ſaying, that *Diogenes Laërtius* was an Epicurean, is remarkable; for This *Diogenes* inſinuates plainly, that he does not blame *Bion's* Conſiteor, and his mea culpa, mea maxima culpa, or his peccavi.

(28) Printed at Amsterdam, in 1693.

[G] *Bias* and *Bion* have ſometimes been confounded with each other.] This *Plutarch* did, when he ſaid that *Antigonus*, being importuned by the repeated Solicitations of *Bias*, ordered a Talent to be given him (29). He denotes This *Antigonus* by the Epi-thet γένων; which is a Sign, that he ſpeaks of the firſt *Antigonus*, who was one of *Alexander's* Captains and Succeſſors. Now *Bias* having preceded the Death of *Alexander*, at leaſt Two hundred Years, it is plain, he could not aſk any thing of *Antigonus*; and, ſince *Bion* was a Diſciple of *Crates*, and *Theophrastus*, it is certain that he might be known to *Antigonus*. We muſt ſay, then, either that *Plutarch* is groſſly miſtaken, or that the Tranſcribers of his Book have changed ὦνδ *Bion* into ὦνδ *Bion*. By the by, I am not well aſſured, whether *Aldobrandinus* had reaſon to underſtand *Antigonus* Gonatas by the *Antigonus*, who aſked our *Bion* of what Country and Family he was (33). I allow it poſſible, that This Philoſopher might live 'till the Reign of *Antigonus* Gonatas: But, in ſhort, *Plutarch* makes him live exactly under the old *Antigonus*; (for I ſuppoſe, he ſaid *Bion*, and not *Bias*). This deſerves ſome Conſideration; and therefore I would not ſay, with *Moreri*, that *Bion* lived in the CXXVth Olympiad, and in the time of *Antigonus*, ſurnamed Gonatas, King of Macedonia. See below, the Remark [K]. As for the reſt, if *Plutarch* miſtook *Bias* for *Bion* through defect of Memory, he is not the only Perſon, who has committed the like Miſtake; for *Eufatbius* aſcribes to *Antifthenes* what belongs only to *Bion*. It is on the Verſe of the *Iliad*, applied by *Bion*, in his Answer to *Antigonus*, ΤΑΥΤΗ; ΤΟΙ ΓΕΝΕΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΜΑ; ΕΥΧΟΡΑΙΣ ΕΙΡΑΤ (31). *Eufatbius* ſays, that *Antifthenes*, the Cynic, made uſe of thoſe Words, after having answered the Perſon, who aſked him, Whoſe Son he was? I am the Son of a Man, who wiped his Noſe with his Elbow (32), &c. *Cafanbon* obſerved this Miſtake of *Eufatbius*. See Mr *Menage* on *Diogenes Laërtius*, in the Forty ſeventh Paragraph of the fourth Book.

(29) *Plot.* de virtutis pudore, pag. 331. E.

(30) Not. ad *Diog. Laërt.* in *Bione*, inſit.

(31) Lib. 6.

(32) That is, of a Sallemantarius; as if we ſhould ſay, at preſent, one who ſells Herring and Codſh.

I ſhall obſerve, that The Sophiſm againſt Marriage, the Sophiſm, I ſay, which is alledged, in all the Compendiums of Logic, as an Example of a faulty

AN Examination of a falſe Diſſemina againſt Marriage.

Diogenes Laërtius mentions ten Persons, who bore the latter Name. *Moreri* speaks of them after him; but gives the first Place to him, who makes the Subject of this Article, whereas he ought to have been reckoned but the Third (d). Diogenes Laërtius has not mentioned all the *Bions* (e). The Translators of *Plutarch* have misunderstood a Thought of *Bion*, which he censured [H]. *Bion's* Sophism, which *Seneca* answered solidly, seems to me to be but an Argument, *ad hominem*, by which he would conclude, that the Doctrine concerning God's Power over all Things implies some Contradictions [I]. I know not where *König* found, that *Bion* died in the fourth Year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad [K].

Without

a faulty Dilemma, is attributed to *Bion*, and to *Antisthenes*, by *Diogenes Laërtius*, and to *Bias*, by *Aulus Gellius*. It may be an Error of the Transcriber in the latter; *Bionis* was, perhaps, changed into *Biantis*, as *Cassaubon* conjectures (33). However it be, This is our *Bion's* Dilemma: If you take a beautiful Wife, she will be common; and if you take an ugly one, she will be a Torment to you. Έάν μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὰν, ἔξεις ποινὴν, ἐάν δὲ καλὴν, ἔξεις κοινὴν (34). Among other Defects, this Argument may be retorted thus; If I take an ugly one, she will not be common; if I take a beautiful one, she will be no Torment to me. But this Retortion does not hit the Matter; It is but a palliative Remedy; so that *Bion's* Dilemma is worth nothing, take it any way. The true Answer is to say, I. That most Women are neither beautiful nor ugly; and therefore *Bion* concludes from a few to all. See *Favorinus*, in the eleventh Chapter of the fifth Book of *Aulus Gellius's* *Noctes Atticae*. II. That the Beauty of a Woman is not inconsistent with Virtue, and that an ugly Wife may, besides, make herself beloved by her Husband (35). There is a Commentator upon *Aulus Gellius* (36), who confutes *Bias's* Argument by a Reason, borrowed from the *Hebrews*; which is, says he, That They, who have been ill married, shall be absolved before God, without appearing before his Tribunal: This would make it worth marrying an ugly Wife. If *St Chrysostom* were to be the Judge in the Case, he would condemn the Retortion of the Dilemma; for he preached, that They, who have a beautiful Wife, find nothing worse than to have her, it is a Possession too full of Suspicions, and Snares; and They, who have an ugly one, find nothing worse than to have her, it is so disgusting a thing. 'Ο καλὴν ἔχων γυναῖκα ἐδὲν χεῖρόν φησι τῷ καλῇν ἔχειν γυναῖκα (ὅποιας τὸ πρῶτον γέμει καὶ ἐπιτελεί) ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν, ἐδὲν χεῖρόν φησι τῷ ἀμορφον ἔχων γυναῖκα. ἀνδρίας γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον εὐμπεπλησται. Qui pulchram habet uxorem, nihil pejus esse ait quam pulchram habere uxorem, (rem enim esse insidiatum & suspicionum plenam) qui deformem, nihil pejus esse dicit quam turpem habere uxorem, rem enim esse acerbioris refertur (37). Here is a Preacher, who does not talk at random; he goes upon the Authority, or the Confession, of Men, who knew it by Experience; nevertheless, his Conclusion is no better than That of *Bion*. To condemn the Retortion of the Dilemma, it would be sufficient to say, that it contains two false Consequences. If I take a beautiful Wife, she will be no Torment to me; nego consequentiam; for it may be so, and it may not be so: If I take an ugly one, she will not be common; nego similiter consequentiam; for it may be so, and it may not be so. But, to put a Stop to all these Quibbles, one need only tell the *Bias's*, and the *Bion's*, I will run the hazard of it.

- (33) Leg. Conubial. pag. 32.
(34) In *Mellissae*, Tom. II. cap. 34.
(35) In *locis* Communibus, cap. xxxix.
(36) Serm. 65.
(37) Leg. Conubial. pag. 32.
(38) In *Mellissae*, Tom. II. cap. 34.
(39) In *locis* Communibus, cap. xxxix.
(40) Serm. 65.

I have not mentioned all the Variations relating to This Dilemma: I may yet transcribe what I have read in *Tiraquellus* upon it (38). That pointed Argument is not only ascribed to *Bion*, and to *Antisthenes*, by *Diogenes Laërtius*, and to *Bias* by *Aulus Gellius*, but also to *Aristippus* by the Monk *Antony* (39), and to *Solon* by *Maximus Tyrius*, and by *Peter Martyr* (40). The Retortion was made by *Pittacus*, if we may believe the Commentaries of *Ariston*, quoted by *Stobæus* (41).

[H] The Translators of *Plutarch* have misunderstood a Thought of *Bion*, which he censured. Let us first set down the Greek of *Plutarch*: Εὐθὺν τοίνυν καὶ ἀεὶ λέγει τὰ τῷ Βίων, εἰ τὴν ἀγρὸν ἐμμελὲς ἐγκωμιάζων ἑυτοροῦν ποιεῖν καὶ εὐκαρποῦν, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνειν ἐδόκει τὸ τοῖαν μάλλον ἢ σκάπτειν καὶ πράγματ' ἔχων. εἰ

τοίνυν ἐὰν ἀνθρώπου ἀποπῶ, ἂν εἰς ἐπαίνον, εἰ τοῖς ἐπαινεμένοις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶσι κοινόν (42). That is to say; *Bion's* Thought is, therefore, very impertinent: He believed, that, if he could make a Field fruitful by bestowing Praises upon it, he should not be to blame if he chose rather to praise, than take the Pains to manure it. Therefore a Man ought not to be called absurd, for praising others, if his Praises are useful to them, and make them produce good Fruit. The impertinence, which *Plutarch* finds in This Thought, is, that a Field would not become worse by being praised; whereas the Praises, which are bestowed upon a Man, who does not deserve them, fill him with Vanity, and spoil him. 'Ο μὲν Ἀγρός ἐ γίνεσθαι χεῖρον ἐπαινεμένος. ἀνθρώπων δὲ τυφῶσι καὶ ἀπολλύουσιν οἱ λευδῶς καὶ παρ' αἰσίων ἐπαινῶν (43). Atque ager quidem laudando non fit deterior: hominem insipientem ac perditum qui immerito laudant. This Censure of *Plutarch* is lost labour; for *Bion* does not say, absolutely, that we must praise others; but he makes Praise to depend upon This Condition, viz. that They make those better, who are praised. Let us see how *Amyot* translates *Plutarch's* Greek: 'Wherefore *Bion's* Saying is foolish and silly; for he argues thus; If I could make a Field fruitful by praising it much, I should not commit a Fault in praising it, rather than tire my Heart and Body in manuring and cultivating it. Therefore, neither does he commit a Fault, who praises a Man, if, by praising him, he makes him useful, and fruitful to him, who praises him.' In this Translation, the Active Verb is taken for the Passive; for *Bion* does not speak of the Utility of Praise with respect to Him, who praises, but with respect to him, who is praised. The *Latin* Interpreter has stumbled more grossly; he imputes this foolish and ridiculous Thought to *Bion*, that he believed, that a Field became more fruitful by praising, than by cultivating it (44). Stultè itaque ac fatuè Bion qui agrum laudando putabat se redditurum fertilem ac frugiferum, potius quam sodoendo & colendo. Non tamen (45) homo absurde facit laudans, ubi id iis qui laudantur est utile. To excuse *Amyot*, it might be said, that he thought, that *Bion*, being an Atheist, acknowledged no other Duties, but what are profitable; and that, therefore, his meaning was, that Praise ought to be bestowed wherever they are well paid for; and that They should not be refused even to a Field, if they could make it fruitful. In a word, that the Trade of Flattery is not to be blamed, provided it be attended with Profit. But this Excuse is altogether idle; A Translator ought faithfully to deliver what he finds in the Original, and refer his Conjectures to particular Remarks. If any one thinks, that *Plutarch* did not relate a Thing exactly, let him give notice of it to the Readers: but what *Plutarch* said must be translated.

[I] He pretended, that the Doctrine of God's Power over all things implies some Contradictions. *Bion* pretended to prove two very different Things; the one, that all Thieves were sacrilegious Men; the other, that no Thief was sacrilegious (46). He drew those two Consequences from the same Principles; and That Principle is one of the most solid Truths, which good Philosophy teaches us concerning the Nature of God. The Supreme Being, the most Perfect Being, ought to have an absolute Power over all Things; All other Beings depend on him; They belong to Him, as to their Author and Preserver. Doubtless *Bion's* Design was to refute This Doctrine by two contradictory, and pernicious, Consequences, which he pretended he could draw from it. This is one of them; All Those, who steal what belongs to God, are sacrilegious; now

(42) *Plutarch. de Adulat. & Amici Discrim.* pag. 59.

(43) *Id. ibid.*

(44) You will find in the Table of Matters, *Bion* agrum laudando fertiliorum fieri putabat.

(45) Here is a tamen well placed!

(46) See *Seneca, chap. 7, of the seventh Book de Beneficiis*. No Commentator observes whether *Seneca* had found that Argument of *Bion* in any of the ancient Authors that are extant.

Without doubt, *Theon* speaks of him, when he says, that, according to the Sophist *Bion*, Avarice is the greatest of all Vices (f); a Sentence, which has been canonized by the great Apostle of the Gentiles. *Plutarch* ascribes a Maxim to him, which would do Honour to the most orthodox Philosophers; which was, to tell his Scholars, that, when they had acquired so much Constancy, as to bear, with the same Tranquility of Mind, those who injured them, as those, who treated them civilly, they might believe they had made some Progress in Virtue [L]. His Answer to *Theognis* has not so much Morality in it [M].

(f) *Bion* ὁ σοφιστὴς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μακροτάτην ἐκείνην καλεῖται. *Bion* Sophista vitiorum metropolis dicebat avaritiam. *Theon. Progm.* cap. 5, pag. 72.

now all Thieves steal what belong to God; for all things belong to him; Therefore all Thieves are sacrilegious. This is the other; To transport a thing from one Place, which belongs to God, to another Place, which belongs to him likewise, is no Sacrilege: Now Those, who rob Temples, only carry Things from one Place, which belongs to God, to another, which equally belongs to him; for all things belong to God; Therefore Those, who rob Temples, do not commit Sacrilege. *Seneca* refutes these Quirks easily and solidly; but he considers *Bion* as a Tyrant, who would be cruel at certain times, and at other times plunder Temples. When he would be cruel, he makes use of his first Syllogism; It is a Decree for the Destruction of all Robbers: and he makes use of the second, when he desires to enrich himself with the Spoils of Holy Places.

[K] I know not where *König* found, that *Bion* died in the fourth Year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad. I have before supposed (47), that *Plutarch* makes our *Bion* flourish in the Reign of the first *Antigonos*; and I have not found *Aldobrandinus*'s Opinion very certain, viz. that That Philosopher was questioned as to his Birth by *Antigonos* *Gonatas*. To make This more clear, I must observe here, that *Eratostratus* had known *Bion* at Athens, and reckoned him among his Heroes. It cannot reasonably be questioned, but that *Strabo*, who informs us of This (48), meant *Bion* the Borysthenite; for what he says that *Eratostratus* ascribed to his *Bion* (49), is the fame, which *Eratostratus* ascribes, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, to *Bion* the Borysthenite. Wherefore, since *Eratostratus* was born in the first Year of the CXXVth Olympiad (50), it must necessarily be granted, that *Bion* attained, at least, to the beginning of the CXXXIst; for, under twenty Years of Age, *Eratostratus*'s Acquaintance with him had not deferred to be mentioned. I see but one Difficulty in This Supposition; which is, that I observe, that the Learned Mr du Rondel intimates, that *Epicurus* survived *Bion* (51). Now *Epicurus* died in the second Year of the CXXVIIIth Olympiad. I only propose This Difficulty, to engage Mr du Rondel learnedly to clear up This Point of Chronology.

[L] According to him, to bear, with the same Tranquillity, Injuries, and Civilities, is to have made some Progress in Virtue. *Bion* told his Friends, and Disciples, that They might then be assured of their Proficiency, when they could endure a Reproof, as patiently, as they could hear the highest Encomiums, even such an one as This of the Poet *.

Some Heavenly Flame inspires your Breast;
Live great, rejoice, and be for ever blest.

Plutarch had reason to observe, that the Rule of *Bion* is rather a Sign of a confirmed and perfect Habit of the Soul, than merely of Amendment. It is, in truth, a Character of Perfection (52).

[M] His Answer to *Theognis* has not so much Morality in it. *Plutarch* has preserved it, and speaks well of it. These are his Words. 'And witty also was That Answer of *Bion*, in Opposition to these Verses of *Theognis*,

One cannot speak, or act, if poor be he:
His Tongue is bound to his Peace, as well as He.

'How comes it to pass then, said he, *Theognis*, that Thyself, being so poor, pratest and torturest our Ears in This Manner (53)?' The insolent and insulting Spirit of This Philosopher appears in This; A poor Poet, who complains, that Poverty ties up his Tongue, ought not to be treated in this Manner; for, though Experience often shews, that want of Bread, and Cloaths, makes a Man very talkative: yet it is certain, that there are many things, which a Man ill-dressed dares not say.

Plurima sunt, quæ

Non audent homines pertusa dicere læna (54).

(53) *Plut. de Audiend. Poetis*, pag. 22.

(54) *Juven. Sat.* v. ver. 130.

I say, it is certain, that Indigence chills the Hands of many People, and stops their Mouths, as *Theognis* observed. And therefore he was of Opinion, that a Man should use his utmost endeavours to get rid of Misery; and that Death itself ought to be preferred to Poverty.

Ἀνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ πᾶν δάμνησι μά-
λισα,
καὶ γῆρας πολὺ, Κύρνε, καὶ ἡπιάλυ.
Ἦν δὲ χρὴ εὐχόμενα καὶ ἐς μεγαλήτεα
πύλον
ῥίπτεω καὶ πείρων, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιεά-
ταν.
Πᾶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ περὶ δειμνυμένῳ ἔτε τι
εἰπὼν,
Ὅδ' ἔρξαι δύναται γλώσσα δὲ δὲ
ῥέει.
Χρὴ γὰρ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ἐνὶ ἄνθρω-
ποις
Δίξεναι χαλεπῆς, Κύρνε, λύσιν πένης.
Τεθνῆναι, φίλε Κύρνε, περὶ χρεὼ βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ,
ἢ ζῶεν χαλεπῇ τερρώμενον πένι (55).

Nor Sickness self, or trembling Age, we see
Subdue the Mind like Coward Poverty.
Fly Poverty, as from the worst of Foes;
Let Seas, and lofty Rocks, her dire approach op-
pose.
Sunk in himself, and conquered by his Fears,
Unfit to act, or speak, The Poor appears.
Chuse then to die, e'er Poverty you see;
For Death, at least, my Friend, will set you free.

(55) *Theognis*, pag. 17. ver. 173.

BIRON, Marshal of France. Look for GONTAUT.

BLANC (Lewis de) Professor of Divinity at Sedan. Look for BEAULIEU.

BLANCHE of Castile, the Mother of St Lewis, King of France. Look for CASTILE.

BLANDRATA

(a) Biblioth.
Antitrich. pag.
28.

(b) This Piece is
printed among
Calvin's Opu-
cula.

(c) In the Article
ALCIATUS
(JOHN PAUL),
and in that of
GENTILIS
(VALENTINUS)

(d) Taken from
the 322d Letter
of Calvin.

BLANDRATA (GEORGE), an Italian Physician, born in the Marquisate of Saluces [A], lived in the XVIth Century. He fled from Pavia (a), where the Inquisition would have play'd him a scurvy Trick, and retired to Geneva [B]. He embraced the Protestant Religion there, and, at first, edified the Church by his Conduct and Docility; but it was perceived afterwards, that he attacked, privately, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. He was not contented to spread his Difficulties among the Ignorant, but proposed them to the Minister of the Italian Church. That Minister, who was of the Family of the Counts of Martinengo, rebuked him, and would not so much as make use of him in his, or his Wife's, Sickness, though he earnestly offered his Service. Calvin, to whom the same Difficulties had been proposed an hundred times, seeing, that, though his Answers had appeared satisfactory, the same Objections were raised the next Day, was, at last, angry with Blandrata, and treated him harshly [C]. Nevertheless he continued to salute him, and to speak to him; and was also so complaisant, as to answer his Objections in Writing (b). But, having discovered, that a Trap was laid for him, in requiring an Answer in writing, he would hear Blandrata no more. It is reported, that This Heretic accused Calvin publickly of something he had written, and that his Accusation was convicted of falsity by producing the Original. Some time after, the Consistory of the Italian Church proceeded, as I have elsewhere related (c). Calvin assured Blandrata, that he should not be proceeded against for his past Faults; but Blandrata durst not trust to it; for, some days after, seeing one of the Syndics of the Republic come to the Auditory of Divinity, where he was hearing a Lecture of Calvin, he pretended to bleed at the Nose, and fled as fast as he could, and came no more to Geneva (d) [D].

Having

[A] He was born in the Marquisate of Saluces. Who would not wonder, that Mr Moreri should think, there is a great Difference between Piedmont, and This Marquisate? Blandrata, says he, was a Piedmontois. Others say, he was a Native of the Marquisate of Saluces. There are no ways different Opinions: Those, who make him a Piedmontois, do not pretend to place this Marquisate out of Piedmont; They take Piedmont in its general Signification, as is usual, when one does not design to explain all the Duke of Savoy's Dominions, exactly, and Geographically. Now it is certain, that this Service, the Marquisate of Saluces is Part of Piedmont. See Blandrata's Dictionary.

[B] He retired to Geneva. Moreri makes him go from Pavia to Poland, and says nothing of his Journey to Geneva. This is no ways exact. Blandrata was more than once in Poland, which ought to have been observed. He practised Physic there before he went to Geneva. He had so practised it in Transylvania before the same Journey to Geneva: And, having been a Physician of Reputation in That Country (for he had been a Physician to Queens) he chose rather to retire thither (1), than elsewhere, when he thought he could not be safe in Geneva, or in Switzerland. This is one of Those Combinations of Moral and Physical Things, of which Father Mallebranche speaks, in his Treatise of Nature and Grace. How comes it, that Poland and Transylvania were sooner infected with the Errors of the Socinians, than any another Country? It is, because the general Laws, which excite our natural Passions, and our Reason, would have it, that George Blandrata, being forced to seek a Retreat, should rather pitch upon a Place, where he was very well acquainted, than upon an unknown Country. This is the reason, why he went from Geneva to Poland; and, when he was there, he invited Alciatus and Socinus to come to him; he intruded himself among the Great; a Prince of Transylvania, whose Physician he was, became his Profelyte, &c. However it be, Moreri should have said, that Blandrata had been a Physician in Poland, and in Transylvania, before the Inquisition of Pavia laid hands on him; that, being fled from Pavia, he went to Geneva; and that, leaving Geneva, he returned to Poland.

[C] Calvin — treated him harshly. Calvin makes no scruple to confess how harshly he spoke to him. I see by your Face what a detestable Monster you feed in your Heart. Here is the whole Passage. Eodem tempore suis questionibus fatigabat Calvinum, eoque magis, quod cum subinde fingeret se placatum esse & acquiescere responsis, postredie redibat quasi novus, nec definebat ea ipsa de quibus saepe audierat, sciscitari. Itaque coactus est ei Calvinus in faciem dicere, vultus tuus detestabile

monstrum mihi ostendit quod in corde occultum fovet, ac saepius eum asperere objurgavit, ut si fieri posset, corrigeret perfidiam, & fallacias doloque reuolos, quorum fastidio erat quodammodo decessus (2). — At the same time, he wearied Calvin with his Questions, and the more, because, pretending to be satisfied, he the next Day returned afresh, and repeated the same Question. This obliged Calvin to tell him to his Face, that his Countenance betrayed the detestable Monster he nourished in his Heart, and often severely reproved him, to correct, if possible, his Insincerity, and Quibbling, with which he was quite surfeited.

[D] He fled from Geneva as fast as he could. Several Authors are mistaken as to the time, when Blandrata left Geneva. They say, he did not leave it, till Valentinus Gentilis had retired into the Territories of the Canton of Bern: But this is false. Gentilis did not go away till after he had made the Amende honorable in all the cross Streets of the City, the second of September 1558. Abnegatione per compita civitatis facta, dimittitur (Gentilis) praestito jurejurando sese portas urbis non excessurum: mox tamen violata fide ad Matthaeum Gribaldum in Sabaudiam profugit. Sequuti sunt aliquanto post Alciatus & Blandrata (3). — Having made a public Abjuration, Gentilis was dismissed, upon Oath not to leave the City; yet, afterwards, violating his Faith, he fled to Matthew Gribaldus in Savoy. Soon after followed Alciatus and Blandrata. Primus Valentinus Gentilis in judicium vocatus, simulata poenitentia non sine insigni perjurio profugit. Sequutus est Paulus Alciatus, aut etiam praecessit, solo male conscientiae vulnere adactus. Blandrata aliquanto post (4) — Valentinus Gentilis, being first prosecuted, and pretending repentance, fled away, not without notorious Perjury. Paulus Alciatus followed him, or rather went before him, moved only by the Consciousness of his Guilt. A little after, went Blandrata. Erat ille Blandrata Salucensis, professione Medicus, qui Gentilem Geneva profugum paulo post sequutus fuit (5). — That Blandrata was of Saluces, by Profession a Physician, who followed Valentinus Gentilis, when he was exiled from Geneva.

Now it appears by a Letter of Peter Martyr, dated the eleventh of July 1558, that Blandrata and Alciatus had been already at Zurich, and that they did not go from thence, till after Martyr had given them this Advice. The Mistake of Hornius is still worse. He says, that Blandrata and Alciatus, being terrified with the Execution of Servetus and Gentilis, retired from Switzerland to Poland, and that, having been expelled from Poland in the Year 1565, Alciatus turned Mahometan, and Blandrata fled into Transylvania (6). There is nothing of Truth in this. I have consulted the pretended

(1) See in Clit.
(2) the Passage
of Beza's 8th
Letter.

(2) Calvin, Epist. 322.

(3) Beza, in vita Calvini.

(4) Id. Epist. 80.

(5) Hoornbeek, Appar. Advers. Socinian, pag. 24.

(6) Hornius, Hist. Eccles. pag. 351. Eda. 1677.

(e) Post varias deliberationes ita fors tulit, ut Blandrata, qui Medicinam diu in Polonia primum deinde in Transylvania apud Reginas fecerat, eo reverteretur. *Benaz, Epist. 51.*

Having formerly practised Physic in Poland, and Transylvania, he pitched upon that Stage, to dogmatize at his ease (e). He went into Poland, in the Year 1558, and was honourably received there by The Protestants. Calvin made him see, that so considerable a Divine as he was, could reach him there [E]. He wrote several Letters to the Faithful in Poland, in which he exhorted them to drive this Man from among them, who might infect the Purity of the Faith with his Heresies. The Impression, which these Letters made, very much crossed the Designs of George Blandrata; but nothing proved so contrary to him, as the Discords, which arose among Those, who, like him, opposed the Mystery of the Trinity: But, notwithstanding Those Discords, the Socinian Heresy was settled some time after in those Parts. He changed his Scene in the Year 1563, having been invited into Transylvania by Prince John Sigismund (f). We must not forget, that, at his coming into Poland, he was made Elder of the Churches under the Jurisdiction of Cracow (g), and that, in the Year 1560, the Synod of Xianz, to which he had brought the Sum of Six hundred Crowns from Nicolas Radzivil, great Chancellor of Lithuania, made him, and his good Friend Lismannus (h), Assistants to Cruciger, who was Superintendent of the Churches. They were willing to assign him Colleagues, lest the Ecclesiastical Government should too much resemble Papacy (i). Neither must we forget, that, in the Year 1561, Blandrata appeared in the Synod of Pinczovia with Letters of Recommendation from

(f) Bibl. Antitritin. pag. 28.

(g) Ibid. See also Calvin, Epist. 320.

(h) Lectus, Compend. Histor. Universi p. 41.

(i) Id. ibid.

(7) See Remark [D], of the Article ALCIATUS (JOHN PAUL).

(8) Biblioth. Antitritin. pag. 28. Hist. Reformat. Polonice, p. 170.

(9) Pag. 412.

(10) *Benaz, Epist. 51.*

(11) Hist. de l'Armen. Tom. III. pag. 34. Edit. Holl.

(12) In Remark [L].

(13) See Remark [E], of the Article ALCIATUS (JOHN PAUL).

Mahometism of John Paul Alciatus elsewhere (7); and I say here, that Blandrata retired into Poland the same Year that he left Geneva, that is, in the Year 1558. Now, Gentilis having been beheaded in the Year 1566, one may easily judge, whether it could be the reason why Blandrata left Switzerland, and fled into Poland. If That Punishment had made him resolve to fly into That Country, could he have been expelled from it in the Year 1565? Some Persons, more to be credited in these Matters, than Hornius, affirm, that John Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, sent for Blandrata about the Year 1563 (8). It was not, therefore, a Decree of Banishment, which obliged him to fly from Poland into Transylvania in the Year 1565. John Letus has committed a surprising Mistake in his Abridgment of Universal History (9). In three Lines, he makes two Men of the Physician Blandrata and George Blandrata. As to the first, he says, that the Synod of Xianz made him Assistant to the Superintendent of the Churches in the Year 1560; and he supposes, that the second went into Poland, when the Disorders, occasioned by Stancarus, were hardly over. Which is a new Error. The Disputes, which Stancarus had raised, by maintaining, that JESUS CHRIST is not a Mediator, as to his Divine Nature, were in their Height at the Arrival of Blandrata. 'Tum autem forte Francisci Stancari Mantuani petulantissimi hominis importunitate (ut sane fatalis esse videtur Polonis Italia) scissæ erant Polonicæ Ecclesiæ (10). --- At that time, the Polish Churches were divided, through the Turbulency of Francis Stancarus of Mantua, Italy seeming to be fatal to the Poles. But all this is nothing in Comparison of Father Maimbourg's Anachronisms. He says, our Blandrata went into Transylvania in the Year 1553 (11). He supposes, that, in the same Year, Prince John Sigismund took Delight to hear his Physician, when, setting up for a Divine, he spoke like a Philosopher of the Trinity, which he termed a Chimera. He adds, that This Prince durst not yet declare himself, as well because his Mother, Queen Isabella, a most Catholic Princess, was still living, as because Soliman did not desire, that a Diversity of Sects should be suffered. This relates to the Year 1555. He says, that, out of Complaisance to Soliman, all the Heretics were banished; but that, the Queen, and Soliman, dying soon after, in the Year 1566, the Innovators returned, and enjoyed great Liberty, and that it was then, that Blandrata corrupted the greatest Part of the Court. What a strange way of relating things! How many Fallacies! We shall see hereafter (12), Varillai's Anachronisms and Visions. [E] Calvin made him see, that so considerable a Divine, as he was, could reach him (13). It appears from Calvin's Letters, that the Churches of Poland conceived a great Esteem and Affection for Blandrata; but it appears also from the Socinian Histories, that Calvin's Letters were looked upon as a Perfection, which forced Blandrata to retire

elsewhere. Here are the Proofs of these two Particulars. 'Valde miror hominem, quem sola ostentatio & fastuosus vultus commendat, tanti apud vos fieri, ut quasi novus Atlas Ecclesiam sustineat suis humeris. Certè tam inconsideratæ credulitatis nisi me puderet gentem vestram non amarem' (14). --- I am very much surprized, that one, who has nothing to recommend him, but Vanity, and Ostentation, should thus gain your Esteem, as if he were a new Atlas, who bears the Church up on his Shoulders. Were I not ashamed of such rash Credulity, I should not love your Nation. 'Unum non dissimulo, eos qui tam humaniter Georgium Blandratam exceperunt parum fuisse cautos & providos, & male consuluisse vestræ exultationi. Magis etiam miror quosdam primariæ auctoritatis viros graviter offendi quod libere hominem detexerim (15). --- One Thing I will not dissimble, viz. that They, who so kindly received George Blandrata, were not very cautious, and but ill consulted your Reputation. I am still more surprized, that Men of the highest Authority are offended at my exposing the Man. 'Ergo non vulgare fecit operæ pretium longo itinere quod tantum sibi nomen acquisierit. Nullus est apud alias gentes, vos admiramini non secus atque Angelum e Cælo delapsum. Vestræ delicias minime vobis invideo (16). --- This Journey, therefore, which gained him so great a Name, was of very great Advantage to him. Other Nations despise him; you admire him as an Angel from Heaven. 'I do not in the least envy you your Favourite.' You see how zealously Calvin expresses his Anger, because Blandrata had met with so many Bubbles, who admired him, and were offended at a public Writing, in which he was traduced (17). Let us see now the Proofs of the Operation of This Remedy. 'Calvinus his non contentus Blandratam quum alia ratione non posset literis in Poloniam missis persequi, apud patronos & fratres acriter criminari, ita cuncta ad eum perdendum agere. --- Illæ ejus literæ fidem in multorum animis invenerant (18). --- Calvin, not satisfied with This, when he could do it no otherwise, persecuted Blandrata by Letters, which he sent to Poland, accused him sharply to his Patrons and Brethren, and left no Stone unturned to ruin him. --- These Letters of his influenced many. Quam ille (Blandrata) vocationem tanto alacrius amplexus est, quod eum Calvinus missis per Poloniam & Lituaniam literis persequi non desisteret, ita ut ei tutam in his oris vitam agere per ejus cæcælium non licuerit, pro ut in superioribus exposuimus (19). --- Which Invitation Blandrata the more readily accepted, because Calvin ceased not to persecute him by Letters, which he sent into Poland and Lithuania, insomuch, that the false Zeal of the latter would not suffer him to lead a quiet Life, in those Parts, as we have seen above. 'Cum nec hic quiete degere posset, Calvinus scriptis suis eum persequente, à Johanne Sigismundo Principe circa ann. 1563, evocatus, concessit

(14) Calvinus, Epist. cccxix.

(15) Id. Epist. cccxx.

(16) Id. Epist. cccxxi.

(17) It is the Preface of Calvin's Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.

(18) Histor. Reformat. Polon. pag. 126.

(19) Ibid. pag. 170.

from *Nicolas Radzivil*, and that he delivered a Confession of Faith there, in virtue of which the Assembly gave him an honourable Testimonial [F]. Having retired into *Transylvania*, where he was supported by the Favour of *John Sigismund*, whose Physician he was, and by that of *Petrovitz*, chief Minister of State, he boldly discovered his Heresy, and chiefly after the public Dispute, which he maintained with *Francis David* against some Reformed Doctors, in the presence of the whole Court, in the Year 1566 (k). The Prince adhered entirely to the *Antitrinitarian* Party, and died in that Persuasion in *Blandrata's* Arms, in the Year 1570 (l). This Heretic did not want new Patrons; he was Physician to *Stephen* and *Christopher Battori*, Princes of *Transylvania*. He was also *Stephen's* Physician, when That Prince enjoyed the Kingdom of *Poland*, and even a Member of his Privy-Council (m). He strenuously opposed *Francis David*, who, not being contented to deny the Divinity of *JESUS CHRIST*, maintained moreover, that he ought not to be worshipped. *Blandrata* called *Faustus Socinus* to his assistance from *Switzerland*, to oppose *Francis David* (n); I say he called him to *Transylvania* in the Year 1578, where he was Prince *Christopher Battori's* Physician. The Favour, which he found himself in with the King of *Poland*, made him take so much Delight in hoarding up Riches, that, for fear of cooling that Prince's Liberality, he deserted the Interests of the *Unitarians*, and began to favour the *Jesuits* [G]. He was yet living about the Year 1585 (o), when *Bellarmin* wrote his Treatise de *Christo*; but he was dead in the Year 1592, when *Socinus* wrote against *Wuiekus*. Father *Maimbourg* says, that *Blandrata* became mad, and that he was knocked on the Head by one of his Nephews, who carried all his Money away (p). I know not whether what is said of his Madness may be credited; but the other Fact is certain, and has been imputed to a Judgment of God, both by the Orthodox, and the Heterodox

(k) See *Maimbourg*, Hist. de l'Arianisme, Tom. III, pag. 346. Edition of Holland.

(l) *Maimb. ib.* pag. 361, but he says 1571, instead of 1570.

(m) See Remark [E], towards the end.

(n) *Wissowatius*, Narrat. Compend. in Bibl. Antitrinit. pag. 213.

(o) *Biblioth. Antitrin.* pag. 28.

(p) *Maimb. ubi supra*, pag. 361. ex Reficio de Atheism. Evangel.

(20) *Bibl. Antitrin.* pag. 28.

* *Socinus*, dedicating to him his second Answer to Volanus, calls him *Stephani Regis Poloniz Archiepiscopi & Confiliarii intimus*.

(21) *Andreas Wengericius*, Slavonic reformate, lib. 1, cap. xlii. pag. 85. Edit. 1679.

(22) *Id. ibid.* pag. 86.

(23) *Id. ibid.*

concessit in *Transylvaniam*, atque illic egit ipse, hinc *Stephani & Christophori Bathoreorum Transylvaniz Principum*, immo & *Stephani ad regnum Poloniz jam erecti, archiatrum & consiliarium intimum* (20). * . . . When he could neither here enjoy Quiet, being persecuted by Calvin's Letters, he accepted of the Invitation of Prince *John Sigismund*, about the Year 1563, and went into *Transylvania*, where he was Chief Physician, and Privy Counsellor, to *Stephen*, and *Christopher Bathori*, Princes of *Transylvania*, and to *Stephen*, even when he was raised to the Throne of *Poland*.

[F] He appeared at the Synod of *Pinczovia*, with Letters of Recommendation from *Nicolas Radzivil*, and he delivered a Confession of Faith there.] What *Calvin* had written to That great Polish Lord, to acquaint him, that *George Blandrata* secretly held *Servetus's* Heresies, had not yet produced it's necessary Effect; *Blandrata* had ward off the Blow by his Artifices; for *Nicolas Radzivil* made great Complaints of the Churches Behaviour towards *Blandrata*, and declared, that *Calvin* had dealt unjustly and rashly with him. 'Homo iste facile technis suis fallacibus, optimo principi fucum facit, adeo ut ille iratus Joh. Calvino, Blandratam nomine suo ad Synodum *Pinczoviensem*, An. 1561. 25 Jan. habitam, delegaret cum literis, quibus serio exposculabat in causa Blandratæ cum Ecclesia, dicebatque male & precipitanter egisse J. Calvinum, quod Blandratam traduceret, & Servetismi notaret (21). Blandrata pleaded his Cause in the Synod very boldly, and cunningly: Here is the Confession, which he delivered: It was very Orthodox: 'Fateor me credere in unum Deum Patrem, in unum Dominum Jesum Christum Filium ejus, & in unum Spiritum Sanctum, quorum quilibet est essentialiter Deus. Deorum pluralitatem detestor, cum unus nobis sit tantum Deus essentia indivisibilis. Fateor tres esse distinctas hypostasies & æternam Christi divinitatem ac generationem, & Spiritum Sanctum verum & æternum Deum ab utroque procedentem (22). . . . I profess to believe in one God the Father, in one Lord *JESUS CHRIST* his Son, and in one HOLY GHOST, each of which is essentially God. I abhor a Plurality of Gods, since there is to us but one God, indivisible in Essence. I believe three distinct Hypostasies, and the eternal Divinity and Generation of *CHRIST*, and the Holy Spirit, true and eternal God, proceeding from them both.' The Effect of This Confession was such, that the Synod supplied him with a good Certificate; which appeared also by the Letters, which the Assembly wrote to *Nicolas Radzivil*, and to *John Calvin* (23).

[G] He forsook the Interest of the Unitarians, and favoured the Jesuits.] This we learn from *Socinus*, who complains of it in his Answer to *P. Wuiekus*. He confesses, that *Blandrata* had done their Sect many Services; de nostris Ecclesiis aliquando præclarè est meritis; but, says he, he fell off in his latter Days. 'Haud paulo ante mortem suam, vivente adhuc *Stephano Rege Poloniz*, in illius gratiam, & quo illum erga se liberaliorem (ut fecit) redderet, plurimum remisit de studio suo in Ecclesiis nostris *Transylvanicis* nostrisque hominibus juvandis; imo eò tandem devenisse ut vix existimaretur priorem quam tantopere foverat de Deo & Christo sententiam retinere; sed potius Jesuitis, qui in ea Provincia tunc temporis *Stephani Regis & ejus fratris Christophori*, Principis haud multo ante vita functi, ope ac liberalitate non mediocriter florebant, jam adherere, aut certe cum eis quodammodo colludere. Illud certissimum est eum ab eo tempore, quo liberalitatem, quam ambiebat, regis *Stephani* erga se est expertus, cepisse quosdam ex nostris hominibus quos carissimos prius habebat & suis opibus juvabat, spernere ac deferere, etiam contra promissa & obligationem suam, & tandem illos penitus deseruisse, atque omni veræ ac sinceræ pietatis studio valedixisse, & folis pecuniis congerendis intentum fuisse, quæ fortasse, justissimo Dei judicio, quod gravissimum exercere solet contra tales desertores, ei necem ab eo, quem suum hæredem secerat, conciliarunt (24). — Some time before his Death, while *Stephen*, King of *Poland*, was yet living, to ingratiate himself with That Prince, and obtain more of his Favours, he cooled in his Zeal for the *Transylvanian Churches*, and our Party; nay he went so far, that he scarce seemed to retain his former Notion, which he so zealously had maintained, of God and *CHRIST*; but rather to adhere to the *Jesuits*, in Pretence at least, who were, then, in great Credit in That Province, through the Favour and Liberality of King *Stephen*, and his Brother *Christopher*, a Prince lately deceased. It is very certain, that, from the Time he experienced the Bounty of King *Stephen*, which he courted, he began to neglect and despise some of our Party, whom before he greatly loved, and assisted with his Fortunes, even contrary to Promises, and the Obligation he lay under; that at length he quite deserted them, and, bidding adieu to the Study of true and sincere Piety, was wholly bent on amassing Wealth; which things, by the just Judgment of God, which generally falls heavy on such Apostates, perhaps occasioned his Death by the Hands of his Heir.' It is said, that his Brother's Son strangled him in his Sleep (25).

(24) *Socini Resp. n. ad Wuiekum*, cap. 11. pag. 43. Vide *Hoornbeek*, Appar. pag. 25.

(25) See, below, Cited. (27).

[H] His

rodox [H]. The Catalogue of Blandrata's Works may be seen in the *Bibliothèque* of the *Antitrinitarians* [I]. They had such a mean Opinion of his Pen at Geneva, that it was believed, there, that the Works, which came out in his Name, were revised by another [K]. In the Remark [D], I shall take notice of several false Dates concerning his Adventures, and in the Remark [K], of several Mistakes concerning his Errors. Before I conclude, I must observe, that the Unitarian Historians speak of the Confession of Faith, which he presented to the Synods of Poland, with so many Disguises (q).

The Anachronisms, and Chimeras of Varillas, are so strange, that one cannot forbear making some Reflexions on them [L].

(q) Vide Histor. Reformat. Polon. pag. 130. & Bibl. Antitrin. pag. 135, 136.

[H] His Death was attributed to the Judgment of God both by the Orthodox and Heterodox. We have seen (26) how Socinus applies to him the Judgment of God, which he is used to exercise with great Severity against those, who desert his Cause for worldly Interests. If Father Maimbourg had heard of Blandrata's Kindness for the Jesuits, he would not have judged of his End as he did; and would not have added Madness to it. But let us hear a learned Divine of Leyden. 'A fratris sui filio in lecto jacens suffocatus fuit: sanè non extra justam Dei ultionem in hominem, quem primum in istis Ecclesiis execranda heresis, multarum in Deum & ejus veritatem blasphemiarum, librorum horrendissimorum turbarumque gravissimarum auctorem non aliter quam singulari diroque mortis genere occumbere oportuit (27). — He was strangled in Bed by his Brother's Son: in which appeared the just Vengeance of God upon one, who deserved to die a remarkable and dreadful kind of Death, as having been the first Propagator of an execrable Heresy in those Churches, as having uttered many Blasphemies against God, and his Truth, and been the Author of many vile Books, and the greatest Disturbances.'

(27) Hoorn-beeck, Appar. pag. 26. Konig is mistaken, as to the time. Perit, says he, in lecto strangulatus per fratrem quem heredem constituerat. Ann. 1560.

[I] The Catalogue of Blandrata's Works appears in the *Bibliothèque* of the *Antitrinitarians*. There are two sorts of them: Some belong but in part to him; others seem to be wholly his. Among the latter, there are some Theses, Letters, and Observations concerning the Invocation of JESUS CHRIST, which have only been printed in other Books. Most of them have been inserted in a Piece, which James Paleologus published in 1580; wherein he refutes the Judgment of the Polish Churches in the Case of Francis David. As to the Works, in which Blandrata had only a Share, the chief are, the two Conferences held at Alba Julia, the one in 1566, and the other in 1568; The Book entitled, *De falsa & vera unius Dei Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, cognitione, auctoribus Ministris Ecclesiarum consentientium in Sarmatia & Transylvania*, printed at Alba Julia, in the Year 1567 (28); and That, which is entitled, *Refutatio scripti Georgii Majoris in quo Deum trinum in personis & unum essentia, unicum deinde ejus filium in persona & duplicem in naturis ex lacunis Anticristi probare conatus est*, printed in the Year 1569. Hoorn-beeck complains justly, that Those Heretics had inserted some abominable Pictures in These two Pieces, which served to represent the Trinity (29). *Temeraria & horrenda Papistarum simulacra quæ æterna oblivione, & execratione sepelienda erant potius — non detegenda illa pudenda, & prostituenda coram omnibus*, &c (30).

(28) Bellarmin had seen this Book, he quotes it several times.

(29) Apparatus pag. 27. See also pag. 55.

(30) Id. ibid. pag. 27.

(31) Beza, Epist. 81.

[K] It was believed, that his Works were revised by another. Beza declares it plainly enough: Extat, says he (31), apud me ipsius Blandratæ epistola (non tamen scripta sine Theseo, si Blandratam bene novi) in qua Gregorium suo quodam jure non tantum de illa pædobaptismi controversia non satis opportunè mota increpat, verum etiam apertè illum à Trithemismo ad Samofateni dogma revocare nititur. — I have by me an Epistle of Blandrata himself (not written without a good Assistant, if I know Blandrata well) in which, with a Freedom natural to him, he not only reproves Gregory, for unseasonably setting on Foot the Controversy about Infant Baptism, but endeavours to bring him back from Trithemism to the Doctrine of Paulus Samofatenus. But what he had before said is a stronger Proof of it; for he had named the Person, who put Blandrata's Thoughts in order. Petro quodam Statorio juvene, alioqui bono ingenio nec contemnenda doctrina prædito, operam omnem suam fucandis barbarissimis scrip-

toris Blandratæ commentis navante. — Peter Statorius, a young Man, otherwise of a good Genius, and no contemptible Learning, employed his whole Time in disposing and ordering the Thoughts of That most barbarous Writer, Blandrata. I might have been contented to set down only Part of the first Passage; but I had some Reasons for doing what I have done. The Words which I have quoted, which are of no use for the Proof of the Question, serve to confute Moreri for not having well characterized Blandrata's Heresy. He accuses him of having taught *Arianism*, and the same Tenets as *Valentinus Gentilis*: Which is to speak in too general and even deceitful Terms. Blandrata was at first an *Arian*; I believe it; but he only passed through That Opinion; He fell into That of *Paulus Samofatenus*, in which he was more fixed, than in any other. So that he ought to be distinguished by That, and not by *Arianism*. Consider the Nature of the Letter, mentioned by Beza in the beginning of This Remark. Besides, it is certain, that Socinus, and the *Historians of Socinianism*, mention Blandrata as a *Socinian*; and Prince John Sigismund as a Man, who, after the Conferences, which were held in his Presence, embraced the Doctrine of the *Unitarians*, in the Sense, which the *Socinians* put upon That Name (32). Maimbourg ascribes only *Arianism*, to Blandrata, and to Prince John Sigismund; and pretends, that Blandrata gained over the Minister Francis David, who, says he (33), from a Protestant became an *Arian*. These are two new Fallhoods. Francis David was worse than a *Socinian*: and it was He, who brought Blandrata nearer to That System. Let us hear Beza. 'Incidit Blandrata in Transylvaniam rediens in quemdam Franciscum Davidis, paulo magis quam superiores illi ut ajunt providum, qui cum nimium crassam esse illam Trithemitarum blasphemiam simpliciter propositam animadvertisset, maluit omnia involvere, permixtis omnium pene hac in re hereseon commentis, quam simpliciter suam sententiam profiteri (34). — As Blandrata was returning into Transylvania, he happened to meet with one Francis David, a more provident Man, as they say, than those, who went before him: this Man, observing, that the Blasphemy of the Trithemists, simply proposed, was too gross, chose to blend together all the Heretical Opinions in this matter, rather than simply profess his own Sentiments. The Truth is, that Blandrata, relishing the Samofatenian Hypothesis of Francis David, and finding it more consistent, than the Nonsense, which he had believed till then, forsook Trithemism, and became a good Unitarian. Gentilis did not the same; and therefore Moreri should not have confounded the Doctrine of These Men. Let us once more hear Beza. 'Inde in Moravian ad Blandratam & Alciatum alioque nihil meliores discedit (Gentilis); ubi cum satis inter eos convivere non posset, quod à Trithemismo ad Samofatenum plerique transivissent — in Sabaudiam ad suum Gribaldum redit (35). — Gentilis, then, departed into Moravia to Blandrata, Alciatus, and others of the same Stamp, where finding, that they could not agree among themselves, many of them having gone over from Trithemism to the Doctrine of Paulus Samofatenus — he returned into Savoy to his Friend Gribaldus. De Blandrata rogatus (Gentilis), perit etiam, inquit, ut qui in Sabellii & Samofateni delirium incidit (36). — Gentilis being asked concerning Blandrata, replied, He is lost, He is fallen into the Errors of Sabellius, and Paulus Samofatenus.'

(32) Wislowski. Narrat. Compend. in Bibl. Antitrin. p. 213.

(33) Maimb. Hist. of Arian. pag. 345.

(34) Epist. 81.

(35) Beza in vita Calvini.

(36) Id. Epist. 81.

[L] The Anachronisms and Chimeras of Varillas are so strange, that I cannot forbear making some Reflexions on Them. He says, that George Blandrata,

Since the second Edition, I have seen a Book, in which it is asserted, that he had drank plentifully, before he went to Bed, the very Night in which he died; and that it was a Question, whether some one of his Relations, or the Devil, had killed him [M].

(37) Varillas, Hist. de l' Heresie, lib. 18. pag. 149, Edit. Holl.

(38) Ibid. pag. 150.

drata, being persuaded, that a fine Wit could not continue long in the Catholic Religion - - - - took the Pains to search, among the ancient Heresies, for That which would suit him best, and at last pitched upon Arianism (37). - - - - that he taught it after a quite new way, in the City of Pavia (38), that the Magistrate confined him to a Prison, where he would have remained all his Life, if he had not found the way to bribe a Keeper, who set him at liberty; that he fled to Geneva, where, not finding himself enough at Liberty, he travelled, till he found, in Transylvania, what he had sought for elsewhere in vain. ' They were extremely exasperated, there, against the House of Austria, on account of the Murder of Cardinal Martinusius. - - - - These Dispositions seemed so favourable to Blandrata, that he staid in Transylvania, with a Design to make his Advantage of them.' He made himself known by his Skill in Physic, and was preferred to the Dignity of Physician to young John Sigismund. ' The greatest Persons of Transylvania took it as an honour, after the Choice their Sovereign had made of Blandrata, that he would condescend to visit them in their Sickness, which he did frequently. During the Course of their Sickness, he spoke only of diverting Matters to them: but, after he had cured, or at least persuaded them, that he had contributed much to their Recovery, he changed his Discourse insensibly, and fell upon Politics. He made them observe, that the Italians, who had killed Cardinal Martinusius, and the House of Austria, which certainly had ordered, or at least approved, That Crime, could not be persuaded of the Catholic Religion; since They had not scrupled to attempt the Life of a Man, who ought to have been inviolable to them by all that was most sacred in the Catholic Religion, because he was a Priest, an Archbishop, and a Cardinal all at once. If Blandrata perceived, that his Proposition was not very acceptable, he went no farther: But, if he observed, that they heard him with Pleasure, he added, with a low Voice, and as if he would have explained a great Mystery to them, that the Catholic Religion, in the deplorable Condition, to which human Corruption had reduced it, was but an Artifice, which the Court of Rome, and the House of Austria, made use of, to share the Empire of the World between them: That the Court of Rome made use of the Illusion, to maintain and

' advance itself in the Tyranny it had usurped over Men's Consciences; and that the House of Austria took also advantage of it, to establish a sole Monarchy in Europe; That the new Sects had indeed found out the Evil, but had not remedied it; since, by admitting the Trinity of the Divine Persons in such a Manner, as the Popes had settled the Belief of it, they must, by a necessary Consequence, give credit to the rest of the same Pope's Doctrines, which were only Consequences drawn from That Principle: Whereas, by acknowledging no more Persons, than Natures, in God, all the Difficulties, raised during fifteen Centuries, would be removed: the Holy Scripture would be understood by itself; there would be no more occasion for Councils; and the Popes, being no longer consulted, would lose their Authority. These were the ways, by which Arianism was revived in Transylvania (39).'

Few Words will suffice to shew the Impostures of This Historian, and to convict him of publishing the Imaginations of his own Mind for Historical Facts. Do but consider, that he supposes all This happened in the Year 1552; and he was obliged to suppose it, since Martinusius was murdered towards the latter end of the foregoing Year. Observe also, that he supposes, that Blandrata was gone from Geneva, before he went to dogmatize in Transylvania. Now what will you think, when you come to know, that This Heretic did not leave Geneva till 1558, and that he was not invited into Transylvania to be John Sigismund's Physician, till towards the Year 1563? What will you say of so many Arguments, grounded on the Murder of Cardinal Martinusius? What will you say of his Skill in managing the Dispositions of Those, whom That Murder had lately exasperated? Take notice, that no one accuses him of having dogmatized in Transylvania, during his Residence there, before he had been imprisoned at Pavia.

[M] I have read, that he had drank plentifully, the Night, in which he died; and that it was a Question, whether - - - - the Devil had killed him.] The Author, who informs me of This, is a Monk, whose Article I shall give. ' Blandrata, says he (40), cui cum sano ante sedes ejus affuisset, secunda nocte subito extinctus est, utrum a Satana, an ab Affine, toto quo sui in Transylvania tempore sub judice lis fuit. Hoc certum, quod optimo, prius quam cubitum concederet, vino incaluerat.'

(39) Id. ibid. pag. 151, 152.

(40) Leonardus Rubenus, de Idololatriâ, lib. II. cap. 2. pag. 72.

BLOMBERG (BARBARA), was a young Lady of a good Family, at Ratibon, in the Time of the Emperor Charles V. It was believed, a long time, that she had lain with him, and had brought him a Son, who was the famous Don John of Austria; but, at present, the most general Opinion is, that she only served as a Cloak to a great Princess, by whom Charles V had That Bastard. I have spoken of this more at large in another Place (a). In Brantome's Time, it began to be doubted, that the Lady, who passed for the Mother of John of Austria, was really so [A]. It was less doubted, that the Emperor had enjoyed her

(a) In Remark [A], of the Article AUSTRIA (DON JOHN OF).

[A] In Brantome's Time it began to be doubted, that she was the Mother of Don John of Austria.] I shall set down his Words somewhat at length. ' John of Austria was a Natural Son of the great Emperor Charles V, and of a great Lady and Countess of Flanders, the Mother of a Great Person, of whom we have spoken, or possibly may speak, and not of a Baker's Wife at Brussels, or of a Laundress, as it was commonly reported. She was extremely handsome; her Name was Barbara Blomberg; she was afterwards married to the Lord Requel, a Gentleman of the Country of Namur, or Luxemburg. One may very well believe, that he loved, and enjoyed her: But that she was the Mother of Don John, is a Mistake; for his noble Carriage shewed, that he took after his Father and Mother. As soon as he was born, the Emperor, his Father, sent for a rich Shepherd from the Mountains of Liege, to whom he gave him to be nursed, and brought up, without the Knowledge of many Persons, ordering him to

' use him to labour and hardship, as he would do his own Child, without feeding him effeminately, or delicately, and without telling him, that he was an Emperor's Son, till he grew up, and the Emperor had a mind to forsake the World, and to retire into Spain. Then he commended the King, his Son, to send for Him, and the Shepherd, and to make use of him; and he allowed him a very good Pension, and recommended him several times to his Son, as his own Brother. I have learned this in Spain from some great and ingenious Persons, who knew it well. You see what it is to be nobly born: He, who had been educated in a Country-House, like a Shepherd, became afterwards very genteel, gallant, civil, and agreeable, and had nothing left of his Rural Education. I saw him in Spain; He was a very handsome Man, and had a good Grace, as I have said; and, though he had been brought up in a Rustic Life, yet there appeared nothing of it in his Behaviour; for he behaved himself very nobly

her [B]; and, at the bottom, there was no consequence from the one to the other. That Prince might have diverted himself with the fair *Barbara Blomberg*, who was at first brought to him, to sing before him, and to dissipate his Melancholy; I say, he might have passed, from the Pleasure of the Ear, to all the rest, without having a Child by this Mistress (b). However it be, *John of Austria* died in the Persuasion, that *Barbara Blomberg* was his Mother, and, as such, recommended her to the King of Spain. This Recommendation had it's Effect: For *Philip II.*, to whom the true Mother was not unknown (c), did all that was necessary to deceive the World. He sent for *Barbara Blomberg* into Spain, the same Year that *Don John* died (d), and gave her a very good Reception. Some time after, he sent her with a handsome Equipage to *Mazote*, into the Royal Monastery of *St Cyprian*. After having lived there four Years, she went to *Lareda*, for the good Air of the Place, where she died. *Brantome* informs us to whom she had been married. She had a Son, whom *Don John*, who believed him to be his Uterine Brother, recommended, on his Death-Bed, to the King of Spain, and whose Name was *Pyramus Conrad* [C]. He served under the Duke of Parma (e).

(b) *Barbara Blomberg* Ratibonensis, for na ac genere iuxta nobilit. Ex qua ad Carolum inclit ut maritum cantu alle-varet, &c. Strada, lib. x, Dec. i, pag. 611.

(c) See Remark [A], of the Article AUSTRIA (Don John of).

(d) In 1578.

(e) Ex Strada, Decad. l. lib. x.

(f) Brant. Lives of foreign Captains, Tom. II. pag. 49.

nobly among the Soldiers; he had also a good Air among the Ladies; to whom he was very acceptable (1). I shall make Three Observations on This Discourse. I. It seems, *Brantome* believed, that *Barbara Blomberg* was a Baker's Wife of *Brussels*, or a Landress; for, since he could not believe, that she was the Mother of a Prince, whose Noble Carriage shewed, that he took after his Father and Mother, he must have distinguished her from the Great Lady and Countess of Flanders, whom he acknowledged to be the Mother of *Don John*. If he had not made This Distinction, it might be said, that he took *Barbara Blomberg*, and the Countess of Flanders, for one and the same Person; but, in that case, could he have said, that *Don John* was too much a Gentleman to be the Son of *Barbara Blomberg*? He was, therefore, mistaken as to *Barbara's* Family and Country: She was a Gentlewoman of good Quality in *Ratisbon*, and not a Baker's Wife, or a Landress of *Brussels*. II. It would be but an ill Proof, that a great Prince could not have had a Bastard by a Woman of a mean Condition, to say, that That Bastard's Noble Carriage shewed, that he took after his Father and Mother: for, if thereby is meant, that he is of a great Family, both on the Father's and Mother's Side, it is supposing what is in question; it is giving no proof, but only saying, he is the Son of a great Lady, because he is the Son of a great Lady; a ridiculous Argument! if it be meant that, on all accounts, one observes in him inclinations too noble and too great, not to believe that his Birth is noble, both on the Mother's and Father's Side, it is still a bad Argument; since Experience shews, that great Lords, who under-match themselves, have Children as high spirited, and as much infatuated with their Grandeur, as Those, who are equally matched; supposing always, that the Education be equal. Are the *Sultans* mean-spirited, tho' they are sometimes the Sons of a poor Country Wench? III. This Education at a Shepherd's House, in the Country of *Leige*, is contradicted by good Historians, as *Famianus Strada*. See the Article AUSTRIA (Don John of) (2).

[B] It was left doubted, that the Emperor had enjoyed her. We have just now seen, that *Brantome* says: one may very well believe, that he loved and enjoyed her. It is very unlikely, that *Charles V* contrived This Feint with This Lady of *Ratisbon*, before he had a very intimate Acquaintance with her. Nor is it more likely, that the Lady was less complying as to the Being, than as to the Seeming to be; for commonly the latter is more dreaded than the former, and a Woman would think herself very unhappy to go through the last, without going through the first. The Author of the *New Dialogues of the Dead* might say many pretty things concerning This particular Idea of the Conduct of *Barbara Blomberg*. He has said some good ones, according to the Idea, which is different from This (3).

[C] She had a Son, whose Name was *Pyramus Conrad*. The *Wallon* Author, who published the Life of *John of Austria* at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1690, believes that *Barbara Blomberg* was a Widow, when she was willing to pass for *Charles V's* Mistress, and that *Pyramus Conrad* was her legitimate Son (4). If he had recollected what he says at page 279, he might easily have seen, that *Pyramus* was younger than *John of Austria*. *Strada*, whom he copies, says, That *Don John* sent his pretended Brother into *Burgundy*, to perform his Studies there, and that, when he came to hear, that *Pyramus* had laid aside his Books, and plunged himself into Debauchery, he caused him to be imprisoned. This was his Condition at the Death of That Prince. The King of Spain, having some regard to *Don John's* Recommendation, wrote to the Duke of Parma, to know *Pyramus's* Inclination. The Duke informed him, that he had received a Letter from him, wherein the young Man acknowledged himself unfit for, and without any Inclination to, Learning, and that he desired to bear Arms. The King ordered him to learn the Art of War under the Duke of Parma, and assigned him a Pension of thirty Crowns per Month. Thus far *Father Strada* carries the History (5).

(3) In the Dialogue between *Lacretia*, and *Barbara Blomberg*.

(4) Life of *John of Austria*, p. 112.

(5) Strada, Dec. l. pag. 627.

(2) Towards the beginning of the Text.

(a) *Catalaunen-sis*, and not *Cabillonensis*, of *Châlons* upon the Saône, as it is said in *Witte's* *Diarium*.

(b) See the Preface which is prefixed to one of *Mr. Dailly's* Books, entitled, *Apologia pro duabus Synodis Nationalibus*.

(c) The same Preface.

BLONDEL (DAVID), a Protestant Minister, in the XVIIth Century, was accounted one of the Men, who had the greatest Knowledge of Ecclesiastical and Civil History. He was of *Châlons* in *Champagne* (a), and was made a Minister in the Synod of the *Isle of France*, in the Year 1614 (b). He exercised his Ministry at *Houdan*, near *Paris*. Few Years after, he began to write for the Protestant Religion; for, in the Year 1619, he published a Book at *Sedan*, intituled, *A modest Declaration of the Sincerity and Truth of the Reformed Churches of France*. It was an Answer to the Invectives of three or four Writers of the contrary Party, and particularly to those of the Bishop of *Lussan*, so well known since under the Name of Cardinal *Richelieu*. From that time *Blondel* was looked upon as a very hopeful Man, and therefore he had always some honourable Employments in the Synods. He was above twenty times Secretary in those of the *Isle of France* (c) [A].

[A] He was above twenty times Secretary in those of the *Isle of France*. *Maresius*, a Professor at *Groningen*, will have it, that *Blondel* was chosen for That Function, because he wrote a fair Hand. 'In æstimo fuit apud suos fratres, à quibus sæpe prop-

ter calligraphiam factus est Actuarius synodorum: nunquam tamen in ulla eorum vel nationali vel provinciali Præfide aut Assessoris gradum obtinuit (1). He adds, that they never gave him the Office of Moderator, or Assistant to the Moderator,

(1) *Mares.* in refutatione Præfatis. *Apolog. Curcellæanæ*, p. 344.

He was deputed four times successively to the National Synods [B], where he never failed to be chosen to draw up and collect the Acts. It is likely, that it was he, whom the National Synod of *Castres* deputed to the King, in the Year 1626, and who returned his Majesty thanks, in the Name of That Assembly (d). His Speech is to be seen, at length, in the twelfth Volume of the *Mercure François*. This same Synod ordered him to write in Defence of the Party (e). I have heard say, that They designed chiefly, that he should write against the Annals of *Baronius*; and that no Protestant was thought more capable of confuting them, than *Blondel*. And, indeed, he had a prodigious Memory [C], and was a Man of vast reading; neither did he want Penetration to make Discoveries, and draw advantageous Consequences from Matters of Fact. His Style was harsh, and perplexed

(d) If I do not assert it, it is because he says nothing of it, when he speaks of this Synod. Besides that the French Mercury does not say David Blondel, but simply Blondel. Now there were more Ministers of this Name at that Time.

(e) See the above cited Preface.

WHAT sort of hand Blondel wrote.

[B] He was deputed four times successively to the National Synods.] One of these four Synods was not That of *Alex*, in 1620, as Mr *Des-Marets* believed (2). This Mistake would be very inconsiderable, if he had not added, that *du Moulin*, Moderator of That Synod, was very much opposed by *Blondel*, Secretary to That Assembly; and if he had not reported This Misunderstanding as the Cause of many other Events. 'Quantum autem Molinæus suos alios duos ex ordine Ministerii Condeputatos infensos habuerit in illa functione in qua ipse Synodi præfess, Blondellus Secretarius fuit, & cum sæpius querentem audivi, & eventus ipse docuit. Cum enim, &c. (3).' This is a Consideration, which ought to oblige Writers to avoid the very smallest Mistakes. That, which is inconsiderable in itself, is no longer so, when false Consequences, and false Suppositions, are added to it.

(2) Maref. ubi supra, pag. 243. See Curcellæus's Reply, prefixed to the Quaternio Dissertationum.

(3) Marefius, ibid.

(4) Colomiés. Mélanges Historiques, p. 14. 15.

(5) Apud Paulum Freherum, Theatr. p. 1180.

in the Synods. I have heard say, that *Blondel's* Hand-Writing was the fairest, and most distinct, that could be seen, but very small; so that, in few Lines, he could make long Remarks, in the Margin of a Book, printed on large Paper.

[B] He was deputed four times successively to the National Synods.] One of these four Synods was not That of *Alex*, in 1620, as Mr *Des-Marets* believed (2). This Mistake would be very inconsiderable, if he had not added, that *du Moulin*, Moderator of That Synod, was very much opposed by *Blondel*, Secretary to That Assembly; and if he had not reported This Misunderstanding as the Cause of many other Events. 'Quantum autem Molinæus suos alios duos ex ordine Ministerii Condeputatos infensos habuerit in illa functione in qua ipse Synodi præfess, Blondellus Secretarius fuit, & cum sæpius querentem audivi, & eventus ipse docuit. Cum enim, &c. (3).' This is a Consideration, which ought to oblige Writers to avoid the very smallest Mistakes. That, which is inconsiderable in itself, is no longer so, when false Consequences, and false Suppositions, are added to it.

[C] He had a prodigious Memory.] Mr *Colomiés* says one thing of him, which gives us as great an Idea of it, as any thing whatever. I have learned of Dr *Vossius*, says he (4), that *Salmasius*, being at Paris, avoided meeting with Mr *Blondel* in any Visit, as much as he could, because the latter was a great Talker, & omnia in numero habebat, etiam locos integros authorum, whereas the other, though he had a prodigious Memory, sæpè filebat. Some Persons, who had heard *Blondel* in Conversation, have assured me, that his Tongue ran like a Torrent, and that he discoursed of all kind of things with a surprising Facility, without ever hesitating about Proper Names, or Years; nay, he could tell, sometimes, on what Day of the Month, and of the Week, such and such things happened. The Authors of the Funeral Oration of *John Caspar Lentzius* say that, when *Blondel* was blind, he discoursed four Hours concerning the great Book, which he designed to write against *Chifflet*, and that he did it with such an Effusion of Memory, as astonished the Hearers: 'Quo (malò cecitatis) non obstante Amphilodami eum salutantes non admittit modo, sed per 4. horas operis sui, quod pro re Gallica contra *Chiffletium* Hispanicæ causæ patrocinantem spissum moliebatur, summam eis exposuit, qui ad prodigiosam tanti viri memoriam obstupuerunt (5).' We shall presently hear two Men, who, though contrary to one another in many things, and particularly on the Account of Friendship for *David Blondel*, agree as to his prodigious Memory. They agree also as to the Meanness of his Style; but one of them pretends, that *Blondel* was so esteemed by the Roman Catholics in France, that, to tempt him, they promised him a Mitre. I shall set down the whole Passage. 'Vir excellens fuit noster *Blondellus* — nam ut præteream ingenii acrimoniam, & iudicii soliditatem, memoriam ad prodigium usque felicem, eloquentiam temporaneam, (quæ tamen, ut nihil est ab omni parte beatum, non ita elucet in scriptis, profundæ quidem ubique eruditionis, sed quorum gratiam obscuritas aliquando imminuit) ad hæc naturæ dona indefatigabilis diligentia, qua non vulgarem linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, ut & Italicæ quoque & Hispanicæ, notitiam sibi comparaverat, omne Scriptorum genus pervolverat, & eorum opes in divitem illum cordis sui thesaurum recondiderat. Adeo ut nihil esset, five magnum, five parvum, in libris Patrum,

Actis Conciliorum, disputationibus Theologorum, & in historia veteri ac recenti, tum sacra tum profana, quod ejus cognitionem effugeret, & de quo interrogantibus accurate illico non responderet, nullusque cum eo familiarius versaretur, qui non semper doctior ab ejus colloquiis discederet. Quare omnes, qui noverant, stupendæ ejus eruditioni asurgebant, non solum Protestantes, sed etiam Catholici Romani, qui ipsum vel insulæ Episcopalis, quamdiu cælebs vixit, vel magnæ alicujus in Aula, aut in Curia, dignitatis illico in partes suas pertrahere parati erant, nisi religiosiorem comperissent, quam ut mundanarum opum aut honorum splendore caperetur. Quid dicam de morum suavitatē, de modestia, de candore, & aliis virtutibus quibus omnes honestos viros ad sui amorem rapiēbat (6)? — Our *Blondel* was an excellent Man — for, to say nothing of the Acuteness of his Wit, the Solidity of his Judgment, the prodigious Happiness of his Memory, and his ready Eloquence (which however, as nothing is completely perfect, does not shine so greatly in his Works, the great Learning of which is often diminished by a certain Obscurity); to these Gifts of Nature he added an indefatigable Diligence, by which he acquired an uncommon Knowledge of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and even the Italian and Spanish Tongues, had read all kind of Authors, and laid up their Wealth in the rich Treasure of his Heart. Inasmuch, that there was nothing, considerable or trifling, in the Works of the Fathers, the Acts of the Councils, Disputes of Divines, and in ancient or modern, sacred or profane, History, which escaped his Knowledge, and which he could not immediately give an exact Account of to Those, who asked him; nor did any one of his more intimate Acquaintance ever leave him, without going away improved by his Conversation; All therefore, who knew this, paid a great Deference to his surprising Knowledge, not only Protestants, but Roman Catholics, who were ready to tempt him over to their Party by the Offer of a Bishopric, while he lived single, or some great Dignity at Court, or at the Bar, had they not found him too conscientious a Man to be taken with the Splendor of worldly Riches or Honours. What shall I say of the Sweetness of his Manners, his Modesty, Candor, and other Virtues, which gained him the Love of all honest Men? Now let us hear his Adversary. 'Laudibus quas hic, Curcellæus, in *Blondellum* congeris, calculum meum integrum adjicio: Fuit vir multi-jugæ lectionis, portentosæ memoriæ, jucundæ admodum conversationis (7), iis præsertim, qui in aliorum consortio audire malunt quam loqui; ut tam parum tædii adferret iis apud quos eruditissimos suos Sermones, linguâ præsertim nostra, torrentis instar ad multas horas fundere poterat, de quacunque materia ex improvviso eum discurrere reporteret, quam frigidus erat & ingratus ubi præmeditata publice docere debebat; prout stylus ejus utraque linguâ tam intricatus est & tot hyperbatis scatet, supra diffusissimum quemlibet Atticismum (8), ut sine fastidio legi non possit, Lectorque attentus oblitus sit sæpè quomodo periodum inciperit, ubi pervenit ad illius finem (9). — I entirely assent, Curcellæus, to the Praises, which you heap upon *Blondel*. He was a Man of great Reading, a surprising Memory, and entertaining Conversation, to those especially, who choose, in Company, to hear rather than speak; inasmuch that he was as little tedious to Those, with whom he conversed learnedly and fluently, particularly in our own Tongue, for many

(6) Steph. Curcellæus in Prefat. Apologetica. Mr Daillé expresses this Elogium in five Terms, and more briefly, dedicating to him the Apology for the Reformed Churches. See in Sir Thomas-Pope Blount, many such Elogies.

(7) He had said in his Exercit. III. de Gratia. & Redempt. n. 22. ὁ πᾶν Blondellus, Photius ille nostri sæculi, & omnis antiquitatis quod vixit, Βιβλικὸς καὶ ἱστορικός.

(8) Should be not have said, Asiaticism; for the Asiatic Style was accounted a diffusid one.

(9) Maref. in Refut. Prefat. Apologet. Curcellæanæ. p. 338.

perplexed with too many Parentheses [D]: But what then? would That have hindered him from confuting a Falſity? It appeared, by the Event, that he did not trouble himſelf much about refuting *Baronius* [E], and that he applied himſelf much more to other things. In the Year 1631, the Province of *Anjou* demanded him of the National Synod at *Charenton*, to be Profeſſor in Divinity at *Saumur* (f); but this Requeſt was not granted, either becauſe it was thought, that, having no Talent for Preaching [F], he was not ſo fit, as another, for the Inſtruction of the Students in Divinity, or becauſe it was believed, that, if he ſhould apply himſelf ſolely to Hiſtory, in which his chief Skill lay, he might ſignalize himſelf the better in the Service of the Party. However it be, he continued in the *Iſle of France*. In the Year 1645, the National Synod of *Charenton* made him Honorary Profeſſor [G], and gave him a ſuitable Penſion, which had never been praſticed before (g). The Explications on the Eucharift (h); a great Book, concerning the Primacy of the Church (i); the *Pſeudo-Iſidorus*, and *Turrianus Vapulantes* (k), which is a Work againſt the Decretal Epistles; the Treatiſe of the *Sybls* (l), wherein he undertook to prove the Oracles to be falſe, which are attributed to them, and wherein he refutes the ancient Practice of praying for the Dead; and the Treatiſe de *Episcopis & Presbyteris* (m); pleaſed the Proteſtants much: but ſome among them diſapproved, that he did not wholly addiſt himſelf to Controverſy, and that he concerned himſelf in Diſputes of Civil Hiſtory, as when he wrote a Book de *Formula Regnante Chriſto* (n). Some of them were alſo offended at the Book, which he publiſhed, to ſhew, that what is reported concerning

(f) See the Epistle Dedicatory of his Authentic Act.

(g) The above-cited Preface, Citat. (b).

(h) At Roſen, 1641, in 8vo.

(i) At Geneva, 1641, in Fol.

(k) Ibid. 1637, in 4to. See in Remark [N] about This Pſeudo Iſidorus.

(l) At Charenton, in 1649, in 4to.

(m) At Amſterdam, 1646.

(n) Ibid. 1646, in 4to.

Hours, and upon any Subject whatever, as he was cold and disagreeable, when he was to teach premeditatedly and in Public; for his Stile, in both Languages, is intricate, and full of Transpositions, besides a certain diffuse Asiaticism, which makes it nauseous; nor can the attentive Reader remember how the Period began, when he comes to the end of it. He had said, in the Preface of the same Book: 'Decennium est præter propter, cum primum ejus ea de re Diatribe prodit. Sed cum Gallice tantum scripta esset, nec eo stylo qui suum Lectorem alliceret, (nam quam fuit memoriosus & multæ lectionis, tam δυσπρόνητα laboravit, parumque felix fuit in suis conceptibus, five patriâ five Latinâ lingua exprimendis); tandem vilis est voluisse eam sermone eruditorum extare. — It is about ten Years, since his First Dissertation on this Subject appeared. But being written in French, and in a Stile not likely to tempt the Reader (for he was as unhappy in expressing clearly his Sentiments in either Language, as he was happy in Memory and great Reading); he seemed at last resolved it should appear in a Learned Language.'

[D] His Stile was barſh, and perplexed with too many Parentheses.] We have already ſeen what Judgment *Maresius* and *Corcellæus* gave upon this; let us add That of a Jeſuit. 'Cum Blondellus propter ſinuofas inconditæ plerumque orationis ambages & inextricabiles ἀπερίβρωτοι καὶ ἀπέρητοι labyrinthos minus gratus politis lectoribus eſſe ſoleat, & bonæ cauſæ offuſis tenebris ſæpius incommodaverit, operæ precium viſum fuit eandem reciprocæ ſerram (10). — Blondel being disagreeable to polite Readers, on account of his Circumlocutions, and Parentheses, and often injuring a good Cause by the Obscurity of his Stile, I thought proper to re-handle the same Point.' He means, that he had re-examined the Queſtion about Pope *Joan. Chifflet* ſays, that a Lady of *Paris*, to whom *Blondel* had preſented his Volume of the *Sybls*, read ſome Pages in it, without underſtanding any thing of it; and told the Author, that it would be very proper to tranſlate that Work into better French; and that ſhe was much diſpleaſed and ſurprized that it was not already done (11).

[E] He did not trouble himſelf much about confuting *Baronius*.] After his Death, they found only many Notes, which he had written in the Margin of his *Baronius*. His manner of writing in very ſmall and cloſe Characters, made thoſe Notes more numerous; but they cannot be ſaid to be the Refutation of an Author. The Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* bought This Copy of *Baronius*, and gave it to the Library of their City. It is there that Thoſe, who would know what *David Blondel* wrote againſt the Annals of *Baronius*, may ſatisfy their Curioſity. A Miniſter of *Bearn* (12), and a Refugee at *Amſterdam*, many Years before the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, ſays, that the Burgomaſters of That City having ordered him throughly to confute the

twelve Volumes of *Baronius*, he did it, by the Help of *Gou*, without any trouble, and that he had not only tranſcribed *David Blondel's* Notes, as he was ordered by thoſe Gentlemen, but alſo that he had collated them with the Annals of *Baronius*, which he had never ſeen before; And that, having diſcovered ſome Faults, which *Blondel* had not obſerved, he thought he ſhould commit a Sin of Irreligion, if he ſhould not publiſh them. 'Quum mihi demandata foret ab ampliffimis Reip. Amſtelodamenſis Conſulibus Provincia funditus everſendorum Annalium 12 tomis comprehenſorum — Deo cooperante nil arduum eſſe comperi (13). — Ut eorum (Conſulum Amſtelodamenſium) juſſu quæ Blondellus — animadverſerat non tantum exſcripta ſed etiam cum Baronianis collata — publico darem (14). — Non potui ſerio poſthumas animadverſiones Blondelli — cum Chronologicis Baronii narrationibus nunquam antea mihi viſis conferre, quin ſtatim. — Hæc autem (ex animo fateor) mihi religio fuit impio ſepelire ſilentio (15). He publiſhed, therefore, a Book in the Year 1675, entitled *Anti-Baronius Maginelis*, which contains an Hundred and forty Pages in Folio. In my Copy, the Title makes no mention of *David Blondel*; but, in the *Journal des Sçavans* (16), the Title contains theſe other Words; quibus acceſſerunt quædam ad Baronium animadverſiones Davidis Blondelli. Moreover, the Title notes the Year 1679. Doubtleſs this is a Bookſeller's trick. Probably the Book did not ſell; and, at four Yeas end, they be thought themſelves of a new Title-Page, and to promiſe wonders in it, under the famous Name of *David Blondel*. The Truth is, *Blondel* ſcarce appears in That Book; and, if one was to judge of his Marginal Notes from thence, they would be very much deſpiſed (17).

[F] He had no Talent for Preaching.] See what is quoted from *Samuel Maresius*, in the End of the Remark [C]. I have heard ſay, that *Blondel* did not preach by Meditation; and that it was with much difficulty he learned his Sermons Word by Word. So that the Pulpit was not his Talent.

[G] The National Synod of Charenton made him Honorary Profeſſor.] From That time he was reputed free from any Engagement to the Church; he was no longer obliged to Reſidence, and had full Permiſſion to ſettle at *Paris*, to be at hand to conſult the Libraries. Theſe were the Reaſons, which induced the Synod to confer That Title upon him: Here is my Voucher for it. 'Poſterior (Synodus) Blondello honorarii profeſſoris nomen & ſtipendium assignaverat, ſoluto vinculo quo ſuæ Eccleſiæ tenebatur, & facta ei facultate ſedes ſuas ob commoditatem librorum ipſi neceſſariorum ad Baronii promiſſam reſutationem figendi Lutetiæ (18).'

[H] He wrote a great Book concerning the Primacy of the Church.] This Work is much eſteemed, and confutes Cardinal *du Perron* moſt learnedly. Mr *Colomies*

(13) Maginelis Anti-Baronius in Epist. Dedicat.

(14) Ibid. in Prefat.

(15) Ibid.

(16) July 10, 1679, pag. 222

(17) See Mr Baillet, of the Anti, n. 156.

(18) Samuel Maresius, Reſut. Corcell. p. 304.

(10) Philippus Labbe, in Joanne Papistæ Cenotaph. everſo, ad calcem. De Script. Eccl. pag. 841.

(11) Chifflet. in Imagine Davidis Blondelli, pag. 6.

(12) Whose Name was Magendie.

concerning *Pope Joan*, is a ridiculous Fable [I]. After the Death of *Vassius*, he

was

(19) Colomel. in
Opusculis, pag.
99.

Colomel tells us, that the Author was preparing a second Part: 'I heard, says he (19), Mr *Dailly* say, that Mr *Blondel* had left a Continuation of the Primacy of the Church, almost as large as That which is printed. It is in the Hands of a Minister near *Leyden*, whose Name is *Curcellæus*, the Son of him, who turned *Arminian*.'

[I] Some were offended at the Book, which he published - - - concerning *Pope Joan*. I shall not make use of an Universal Proposition; though a very zealous Divine of *Groningen* does it. 'Allis quiritantibus de *Johannæ Papiæ* historia per ipsum suggestita ac in fabulam commutata, non sine offensione OMNIUM Protestantium (20). - - -

(20) *Marefius*,
Exercit. III. de
Gratia, n. 22.
He says, in his
Answer to *Curcellæus*, p. 315.
That no Protestant would have
advised him to write such a
scandalous Piece.
NEMINEM re-
formatorum re-
peries qui illi au-
tor exitit itius
scandalosæ scrip-
tionis.

'Others enquiring about the Story of *Pope Joan*, which he refuted and turned into a Fable, not without offending All Protestants.' I should fear it would be looked upon as a satirical Stroke. I am therefore contented to say, that That Work of *Blondel* offended some Protestants. This is undeniable. The Reasons of this Scandal, which I am going to mention, are so dishonourable, or even so shameful, that if the Divine of *Groningen* had not avouched them, I should think, that the *Arminian* Professor of *Amsterdam* imputed them to the Reformed, to make them ridiculous, or suspected of a strange Infatuation. *Curcellæus* is the *Arminian* Professor, of whom I speak. He says, that, as soon as *Blondel*'s Work appeared in Public, some Persons condemned it without any farther Knowledge of the Matter, and had not patience to read it; it was sufficient for them to know what the Author aimed at, to say, that he had done very ill, and to complain grievously of him for depriving them of an occasion to insult the *Roman Catholics*. 'Non desuerunt qui audito solum ejus argumento damnatoriam confestim sententiam ferrent, indignati quod materia sibi eriperetur Romano-Catholicis posthac insultandi, & mulierem Romæ Pontificiam sedem aliquando tenuisse obijciendi (21).'

(21) In Prefat.
Apolog. apud
Maref. pag. 312.

They inquired into *Blondel*'s Motives, and, instead of believing, that a Man, who had read so much, and had such a vast Knowledge, might have discovered the weak side of That Story, they maintained, that Honesty had no share in his Action, that he wanted a good Benefice, and that, to obtain it, he had made his Court to the Pope of *Rome*. 'Prætereo illos quos non pudeat jactare Blondellum in fabulam transformare molitum esse quod certa plurimum historicorum fides de *Johanna* prodidit, ut Pontifici Romano gratificaretur & ab eo pingue aliquod Beneficium extorqueret (22).'

He, who mentions this rash Judgment, refutes it by a Reason drawn from the disobliging things said of Popery in That Book of *Blondel*'s. 'Malignam istam suspicionem Scriptum, unde calumniandi ansam arripuerunt, plane jugulat, in quo tantum abest ut partium illarum gratiam ambiverit, ut contra multis in locis acriter eas pungere non dubitavit.' He adds another Reason, which is, that the Work of the Primacy of the Church was in the Press, when the Author was writing his Treatise concerning *Pope Joan*. Others were less partial; they confessed, that the Author had refuted the History of the She-Pope by such powerful Reasons, that they could not see any good Answer could be made to it; but they took it very ill, that he had made use of his Time and Knowledge to refute a Tradition of That Nature. 'The Protestant Interest, said they, requires it should be true; why must a Minister discover the Falsity of it? Would it not have been better to leave the Papiists the Trouble of washing off their own filth? Did they deserve, that any one should do them this good Office, they who cease not to traduce the Memory of the Reformers?' Such was the Discourse of the most moderate; and thus Men will always speak, when the Interest of a Party has a greater share in what is said, than Honesty, and the Love of Truth in general: I say, in general; for they are two very different things, to love Truth in itself, and to love the Party, which one takes for the true One, being resolved never to take it for the False. 'Alii erga *Joannæ* & opus paulo aequiores, fatentur quidem ipsum tam efficacibus opinionem vulgare argumētis impugnasse, ut non videant quid illa re-

(22) Ibid.

poni cum specie possit: sed tamen ajunt non debuisse otio suo & eruditione abuti, in confutanda fabula quam pro vera historia haberi Protestantium interit. Præstitisse sordes suas Pontificis elucidas relinquere: indignos enim esse quibus nostris operam ea in re suam commodent; cum Lutherum, Zuinglium, Calvinum, aliosque Protestantium Doctores, soleant atrocibus convitiis proscindere, quibus illorum memoriam, quantum in se est, toti mundo odiosam reddant (23).'

Marefius, who refuted *Curcellæus*, does not deny, that These Judgments were passed, nor does he say, that People were in the wrong in so doing. But, on the contrary, he confirms, to the utmost of his Skill, the Opinion of those, who said, that *Blondel* composed that Book, on purpose to please the *Roman Catholics*. 'Nec potuit id consilium Blondelli non displicere bonis inter Protestantes, quibus monitri quid alere visa est præpostera hæc diligentia in agenda causa Adversariorum, ac si ipsimet ei pares non essent (24). - - - Nor could this Undertaking of *Blondel* be otherwise than displeasing to good Men among the Protestants, who thought this preposterous Diligence in defending the Cause of the Adversaries, as if they were themselves unequal to it, something monstrous.' He relates (25) a Passage of the *Sieur Coignard*, an Advocate of *Rouen*, who wrote against *Blondel*, and who said, that most of the Reformed were strangely surprised at This Author's Design, and that their Opinion was, that he had a Mind to make a shew of his Learning, or to insinuate himself into the Favour of Great Persons. See, below, the Remark [P]. The Church of *Rome* is full of People, who judge in the same manner of those, who confute the Legends; They are called Heretics, or Favourers of them; so that, on both sides, a Man, who does not design to confirm himself, by his Searches and Studies, in all the Opinions of his Communion, exposes himself to great Inconveniences.

(23) Id. ibid.
pag. 314.

(24) *Marefius*,
ubi supra, pag.
321.

(25) Ib. ibid.
pag. 313.

Blondel's Treatise, concerning *Pope Joan*, appeared at several times, and in two Languages. In the Year 1647, they printed, at *Amsterdam* his Familiar Explication of the Question, Whether a Woman was seated in the Papal Chair of *Rome* between *Leo IV.* and *Benedict III.* After his Death, *Curcellæus* caused the same Work to be printed in Latin at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1657, but much larger. This is the of Title it; *De Joannæ Papiæ, sive famosæ questionis, an scæmina ulla inter Leonem IV. & Benedictum III. Romanos Pontifices media fuderit, aversæ.* *Curcellæus* says, that the Author kept his Manuscript above nine Years by him, and that, when he first began it, he thought of nothing less, than of printing it (26). He had only the Complaisance to examine a Matter, upon which one of his Friends had consulted him; but, at last, he submitted to the earnest Solicitations of his Friends, who assured him, that This Work would very much please the Curious in Ecclesiastical History. *Marefius* affirms, that *Blondel* denied, that he had a hand in the Impression of his Book, and that, by such a Protestation, he endeavoured to lessen the Scandal, and to avoid the Censure of the Synod. Quam (promulgationem) tum etiam Blondellus ut se in se infamem excusabat, ad offensionem elevandam, & censuram synodicam cautius declinandam (27).'

He adds, that the Manuscript was not directly sent into *Holland*; but from *Paris* to *London*, and from *London* to *Amsterdam*: All which was by way of Precaution against the Censures, which were to be feared: Ut si lis ulla super ejus editione suo Autori moveretur, eadem præsto esset excusatio qua bodie utitur *Dallæus*. To speak the Truth, I do not believe, that This Work was put to the Press without the Author's Consent and Knowledge. Mr *Ménage* relates a thing, which makes for our Purpose, and which shews, that he did not well remember the chief Circumstances; for he was ignorant of the French Edition. 'I was the occasion, said he (28), of printing *David Blondel*'s Treatise concerning *Pope Joan*. At first he had only written a Discourse in French, which he lent me, and which I kept some time. I lent it afterwards to Mr *Nabli*, who kept it near a Year. *David Blondel* came afterwards to ask it of me; but I would not give it

SOME matters
of fact concern-
ing *David Blondel*'s
Treatise about
Pope Joan.

(26) *Corcell.*
ubi supra, pag.
314.

(27) *Marefius*,
in Refutat. Pre-
fat. pag. 324.

(28) *Ménage*,
pag. 344. Edit.
Holl.

was invited to succeed him in the Professorship of History, by the Curators of the Illustrious School of *Amsterdam*. He went thither in the Year 1650, and continued to study with his usual Application; which, together with the change of Air, drew many Indispositions upon him, and made him lose his Sight. It is affirmed, that, in this Condition, he dictated two Volumes in Folio, concerning the Genealogy of the Kings of *France*, against *Chifflet* (o). It is said, that he undertook this Work at the Request of the Chancellor *Seguier*. There were some morose Persons in *Holland*, who endeavoured to make him suspected of *Arminianism* [K], and who blamed the *Religious and Political Considerations*, which he published

(o) They are in Latin, and were printed at Amsterdam, in 1654.

it him at first, because I feared he would suppress it. I told him it was a Piece, which deserved to be printed, and that, probably, he intended to deny it the Public; but he assured me so positively, that he would cause it to be printed, that I gave it him again. Accordingly he got it printed in *Latin*; but he made it quite another thing than it was before. It is reported, that, on the first News *Salmasius* had of this Book of *Blondel*, he cried out, *Let it be brought me: I will destroy it with one Blast of my Mouth*.

Cum primum ejus Fama ad *Claudium Salmasium* diffusissimæ eruditionis, ut omnes sciunt, viri aures pervenisset, excidit ipsi ut parum confidat diceret: tradatur mihi liber; ego illum uno balitu diffabo (29). *Blondel* sent him the Original of his *Latin* Work, and required no other Condition, but that it should be published entire, either at the beginning, or the end, of the Answer. *Salmasius* accepted this Condition, and lived six Years after; but, though he had promised to answer it, he did not; and nothing was found among his Papers, which concerned the Refutation of *Blondel*

(29) *Corcell. ubi supra*, pag. 324.

(30) *Id. ibid.* *Maresius* owns *Salmasius's* Promise. *Id.* non prestitit *Salmasius* cujus sper fecerat amicis & mihi sepe. *ubi supra*, pag. 326.

(30). The same *Corcellæus*, who tells us all this, affirms, that *Rivetius* had written to him, that he questioned, whether any solid Answer could be made to *Blondel*: *Valde se dubitare an bene ei responderi posset, & cum lictoris cordati satisfactione*. An Advocate of *Rouen*, whose Name is *Coignard*, answered the *French* Book, the very same Year that *Blondel* died. *Maresius* answered the *Latin*, a Year after it was printed, and inserted it entire in his Answer; which is a plain Proof, that he did not perceive the great Difficulties, which perplexed *Rivetius*, or that he thought he had fully removed them. For a Man is never so imprudent as to publish the entire Work, which he answers, when he is persuaded, that he cannot answer several Difficulties; in such a Case, he makes choice of what he pleases in the Writings of his Antagonist, and pretends not to have seen That, which he knows not how to answer. There are many Books, against which nothing would be said, if it were necessary to insert them at length in the Answer to them (31). It is not long since Mr *Spanheim*, Professor in Divinity, wrote a Book, to re-establish *Pope Joan* (32). He was not discouraged by the Difficulties, which perplexed *Rivetius* and *Salmasius*. It may be said of his Book, and of That of *Maresius*, that, if they cannot convince all sorts of Readers, that the History of *Pope Joan* is true, they may at least convince them of their Authors Ability and Learning.

(31) Mr *Arnould* was of opinion, that his Book, entitled, *Le Renversement de la Morale, ou de cette Nature*. See the *Novv. de la République des Lettres*, Nov. 1654. Art. 11. p. 975.

(32) This Book, translated into French, by Mr *Lenfant*, Minister of Berlin, was printed at Amsterdam, in 1691, and reprinted at the Hague, in 1720, by the Care of Mr *Des Vignoles*.

(33) *Sarrav. Epist. 178. pag. 181. Edit. Utrecht.*

One of *Sarravius's* Letters informs me, that *Blondel* having, at the Request of some Persons, examined the Question about *Pope Joan*, found, that the common Opinion was fabulous, and composed a *Latin* Book on That Subject; which some approved, and others condemned: The latter pretended, that a Protestant made himself infamous, when he opposed the common Opinions of his Party. *Quasi probrosum foret viro Protestantium Partibus addito quidquam attulisse, quod vulgatas suorum opiniones convelleret* (33). *Blondel* had some regard to the panna Fears of weak Minds, and put his Work into *Sarravius's* Hands, that he might refuse it to some Persons, who might have a Design to publish it against his Will. He examined This Question again in the Year 1639, because a Report was spread, that he confessed, at large, the History of *Pope Joan*, in a Book which was printing at that time. It was That of the *Pope's* Supremacy. Not to be at the trouble of turning over all the Sheets of such a large Book, They enquired of him concerning This Report. He answered, that he did not handle This Question in the Work, which was

VOL. II.

then in the Press; but, that they might know what his Opinion was, he composed a *French* Treatise, shorter than the *Latin*, and which soon came into the Hands of several Persons. *Salmasius* saw it at *Paris*, in the Year 1641. *Sarravius* refused to declare how this Work was sent to the Bookseller *Blau*, who published it at *Amsterdam* in 1647, but he declares, that the Author said, that That Business had been managed without his Knowledge. *Certe auctor affirmat se inconsulto, quidquid id est, procuratum fuisse* (34). He adds, that, after the Publication of That Book, some praised *Blondel's* Ingenuity, and others almost loaded him with abusive Language (35): The most moderate taxed him with Imprudence. Some of *Salmasius's* Letters, wherein he promised to patronize the Tradition, which *Blondel* had rejected, and to restore it speedily and easily, comforted Those, who regretted the loss of an Argument, which, in their Opinion, overthrew the Church of *Rome*. *Recreasti animos eorum quibus dolebat eripi sibi telum, ut arbitrantur, acutissimum, quo Roma in capite feriretur* (36). *Sarravius* was one of those, who were pleased with this new Design of *Salmasius*; but he warned him to take great Care of what he was about. Note, That he sent him *Blondel's* *Latin* Treatise, and that he acquainted him, that *Chamier*, *Peter du Moulin*, and *Bochart* of *Caen*, three of the most learned Ministers of *France*, believed, that the Story of *Pope Joan* was fabulous. He did not forget to say, that *du Moulin*, who might have jested admirably well on this History, had never employed his Wit about it. *Multa certe cum scripsit* (*Petrus Molinæus*) *quibus Romanum suggillaverit pudorem, ab ista tamen scemina semper manum abstinuit: & poterat tamen vir non infacetis alicujus liberalis joci inde captare occasionem*. I believe, one might add Mr *Basnage* to those three famous Ministers, who took the Story of *Pope Joan* for a meer Fable. See what he wrote upon it, giving an Historical Account of the Reasons of each Party (37), and you will apprehend what his Thoughts are.

(34) *Sarravius, ubi supra*.

(35) *Alit pæne optimo viro conviciari. ibid.*

(36) *Id. ibid.*

(37) *Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, Tom. I, pag. 408, & seq.*

[K] Some morose Persons endeavoured to make him suspected of *Arminianism*. There are many Persons in Foreign Countries, who have a wrong Notion of the *Dutch* Liberty, and the *French* Servitude (38). They are in the right to say, that the Tribunal of the *Spanish* Inquisition is abhorred in *Holland*. But, nevertheless, there are many jealous, suspicious, Persons, and Inquisitors, who take notice what Friends a Man has, and who build a thousand rash Judgments upon it, which they impart to many Persons from House to House, and chiefly to Those, who may either serve or hurt, according as they are prepossessed for or against. Poor *David Blondel* fancied, that, going from *France* to *Amsterdam*, he should pass from Servitude to Liberty; and did not know that he was going to put himself under the Eyes of certain Spies, who would make it a heinous Crime in him to hold Correspondence with an old Friend (39), who had contributed to his Vocation, and whose Acquaintance was of great use to him in an unknown Country. He knew not that Those Spies would report all he should say, and that a wrong Interpretation would be put upon certain things, which might escape him in Conversation; so that he would be loaded with Slanders, and accounted a Man, who conspired against the State, and Church. I advance nothing but what I have read in the Writings of a famous Divine, who has taken the Pains to inform the Public of These many Slanders: Quod illi Apologiæ (40) prologum galeatum præfixit & *marv Blondellus* - - - multum detrivit de ipsius exultatione apud plerisque, ac si meditatus fuisset in gratiam Remonstrantium EVER-

(38) A great many Persons imagine, that no one dares speak his Mind in *France*, and yet they speak and write very freely. How could our News-Writers know what they publish about *France*, if the Inhabitants of that Country did not write their Thoughts with the greatest Freedom? They talk more freely still, than they write.

(39) That is, with *Corcellæus*, an *Arminian* Professor.

(40) He means a Piece of Mr *Dau-16*, concerning *Universal Grace*.

G

SIGNEN

(p) This appears from a Letter, which David Blondel wrote to him, April 20, 1645. It is to be found at the beginning of the French Book concerning Pope Joan.

(41) See what the same Author says, in the Preface to The Free and Charitable Considerations on Blondel's Authentic Acts.

(42) See the following Remark.

(43) Marefius, Exercit. iii. de Gratia, n. 22.

(44) Quæ omnia dici & jactari in illum eo mihi ægrius accidit quod summa mihi cum ipso necessitudo semper intercessit. Ibid.

(45) Dallæus in vindictis Apolog. Part III, cap. viii. pag. 451.

(46) Spizælius, in Intellec. Literato, p. 693, &c.

(47) Curcellæus in Prefat. Apolog. pag. 309.

(48) Marefius, in Refutatione Prefat. pag. 309, 310, 311.

Some Mistakes about our BLONDEL.

lished during the War between Cromwell and the Dutch [L]. He died the sixth of April, 1655, aged Sixty four Years. He had two elder Brothers, both Ministers; one's Name was Moses, and the other's Aaron. MOSES BLONDEL was Minister at Meaux, and afterwards at London, and published a Book of Controversy, which shewed, that he had Learning [M]. It is said, that his Knowledge was not useless to his Brother [N]. He was living in the Year 1645 (p). It was he, who

STONEM doctrinæ publicæ in his Ecclesiis (41); Aliis observantibus intimam illam & jugem quam cum D. Curcellæo familiaritatem coluit ex quo vixit in Belgio: Aliis ad animum revocantibus liberiores quædam voces ipsius in sententiam Augustini & Synodum Dordracenam: - - - Aliis indignantibus quod iusto profundius se immiscuerit negotiis hujus Reip. (42) in qua erat recentior hospes (43). — Blondel's prefixing a Preface to This Apology injured his Character with many Persons, who considered him as attempting to

subvert, in favour of the Remonstrants, the public Doctrine in These Churches. Some took notice of his Intimacy with Curcellæus since his Residence in Holland; others recollected some free Expressions of his concerning the Opinion of St Austin, and the Synod of Dort. And there were some, who were angry that he intermeddled too far in the Affairs of This Republic, upon so short an Acquaintance. I omit many other ill Reports, which the same Author collected to his great Grief, as he

says (44), and yet so carefully, that Mr Daillé reproaches him very much for it, after having refuted them one after another. Hæc sunt quæ Epicrita contra clarissimam optimi & eruditissimi viri famam, aut finxit ipse, aut à malevolis plebeisque ingeniis excogitata magno studio conquirenda & corradenda in publicam hominum lucem edenda putavit; quæ quam sint putida, & ad id, quod agit, conficiendum inepta, omnes jam intelligent. - - - Nunc quo nomine appellabo illam Epicritæ diligentiam, qua is quisquiliæ & nugæ, partim futilis, partim falsas, pleræque dubias & incertas, aut ipse commentus est, aut ex otiosorum hominum circulis atque rumusculis studiosissime collegit hoc animo, ut persuaderet eximium Dei servum, & post emensos in Christi vinea labores & terris nuper in cælos receptum, hoc antequam moreretur egisse ac meritum esse ut publicam Ecclesiæ, in qua degebat, doctrinam everteret (45)?

— These are the scandalous Reports, which This Writer either invented himself, or carefully collected from the invention of malevolent Persons, against the Reputation of this Great Man, and which he thought fit to publish to the World; the Absurdity of which all Men now see through. Now what shall I call this Diligence in inventing, or collecting from the Circles of the Idle, or Common Fame, such trifling Stuff, partly false, and partly uncertain, and published with a View of persuading the World, that That excellent Servant of GOD, after his Labours in the Vineyard of CHRIST received up into Heaven, had, before his Death, attempted publicly to subvert the Doctrine of the Church, in which he lived? Since the Death of Blondel, Things are much worse, and chiefly since certain factious and haughty Men, come out of France, would make themselves formidable by some Attempts towards an Inquisition. See how a Minister of Germany (46) laments David Blondel's Misfortune, who, though a mild and peaceable Man, and notwithstanding the Services he had done the Cause, was, nevertheless, exposed to a thousand Revilings, both in his Life-time, and after his Death.

[L] And blamed the Religious and Political Considerations, which he published during the War between Cromwell, and the Dutch.] We have seen, in the preceding Remark, that his Enemies drew from thence one of their Proofs of his pretended Conspiracy against the Church. His Apologist pretends, that it was out of Hatred to the States of Holland, that Blondel's Considerations were blamed (47); but Marefius answered him, that That Work contained several things, which could not but displease the States of That Province, and which displeased many good People; and that, besides, it contained many Invectives against the Members of the Parliament of England, and against those Princes, who, instead of revenging the Death of King Charles I,

made Leagues with Cromwell (48). This is as much as to say, that, if Blondel had lived two or three Years longer, he would have run the hazard of finding himself accused of a Crime against the Government for having wrote a Libel against the Commonwealth of England; I say, a Libel, which was a severe Censure of the Union, which reigned, after This Minister's Death, between Holland and England.

[M] MOSES BLONDEL was a Minister at Meaux, and published a Book of Controversy.] The Book is entitled, *Jerusalem au Secours de Geneve*: It was printed at Sedan in the Year 1624. The Author justifies the Opinion of the Protestants concerning the Apocryphal Books, by the Testimony of the Jews, and of the Fathers. The famous Controversist Peter Veron accuses Blondel of Plagiarism. John Reynolds an Englishman, says he, composed a great Book in Quarto, containing about Six hundred Leaves (49), entitled, A Censure of the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, against the Papists, and chiefly against Robert Bellarmine MDCXI. - - - Out of the Pieces of That great Volume was compiled the Book of Blondel, then Minister of Meaux, on That Subject. He entitled it, *Jerusalem & Rome au Secours de Geneve* (50). I cannot tell, whether Veron believed,

that this Blondel, Minister of Meaux, was David Blondel; but he was the Cause, that Chifflet took the one for the other. Before Chifflet published his Reply to the great Volume of Blondel, he paved the way for it by a small Piece of thirty Pages, under the Title of *Imago Francisci Everfioris Davidis Blondelli Ministri Calvinistæ. Clypei Austriaci liber prodromus*. He rails much at Blondel, who had not spared him, and accuses him of Plagiarism. He pretends, that it is an old Sin in him, and refers him to Father Veron's Words, which we have just now seen. Blondellum Neoclides furaciorum, Bouchets, Dominico, ac Tenuis, totum inquitare nihil novi est; antiquum obtinet dum plagiarium agit; non ignorat hæc Pileæ, non Tytigiæ. Recordetur tyrocinii sui sædus dies, cum apud Meldenses ministellum agens Genevæ suæ ab Hierosolymis & ipsa Roma suppetias frustra quaesivit, de quibus Francisci Veronis, &c (51). He was therefore persuaded, that his Adversary was That Minister of Meaux, who wrote the Book entitled, *Jerusalem au Secours de Geneve*; but This is to ascribe to David Blondel what belongs only to his Brother Moses. The Mistake of the Abbot de Marolles is less considerable than That. He gives Blondel the Name of Daniel, instead of David. It is in the Enumeration of the Authors, who presented him with their Works, or who spoke honourably of him. He says, that Blondel made him a Present of his Book concerning Pope Joan, having made use, adds he, of a considerable Observation, which I imparted to him one Day in the late Mr du Puy's Closet, on That Subject. He says the same thing in his History of France, and shews in what That Observation consisted.

[N] His Knowledge was not useless to David Blondel.] Here is what I find in the Professor of Groningen. Cæterum inde apud nostros nostri Sæculi Photius dictus est Blondellus, quod ex suis & sui fratris, Moses Blondelli, viri pientissimi & diligentissimi, laboribus, veterum Pontificum Epistolæ Decretales, quas jamdum tamen nemo sanus volebat admittre, in suo Pseudo-Isidoro & Turriano vagulantibus, suam in veterum Canonum notitia peritiam abunde comprobasset, & insuper diligentissime evolvisset Canones & Constitutiones Synodorum Nationalium Reformatarum, ejusdem Moses fratris sui adjutus industria: cui comprobandæ id proferre possum quod habeam in meo Museo, ex manu Moses Blondelli, præter excerpta quædam Patrum Græcorum & Latinorum, & Bellarmini opusculum de Scriptore. Eccl. variis notis manuscriptis elucidatum, Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Gallie

(49) It contains above 800 Leaves.

(50) Veron's Fifth Controversy about Canonical Books, Part II, chap. vi, n. 3.

(51) Chifflet. Imag. Francisci Everfioris.

who gave the Manuscript, from which the Book concerning *Pope Joan* was printed (q). I have forgot to observe, that *Amand Flavien* is a fictitious Name, which *David Blondel* gave himself in a little Book about *Liberty of Conscience*, which he opposed to the Bull of *Innocent X*, against the Peace of *Munster*. Nor have I spoken of the great Endeavours the *Catholics* used to draw our *Blondel* into their Communion. A Minister, who did not love him, pretended, that it did him no credit. His Thought deserves some Examination [O]. He maintained also, that *Blondel* had a Pension from the Court of *France*, which diverted him from refuting *Baronius* [P].

He

(12) *Maresq. ubi supra, pag. 253.*

‘*Galliae nitidissime Scriptam, variis Scholiis ex Synodorum Nationalium decisionibus illustratam*’ (52). — *Blondel* was by us called the *Photius* of our Age for his great Skill in the ancient *Canons*, which he shewed in his *Pseudo-Isidorus* & *Turrianus* vapulantes, in relation to the *Decretal Epistles* of the ancient *Popes*, which yet no thinking Man would admit; in which he was assisted by his Brother, *Moses Blondel*, a most pious and diligent Man; as also in turning over the *Canons* and *Constitutions* of the *National Synods* of the *Reformed Churches*; to prove which I can produce a Manuscript of *Moses Blondel*, besides some Extracts out of the *Greek and Latin Fathers*, and a Work of *Bellarmin* concerning the *Ecclesiastical Writers*, illustrated with several Manuscript Notes; and the *Discipline* of the *French Churches* most beautifully written, and illustrated with several Scholia taken from the *Decisions* of the *National Synods*. Observe, that this Professor intimates, that it was not necessary to shew the Falsity of the *Decretals*. To this let us add these Words of Mr *Baillet*: ‘As to the *Falsis Isidorus*, Father Sirmond called Mr *Blondel* a Breaker of open Doors; by reason of the Heat, with which he pursued these two Authors, whose Defeat was neither difficult nor very considerable, since so many Catholic Critics had already discovered *Isidorus*’s Impositions, and the Proceeding of *Turrianus* had been hissed at, and censured, by the most judicious among our Writers before him (53).’ *Rivet* speaks much more advantageously of this Book of *Blondel* (54).

(53) *Baillet. Jugem. des Sav. Nom. 265.*

(54) See *Rivet* Oper. Tom. II. pag. 1079.

(55) *Corcell. In Praefat. Apolog. pag. 338.* See, above, the Remark [C].

(56) *Maresq. in Refutat. Praef. pag. 338.*

Whether a Woman deserves praise for rejecting immodest Proposals: And a Man for rejecting Temptations to change his Religion.

[O] His Thought deserves Examination.] Among other Things, *Corcellaeus* had said, in *David Blondel*’s Praise, that The *Catholics* admired his Learning so much, that they offered him a Mitre, while he was a single Man; and afterwards a good Post either at Court, or in the Parliament, if he would abjure his Heresy (55). *Maresq.* replies, that such a thing does not deserve Praise, as well because the *Papists* bait their Hooks at all times, and in all Places, as because a virtuous Woman will not praise herself for having rejected an immodest Proposal. Sed nec ad laudes ipsius pertinere mihi videtur quod cum libenter corrupissent Pontifici, cum horum hamus ubique pendeat, nec soleat honesta matrona suis laudibus accensere quod impudicis sollicitationibus quondam resistit (56). This last Maxim is not absolutely true; it must be viewed on a certain side, not to appear false. It is a Dishonour to a Woman, that any Proposals of Love should be made to her; for it shews, that They had no very good Opinion of her Virtue; and, therefore, any Woman, who boasts of having resisted unchaste Sollicitations, discovers, at the same time, that she has not been so tender of her Reputation as she should have been, or that she knew not how to inspire all the Respect, which a virtuous Woman deserves. In this Sense, the Maxim of *David Blondel*’s Censurer ought to be admitted. It will be granted me, without doubt, that of two Women, equally beautiful and charming, and engaged in the World, she, who has never had any dishonest Proposal made to her, would have more Reason to boast, than she, who has often repulsed the Tempter; for it would be a Proof, that the latter has not imprinted such a Character of Prudence on her Conduct, as may persuade a Man, that he would be very ill received, and that it would certainly be in vain to set up for a Lover. No finer Praise can be given to a Minister of State, than to tell him he is like *Cato*, of whom no one durst ask an unjust Thing. *Scoppius* made use of this Thought in praising a Cardinal. * *Erga amicos*

porro quamvis eximia & constanti voluntate esse soleas, cum tamen, cum quid momenti majoris petere instituerint, religionem adhibere soles, ut non temere etiam qui te causa sua omnia velle sciat, vel sibi quicquam, vel amicis, ausu pollulare quod te tribuere vel indulgere minus dignum videatur, eaque re in te conveniat, quod de *Catone* *Tullium* dixisse legimus: *de te felicem M. Porci, a quo rem improbam petere nemo audeat* (57). — Though you are always ready to serve your Friends, yet no one dares ask for himself, or others, what is improper for you to give; in which we may apply to you what *Cicero* said to *Cato*; Happy *Marcus Porcius*, of whom no one durst ask an unreasonable Thing. But let us turn the Tables, and we shall see, that the Professor of *Groningen* has not justly censured *Corcellaeus*. Generally speaking, it is not true, that a virtuous Woman ought not to think herself worthy of Praise, for having often resisted dishonest Sollicitations. Every Family, which can name such, or such a Woman, who has refused the Offers of some great Financier, or Prince, thinks itself crowned with Glory (58). The strongest and most frequent Temptations are the best Proofs that a Woman is Honest and Virtuous, and worthy of Esteem. Some Relations inform us, that the most virtuous Woman in *Spain* are very glad to be alone with a Man, who desires the last Favour of them, and that they take it very ill if he does not. Not that they will grant it him, but they take Delight in refusing such earnest Requests. After all, there was reason to praise *Blondel* for the very thing, which *Maresq.* censured. The *French Catholics* would not have used so many Promises, if they had not taken him for a Person of great Merit. There is a great Difference between a Minister, to whom Honours are offered, if he will change his Religion, and a Woman, who is courted with Presents. The Action, which is proposed to the Minister, is not bad according to the Principles of those, who propose it; and he is not required to do it whilst he believes it to be an ill thing (59): He is exhorted to instruct himself, with a Promise, that if he can undeceive himself, the Pains he shall take to seek, and find, the Truth, shall be largely rewarded. But what is proposed to a Woman is a bad Action, both according to her own Principles, and according to the Principles of the Tempter. So that she cannot be tempted without an Affront offered; that is, without believing her very capable of committing a Thing, of which she knows the Obscenity: Therefore *Maresq.*’s Comparison is not just; for there is no Injury done to a Man in believing him capable of seeing his Errors, and acknowledging the Truth; or which is the same thing, in soliciting him to change his Religion. I am sure, that, if *Maresq.* had wrote the Panegyric of a Minister, who had refused many great Advantages, which the *Catholics* had offered him, he would have drawn from it the Subject of a fine Elogy, and would not have scrupled to praise it as a very noble Exploit. Observe, by the by, how *Pyrrhonism* prevails in most Disputes. There are many Maxims, which are true on one side, and false on the other. They are made use of by turns, either for one’s own Cause, or against an Adversary: But is this the way to attain to Certainty? See, besides this, in relation to the Praise, which a virtuous Woman deserves, either for having never been solicited, or for having resisted wicked Sollicitations, the whole Remark [D] of the Article JUDITH.

[P] It has been said, that *Blondel* had a Pension, and that This diverted him from refuting *Baronius*.] *Maresq.* declares, that *Blondel* told him, that

(q) The same Letter says so.

(57) *Scoppius. Epist. Dedicat. Elementor. Philosophiae Stoicæ Moralit ad Cynthium Cardinalem S. Georgii.*

(58) See *Molière’s* *George Dandin*.

(59) I speak only of honest Converters.

(r) Ancillon, *Mélange Critique*, Tom. I. pag. 407.

(60) Mares. in *Refutat. Praef.* pag. 305.

(61) Ib. pag. 313. See also the Preface to his *Epistola Theologica adversus Joh. Dallaei Apologiam*.

(62) *Mélange Critique de Littérature* Tom. I. pag. 407, 408.

(63) She died at the Hague in February 1699.

(64) Of whom I speak in Remark [L] of the Article BORE, and more fully in Remark [F] of the Article WILHEM.

‘He had a singular way of studying; he lay on the Floor, and had round about him the necessary Books for the Work he had in hand (r).’ He, who informs me of this, tells it for *certain Truth*: He says also, that the anonymous Author, who wrote the *Free and Charitable Considerations on the Collection of Authentic Acts*, compiled by Mr Blondel, was one *Gautbier*, a Minister near *Rochele*. This Collection displeased the Divines, who had opposed Mr *Amyraut*. I have seen a Letter full of Complaints on this Subject [Q]. I shall give an Extract from it.

that he was importuned by the Enticements of the World (60). He adds, that *Demery*, Super-intendant of the *Finances*, paid this Minister a Pension, and that this Pension obliged him to publish his *Pope Joan*. ‘Nec dubium quin Blondellus in sua *Papissa* Moderationis laudem sibi comparare studuerit, praeteritum quo tempore eum in suis stipendiis ex annua pensione habebat supremus *Aerario* Praefectus (61). — Blondel, in his *Pope Joan*, certainly aimed at the Reputation of a moderate Writer, especially at the time when the Super-intendant of the *Finances*, paid him a Pension.’ ‘Ubi (*Lutetiae*) tamē nihil minus quam Baronio vacavit; sed conjuncta D. Demery, summi Praefecti *Aerario* Regio, pensione, cum Ecclesiarum stipendio, animum appulit ad ea, quae ab illa professione honoraria, inter Reformatos, satis remota erant. Quae etiam offensionem fuisse multis piis & bonis viris, mihi abunde constitit cum essem *Lutetiae*. Unde natum consilium de ipso in Belgium, si pote foret, transmittendo, quo sic & illis sumptibus sibi inutilibus Ecclesiae liberarentur, & ipse expediret ex Austria & Saeculi infestationibus, quas & sibi graves & importunas esse, apud me tum satis aperte professus est. — Where however (at Paris) he thought but little of Baronius; but, enjoying a Pension from Demery, Super-intendant of the *Finances*, together with a Stipend from the Churches, he applied himself to Studies very remote from that honorary Profession among the Reformed. That this gave Offence to many pious and good Men, I was fully convinced when I was at Paris. Whence arose the Design of sending him, if possible, into Holland, that the Churches might be freed from an unnecessary Expence, and Blondel himself be extricated from the Temptations of a Court and of the World, which he very frankly confessed to me, at that time, were stronger than he could well resist.’ If this Author had been asked, How he knew that *Demery* paid *Blondel* a Pension? he would have answered with a *Hear-say*.

Mr *Ancillon* informs us of a strange Particular: ‘I know from him, that the President de *Mesmes*, tho’ a very good Roman Catholic, gave him a yearly Pension of twelve hundred Livres, to write against the Pope’s Supremacy, and that a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, a very good Roman Catholic too, whom he named to me, but whose Name I have forgot, gave him a Pension of Six hundred Livres on the same Account, and that, to satisfy these two Gentlemen, he composed that great Volume in *Folia*, of the Pope’s Supremacy, which serves for an Answer to the Book, which Cardinal du Perron wrote against James I King of Great Britain (62).’ Either these two Magistrates had only the Name, and out-side, of Roman Catholics, or their Pensioner betrayed them; for the Interests of the Calvinists cannot be more strongly maintained, than *Blondel* has maintained them in his Work of the Primacy.

[Q] I have seen a Letter full of Complaints against his *Collection of Authentic Acts*. It was written by Mrs *Mary du Moulin* Daughter of *Peter du Moulin* (63). Mr de *Wilhem* (64) did me the Favour to communicate the Original to me; it is dated from *Delft* the Twenty fourth of June 1655. It appears by this Letter, that the two Persons, whom *Blondel* had most abused, were *du Moulin*, and *Rivet*, ‘to whom nevertheless he professed himself a great Friend, and by whom he was sincerely beloved, as may be proved by the good Offices, which he had received from them, and by the Acknowledgments which he made for them. Several Dozens of his Letters might be produced, which he wrote to Monsieur *Rivet*, wherein he calls him Father, his faithful Friend, his Protector, and Benefactor, and one might easily think, that he spoke the Sentiments of his Heart; for he was indebted to

him alone for the Post, which extricated him from the Inconveniences and Dangers, wherein the most judicious thought him involved, when he was at *Paris*, surrounded with great Men, and busy about their Genealogies. This good Soul, who was continually upon his Guard against Scandal, thought it necessary to extricate him from those Snares, that his Talents might be employed more usefully. He made use of all his Credit to compals his Aim (65), wherein he met with so many Obstacles, that a less constant Friend would have been discouraged; and I am witness of the Troubles and Fatigues, which he suffered on that Occasion; and, though he was too much used to be paid with Ingratitude, yet he never feared any such thing from him, who appeared so thankful, and who wanted his continual Support in a Place where he had not the good Fortune to please at first; all which may be seen in his Letters, which are in the Hands of *Rivet*, the Son.’ A little lower, in the same Letter of *Mary du Moulin*, we read these Words. ‘He had very few Friends in This Country, except among the *Arminians*, whose Confident he was from the very beginning; nor was his Manner of Life prudent enough to acquire him the Esteem of the Wife of this Country; the extravagant Vanity of his Wife would have been a sufficient Obstacle to it.’ Afterwards she enlarges on the Praises of *Rivet*, and assures us, that the Memoirs, which he left, of his Life, contain a true Account of what passed in relation to these Matters of Controversy, after the National Synod of *Tonneins*, in 1614, where he was Secretary, and by which his Moderation may be easily known. ‘I wish, says Mrs du Moulin, that this satirical Piece may not fall into my Father’s Hands; for I should fear his infirm Age would be too much shocked with Blows, that cannot be received as Balm, and that have nothing of the Faithfulness of Friendship.’ There is no doubt, but that *Rivet* used all his good Offices to have *Blondel* in Holland; for it appears by *Sarravius*’s Letters, that he was desirous to promote That Affair, and that they shewed him the Importance of it. ‘Utinam vero cogitare velletis de Blondello nostro, qui hic plane ad alienum scribit & vivit arbitrium. Posset istic, honorariae fungens professionis munere, singulis annis singulos Annalitz Tomos confodere, & alia, quae mortali nemo queat praestare, ad Historiae Ecclesiasticae purissimum intellectum. Idem scribo *Riveto*: hoc agite: nos adiutorem habebitis (66). — I wish you would think of our *Blondel*, who lives here, and employs his Pen, at the Will of other People. With the Character of Honorary Professor, he might there, each Year, confute a Volume of the *Annalists*, and contribute to the clearing up of Ecclesiastical History. I write the same to *Rivet*: you shall have my Assistance in effecting This.’

Note, that Mr *Ancillon* observes, that the Author of the *Free and charitable Considerations on the authentic Acts*, which were printed at *Groningen* in the Year 1658, with a Preface of *Maresius*, treats Mr *Blondel* very ill (67): Which, though common enough, is at the bottom a scandalous thing; but the worst is, that That Author, and *Blondel*, do not agree in their Accounts. The same Disagreement has appeared between the Narrative of *Rivet*, and That of Mr *Amyraut*. These Gentlemen might be excused for not thinking alike on difficult matters, and for explaining the System of Grace differently; But ought they not to agree when they relate Matters of Fact? What can one think, when it appears, that they confute each other in their Historical Narratives of what passed before their Eyes? Can one believe, that it is only a Defect of Memory? Is not a Man tempted to say, that one, or other, of them acts insincerely, or rather that there is some Artifice and Trick on both sides, and that

(65) That is, to procure him an Invitation to Amsterdam.

(66) *Sarravius*, Epist. 166. ad Salmst. pag. 170. See also the 194th Letter, which was not written by Salmstius to Sarravius, as is said, at the beginning, but by Sarravius to Salmstius.

(67) *Ancillon*, *Mélange Crit.* Tom. I. pag. 408.

that each relates what is for his own Advantage, and suppresses the rest? This contrariety in Matters of Fact prevails every where. We saw a famous instance of it, the last Year (26), in the Relations concerning *Quietism*. (68) That is in the Year 1698.

BLONDEL (FRANCIS), Professor of Physic in the University of Paris, was a very learned Man; but his Knowledge was indigested [A]; and, besides, his Prejudices against Chymistry, and Antimony, filled the Faculty with Troubles and Divisions. *Guy Patin*, though he agreed with him concerning Antimony, yet speaks of him as a litigious Man, and a bad Writer [B]. Perhaps no one has more ingeniously or more pleasantly characterized this Physician, than the *Sieur Lamy*; but, as he had been persecuted by him, it must be considered whether *Passin* has not too great a share in the malicious Turn, which is observable in his Description of *Blondel* [C]. Nothing shews more powerfully how little this Doctor was loved or esteemed, than to see in what manner his Death was mentioned in the *Mercurie Galant*, Sept. 1682 [D]. Not one obliging Expression attends This News, to lessen the Blemish, which is cast on the Memory of the Deceased. I cannot tell whether the Books, which he promised the Public, are printed [E].

I must

[A] His Knowledge was indigested. Our Monsieur *Blondel* is a very learned Man, but 'he writes in an obscure and intricate Style.' Thus *Guy Patin* speaks of him in his four hundred and fifth Letter (1). He says, in another place, that Father *Theophilus Raynaud's* Style is worse than That of *Lipsius*; *Redolet Lipsianum, quo tamen est multo deterior* (2); and 'that no Author, at this day, writes so, except it be perhaps Monsieur *Blondel*, our Dean, who, tho' he is one of the most Learned Men in the World, affects this kind of barbarity, & eadem scabie laborat cum *Tertulliano* (3).' See some other Testimonies of his indigested Studies in the Remark [C].

[B] *Patin* represents him as a litigious Man, and a bad Writer. Our Monsieur *Blondel* — is a litigious Man, and a Caviller, and loves to go to Law: he had rather go to Law, than compose and end Quarrels: he has a Law-Suit with *Thewart le Camus*, who is another litigious fellow; he is printing a Case in his Defence; there are as yet but two Sheets printed; he told me, there would be eight. He makes great Complaints of the First President, whom he took, as he says, for his Friend: I know not what to make of the nonsense of these Pettifoggers. As soon as the Case comes out, I will send it you, as also a Book, which he promises, *de Vomitu, Stibique veneno*, in which he will prove, that Antimony is a Poison, since it causes Vomiting (4). — This Man loves the Law too much; but it is great pity; for he is a very learned Man (5).

[C] It must be considered, whether *Passin* has not too great a Share, in the malicious Turn, which is observable in his Description of *Blondel*. There being many Readers, who desire to find, in a Dictionary, not only an Abridgment of Mens Lives, but also what is said of their Manners and Character; I think I shall not be blamed for transcribing some Passages out of Mr *Lamy's* Book. 'He is one of our most ancient Doctors, says he (6), speaking of *Blondel*, and passes for a learned Man with some. He has read much, and has a happy Memory. He can decide very well how a Greek Word in *Hippocrates* and *Galen* is to be read. He idolizes them in such a manner, that he will hear of nothing but what they have said, and is better pleased with old Errors, than new Truths. He knows the Names of Plants, like the Gardeners. He knows their Virtues after the Galenic manner. He measures the degrees of Cold and Heat in them, with an exactness, which surprizes every Body. He cultivates many of them very carefully. He is so averse to Chymistry, that he cannot hear a word of it without exclaiming against it. He has a very great Inclination to teach, without any Interest, and without being obliged to it. I assure you, that I have seen him take the pains to come every Day from St *Denis's* Gate to our Schools, for a single Scholar, who left him at last because he was not learned enough to understand him, and because the Hebrew and the Greek, of which his Discourse was full, were Languages not all, or but little, known to him. It is true, this Gentleman is very curious in Etymologies, and endeavours to collect, in his Treatises, all that he formerly read. Inasmuch that, in a

Book, which he wrote about vomiting, and Emetic Remedies, he inserted a Preface concerning Chymistry; and, to find the Author of it, he went back as far as the Times, which preceded the Flood, and made a Query, Whether *Tubal-Cain* was not the Inventor of it; because it is said of him, in the fourth Chapter of *Genesis*, that he was an Artificer in Brass and Iron.' Mr *Lamy* adds, that Dr *Blondel* accused him, in a full Auditory, of advancing an Heresy, because, as he was disputing against a Thesis, wherein the Motion of the Heavens was maintained, he objected, that the Rapidity of the *Primum Mobile* would be incredible, since, according to the System of *Copernicus*, the Equator of the Earth moves as fast as a Cannon-Ball. The Accused answered, 'That there might be an error in the Supposition, which he made; but that it could not be said, that there was any Heresy in it, since it is not a Point of Religion to be able to calculate well.' Dr *Blondel* replied, 'That it was not a matter of Physic; I granted it, says Mr *Lamy*, and, thereupon, a Doctor taking my part, told him, That since the Proposition was inserted in the Thesis, I might dispute against it. Well then, replied Mr *Blondel*, let him prove, that the Earth turns round; but let him prove it medicinally. I confess, I could not do it, and I was forced to stop there. An ingenious Student of Physic, who never had any Quarrel with Dr *Blondel*, nor any reason to impute any thing upon him, assured me, that he once said, in our Schools, that all those, who make use of the *Chinchina* (or *Cortex Peruvianus*) commit a mortal Sin, and that they make an implicit Pact with the Devil. And, to shew, that the Cure, which is obtained by That Remedy, is magical; it ought to be observed, said he, that it works on all sorts of Tempers, and that, after a certain Time, the Disease returns, which has been acknowledged by all those, who have wrote against Magicians, to be the true Character of a Diabolical Cure.'

[D] His Death was mentioned in the *Mercurie Galant*. These are Mr *de Vixé's* Words: 'The Faculty of Physicians of Paris enjoys, at present, a great Repose by the Death of Dr *Blondel*. He was the only one, who remained obstinately bent against the general Approbation of Antimony, the good Effects whereof he opposed, having so much troubled That learned Company for thirty Years, that they seemed to be always divided. As it is likely, that his Opinions will die with him, there is reason to hope, that Union and Peace will again be established among so many civil Persons (7). It is certain, that, in many places, the Death of one Professor is more effectual for the Restoration of Peace, than the Mediations of an hundred Assemblies: But can any one be sure, that This great Disturber of the Public Repose will not soon be succeeded by others? These kind of People have no end; *uno avulso non deficit alter*. Since Mankind must be unhappy in this World, these sort of Persons are necessary, They are essential Parts of Civil Society. [E] The Books, which he promised the Public. In April 1657, his Treatise de Pleuritis wanted but three Months of being finished (8). The Author was come to the Chapter de Purgatione, which

(1) Pag. 200, of the third Volume of the Geneva Edition.

(2) *Patin*, Letter 173, pag. 65, of the 2d Vol.

(3) Ibid. This Letter of *Patin* is dated April 27, 1663. *Blondel* was made Dean of the Faculty of Physic, Nov. 2, 1663. *Patin*, Letter 124, Tom. I. pag. 483.

(4) *Patin* says so in his 405th Letter, pag. 200, of the 2d Vol.

(5) Ibid. pag. 203. See also the 290th Letter of the 2d Vol. pag. 543.

(6) See the 4th Letter prefixed to his Anatomical Discourses, printed at Rouen 1675.

(7) *Mercurie Galant*, Sept. 1682, pag. 23, 26.

(8) *Patin*, Letter 113, Vol. I, pag. 430.

I must not omit, that the great Care he had taken to make himself Master of Grammatical and Critical Learning, and to acquire a wild Erudition, did not hinder him from storing himself with the most profound Cunning of a malicious Persecutor [F], and from knowing how to conceal the Violence of his Temper under That Cover. He pretended to oppose Novelties, only out of Zeal for Truth, and for the Glory of God. He must not be confounded with another FRANCIS BLONDEL, a Physician, who wrote a Book on the Baths of *Aix la Chapelle*, entitled *Thermarum Aquisgranensium & Porcetanarum Descriptio: congruorum quoque ac salubrium usum balneationis & potationis elucidatio*. It was printed at *Aix*, in the Year 1671, in 12mo.

was to be a general Method, and to contain *fine and uncommon things* de orgasmo Hipp. and upon the Explication of the Twenty second Aphorism, Sect. 1. Here is what *Patin* says in another place: 'The second of November, in the Morning, we made a new Dean, to wit, Monsieur *Blondel*, which the *Antimonian* Flock is very much astonished at, and sorry for. He is thought to be the Author of the *Altophanes*, a curious Piece, as you know, against *Antimony*, and the chief *Antimoniales*, and principally against *Guenaut*, des *Fougerais*, *Rainsfant*, *Mauvilain*, S. *Jacques*, and *Thevart* (9). See the Remarks [B] and [C], concerning the Treatise de Vomitu.

(9) Letter 124, dated Novem. 8. 1658. Vol. I. p. 483.

(10) Lami, Letter 4. before his Discours Anat.

[F] He acquired the Cunning of a malicious Persecutor. If any one is not satisfied with the following Testimony, I cannot help it. 'To finish my first Draught, says Mr Lamy (10), I will tell you, that he values himself much on Integrity; that he seems to trample all worldly Interests under foot, in order to maintain our Statutes in force; that all he says, or does, is always grounded up on a very laudable Motive, and that he never does any one harm, but out of Charity.' Dr *Blondel* was one of the eight Examiners, which were appointed Mr Lamy; and he desired one of them to pretend business, and not to be at the Assembly; and then he stopped the Decision, under pretence, that they were but seven. He shewed some Remarks, larger than Mr Lamy's Book, which tended to hinder the Impression. He said, that Mr Lamy's Opinions were against Galen, against the Statutes, and against the Holy Scripture. The absent Examiner was so much desired to come on a set-day to the Assembly, that he would have been actually there, if Dr *Blondel* had not sent him word, that there would be no Conference. Mr Lamy went early

to the Place of Conference, which was at Dr *Blondel*'s House; he waited two Hours, and was very much tired to hear him say nothing, though never so trivial, without calling *Hypocrates*, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* to witness. Dr *Blondel* being told, that some body asked for him, he went out of his Chamber, and came in again a little while after, to tell Mr Lamy, that the Doctor, whom they stayed for, sent word, that he could not come. He blamed That Gentleman's Negligence very much, continues Mr Lamy, who failed always to come to the Place of Assignment, and gave me so much trouble. ----- See the Honesty and Integrity of this Gentleman, who has always God and the Laws in his Mouth to justify his Actions. When it was thought that all these shifts were at an end, he made use of this; he presented his Remarks, and by an Artifice, which cannot be sufficiently detested, he brought some Propositions, separate from others, which resisted them, and which, in truth, could not pass alone. This raised a Contest; the places of the Book were read; and, after much noise, it was resolved, that the Book should pass, provided the Faculty of Divinity approved of it. This was sufficient for *Blondel* to obtain his Ends; for the Divines, who read the Book, would neither subscribe to, nor against, it: And Mr Lamy would not engage to prove to them, that his Book did not contain any Heresy. Upon what a Sea should I embark? says he: I should enrage it's Waves in such great numbers against me, that they would infallibly swallow me up, though unjustly. The Multitude, destitute of Judgment, would think they fought for the Interest of Heaven, and should offer a pleasing Sacrifice to God, if they made me the Victim of it.

BLONDEL (FRANCIS), The King's Professor of Mathematics and Architecture, was very much esteemed for the Knowledge he had acquired in all that belongs to That Profession. He had been Governour of *Lewis Henry de Lomenie Count de Brienne*; and he accompanied That young Lord, who had already obtained the Reversion of the Office of Minister, and Secretary of State; I say, he accompanied him in his Travels, which began in the Month of July, 1652, and ended in the Month of November, 1655. The Latin Relation of it has been twice printed [A]. He had moreover some considerable Employments in the War, both by Sea and Land; and he managed some Negotiations with foreign Princes; inasmuch that he attained to the Dignity of a *Marshal de Camp*, and to That of Counsellor of State. He had the Honour of being chosen to teach the *Dauphin* Mathematics; and it is He, who gave the Draught of the new Gates erected at *Paris*, since

[A] The Latin Relation of it has been twice printed. The first Edition is of the Year 1660, and contains only Thirty nine Pages in 12mo. The second was procured two Years after by *Charles Patin*, and contains Ninety six Pages in 8vo; the *Index Geographicus* (1), which was added to it, being comprehended in it, and without reckoning many Latin Verses, which the most excellent Poets composed in praise of the young Lord, who performed These Travels. But if, on the one hand, many things were added to the second Edition; on the other, a very singular Passage was cut off from it. It is That, where the Author reports, that, in crossing the Forests of *Westgothia* on Horseback, they stopped a while at *Lincopen*, to look upon a Column of Stone, wherein there was a Hole designed for a use, which cannot decently be expressed in Vulgar Language: but here is the Latin of it. 'Vestgoticis silvis equitantes induti, Lin-

(1) Made by Nicolas Sanson.

copiaz, ob loci religionem non omittendæ, tantillum substitimus: ibi cippus lapideus, pertusus, explorandæ maritorum membris: qui pares foraminis, approbantur, impares excluduntur conubiali toro: inde matrimonia aut sunt aut cadunt, pro modulo peculii (2). The Preface to the second Edition informs us why This Passage was suppressed. 'Unum te moneo, huic Editioni, cui nihil deest, voluisse Lomenium aliquid deesse; quod scilicet in Westgoticis silvis, per errabunda vestigia, morosæ viæ pellendis tædiis juveniliter luserat, sapientiore ætate & pudorem suppressisse (3). Take notice of one Thing; viz. that Lomenius would have This Edition, which is very compleat, to be imperfect in one Particular, and that discreeter Age, and Modesty, conspired to suppress what he had jocosely related, to take off from the Tedioussness of a Journey through the Forests of Westgothia.' The Reason of the Suppression

(2) Ludov. Henrici Lomenii Itinerar. pag. 13. Edit. 1660.

(3) Ibid. in Prefat. Edit. 1662.

since the *Dutch War* of 1672, and of all the Embellishments, which have been added to That Capital City of the Kingdom (a). He wrote also some of the Inscriptions, which are to be seen on Those new Gates; for he was as well versed in the Knowledge of good Literature, as in Geometry; as he made appear by his Comparison of *Pindar* and *Horace*. He has been Director of the Academy of Architecture, and a Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. We have many Books of His [B]. He died, the first of February, 1686 (b).

(a) See the Description of the City of Paris, printed in 1684.

(b) De Witte, in Diario Biograph.

Suppression is a very good one, since the thing was not related, because That Custom was actually observed in That Place, but only as a witty Conceit invented during the Fatigues of a troublesome Journey. So that the Readers had been deceived, and, besides, had been presented with a very obscene Account, and which was very injurious to the Inhabitants of That Country; and consequently there was all the Reason in the World to strike out That Part of the Relation. If any one should ask me, *ought it to have been left out, if the thing were true?* I would freely answer, that we must distinguish between Books and Books, and between Authors and Authors. There are some Persons, whose Character requires an extraordinary Gravity, and who deserve praise for making a scruple to relate a true Story of this Nature; and there are some Books, wherein it would be no ways proper to insert such Facts: But I do not think, that a Layman, who writes the History of a Country, or the Relation of his Travels, is obliged to be silent about a public Custom, under pretence, that it is ridiculous, obscene, and of an ill example. If you lay down a contrary Maxim, you will find, that it will be necessarily concluded, and without many gradual Consequences, that the Labour of Historians is bad, and that their Profession ought to be placed among the unlawful and pernicious Arts; for it is impossible to write History, without relating infamous and abominable Actions. Let us remember, that the most rigid Critics do not blame the Historians, who mention all the Particulars of a villainous Murder, or of a horrid Treason: and that they would not blame those, who should truly say, that, in some Towns, they choose, for their Burgomasters, those, who have practised such and such brutish ways of making themselves drunk, that unless a Man has been able to bear such a Trial, he is not made a Consul, &c. They only condemn the Relations, which mention some Customs contrary to Chastity: For example, They would condemn a Writer, who should give the Particulars of the Practice of the *Congress*, which has been at last so wisely abolished by the Parliament of Paris; and They do not consider, that Their Criticisms fall upon the ancient Fathers, who very ingenuously represented the horrid Impurities practised among the *Pagans* and *Heretics*. However it be, I will venture to say, that, if the Column of Stone, mentioned in the Travels of *Mr de Lomenie*, had actually served as a Standard to judge of the Validity or Invalidity of Marriages by; it might not only have been related in the first, but also in the second Edition; and that, therefore, the only true reason of suppressing it in the second, is, because it was a meer Fable. I maintain, that, supposing such a thing was practised by public Authority, *Mr Blondel* had all manner of right to inform his Readers of it. Nay, I maintain, that some Inquiries might have been made about the Original of this Custom, and inserted in an History; I say, one might have inquired into the Inconveniences, which had occasioned this manner of distinguishing Those, who were incapable of Marriage, from Those, who were fit for it; what sort of Processes there were, before, between Husbands and Wives; what Consultations were held to prevent them, and to invent this foolish Remedy; for, in short, the History of Men, of their Follies and Extravagancies, and of the infinite Varieties, which are to be

found in the Laws, and Usages of Nations, are not things, of which the Readers ought to be frustrated, and from which we can reap no benefit. It will not be amiss to consider, whether what has been said of Philosophers may not be applied to Legislators: It has been said, that there is nothing so absurd, but has been maintained by some Philosophers (4). *Huetius* inserted, in the Relation of his Journey to *Stockholm*, the ridiculous manner of electing the Burgomaster of a certain place called *Hardenburg*. He says, that, on the Day of the Election, the Burgers place themselves round a Table, and lean their Chins, furnished with a long Beard, upon it; after which, a Loufe is fairly put in the Middle of the Table, and he, into whose Beard the Loufe creeps, is chosen Burgomaster. My Translation is so negligent, that I must set down the excellent Verses of The Author:

*Mox Hardenbergam serâ sub nocte venimus:
Ridetur nobis veteri mos ductus ab ævo.
Quippe ubi deligitur revoluto tempore Consul,
Barbati circa mensam statuantur acernam,
Hispidaque imponunt attenti menta Quiritis:
Porrigitur series barbarum defuper ingens.
Bestia, pes, mordax, fuenta inter crescere sordes,
Ponitur in medio; tum cujus, numine Divum,
Barbam adiit, festo buic gratantur murmure Patres,
Atque celebratur subiecta per oppida Consul (5).*

(4) Nescio quomodo nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum. *Cicero de Divinatione lib. ii. cap. 63.* Nemo agrotus quicquam somniat tam infandum quod non aliquis dicat Philosophus. *Varro in Eumenid. apud Nonium voce infans, pag. 56.*

(5) Huetius, in Itinere Suecico, pag. 7. Edit. 1602.

I cannot tell whether the witty Conceit, which *Mr Blondel* inserted in his first Edition, was grounded on some Jest of the Inhabitants of the Country. It may be, that some, considering the Hole of That old Column, seriously inquired into the Reason of it (6), and that others, being used to jest upon every thing, invented what he said. It is well known, that silly Jestors will tell, in their free Conversations, I know not how many Stories concerning Complaints of Disproportion, brought before the Courts of Justice by married Persons; and that they falsely suppose, that the Lawyers, who plead such Causes, do not deny the Disproportion, and are contented to maintain reciprocally, that the fault is not to be imputed to their Client, but to the adverse Party; and that they make use of Gestures or Signs, when Words may seem too impudent. *Sweden* might have had such Jestors, who occasioned the Story, related by *Mr Blondel*.

(6) The learned Suarez, Bishop of Vaison, wrote a very learned Dissertation De foraminibus lapidum.

[B] We have many Books of His. Notes on *Savo's* Architecture; A Course of Architecture, in three Volumes, in Folio; A Course of Mathematics; The Art of throwing Bombs; The History of the Roman Calendar; A new way of Fortifying Places, &c. I must not forget to observe, as to this last Work, that The Author, having presented it to the King his Master, his Majesty would not suffer it to be published, before the Fortifications, which he caused to be made in divers places, according to this new Method, were finished; it not being just, that Strangers should have the Benefit of it before That time. For the same reason, the Impression of the Art of throwing Bombs was put off till another Time, when the Author shewed the Manuscript of it to his Majesty, in 1675 (7). This Precaution has been of no use to those of *Dieppe*, this present Year 1694.

(7) See as well for this, as for the Body of the Article, *Mr Blondel's* Book, or the Extracts published by the Journalists. See the Acta Eruditorum in 1684. pag. 225. in 1685. pag. 164. 438. *Novel de la Rep. des Let.* 1684. pag. 427. & 745. Edit. 2.

BLONDUS (FLAVIUS), born at *Forli* in *Italy* in the Year 1388 [A], applied himself so closely to polite Learning, and with such Success, that, going to *Rome* at a time, when learned Men were more scarce, than They have been since, he

[A] He was born in the year 1388. I infer this from his Epitaph, in which we read, that he lived Seventy five years, and that he died the fourth of

June 1463. *Vossius* relates it, as taken from the Description of *Rome*, by *George Fabricius* (1). *Father Labbe*, in his *Thesaurus Epitaphiorum* (2), and

(1) *Vossius de Hist. Lat.* pag. 536.

(2) See *Pope Blount* Censura Autor. pag. 323.

he immediately met with Patrons even among the Cardinals, who recommended him to Pope *Eugenius IV.*, and procured him the Place of Secretary to that Pope (a). He was continued in this Employ by the Successors of *Eugenius*, down to *Pius II.*, in whose Pontificate he died, on the fourth of *June*, 1463. He composed several Books (b), and, among others, an *History*, from the Year 400 down to 1440 (c). He does not come up to That Purity of Style, which appeared in some Historians of the XVIth Century, nor does he deserve any great Credit; for however sincere we may suppose him to have been, we must consider, that he followed deceitful Guides (d), and that he had more in view the collecting a great Number of Facts, than examining into the Truth of them [B]. It would, however, be ungrateful and unjust to deny, that his Labours have been of use to the Learned World, and to forget the Difficulties he encountered, being almost the First, who attempted to restore the *Roman Antiquities*. Though he had the Charge of a Family, he behaved like a true Philosopher with respect to Riches: he did not endeavour to acquire them, and would not leave any Portion of Inheritance to his Sons (e) [C]; for, finding them grown up, and able to take care for themselves, he left all he had to his Daughters. They, who would know the several Judgments passed upon his Books, may consult the *Eponymologium* of *Magius* (f), *Hankius de Scriptoribus Rerum Romanarum* (g), and the *Censura celebriorum Autorum* of *Sir Thomas-Pope Blount* (h). Some pretend we ought to call him *Blondus Flavius*, and not *Flavius Blondus*. These two Names are of the same Signification.

(a) Boissard in Iconib. apud Pope Blount. pag. 327.

(b) See the Titles of them in Moretti.

(c) See Voss. de Hist. Lat. pag. 583.

(d) See in Pope Blount, pag. 328. the Passage of Gifanius.

(e) He left five, who were all Learned, according to Leand. Albert. Descript. Ital. pag. 478.

(3) See Hankius ubi supra, & Tom. I. pag. 202, & Magius in Eponymolog. pag. 135.

(4) See Hankius ubi supra, & Tom. I. pag. 202, & Magius in Eponymolog. pag. 135.

(5) Sandius seems to have done it. Not in Vossium de Hist. Lat. pag. 219.

(6) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 585.

(7) Sandius in Not. in Vossium de Hist. Latinis.

(8) Magri Eponymolog. pag. 135.

(9) Jo. Gobelius Comment. Pii II. lib. xi. p. 310.

(f) Pag. 134.

(g) Tom. I. pag. 202. & Tom. II. pag. 343.

(h) Pag. 327, 328.

Schraderus, in his *Italian Monuments* (3), relate it after the same manner. Others relate it as if it gave *Blondus* but Seventy one years of Life (4); but This, I believe, proceeds from an Error of the Press, copied several Times, which we ought not to take the advantage of, to support what *Paul Jovius* has said, that he died at the age of Seventy years (5). I shall occasionally remark a like Mistake, which occurs in *Vossius*: The Printer has put cccccclviii instead of cccccclxiii (6); for the question is about the year, which *John Gobelius* points out, in speaking of the Death of *Flavius Blondus*. Now *Vossius* knew very well, that this year is the Sixty third of the XVth Century. *Sandius* has not observed this Fault (7). *Magius*, in giving an account of the Epitaph, and wherever else he speaks of the year of *Blondus*'s Death, puts 1363, instead of 1463 (8).

[B] He had more in view the collecting a great number of Facts, than examining into the Truth of them.] The Author of the History of what passed in the Times of *Pius II* passes this Judgment on him. 'Blondus Flavius — ab Honorio Arcadioque Cæsaribus (quo tempore inclinasse Romanum Imperium memorant) usque ad ætatem suam Universalem scripsit Historiam. Opus certe laboriosum & utile, verum expolitore emendatoremque dignum. Procul Blondus ab eloquentia prisca fuit, neque satis diligenter quæ scripsit examinavit; non quam vera, sed quam multa scriberet, curam habuit (9). — Extant & alia Blondi Opera non parvæ utilitatis, quamvis cautè legenda sunt, ne falsa pro veris

accipias; in pluribus enim errasse deprehenditur (10). — Blondus Flavius — wrote an Universal History, from the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius (at which time the Roman Empire began to decline) down to his own Time. The work is certainly laborious, and useful, but wants polishing and correcting. Blondus does not come up to the ancient Eloquence, nor did he carefully examine what he wrote, being more solicitous how many, than how true, the Facts were, of which he wrote. — There are extant other Works of Blondus of great use; but they must be read with Caution, lest you take for true what is false; for he is detected of Error in many Things.

[C] He did not endeavour to enrich himself, nor would leave his Son any portion of his Inheritance.] Let the Author, whom I quote in the preceding Remark, go on. 'Mortuus & Romæ pauper, ut Philosophum decuit; familiam bene institutam reliquit utriusque sexus. Patrimonium quod habuit tenue dotium causa inter Fæminas divisit; Masculis præter doctrinam bonosque mores nihil reliquit. Id morienti sat fuit ejus ætatis filios dimisisse, qui sibi ipsis consulere possent (11). — He died at Rome poor, as became a Philosopher; He left a well regulated Family both of Sons and Daughters; The small Patrimony, he had, he divided among the Females, leaving the Males nothing but Learning and Good Manners. It was satisfaction enough to him upon his Death-bed, that his Sons were of an Age capable of providing for themselves.'

(10) Idem ibi.

(11) Idem ibi.

BOCCACE (JOHN), one of the most polite and learned Writers of his Age, was born at *Certaldo* [A] in *Tuscany*, in the Year 1313. His Father, though a poor Peasant, burthened with a Family, designed him for something above his Birth: This he resolved upon, after having observed, that the Child's Physiognomy and Inclinations promised much. He designed him for Trade, and put him to a *Florentine Merchant*, who carried him to *Paris*. *Boccace* served this Master six Years, and was well beloved by him; for he understood keeping Accounts [B]; but

(1) Giuseppe Betussi, in the Life of Boccace.

(2) It is called *Elia*.

(3) Boccace, in the Treatise of Rivers, at the Word *Elia*.

(4) Betussi ib.

[A] He was born at *Certaldo*.] *Betussi*, who is here my Author, affirms it (1); several others say the same; but I do not know how to reconcile This with a Passage of *Boccace*. It is That, where he mentions the River, which runs near the Castle of *Certaldo* (2). 'I willingly celebrate, says he (3), the Memory of That Castle, which was the place of the Nativity, and Abode, of my Ancestors, before the City of *Florence* received them into the Number of its Citizens.' Would he speak thus, if he was born there? *Betussi* could not be ignorant of This Passage; for he translated, into *Italian*, the Treatise from whence I have taken it. Perhaps, if he had attended to it, he would not have said, that the City of *Florence* gave *Boccace* the freedom of a Citizen. *Quello per le sue degne virtù fu fatto cittadino Fiorentino* (4). Would not this Gift have been superfluous to a Man, whose Ancestors were *Floren-*

tines? *Sabellicus* pretends, that *Boccace* was of *Florence*, and of the Family of *Certaldo*; *Florentinus Certaldæ domo* (5). Let not these Difficulties trouble you, since *Boccace* affirms, in the Epitaph, which he composed for himself, and which is on his Tomb, that he was born at *Certaldo*.

[B] *Boccace* — was well beloved by his Master, for he understood keeping Accounts.] This Love did not continue. *Boccace* being more fit to be a Wit, than a Bookkeeper, was disgusted at Trade, and neglected his Master's Business, who, being displeased with his Conduct, sent him back into his Country. *Egli odiando tale esercizio, & poco curando i negotii del Padrone, da lui fu licenziato, & rimandata alla patria* (6). I wonder more at this Merchant's patience, than at his sending him away: I say, I wonder, that he could keep a Youth six Years, who aspired only to Poetry; an Inclination

(5) *Sabellicus* lib. ix. apud *Betussi*, ibid.

(6) *Benvvenuto da Imola* apud *Betussi*, in vita *Boccacii*.

but he grew weary of this Employment; and, as he shewed an aptness for Study, They made him change his Occupation, and learn the Canon-Law, as being a Calling, which might enrich him. He lost almost as much time in this second Employ, as in the first; it did not please him, and he thought of nothing but Poetry; his Father's Orders, the Reproofs, and Exhortations, of his Friends, did not check his natural Inclination to versify, and philosophize [C]. It was in vain to tell him, that it was not the way to make his Fortune, and that he would deceive the Hopes, which the good Man, his Father, had conceived, to find himself one Day at ease by the Help of such a Son: Notwithstanding all this, he continued to have an Aversion to the Lawyer's Trade. However, he could not free himself from this unpleasant Study, 'till after his Father's Death; he was forced to put a Restraint upon himself till That Time: But, as soon as he attained to Independency, he totally renounced his former Occupations, and gave himself over to the Reading of the Poets. He put himself under the Discipline of *Petrarch*; he fought

tion much less agreeable to This Master's Interest, than the reading of the *Complait Merchant*, and the knowledge of a Banker's Trade.

Cent francs au denier cinq, combien font ils?
vingt livres.

Cinq & quatre font neuf, otez deux, reste sept. (7).

(7) Boileau, Sat.
viii. ver. 184,
214.

Add an hundred Francs to five Deniers, what is the Sum Total? Twenty Livres. — Five and Four make nine; take away Two; there remain Seven.

These are the Sciences, with which young *Boccaccio* ought to have been in love, if he would have continued in his Master's Favour. But, on the other side, it was a good sign of his becoming a Poet, to see him have an aversion to such Calculations.

Romani pueri longis rationibus assem

Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat

Filius Albini, si de quincunce remota est

Uncia, quid superat? poteras dixisse, Triens: heus,

Rem poteris servare tuam: redit uncia: quid sit?

Semis. Ad hæc animos ærugo & cura peculi

Cùm semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi

Possit linenda cedro, & levi servanda cupressu (8)?

(8) Horat. de
Art. Poet. ver.
325.

Our Roman Youth is bred another way,

And taught no Arts but Those of Usury;

And the glad Father glories in his Child,

When he can subdivide a Fraction.

Can Souls, who by their Parents, from their Birth,

Have been devoted thus to rust and gain,

Be capable of high and generous Thoughts?

Can Verses, writ by such an Author, live?

Lord Roscommon.

(C) His Father's Orders - - did not check his natural Inclination to versify.] Consult him in the

fifteenth Book of the Genealogy of the Gods:

'Fastidiebat hæc animus, says he (9), adeo ut in

neutrum horum officiorum, aut præceptoris do-

ctrina aut genitoris auctoritate, qua novis mandatis

angebatur continuè, aut amicorum precibus seu ob-

jurgationibus inclinari posset, in tantum illum

poëtica trahebat affectio. — I disliked them so

much, that neither the Precepts of a Teacher, the

Authority of an urgent Father, nor the Intreaties

or Reproofs of Friends, could incline me to either

of these Employ: so fond was I of Poetry.' What

he adds concerning the Inclination, which he had

from his childhood, to Fictions, is curious: 'Nec

ex novo sumpto consilio in poësim animus totis

tendebat pedibus: quinimò à vetustissima dispo-

sitione ibat impulsus, nam satis memor sum, nondum

ad septimum ætatis annum deveneram, nec dum

fictiones videram, nondum doctores aliquos adve-

ram, vix prima literarum elementa cognoveram,

& ecce ipsa impellente natura fingendi desiderium

affuit, & si nullius essent momenti, tamen aliquas

stiliunculas edidi, non enim suppetebant tenellæ

ætatis officio tanti vires ingenii (10). — Nor

was it a new Inclination, that turned my Thoughts

volubly to Poetry, but a Disposition of long standing;

VOL. II. N^o. XXXII.

(9) Boccacius,
de Genealog.
Deorum, lib. xv.
apud Papyr. Mac-
donem, Elog.
Tom. II. pag.
123.

(10) Id. ibid.

'for I very well remember, that, before seven Years
'of Age, when as yet I had seen no Fictions, had
'applied to no Masters, and scarce knew my A, B, C,
'I had a Natural Talent for Fiction, and produced
'some trifling Tales, my tender Age not being arri-
'ved to such a strength of Genius.' He observes,
that he soon acquired the Reputation of a Poet,
and even before he knew the Rules of the Art;
and he complains of his Father, who, thinking of
nothing but what is profitable, would not suffer
him to apply himself to That Study. 'He is the
'cause says he, that I am neither a Merchant
'nor a Canonist, as he wished me to be; and that
'I have lost the Advantage of signalizing my self
'in Poetry.' 'Mirabile dictu, cum nondum no-
'vissem, quibus seu quot pedibus carmen incederet,
'me etiam pro viribus renitente, quod nondum sum,
'poëta ferè à notis omnibus vocatus fui: nec du-
'bito dum ætas in hoc aptior erat, si æquo genitor
'tulisset animo, quin inter celebres poëtas unus
'evasissem: verum dum in lucrosas artes primò,
'inde in lucrosam facultatem ingenium flectere
'conarer meum, factum est, ut nec negotiator sim,
'nec evaderem Canonista, & perderem poëtam esse
'conspicuum (11).' It is easy to imagine the old

Man's Trouble: he was not rich, and he found, (11) Id. ibid. pag.
189.
that he had a Son capable of advancing himself; but,
instead of finding in him any Inclination for gain-
ful Employments, he saw his Mind wholly bent up-
on Philosophy and Poetry: which are things gene-
rally contrary to the Acquisition of Riches. 'Pia-
'cendogli sommamente leggere e intendere i buoni
'poeti, a quali era molto inchinato, e in tutte le
'sue attioni la vita philosophica imitando. Nondi-
'meno questo suo proposito gli era non impedito,
'ma quali vietato dal padre, il quale si perche era
'male agiato, come ancho perche giudicava gli studi
'della humanità e Philosophia congiunti con la poësia
'potergli dare poco utili, desiderava e voleva che
'si mettesse ad altra professione, per lo mezzo della
'quale potesse sostentar se e dare a jutto a lui (12).' (12) Petrus, vi-
This puts me in mind of a Passage of Mr Boileau. ti di Boccaccio.

Fils, frere, oncle, cousin, beau frere de Greffier,
Pouvant charger mon bras d'une utile hasse,
J'allay loin du Palais errer sur le Parnasse.
La Famille en pâlit, & vit en fremissant
Dans la poudre du Greffe un Poëte naissant.
On vid avec horreur une Muse effrenée
Dormir chez un Greffier la gresse matinée.
Dessors à la richesse il salut renoncer (13).

(13) Boileau E-
pître v. ver. 112.

My Father, Brother, Uncle, Registers,
My Cousin, Brother-in-law, with equal Cares,
Held the same Post, and I the same with theirs.
Soon weary of the musty Rolls, I fled
The Court, and turned to brighter Things my Head.
I sought the Nymphs, that haunt the Anion Floods,
And early stray'd in the Parnassian Woods.
The Family beheld, with rage and Scorn,
A Poet in the dusty Office born.
To them the lawless Muse with borrow'd snor'd
On Scrolls, o're which with so much gain they por'd.

OZELL.

[D] He

fought every where for other Masters, and, not having a sufficient Revenue to maintain himself, he sold his Patrimony, and exhausted it in such a Manner, that he stood in need of the Charity of others [D]. He caused *Homer* to be translated into *Latin* for his own use, and procured a Professorship at *Florence* for a *Grecian*, to explain That Poet [E]. He did not addit himself so much to Poetry, as to neglect other Studies: He undertook also to read the Bible; but, being an old Man, he only run it over, and thought, that, God having called him to the Culture of Poetry, he ought to dwell on That [F]. The Republic of *Florence* honoured him with the Freedom of a Citizen(a), and employed him in public Affairs, and particularly to negotiate the Return of *Petrarch*. They sent him to him; but *Petrarch* not only did not return to *Florence*, but made *Boccace* also resolve to leave That Place, considering the Factions, which divided it. I believe it was with no great Difficulty he inspired him with This Design; for *Boccace* was a Man, who loved Quiet, and would not join with any Faction. A Person, who is thus inclined, acts but a mean part in a divided City. Having left *Florence*, he rambled over

(a) See the Remark [A].

(14) It was without doubt the Monk Barlaam.

(15) Betussi, ib.

(16) Boccacius, de General. Deor. lib. xv. cap. 6. See Pappyrus Maffio, Ellog. Tom. II. pag. 195.

(17) Betussi, ib.

(18) Don Eugenio Gamurrini, Abbate Casinese, istoria genealogica delle famiglie nobili Toscane Umbre, in the Journal des Savans, Fevr. 7. 1678, pag. 58, of the Dutch Edition.

(19) Boccacius, de General. Deor. lib. xv. cap. vii. apud Pappyrus Maffionem, Ellog. Tom. II. pag. 191, 192.

[D] He fought every where for other Masters, and exhausted his Patrimony in such a manner, that he stood in need of the Charity of others.] He went into *Sicily*, to hear the Lectures of a *Calabrian* (14), who had the Reputation of being very learned in the *Greek Language* (15). He praises very much *Andalus de Nigro*, a Native of *Genoa*, who had taught him *Astronomy* (16). We shall see, hereafter, that he was acquainted with a learned Man of *Theffalonica*: the following Words shew that he was reduced very low; 'Ma non posendo il po- vero poeta col debile patrimonio, che quasi gia se n'era andato lungamente piu negli studi continuare, come disperato se ne stava quasi per pigliare novo partito & senza dubbio farebbe stato a cio confretto dalla necessita: ma il divino *Petrarcha*, che molto l'amava, incominciò sovenerlo in diverse cose, ajutandolo secondo i bisogni di denari, e provedendogli di libri, & altre necessarie cose: onde sempre egli lo chiamò padre e benefattore suo (17). This informs us, that, if *Petrarch* had not supplied poor *Boccace* with Money and Books, and such like Assistances, the latter must have been obliged to give over his Studies, by reason of his Poverty, and to take some other course. Note, that *Petrarch* bequeathed him, by his Will, fifty Florins for a Winter-Suit, that he might follow his Studies commodiously (18).

[E] He procured a Professorship for a *Grecian*.] This Man was of *Theffalonica*, and his Name was *Leontius Pylatus*. Let us see what *Boccace* says of him: 'Ego, *Leontium Pylatum* à *Venetis* occiduum *Babylonem* quarentem à longa peregrinatione meis flexi consiliis, in patria tenui, illum in propriam domum suscepì, & diu hospitem habui: & maximo labore meo curavi ut inter doctores *Florentini* studii susceperetur, ei ex publico mercede apposita. Fui equidem ipse insuper, qui primus meis sumptibus *Homeri* libros & alios quosdam *Græcos* in *Hetruriam* revocavi, ex qua multis antè sæculis abierant non redituri. Nec in *Hetruriam* tantum, sed in patriam deduxi. Ipse ego fui qui primus ex *Latinis* à *Leontio Pylato* in privato *Iliadem* audivi. Ipse insuper fui, qui ut legerentur publicè libri *Homeri* operatus sum: & esto non satis plenè perceperim, percepi tamen quantum potui: nec dubium si permansisset homo ille vagus diutius penes nos, quin plenius percepissem, sed quantulumcumque ex multis didicirim, nonnullum tamen præceptoris demonstratione crebra integrè intellexi, eosque prout oportuum visum est, huic operi miscui (19). — My Advice prevailed upon *Leontius Pylatus*, who was going from *Venice* to *Rome*, to lay aside the thoughts of so long a Journey; I kept him at home, I took him into my own house, and entertained him a long time: afterwards I procured him a Professorship at *Florence*. It was owing to me, that the Books of *Homer*, and other *Greek Authors*, were brought back into *Hetruria*, which they had left, never to return. I was the first, among the *Latin*s, who privately heard the *Iliad* of *Homer* from the mouth of *Leontius Pylatus*: I was besides, the Person who procured that *Homer's* Books should be publicly read; and, granting that I did not thoroughly understand him, I understood as much as was in my Power: and I doubt not but I should have had a fuller Knowledge of him,

if that rambling Fellow had staid longer among us. However some Things I had a clear conception of, and inserted them in This Work, as Opportunity offered.' He quotes him in several places of the Genealogy of the Gods; not that This *Pylatus* had written any Books; but *Boccace* had heard him say many things, which he preserved in his Collections. We shall see, in the following Words, part of This *Greek Doctor's* Character. It may easily be concluded from them, that he was a Pedant: '*Leontium Pylatum Theffalonicensem virum, & ut ipse asserit, Barlae auditorem, persæpè deduco; spectu horridus homo est, turpi facie, barba prolixa, & capilitio nigro, & meditatione occupatus assidua, moribus incultus, nec satis urbanus homo, verum, uti experientia notum fecit, literarum Græcarum doctissimus, & quodammodo Græcarum historiarum atque fabularum artiumque inexhaustum, esto Latinarum non satis adhuc instructus sit. Hujus ego nullum vidi opus, sanè quicquid ex eo recito ab eo viva voce referente percepi. Nam cum legentem *Homerum*, & mecum singulari amicitia conversantem ferè tribus annis audivi, nec infinitis ab eo recitatis, urgente etiam alia cura animi, acrior suffecisset memoria, nisi in schedulis commendassent. (20). — I often consult *Leontius Pylatus* of *Theffalonica*, who was, as he himself tells me, an Auditor of the Monk *Barlaam*: He is of an hideous Aspect, has a long Beard, black Hair, and ever buried in Thought: Unpolite, but very learned in the *Greek Tongue*, as Experience shews: I allow, indeed, he has, at yet, very little knowledge of the *Latin*. This Man never wrote any Thing, and whatever I recite from him passed in Discourse between us. For I heard him read *Homer*, and conversed freely with him almost three Years; nor could I have remembered the many things, I have heard from him, my mind being taken up with other cares likewise, had I not committed them to Writing.*

[F] He undertook also to read the Bible, but, being an old Man, he only run it over.] Let us set down a Passage of *Betussi*. 'Diede quell' opre maggiore che per lui si potesse alla poesia, & ancho si pose a studiare nelle sacre lettere; ma essendo hoggimai quasi vecchio, si come testimonia egli stesso nell' ultimo d'i presenti libri (21) dicendo. Cætera facultatum studia, & si placeant, quoniam non sic impellerent, minime secutus sum. Vidi tamen sacra volumina a quibus, quoniam annosa est ætas, & tenuitas ingenii disuasere, destiti, turpissimum ratus senem, ut ita loquar, elementarium nova inchoare studia, & cunctos indecensissimum esse id attentasse, quod minime arbitreris perficere posse. Così non molto in questo studi si fermo, anzi lasciandogli da parte attese alla sua cara poesia: alla quale da i cieli era chiamato, si come continuando segue dicendo. Et ideo cum exissimem Dei beneplacito me in hac vocatione vocatum, in eadem consistere mens est (22). — He gives this as his reason, at the end of the second Book. I followed not other Studies, how pleasing soever, because the bent of my Inclination lay another way. Indeed I just looked into the sacred Volumes, but desisted, on account of my Age, and want of Talents, thinking it shameful for an old Man to set about new Studies, and unbecoming all Persons to attempt what they cannot go through with.

(20) Boccacius, ibid. cap. vi. apud eund. pag. 193.

(21) Betussi, ubi supra.

(22) Viz. de General. Deor.

over several Places of *Italy*, and stopped at last at the Court of *Naples*, where King *Robert* gave him a very good Reception. He fell greatly in love with That Prince's Natural Daughter (b), which made him stay a considerable time at *Naples*. He made also a long Abode in *Sicily*, where he had a good share in Queen *Joan's* Favour. He returned to *Florence*, when the Troubles were somewhat appeased, but could not like the Course of Life, which he must have led there. For which reason he retired to *Certaldo*, where, far from the Noise of the World, he spent his Time in Study, according to his Fancy. He always loved Liberty; which was the Reason, why he would never put himself into the Service of any great Lord, though he was desired to do it by many. His applying himself too much to Study, occasioned an illness in his Stomach, of which he died at *Certaldo*, in the Year 1375. He was buried there in St *James's* and St *Philip's* Church. He was of an amorous Complexion, and yet he would never marry, and left but one natural Child (c) [G]. He composed many Books [H], some learned and serious, and others of Tales and Gallantry. It is chiefly by the latter, that he immortalized himself [I].

(b) See the Remark [N], of the Article NAPLES, (JOAN I., Queen of).

(c) Taken from his Life, written by Giuseppe Betussi da Bassano. It is prefixed to the Italian Translation of Boccaccio's *Riscio* De genealogia Deorum, written by the same Betussi.

He

* with. Thus he continued attached to his favourite Poetry, as he goes on to tell us; esteeming therefore, that God had called me to this Study, I determine to pursue it. This is observable. He believed, that, even in his old Age, he ought to apply himself chiefly to Poetry, and that it was the Talent, which God had intrusted him with, and the Ministry, to which Heaven had called him. He followed the Maxim, *quam quisque noverit artem, in hac se exerceat*, every one should exercise the Trade he understands.

[G] He was of an amorous Complexion, and yet he would never marry. Let us quote Betussi again. 'Fu medefimamente molto inchinato all' amore & libidinoso, & non poco gli piacquerò le donne, come che di loro in molti luoghi dell' opere sue ne dicessè quel peggio che dire si potesse: tuttavia di alquante nelle scritture sue sotto finto nome ne fa honorato ricordo — non lascio di se heredi legittimi: perche non hebbe mai moglie, solamente di lui rimase un figliuolo naturale senza piu (23). — He was likewise very amorous, and lustful, as appears from the many wanton Passages in his Works — He left no legitimate Heirs, having never been married, and but one Natural Son.

[H] He composed many Books. An Abridgment of the Roman History from *Romulus* till the Year of Rome 724, with a Parallel of the seven Kings of Rome, and of the Emperors, till *Nero*, inclusive. This Work was printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1534, in 8vo. The History of illustrious Women, printed at *Bern*, in the Year 1539, in Folio. The Genealogy of the Gods, with a Treatise of Mountains, Seas, Rivers, Lakes, &c. This work was printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1532, in Folio, with the Notes of *James Micillus*. De casibus virorum illustrium: This Work began with *Adam*, and ended with *John King of France*, taken by the English in the Year 1356. It was printed at *Paris*, in Folio, by the care of *John Thierri*, of *Beauvais*: I do not know in what Year, and consequently I cannot tell whether This Edition be later than That of *Ausbourg*, 1544. This Book was translated into Italian, Spanish, English, and French, at *Paris*, 1578, in 8vo: the name of the Translator is *Claudius Vitart*. I wonder *Vossius* spoke of most of these Works, as if they were only in Manuscript (24). As for the Books, which are ascribed to Boccaccio, de vihoris Sigismundi Imperatoris in Turbas; de heresibus Boemorum; de capta Constantinopoli; de Tartarorum victoria in Turbas (25); they seem to me chimerical; and some of them certainly are so. Let us say something of Boccaccio's Italian Compositions. He wrote il Philocolo, ea Fiammetta, l'Ameto, il Labirinto d'amore, la vita di Dante (26); il Decamerone, of which I am going to speak, &c. All these Books, and most of the Latin, have been translated into French long since (27). As for his Italian Verses, I shall only say, that he wrote many, and that he did not shew a great Talent in them. Per dire il vero, lo stile volgare in verso non gli fu troppo amico (28). Nevertheless, he was one of the *Triumvirs*, or three Princes of the Poets of That Age; it is true, he had only the last Rank given him in the Poetical *Triumvirate*; the first was given to *Dante*, and the second to *Petrarch* (29). Note, that the *Thebeside* of Boccaccio was a Poem of a new Invention, which is much

to his Credit; for none but great Wits can trace out new ways, unknown to others. Scrisse la Thebeside sopra in ottava rima, nella cui si contengono i fatti di Theseo, & fu il primo inventore di tale testura perche per innanzi non mi ricordo io havir trovato ch' altri la usasse (30). Let us not forget, that he acknowledged his inferiority: for having seen *Petrarch's* Sonnets, and Songs, he resolved to throw his Poems into the Fire. *Petrarch* writ a Letter to him to dissuade him from that design (31). Betussi stops there; but, he should have said also, that Boccaccio actually burnt his Italian Verses, after having seen that they came not near those of *Petrarch*. See the Author that I quote (32).

[I] It is chiefly by the latter, that he immortalized himself. This ought especially to be understood of the *Decameron*, which is a Collection of an Hundred Novels, wherein there are very diverting Adventures of Love, and many roguish Tricks played to Husbands. That Work has been translated into several Languages, and re-printed a thousand times. It is by that Book that many People, who would have been ignorant of the other Writings of This Author, know that Boccaccio was an Ornament of his Age, a fine Genius, an excellent Author, a Virtuoso, &c. *Paul Jovius* makes this Remark: 'Obsolescent & aegre quidem vitae spiritum retinent libri de Genealogia Deorum, varietateque Fortunae, & de fontibus accuratè potius quam feliciter elaborati, quando jam illae decem dierum fabulae, Millesiarum imitatione in gratiam oblectandi oculi, admirabili jucunditate compositae, in omnium nationum linguas adoptentur, & sine ulla suspitione interitus, applaudente populo, cunctorum operum gratiam antecedant (33). — His books on the Genealogy of the Gods, and the variety of Fortune, and on Fountains, composed more accurately than happily, grow obsolete, and hardly live, while his ten Days Tales, writ for Diversion, in imitation of the Milesian Tales, with admirable pleasantry, are adopted into all Languages, and without any objection, and with the applause of the World, are received more favourably than any other of his Works.' There are some Protestants, to whom the *Decameron* is not disagreeable; they find in it Railleries against the Monks, and the Popish Devotions. In eo fabulis & historiis centum papale regnum, confessionem auricularum, Sanctas, lipanolatricum, purgatorium &c. acerrime perstrinxit, perversitatis Papae non ignarus (34). Doubtless this is the reason why some Catholic Authors call him impious: 'Boccacius Hetruscorum Cicero, fabulator jucundus, & eloquens sermone patrio, sed Latini parum peritus, Theogoniae non admodum accuratus, & Mythologiae non satis idoneus enarrator, in omnibus obsecutus, IMPIUS, & verficulator ineptissimus (35). — Boccaccio, the Cicero of Tuscany, a pleasant story Teller, and eloquent in his own Language, but not well skilled in the Latin, not very accurate in his Theogony, nor a nice explainer of Mythology, every where obscene, IMPIOUS, and a paltry verficier.' You see he is also accounted obscene. The Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* reproach him with the same thing. It ought to be observed, say they (36), 'That there are some Passages in That Author, which shew plainly, that he was less scrupulous of breaking the Rules of Purity of Port Royal,

(30) Id. ibid.

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Petrarcha Epist. ad Boccacium lib. v. re. rum seniliam apud Papyr. Maffonem, Elog. Tom. II. p. 191.

(33) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 6. pag. 23.

(34) Bernegger. Idol. Lauret. pag. 128, & seq. apud Tho. Pope Blount, Censura Author. p. 308.

(35) Balthasar Bonifacius, Hist. Ludicae, lib. xv. cap. 3. pag. 432, 433.

(36) Baillet, Jugem. des Savans, n. 206. des Critiques Grammaticiens. He quotes the Preface to the Italian Grammar of the Gentlemen of Port Royal.

(23) Betussi, ubi supra.

(24) Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 527.

(25) Pocclantius de Scrip. Florentinis, pag. 92. Betussi in vita Boccacii. See also Gesner in Biblioth. fol. 370.

(26) It was printed at Rome, in 1544, in 16mo, and at Florence 1576, in 8vo.

(27) See the Bibliothecque Francoise of Du Verdier was-Privas, at the word John Boccaccio.

(28) Betussi, ubi supra.

(29) Id. ibid.

He is taxed with *Plagiarism* [K]. I shall make a Remark on the Care, which the Inquifitors

of Manners, which we have received from God himself, than of offending in the least against those, concerning the Purity of Language, which proceed only from Caprice, or the Will of Men.

(37) Bullart, Académ. des Sciences, Tom. I. p. 263.

Let us see what Mr Bullart observes, concerning That Book. 'The most considerable of his Compositions, says he (37), is the *Decameron*; which, having been received with applause by all Italy, was likewise so favourably entertained by Foreign Nations, that each desired to have it in their own Language; and it was the more eagerly sought after, because endeavours were used to suppress it; and it was censured, for speaking too freely and satirically against the Monks. *Boccace* published it in the Year One thousand three hundred forty eight, at a time when the City of *Florence* was laid waste, and made almost desert, by a raging Pestilence. It may be reckoned among the finest of Pieces, which are writ for Amusement, and have some mixture of the profitable and delightful. *Petrarch*, having read it over, found so many beauties in it, that he took the pains to translate a Piece of that fine Work into *Latin* for his own diversion, which was the incredible Patience of *Grifolide* towards her Husband the Marquis of *Sa-luces*. *Petrarch* dedicated his *Latin* Translation of the Story of *Grifolide* to *Boccace*, and told him, that, in running over the *Decameron*, he had observed, that the Author had been obliged to reprove certain Satirists, who could do nothing but find fault with what they would not, or could not do: *Animadverti alicubi librum ipsum canum dentibus laceffum, tuo tamen baculo egregie, tuaque voce defensum. Nec miratus sum: nam & vires ingenii tui novi, & scio expertus esse hominum genus, & insolens & ignavum, qui quicquid ipsi vel nolunt, vel nesciunt, vel non possunt, in aliis reprehendunt, ad hoc unum docti & arguti. Sed elingues ad reliqua* (38). — *I observed somewhere, that the book itself has been attacked by Dogs open-mouthed, but excellently defended by your Voice and Cudgel. I do not wonder at it, for I know the strength of your Genius, and know likewise by experience, that there are a sort of Men, that are both insolent and lazy, who blame, in others, what ever they themselves either know not, or will not or cannot, do. In this single thing they are learned, and sharp; for any thing else, they have not a word to say.* He adds, that he excuses the lascivious Passages on account of the Writer's Age, the nature of the Subject, and the Character of the Persons, who would read such a Work: 'Si quid lascivie liberioris occurreret, excusabat ætas tunc tua dum id scriberes, filius, idioma, ipsa quoque rerum levitas, & eorum qui lecturi talia videbantur: resert enim largiter quibus scribas, morumque varietate sibi varietas excusatur (39). — *If any thing occurred a little too loose, your age at the time of writing of it, the Style, the Idiom, as also the levity of the subject itself, and of those who were likely to read it, serves to excuse it: for it is a great matter to whom you write, and variety of style is excused by variety of manners.* Nothing can be more equitable than this; Whoever pretends to judge of a Book, ought to go by this Rule; to consider the Author's Age and Profession, the nature of the Subject, and for what sort of Persons he writes; for That, which would be intolerable in a Dogmatical Work, is not so in a Work designed for Diversion. However, the obscenities of the *Decameron* did not hinder the wisest and most virtuous Princes of *France* from ordering it to be translated into *French*; for it was in obedience to the most illustrious *Margaret de Valois*, Queen of *Navarre*, that *Antony le Maçon* (40) translated it into That Language. *Du Verdier Van-Privas* takes notice of five Editions of That Translation (41), without mentioning either That which I make use of, which is That of *Paris* by *Martin le Jeune* 1559, in 8vo, or That of *Paris* by *Oliver de Harly* 1569. He observes that the same Book had been translated long before by one *Laurens*. Note, that there is an Italian Edition of the *Decameron* (42), to which *Francis Sansovin* prefixed a Preface, and the Author's Life. A new French Translation of This Work, with Cuts, was published at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1697.

(38) Petrarcha apud Papyr. Massonem, Ellog. Tom. II. p. 198, 199.

(39) Id. ibid.

(40) He was a Native of Dauphiné, Treasurer of the Wars, and Secretary to the Queen of Navarre, the only Sister of *Francis I.*

(41) Du Verdier Biblioth. Francoise, pag. 72.

(42) At Venice 1549, in 4to.

The Translator, owns, in the Preface, that he has unfolded the Graces of the Original, that he has dressed them according to our fashion, that he has abridged several things, and avoided Repetitions; 'That he has often altered not only whole Periods, but also the Plan of the Work; that he has only taken the essential part of the Novel, and that, to avoid the Preambles prefixed to each Story, he thought fit not to name the Interlocutors, and to omit the distinction of the Days; that, when he met with any licentious Passages, he took a particular care to wrap up things in such a manner, that the Fair Sex might laugh without blushing.' He hopes there will be no cause to complain, that he has spoiled any thing by too scrupulous a Circumspection. But many people are persuaded, that every one, who is able to read the *Decameron* in *Italian*, will dislike a Translation so different from the Original, and will rather chuse to make use of the old ones, than of this; and Translators, when, instead of translating literally, they take the liberty to cut off, and alter, whatever they please, meet with as heavy censures from these People, as your good Toppers daily bestow on a Vintner, who seldom has any thing in his Cellar but mixtures, wherein Art destroys Nature.

Perhaps no Body has exclaimed more against *Boccace* than *Vannozzi*. He pretends, that reading the *Decameron* has made so many Courtizans, that a Man would be astonished, if he knew the number of them. 'Al fuoco, al fuoco, cries he (43), si fatti volumi, spengasi il seme una volta di coli maligna Zizania. Chi potesse contare quante puttane ha fatto il *Decameron* del Boccaccio, rimarrebbe stupido, & senza senso; Che cose dicano di lui duo Fiorentini favi, & letterati amendue, leggasi in due lettere, una di *Francesco Petrarcha* tra le latine, & una di *Bartolomeo Cavalcanti* tra le vulgari, & intenderallo. Ma che occorre cercar piu oltre di quello, che n'habbia giudicato la tanta inquisitione dannandolo? Non si può negare, che l'opera del *Decameron*, non sia stata di notabil giovamento alla lingua *Tosca*, della quale egli è veramente Maestro; ma per conto delle materie, & delle cose narrate da esso, in quel suo novelliere, non si può dire, quanto, & quale sia stato, & perseveri tuttavia, il danno, che se ne sente. — *To the fire, to the fire, with such foolish books; destroy at once the seeds of these malignant Tares. If a Man could but tell how many Whores Boccace's Decameron has made, he would be amazed and stupified. What two Florentines, both of them wise and learned Men, say of him, may be seen in two Letters, one from Francis Petrarch in Latin, the other from Bartholomew Cavalcante in Italian; but what need we look any further? Has not the holy Inquisition condemned it? It cannot be denied, that the Decameron contains notable helps to the Tuscan Language, of which he is truly a Master: but, as for the matter contained in the Novels there related, no body can tell what damage it has done, and daily does, without being observed.* There are, in this Letter of *Vannozzi*, several other Testimonies of his Zeal against Books of Love Intrigues.

[K] He is taxed with *Plagiarism*. It is said (44), that his Book, *de genealogia Deorum*, was taken from a piece of the same kind done by the Civilian *Paul of Perugia*, Library-keeper to King *Robert* (45). But, since he confesses, that he took many things out of it, and particularly those he put out under the Name of *Theodotius* (46), it ought not to be imputed to him as a Crime. He is not so excusable as to what he has taken out of another Author, and out of *Vibius Sequester's* Book of *Nominibus Fluminum, Fontium, Lacuum, Nemorum, Paludum, & Gentium* (47); for he never quotes him. 'Boccacius in opere de genealogia Deorum Fulgentii mythologiam, etiam cum non citat, graviter exscripsit, adeo ut ex Boccacio in non paucis emendari Fulgentius potuerit (48). — *Boccace, in his Book on the Genealogy of the Gods, has grossly copied the Mythology of Fulgentius, even when he does not cite him, so that Fulgentius might be corrected out of Boccace in several Places.* It is a question, whether he is the true Author of the *Ameto*, and of the *amatoria visiones* (49). *Thomasius* has not put him

(43) Bonifacio Vannozzi delle Lettere Miscellanee, Vol. I. pag. 550.

(44) Leand. Albertus Descript. Ital. pag. 101.

(45) He was King of Naples.

(46) Boccac. de Geneal. Door. lib. xv. cap. 6. See Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 525, 526.

(47) See Vossius de Philologia, cap. xi. n. 20. pag. 57.

(48) Faber in Decad. n. 95.

(49) Leand. Albert. ubi supra pag. 76.

Inquifitors have taken to place his *Decameron* in the Lift of forbidden Books [L]. His *Labyrinth of Love* had been lately tranſlated [M]: that Book is a Proof of his diſorderly Engagements with the Fair Sex, and of the Troubles they were attended with. I do not queſtion but there are a great many particular, and very curious, things concerning *Boccace*, and his Books, in the *Iſtoria della volgar poeſia*, published in the Year 1698, in 4to, by the Abbot Giovanni Mario de Creſcembeni. I have not that Book, which would be very uſeful to me, neither do I know any Body that has it. Some ſay, that *Boccace* was either the Author or the Approver of the Book *De tribus Impoſtoribus* (d). I would here ſupply one Omiſſion, which is, that it would be a very great Error to take the Adventures related in his *Decameron* for Truth. Some of them may perhaps be founded on Realities, which he was acquainted with, to which he only added the Ornaments; but the greateſt Part are the Productions of Wit, and invented at different times; one of his beſt Tales is extant in *Apuleius* [N].

(d) Mareſchal de
Joanna Paſſia,
pag. 196.

in his Lift of Plagiaries. Vannoſſi takes notice that the *Decameron* is full of Plagiariſm. 'In un libro di Nouelle, & di bel parlare gentile, anteriore al Boccaccio, & di doue egli cauò alcune delle riſpoſte da lui nel ſuo *Decameron*, o Principe Goleotto, che vuol dire Principe de' Ruſſiani, ſi legge queſta coſi puntualmente, *Et de verbo ad verbum deſcritta* (50). — In a book of Tales and polite ſpeaking, prior to Boccace, and from whence he took ſome of the things he has put in his *Decameron*, or Prince Goleotto, that is the Prince of Ruſſians, you may find ſeveral Paſſages which he has copied exactly, even word for word. Having quoted the Words of the Author, who lived before Boccace, he obſerves that the Copyiſt had corrupted his Original in a ſcandalous manner. The Perſons, mentioned in the Copy, are Clergymen, who loſe their Virtue: thoſe of the other Author, were Lay-men, who had forſaken their evil ways. 'Jo ho copiato qui queſta nouelleſta, dal ſuo detto libro, acciò ſi noti il peggioramento, che n'ha fatto il Boccaccio, traſferendola tra le ſue, che è quella a punto di Maſſetto da Lamporecchio tanto peggiorata, & coſi ſcandalosamente alterata, come guidicherà chiunque la ſapia: attribuendo à perſone ſacre il Boccaccio quella colpa, che dal ſuo anteriore fu aſcritta à perſone profane, & dove quelli fà di cattive douentar buone le ſue; il Boccaccio fà di buone douentar cattive le noſtre (51). — I have copied this Tale from the book above-mentioned, to ſhew the injury Boccace has done them by tranſferring them into his; that this, particularly, of the Maſſetto di Lamporecchio, is made ſo much worſe and ſo ſcandalouſly altered, as whoever underſtands it muſt judge, Boccace attributing to ſacred Perſons, what, by his Predeceſſor, had been aſcribed to profane ones: and whereas the other made his wicked Men become good, Boccace makes our good Men turn wicked.

(50) Vannoſſi
Miſcel. Let. Vol.
I. pag. 580.

(51) Id. ibid.

[L] The Inquifitors have placed his *Decameron* in the Lift of forbidden Books. Mr Arnould obſerves 'that the Books of the Pagan Poets, full of ſo much filth, which may incline the Readers to ſin, have not been forbid, for this one reaſon, becauſe they are neceſſary for ſome Perſons to learn the Latin Tongue . . . and therefore they, who made the Rules of the Index, did not believe, that, by any poſitive Law, it ought to be forbidden, that young Perſons, who are Maſters of their Reading, to whom thoſe Books are much more dangerous than to Children, ſhould read the infamous Paſſages of *Martial*, *Juvenal*, *Horace*, *Petrarch*, *Apuleius*, &c. Not but that they thought, that moſt of thoſe who read them did ill; but becauſe others, who are ſufficiently confirmed in Virtue, ſo as not to be affected with thoſe bad Ideas, and to mind only the neatneſs and elegance of the Greek and Latin Tongue, may read them innocently, it was thought expedient to keep to the Law of Nature, and to leave thoſe things to every one's Conſcience, and to the Judgment of the Directors and Confefſors. The like was done with reſpect to Boccace's *Decameron*. Becauſe the Italians find the greateſt delicacy of their Language in it, the Licentiouſneſs of his Stories did not hinder it from being left in every Body's Hands, provided it was corrected. And I have been told, that that Correction conſiſts only in changing, in the ſcandalous ſtories, the Words *Monks* and *Nuns* for others. But ſince things, which may be a Temptation to Impurity, are the more dangerous,

when they are related in a pleaſant Style, it is not a thing, that does much honour to the Chriſtian Religion, to leave a Book, ſo dangerous in that reſpect, in every Body's Hands, becauſe it is writ very politely, whiſt many others are forbid, wherein there is more to be learned; and the danger infinitely leſs. I ſpeak, comparing ſo many forbidden Books with that of Boccace, which is not forbidden (52). All this Diſcourſe is very judicious, and has ſomething in it would almoſt make one believe, that, provided the Clergy be not concerned in the matter, they do not care much what harm the reading of Boccace may do.

[M] His *Labyrinth of Love*, has been lately tranſlated: That Book is a proof of his diſorderly Intrigues with the fair Sex, and of the Troubles they were attended with. The French Tranſlation, printed at Paris in 1699, was immediately re-printed at Amſterdam: It bears the Title of *Boccace's Dream*, and is an Invective againſt Women. The Author writ it when he was angry with a Widow, whom he had loved, and who had played him an ill Trick. He, who tranſlated that Work, has taken more liberty even than the new Tranſlator of the *Decameron*. He has left out many things, which he has filled up with *Stories*, *Fragments*, and *Verſes*, compoſed either by his Friends, or by other Writers of our Time. Mr de Beauval ſays, 'That it is no ways a regular Tranſlation of Boccace's *Dream*, but an ill, injudicious, Collection of Boccace's *Dream*, and of all that the Moderns, long ſince Boccace, have ſaid about Women (53). Another Journaliſt is yet more ſevere: he ſays, 'That the Supplements make the whole piece monſtrous, and quite deſtroy the Oeconomy of it. Nothing appears more out of it's place in a Book of Boccace, who lived above Three hundred Years ago, than Verſes of Mademoiſelle de Scuderi, Reflexions of Mr de la Bruyere, Maxims of the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and Pieces of a yet later date (54). Note, that the Tranſlator advertiſes us, that 'he has left out . . . many things that Modesty would not bear; but that he has preſerved Boccace's Devotion, becauſe he thought he ſhould have too much diſfigured his Work, if he had deprived him of that, after taking away his Obſcenities. He takes notice, that it is the uſual way of That Author to mix Morality and pious Thoughts among Trifles.

I obſerve, that, generally ſpeaking, no Writers ſlander the Fair Sex ſo much as thoſe who have moſt frequented, loved, and idolized them; and therefore Women ought to mind their Slanders but little: They are proofs of their Dominion; they are the Murmurings of a Slave, who feels the weight of his Chains, or who, being at Liberty, fees the marks of his Servitude remaining on his Body.

[N] One of his beſt Tales is extant in *Apuleius*. 'Tis that of the Woman that hid her Gallant under a Tub. Beroald has remarked the ſame. — Joannes Boccacius, ſays he (55), eloquio vernaculo diſtiſſimus, candidiſſimus, argumeto & ſtylo lepidiſſimo, ſeſſiviſſimoque, inter quas Apuleianam hanc inferuit, tranſpoſuitque commodiſſime, non ut Interpres, ſed ut Conditor; quam feminæ noſtrates non ſurdis auribus audiunt, neque invitate legunt — John Boccace, a very eloquent Man in his Mother Tongue, compoſed an hundred Tales on very merry ſubjects, and in a moſt pleaſant and witty Style, among which he has inſerted this of Apuleius, and tranſplanted it nicely, not as a Tranſlator,

(52) Difficulté
propoſées à Mr
St. vaert, Part
IX. pag. 324.

(53) Hiſt. des
Ouvrages des Sa-
vans, March,
1699, pag. 128.

(54) Bernard.
Nouvelles de la
Rep. des Lettres,
April, 1699,
pag. 476.

(55) Philip Bo-
roald's Notes on
the 9th Book of
Apuleius's Golden
Aſs, p. 297,
298. Edit. Baſil
1597 in 3vo.

(c) In the 2d
Volume of his
Tales, pag. 196.
Edit. Amst.
1685, in 8vo.

stator, but as the original Author, which the Wo-
men of our Time bear and read with a deal of
Pleasure. Mr de la Fontaine has also given us this
Tale, under the Title of the Cooper (56), but he

has not taken notice that he borrowed it from another
Author. He sometimes points out the Foun-
tain he draws from; I wonder he has not always
done so.

(a) I have seen
a French Tran-
slation of the 1st
Century, printed
at Paris, in 1615,
in 8vo: the Tran-
slator calls him-
self Fougasse.

(b) Niclus Ery-
thraeus Pinacoth.
iii. pag. 223,
speaking of the
Book entitled,
Pietra del para-
gone politico.

(c) Moreri is one
of them.

BOCCALINI (TRAJAN), born at Rome, was a very fine Genius in the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He was too much given to Raillery and Detraction, and took a new and pleasant Turn to criticize what he pleased; which was to feign, that Apollo, holding his general Court on Parnassus, heard the Complaints of all Persons, and did justice according to the Exigency of the Case. This produced the *Ragguagli di Parnasso*, which have been translated into several Languages (a), and well relished by the Public. He fell into the common Fault of those who delight too much in Satire; that is, he must needs level his Detractions at Thrones, and crowned Heads, and attacked chiefly those which made then the greatest Noise in Europe. He attacked the Court of Spain; and that in a manner the more poignant, as he pretended to shew, that the Monarchy of that Name was not so powerful as was imagined, and that it's Strength might easily be undermined by certain ways which he pointed out (b). This has been thought the Occasion of his Death. The Spaniards complain heavily of his slandering them [A]. See in Moreri how he was killed. This Man, who censured every Body, and who found so much fault with the Government, made it appear, that his Theory, and his Practice, did not well agree together [B]; for the Jurisdiction, which he exercised in some places of the Ecclesiastical State, was no ways conformable to the Rules of Equity and Justice. People were going continually to Rome to complain of him; which occasioned many malicious Reflexions, as well against the Advocates and Physicians, as against the Divines [C]. Those who have been pleased to say, that he was meditating political Discourses on Tacitus (c), when he was murdered [D], were not

[A] The Spaniards complain heavily of his slandering them. Hear what one of their Authors says on this subject. 'De nuestros tiempos ser notados por de genio critico y maldiciente, Francisco Ber-
na, Poeta contra los de su nacion Italianos: Tra-
jano Boccalini, discursista paradoxo contra toda la na-
cion Espannola. — In our time are noted for
their Critical and Satirical Genius, Francisco Ber-
na an Italian Poet against those of his own Nation;
' Trajano Boccalini for his Paradoxical Discourses
' against the whole Spanish Nation.' These are the
words of John Vitrian, in his Notes on Philip de
Comines (1).

(1) Chap. I.
Letter (F), pag.
3.

[B] His Theory and his Practice did not well agree together. See what Niclus Erythraeus said of it. 'At qui se aliis Reip. bene gerendae ducem ac magistrum profectur ac praestat, in iis oppidis, quorum illi administratio commissa fuerat, regen-
dis, suis ipse praecceptis non paruit, sed multa, ut
ajunt, commisit, quae ab illorum rationibus essent
aliena. Quamobrem fiebat, ut Romam crebrae de
ipsum injuriis querimoniae deferrentur (2). —
But he, who professed himself, and really was, a
Master and Guide to others in the good Admini-
stration of Government, in governing these Towns
committed to his management, never obeyed his own
Rules, but acted in many things quite contrary to
them, so that frequent complaints were carried to
Rome of his injustice.' It is but too common for
those who write Political Books, and even good
ones, to shew but little Capacity when they hap-
pen to be promoted to great Offices. So true is
it, that the application of Rules is more difficult,
than the Art of discoursing well of them!

(2) Pinacoth. I.
pag. 272.

[C] This occasioned many malicious Reflexions as well against the Advocates and Physicians as against the Divines. Niclus Erythraeus pretends, that this occasioned a Proverb, importing, that there are three sorts of Men, who make almost no use of the Laws they prescribe to others. No body swerves more from the Law in Practice, than a Lawyer; no Body observes the Regimen of Health, less than a Physician; no Body fears the remorse of Conscience less than a Divine. You will find, in the Original, the Exception which the Author has made. He does not relate the thing as jesters commonly do. They say, That the Lawyers, who advise others so much to go to Law, do seldom go to Law them-
selves; That Physicians, who prescribe so much
Physic to their Patients, take but little themselves;
and that Divines, who set down so many Arti-
cles of Faith for others, believe but few themselves
(3). There are the Latin Words of Niclus Ery-
thraeus. 'Quamobrem fiebat, ut Romam crebrae
' de ipsius (Boccalini) injuriis querimoniae deter-

(3) See the Cour-
tous of Balchas.
Castiglione pag.
295.

rentur, ac locus proverbio fieret, quo dicitur, tria
esse hominum genera, qui nihil fere legibus, quas
ipfi aliis imponunt, utantur, nimirum Jurisconsultos,
medicos, atque theologos: nulli enim magis in
negociis ab jure, ab aequitate, discedunt quam
J. C. nulli tuendae valetudinis rationem minus
servant quam medici, nulli conscientiae aculeos
minus metuunt quam theologo. Itaque qui justi-
tiam, valetudinem, & conscientiam amittere sata-
gunt, juris doctorum, medicorum, theologorum
que amicitias colant: quod tamen de iis tantum
intelligendum, qui ea studia non serio ac sedulo,
verum in speciem, & dicis causa, profitentur (4).
— So that frequent complaints were carried
to Rome, of his [Boccalini's] Injustice, and Occa-
sion was given for a Proverb, which says that
there are three sorts of Men, who scarce make any
use of the Laws they prescribe to others; to wit,
the Lawyers, Physicians, and Divines: For no Body
swerves more from Law and Equity in Business
than the Lawyers; no Body observes the Rules for
preservation of Health less than the Physicians;
no Body fears the Stings of Conscience less than
the Divines. And therefore whoever has a mind
to get rid of Justice, Health, and Conscience,
need but associate with Lawyers, Doctors, and Di-
vines: but this is to be understood only of those
who profess these Studies, not seriously and dili-
gently, but only in shew and for form sake.

(4) Niclus Ery-
thraeus Pinacoth.
I. pag. 272.

[D] On this Reflection, which by the way is
Panurge's, lib. iii. cap. 29. of Rabelais, Benjamin
Priolo formed one of his Maxims, mentioned by
Mr Bayle, Remark [K] of the Article Priolo.
REM CRIT.]

[D] It has been said that he was meditating
Political Discourses upon Tacitus, when he was mur-
dered. They should have said, not only that those
Discourses were composed; but also, that they had
been printed twice at Geneva. To set a great
Value upon those Editions, People have been made
to believe, first, That the Manuscript of that Work
was a very rare Piece. Secondly, That the Senate
of Venice had carefully kept the Original, till they
made a Present of it to the Queen of Sweden.
Thirdly, that with great Charges, and much Trou-
ble, they had found means to get a Copy of the
Manuscript, given to that Princess by the Senate
of Venice. Meer Knavery. That Manuscript was
handed about every where, Twenty Years before
that Queen's coming into Italy. There are at least
thirty Copies of it, in several Libraries of Italy.
The Author presented this Work himself to divers
Persons, and particularly to Cardinal Barbarini at
Rome, and to the Procurator Morosini at Venice.
The Cardinal presented his Copy to the Academy

not well informed. He left some Children [E]. He has been numbered among the Plagiaries [F], and some Faults have been committed in that Point, as I have shewn in one of my Remarks (d).

(d) See the end of the Remark [F].

of the *Humorists*, and it was transcribed by several People. The Copy of *Morsini* has been as often transcribed; so that it was not difficult to buy Copies of it. The Governor of an *English* Lord bought one of them, and parted with it to a Bookseller at *Geneva*, who printed it (5). About the same time, a *German* Gentleman brought another Copy of it from *Italy*, and gave it to a Professor of *Tubingen*, whose Name was *Mr du May*, who added some Remarks to it, and sent it to *Mr Leti* at *Geneva*. *Mr Leti* got it printed by the *Sieur Widerbold*, and intitled it, *Bilancia Politica*, and added a third Volume to it, to which he put his own Name (6). That Book of *Boccalini* has not been esteemed: *Mr Amelot de la Houffaye* speaks very slightly of it (7).

(5) It was the *Sieur de Tournes*.

(6) All these particulars are taken from a Memorial that comes from good hands. I keep the Original by me.

(7) In the critical Discourse prefixed to his *Morals* of *Tacitus*, and to his Translation of the six first Books of *Tacitus's Annals*.

(8) This appears by the Epistle Dedicatory.

[E] He left some Children. I have his *Pietra del Paragone Politico*, or *Political Touchstone*, printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1626, in 8vo, and dedicated to *Cardinal de la Valette*. It is *Boccalini's* Son, who dedicated that Work to this Cardinal: The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Paris* the tenth of *April* 1626 (8). That which surprises me is to see that that Work is looked on as a Posthumous one, for I have seen an Edition, of the Year 1615, of *Boccalini's* Book intitled, *Pietra del Paragone Politico*. This would make me conjecture, that the Work, dedicated to *Cardinal de la Valette*, was a Continuation, or a Second Part, of the *Pietra del Paragone Politico*. I desire those who have leisure, and many Editions in Hand, to verify the thing. *Mr Giv* had published his *French* Translation of that Work of *Boccalini*, before the Author's Son published it in *Italian*, in the Year 1626. The *Latin* Version of the same work, made by *Ernest John Creutz*, was printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1642, in 12mo, under the title of *Lapis Lydius Politicus*.

[F] He has been numbered among the Plagiaries. This Term seems to me improper, because *Boccalini* is not accused of having stole the Labours of other Men, but of having lent his Name to hide the true Author. It is said, that he imitated certain Persons, who, to free their Ecclesiastical Patron from the shame of having got a Servant-Maid with Child, take it upon themselves, and marry her, being resolved to own all the Children that may come from the same Quarter. 'Tis pretended, that *Cardinal Cajetan* is the true Author of the Books which came out under the Name of *Boccalini* (9); and if you enquire, Why *Cardinal Cajetan* diverted himself of his Right in favour of another; They will

(9) Scavinius, n. 39. affirms it, apud Rhodium de Auctoribus fuppositis, pag. 42. Morhofius Polybl. p. 81. mentions that opinion. See Placcius de Pseudonym. pag. 165; & Deckerus de Script. alep. pag. 253, 254.

answer you, That he did it to have the pleasure of censuring and biting, without prejudicing his Dignity, or raising himself any Enemies. I cannot believe this to be true; I believe only that *Boccalini* did like *Terence*: he communicated his Thoughts to the Cardinals, who protected him (10), and made use of their Advice, and of the Thoughts they suggested to him. He thought that the Opinion People would have, that he was assisted by such Persons, would be an Honour to him: 'twas just the Taste of *Terence*. 'Quemadmodum Terentio malevoli objiciebant, ipsum, in fabulis faciendis, Scipionis Africani, Lælii qui dictus est sapiens, & Furii Pii, opera uti, assidueque cum illis una scribere; ita etiam de Trajano fama distulerat, in his actis referendis homines nobilissimos socios & adjutores habere. Verum id tibi non minus laudi ducebat, quam Terentius, qui gloriosum sibi putabat, id quod malevoli quasi maledictum vehemens existimabant, ac fit verisimile hæc cum illis eum communicasse, quibus, ad notanda & animadvertenda aliorum vitia, eadem esset voluntas atque propensio (11). — As malevolent Persons objected to *Terence*, that he had the Assistance of *Scipio Africanus*, *Lælius*, who was called the Wife, and of *Furius Pius*, and daily wrote with them; so likewise Fame gave out concerning *Trajan*, that he had some of the Prime Nobility for his Companions and Assistants, in relating these Acts. But he accounted That no less Praise to him, than *Terence* did, who esteemed That a Glory to himself, which his enemies looked upon as a most vehement reproach; and it is very probable he might communicate these things to them, who had the same will and inclination to observe and advert on the Faults of others. Some for want of taking sufficient notice of the order of Time, have said, that *Cardinal Cajetan*, who disputed against *Luther*, wrote the *Ragguagli del Parnasso*, and the *Pietra del Paragone*. *Mr Chevreau* imputes that fault to *John Rhodius*, a *Danish* Physician, and to *Peter Scavinius*; but he is mistaken; for they meant another *Cardinal Cajetan*; and he refutes them by a bad Reason: *Boccalini*, says he (12), who was the Son of an Architect of *Rome*, was murdered at *Venice* by order of the Spanish Ambassador. Is this a Proof that he could not lend his Name to a Book of *Cardinal Thomas de Vio*, who disputed against *Luther*? Note, That *Nicivius Erythraeus* affirms, that *Perenda*, who had been Secretary to *Cardinal Henry Cajetan*, helped *Boccalini* to compose the *Ragguagli* (13).

(10) He dedicated the 1st Century of the *Ragguagli* in 1612, to *Cardinal Borghese*, and the second in 1613, to *Cardinal Cajetan*.

(11) *Nicivius Erythraeus*, inacothe. III. pag. 222.

(12) *Chevreau*, Hist. du monde liv. v. cap. iv. p. 185, of the Dutch Edit. 1687.

(13) *Pinaothe*, III. pag. 131.

BOCHART (MATTHEW), Minister of the Holy Gospel at *Alençon* in the XVIIth Century, published some Books [A], which gained him the Reputation of a Learned Man. That which he composed against the Sacrifice of the Mass brought him into Trouble, as *Mr Daille* observes: A Missionary, thinking it more proper to bring him before the Secular Judges than to answer his Arguments, began a Contest at Law with him for giving the Ministers the Title of Pastors (a). There is no reason to question the thing; but it is very manifest that *Mr Daille* did not well remember the Circumstances [B]. *Matthew Bochart* has sometimes been

(a) *Daille* *Rapport* à *Adam & Cotibry*. Part II. pag. 109.

[A] He has published some Books. The chief of his Works, are, a Treatise against Relics, and a Treatise against the Sacrifice of the Mass. He wrote also a Dialogue on the Difficulties which the Missionaries raised continually against the Protestants of France, by reason of what had passed in the National Synod of *Charenton*, concerning the Toleration of the *Lutheran* Errors. That Dialogue having fallen into the Hands of the Elector *Palatine*, he thought it proper to incline the Princes of the Confession of *Augsburg*, to endeavour the Re-union of the two Protestant Churches (1); and accordingly he shewed it to them during the Assembly of *Frankfort*. This good News being come to the Author's Knowledge, drew from him a *Latin* Book, intitled *Diallacticon*, which he dedicated to that Elector. It was printed at *Sedan* in the Year 1662, and contains a Project of Re-union between the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists*.

(1) Epist. Dedit. ad *Dalla*. *Matth. Bochart*.

[B] A suit at Law was commenced against him for giving the Ministers the title of Pastors — *Mr Daille* did not well remember the Circumstances. I need no other proof for it, than *Mr Daille* himself. He says, That the Missionary, being put to a non-plus by *Matthew Bochart's* Book against the Sacrifice of the Mass, brought an Action against the Author, in the Year 1657; but he owns, in one of the Tables of his Book, that the Treatise against the Sacrifice of the Mass was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1658. He observes in the four hundred and seventeenth Page of the first Part of his Reply, that this excellent Treatise of the Sacrifice of the Mass (2) was published but three Years before. What he says, toward the end of his Preface, is a certain proof that he composed his Reply in 1661. So that it cannot be true, that the Missionary, who went to Law with *Matthew Bochart* in 1657, found that way more proper, than

(2) He praises it much in that place.

been confounded with his Cousin Samuel Bochart [C], of whom I am going to speak.

than to refute the Book of the Sacrifice of the Mass. Moreover, Mr *Dailly* declares, that he does not know, that, before the Law-Suit, begun against Mr *Bochart* in 1657, any Complaint was ever brought against the Ministers for filling themselves Pastors. And yet, immediately after, he makes mention of a Decree of the Parliament of *Rouen*, given 22, or 23, Years after the Year 1633, when the Ministers of *Charenton* filled themselves Pastors of the Reformed Church of *Paris* in the Approbation of a Book (3). That Decree of the Parliament of *Rouen* was doubtless made upon the Complaint brought against the Minister *Bochart*; for otherwise, Mr *Dailly* would contradict himself: And therefore, it is not true, that the Law-Suit against that Minister, fell in the Year 1657. So that Mr *Dailly* must be mistaken, both as to the time the Suit was commenced, and as to the Book that gave occasion for it. He is mistaken again upon another account, since it is certain, that, in the Year 1633, the General Agents of the Clergy of *France* complained, that Mr *Aubertin* had printed a Book, wherein he took the Title of Pastor of the Reformed Church of *Paris*, and wherein his Colleagues, *Messirezot*, *Drelincourt*, and *Dailly*, signed in the Approbation, the two first, Pastors of the reform'd Church of *Paris*, and the last, Minister of the Holy Gospel of

the said Church (4). On that Complaint, the Privy-Council made a Decree, the fourteenth of July 1633, importing, that Mr *Aubertin* should be arrested, and that his Colleagues should be summoned to appear, with an Injunction to the Ministers, to take no other Title upon them, than what was given them by the Edicts (5).

[C] Has been sometimes confounded with his Cousin Samuel Bochart. Mr *le Fevre*, Doctor of the Sorbonne, has quoted the *Diallaſticon* of our *Bochart* in his Reply to Mr *Arnaud* for the defence of his Invincible Motives. I believe he will not take it ill, if I judge that he took it for a Work of Mr *Bochart* of *Caen*. If he had known that two Ministers of that Name have writ Works of Controversy; or, if at least he had known that the Author of the *Diallaſticon* is not the same *Bochart*, who made himself admired in the Common-wealth of Learning by his *Phaleg*, &c. he would never have quoted the Author of the *Diallaſticon*, with this Elogy of the Learned *Bochart* (6), as he has done more than once. It were in vain to say, that the Minister of *Alençon* was a learned Man, and that Mr *le Fevre* might have called him so without any Exaggeration, or Flattery; I am sure, that no intelligent Readers will ever be persuaded that this Remark is ill-grounded.

(4) See the Collection of Edicts for the Clergy.

(5) See the Remark [B] of the Article AUBERTIN.

(6) Pag. 27, 129.

(3) It is Mr *Dailly's* Apology.

(a) They are in the new Edition of his works 1692.

(b) Tunc nisi memoria me fallit hospitabatur Parisiis apud avunculum Petrum Molinæum. Then if my memory fail not, he lodged with his Uncle Peter du Moulin. *Steph. Morin. de Bocharto, & ejus scriptis.*

(c) They are in the above-mentioned Edition.

(d) Puto me didicisse quod Sal-murii audiverit Cameronem, & eo præfide thesæ theologicæ defunderit. *Morinus ibid.*

(1) It was in the presence of Francis I. he opposed the Concordate.

BOCHART (SAMUEL), Minister of the Word of God at *Caen*, was one of the most learned Men in the World. He was of *Rouen*, and of a very good Family [A], and was born in the Year 1599. He made early a very great Progress: one may judge of it by the Forty four Greek Verses which he composed in Praise of *Thomas Dempster* (a), who published them in 1612, in the Front of his *Roman Antiquities*. At that time he studied under that learned Scotchman, and it is likely that he lodged then in the House of the Famous *Peter du Moulin*, Minister of the Church of *Paris*, who was his Uncle by the Mother's Side (b). He went through his Philosophy at *Sedan*, where he maintained public Theses, in the Year 1615, which gained him great Honour, not only because he answered the Arguments well, but also by reason of some Verses which he added to them, very artificially suited to the Figure of a Circle (c). It is thought that he studied Divinity at *Saumur* under *Cameron* (d), and it is well known that he followed him to *London*, when the Civil War had destroyed that Academy. He made no long abode in *England*; for it is known that he was at *Leyden* about the latter end of the Year 1621, where he applied himself earnestly to the Study of the Arabic Tongue under *Erpenius*. He found a Professor of Divinity in that University, who conceived a very particular Esteem for him, and gave him public Marks of it in the Year 1629, by dedicating his *Catholicus Orthodoxus* to him [B]. I mean Mr *Rivet*, who was at that time married to a Sister of our *Bochart's* Mother. Mr *Bochart*, being in *France*, was soon made a Minister there, and presented to the Church of *Caen*. The first thing remarkable, which he did there, was to maintain a long Conference with *Father Veron*, in which he came off with an entire Victory. That Man, provided with a special Mission from the Court to dispute, and as it were invested with the Office of a warranted Controvertist all over the Kingdom, challenged Mr *Bochart* the fourth Day of September 1628, and did not cease to make a Noise, till he had obtained a Day and Place to enter publicly into the Lifts with him. The Dispute was managed in the Castle of *Caen*, in the Presence of a great many Persons of both Religions. The Duke of *Longueville*, Governour of the Province, came thither as often as his Affairs permitted him, and Commissioners were appointed

[A] He was of a very good Family.] His Father *RENE BOCHART du Menillet*, Minister of the Reformed Church of *Rouen*, was Great-Grandson of *JOHN BOCHART* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris* in 1490, and Grandson of *JOHN BOCHART*, who pleaded so strongly for the Pragmatic Sanction (1), and Son of *STEPHEN BOCHART*, who made the Branch of *Menillet*. *Moreri's* Dictionary shews the Relation that was between our *Samuel Bochart*, and the *Bochart Campigni's*, who have exercised so many fine Offices in the Gown.

[B] Rivet dedicated his *Catholicus Orthodoxus* to him.] Mr *Rivet* dedicated that Book to four Persons, viz. to *Peter du Moulin* Minister and Professor at *Sedan*; to *William Rivet* Minister of *Taillebourg*; to *John Maximilian de Langle* Minister of *Rouen*; and to *Samuel Bochart* Minister

of *Caen*. He praises the last for his Dispute against *Veron*, in which, says he to him, you shewed him that he was ignorant in Greek and in Hebrew, and put a bridle on his impudent Sophistry, which he has endeavoured to shake off by telling many Lies (according to his custom) about his imaginary Victories; but wise Men have not been deceived by them, and you have discovered his Vanity by your Answer. This may serve for a Supplement to my Relation of that Dispute, taken from Mr *Morin*. By this it appears, that *Veron* ascribed the Victory to himself. In the same Year, 1629, Mr *du Moulin* dedicated his *Antibarbare* (2) to Mr *Bochart*. The latter had given him notice of a mistake, which was, that *du Moulin*, having promised that Treatise of Controversy, in the Table of the Novelty of *Papery*, had forgot to publish it.

(2) So that Book is intitled, and not l'Anti-barbare, as in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, pag. 452, and in Mr Baillet n. 176. §. 6. of the Anti-

[C] His

appointed on both sides to be present. The Dispute lasted from the Twenty second of September to the third of October, and the two Disputants went through almost the whole wide Field of Controversies in Nine successive Meetings which they had. The Acts of this Dispute, well attested and collated, were published on both sides; but Mr Bochart added several things of his own, which the turbulent Spirit of his Antagonist would not let him put in order on the Spot; he added also the Dispute concerning the Eucharist, and Celibacy, which they had agreed to examine, but had not gone through with them, because Veron quitted the Field (e). This Minister's Reputation, the Foundation of which was laid at that time, increased very much in the Year 1646, by the Publication of his *Phaleg*, and his *Canaan* [C], wherein he treats, I. Of the Dispersion of Mankind caused by the Confusion of Languages: And, II. Of the Colonies, and Language of the *Phenicians*. The Enquiries which he must have made, in order to compose those Works, and some others, and which obliged him to search into all the ancient Authors, and the most hidden Treasures of the Oriental Languages, had this Relation to his being a Minister, that he engaged in them by degrees, only because he had undertaken to preach on *Genesis*; for when he came to the second Chapter he was obliged to explain the Situation of the Terrestrial Paradise: The following Chapters engaged him to examine the Origin of Nations, and a great many other Passages required that he should write on the Animals, Plants, and precious Stones, mentioned in the Bible. If he had lived long enough, he would have left complete Treatises on those matters, but he could only finish that concerning Animals. It was printed at London in 1663, under the Title of *Hierozoicon*. His Collections on the Terrestrial Paradise, on Plants, and precious Stones, were not found in a Condition, after his Death, to make any thing of them. Every body knows that the Queen of Sweden invited him to her Court [D], and that he went thither in the Year 1652. It is not necessary to speak in particular of several Pieces which were published by him at different times, and redounded to his Reputation. For example, in the Year 1650, he published a Letter about the Authority of Kings, and about the Institution of Bishops and Priests. He published one in 1661, against the Jesuit *la Barre*, concerning the Toleration of *Lutheranism* decided in the National Synod of Charenton; and another in 1663, wherein he shewed, by many learned Reasons, that there is no likelihood that *Aeneas* ever came into Italy. He died at Caen, May 16, 1667, having lost his Speech and his Senses all of a sudden in the Academy that met at the House of Mr de Brieux. His Papers are in the Hands of Mr de Colleville, Son of his only Daughter (f), and formerly a Counsellor in the Parliament of Normandy. Among those Papers there are a great many Sermons written with Mr Bochart's own Hand, viz. those which he preached on *Genesis*,

(e) Adversarius
vadimonium de-
seruit. Steph.
Morinus, ubi su-
pra.

(f) She was
married to a
Counsellor in the
Parliament of
Normandy, called
Mr de Colleville.
It was the name
of a Lordship:
the name of the
Family was le
Sueur.

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[C] His Reputation increased much in the Year 1646, by the Publication of his *Phaleg*, and his *Canaan*. These are the Titles of the two Parts of Mr Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*. A Printer of Reputation was sent for to Caen (3), in order to have that Work more correct, and the sooner printed. If we may believe those who re-printed it at Frankfurt in 4^o, in 1681, the Edition of Caen is full of faults, from which they boast to have purged theirs: *ab infinitis erroribus, quibus exemplar Cadomii impressum repletum erat, purgatum*. To their Edition they joined two of Mr Bochart's Letters, one concerning Episcopacy, and the Right of Kings, written to Dr Morley Chaplain to King Charles II of England; and the other to Mr Segrati, on the Question, Whether *Aeneas* ever came into Italy (4). The first of those two Letters was printed in 1650, as I have already said. Spizellus knew nothing of it; for after having quoted one of Sarravius's Letters, which shewed, that it would be a piece of Injustice not to publish that fine Production of Mr Bochart; He adds, that it was notwithstanding still unpublished (5). I know nothing of the Edition of the *Geographia Sacra*, mentioned by Sir Thomas-Pope Blount, as made at Caen in Falso, in the Year 1651, and I believe, there never was such an Edition. As for the *Hierozoicon*, (which is the Title of the Volume de *Animalibus Sacrae Scripturae*) it was re-printed at Frankfurt in the Year 1675, and an Abridgment of it was made in the Year 1690, which was printed at Franeker. The Author of that Abridgment is an Hungarian, named *Vesfius*. [D] The Queen of Sweden invited him to her Court. I have heard a thousand foolish Stories of this Journey of Mr Bochart; as for Example: That one Day, in the Queen's Library, he was suddenly asked this Question, *What do you think of a certain Book called the Bible?* It is pretended that he took the thing with as serious a Tone, as he ought, and VOL. II.

made a large Discourse on the Marks of Divinity which shine in the Scripture; but that the Standers by did but laugh at it. They add, that the Abbot Bourdelot had made the Queen believe, that Mr Bochart played admirably on the Flute, but that he would not play before her Majesty, except she absolutely commanded him; and that, thereupon, the Queen, without giving any ear to his repeated protestations of Ignorance, absolutely required him to play on it, and that he obeyed her Commands. I have heard a great many People say these things, and others of the same nature; but on a close enquiry I cannot find any thing to render them credible. Nevertheless, I mention them here, that those, who hear these idle Stories, may give no credit to them. Mr Huet, the present Bishop of Avranches, who went with Mr Bochart into Sweden, has given a very pretty Relation of that Journey (6). I have cited it in Remark [B] Citation (6) of the Article (FRANCIS) BLONDEL, the Mathematician.

This Remark was finished, when the *Menagiana* fell into my Hands, where I found these Words; 'It was a fine sight to see Mr Bochart play at Shuttlecock with the Queen of Sweden! The Queen having pressed him one Day to play at it with her, he laid down his Cloak and played. His Friends laughed at him for it, and told him, that he ought absolutely to have refused it (7).' I find there also, that the Queen had resolved to be at a Meeting, where he was to read some Part of his *Phaleg*; but that Mr Bourdelot, to deprive him of that Honour, felt the Queen's Pulse, and told her, that she was out of order, and must take Physic. So that she kept her Bed that Day. If there had been any ground for the Story of the Flute, it would have been in the Book I have just now quoted.

(6) It is in *Latin Virg.*

(7) *Menagiana*, pag. 147. of the 8. *th* Dutch Edition.

(3) His Name was John Jan-non. See Steph. Morin. in Dis- fert. de Bocharto & ejus Script.

(4) See the Nouv. de la Repub. des Lettr. for July 1684, art. iv.

(5) Spizellus in infel. literat. p. 923. Note, that in the Errata he says he had seen it in the Frankfurt Edition of the *Geographia Sacra* 1674.

[E] Some

(p) De clarissimo
Bocharto & om-
nibus ejus scriptis.
--- Of the fa-
mous Bochart and
all his writings.

(b) Colomies in
his Gallia Orient.
which he dedica-
ted to him. ---
Thomas Pope
Blount, Censur.
celebr. Author.
Spizelius, in in-
fel. literat. pag.
916, & seq.

MORE: criticized
for some-
thing he had
said concerning
Mr LE MOYNE.

ness, from the first Chapter to the eighteenth Verse of the nineteenth Chapter. As many of this great Man's Manuscript Differtations as could be found, have been collected and added to the new Edition of all his Works, published in Holland in the Year 1692 [E]. Mr Morin formerly a Colleague of Mr Bochart, and now Minister of the French Church at Amsterdam, and Professor of the Oriental Languages in the Illustrious School of the same City, has joined a Discourse to that Edition (g), which I have made use of in composing this Article. They who have a mind to see the Encomiums that have been bestowed upon Mr Bochart, may find them in the Authors which I refer to (b). His Learning, vast as it was, was not his chief Excellence; he had such a Share of Modesty as was infinitely more to be esteemed than all his Learning. And accordingly he enjoyed his Reputation with great Tranquillity, being free from those unhappy Quarrels which so many learned Men draw upon themselves by their Pride, and the Vehemence of their Stile. I never heard of a certain Treatise which Mr Menage ascribes to him [F].

[E] Some Differtations were prefixed to the new Edition of all his Works: --- in 1692. Moreri was not altogether in the wrong, to give some hopes that Mr le Moynes would publish Mr Bochart's Manuscripts; for it is certain, that he had such a design, but not having all the leisure necessary for such an Undertaking, he committed the care of it to Mr de Villemandy, promising to assist him with his Advice, and to supply him with many of Bochart's Letters and Differtations. Death hindered him from performing his Promise. But on the other hand, it is certain, that Moreri is grossly mistaken in that Article, both when he says, that all the Manuscript Treatises of Bochart were in the Hands of Mr le Moynes; and when he says, that a troublesome Business had obliged Mr le Moynes to leave the Kingdom. It is notorious that he did not go out of France without leave from the Court; and that it was his fault that he did not continue in his Church of Rouen, which did all they could to retain him. He only left the Kingdom to take possession of a Professorship of Divinity that had been offered him long before at Leyden. It is true, that, in 1674, a

vexatious Suit was commenced against him, occasioned by a young Gentlewoman of the Protestant Religion, who having left her Father, who was a Catholic Counsellor in Parliament, had fled into England; but it is also true, that, after some Months Imprisonment, he was fully re-established in his former Condition.

[F] I never heard of a certain Treatise which Mr Menage ascribes to him. It were to be wished, that Mr Bochart had published his Collections on so curious a Matter, as that mentioned by Mr Menage. It turns upon certain things that are to be found, but once in Writers. 'Multa esse in libris Juris, ut libros ceteros taceam, singularia atque ut Grammatici Græci loqui amant *μνηρην*, five *ἀπαλ* *εἰρημύνα* (quo titulo librum audio scripsisse Samuel Bochartum) quis nescit (8)? --- Who does not know, that there are many things in Books of Laws, to mention no other, which are singular, and as the Greek Grammarians call it *μνηρην*, or *ἀπαλ* *εἰρημύνα*, i.e. once mentioned? I hear that Samuel Bochart has written a Treatise with that Title.

(8) Menag. Ja-
vis Civilis amo-
nit. cap. XL. p.
99, 100.

(a) Valer. An-
dreas Bibl. Belg.
pag. 461.

(b) He gives an
account of them
in his Notes on
the CXLVIIth
Psalm.

BOCHIIUS (JOHN), a good Latin Poet, and Secretary of the City of Antwerp, was born at Brussels the Twenty seventh of July 1555 (a). He went through his first Studies at Lire, and in the City of Aeth, and distinguished himself from his School-fellows. He excelled chiefly in Poetry, so that he might be called the Virgil of the Low Countries [A]. He was admitted into the House of Cardinal George Radzivil, by which means he had an Opportunity to study Divinity at Rome, when Bellarmine explained the Controversies there. Bochiuss attended his Lectures constantly. He travelled afterwards into several Countries; he visited Poland, Lithuania, and Moscow, not without grievous Inconveniencies, and great dangers (b); for, as he went from Smolensko to Moscow, the Cold was so violent that his Feet were quite frozen. They had begun to talk of cutting them off, when one of the Czar's Surgeons found that they needed not come to that Extremity: The Remedy which he made use of would not perhaps have performed the Cure, if another accident had not happened. Bochiuss had got himself carried to the Livonian Quarters, and was there when the great Duke Basilides came with an Army to plunder the Country [B]. Bochiuss being struck with fear fled where he could, and, after having been stript and beaten, he escaped from the Soldiers hands,

(1) Val. An-
dreas, Biblioth.
Belg. pag. 461.

[A] He might be called the Virgil of the Low-Countries. I must set down the very words of Valerius Andreas, to shew the better with what Precipitation Moreri compiled his Dictionary. 'In poetica palmam cæteris facillè præripuit, adeo ut alterum Belgii nostri Maronem nominare liceat (1). --- In Poetry he far excelled all others, so that he may be called the Virgil of the Low-Countries.' In the Copy which I make use of, the first Letter of the Word Maronem is not well printed: so that if it be not carefully observed, it may easily be taken for a V. I fancy that Moreri's Copy had the same fault, and that so he read Varonem instead of Maronem. Whereupon, he remembered that Varro was accounted the most learned of the Romans, from whence he concluded, that since Bochiuss was firnamed the Varro of the Netherlands, he ought to say of him, that he was famous for his Erudition, that he made a wonderful progress in the knowledge of learned Languages, and in all sorts of Literature, and that he improved in all the sublime Sciences of Controversy, of the Civil and Canon Law, and of

Scholastic Divinity. Francis Swertius, who loved, and knew him very particularly, bestows no praise upon him, that can give us such a Notion of him. Melchior Adam and Valerius Andreas, who praise him a little more, are also far from saying any such thing. The latter does not so much as say, that he was firnamed the Virgil of the Netherlands; but only, that he deserved that Title.

[B] Bochiuss had got himself carried into the Livonian quarters, when Basilides came with an army to plunder the Country. The reason, or pretence, of that Violence, was, That the Patriarch of the Muscovites complained to the Czar, that the Germans (under which Name those of Livonia were also comprehended) enervated the Courage of the Muscovites, and made them spend a great deal of Money on divers sorts of Drinks which they fold them. 'Qua si Germani, in quibus Livones, deliciis Moschos corrumperent, collique variis potus generibus pecunia emungerent, & masculos animos enerva- rent (2).'

(2) Melchior
Adam, in vita
Philos. p. 493.

[C] He

hands, and returned the next Day to his Quarters. That Exercise very much hastened the Effect of his Remedies. After he returned into his own Country, he made a Poem, which pleased the Duke of Parma so well, that he procured him the Place of Secretary of *Antwerp*. That Poem was a Panegyric on the Duke of Parma, on the taking of That City. He composed afterwards divers Court Poems [C], and at last made *David's Psalms* the chief Subject of his Pen. He died before the Impression of what he had done in them was finished (c) [D]. It was the thirteenth of January 1609 (d). He published his Life of *David* in 1608. He left but one Daughter. A Collection of his Epigrams, Elegies, and other scattered Poems was printed at *Cologne* in 1615; to which are added all the Verses that could be found of his Son *John Afcianus Bocbius*, who died in *Italy* in the Flower of his Youth. *Francis Swertius*, who took care of that Edition, informs us, that his good Friend *John Bocbius* was unhappy in a Wife, which, says he, is often the Fate of Great Men (e).

(c) Melchior Adam, in vita Philof. p. 498.

(d) Idibus Jan. Id. ibid. Val. Andreas ubi supra. Moreri renders it the 15th of January; which is wrong.

(e) Matrimonio implicitus fuit n n usquequaque felici ac concordis quod fere viris magnis communi. Swert. Athen. Belg. pag. 398.

[C] He composed divers Court Poems. Thus I call, for Example, the Description of the Honours done to the Governours of the Netherlands, when they took possession of their Government. That which he made upon the Journey and Installation of *Albert of Austria*, and of his Spouse the Infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, was not printed in the Year 1595, as *Valerius Andreas* affirms; for they did not make their Entry till 1599.

(3) Id. ibid.

[D] He died before the Impression of what he had done on the Psalms was finished. Melchior Adam asserts it twice together in plain Terms (3). Nevertheless it might be questioned, if we should refer ourselves to *Francis Swertius*, who makes no manner of mention of any Books of *Bocbius* printed after

his Death, except a Collection of divers Poems. Besides, he observes, that the Physical, Moral, Political, and Historical Observations of *Bocbius*, which are doubtless his Work on the Psalter, were printed in the Year 1608. But when I consider, that *Valerius Andreas*, whose Work is without comparison less faulty than that of *Francis Swertius*, ascribes to *Bocbius* a Book entitled, *Observationes Physicæ, Ethicæ, Politicæ & Historicæ in Psalmos & Græciæ Latinique Autoribus*, without noting the Year of the Impression, I cannot think, that the Year 1608, marked by *Francis Swertius*, is right, and consequently, I am of opinion, that it is best to keep to *Melchior Adam's* Narrative, as if the Author of the *Athenæ Belgicæ* had said nothing.

BODEGRAVE, a Village of Holland on the Rhine. I only speak of it to correct *Moreri's* Dictionary, wherein we find it is a Borough famous for the Victory, which the French obtained there over the Dutch in 1672. Which is a Falsity [A]. *Baudrand* is quoted for it, which is another Falsity [B].

[A] *Moreri* says it is a Town famous for a battle ----- which is a Falsity. There never was any Battle or Skirmish at *Bodegrave*, between the French and the Dutch. All that can be said, is, that about the latter end of December 1672, the French drew up a considerable Army to penetrate into the Heart of Holland by the favour of the Ice, but that a great Thaw, that happened suddenly, obliged them to give over their Enterprize. Their Vexation at that Disappointment, carried them to extreme Cruelties against the Inhabitants of *Bodegrave*, which was one of the Posts they had possessed themselves of, and were forced to abandon. The Particulars of their Barbarities are to be found in a Book published by Mr *Wicquefort*, on that Subject (1).

(1) *Itinéraire, Avis fidèle aux véritables Hollandais.*

[B] ----- *Moreri* cites *Baudrand*, which is another Falsity. For Mr *Baudrand* does not say, that the French obtained a Victory over the Dutch, in that Place: He says only, that the Dutch were ill treated there by the French; *ubi Belgæ multo male habiti fuerunt à Francis anno 1672.* Perhaps I have already said but too often, that a Translator, who ventures to paraphrase, or to depart never so little from his Original, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the Matter in question. Without which, he exposes himself to mistakes so much the more blameable, because upon that account many People impute them to those that are very innocent of them; I mean, to the Authors translated. An hundred Examples of this Disorder might easily be shewn.

BODIN (JOHN), a Native of Angers, one of the most able Men that were in France in the XVIth Century, studied the Civil Law at *Toulouse* (a), and having taken his Degrees there, he read Law Lectures with great Applause of his Auditors (b). — At that time he designed to settle himself at *Toulouse* in the Quality of Professor of the Civil Law. And with this view, in order to get the good will of the *Toulousains*, he made his Oration de *Instituenda in Republica juventute*, which he dedicated to the People and Senate of *Toulouse*, and recited publicly in the Schools of that City. It has also been said, that, with the same Design, he made the Epitaph of *Clementia Isaura* (c) [A] engraved at *Toulouse* in 1557, under the Statue of the said *Clementia*. But at last he preferred Pleading to the Civil

(a) *Ménage, Remarques sur la vie de Pierre Ayrault, p. 141.*

(b) See his Latin Letter to Pibrac, prefixed to his Republic.

(c) Who inscribed the Floral Games of *Toulouse*, as is falsely pretended.

[A] It has been said ----- that he made the Epitaph of *Clementia Isaura*, engraved ----- under her Statue. Mr *Ménage* asserts it in his *Illustrious Men of Anjou* (1); but *Catel* says, in his *Memoirs of the History of Languedoc*, that *Bodin*, who is thought to be Author of that Epitaph, was not so; but that *Martin Gascon* was the Author of it. Thus Mr *Ménage* has expressed himself. Let us see *Catel's* Words: 'No Body doubts but the Inscription on the Pedestal of the said Statue is new, and done in the Year 1557; though it is uncertain by whom; for some say, that it was *Bodin*, who writ the Book on the Republic, when he was a Student at *Toulouse*; Others say, that it was an Advocate named *Dutil*; but I believe, it was an Advocate called

(1) *Ménage, Remarques sur la vie de Pierre Ayrault, p. 141.*

Mr *Martin Gascon*, born in the Isle of *Rhodes*, who was *Capitoul* that Year, and a very good Latinist, according to the Testimony of the Learned Physician *Ferrier*, who in a small Poem, which he published concerning the excellent Men of *Toulouse*, speaks thus of the said *Gascon*:

Ipseque de longis regionibus inclita fama Gasconum adduxit Rhodium, Ciceronis alumnus (2).

Their spreading Fame has brought from distant *Rhodes*

Gascon, great *Tully's* Scholar.

(2) *Catel, Mémoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc, pag. 407.*

[B] *Loyfel*

Civil Law, and left the School of *Toulouse* for the Bar of *Paris*. *Loyfel* and *Sammarthanus* say, that he had no great Success in his Pleading [B]. And doubtless this was the Reason that made him leave the Bar, to apply himself to the Composing of Books, wherein he succeeded admirably well. His first Performance was his Commentary upon *Oppian's* Books on Hunting, and his Translation of those Books into *Latin Verse*. He is accused of having been a Plagiary there [C]. I shall give the List of his other Books [D] in a Remark, and shall not forget what concerns his *Heptaplomeres*, which never was printed, and wherein it is said, that

[B] *Loyfell* and *Sammarthanus* say, that he had no great success in his pleading. See, above, the words of *Anthony Loyfel* (3), to which add this Passage of *Sammarthanus*: 'Neque vero quam scriptis comparaverat existimationem presentia sua minuebat, si quando in familiari hominum congressu de quacunque re proposita diserte copioseque disputaret. Quo magis mirandum est, hominem ea facultate præditum inter nobiliores curiae Parisiensis advocatos locum obtinere non potuisse: præsertim cum æquales haberet Brissonios, Pascios, Pithæos, & alios complures, ingenii laude præstantes viros, qui amenioribus etiam disciplinis incumbere, nec eo minus celebriter in fori luce verarentur (4). — Nor did he, by his presence, lose any of the Credit, he had obtained by his Writings; for, in familiar Conversation, he would dispute elegantly and copiously on any subject proposed. Which makes it the more wonderful, that a Man endowed with such Faculties could not obtain a Place amongst the first Rate Advocates in the Court of Paris. Especially as he had for his Contemporaries, the *Brisson's*, the *Pascius's* and *Pithæus's*, and several other Men, eminent for great Parts, who applied themselves to the pleasantest Studies, and were not therefore the less famous and eminent in the Court.'

[C] He wrote a Commentary on *Oppian*: he is accused of having been a Plagiary there. 'James Bongars pretends, in one of his Letters to *Conrad Ritterbusius*, a Commentator and Translator of *Oppian*, that *Bodin* had composed that Work out of the Writings of *Turnebus*, which seems very unlikely; since *Bodin* was not inferior in Learning to *Turnebus*; and in 1555, when *Bodin* printed his *Oppian*, for which he had obtained a Licence in 1553, *Turnebus* was still living; for he died not before the Year 1565. However, *Turnebus* himself complains, at the end of his Edition of *Oppian* of 1555, that his Emendations on that Author had been stolen from him. Septem ab hinc annis, leviter emendaveram *Oppianum* de Venatione, partim animi conjectura, partim libri veteris ope. Eas emendationes quidam usurpavit, & sibi donavit: quas tamen non putabam tanti, ut in furtivis rebus esse deberent. Eas à nobis vindicatas & recuperatas esse, nemo conqueri debuit: nam rerum furtivarum, lege, æterna est auctoritas. — Seven Years ago I made some slight Emendations on *Oppian's* Book of Hunting, partly by conjecture, and partly by the Assistance of an ancient Book. A certain person has made use of these Emendations, and put them off for his own; 'tis true, I did not think them of so much Value, as to be worth stealing. Yet no Body ought to blame me for claiming and taking them again: for, by Law, I have a perpetual Right to things that have been stole from me. Which probably ought to be understood of *Bodin*. On the other side *Bodin* complains in his Method of History, that a Grammarian had made use of his Commentary upon *Oppian* in an ungrateful manner. Quos ego de Venatione libros, cum Latino versu & Commentariis illustrassem, quidam Grammaticus, quantum libuit de meo labore detrahens, iterum pervulgavit. — Which Books on Hunting, after I had illustrated them with Latin Verses and Notes, a certain Grammarian, extracting from my work what he thought fit, has published again. In the same Year 1555, *William Morel* printed the Translation in Latin Verse of *Oppian's* Books de Piscations, and *Oppian's* Books de Venatione in Latin Prose: and 'tis likely *Bodin* meant that Translation of *Oppian's* Books de Venatione (5). Note that *Bongars's* Letter, quoted by *Mr Menage*, is to be found in the Eighty second and Eighty third Pages of

the *Gallia Orientalis*. It is dated from *Frankfort* the fourth of *April* 1600. *Mr Colomesius's* Father received a Copy of it in the Year 1648. He that sent it him had it from *Mr Gronovius*, the Father, who had transcribed the Original at *Nuremberg* in the Year 1632, in the House of *Nicolas Ritterbusius* the Son of *Conrad*. There are many things disadvantageous to *Bodin* in that Letter. That which concerns his Plagiarism is conceived in these Terms: *Jam edidisse illum lectiones Turnebi in Oppianum pro suis, nemo nostrorum ignorat* (6). — Now we all know that he published *Turnebus's* Readings on *Oppian* for his own. Note also, that *Mr Menage* has given but a weak reason to justify him. It is grounded on *Bodin's* being not inferior in Learning to *Turnebus*. I believe, that, take all together, he is in the right; for without doubt *Bodin* was better skilled in the Civil-Law, Politics, and Modern History, than *Turnebus*; but he was inferior to him in Critical and Philological Learning; now the Book in dispute belongs to that kind of Knowledge.

[D] Here follows the List of his other Books. He published his Method of History in the Year 1566, and his Discourse on Coins, together with his Answer to the Paradoxes of *Maletroit*, concerning the advance of the Price of every thing, and the means to remedy it, in the Year 1568. His Republic was printed in Folio in the Year 1576, and several times afterwards in 8vo (7), and got him a very great Reputation. *Mornac* speaks of it in these terms:

Jani Bodini Gallicam Rempublicam
Qui viderit, majus nihil fatebitur
In erudita luce præci sæculi.
Gallis hic, olim quod *Quintus Tullius*.

Whoever reads John Bodin's Republic in French, will own, that the bright Learning of the Antients produced nothing greater. He is to the French, what *Tully* once was to the Romans.

The President *Thuanus* speaks no less advantageously of that Work; tho' he speaks less advantageously of the Author, accusing him of Vanity, which he calls the Vice of the *Anguevins* (8). *Oppian* magnum de Republica Gallicæ publicavit: in quo, ut omni scientiarum genere, non tincti, sed imbuti ingenii fidem fecit, sic nonnullis, qui recte judicant, non omnino ab ostentationis innato genti vicio vacuum se probavit. — He published in French a large work, concerning a Commonwealth, in which as he gave proofs of a not superficial, but solid, Skill in all kinds of Learning. So he shewed to a few, who judge well, that he was not free from the innate fault of his Nation, Vanity. These great Encomiums on *Bodin's* Republic, put me in mind to impart to my Readers, what I heard *Mr Naudé* say once: That *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, *Scaliger's Poetic*, *Charron's Wisdom*, and *Bodin's Republic*, were, of all Books, those that were writ with most Art. In 1578, *Bodin* published his Tables of the Law, intitled, *Juris universi Distributio*. They were printed at *Lyons* by *John de Tournes*, for *James Dupuy* Bookseller of *Paris*. In the Dedication of his Method of History, he makes mention of that Work in these Terms: *Juris universi formam sic adumbravimus in Tabula quam tibi exhibuimus spectandam, ut ab ipsis causis summa genera, generumque partitionem ad infima deduceremus: ea tamen ratione, ut omnia membra inter se apta cohererent. In quo verissimè à Platone dictum intellexi, nihil difficilius ac divinius, quam recte partiri. — I have sketched out*

(3) In the Remark [A], of the Article (PETER) A. Y. RAULT, Citation (1).

(4) Sammarth. Eleg. lib. iv. pag. 92, 93.

(5) Colomesius's Gallia Orientalis, pag. 83. See also Richerus. Letters, pag. 203.

(6) See Colomesius's Gallia Orientalis, pag. 83. See also Richerus. Letters, pag. 203.

(7) See the Remark [N], Citation (48).

(8) Menage is mistaken; for Thuanus means the French in general, and not the Anguevins in particular.

(5) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 142.

he set forth many impious things. 'His Reputation for a learned Man, and a fine Genius, excited the Curiosity of Henry III [E], who loved Men of Letters, and was pleased with their Conversation (d). Henry III therefore sent for Bodin; and as his Conversation was delightful (for he had read much and remembered all that he had read) Henry was mightily pleased with him. He had at first so great an esteem for him, that he imprisoned John de Serre, who had wrote an abusive Libel against Bodin, forbidding him on Pain of Death to publish that Piece (e). But his Favour was of no long Continuance. His Enviars soon did him such ill Offices with the King as took off the Regard he had for him. Seeing himself courted at that time by Francis of France, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, Brother of the Kings Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, he went to him. The Duke of Alençon made him Secretary of his Commands, one of the Masters of the Requests of his Palace, and Chief Justice in Eyre *, and carried him into England and Flanders, as one of his chief Counsellors. While he was in England, he had the Satisfaction and Honour to see his Books of the Republic, which the English had translated into Latin, publicly read in the University of Cambridge [F]. This obliged him to translate them afterwards into Latin. — The History of Flanders takes notice that it was he, who advised the Duke of Alençon to seize Antwerp. After the Death of the Duke of Alençon, which happened a little after the Enter-

(d) Menage, ibid. pag. 145.

(e) See the Remark [O], Citation (69).

* See the Abbot le Laboureur, pag. 385, of his 11d Vol. of Memoirs of Castellau.

the form of the whole Civil-Law in the Table I presented for your perusal in such a manner, that I have deduced the highest Genera from their very causes, and followed the Division of the Genera to the very lowest Species. Yet so as that all the Parts aptly cohere. I experienced the Truth of this Saying of Plato, that nothing is harder or more divine than to divide aright. Afterwards in 1579, he published his *Demonomanie des Sorciers*, which he dedicated to Christopher Thouan, first President of the Parliament of Paris; at the end whereof, he added a Refutation of the Book de Lamiis writ by John Wierus, Physician to the Duke of Clever. In 1576, he had published a Relation of the States of Blois. That Relation was printed, but without the Author's Name. And a little before his Death he wrote his *Theatre de la nature universelle*. Besides all these Books he wrote a Dialogue concerning Religions, which has not yet been printed, intitled *Hep-tapleron, sive de Abditis rerum sublimium arcanis*. In that Dialogue he gave the advantage to the Jewish Religion; which made many People believe, that he was a Jew. — In the sixth Chapter of his *Method of History*, he makes mention of his Book de Decretis. Sed hæc uberius in libro, de Decretis differimus. — But I have spoken more at large of these things in a Book de Decretis. That Book is not printed. He ordered by his Will (of which I have seen the Original) that his Books de Imperio, & Jurisdictione, & Legis Actionibus, & Decretis, & Judiciis, should be burnt, which was done before his Death in his presence. Augur Ferrier de Toulouse, a Physician and Astronomer, and John de Serre of Montpellier, and Peter de l'Hospital wrote against him. He answered them under the Name of René Herpin, who was a Man of the City of Angers (9). Mr Teissier ascribes to him the French Version of the Latin Speech, made by Charles des Cars, Bishop of Langres, to the Embassadors of Poland in the City of Metz, in the Year 1573 (10). 'Et Consilium de principe recte instituendo, & paradoxon quod nec virtus ulla in mediocritate, nec summum hominis bonum in virtutis actione consistere possit, & historica narratio protectionis & inaugurationis Alberti & Isabellæ Austriæ Archiducum, & eorum in Belgio adventus (11). — Advice for the good Education of a Prince, and a Paradox that there is no Virtue in Mediocrity, nor the chief Good of Man in the Exercise of Virtue, and an Historical Narration of the Journey, and Inauguration of Albert, and Isabella, Arch-Duke, and Arch-Duchess, of Austria; and their arrival in the Low-Countries.' He is mistaken as to this last Book; for Bodin died before that Journey of the Arch-Duke Albert and the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

As for the Manuscript which Mr Menage calls *Hep-tapleron*, &c. of which Mr Huet spoke in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, as of an abominable Book (12), I refer to the News from the Common-wealths

of Learning (13), to avoid repetitions. Mr Teissier is mistaken when he says, that Mr Diecman published that Work of Bodin at Leipsic (14). He ought to have said, that many Particulars concerning that Book, are to be found in a *Schediasma inaugurale* &c. An Inaugural Oration on the Naturalism of sundry Persons, but especially John Bodin, published by Mr Diecman, at Kiel, in the Year 1683, and reprinted in the Year following at Leipsic in 12mo, and at Jena in 4to 1700.

[§ 'Tis known that Bodin followed the Duke of Anjou, into the Low-Countries. Busbeck, in the fifteenth Epistle of his Embassy to France, says, that of three different Accounts, which appeared in 1583, immediately after the attempt of that Duke upon Antwerp, the second, which was in French, and in form of a Letter, went for Bodin's. REM. CRIT.]

[E] His Reputation for a learned Man, and fine genius, excited the Curiosity of Henry III. Thouan relates this in a manner very glorious for Bodin. 'Dum hæc scriberet à Rege Henrico III, qui literatis disceptationibus per otium oblectabatur, ad familiare secretum cum plerisque aliis viris doctis sæpius est admixtus, magnamque laudem ex iis reportavit, quippe qui ingenium in numero haberet, & paratum ad omnia, quæ proponerentur pulcherrimarum rerum copiam qua pollebat acrimonia effunderet (15). That is to say, according to Mr Teissier's Translation: 'Whilst he was composing that Book, King Henry III, who, at his leisure Hours, took delight in the Conversation of the Learned, discoursed several times with him in the presence of some Learned Men, and those Conferences procured him great Honour; for having a ready Wit, and all the Treasures of his Mind as it were in present Money, he produced a prodigious number of curious Things, which his excellent Memory supplied him with extempore.' This Narrative of Thouan contains an Anachronism, which Mr Menage should have rectify'd, but on the contrary has adopted. Thouan pretends, that Bodin continued still in favour with Henry III, when that Author was about his *Demonomanie*. He supposes also that Bodin, when he found himself out of favour, apply'd to the Duke of Alençon, and obtained an honourable Post in his House. This is confounding times. He had not undertaken to write the Book intitled *de la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, but in consequence of a Judgment that had been given against a Witch, to which he had been called the thirtieth of April 1578 (16), and he was Master of the Requests, and Counsellor to the Duke of Alençon, in the Year 1571 (17). Hereafter (18) we shall see a Passage of Thouan, which will inform us, that Bodin's Conduct in the States of Blois, in the Year 1576, lost him the King's favour.

[F] The Satisfaction and Honour to see his Books, of the Republic, read in the University of Cambridge. I have often observed, that, in order to reduce within due bounds, the Ideas which Authors give of the glorious Prosperity of Persons they speak of, it is necessary to consult, that very Man, on whom they be-

(13) June 1684. Art. iii.

(14) Teiss. Adit. aux Elog. pag. 250. Edit. 1696.

(15) Thouan, lib. exvii. p. 77.

(16) Bodin, Preface to his Demonomanie.

(17) Id. de Republica, lib. i. cap. x. pag. 255. Edit. Uriel. 1603.

(18) In the Remark [I].

(9) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 142, 143.

(10) Du Verdier vau-Privas mentions it, pag. 654, of his Bibliothèque Française.

(11) Teiss. Adit. aux Elog. Tom. II. p. 249.

(12) Mr Menage in the Life of Ayrault, pag. 143, cites three Passages out of it.

prize upon *Antwerp*, Bodin finding himself frustrated in his Hopes resolved to retreat. He retired to *Laon*, where he married the Sister of a Magistrate [G]. He had an Office in the Presidial Court of That City [H], and it was probably on account of that Office, that he was deputed in the Year 1576, by the third State of Vermandois, to the States of Blois: though, in his Account of those States, he styles himself only Deputy of the third State of Vermandois (f). He shewed there a very good Disposition to maintain the Rights of the People [I], and he believed that to be the Reason why he did not obtain the Office of Master of Requests, which had been designed for him. He had the Courage strenuously to oppose those who would have had all the King's Subjects forced to profess the Catholic Religion (g). He represented vigorously, that That Request was a Violation of the Edicts, and that such a Violation would necessarily produce a War, which had been so often fatal to all the Kingdom. The Freedom, wherewith he represented this, raised him many Enemies; wherefore perceiving that there was a Combination to make that Petition pass, and that by reason of the fatal Blindness of the King and his Counsellors, those who might have prevented that ill Resolution, durst not say any thing, he abstained from proposing his Opinion, which was prejudicial to himself, and could do no good to the Public (h). Some Cities complained, that he had gone beyond his Commission, by opposing that Request; but the King's Council, who examined those Complaints, discharged him (i). Every body knows, that in the

Raguagli

(f) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

(g) Thuanus, lib. lxxiii. pag. 183. ad ann. 1576. See the Remark [I].

(h) Thuanus is guilty of a Contradiction, and has refuted this himself: See the end of the Remark [I].

(i) Ex Thuanus lib. lxxiii. See the Remark [I].

(19) That is, to translate his Republic into Latin.

(20) Bodinus Epist. Dedicat. Libror. de Republic. the Latin Edition.

(21) Sammarth. Eleg. lib. iv. pag. 93.

(22) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

(23) Id. ibid. pag. 147, 148.

flow so much Glory: and then we find that tho' he is not sparing of his own Praises, yet what he says is sufficient to rectify the Hyperboles of his Historians. Bodin will not be so clear an instance of this, as I could wish; however, I may say, that his Expressions are not so distinct as those of Sammarthanus. See here what he says: 'Tamesti nova occasione ad id (19) maxime impulsu essem, cum Londini Olybium Gallum hominem in privatis illustrium virorum aedibus; alium item apud Cantabriges in ipsa Academia difficili ac molesta ratione Anglis Rempubliam nostram interpretari comperissem (20). — Tho' I was principally moved to it on a new occasion, having understood that Olybium a Frenchman explained my Republic in private Families of great Men at London; and another Person at Cambridge, in the University itself, after a difficult and troublesome Manner.' Those who know that there are private and public Lectures in the Colleges of the Universities of England, will find that Sammarthanus goes beyond Bodin; for he says positively, that Bodin's Republic was explained at Cambridge in the public Auditories: 'Quem (Andium ducem) in Angliam secutus, cum illic E SUGGESTU PUBLICO sua scripta juvenibus enarrari comperisset, ex hoc inusitata gloriola proveniunt non mediocrem vigiliarum suarum fructum sibi visus est collegisse (21). — When he followed him [the Duke of Anjou] into England, finding that his Writings were explained to the youth at THE PUBLIC LECTURES, he thought he had reaped an extraordinary fruit of his Lucubrations, in this small Crop of uncommon Glory.' Mr Menage has followed the same Notion. [G] He retired to Laon, where he married.] He married Frances Trouillart, the Widow of Claudius Guyart, Comptroller of the King's Demesnes in Vermandois, and Sister of Nicolas Trouillart the King's Attorney in the Bailiwick, and Presidial Court of Laon. The Contract of his Marriage is dated February 25, 1576 (22). This date shews, that it is necessary to rectify Mr Menage's Narrative. I have followed it, but it was with a design to shew the defect of it in this place. Mr Menage supposes that Bodin went into England, and into the Low-Countries, with the Duke of Alençon, before the Year 1576; he will have it also, that the Duke of Alençon's Death happened before the same Year; but it is a great falsity. That Duke went into England in the Year 1579. He returned thither in the Year 1582. He attempted to make himself Master of Antwerp in the Year 1583, and he died the Year following. Menage should not therefore have said, that Bodin, being frustrated in his hopes after the Death of That Prince, retired to Laon, and married there; but that he returned home to Laon, where he had married in the Year 1576. Note, that he had three Children by his Wife, two Sons, Elias and John, and one Daughter. He out-lived Elias, and John died young and unmarried. The Daughter fell distracted, was never married, and lived above Eighty Years (23).

[H] He had an Office in the Presidial Court of Laon.] Thuanus says in the Hundred and seventeenth Book of his History, that he was Lieutenant-General there. Mr Menard says in his Illustrations of Men of Anjou, that he was the King's Attorney there. Mr Joly in his Notes upon Loyse's Dialogue concerning the Advocates of Paris, and Mr de Mezeray in his History of France, both of them say that he was the King's Advocate there. Sammarthanus in the Elogy of Bodin, says in general, that he was a Magistrate there. It is certain, that he was the King's Attorney there in the room of his Brother-in-law, the Sieur Trouillart. He says in his Will, that he is one of the poorest Attorneys of the King of France (24). Observe, That Thuanus supposes that he had not the Lieutenant-General's Place till after the Death of the Duke of Alençon.

[I] He shewed a very good Disposition to maintain the Rights of the People.] To use the words of Mr Mezeray. He remonstrated there with the Freedom of an old Gaul, that the Funds of the Royal Demesnes belonged to the Provinces, and that the King had only the use of them. King Henry III did not take this ill, saying, that Bodin was an honest Man. See Bodin's Relation. He also remonstrated there, that the Deputies of two Bodies could decide nothing to the prejudice of the third: And upon his Remonstrance, the Deputies of the Ecclesiastical Order, and of the Nobility, who had been of the contrary Opinion, changed their Mind: which made King Henry III say, that Bodin was that Day Master of the States. See the seventh Chapter of the third Book of Bodin's Republic (25). See also the Latin Letter which he wrote to Pibrac, prefixed to the French Editions of his Republic, and you will find there what follows: 'Res ipsa planum fecit, me in legatione ad Gallias conventus pro populi commodis adversus potentiorum opes, non sine capitis mei periculo, dimicavisse: ac primum omnium me bella civilia, popularis fundi calamitas, renovarentur, acerrime restituisse: deinde authorem fuisse ne quis è numero legatorum cooptaretur, qui populi rogationibus judicandis interesset: contra quam ab omnibus ordinibus, una omnium voce decretum erat, cum res ipsa popularis ac speciosa videretur, esset tamen à populi commodis valde aliena: ego ad collegium pontificum & patricios ire jussus, ordinis nostri decreto, illos à proposita susceptraque sententia deduxi. Cum verò prædita publica sub hasta vendere, & quidem alienatione sempiterna, ac tributa duplicare specie levandæ plebis propositum esset, idque modis omnibus tentaretur, nos tanto studio intercessimus, ut cum nihil obtineri potuisset, Rex ipse Homaro Burdegalenium Præfide, Dureto Præfide Molineorum, Ripuario Aquitanias findico, ac plerique aliis audientibus dixerit, Bodinum ab ejus commodis non modò dissentire, verumetiam collegarum voluntates ac studia à se avertere consueffe. Si tamen procurator regius tunc fu-

(24) Menage, ubi supra.

(25) Id. ibid.

Raguagli of Boccalini, he was condemned to be burnt, as an Athiest, *notorio Atbeista*, for having said in his Books on a Republic, that Liberty of Conscience ought to be granted to Sectaries (k). 'The Abbot le Laboureur, says in the 'Three hundred Eighty fifth Page of the second Volume of his *Cashebau*, that 'he had been Lieutenant-General of the *Table of Marble* (l). It is certain, that in the 'time

(k) Raguagli di Parnasio, Centur. i. cap. lxxiv. pag. 195.

(l) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault*, pag. 146.

issem, non aliter sentirem: quia necesse est si
lien intumescat, ut caput ipsum, ac cætera
membra contabescant; quid igitur facere deuit
plebis legatum? Cum autem nullis illecebris fle-
cti potuissim, omnes penè Viromanduorum ci-
uitates, quæ me absentem, & certè repugnan-
tem, communibus suffragiis elegerant, literis quo-
rundam persuasæ, procuratores ad conventus mi-
serunt, ut Bodinum, si fieri posset, à suscepta
legatione revocarent, quasi qui duplices in Re-
publica religiones tueretur: sed non prius pro-
curatorias tabulas in comitio aperuerant, quam
summa cum ignominia explosi fuere. Ex eo ta-
men quantum detrimenti meis rationibus alla-
tum sit, satis intelligunt, qui sæpius audierunt
libellorum in regia magistrum me designatum à
Principe antea fuisse. — *The thing itself shows*
plainly, that, during my deputation to the States of
France, it was not without hazard of my Life,
that I had contended for the Privileges of the Peo-
ple against the Power of the great, and first that
I made a strong resistance, against renewing the
Civil-Wars, the destruction of the Peoples substance;
then, that I was the occasion that no body was
chosen from among the Deputies, to be present at
judging the Bills of the People, contrary to what
had been resolved by the Unanimous Voice of all
the States; the thing seeming specious and popular,
but being in reality contrary to the Interest of the
People. I being ordered by a Decree of our State,
to go to the College of Ecclesiastics, and to the No-
bility, brought them over from their former Resolu-
tions. And when it was proposed to set the Public
Lands to sale, and alienate them for ever, and dou-
ble the Taxes, on pretence of easing the common
People, and all means were tried to bring this a-
bout, I opposed it so earnestly, that, when nothing
could be done, the King himself declared in the
presence of Homar, President of Bourdeaux, and
Duret, President of Molin, and Ripuar, Syndic of
Aquitain, and several others, that Bodin was not
only himself averse from his Interest, but also used
to turn the inclinations of his Colleagues against
him. But, tho' I had been the King's Attorney,
at that time I could not have been of another mind:
because if the Spleen grows too big, the Head it-
self, and other Members, must of necessity pine a-
way: what then could a Deputy of the People do?
But when I could not be moved by any Allurements,
almost all the Cities of Virmandois, who had chosen
me by common Suffrage in my absence, and against
my Will, persuaded by letters from certain Persons,
sent their Attornies to the States, to recal Bodin if
possible from the Office he had undertaken, as one
who was for two Religions in the State, but their
Letters of Procurator were no sooner opened in the
Assembly, than they were rejected with the great-
est Ignominy. What detriment this was to my
affairs is well known to those who have often heard
that I was before nominated by the King, to be
Master of Requests in his Palace.

(26) Thouanus,
lib. lxxiii. p. 187.

What Thouanus says, concerning these same things,
is most glorious for Bodin. He says, That the Re-
solutions of the States having been presented to the
King, it was proposed to the Third State, to ap-
point Twelve Commissioners to assist at the Exami-
nation, that was to be made of those Resolutions in
the King's Council (26). This was approved at
first; but when the thing was examined again,
Bodin was of Opinion, that no such thing ought
to be done, and advised his Colleagues not to no-
minate any Deputy, and to oppose the Deputations
which the Clergy and the Nobility intended to make.
He was sent to the other two Houses, and shewed
them by several Reasons how dangerous it was to
commit the Decision of what had been asked by
the three States of the Kingdom to a small number
of Persons; that tho' the Commissioners should
be proof against Bribes, yet the King's Presence
might intimidate them, and the Solicitations and

Cabals of the Courtiers seduce them. He was an-
swered, he made a Reply, and at last gained his
Cause by the firmness wherewith he gave them to
understand, that the Third State would oppose their
Deputations. Henry III was vexed at this, and
bore Bodin an ill-will for it. Itaque Rex Bodinum,
quem unice diligebat, & ob raram eruditionem
'ac multam varium rerum experientiam, dum
'cibum caperet, libenter audiebat, ab eo tempore
'non tam benigno vultu dignatus est, quod ordi-
'nib. prioris sententiæ mutandæ auctor extitisset,
'& ea in re quantum ad circumagenda ordinum
'ingenia momenti haberet, minus grato regi ex-
'perimento docuisset (27). — Bodin was a par-
'ticular Favourite of the King, and he loved to hear
'him when he was at Table, for his extraordinary
'Learning, and great experience in various things;
'but, from this time, he looked less favourably on
'him, because he had persuaded the States to change
'their former Opinion, and shewed in that affair,
'by an experiment, no ways pleasing to the King,
'of what consequence he was to sway the dispositions
'of the States. That Prince caused it to be repre-
sented to the States that he was under a necessity of
alienating part of his Demesnes; 'Necessitate, quæ
potentissimum telum est, urgente, id licere con-
tenderet, quippe cum conllet, salutem populi
supremam legem esse debere (28). — He insisted,
'that since necessity, that most powerful weapon, ur-
'ged, the thing might be done; because it was cer-
'tain, that the safety of the People ought to be
'the supreme Law; but they rejected that Pro-
posal, and it was Bodin chiefly, who brought them
to that Resolution; for the most considerable Depu-
ties being corrupted with promises were already wa-
vering. 'Pessimum de dominio affectatæ neces-
sitis obtentu alienando commentum, Bodino præ-
cipue auctore (nam præcipui jam promissis cor-
rupti nutabant) evanuit, quod si locum tunc ha-
buisset, sub principe profuso misere dilapidatum
fuisset (29). — That wicked contrivance of alie-
nating the Royal Demesnes, on pretence of feigned
necessity, came to nothing, chiefly by the means of
Bodin, (for the most considerable being corrupted
with promises were already wavering) if the design
had succeeded at that time, miserable waste would
have been made under that profused Prince. The
same Bodin stoutly opposed the Cabals of the Party
of Messieurs de Guise, who would have had the
War against the Huguenots (30) resolved on. We
may infer from this that Mezerey is mistaken, when
he asserts, that the King praised Bodin for opposing
the alienation of the Demesnes. He confounds two
things which he should have distinguished. Bodin's
Conduct was approved by the King's Council, when
some Cities complained that he had opposed the
Proposal of not suffering two Religions in the
Kingdom; 'Homines à factiosis subornati vene-
runt, qui Bodinum contra mandata sua inter-
cessisse dicerent, quibus in consistorio regio audis-
tis, nihilominus pronunciatum est, Bodinum ni-
hil nisi rectè fecisse (31). — There came
'Men suborned by the factious, who said that Bo-
'din had interposed contrary to his Orders; they
'had a hearing in the King's Council, but never-
'theless it was declared, that Bodin had done na-
'thing amiss; this happened before the two Affairs
which we have just now read in the passage of
Thouanus, and which made Bodin lose King Henry
III's favour. Let us also observe a Contradiction
of Thouanus. He says, Page 183, that, when Bodin
perceived that his Remonstrances against the Com-
binations of those, who were for infringing the
Edicts of Pacification, would be in vain, he ab-
stained from speaking about that matter. 'Cum
'videret homo futuri providus conjuratione facta
'eò animos inclinare, & fatali Regis ac consiliari-
'orum ejus cæcitate effici, ut ab illis, qui pro-
'hibere poterant, præpostera prudentia in ea re
'dissimularetur, hujusmodi publicis sibi pernicio-
'sis

(27) Thouanus,
lib. lxxiii. p. 187.

(28) Id. ibid.

(29) Id. ibid.
pag. 183. col. 1.

(30) Id. ibid.
col. 2.

(31) Id. ibid.
pag. 183.

(m) Menage, ib. pag. 147.

(n) Dated from Laon the 29th of January 1590. Id. ibid.

* time of Charles IX he was the King's Attorney, in a Commission for the Forests of Normandy [K].* He had been a Protestant, yet in 1589 he persuaded the Inhabitants of Laon to declare for the Duke of Mayenne [L]; remonstrating to them, that the Rising of so many Cities, and of so many Parliaments in favour of Messieurs de Guise, ought not to be called a Rebellion, but a Revolution (m); and at that time he printed a Letter on That Subject (n). — He died of the Plague at Laon, in 1596 — in his Sixty seventh Year [M],* and was buried in

(32) Id. ibid.

* sis & in publicum nihil profuturis admonitionibus deinceps abstinuit (32) — When, he who was a Man of great foresight, perceived that, by Combination amongst them, they all leaned that way, and that the fatal blindness of the King, and his Council, made those who could have hindered it, out of a preposterous Prudence, dissemble in the matter, he abstained from such public Remonstrances, which were burlesque to himself, and not like to profit the public. But in Pag. 188, he tells us that this same Civilian vigorously opposed the Faction of Messieurs de Guise, even when the Resolutions of the States had been presented to the King, and it seemed that the Commission of the Deputies was expired. The Opposition was concerning the design of renewing the War against the Protestants. The Partisans of the Duke of Guise had gained the Clergy and the Nobility; those two Bodies had several private Meetings to put off the Proposals of Peace. Bodin, who, because the Deputies of Paris were absent, was then at the head of the Third State, opposed those practices with great Courage (33); and when they told him that the thing had been thus resolved upon in the States, and that the Assembly had no longer any Authority; he answered them boldly, you are then a company of Rebels, since you acknowledge that your Deputation is ended, and yet you do not leave off meeting together: But I am of another Opinion, we may yet present a Petition to the King; the Assemblies wherein they treated of the Peace at Rome, were not required to be so solemn as those wherein the beginning of the War was in agitation: Et cum illi ita in comitiis conventum dicerent, & postulatis semel Regi oblatis nullas ordinum partes esse, quippe exilinctis mandatis, audacter respondit, in perduellionis criminibus ipso incurrere, qui cum potestatem agendi vel propria confessione non habeant, tamen cotidie conventicula celebrant, verum se aliter censere, & licere adhuc Regi supplicare. Nam ut &c (34). It was necessary that I should shew Thuanus's contradiction; for he had considerably lessened Bodin's Reputation without any Reason.

(34) Id. ibid.

[K] He was the King's Attorney in a Commission for the Forests of Normandy. * Master John Bodin, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, persuaded King Charles IX, that the Right of Tiers and Danger, was a general Right over all the Forests of Normandy, and took the care of that Inquiry upon himself, as the King's Attorney for the Reformation. There was hardly any Family in the Province, but what he proceeded against. He himself says in his Writings, that he made Four hundred Cases ready for Trial: And he carried the matter so far, that there was nothing wanting for the Execution of his Design, but the actual Dispossession of all those, who had any Forests. All Normandy was in commotion at his Undertaking, and the Parliament met, several times, about that matter: They appointed Deputies; and the Nobility followed their Example. At last the King was moved with their Complaints, and convinced by the Reasons which were represented to him. And to put a stop to that Search, which had lasted several Years, he made an Edict in the Year 1571, whereby he ordered the Alienation of the Rights of Tiers and Danger, which belonged to him, on the Forests of Normandy; and he acknowledged by that same Edict, that those Forests were but few, and that the Revenue which he drew from them, was inconsiderable. Bodin, who could not yield, opposed the registering of it: But the King set forth a Declaration, whereby, without having any regard to his Opposition and Protestations, which he declared void, he ordered it to be put in execution (35). I thought this Passage deserved to be set down at length: First, Because it contains a

(35) Gréard, défenses pour les particuliers qui possèdent des bois en Normandie, contre la prétention des Droits de Tiers & Danger, apud Menage, ubi supra, p. 146, 147.

fact that is curious, and but little known. Secondly, Because it serves to discover Bodin's Temper, I mean, his Ardour, his Activity, his Vigilance, and his Steadiness.

He himself tells us some Circumstances of his Proceedings, which will confirm the thing. * And I remember, that Charles IX having ordered his Letters Patents, in the Year MDLXX, for a general Regulation of the Waters and Forests in Normandy, which drew after it the Cognizance of the finest part of his Demesne, the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament of Rouen were forbidden to take any Cognizance of it: And altho' they used all possible Endeavours to prevent that Prohibition, yet they at last agreed to it, after I had presented to them several Repeated Commands from the King, and sued xxii Counsellors, and the first President severally for Cafes resulting from the Commission, and the whole City of Rouen, for the Rights which they claimed against the King, and which was the Reason why I obtained the Prohibition (36).

[L] He had been a Protestant; yet, in 1589, he persuaded the Inhabitants of Laon to declare for the Duke of Mayenne. Mr Menage says, that he discovered that Bodin was a Protestant, by one of his Letters to John Bautru des Matras, a famous Advocate in the Parliament of Paris (37). Mr Colomies published part of that Letter in his Gallia Orientalis (38). It is as clear as day, that it is a Letter from a good Huguenot: It is not dated; it appears only that it was written after the first Civil War; I mean, that which was ended in the Month of March, 1563. Thuanus says, that the League, having sent Orders to Laon, not to acknowledge King Henry III any more; Bodin, who had been a Protestant, and who was never since an Enemy to the Reformed Religion, praised the Conduct of the League, and by the Bishop's Advice made a Speech to the People, and removed the Scruples and Fears of the Inhabitants (39). He did not scruple to call the King a perfidious Man, and an Hypocrite, nor to foretel him mischief; he is, said he, the Sixty third King of France, and he shall be the last: as the Climacterical Year Sixty three is commonly the last of Human Life. In this manner he stirred up the City of Laon to join with the Leaguers: He writ a Letter on that (40) Subject, which was printed (41). Thus the Nicodemites do sometimes more harm than an open Enemy; they know that they are suspected, and therefore for fear of being undone, if they do not remove those Suspensions, they shew more Zeal for the prevailing Party, than those who have already given sufficient Proofs of the same Zeal. Observe these Words of Thuanus; Videri regem huic regno Francico fatalem, & ultimum ex ea familia fore. — The King seemed fatal to this Kingdom of France, and would be the last of that Family. What did Bodin mean by this Prognostication? Did he pretend that Henry III should be the last King of the Branch of Valois? He needed be no great Prophet to foretel that, of a Prince, who was the only one remaining of that Branch, and was married to a young Woman that was barren. Did he pretend that no Prince of the third Race should ascend the Throne after Henry III? In that case the Event has given him the lie; and yet Thuanus makes a great Account of Bodin's Predictions. * He repaired that (42) Fault by an admirable Prediction of the unhop'd for Issue of those Troubles; for though there was no likelihood of a Peace, he published before-hand both the Year and the Month wherein it would be concluded, and the Event answered what he had foretold (43).

[M] He died — — — in 1596 — — — in his Sixty seventh Year. He says in his Will, dated the

(36) Bodin de la Republique, lib. iii, cap. ii. pag. 381. See also the 17th Chapter of the 17th Book, pag. 1031.

(37) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 147.

(38) Pag. 76. § 6.

(39) Thuan. lib. xciv. pag. 262. ad ann. 1589.

(40) To President Brisson.

(41) Thuanus, lib. xciv. p. 262.

(42) He meant the Fault which Bodin committed, by saying many things that were injurious to King Henry III, and to the King of Navarre.

(43) Id. lib. cxvii. pag. 771, cited by Teiffier addit. Tom. II. pag. 247.

in the Church of the *Franciscans* in the same City, as he had ordered by his Will (o). He had been a *Carmelite* in his Youth, if we may believe *Thuanus*; but Mr *Baudry*, Advocate in the Great-Council, and Grand Nephew of Bodin, told Mr Menage several times, that *Thuanus* had been misinformed in That Particular (p). It seems to me, that there is as much Exaggeration in the Praises which *Gabriel Naudé* bestowed upon Bodin, as Injustice in the Contempt which *Cujacius*, *Scaliger*, and some others have treated him with [N]. *Possévin* is not the only Man, who

accuses

(44) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 147.

(45) At Moreri, Hofman, Bacholercus in Indice Chronol. p. 682. Paul Freherus in Theatro, p. 395, & Saldenus Ot. Theol. p. 797: who does not know that our Bodin is the Author of the *Diablogues de abditis rerum sublimibus arcibus*.

(46) Thuanus, lib. xvii. pag. 771.

(47) Menard, cited by Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 147.

† In lib. de studiis.

‡ In Iudicio librorum Bodini.

(48) Naudé Apolog. des grands hommes, cap. vii. pag. 127.

(49) Naudé, Advis pour dresser une Bibliothèque pag. 96.

(50) See above, Citation (9).

(51) Pag. 513, & seq. in Edit. Rotterodam. 1691, in 4^{to}.

(52) It was in 1576. Bongars was lately come from Germany to study the Civil Laws under Cujacius.

(53) Taken from Bongars's Letter to Conrad Rittershausen, published by Colomæus, in his Gallia Orientalis.

the seventh of June, 1596, that he was above Sixty-six Years of Age (44); which confutes those who say, that he died in the Year 1585 (45), and those who affirm that he lived above Seventy Years (46), or that he lived but Fifty-five Years (47). Note, that the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Universæ Naturæ Theatrum*, is dated from Laon the Twenty fifth of February, 1596. This is a little mortifying to those who place his Death in the Year 1585.

[N] As much Exaggeration in the Praises which *Gabriel Naudé* bestows on him as Injustice in the Contempt which *Cujacius*, *Scaliger*, and some others have treated him with.] *Naudé* made this Judgment of Bodin, in a Book which he published in 1625. 'This

'first Man of France, *John Bodin* ----- after having, with a wonderful quickness of Wit, accompanied with a solid Judgment, treated of all Subjects Divine, Natural, and Civil, would perhaps have forgot that he was a Man, and would infallibly have been taken by us for a Superior Intelligence, if he had not left some Marks and Foot-steps of his Humanity in his *Demonomanie*, which was, as the late most Serene King of Great-Britain well observed †, *majori collecta studio quam scripta judicio*: collected with more pains than wrote with Judgment. Perhaps the Reason of it is, Because that great Genius, who understood the Holy Language very well, applied himself, more than was requisite, to the Doctrine of the *Rabbies* and *Talmudists*, quibus, as the Jesuit *Possévin* observes ‡, *hoc libro tam videtur additus, ut ad eos sapienter recurrat quam ad Evangelium* (48). — To whom he seems so addicted that he often recurs to them in this Book, than to the Gospel. In 1627, *Naudé* published his Advice how to erect a Library, and observed that if there be any Question about Bodin's Republic it must be inferred, that it ought to be taken in, because the Author was one of the most famous and renowned Men in his Age, and who, among the Moderns, treated first of that Subject, because the matter of it is very necessary, and very much sought after at this present time, and because the Book is common, translated into several Languages, and printed almost every five or six Years (49). Add to this, what he said to Mr Menage (50), and what he published in his *Bibliographia politica* (51), where he does not seem to be in cool Blood when he praises Bodin, but rather to be seized with the most violent Rapture, that ever railed the Hyperboles of Poets to the Skies. It being a book which may easily be had, and the Passage concerning Bodin containing many Lines, I refer my Readers to it, and shall copy nothing out of it.

Now let us speak of *Cujacius*'s Contempt. We are informed by a Letter from Bongars, that *Cujacius* having heard that he was censured in Bodin's Republic, and not being able to find that Book at the Book-sellers, he borrowed it of Bongars (52), and some Days after, he declaimed against Bodin, above two Hours. That Lecture of *Cujacius* was sent to Bodin, and obliged him to put a Latin Epistle before the Second Edition of his Republic, wherein he treated *Cujacius* roughly. But he made good use of his remarks, for he left out in that Edition all that *Cujacius* had censured, eorum quæ *Cujacius* notaverat in ista altera editione nec volum reliquit nec vestigium (53). *Cujacius* answered in the Thirty eighth Chapter of the eighth Book of his Observations, and made use of the Anagram *Andrius sine bono*, to denote his Antagonist. See Mr Menage, who observes besides, that Bodin had abused *Cujacius* without naming him, in these Words of the Preface to his Method of History. 'Hostium aspectum ferre non magis possunt, quam is qui in Scholis Biturigum tanta cum gloria florebat: id est, strabo inter cæcos acutissime cernebat. Cum

VOL. II.

in forum venisset, de levissima questione consultus obmutuit: non sine acerba Riandi reprehensione (54). — They can no more bear the sight of an Enemy than he who flourished with so much Glory, in the Schools of Bourges; that is, an owl among Bats could see clearest. When he came into the Court, being asked a very trifling question, he was speechless: For which he had a very severe reprimand from Riandus. Observe by the by, that Moreri, and several others, who say, that Bodin was called *Andrius sine bono*, because of his Poverty, are mistaken, *Cujacius* made no Allusion to Bodin's Fortune in that Anagram; he only considered the Qualities of his mind. A certain Author gives out, that Queen Elizabeth made use of that Expression, speaking to our Bodin, and he quotes *Burgoldensis* (55). He is mistaken in his Quotation, for *Burgoldensis* says only, that she called him *Badin*. 'Homo iste sine bono, sine *Badin* (uti illum Elizabetha Angl. Regina appellavit.) licitum esse putat suorum popularium dignitatem honesto mendacio tueri in sua Methodo Histor. c. 4 (56). — That Man without good, or *Badin* [Trifler] (as Elizabeth Queen of England called him) thinks it lawful to keep up the dignity of his own People, by an honest lye, in his Method of History.' Another Author pretends, that the disadvantageous manner in which Bodin has spoke of Women, in the fifth Chapter of the sixth Book of the Republic, drew upon him 'a very sharp Jest ----- Queen Elizabeth, who had otherwise some esteem for him, was pleased to send for him into England, on purpose to send him back with these Words; Bodin, when you see me, learn that you are but a *Badin* (57). A Doctor of Louvain says, that when Bodin was at London, to negotiate the Marriage of his Master Hercules Duke of Alençon (58), the Queen used to call him Master *John Badin*: Pro Bodino solebat eum Regina Magistrum Joannem Badinum appellare (59). 'Tis not improbable that the Queen might call him so; for at that time the Court was not less fond of Puns than the People; but it is false, that That Prince sent for him over on purpose to mortify him by such a sorry Joke. He was at London in the Retinue of his Master the Duke of Alençon. He was there also in quality of Envoy from the same Duke.

What *Scaliger* said of Bodin, was very disobliging. 'Bodinus patrem Jul. Scaligerum falso ignorantia Matheseos arguit, ipse indoctissimus valdeque jejunos, cum quicquid a multis annis doctrinae consequutus est, transcripserit ex aliorum laboribus, imo & ex meo libello in Varronem de lingua Latina, cujus paginas integras suas fecit sur impudentissimus, & in unum velut chaos congestit, plurima scribens quæ ipse non intelligit. Denique librum de Methodo legendæ historiæ inscripsit, in quo nihil minus quam eâ de re tractat ut titulo suo nullo modo respondeat oratio, quod quidem Verrius Flaccus notavit in Originibus Catonis, quæ nihil minus inquirunt quam Italiæ origines. Porro si quis velit in illum scribere, Je lui dresserai tout son fait: neque enim mihi honoris loco ducam aliquid proferre quod meo nomine circumferatur (60). — Bodin falsely accuses my Father Jul. Scaliger of Ignorance in the Mathematics, being himself very unlearned, and dry, for whatever Learning he has pursued for many Years, he has transcribed out of the Labours of others, even out of my Book, on Varro de Lingua Latina, whole pages of which the impudent Thief has made his own, and thrown together like a Chaos, Writing many things which he does not understand. In short, he entitles one of his Books The Method of Reading History, in which he treats of nothing less than that matter, so that his Discourse has no relation at all to his Title.

(o) Id. ibid. pag. 143.

(p) Id. ibid. pag. 141.

(44) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 144.

(55) Diceman, de Naturalismo, pag. 2.

(56) Burgold, notitia rerum Imperii Romani Germanici. Part. I. pag. 33.

(57) Ancillon, Mélanges critiques, Tom. II. pag. 5.

(58) Mr Crenius, Animadv. Part. II. p. 93: has no reason to find fault with this Name and this Title.

(59) Libert, Fromondus, Meteorolog. lib. v. cap. i. art. iv. pag. 240.

(60) Scaligerana prima, pag. 30, 31.

(q) See the end
of the Remark
[O].

accuses him of having wrote many things contrary to Religion [O], and some Persons suspected him of Magic (q), or affirmed that he died a Jew (r). Note, that

(r) See Citation
[66].

as Verrius Flaccus observed of the Origines of Cato, which treat of nothing less than the Antiquities of Italy. If any body would write against him, I'll furnish him matter for him, but do not think it consistent with my Honour to publish any thing against him in my own Name. You see that he calls him a most ignorant Man, and that he would think it a dishonour to answer him. What Arrogance is this! and how ill becoming learned Men, tho' it is very common among them! Let us appeal from this Judgment of Scaliger to that of *Tuanus*, and if we will not grant that Bodin was an exact and judicious Writer, let us confess however that he had a great Genius, a vast Knowledge, and a prodigious Memory and Reading. The Works, by which he got so much Glory, needed not that he should borrow any thing from a Commentary on *Varro*; they were not such as could receive any lustre from thence, and there is reason to believe that Scaliger and Cujacius would not have been able to produce what he did with so much Strength at the States of Blois.

[O] Possevin is not the only Man, who accuses him of having writ many things - - - - - contrary to Religion.] Let us in the first place quote his Panegyrist Naudé, who observes, that those who have writ against Bodin's Republic, were only Pygmies attacking Hercules; so that this Author having nothing to fear from that side, ought only to dread the Censures of the Church. 'Scio equidem, Fabium Albergatum hominem Italum, & Serrium, ac Augerium Ferrerium, Gallos (61), magnis conatibus, & libris ad id consequendum editis, periculum illi ac ruinam intentasse: sed eventus docuit eundem fuisse istius pugnae eventum, quem Pygmaeorum cum Hercule: ut non jam ad miniatas alicujus Attici aut Hyperattici ceras trepidare debeat, sed ad Ecclesiae solius judicium; cujus censuris quoniam vehementius urgetur, quam inimicorum argumentis, hinc est, quod ipsius libri evolvi minime debeant, nisi obtenta prius & hunc & quolibet auctores politicos legendi facultate (62). — I know that Fabius Albergatus an Italian, and Sirrius and Augerius Ferrerius, two Frenchmen, laboured with all their Might, and published several Books on purpose to bring him into Danger, and to ruin him, but the Event shewed that the Success of this Battle was the same with that of the Pygmies against Hercules, so that now he has no need to stand in Awe of the Writings of any Critic or Hypercritic, but only of the Judgment of the Church; and because her Censures bear harder upon him than the Arguments of his Adversaries, therefore his Books ought not to be read without a Licence first obtained for reading both him and all other Political Authors. A little lower he blames him for having too much exposed the Interests of the true Faith, and in that regard he approves of Possevin's Complaints. 'Quibus (quasi) siomibus certe compescendis dirigendis ad finem Religionis Christianae praeceptis ac instituto contentaneum, sane haud necesse erit diversas inter se Religiones committere; quemadmodum non sine dispendio verae pietatis superioribus annis fecere, Petrus de Alliaco Cardinalis & Episcopus Cameracensis, in opusculo quodam astrologico de tribus sectis; Hieronymus Cardanus in libris suis de subtilitate; & Joannes Bodinus, composito, sed nondum edito, (atque utinam nunquam edatur) de rerum sublimium arcanis ingenti volumine; quod equidem, Jesuitam Possevinum non perperam de ipso judicium tulisse, argumento esse potest validissimo certe manifestissimoque (63). — For restraining which [questions] and directing them to an end agreeable to the Precepts and Institutions of the Christian Religion, it will not be necessary to compare different Religions one with another, as has been done heretofore, not without Damage to true Piety, by Cardinal Petrus Alliatus Bishop of Cambray in an Astrological Treatise, concerning the three Sects; Cardan in his Book de Subtilitate; and John Bodin in a large Volume, de Rerum Sublimium Arcanis, writ by

him, but not yet published (as I wish it never may), which is a strong and manifest Argument that the Jesuit Possevin had formed no wrong Judgment of him. The Author of the Book de justa Reip. Christianae in reges impios & haereticos auctoritate, accuses Bodin of indifferency about Religion, and of being a Favourer of the Protestants. Unius viri indifferentiis, & Protestantibus non iniqui testimonio comparationem hanc transigam (64). The Jesuit Martin del Rio maintains, that the Demonomanie of Bodin is full of Errors, and that in the very Edition of Antwerp, which was published as corrected, there remained many dangerous things, and which shew the doubtful Religion of the Author; Manent multa noxia, & quae ambiguum auctoris fidem satis testantur, nocereque legentibus possunt (65). Wherefore, adds he, that Book was justly placed by the Inquisition of Rome in the Catalogue of prohibited Books. He promises to make it appear, that the *Theatrum universae Naturae*, of the same Author, contains some Doctrines so contrary to Divinity, that they may at least be called erroneous, and altogether rash. Let us observe that his Republic had the same fate at Rome, as his Demonomanie, tho' certain things had been inserted in the Italian Translation, which some officious Friends thought proper, to preserve Bodin's reputation of a good Catholic (66). His *Method of History*, and his *Theatre of Nature* had no better fate with the Inquisitors. Here is something terrible: 'Those that get into the Pulpit here, tell Stories, de-claim against Bodin, for a whole Sermon, and tear him in pieces, without calling to mind that the Villain was a Leaguer, and died a Jew, without mentioning JESUS CHRIST in his last Words, which I have in Verse (67). This is to be found in a Letter of James Gillot to Scaliger, dated from Paris the ninth of February 1607. That which Mr Dicman found in a Manuscript, and which he inserted in his Book de Naturalismo, is yet more terrible. Naudæus in ἀποστολική Gallicae ex MS. laudati Patini mecum benevole a Viro Nob. communicato, de hoc opere, &c. — Naudæus in a French Abstract from the Famous Patin, kindly communicated to me by a Nobleman, concerning this Work, 'It is a Book well writ, says he, but very dangerous, because he laughs at all Religions, and concludes at last, that there is none: neither had he any himself: He died like a Dog, without any sense of Piety, being neither Jew, Christian, nor Turk. Another uncertain Author in Patin's Manuscript, says, Bodin was a strange Fellow in point of Religion. He died of the Plague at Laon in 1596, being pretty old, and said not one word of JESUS CHRIST when he died (68). I cannot tell whether those that preached against Bodin in the Pulpits of Paris in the Year 1607, had heard any thing of the Dispositions which he shewed when he died, or of the pernicious Doctrines of the *Heptaplemeres*. Scaliger could not apprehend from whence their Fury proceeded. He writ to Charles l'Abbé, towards the end of the Month of February 1607, the following Words: 'Illud velim ex te scire, quare Pontificii tam acerbè quotidie in Bodinum declament. Certe quod mancipium ambitionis fuerit, propterea odio illis esse eum non crediderim. Aliam subesse causam necesse est, quam ex te scire velim. Hujus igitur tam inopinati odii causam, & quare hominem pridem mortuum canes ex tumultu eruant, neque ejus manes quiescere sinant, à vobis expecto (69). — I desire to know from you, why the Papiests declaim so violently, every Day, against Bodin. Certainly I cannot think they hated him, because he was a Slave to Ambition. There must be some other Reason at Bottom which I would gladly know. I therefore expect to hear from you the Reason of this so unexpected Hatred, and why the Dogs tear, from the Grave, a Man long since dead, and won't suffer his Ashes to be at Peace. I must not forget that as soon as Bodin's Republic came out, some Preachers exclaimed against him. Read his Latin Letter of the thirtieth of March 1581, at the

(61) Note, that Bodin in the beginning of René Herpin's *Apology*, mentions not only one O. status Vasco (it is he whom Menage calls, above, Citation (9) Peter l'Hottail) but also an Andreas Frankebergerus Saxo, who had wrote against his Republic.

(62) Naudæus Bibliogr. polit. pag. 23, 24.

(64) Naudæus ibid. pag. 33.

(64) G. Guillel. Rossius de justa Reip. Auctorit. &c. cap. iv. n. 3. pag. 194. Edit. Antwerp, 1592.

(65) Del Rio, Diss. Magic. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 23.

(66) Lofcher de latrocinio in script. publ. p. 41. apud Dicmannum de Naturalismo, p. 4.

(67) French Epistles written to Scaliger, pag. 439.

(68) Dicmannus de Naturalismo, pag. 12.

(69) See Colomelius's Gallia Orientalis, pag. 86.

that, tho' he declared freely enough against those who maintain that the Authority of Monarchs is unlimited [P], he displeased the Common-wealth Men. I believe it was (among other Reasons) because on the one hand he maintained, that there were some Absolute Monarchs in Europe, and on the other, *That it does not belong to any Subject in particular, nor to all in general, to attempt against the Honour, or the Life, of such Monarchs, either by violent means, or in a juridical way, though they should have committed all the Wickedness, Impieties, and Cruelties that can be named*

the beginning of René Herpin's Apology, and you will find that he observes two things in it, the one that *de Serres*, who had published a great deal of abusive Language against him, had been severely punished for it; the other is, that tho' those that slander a Man in the Pulpit, are as guilty as those that offend him in their Writings, yet there are some Preachers, who stain his Reputation, and that of divers other good Men, with impunity. 'Serranus ille qui inaudito genere scribendi, ac probris inusitatis libellam complevit, ipsius principis iussu penas graviores dedit, quam optare potuissent. Ac tametsi eodem scelere obligantur, qui publicis in concionibus nomen cuiusquam læserunt, videmus tamen legibus solutos, non modò meam, sed etiam optimi cuiusque exultationem impune violare, qui prudenter ferendum putat, quod auferri non potest (70).'

(70) Apologie de René Herpin, fol. 2. verso.

But, among the Roman Catholics, none has expressed more warmth against this Civilian, than the Jesuit *Possévin*. See with what desire of finding fault he scans the *Method of History*, and with what turns of Sophistry he puts an ill Construction upon the Propositions that may have a good sense. His great grief is, that *Bodin* speaks of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Melanchthon*, in civil Terms, and that he would have some bounds set to the Papal Power (71). But above all, see the little book wherein *Possévin* gives his Judgment of *quatuor Scriptores, Philippo la Nua, Jo. Bodino, Philippo Mornæo, & Nic. Macchiavello* (72). He pretended, that *Bodin's Works* contained a great number of Errors, Heresies, and Impieties (73).

(71) Possévin in Biblioth. selecta lib. xvi. cap. ix. pag. 269, 270. Tom. II.

(72) *It was printed at Rome in 1592, and at Lyons in 1593.*

(73) Teissier, Additions aux Eloges de Mr de Thou, Tom. II. pag. 248.

(74) Grotius Epist. ad Cordesum apud Colomnesium in Gallia Orient. pag. 85.

(75) Meric Casaubon, apud Diceman ubi supra, pag. 5.

(76) Diceman de Naturalismo, pag. 6.

(77) Joh. Henricus Ursinus in S. Jeremie Virga vigilante & Olea succensa, pag. 40. apud Th. Crenium Animadv. Philolog. & Hist. Part. II. p. 176.

The Protestants have not been silent about this Writer's Errors; for, to say nothing of *Grotius*, who declares, that *Bodin* had very much staggered his Faith by keeping Company with the *Jews* (74). We may cite *Meric Casaubon*, who confesses, that he knows not what to think of this Man's Religion, whether he ought to reckon him among the Catholics, or among the Protestants (75). The *Lutheran* Minister, who informs me of this, carries his doubts much farther, and seems very much disposed to believe that at last *Bodin* lost all sense of Christianity (76). He endeavours particularly to convict him of having reduced all to Natural Religion. Another *Lutheran* Doctor has observed, that there are, in *John Bodin's Physics*, divers things which ought to be abhorred by Christians (77). He observes also, that they are set forth under the Name of *Theodorus*, and that another Person under the Name of *Mytagogus* answers somewhat coldly, *nothing ought to be rashly affirmed on such difficult Subjects, de tam arduis nil temere esse affirmandum*. And indeed I find that *Bodin's Mytagogus*, Page 222 of the *Theatrum Naturæ*, Edition of *Hanaw* 1605, makes this Answer; 'De rebus tam arduis & à communi sensu remotis nec temere quicquam affirmare, nec leviter cuiquam assentiri velim: mihi satis est certissimis argumentis & ad assentiendum necessariis demonstrasse cometas non esse incendia ab exhalationibus concepta. — In such sublime matters, and so remote from common Sense, I would neither rashly affirm any thing, nor easily assent to any body's Opinion: it is enough that I have shown, by unquestionable, and necessarily conclusive Arguments, that Comets are not Flames, kindled from exhalations.' This Answer relates to a very strange Opinion which *Bodin* had mentioned just before under the Name of *Theodorus*, viz. That Comets are Spirits, who having lived innumerable Ages on Earth, and being at last come near Death, celebrate their last Triumph, or are brought again into the Firmament as shining Stars. This is attended with Famine and Pestilence, &c. because the Cities, and the People, lose the Governors and Chiefs, who appealed the Wrath of God. It is necessary that I should set down his Words. 'Democriti sententia in mentem mihi

recurrat, ut existimem cometas esse illustrium virorum mentes, quæ posteaquam innumerabilibus seculis viguerunt in terris, tandem obitura, ut omnia quæ oriuntur occasum minantur, extremos peragunt triumphos, aut in cælum stellatum quasi splendida sydera revocantur: ac propterea sequuntur famæ, morbi populares, civilia bella, quasi civitates ac populi ducibus illis optimis & gubernatoribus qui divinos furores placabant, deferrentur (78).'

It is plain, that there is a fault in the Words *illustrium virorum*; or that *Bodin* gives those Words a very particular Sense; for the common signification, *Illustrious Men*, does not agree with what follows, that is, with those innumerable Ages of Life upon Earth, which *Bodin* ascribes to the Spirits which he mentions. He means therefore *Genii* or *Angels*, and he supposes them subject to Death. *Vossius* skipped two or three very essential Words, in relating this Passage, *Viguerunt in terris*. Yet he finds an Impiety in it: 'Ubi quod animas mori ait, says he (79), id si non aliud voluit dicere quam verba videntur sonare, sane impietate summa non vacat. Tolerabilis quod ait heroum animas in sidera revocari. — In saying that Spirits die, if he did not mean something else, than what the Words seem to import, it is great Impiety. 'Tis more excusable that he says, the Souls of Heroes are called back to the Stars.' This Omission is in the Edition I make use of, which is that of *Germany* in 4to. It is also in that of *Amsterdam* in Folio 1668; for Mr *Crenius*, who relates this Passage of *Vossius* (80), with the omission of *viguerunt in terris*, quotes the Edition of *Amsterdam*.

(78) Bodin, in Theatro Naturæ lib. ii. pag. 221, 222.

(79) Vossius de Orig. & Prog. Idol. lib. iii. cap. ix. p. 774.

(80) Crenius Animadv. Philolog. & Hist. Part. II. p. 175.

Let us end with these Words of *Thuanus*, which inform us, that it was believed, that *John Bodin* was a Magician: 'Postea & Dæmonomaniam Gallice itidem scripsit, in qua dum materiam ab aliis tantopere agitatam adversus Joannis Wieri plerumque sententiam, enucleatus retractat, magicæ rei ac vetitarum istiusmodi artium crimen minime effugit (81). — Afterwards he writ his Dæmonomania in French likewise, in which, while he treats more explicitly of a matter so much tossed about by others, chiefly against the Opinion of Joannes Wierus, he did not keep clear of the Crime of Magic, and such like forbidden Arts.'

(81) Thuan. lib. cxvii. pag. 77.

[P] He declared freely enough against those who maintain, that the Authority of Monarchs is unlimited.] He maintained, that Monarchs cannot impose Taxes, without the Consent of the People, and that they are more obliged to observe the Laws of God, and those of Nature, than their Subjects, and that the Covenants, which they make, impose the same Obligation on them as on their Subjects. He says, that most Civilians had taught the contrary, and that he was the first who durst oppose the Opinion of those, who wrote about the means of extending the Rights of the King. These are his Words: 'Miror tamen esse qui putent unius potestati tribuere me plus aliquantum, quam deceat sortem in Republica civem: cum alibi sæpe, tum verò libro primo, capite octavo, nostræ Reipublicæ, eos ego qui de jure fisci ac regalibus amplificandis scripsere, sententias primus omnium, & quidem periculosisimis temporibus refellere non dubitarim, quod Regibus infinitam supraque divinas & naturæ leges tribuerent potestatem: quid autem magis popolare quam quod scribere ausus sum, ne regibus quidem licere, sine summa civium consensione, imperare tributa? aut illud quanti est quod item tradidi principes arctiori vinculo divinis ac naturæ legibus teneri, quam qui sub imperium subiecti sunt? illos etiam pactis conventis perinde ut alios cives obligari? contra quam tamen omnes pene juris scientiæ magistris docuere (82). — But I wonder there are any who think, that I attribute more to the Power of a single Person, than a brave Citizen,

(82) Bodin. Epist. ad Vidom Fabrum in limine operis Gallicæ de Republica.

(s) Bodin, de la
Republ. lib. ii.
cap. v. pag. 302.

(t) Tobias Ma-
girus Eponymol.
pag. 137, & seq.

(u) Sir Thomas
Pope Blount
Cens. Author.
pag. 524, & seq.

named (s) This Opinion does not seem to agree with the Doctrine, which he had also maintained, that the Power of those Monarchs is limited, and that they are obliged to govern according to the Laws; but after all it appears, that in both those Doctrines he aimed at the Public Good, the Peace and Tranquillity of the State [2]. The Germans complain much of him, and use him ill. See many Passages upon this in the Collections of *Magirus* (t), and in those of Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount* (u). Consult also the Speech of *Thomas Lansius* against *France* (x). Nevertheless some of the Germans own he had a sublime Wit and Judgment, and very great Erudition.

(x) Pag. 327,
302.

'Citizen in a State ought to do; when in several Places, and particularly in the eighth Chapter of the first Book of my Republic, I before any one else, and That in the most dangerous times, ventured to refute the Opinion of those who had writ on the Right of Taxation, and for enlarging the Prerogative; because they had attributed to Kings an infinite Power, above the Laws of God and Nature; and what is more popular than that I dared to write, that it was not lawful, even for Kings, to impose Taxes, without consent of the People? Or this, that I also laid down, that Princes are more strictly bound to observe the Laws of God and Nature, than Subjects, and that they are bound by Covenants as well as other Citizens? Though most Doctors of Civil-Law have taught the contrary.' If he had said no more, he would not have offended the Republicans; but because he maintained on the other side, That Subjects ought not to depose a lawful Monarch, who governs tyrannically, many Persons were offended at his Doctrine. He tells us the Reason, which moved him to maintain that Opinion, which is, that he saw, almost every where, People in War against their Princes; and because a vast number of Writings were dispersed in all Parts, which, by maintaining, that Kings may be deposed, and the Succession of Crowns regulated as it pleases the People, served only to shake all the Foundations of Society. He thought therefore, that his Duty obliged him to oppose those Maxims, which he judged so pernicious. 'Sed cum viderem ubique subditos in principes armari, libros etiam, veluti facies ad rerum publicarum incendia, palam proferri, quibus docemur principes divinitus hominum generi tributos, tyrannidis obiecta specie, de imperio deturbare, reges item non à stirpe, sed à populi arbitrio peti oportere: easque disciplinas, non solum hujus imperii, verum etiam rerum omnium publicarum fundamenta labefactare: ego boni viri, aut boni civis esse negavi suum principem quantumvis tyrannum ulla ratione violare: hanc denique ultionem immortalis Deo aliisque principibus relinqui oportere: idque cum divinis & humanis legibus ac testimoniis, tum etiam rationibus ad assentiendum necessariis, confirmavi (83). - - - But observing Subjects every where armed against their Princes, and that Books, like Firebrands to consume States, were publicly set forth, whereby we are taught, that Princes, who are given to Mankind by God, may be de-throned on pretence of Tyranny, and that Kings are not to be taken by Descent, but by the Pleasure of the People, and that these Doctrines shake the Foundations, not only of this Kingdom, but also of all other States. I denied it to be the part of a good Man, or a good Citizen, to offer any violence to his Prince, how tyrannical so ever. Lastly, that this revenge ought to be left to God and other Princes: and I confirmed it by Laws and Testimonies, both Humane and Divine, and also by undeniable Reasons.' Note, That intending to say, that the Protestants had a hand in those sort of Writings, he does it in a very moderate manner, clearing *Luther* and *Calvin*: these are his Words: 'It would be time lost to answer the frivolous Objections and Arguments of those, who hold the contrary Opinion: But, as he who doubts whether there is a God, deserves to feel the Punishment of the Laws, without using any Arguments; so do all those, who have called so clear a thing in question, and even published in printed Books, that Subjects may justly take up Arms against a Prince that is a Tyrant, and put him to Death in any manner whatsoever, although their most Eminent and Learned Divines hold, that it is never lawful to kill, nor so much as to rebel against one's Sovereign Prince, unless there is a special and un-

(83) Id. *ibid.*

† Mart. Luth.
Calvinus in Jo-
anem, & in
Infir. cap. ult.
lib. iv. §. xxxi.

'deniable Command of God for it; as we read of *Jehu* †, who was elected by God, and anointed King by the Prophet, with an express Command to destroy the Race of *Ahab* (84). He shews, in another place, some Moderation towards those of *Geneva*, tho' he thought he had occasion of complaint against them, for the Edition of his Book published in their City. He does not come to Particulars, nor say like *Possévin*, That those of *Geneva* altered many things in that Work (85), but keeps within general Terms. If you understand *Latin*, you will be convinced of it: 'Alterum reprehensionis genus est eorum qui apud *Genevates* secundam editionem Reipublicæ nostræ promulgarunt: quam vel typis mandare, suisque civibus ad in-tuendum proponere minimè debuerant, vel auctoritatem à calumnia vindicare: si meminissent legis illius quæ à S. P. Q. *Genevate* lata est Nonis Jun. MDLIX. qua sanctissime vetitum est, secundo capite, in eos scriptores invehi quos interpretèrè. Quid autem à me scriptum est quod vel à privati cujusquam dignitate, vel ab illius Reipublicæ majestate sit alienum? at etiam laudavi quæ ab illis sunt laudabiliter instituta. Quæ verò reprehensione digna putarunt, abundè, ut nobis quidem videtur, & suo quisque loco & ordine refutavimus, cum ea qua decuit animi temperantia, quam in illius civitatis scriptoribus plerique populi desiderare solent (86). - - - Another kind of reproof I have had, from the Publishers of the second Edition of my Republic at *Geneva*: which they either ought not to have put to the Press, and exposed to the perusal of their Citizens, or else to have vindicated the Author from slander: if they had remembered a Law, made by the States of *Geneva* on the fifth of June 1559, whereby, in the second Chapter, it is strictly forbidden to reflect on those Writers you interpret. But what have I writ, to the prejudice of either the Dignity of any private Man, or the Majesty of that Commonwealth? Nay, I have commended their Institutions that are laudable. But what they thought worthy of blame, I have, as I think, abundantly refuted, every thing in it's proper place and order, with that due temperature of mind, which most People find so much wanting in the Writers of that City.' Take notice, that he makes a great distinction between the Subjects of a Tyrant, and Foreign Princes; for he does not approve that Subjects should take up Arms to deliver themselves from Tyranny; but he approves that their Neighbours should come and deliver them from it. There is a great difference between saying, that a Tyrant may be lawfully killed by a foreign Prince, and that he may by a Subject. And as it is very glorious, and proper for any one, to defend by force the Estates, Honours, and Lives, of those who are unjustly oppressed, when there is no way to Justice open, as *Moses* did, seeing one of his Brethren abused and beaten, and that there was no way to get him Right: So it is a most noble and magnificent thing for a Prince to take up Arms, in order to revenge a whole Nation unjustly oppressed by the Cruelty of a Tyrant; as the great *Hercules* did, who went all over the World to exterminate those monstrous Tyrants, and was deified for his great Exploits: So did also *Dion*, *Timoleon*, *Aratus*, and other generous Princes, who were stiled the Chastizers and Correctors of Tyrants (87). *Richeome* makes many Reflections on this Passage of *Bodin*, in the thirteenth Chapter of his *Examen Categoriue de l'Anti-Coton* (88).

[2] It appears that, in both these Doctrines, he aimed at the Public Good, the Peace and Tranquillity of the State. He maintained the first, when he saw *Henry the Third's* Flatterers or Creatures propose such things as might create great Abuses, to the oppression

† Kings iv. cap. vi, & x.

(84) Bodin de la Republique, lib. ii. cap. v. pag. 305.

(85) *Genevates* Bodinum reprehendentes in libris ejusdem de Republica plerique immutaverunt. *Possévin. Biblioth. Tom. II. p. 263.*

(86) Bodin, *Epist. ad Viduum Fabrum.*

(87) Id. de Republica, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 300.

(88) Pag. 113, & seq.

Erudition. See the same Collections. He was likewise censured by the *Italians*, as appears from the Political Discourse of *Fabio Albergati*, whose Method did not please *Bonifacio Vanozzi*. See the first Volume of his Letters (y). A very ingenious Answer was made to Bodin in England [R], to shew him that he had wanted Prudence in his Discourse. He had so good a Constitution of Stomach, that in all his Voyages he never was Sea-sick [S]. His Opinion about Comets was somewhat strange. See the Remark [O].

of the People; and he maintained the second, when he saw France full of Factions, and torn by Civil Wars, which gave birth to a great number of Manifestos, and other Books, in which the most essential and fundamental Laws of Government were undermined. The Power of the People was asserted, in common Discourse, and in print, as freely as if it had been in a Democratical State, and Endeavours were used to exercise that Power; for a Translation of the Crown was designed. Nay, Assassins were approved, who, under pretence of Tyranny, attempted upon the Lives of Monarchs. This could not but produce the most dreadful Desolations. Wherefore Bodin shewed himself very well affected to the Public Good, by opposing such a Licentiousness. Qui regias opes & honores popularibus commodis posthabui, idem scriptis ac sermonibus execratus sum eos qui tyrannidis specie suo principi manus afferre, deque regibus populi suffragio creandis rogationes promulgare, & e manibus legitimorum principum sceptris violententer extorquere conantur.

(89) Bodin. Epist. ad Vidum Fabrum.

(89). — I who postponed the King's Wealth and Honours to the Public Good, did likewise, both in writing and Discourses, detest those who endeavour, on pretence of Tyranny, to lay hands on their Kings, and promote Bills for creating Kings by the Suffrage of the People, and to wrest Scepters out of the hands of lawful Princes. He had the misfortune to contradict himself after the Death of Henry III; for he sided with the League; but the Fall of a Sinner does not spoil the good Actions that he has done.

[R] A very ingenious Answer was made to Bodin in England. Bodin being in England, along with Mr de Mompensier, made himself odious to the English, and foolish to the French, by his Curiosity. Being at Dinner at an English Lord's House, he fell on the Pretensions of Princes to the Crown of England, and said, that a certain Prince was presumptive Heir to it, if he was not excluded, as being born out of the Country, by a Law whereof he never knew the Author, or the Original, nor could ever learn where it was to be found. You may find it, answers the English Lord, on the back of the Salique Law. A Repartee, which silenced this Prater, and gave him to understand, that it is not proper for Strangers to scan the Secrets of a State. This is what we read in the Eighty second Page of Mr Colomieu's *Gallia Orientalis*; he cites these Words as taken out of the Two Hundred and thirty seventh Page of the second Volume of the History of Henry IV, written by Peter

* Whosoever is born out of England, can lay no Claim to the Crown of England. See Thuanus's History.

Matthieu. I have consulted my Edition (90), and found there, not Bodin being in England along with Mr du Mompensier, but a learned Man, who had followed the late Monsieur in his Voyage to England (91). I am certain, that That learned Man is our Bodin; but it would be wrong to say, that he went into England with Mr de Mompensier; he went thither with the Duke of Alençon, who in Peter Matthieu's time might have been styled *seu Monsieur* (the late Monsieur). Mr Menage does not agree with that Historian, as to the Circumstances. The motive, says he (92), of the Duke of Alençon's Voyage into England, was his Marriage with Queen Elizabeth. Bodin discoursing one Day with an Englishman on that Subject, the Englishman told him, that the Marriage would never be; Strangers being excluded by a Law from the Royalty of England. Bodin, who was well versed in all the English Laws, as also in those of all other Kingdoms, asked the Englishman bluntly, where that Law was to be found? The Englishman answered as bluntly, That it was to be found on the back of the Salique Law: Which has since passed among us for a Proverb. I have this particular from Mr du Puy. Note, that there are two Citations in Peter Matthieu, and Mr Colomieu; takes notice but of one (93).

Bodin informs us, That he was sent into England in the Year 1581, by his Master the Duke of Anjou (94), during the sitting of the Parliament, where it was forbidden to speak of the Queen's Successor, on pain of High-Treason; that he harangued the Queen, and proposed to her the Adoption of the King of Scotland, and afterwards a Marriage. *Deinde Lenoxiae principis connubio & artificissima fœderis conjunctione. Hæc mea fuit ad reginam oratio* (95).

[S] In all his Voyages, he was never Sea-sick. He relates this himself in his *Theatrum Naturæ*. How comes it, says he, that the Sea excites a Vomiting and a Loosiness? He answers, That this is not general, and that he was seven times on the Sea, and even in a violent Storm, without finding any such thing. Id quidem insuetis navigare, nec tamen omnibus contingit: septies mari Oceano vectus, nihil tamen ejusmodi passus sum, etiam si sævisima procella jactatus, ac ruptis velis extrema pericula subierim: vidi tamen qui sanguinem vomerent (96). I need not mention the Physical Reason he gives; but the personal Fact of which he informs us, seemed to me worthy to be mentioned: it is part of his History.

(9) Pag. 103, & seq.

(90) That of Geneva 1620, in 8vo.

(91) Matthieu, Hist. of Henry IV. in the *ad Narration of the 6th Book*, pag. 527.

(92) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Arnauld, pag. 143.

(93) The other is, Voy l'Ambassadeur de M. Hotman.

(94) The same with the Duke of Alençon.

(95) Bodin. de Rep. lib. vi. p. 1132.

(96) Bodin, in *Theatro Naturæ*, lib. ii. pag. 196, 197.

BOI, commonly called IL SIRACUSANO, the *Syracusano*, was a very famous Player at Chess, and very much considered in the Court of Spain under King Philip II. He received many fine Presents from That Prince. He received also many from Pope Urban VIII, and it was his own Fault that he did not receive a good Bishopric of him; for it was offered him (a), but he would not be a Clergyman. Having had the Misfortune to be taken by Corsairs, and to see himself reduced to Slavery, he found means to make those Turkish and savage Men tractable by his Skill at Chess. They admired him for it, treated him civilly, and exacted no other Ransom from him but the Lessons he gave them for some Months on That Game (b). We shall speak of another excellent Gamester at Chess in the Article GIOACHINO GRECO. It were to be wished that those two great Masters had given us some regular Treatise concerning That Game; but we have only some Fragments of the one, and some manners of playing by the other, which are not sufficient to make a formal Study of it. — Nevertheless a Collection has been made of what was found most proper to be put in use, and it has served to make a Book on That Subject (c) [A].

(a) What an abuse! and what a fine way to attain to Episcopacy!

(b) Taken from a Letter inserted in the *Mercurio Galant*, August 188, and December 1693.

(c) *Mercurio Galant*, December 1693, pag. 109.

[A] His Lessons and those of Gioachino Greco on Chess have been collected, to make a Book on that Subject. The Author whom I quote, speaks of it, as of a Work ready to come out. By joining, says he (1), to what has been taken from those two famous Gamesters, the Knowledge

(1) Letter inserted in the *Mercurio Galant*, August 1688, and December 1693.

which has been had from others, and the Observations which have been made, either by playing, or seeing others play at it; out of this whole matter a regular Body has been composed, which contains the Practical Science of Chess. I inform you, that it is going to be published as a singular

* singular Work in it's kind, and the Copy has * to play at it with his Royal Highness the Duke
 * been a long time in the Hands of one of the * of Chartres.
 * best Chess-Players in France, who has the Honour

BOISSARD (JOHN JAMES), born at *Bezançon* in the Year 1528, composed several great Collections, which are of Use for understanding the *Roman Antiquities*. He himself took Draughts of all the ancient Monuments he could find in *Italy*; he had an incredible Passion for That Study, as appears plainly by what happened to him in Cardinal *Carpi's* Garden [A]. He designed to go into *Syria*, but a violent Fever which seized him at *Metz* before That Invasion; but as it was known, satisfied his Curiosity for Antiquities in the Islands of *Corfu*, *Cephalonia*, *Zante*, and in the *Morea*, and after his Recovery he continued to visit the Places in the Neighbourhood of *Metz*. After he returned into his own Country, he was Governor to the Sons of *Antony de Vienne*, Baron of *Clermont*, and travelled with them into *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*. He had left the Antiquities, which he had collected with so much trouble, with his Sister at *Mombelard*, and had the Misfortune to lose most of them, when the *Lorrains* ravaged the *Franche Comté*. He preferred only those which he had sent to *Metz* before That Invasion; but as it was known, that he intended to give the Public a great Collection on that fine part of Literature, many Draughts, and Sketches of old Monuments were sent him from all Parts. He had settled himself at *Metz*, where he died the thirtieth of *October* 1602 (a). His Works are much valued by Antiquaries [B], and are grown very scarce. He made *Latin Verses* [C]. It appears from a Passage, which I shall quote elsewhere (b), that he was in the Service of Cardinal *Caraffa*.

(a) Taken from *Martinus Hankius, de scriptoribus rerum Romanarum*, Tom. I. cap. 76. He says, that he took it in part from two Letters of Boissard, prefixed to his Antiquities.

(b) In one of the Remarks of the Article PAUL IV.

[A] He had an incredible Passion for that Study, as appears plainly by what happened to him in Cardinal *Carpi's* Garden. That Garden was full of ancient Marbles, and situated on Mount *Quirinal*. Boissard came into it one Day with his Friends, and strayed from them on purpose, and hiding himself in some of the Walks let them go home. He spent the remainder of the Day in copying Inscriptions, and sketching old Monuments, and the Gates of the Garden being shut, he remained there all the Night. The Cardinal finding him the next Morning busy at that Work, could not imagine how a Stranger came into his Garden at such an unreasonable time; but when he knew on what account Boissard had been there all Night, he ordered him a good Break-fast, and permitted him to copy and draw all the rare Pieces in his Palace (1).

[B] His Works are much valued by Antiquaries. His *Roman Antiquities*, divided into six Parts, make four Volumes in *Folio*. They contain a great many Prints, those of the two first Volumes engraved by *Theodorus de Bry* (2), and those of the other

Volumes, by the two Sons of that *Theodorus* (3). Moreover, Boissard published the *Lives of One hundred ninety eight Illustrious Persons*, with Cuts of them in Copper. That Work is divided into four Parts in *Quarto*, which were printed at *Francfort*; the first, in the Year 1597, the second, and the third, in the Year 1598, and the fourth in the Year 1599 (4). His *Treatise de Divinatione & Magia præfigitis*, was printed after his Death. I omit his Emblems, &c.

[C] He made *Latin Verses*. I have not the Edition of *Metz* 1589, in 8vo, which is in the Catalogue of the Library of *Oxford*, I have only that of *Basil* 1574, in 12mo. It contains three Books of Epigrams, three Books of Elegies, and three Books of Letters. If those Verses do not deserve all the Praises which *Borricius* bestows upon them, neither do they deserve the Contempt which some have expressed of the Verses which James Boissard put under the Cuts of his Illustrious Men (5). *Gruterus* inserted this Author's Poems in the *Deliciae Poetarum Gallorum*.

(3) Id. *ibid.*

(4) Id. *ibid.* Tom. II. p. 392.

(5) See *Baillet, Jugens. sur les Poëtes*, n. 1353.

BOLEYN or BULLEN (ANNE), Wife of *Henry VIII*, King of *England*, was of a better Family on her Mother's Side, than on her Father's, being Daughter of *Thomas Boleyn*, who was only a Knight, and of a Daughter of the Duke of *Norfolk* (a). She was born in the Year 1507, and was carried into *France* at seven Years of Age by *Henry VIII's* Sister, Wife of *Lewis XII*. She did not return into *England* when that Queen retired thither after the Death of her Husband, but staid in the Service of Queen *Claudia*, the Wife of *Francis I*, and after the Death of That Princess, she went to the Duchesse of *Alençon* (b). The Year of her Return into *England* is not well known; some will have it to be in the Year 1527 (c), others in the Year 1525 (d). Thus much is certain, that she was Maid of Honour to Queen *Catherine*, and that the King fell in love with her. She behaved herself with so much Art, that, by refusing to satisfy the King's Passion, she made him think of marrying her. That Prince, deceived by her Artifices, thought he should never enjoy her unless she was his Wife; which engaged him to push forward the Affair of the Divorce, and to execute it at last with all the Pomp every body knows. That, which would be very praise-worthy on another Occasion, is *Anne Bullen's* chief Crime: her refusing to comply with an Amorous King, unless he would divorce his Wife, is a much more enormous Crime than to have been his Concubine. A Concubine would not have dethroned a Queen, nor taken her Crown nor her Husband from her; whereas the crafty *Anne Bullen*, by pretending to be chaste and scrupulous, aimed only at the Usurpation of the Throne, and the Exclusion of *Catherine of Arragon*, and her Daughter, from all the Honours due to them. However *Henry VIII* married her privately the fourteenth of *November* 1532 (e), without waiting for a Sentence against his Marriage with *Catherine of Arragon*; and as soon as he perceived that his new Wife was with Child, he made his Marriage public, and caused *Anne Bullen* to be declared Queen of *England* on *Easter-Eve* 1533 (f), and to be crowned the first of *June* following (g). She was brought to bed the seventh of *September* (h), and continued to be much beloved by the King,

(a) Mr. Leti's History of Elizabeth, Tom. I. pag. 47. it therefore mistaken, when he says that she was the Daughter of the Lord Clinton.

(b) Burnet, History of the Reformation, Tom. I. Book II. pag. 44. of the 2d Edit. Lond. 1631.

(c) Id. p. 110.

(d) Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce de Henri VIII. Tom. II. p. 31.

(e) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 126.

(f) Ibid. p. 130.

(g) Ibid. p. 131.

(h) Of a Daughter, who afterwards was Elizabeth p. 134.

till the Charms of *Jane Seymour* had fired That Prince's Heart in the Year 1536 (i). Then his Love for his Wife was changed into violent Hatred; he believed her to be unchast; and caused her to be imprisoned, and tried [A]. She was condemned to be either burnt or beheaded (k); her Marriage was declared void [B], because she confessed that she married the King when she was engaged by a Contract with Earl *Peirce* (l). She was beheaded the nineteenth Day of May

1536

[A] *Henry VIII caused her to be tried.* Sanders says, that *Anne's* own Father was one of those that condemned her. Doctor *Burnet* had related the same thing on the credit of Dr *Hoylin*; but he retracted it in the Additions (1). He found the Record of the Tryal, but among the Judges found not the Earl of *Wiltshire*. So *Anne Bullen's* Father was stiled at that time. It is remarkable, that This Queen was indicted of High-Treason,

(1) See the Additions and Corrections of the 1st Part of the History of the Reformation, n. 1. of Part. I. p. 303.

for that she had procured her Brother and other four to lie with her, which they had done often; that he had said to them, that the King never had her Heart, and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved him better than any Person whatsoever, which was to the Slander of the Issue that was begotten between the King and her. And this was Treason according to the Statute made in the Twenty sixth Year of this Reign, so that the Law that was made for her and the Issue of her Marriage is now made use of to destroy her (2). The Bishop of *Amelia* goes farther than *Sanders*; for he says, that *Thomas Bullen* prefided at the Tryal of his Daughter. *Poenæ ministri filiae fortuna patrem dedit, qui forte capitalium rerum Judex adversus eam capitis sententiam tulit* (3). What he says, that all those who were accused of having lain with her, confessed it on the Rack, is contradicted by Dr *Burnet*, who observes, that but one confessed it. He was a Musician whose Name was *Smeton*: He owned that he had lain three times with the Queen (4). It is observable, that, in the long Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, no Endeavours were used to justify her Mother. The Catholics have taken advantage of it, but they are answered, That they should rather praise and admire *Elizabeth's* Prudence, and that of her Ministers (5). She would have weakened her Right by endeavouring to defend it, and certain things relating to *Anne Bullen* must have been owned, which would have been prejudicial.

(2) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. pag. 202.

(3) Gratianus de causis viror. il. Indrium, p. 209.

(4) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. pag. 202.

(5) Ibid. p. 207.

(6) He had been a Franciscan, and not a Capuchin. He left his Order very young.

(7) Thevet, Cosmographie universelle, lib. xvi. cap. v. fol. 657. verso.

(8) Ibid. fol. 209.

Esteem, as much as any of her Predecessors. He excuses her also for having introduced Calvinism into her Kingdom.

[B] *Her Marriage was declared void.* The Author of the History of the Reformation of England informs us I. That the Lord *Peirce* had told Cardinal *Wolsey*, that he had given his Word to *Anne Bullen* before Witnesses, and that his Conscience would not suffer him to call it in (9). II. That when that Lord was pressed during the Queen's Tryal, to declare that there had been a Contract at that time between him and *Anne Bullen*, he took an Oath in the presence of two Archbishops, That there never was any Contract, or Promise of Marriage, between him and that Lady, and to make that Oath more solemn, he received the Communion in the presence of divers Counsellors of State; and wished, that the receiving of that Sacrament might be his Damnation, if he had been in any Engagement of that nature. III. That the Queen owned nothing during her Tryal concerning her pretended Engagement with that Lord; but when she was condemned, she confessed, that there had been a Contract between her and *Peirce*; and being brought before the Ecclesiastical Court the seventeenth of May, she declared, that there had been a Just impediment to her Marriage with the King, and that therefore the Marriage could not be valid (10). IV. That upon her Confession the Sentence of Divorce was pronounced (11). V. That the Original of that Sentence was burnt; but what has now been said of it is repeated in a Law made by the Parliament a little after to regulate the Succession. VI. That the two Sentences which were pronounced against the Queen, (for Adultery, and a Precontract) are so opposite to each other, that at least one of them must have been unjust. For if that Prince's Marriage with the King was null from the beginning, she was no ways guilty of Adultery; since that invalidity hindered her from being *Henry's* lawful Wife. If the Marriage was lawful, it was unjust to make it void; and if it was not lawful, the Queen's Condemnation is plainly contrary to Equity; and it cannot be maintained, that That Prince's failed in her Duty to the King, since she was not then obliged to keep her Faith to him. Many Remarks might be made on this; but I shall be contented with these three: I. The Lord that denied, with an Oath, and with the Sacrament in his Hand, that there had been any Engagement between him and *Anne*, was a great Impostor either at that time, or when he declared, that he had given his Faith to that Maid (12). If his Oath be preferred before the other Declaration, it must be said, that the Queen when just ready to die deposed falsely, that she had been engaged with that Lord; if she was capable of lying in that juncture, it cannot be said for her Justification, that she always protested her Innocency, even on the Scaffold; for a Woman, who, being ready to appear before God, does not scruple to tell a falsity, which makes her Children illegitimate, may full as well deny a Truth that loads her with Dishonour. And we have here a choice Fact, among divers others of the same kind, which shews, that Historical Pyrrhonism may be proof against the Oaths and Protestations of dying Persons. II. The Art of Historians is remarkable: they make use of a Fact, when they can draw any advantage from it, and they deny it when they find themselves incommoded by it. When it is to be proved, that *Anne Bullen* did not press *Henry VIII* to Divorce the Queen, it is of use to shew that she intended in good earnest to be married to the Lord *Peirce*. It is then requisite to own her Engagement. But if on the other side some Body should tell us, that by that Engagement her Marriage with *Henry VIII* became void, and that therefore Queen *Elizabeth* was illegitimate,

(9) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 196.

(10) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 202.

(11) Ibid. p. 203.

(9) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. p. 203.

(10) Ibid. pag. 203.

(11) Ibid.

Whether the Oaths of dying Persons ought to be taken for Proofs.

(12) See Dr. Burnet, Part. I. Book iii. pag. 203.

The same Fact denied and owned at different times according to the different Occasions of the Historian.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 205. 1536 (m), and preserved her good Humour on That Occasion [C]. Some Catholic Historians have given themselves a prodigious Liberty of lying against her; as well through Vexation at the Schism which she occasioned, as because they were willing to dishonour Queen Elizabeth by that means. They are some of those inconsiderate Satirists, of whom I have already had occasion to speak, who instead of insisting only upon true matters of Fact, have engaged themselves in Slanders which may be easily confuted. [D]. Their blindness is the more inexcusable, because

THE PARLIAMENT of England exercising arbitrary Power.

even tho' Catherine's Divorce had been just; then it must be said, that this Engagement is a meer Story, and Peirey's Oaths and Communion must be insisted on. III. No Arbitrary Power did ever go beyond that, which the Parliaments of England exercised in the XVI Century. All that the Nation could do in the most authentic manner to annul the Marriage of Henry VIII, with Catherine of Arragon, was done; their Daughter Mary was therefore illegitimate, and yet she was acknowledged for Queen, as a legitimate Child of Henry VIII. All that was necessary to annul the Marriage of the same Prince with Anne, was likewise done; Elizabeth, their Daughter, was therefore illegitimate; and yet she was acknowledged for Queen, as a legitimate Child of Henry. The Original of the Sentence of the Divorce was burnt, because they were not willing that a piece so disadvantageous to Queen Elizabeth should be preserved. Observe well, that, in Hereditary Kingdoms, it is a Fundamental Law, That Bastards should be postponed to all the legitimate Relations of the Royal Family.

[C] She was beheaded — and preserved her good Humour, at that juncture.] In the time of her Imprisonment, she acted very different parts; sometimes she seemed devout, and shed abundance of Tears, and then, all on a sudden, would break out into a loud Laughter (13). ----- As soon as the Judges, who came to examine her, were gone, she fell on her Knees, and melting in Tears, cried many times, LORD JESUS have mercy upon me, and at the same time broke out into a Laugh (14). Some Hours before her Death she said, that the Executioner was very handy, and, besides, she had a very small Neck (15). At the same time she felt it with her Hands, and laughed heartily. Tho' Gratian is not favourable to her, yet he owns that she died with great Resolution, and that she took care to spread her Gown about her Feet, that she might not fall indecently: *Postremo genibus positus ultimos quoque pedes quo bonissimus procumbere veste contexit* (16). The Poets say the fame of Polyxena: The Historians observe it of Julius Cæsar: See the Remark [H] of the Article OLYMPIAS. I question much, what the same Author reports, that when she was brought to the Place of Execution (17), she fell into a great Passion at the People who shewed her no respect, and told them, that in spite of their Teeth, she was, and died, their Queen.

Cum ē carceribus in aream, quæ perampla est ante Arcem, produceretur, quò omnis multitudo concurrerat ad spectandam necem ejus, quam nuper demisse adorare consueverant, nec transeuntem ullo honore dignarentur; illa, ne tum quidem obliata superbia, contumeliosissime eos compellens convicio increpuit, esse morituramque se Reginam eorum ferens, disrumprentur omnes licet (18). — When she was brought out of the Prison into the Court, before the Tower, which is very large, where a Crowd was gathered to be Spectators of her Death, they couchsafed not, as she went along, to pay the least respect to the Person, whom they had not long since used humbly to adore: she not forgetting her Pride even then, addressing herself to them, most contumeliously upbraided them, telling them, that in spite of their Teeth she was, and should die, their Queen.

[D] The Catholics have loaded her with Slanders, which may be very easily confuted.] For Example; is there any thing more easy to be confuted, than the Story which so many Persons have copied from Sanders? viz. That Anne was Henry the VIIIth's Daughter; that her Mother brought her into the World two Years after the departure of Thomas Bullen, on his Embassy to France, to which the King nominated him, only that he might enjoy his Wife more freely, in the absence of her Husband;

that Thomas Bullen at his return into England, hearing of his Wife's ill Conduct, summoned her before the Official of Canterbury for Adultery, and sued for a Separation (19); that the King ordered him to stop all his Proceedings, and to take his Wife into favour again; that he obeyed, but not till she had owned to him, that the King was the Father of the last Daughter of which she was brought to Bed (20); that at fifteen Years of Age Anne Bullen was debauched by her Father's Steward, and by his Chaplain; that she was sent afterwards into France to a Lord, who educated her as a Maid of great Quality; that she behaved herself at the Court of France with so little Modesty, that she was called the English Hackney, and that, because Francis I had a share in her Favour, she was called the King's Male; that, during the Love of Henry VIII for that Lady, Thomas Wiat, one of the chief Lords of the Court, came before the Council to depose, that he had lain with her, 'at a time when he did not believe, that the King thought of honouring her so far as to marry her;' That Henry not believing that Deposition, 'Wiat offered to make the King an Eye-witness of the Favours 'he should receive from that lewd Woman;' That Wiat was called an impudent Fellow, and forbid the Court.

Doctor Burnet makes use of three Arguments, against this. I. Sanders reports those things only on the credit of a Piece, which no Body ever saw; that is, The Life of Sir Thomas More by Reginald. II. They begun too late to object them. III. There are some impossibilities in that Account. See here the second of these three Reasons at length. 'If those things were such as Sanders reports them, how comes it that at the Death of Anne Bullen, 'no body was either complainant enough to the King, or Enemy enough to that unhappy Princess, to publish her Infamy, which on other Accounts could not be unknown? For such a Woman as Anne Bullen's Mother's being with Child two Years after her Husband's departure, who was sent on a considerable Embassy; her Husband's suing for a Divorce in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court, and causing his Wife to be summoned there, are such Circumstances as the World does not forget so soon. On the other side, Anne Bullen's being in so ill Repute; her suffering herself first to be debauched in her Father's House; her ill life in France afterwards; and her being kept by two Kings, are other Circumstances which cannot be very secret. Besides, when the Records of the Archbishop's Court were yet extant, it was offered to the Public to make it appear, that there was nothing in those Records like the Prosecutions which Sanders speaks of. Lastly, All the Writers of those Times, as well those on the Pope's, as on the Emperor's side, keep a profound silence about those things; which they had never failed to publish, if they had been true, or if they had come to their Knowledge. But eighty Years (21) after somebody or other takes it in his head to forge a History full of Impostures; Or, at least, published it, because it was then more safe to tell Lies, all those who might have been able to discover the Truth being dead (22). As for the third Reason, I only relate it in short. Thomas Bullen could not be sent Ambassador by King Henry VIII, before the Year 1509. Anne must therefore have been born in the Year 1511, and debauched in her House in the Year 1526. Where shall we then find the time when she was with a great Lord in France, and afterwards at Court? Where shall we find that licentious Life which got her the name of The English Hackney? I say, Where shall we find that time, since she was returned into England in the Year 1526? Sanders can never be justified: His best Apologist, Mr le Grand,

(19) Sanders's Schisme d'Angleterre, lib. 2. pag. 17. of Mauvoix's Translation, Edit. Amsterdam 1683.

(20) This Narrative of Sanders has been altered by some. Gratian says, that Thomas Boleyn was absent three Years. Others say that at his Return he found his Wife with Child, and that the King confessed to him, that it was his doing. See Burnet's History of the Reformation, and Varillæ's Hist. de l'Heret. lib. ix. p. 261.

(21) Limitations ought to take place in this sort of Causes when-ever the Accusation is of such a nature as to be easily known, and when the occasions of producing it have not been wanting, and yet it was never mentioned. See hereunder the Remark [K] of the Article BOL-SEC.

(22) Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. 42. See at the end of the 1st Vol. his Refutation of Sanders No 21, where you will find this second Reason more at large including the particulars of Wiat's Offers, &c.

(13) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 198.

(14) *Ibid.* Book II. pag. 199.

(15) *Ibid.* Out of a Letter of the Lieutenant of the Tower, pag. 204. 205.

(16) Gratian. de casibus viror. illust. p. 270.

(17) The open place which is before the Tower, according to him.

(18) Gratian. de casibus viror. illust. pag. 269.

because they might have satisfied their flandering Humour, without exceeding the Bounds of faithful Historians [E]. It is pity that the good Fortune they have had to find a great number of obliging Transcribers and Readers should inspire so many others with the Boldness to imitate them. *Sanders* is the only Authority of all the Authors who have defamed *Anne Bullen*, and particularly of Mr *Moreri*. Those who say, that the Protestants ought to blush for being so much obliged to That Queen, who was of their Religion, would do well to declare first of all, that they are very much vexed at the Services the Empress *Irene* did to the Cause of Images (n).

Consult Mr *de Larrey* in the first Volume of his History of *England*, where you will find the Reasons *pro* and *con* clearly set down, and our *Anne* as much justified as the Laws of History could permit.

Grands, forsakes him here. 'As I do not pretend to palliate his Faults, says he (23), I confess plainly, that he is too passionate against *Anne Bullen*; that no Author that I know, besides himself, has said, that she was Daughter of *Henry VIII*, or that she had led such a disorderly Life.' *Sanders* affirms, that she was beloved by the King in the Year 1526. Now, before she was beloved by that King, she had been debauched at her supposed Father's at fifteen Years of Age; she had lived in France; she was returned into *England*; and she was taken in as Maid of Honour to Queen *Catherine*. She was therefore at least near Twenty Years of Age in 1526, so that she was born in the Year 1506, three Years before King *Henry VIII* ascended the Throne, and five Years before any of That Prince's Embassadors could have been two Years in his Embassy. It has been found that *Anne* was born in the Year 1507, and therefore, according to *Sanders*, *Henry VIII* must have sent *Thomas Bullen* Embassador in the Year 1505, and he must have been at that time deeply engaged in an Adultery. Now the first of these two Facts is false; for *Henry* was not yet King; and the other is not to be believed of a Youth who was but fourteen Years of Age. Add to this, that *Thomas Bullen* was not sent on his Embassy till the Year 1515. And 'tis to be observed, that, Dr *Burnet* having urged all these Reasons in refuting *Varillas* (24), we have not seen in the Reply of the latter any Proof, or any solid Remark in *Sanders*'s favour. I ought not to pass over in silence what concerns *Wiat*'s Deposition. Dr *Burnet* has spoke more amply of it in a Work of a later date than his History of the Reformation. First of all he shewed how much such a Deposition is contrary to all likelihood, and then he maintained that *Wiat* was never out of Favour; but was employed in Foreign Embassies till he died (25). He quotes an Original Piece, wherein *Wiat*'s Son attests, that his Father was Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Henry*, all the while That Marriage with *Anne Bullen* lasted, and yet neither did he in discretion retire out of the Court, nor did the King seem jealous, or the Queen offended at him. That his Father was afterwards Embassador for several Years in *Charles Vth*'s Court (26).

The Jesuit, who published three Volumes of the *Revolutions of England*, seems to me very reasonable in his account of *Anne Bullen*: I shall set down what he says of her, by which it will appear, that those who have refuted *Sanders*, have not laboured in vain. *Sanders* relates several things of *Anne*'s Birth and Behaviour before *Henry* fell in Love with her, which are not easily to be believed, nor supported by any convincing proof. He says, that she was *Henry*'s Daughter; that she had a Sister whom that Monarch debauched; that she had prostituted herself almost from her Childhood to the Steward and Chaplain of *Thomas Bullen*, who passed for her Father; that when she was at the Court of France, *Francis I*, and his Courtiers, dishonoured her in such a manner, that she was publicly called by infamous Names: But these are things which the Protestant Writers exclaim against, and have some reason to deny. But that of which she cannot be cleared is, that, by counterfeiting the virtuous Woman, she gave *Henry* some hopes that she would marry him, if he could bring about that monstrous Divorce which *Wolsey* proposed to him, and that thereby she contributed to the Injustice done by That Prince to his lawful Wife, and to all the Evils which followed upon it. The Tragical End that her Incontinency brought her

V O L. II.

to, which was proved by a legal Tryal, made it appear that the Catholick Writers might say, without judging rashly of her, that she was Chaste only when she was Ambitious (27).

[E] They might have said enough ill of her, without exceeding the bounds of faithful Historians.] The Bishop of *Meaux* urges no other Facts to defame this Queen, than what are owned by the Protestants: By these he proves her guilty of an immodest Gayety, of indiscreet Liberties, of an irregular and licentious Behaviour. A Modest Woman, says he (28), not to say a Queen, was never seen to suffer herself to be so little respected, as to have such Declarations made to her as were made to this Princess, by Persons of all Conditions, even of the meanest. Nay, she was pleased with, and gave occasion for them; and was not ashamed to tell one of her Gallants, that she perceived he deferred marrying, in hopes to have her after the King's Death. All these things are acknowledged by *Anne*, and she was so far from looking on those bold Lovers with an evil Eye, that it is certain, without diving farther into the matter, she treated them the better for it. ----- At the time she was taken, while she was at prayer to God, melting in Tears, she was seen to break out into Laughter like one distracted: The Words which she spoke in her Transport against her Lovers, who had betrayed her, shewed the disorder she was in, and the trouble of her Conscience (29). ----- By a shameful compliance *Anne* acknowledged a thing which was not true, viz. that she had married *Henry* in the Life-time of the Lord *Peirce*, to whom she was contracted before, and by declaring against her Conscience, that her Marriage with the King was void, she involved her Daughter *Elizabeth* in her own shame (30). I do not see, that any one can reasonably complain, that the Bishop of *Meaux*, in the alternative of two Crimes of *Anne Bullen*, has pitched upon the greatest, out of Animosity; for it is a great deal more likely that *Anne* was not contracted to that Lord, than that she was; and, consequently, she deserves much more to be accused of a false Oath, whereby, when just ready to appear before God, she unjustly declared her own Daughter a Bastard, than to be accused of Retraction as to a Promise of Marriage.

A Protestant Historian (31) has lately published the first Letter which *Anne* writ to the King. Nothing can be more contrary to Modesty; she declares her Passion there without any discretion, and offers herself to the King without any exception; for she adds that Clause to the Words, most obedient Servant, with which she subscribes the Letter. That Historian should have added this Reason to those, that hindered him from believing what the Earl of *Aylebury* had read in some Manuscripts; viz. That the King having courted That Maid twelve Years, did not know her till after his Marriage (32). But I must observe by the by, that those Manuscripts seem to be very uncertain; there is no likelihood that *Henry VIII* began to love this Lady in the Year 1519. It is best to believe nothing of it, nor of a Passage in the Forty seventh Page of That Author, viz. that *Anne* went into France at fifteen Years of Age, when the Princess of *England* was married to *Lewis XII*. According to this, she must have been born in the Year 1499, and not, as *Camden* says, in the Year 1507. It is very strange, that we should so little know at what time she was born, at what time she went out of *England*, and returned thither, considering that she was a Person who rose to the Royal Dignity in so extraordinary a manner.

P

[A] He

(n) See Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. pag. 206.

(23) Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce de Henri VIII. Tom. II. p. 47.

(27) Father d'Orleans Hist. des Revolutions d'Angleterre, Tom. II. p. 427.

(28) Histoire des Variations, lib. vii. n. 20. p. 302.

(24) See Dr Burnet's Refutation of Sanders, n. 21.

(25) Critical Remarks on the 9th Book of Mr Varillas's History, pag. 87.

(26) A Defence of the Critical Remarks on Varillas, pag. 107, 108.

(29) Ibid. p. 303

(30) Ibid. p. 304

(31) Leti, Hist. de la Reine Elizabeth, Tom. I. pag. 60 Amsterdam Edit. 1694

(32) Ibid. p. 52

BOLES LAUS, the first of that Name, was the first King of Poland. His Father the Duke *Miecslaus*, having embraced Christianity, desired the Title and Dignity of King from the Pope; but did not obtain it. His Son found much more facility with the Emperor *Otho III*, after having received him splendidly at *Gnesna*, where that Emperor had been in Pilgrimage to venerate the Body of St *Adelbert* [A], who had been martyred in *Prussia* four Years before (a). It was in the Year 1000, that *Otho* performed that Pilgrimage. The Honours he received from *Boleslaus* obliged him to shew him his Gratitude by conferring the Title of King upon him [B]. He dressed him in his own Garments, and gave him the *Insignia* of the Empire, and particularly the Sword and the Golden Ball with the Cross. *Boleslaus* had very good Qualities, he was Liberal to the Church, and very Valiant. He repulsed the *Bobemians* into the Heart of their own Country; he chastised the *Moravians*, and made them Tributaries; he punished the Idolatrous *Prussians*, who had martyred St *Adelbert*, whose Body he redeemed; he re-established *Stopolcus*, Duke of *Russia*, who had been deposed by his own Brother *Jaroslais*, &c. He married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Geisa*, Duke of *Hungary*, by whom he had Children (b).

(a) See Calvisius.

(b) Taken from the Voyage de la Reine de Pologne, by le Laboureur, pag. 139, 140.

[A] He received the Emperor *Otho* splendidly at *Gnesna*, where he was come in Pilgrimage, to venerate the Body of St *Adelbert*. The Emperor *Otho III* was pretty much addicted to those kind of Devotions. After having punished *Crescentius* and his Anti-pope in the Year 998, he went to *Ratisben* in his return from *Italy*, and made a Vow to go in Pilgrimage into *Poland* to the Tomb of the holy Bishop *Adelbert*. ----- At his return from *Poland*, he went to *Aix* with his Sister *Adelaide* to visit the Tomb of *Charlemagne*, and to be also at a meeting of Bishops (1). Being returned into *Italy*, his first care was to put St *Adelbert's* Hand in St *Bartholomew's* Church in the Island of the *Tyber*, with divers other Relics of holy Martyrs, as also the whole Body of St *Bartholomew*, which he caused to be brought from *Benevento* -----

The same Year, being moved with a serious Repentance for having caused the Consul *Crescentius* to be put to Death against his Word, he religiously performed the Penance enjoined him by St *Remwald*, and went on Foot to Mount *Gargan*, and other holy Places (2).

(2) Id. ibid. p. 143.

[B] *Otho* conferred on him the Title of King. *Baronius* ascribes this to Pope *Sylvester II*, and grounds himself on this, That, a little after *Otho III's* Pilgrimage, the *Poles* solicited the Pope for the Title of King. Doubtless, they did it *ad majorem cautelam*. ----- For the greater Safety, and for fear of exasperating that Court, which would not allow the Emperors the Right of erecting Kingdoms. However that be, the *Poles* attribute the first Institution of their Royalty to *Otho III* (3).

(3) Le Laboureur, Relation du voyage de Pologne, pag. 139, 140.

BOLSEC (JEROME), would have been altogether buried in Oblivion, if he had not made himself famous by some satirical Books, which the Monks and the Missionaries quote still [A], though it must be acknowledged, that they do not speak so often of them as they did about the end of the XVIth Century, and in the beginning of the XVIIth. What is to be found concerning this Man in the Books of the Protestants is as follows. *Jerome Bolsec* was a *Carmelite* of *Paris*, who, having preached somewhat freely in St *Bartholomew's* Church, forsook his Order, and fled into *Italy* to *Renata* of *France*, Duchess of *Ferrara* (a). There was the common Sanctuary of those who were persecuted for the new Opinions. He set up for a Physician, and married quickly, but did something or other for which he was expelled (b). He went to *Geneva* as a Physician; but finding that he did not distinguish himself to his Satisfaction in that Profession, he set up for Divinity, and dogmatized at first in private on the Mystery of Predestination, according to the Principles of *Pelagius*, and afterwards had the Boldness to make a public Discourse against the received Opinion. As soon as his Conversation with certain Persons, to infect them with his *Pelagianism*, was known, *Calvin* went to see him, and censured him mildly: Afterwards he sent for him to his House, and endeavoured to reclaim him from his Error; but this did not hinder *Bolsec* from delivering in Public an insulting Discourse against the Decree of Eternal Predestination

(a) Paulo liberius in divi Bartholomaei fano concionatus esset, in Italiam abjecta cuculla profugisse, ibique repente Medicum factum uxorem duxisse. Beza ad Claud. de Xaintes, Apolog. altera, Oper. Tom. II. p. 345.

(b) Quum --- in Italiam profugisset, inde quoque decepta Ferrarienti Ducissa pulsus. Id. in vita Calvin: Oper. Tom. III. p. 374.

[A] He made himself famous by some satirical Works, which the Monks and the Missionaries quote still. A Multitude of Persons have given out, both in Sermons, and Books, that *Calvin* was branded with the *Flower-de-luce*, &c. without any other proof for it than the Testimony of *Bolsec*. I should not wonder if some Painter had done that Writer the honour to compare him to *Homer*, I mean, to make a Picture, where *Bolsec* should have appeared Vomiting, and surrounded with a great number of Priests, Monks, and Lay Controversialists, greedy of the Crudities, which he vomited, and swallowing them with so very eager an Appetite, as even to lick the Floor; for it is certain, that they have made the same use of those Ordures, as the Poets who came after *Homer* did of his Inventions (1).

(1) See *Ælian*, lib. xiii. var. Hist. cap. xxii.

(2) Manilius, lib. ii. ver. 8. speaking of *Homer*.

Cujusque ex ore profusus

Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit, Annemque in tenues ausa est diducere rivos, Unius fecunda bonis (2).

2

From whose Fountain
Posterity have drawn most plenteous draughts,
Poets have dared the River to divide
Into small streams, and gathered all their Wealth
From *Homer's* single Store.

See how Fortune sports with things; some Circumstances are sufficient to make the Fate of a Scoundrel equal to that of the greatest Men, and the most brutish Follies as much respected as the finest Productions of Human Wit. What a shameful thing is this! What *Ovid* said of *Homer* might have been applied to *Bolsec*.

Adjice Mæoniden, à quo ceu fonte perenni
Vatum pieriis ora rigantur aquis (3).

(3) *Ovid*. Amor lib. iii. Eleg. ix.

Add *Homer* too, who, like a constant Spring,
Our Poets with Pierian Draughts supplies.

[B] He

tion. It is thought that he was the bolder, because he imagined that Calvin was not among his Auditors. He had such a Thought because he did not see him in his Place. The Reason was, Calvin not coming till after the Sermon was begun kept himself hid behind the Crowd. But as soon as Bolsec had ended, he shewed himself, and confuted him so strongly by Scripture, by St Augustin, and by Reason, that Bolsec was the only Person that was not ashamed of his being overcome in that manner [B]. That was not all: One of the Magistrates, who had Power to imprison People, was present in that Assembly, and immediately exerted his Power; he called Bolsec a seditious Fellow, and sent him to Prison. The Cause was discussed very fully, and at last, with the Advice of the Swiss Churches [C], the Senate of Geneva declared Bolsec convicted of Sedition and Pelagianism [D], and as such banished him from the Territory of the Republic, on the Penalty of being whipped if he should return thither. This was done the Twenty third of December 1551. He retired into a neighbouring Place, which depended on the Canton of Bern, and raised so many Troubles there, that they banished him out of all the Territories of that Canton [E]. He returned into France, and applied himself

[B] He made a Discourse on Predestination --- which Calvin refuted so strongly, that he was the only Person who was not ashamed of his being overcome in that manner. By Beza's manner of relating this affair, it seems as if Bolsec made a Sermon; but the Letter, which Calvin writ to the Swiss Churches in the Name of the Church of Geneva, clears the Fact, and shews that Bolsec only censured and refuted a Sermon that was then preached upon the Grace of the Holy Ghost. Tandem virus suum nuper (4) aperto gutture evomuit. Nam cum pro more nostro unus è fratribus illum Joannis locum exponeret, ubi pronuntiat Christus ex Deo non esse, qui verba Dei non audiunt, dixissetque, quotquot Spiritu Dei renati non sunt, pervicaciter usque in finem Deo resistere: quia peculiare sit obedientiæ donum, quo Deus suos electos dignatur: Surrexit nebulo ille, ac dixit falsam & impiam opinionem, cujus auctor fuit Laurentius Valla, nostro seculo exortam esse, quod Dei voluntas rerum omnium sit causa. Hoc autem modo peccata & malorum omnium culpam in Deum transcribi, & illi assignari tyrannicam libidinem qualem Poetæ veteres in suo Jove commenti sunt. Postea ad alterum caput descendit, non ideo salutem consequi homines, quia electi sint, sed ideo eligi, quia credant: nec reprobari quonquam nudo Dei placito, sed eos tantum, qui se communi electione privant. In hac quæstione agitata multis, & atrocibus convitiis in nos invecitum est. Præfatus urbis re audita eum duxit in carcerem, præsertim quia tumultuose plebem hortatus fuerat, ne se decipi à nobis sineret. Nunc ad Senatum delata est causæ cognitio: ubi errorem suum non minori obstinatione quam audacia tueri perrexit (5). --- Latebentem aperit os suum, et in last disgorged his Venom. For when, according to our Custom, one of the Brethren was expounding that Place of John, where Christ declares, that they are not of God, who do not bear the words of God, and said, that they who are not born again of the Spirit of God, do obstinately disobey God to the end; because the Gift of Obedience is a peculiar Favour conferred by God on his Elect: That Wretch rose up and said, that a false and impious Opinion, first broached by Laurentius Valla, had sprung up in our time, that the Will of God is the Cause of all things: That by this all Sins and the blame of all evil was transferred to God, and a tyrannical Will ascribed to him, such as the old Poets feigned of Jupiter. Then he came to another Point, viz. that Men do not therefore obtain Salvation, because they are elected, but are therefore elected because they believe: And that no Man is reprobate by the bare Decree of God, but only those who deprive themselves of the common Election. In discussing this Question, he inveighed against us with many bitter Reproaches. One of the Magistrates of the City hearing the matter committed him to Prison, chiefly because he had, in a tumultuous manner, exhorted the People not to suffer themselves to be deceived by us. Then the Affair was brought before the Senate, where he continued to defend his Error with no less Obstinacy than Assurance. As for the manner, how Calvin confuted him, read these Words of Beza: Illum tot verbi divini

testimoniis, tot Augustini præsertim locis, tot denique tamque gravibus argumentis, confutavit perculit, obruit, ut omnes præter ipsummet perfrictæ frontis Monachum ipsum vehementer paderet (6). --- He answered, overset, and confounded him with so many Testimonies from the word of God, with so many Passages chiefly out of St Augustin, in short by so many and so weighty Arguments, that every Body was miserably ashamed for him, except the Brazen-faced Monk himself.

[C] With the Advice of the Swiss Churches --- I have already related a long Passage of the Letter which was written to them to consult them. The beginning of that Letter is thus: 'Erit hic Hieronymus quidam, qui abjecta monachi cuculla, unus ex circumforaneis medicis factus est, qui fallendo, & frustrando, tantum sibi impudentiæ acquirunt, ut ad quidvis audendum prompti sint, ac parati. Is jam ante octo menses in publico Ecclesiæ nostræ cœtu doctrinam de gratuita Dei electione, quam ex verbo Dei acceptam vobiscum docemus, labefactare conatus est. Ac tunc quidem qua fieri potuit moderatione sedata fuit hominis protervia. Postea non destitit locis omnibus obstrepere, ut simplicibus fidei hoc caput excuteret. --- We have here one Jerome, who left the Monks' habit and turned itinerant Doctor, which sort of People, by their Practice of deceiving, and making fools of Mankind, acquire such a Stock of Impudence, that they are ready and fit to attempt any thing. This Man about eight Months ago, in a public Assembly of our Church, endeavoured to overthrow the Doctrine of God's free Election, which we teach with you from the word of God. At that time the Man's Insolence was stopt, with all possible Moderation. Yet he still persisted, making a noise every where, in order to beat off the Simple from this Article of Faith.'

[D] The Senate of Geneva declared him convicted of Sedition and Pelagianism. Mr Drelincourt has (7) published the Extract of a Letter which Mr Lullin, Counsellor and late Syndic of the Republic of Geneva, writ to him. It appears by that Letter, that Bolsec's ill Life contributed to his Banishment. These are the Contents of that Extract: 'By a Sentence given after his Answers and Confessions in the Prisons of this City, the Twenty second of December 1551, and published with sound of Trumpet, and which I have read in our Registers, he was condemned to perpetual Banishment, on the penalty of whipping, for his Scandals, Impieties, and his ill Life.' Beza's words are: 'Causa multis disputationibus agitata, Senatus Helveticarum etiam Ecclesiarum sententiam percontatus illum tum ut seditiosum, tum ut mere Pelagianum 23. Decemb. publice damnatum urbe expulit, sustinuerat poenam minatus, si vel in urbe vel in urbis territorio esset deprehensus (8). --- The Cause being examined, after many Debates, the Senate (having also asked the Judgment of the Swiss Churches,) on the Twenty third of December, sentenced him to be banished the City, as a seditious Person, and a meer Pelagian, on Penalty of being whipped if he were caught any more, either in the City, or its Territories.'

[E] He raised so many Troubles in the Canton of Bern, that they banished him out of all the Territories

(6) Beza in vita Calvin. Oper. Tom. III. p. 374.

(4) The 16th of October 1551, according to Beza in vita Calvin.

(5) Vid. Epist. cxxxiii. Calvin.

(7) Defensio de Calvin, printed at Geneva in 1667. pag. 150, 151.

(8) Beza in vita Calvin. p. 375.

himself to the Protestants first at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Orleans* [F], and shewed a great Desire of being promoted to the Ministry, and of being reconciled to the Church of *Geneva*; but the Persecution that arose against the Protestants made him resolve to take up his first Religion, and the Practice of Physic. He went and settled at *Autun*, where he acted the easy Husband in favour of the Canons of That Place, and shewed a most violent Passion against the Reformed Church (c) [G]. That Consort, of whom he was so little jealous, was his second Wife (d). He changed his Habitation often (e); he lived at *Lyons* in the Year 1582, as appears by the Title of a Book which he caused to be printed then at *Paris* against *Beza*. He died not long after; for he was not living in the Year 1585 [H]. The Book I have just now mentioned is intituled, *The History of the Life, Doctrine, and Behaviour of Theodorus Beza, called the Spectable, great Minister of Geneva* (f). It was preceded by the *History of the Life, Actions, Doctrine, Constancy, and Death of John Calvin, heretofore Minister of Geneva*, which was printed at *Lyons* in the Year 1577 (g). Those two Histories are altogether unworthy of Credit, as well because they were written by an Author full of Resentment for the Affronts he had received [I], as because he is found manifestly guilty

(c) Beza in vita Calvini Oper. Tom. III. pag. 374.

(d) Id. ad Claud. de Xaintes Apolog. altera, pag. 345.

(e) Medicinam Callipoli ad Ararim tam feliciter facere quam olim Theologiam exerc. it. Ibid. I think this Callipolis is Belleville in Beaujolais.

(f) Du Verdier Biblioth. Francoise, p. 566.

(g) Id. ibid.

ritories of that Canton.] He was one of those who boldly accused Calvin of making God the Author of Sin. Calvin, to prevent the impressions, which such Complaints might make on the Gentlemen of *Bern*, caused himself to be deputed to them, and pleaded his Cause before them. He was so fortunate, that tho' they would not pass Judgment on his Doctrine, nor decide whether it was true or false, yet *Bolsec* was ordered to depart the Country (9).

[F] He returned into France, and applied himself to the Protestants - - - at Orleans.] It was at the National Synod held in that City in the Year 1562. In the Acts of the National Synod that was assembled the Year following at *Lyons*, we find him among the deposed Ministers. He is there called *Infamous, an Impostor, and an Apostate* (10). This shews that the Synod of Orleans, deceived by his feigned Show of Repentance, admitted him to the Holy Ministry. Nevertheless it does not appear by *Beza's* Narratives, repeated in divers places of his Works, that *Bolsec* was ever a Minister. See his Ecclesiastical History, in the sixth Book, Pages 34, and 35; but correct the Word *Bolsec* there, which the Printers have put for *Bolsec*. See also the Life of Calvin in French (11).

[G] He went and settled at *Autun*, where he acted the easy Husband in favour of the Canons, and shewed a most violent Passion against the Reformed Church.] I make use of an Expression less harsh than that of *Beza*; but he writ in Latin. 'Ubi contra quam sperarat Ecclesias affligi animadvertit, repetita medicina ad hostes Evangelii manifesta defectione (uxore quoque Canonicis Augustodunensibus prostituta) transivit. Unde nunc etiam quibus potest maledictis veritatem proscindit' (12). — When, contrary to his Expectation, he found the Churches were distressed, he took to Physic again, and openly went over to the Enemies of the Reformed Church, and even prostituted his Wife to the Canons of *Autun*. Where he now wounds the Truth with all the Reproaches he is Master of. What meanness! What baseness! morally speaking a Man had better be subject to the disquiet of Jealousy; the judgment of the Public, however corrupt, falls much heavier on voluntary Cuckoldom, than on the infirmities of a jealous Husband. Neither *Bolsec's* indigence, nor the Profit which he might draw from his indulgence to the Canons of *Autun*, would have excused him even with those Persons, who make profession to jest upon every thing. People will laugh at, and jest equally upon, a Husband, who gives his Wife no liberty, and upon one who lends a helping hand to the Pleasures she is minded to take; but after all, they will have as much contempt and indignation for the latter as *Juvenal* had:

Cum leno accipiat mœchi bona si capiendi
Jus nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,
Doctus & ad calicem vigilantis stertere naso (13).

The Wife by her procuring Husband sold;

For tho' the Law makes null the adulterous Deed
Of Lands to her the Cuckold may succeed.
Who his taught Eyes up to the Ceiling throws,
And sleeps all over, but his wakeful Nose.

DRYDEN.

[H] He was not living in 1585.] 'Beza in his Answer to Genebrard, printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1585, says of *Bolsec* in the Seventy fifth Page. 'Add as many false Stories as you please, taken from that Carmelite, who forsook his Order, and who is an infamous Man, having been banished thrice, and changed his Religion four times; and who, after having aspersed the Dead and the Living, died in Despair.' This you may read in the *Defence of Calvin* done by Mr *Drelincourt* (14). But I have read the quite contrary in the Book of another Minister. 'These Witnesses, says he (15), are more to be credited, than those whom the Bishop produces, which are *Bolsec* and *Arenius*; the first of whom greatly lamented and wept in a full Synod, for having so wickedly aspersed the memory of so great a Man, and faithful Servant of God.' But this ought not to hinder any body from giving credit to the Passage mentioned by Mr *Drelincourt*; for it is likely that the Minister of Fontenay meant only the steps, which *Bolsec* made in the Synod of Orleans, with great humility, in the Year 1562. If he meant no more than that, he does not confute the Objection, seeing the Life of Calvin, published by *Bolsec*, did not come out till fifteen Years after that Synod of Orleans.

[I] His two Histories of Calvin and Beza are altogether unworthy of Credit, &c.] Mr *Drelincourt* lays a great stress upon that Argument. He sets forth the Reasons which *Bolsec* had to hate Calvin: he says, that Calvin, having convicted *Bolsec* of his Errors in a full Assembly, excommunicated him at last with the advice of the whole Consistory: he adds that Calvin was deputed with some others from *Geneva*, to inform the Potent Republic of *Bern* of the Life and Morals of this wretched *Bolsec* (16). So that Calvin may be looked upon as the chief Promoter of the two Sentences of Banishment pronounced against *Bolsec*, the one at *Geneva*, and the other at *Bern*. As for what concerns *Beza*, he drew *Bolsec's* Indignation upon himself by the diffamatory things he had published against him in very hard Terms. Mr *Drelincourt* gives some proofs of it. 'In the Year 1551, says he (17), there came into this City one *Jerome Bolsec*, some time before a Carmelite of *Paris*, who from a Divine became suddenly a Physician, or rather a Quack, who, to put himself forward, thinking himself to be in his Cloister, and not in a Church of God, of which he knew nothing but by hearsay, begun here and there, and also in a full Congregation, to reflect upon the Doctrine of Providence and Eternal Predestination. *Beza* calls this *Bolsec* a Villain, an Impudent Man, and a Wolf in disguise; and after having represented in what manner Calvin convicted him of his Errors, he says, That the Monk could not tell what to answer,

(14) Pag. 102.

(15) Peter de la Vallade, Minister at Fontenay le Comte, in the Apology for the Epistle of the Ministers of Charenton, opposed to the Book that Armand John du Pleffis, Bishop of Lucon, had produced against them, chap. xxii. pag. 298.

(16) Drelincourt, Defence de Calvin, pag. 101.

(17) Id. ibid. pag. 135. He takes this from the Preface that *Beza* prefixed to Calvin's Commentary on Joshua, printed in 1564.

(13) Juven. Sat. I. ver. 55.

guilty of Calumny in the most heinous Points [K]. There is now hardly any Writer of Reputation, but will acknowledge that this Author is not to be credited [L].

soer, and had nothing left but a Monkish Impudence. To which he adds, Which he shewed even before the Court the Twenty third of December, when Sentence of Banishment was pronounced against him, with sound of Trumpet, as usual. But it is no wonder; for his impudence has ever since made him odious to every Man of Understanding, seeing he is condemned by his own judgment, as will appear by evidence under his own hand, whenever there is occasion for it. For this wretch, who had deserved Punishment for a seditious Act, being mildly treated by the Magistrates, in hopes that he might in time be cured of his Sophistical Ignorance, after he had given so much offence, and done so much harm to the neighbouring Churches, finding himself thrice banished from the Territories of the Lords of Bern, and grown at last intolerable to every body, gave glory to God, acknowledging his Faults, and particularly his evil Conscience, in a full Synod of all the French Churches held at Orleans in the Year 1562. So that something was hoped from him. But being since seized again by a like evil Spirit, he is returned to his first Errors, and being shunned by every body, as he deserves, is, wherever he goes, an Example of the Wrath of God against those who resist the Truth. Mr Drelincourt recites two other Passages of Beza (18). I shall add to all this, that Beza caused Calvin's Letters to be printed in the Year 1575, among which there is a thundering one against Bolsec (19). Thus all things have their use in this World. The keen Stile of these two Reformers does them great Service here. It shews that Bolsec must needs have been very angry, to see him give such provoking accounts of the II, that had been done him, and that therefore what he published in the Year 1577, and 1582, must be full of a Spirit of Repentment, which ought to render all his Stories suspected of falsity. Never man had more need than he of a formal Process and juridical Proof to confirm what he says.

[K] He is found manifestly guilty of Calumny, in the most heinous Points. He has given out, that Calvin was convicted of the Sin against Nature, at Noyon, and condemned only to be branded with the Flower de Luce; his Bishop having interceded for him to moderate the Punishment. Now there was never a Romance more fabulous than this, and Bolsec must have been a Man of unheard of Impudence to dare to produce such Stories in the Year 1577, that is to say, Forty three Years after Calvin had left Noyon (20). The Laws of Limitation were never so valid as in this Business. Prescription, which in other cases serves only to stop proceedings, without absolutely deciding the Point in Question, is here an invincible Proof against the Accuser. He lays his Action after Forty three Years as expired; it cannot be admitted: Prescription has barred him, and besides convicts him of Calumny: for if the Crime of which he accuses Calvin was true, they would not have staid so long to make it publick. Calvin, in open War with all the Monks, and Ecclesiastics, always with Sword in hand either to attack them, or to defend himself, (for it was a sharp and desperate fight) I say, Calvin, who occasioned irreparable losses to the Church of Rome, was not a Man in whose favour the sentence of the Flower de Luce would have been suppressed for Forty three Years together. Immediately on the beginning of his Ministry at Geneva, it would have been published in the most authentic and legal Form, it would have been translated into all Languages, and posted up at every corner of the Streets. This is plain to any body that will use common Sense; besides, the falsity of this Story has been so demonstratively proved by Mr Drelincourt, that perhaps greater Evidence was never produced in a Question relating to a matter of fact. Bolsec is therefore most evidently a Calumniator as to the most heinous of his Accusations; and therefore he deserves no credit about the rest. *Semel talus semper præsumitur malus in eodem genere mali. — He who is once bad*

is always presumed bad, in the same kind of Evil. I am not ignorant that he alleges an Act, which he says he had seen in Bertelier's hands, but that does not clear him. It was a supposititious Piece, and he that publishes such Pieces is no less a Calumniator than he that forges them. It is observed, that he forbore to speak of it till Bertelier was dead (21); an evident sign, either that he boasted falsely to have seen that Act in Bertelier's hands, or that he knew that he who shewed it durst not run the hazard of being publicly contradicted. See the Article BERTELIER; he and Bolsec were of the same Faction at Geneva against Calvin.

When I spoke above (22) of Bertelier's pretended Commission, I omitted a Reflexion which comes now into my mind. If he had been sent to Noyon by the Republic, it must have been before the Year 1552, for he was excommunicated that Year. At the end of eighteen Months he endeavoured to be re-inflated, but could not succeed, because Calvin opposed it: He brought himself into trouble soon after upon another account, the issue whereof was that he fled, and, not appearing to the Summons, he was condemned to Death for Contumacy, the sixth of August 1555. It is impossible, with all the Chicanery imaginable, to find a proper time for his pretended Deputation, between the day that he was excommunicated, and that wherein he was condemned to Death; and consequently he never was at Noyon with Orders to inform himself of John Calvin's Life, if he was not there before the Year 1552. Now this seems to me a convincing proof that he was not deputed before the Year 1552. If he had been at Noyon before that Year, he would have had the Original Proofs of Calvin's Flower de Luce, when that Minister excommunicated him, and used his utmost Endeavours to lay him under that note of Infamy. Would he have had so little Wit, as not to inform the whole Town, that That great Zealot, who excommunicated others, bore the Infamy of a hot Iron on his back? Would he not have challenged him to his Face to shew his Shoulders? Would he not by that means either have triumphed over his Enemy, or slackened his Persecution? Let any body put himself in Bertelier's place, and he must confess that on such an occasion the discovering of Calvin's Infamy would have been unavoidable. If any body should tell me that Bertelier certainly discovered the Mystery, but that no regard was had to his Recrimination, by reason of Calvin's great credit, I should think it a very incredible Story. What! in a Democracy, would not the Judges dare to make any Proceedings, when an accused Person, who has a public Office, some Relations, and some Friends, summons his Accuser to shew his naked Shoulders, and maintains to his Face, that the marks of the Flower de Luce are to be seen there, and that he has brought the Proofs of it to the Republic, in consequence of a Commission, which was delivered to him? Will the Judges, instead of enquiring into the matter, stifle it, and forbid it to be spoke of? They are not so foolish in a Democracy as to oppress one of their Subjects so grossly. But suppose the Magistrates, being tender of Calvin's Reputation, threaten'd those who should make any Complaint against him; I am sure it will be granted me, that this could not suppress the memory of that Incident in private Families, and prevent it's coming to the Ears of Calvin's Enemies. How comes it then that Blandrata, Alciatus, Gentilis, Gribaldus, and so many other Heretics, whom Calvin expelled from Geneva, and whom he persecuted without mercy wherever they fled, never said a word of these Recriminations of Bertelier? This blow cannot be warded off. I know not whether this Reason was ever alleged against the Promoters of the Calumny that Bolsec published first.

[L] There is scarce any writer of Reputation, but will acknowledge that This Author is not to be credited. It were sufficient to instance Mr Maimbourg, who was not of a Temper to let go his hold without good Reasons; yet having mentioned some Reasons alleged by the Protestants to refute Bolsec's Accusation,

(21) Rivet, O. per. Tom III. pag. 99. 477.

A NEW Refutation of the pretended Act of Bertelier.

(22) In the Remark [C] of the Article BERTELIER.

(18) Pag. 137, 138. He takes them from Calvin's Life.

(19) Viz. the 133d. I have quoted two Passages of it, one in the Remark [B], the other in the Remark [C].

(20) He left it, for good and all, in the Year 1535 according to Drelincourt, Defence de Calvin, pag. 122.

La Croix du Maine makes him Author of some Books, which were wrote by another Hand [M], for which he falsely alledges the Testimony of *Beza*. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* knew better, than he, our *Bolsec's* Writings. Besides the two Histories which I have mentioned, he ascribes to him 'the Mirrour of Truth, to *Charles IX*, 'and to the Princes and Lords of his Council, from the Judgment made by 'Solomon in his Youth, at the beginning of his Reign, by the Splendor and Reflexion of which Mirrour are discovered the true means to appease the Troubles 'and Seditions of the Kingdom of *France*.' It was printed in the Year 1562.

- (23) Maimb. Hist. du Calvinism, lib. iv. pag. 336.
- (24) Varillas Histoire de l'Herésie, liv. x.
- (25) Ibid. pag. 332, of the Dutch Edition.
- (26) Histoire de la naissance & progrès l'Herésie, liv. vii. cap. vii.
- (27) He quotes in the Margin *Bolsec* and *Surinus* among others. See *Drelincourt* in his Defence of Calvin, pag. 126.
- (28) Thesfor Chronologique ad ann. 1509. cited by *Drelincourt* in his Defence of Calvin, pag. 128.
- Accusation, concerning *Calvin's* pretended *Flower de luce*, he has these words, *Since our Protestants will have it so, I am willing not to believe that Infamy of the Author of their Sect* (23). He had owned before, that *Bolsec* wrote a Satire, and a continued Invektive, rather than an History. This witness is worth a Thousand others, unus instat omnium: and might suffice, but, for super-abundant proof, I add *Varillas*, who gives a large account of *Calvin's* Life and Morals, without seeming to know that there ever was such a Man as *Bolsec* in the World (24). He affirms nothing of the *Flower de luce*, but says only that there is something to be seen in the Registers of *Noyon*, which in all likelihood gave occasion to *Conrad of Slussemburg*, a Lutheran Minister, to write that *Calvin* had been whipped and branded with the *Flower de luce*, in his own Country, and to the the famous Jesuit *Leonard Lessius* to compose an Apology, with a design to justify *Slussemburg* in that Point (25). This is a cunning turn: *Varillas* will not quote *Bolsec*, a discredited Author, he chuses rather to quote a Lutheran Minister. This is less surprizing than to see *Florimond de Remond* reject that Calumny of *Bolsec*, and confess that he is too passionate an Author. I omit many things designedly, says he (26), because I am afraid, Hatred has sometimes prevailed upon them more than Truth; for they have defamed him horribly (27). The Mendicant *Peter de Saint Romuald* acknowledges the same Truth; he confesses that whatever *Jerome Bolsec*, and *Jamés Lingey* a Scotchman, have writ of *Calvin* is suspected of too much Passion against him (28). In the Year 1583, *Papyrius Masso* writing *Calvin's* Life, and speaking very ill of him, did not vouchsafe to mention the story of the *Flower de luce*, and called those wretched mobbish Authors, who reproached that Minister with Lewdness. Is it not strange that the great Cardinal de *Richelieu*, in one of the best Books of Controversy that has been published on the part of the Church of *Rome*, should be less scrupulous, and less nice, than *Peter de Saint Romuald*, *Florimond de Remond*, and *Papyrius Masso*, and that he should give out, as a true matter of Fact, the Story of *Jerome Bolsec*, which begun then to be laid aside by the Millionaries? See the Article *BERTELIER*, Remark [D].
- I cannot end this Remark without mentioning some Mistakes of *Varillas*. I. The Lutheran Minister's Name is *Conrad Schlussemburg*. II. He mentions only what he had read in printed Books. *Hæc publicis scriptis Calvino objiciuntur* (29). III. *Leonard Lessius* composed no Apology to justify that Minister; he justified himself as well as he could (30), when he was accused of having advanced (31) two Calumnies against *Calvin*, whereof one was concerning the *Flower de luce*. I add further, that *Varillas* was not ignorant of what *Bolsec* had published, but he scrupled to quote him: 'That of *Jerome Bolsec*, a Physician of *Lyons*, is written in such a passionate Style, that a Reader of never so little Moderation, will find fault with it from the first Page. 'It is full of many ill Actions, which are only grounded on that Physician's Authority, which I do not think to be sufficient. The *Calvinists*, in their Answers to him, accuse him of very great Ingratitude, on account that *Calvin* had received him in his House, and kept him several Years as his Secretary, and that, notwithstanding all this, he became his greatest Enemy, out of meer Inconstancy, or out of Spite, because *Beza* had insinuated himself more than he into *Calvin's* Friendship (32). I do not question, but that we have here a new Mistake of That Author. No body, that I know of, did ever reproach *Bolsec* with Ingratitude on that account. Such a Reproach was made to the Civilian *Baudouin*; it was he that served *John Calvin* as Secretary: but *Bolsec* never had that Function, nor such a Landlord. I should be much surprized if any body should shew me the contrary.
- [M] *La Croix du Maine* makes him Author of some Books, which were written by another Hand.] Those Books are, a Treatise of the Providence of God: A Treatise of the Old and New Man, first written in Latin under the Name of Theophilus, which he intituled, *Theologia Germanica*: A Treatise under the Name of Martin Bellie, which he caused to be printed in Latin and in French, to which *Beza* made an Answer; and a Translation of the Bible out of Latin into French. *Beza*, as *La Croix du Maine* says, relates this in his Life of *Calvin* (33). *La Croix du Maine* is guilty of two Mistakes. Those Books were not written by *Bolsec*, and *Beza* ascribes them to *Sebastian Castilio*, and not to him. Many Remarks would be necessary to rectify this Matter.

(29) Schlussemburg, Theolog. Calvinist. lib. ii. fol. 72.

(30) In the Appendix to the Treatise de Antichristo.

(31) In the Consultatio, que Fides & Religio fit capefenda.

(32) Varillas Preface to Tom. I. of the History of Heresy.

(33) La Croix du Maine, Bibliothèque Française, pag. 169.

BOMBASIUS (PAUL), a Native of *Bologna* in *Italy*, gained Esteem by the Profession of Philology, about the beginning of the XVIth Century. He taught the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages at *Naples* [A], and gave such proofs of his Capacity

- (1) *Erasm.* in *Ciceroniano*, p. 72. See also the 18 Adage of the 18th Century of the 18th Century of the 18th Century.
- (2) *Bombasius*, Epist. iv. lib. xi. pag. 548. inter *Erasmianas*.
- (3) *Cardinal*

[A] He taught — at *Naples*. I follow the Author I have quoted, but I am not without fear that he mistakes; for *Erasmus* does not speak one Word of the Professorship at *Naples*, but he speaks only of that at *Bologna*. I shall recite his Words, because they contain part of *Bombasius's* Character. 'Equidem exosculor Paulum Bombasium prorsus aurei pectoris hominem, quo vix alius unquam vixit amico amicum, sed valetudini parcens non admodum indulgit stilo. Mox ut erat animi minime abjecti, fordidorum competitorum improbis contentionebus offerendus (nam Bononiæ publico salario Græcæ profitebatur) ad Reip. negotia sese contulit: tandem accitus Romam augere rem maluit, quam literis infensescere (1). — Truly I reverence Paulus Bombasius, a Man of a most noble Heart; than whom scarce ever a more friendly Man lived, but in consideration of his health he wrote not much. Presently, as he was of no abject disposition, taking offence at the base contentions of his sordid Competitors (for he was Professor of Greek at *Bologna*, with a public Salary) he betook himself to Affairs of State: at last being sent for to *Rome*, he chose rather to improve his Fortune, than spend his Days in Learning.' These Words of *Erasmus* inform us, I. That *Bombasius* was a good Friend. II. That to preserve his Health, he composed but few things. III. That having a noble and generous Soul, he grew weary of a Professor's Life, by reason of the Quarrels, which the fordid Jealousy of his Rivals exposed him to. IV. That he concerned himself with the Affairs of his Country, when he was invited to *Rome*. He says, that Chance, rather than his Will, or the offer of a better Fortune, made him leave his Professorship. Me à literaria professione non tam mea voluntas, vel (ut tu suspicaris) fortuna melior avocavit, quam incertus ille, cui plerique tam mala quam bona debentur, casus eripuit (2). *Moreri* makes him a Professor at *Naples* and at *Bologna*.

city there, that Cardinal *Pucci* would have him live with him, and made him his Secretary, with a good Salary [B]. He lived very easy at the Court of *Rome*, under the Protection, and by the Liberality, of That Cardinal; and was in a Condition to end his Days in Plenty, when the City of *Rome* was plundered under Pope *Clement VII*. He endeavoured to get into the Castle of *St Angelo* in his Master's Retinue, but he could not run fast enough, so that he was surrounded with Soldiers, who killed him barbarously (a). He was a great Friend of *Erasmus*.

(a) Taken from *Pierius Valerianus de Literarum infelicitate*, lib. i. pag. 22.

[B] Cardinal *Pucci* ----- made him his Secretary, with a good Salary.] *Bombasius* calls him the Cardinal of the four Saints. He wrote to *Erasmus* in the Year 1517, that against his Inclination he was obliged to deprive himself of the pleasures of *Rome*, to accompany that Cardinal's Nephew in his Nunciature to *Switzerland* (3). He tells *Erasmus* in another Letter (4), that he does not find himself very rich, but that he has Four hundred Crowns a Year, and therefore does not fear to see himself ever reduced to the necessity of taking up his former Profession again. 'Quamquam non ita mecum maligne agitur ut ad professoriam linguam rede-

(3) That Letter is the 23d of the 11d Book of *Erasmus's Letters* pag. 120. See also the 17th of the 11d Book.

(4) It is the XIIIth of the XVIIth Book pag. 756.

undum fore timesam. Nam reditus annuos ad CCCC. ducatos nullis sacris addictos, nec fortunæ sed industriæ meæ acceptos ferendos auxi, quos nunquam ex literario illo ocio sperare ac ne somnare quidem mihi licuisset. — Tbo' it is not so bad with me, that I am any ways afraid of being obliged to return to teach the learned Language again. For I have raised my annual income, not by my Fortune, but my Industry, to Four hundred Ducats, subject to no Payment to the Church, which I never could have hoped for, or even dreamt of, in the idle Trade of teaching.

BOMBERG (DANIEL), a famous Printer, born at *Antwerp*. His Article is very curious in the Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary*. I shall only add two things: the one is that he was the first that printed *Hebrew Books* at *Venice*, and that he began to do it the Year 1511 [A]. The other, that he brought his Art to Perfection as to the printing of *Hebrew*, so that the *Jews* acknowledge, that since his Death the *Hebrew* printing has continually grown worse and worse (a). You will find the Critical History of his Editions of the Bible in Mr *Simon* (b).

(a) Taken from *Bertolotti's Biblioth. Rabbinnica*, Tom. I. pag. 34. He cites *Ganz*.

(b) *Simon, Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, pag. 512, 513.

[A] He began to print *Hebrew* at *Venice*, in the Year 1511. He began with an Edition of the Bible in Quarto. Afterwards he made many other impressions of it in Folio, in 4to, and in 8vo. He learned his *Hebrew* of *Felix Pratensis*, an Italian, who made him undertake an Edition of the Rabbinical Bible, that is, with the Commentaries of the Rabbies, which *Bombert* printed in Folio in 1517, and which was dedicated to Pope *Leo X*; but the *Jews* did not value that Edition, and Rab-

bi *Jacob Haiim* got another printed by the same *Bombert* in four Volumes in Folio, in the Year 1525 (1). ----- It is he that began the Impression of the *Talmud* in the Year 1520, which he did not finish till some Years after ----- in eleven Volumes in Folio (2). He printed the *Talmud* three times, and each of those Impressions cost him One hundred thousand Crowns (3). He printed Books to the value of above Four Millions of Gold (4).

(1) *Chevillier, origine de l'imprim. de Paris*, pag. 267.

(2) *Id. ibid.* p. 268.

(3) *Scaliger, de la word Bombertus*, pag. 34.

(4) *Ibid.* at the word *Imprimerie* pag. 121.

BONCIARIUS (MARC ANTONY), a Disciple of *Muretus*, wrote very polite *Latin*. He was of a very mean Extraction [A], and taught School all his Life-time at *Perugia*. He was born within six Miles of that City the ninth of *February* 1555 (a). He had for his Scholar his own Father, who, desiring to turn *Jesuit* at Forty seven Years of Age, was obliged to acquire some Learning, not being willing to be a bare Lay-Brother. *Bonciarius* lost his Sight (b), and was very much afflicted with the Gout (c). He died the ninth of *January* 1616 (d). Cardinal *Ubaldo* was his Patron (e). His Letters were printed at *Marpurg* in the Year 1604. One may find in them the Method he made use of to instruct his Father in a little time (f). There are other Books of his composing both in Verse and Prose [B]. He did not publish all that he designed to publish [C].

(a) *Oldoinus*, in *Athen. Augusto*, pag. 225.

(b) See *Lancelotti da Perugia*, *Hogdidi*, Part II. pag. 451. & *Oldoini* in *Athen. Augusto*, p. 227.

(c) *Nicius Erythraeus Pinacoth.* l. p. 98, 99.

(d) *Oldoin.* ubi supra, pag. 228.

(e) *Du Saussai*, *continuat. Bel. larm. de Script. Eccles.* pag. 78.

(f) *Morhof. Polyhist.* p. 237.

[A] He was of a mean Extraction. He informs the Public himself, that he was the Son of a Shoemaker, and the Grandson of a Carrier. 'Hic Perusii, à vulgaribus, ut ipse de se fatetur, opificibus ortus, cujus quippe avus coriariam, pater fustoriam in adolescentia fecerat, generis obscuritatem sui literarum splendore illustravit (1). — This Man, descended, as he himself owns, of mean Artificers at *Perugia*, for his Grandfather was a Carrier, and his Father a Shoemaker, in his Youth, illustrated the Obscurity of his Descent by the Splendor of his Learning.'

(1) *Nicius Erythraeus Pinacoth.* l. pag. 98.

[B] There are other Books of his composing, as well in Verse as in Prose. He wrote a Treatise de arte Grammatica: a Poem intitled, *Triumphus Argutus*, sive de sancti Perusii translatis, which contains four Books; *Scraphidos libri tres* (2). I do not find that he published any *Greek Grammar*, neither can I tell what Authority *Moreri* has to assert it. He would have been more in the right to have ascribed to him a Treatise of Rhetoric, though *Nicius Erythraeus*, the only Author he has quoted, says nothing of it. See the following Remark.

(2) *Id. ibid.* p. 99, 100.

[C] He did not publish all that he designed to publish. He says in his Letters, that he had taken upon him to write the Lives of all those, who had been eminent either in Arms or Learning (3) at

Perugia for Four hundred Years past. He says in the Catalogue of his Works, at the end of his Rhetoric, that he wrote a Book intitled, *Epicurus sive dialogus de antiqua Philosophia*, wherein he shewed, that no antient Philosopher came nearer the Truth than *Epicurus*, and that none were farther from it than the *Stoics*. *Gassendus* and *Nauddé* had never seen that Book, which made *Gassendus* believe that perhaps it was never printed. 'M. Antonius Bonciarius Parisiensis Professor (4) ----- in catalogo Operum suorum (5) se composuisse librum testatur, cui titulum fecerit, *Epicurus sive dialogus de antiqua Philosophia*, in quo efficacibus argumentis & doctorum virorum testimoniis probatur neminem ex prisca Philosophia accessisse propius ad veritatem quam *Epicurum*, contra nullos ab ea longius recessisse quam *Stoicos*. Tamen ille quoque liber nunquam fortassis editus, nec nobis est visus nec amico nostro, quem vix tamen ulli rarissimi fugiunt (6). *Gassendus* has committed a gross mistake; *Bonciarius* taught at *Perugia* all his Life-time. He was therefore *Perusinus Professor*. The word *Perusinus* was easily changed into *Parisinus*, and *Parisinus* more easily still into *Parisensis*. It appears from hence that Faults of Impression may lead a learned Man into considerable Mistakes.

(4) See the end of this Remark.

(5) *Gassendus* has put in the Margin in fine Rh.

(6) *Gassendus*, de vita & moribus *Epicuri* lib. vii. cap. vii. p. 224.

BONFADIUS

BONFADIUS (JAMES), one of the most polite Writers of the XVIIth Century, was born in Italy near the Lake di Garda [A]. He was three Years Secretary to Cardinal Bari at Rome, after which, having lost all the Fruit of his Services by the Death of his Master, he went to Cardinal Gbinucci, and served him as Secretary, till a long Sickness took him off from that Employment. When he was recovered he found himself so disgusted with the Court, that he resolved to seek his Fortune by other means. He found nothing in the Kingdom of Naples, where he wandered a pretty long time: he went afterwards to Padua, and then to Genoa, where he read Public Lectures on Aristotle's Politics. He was ordered to make some likewise on his Rhetoric, and, because he succeeded well in it, he had a great many Scholars, who went to learn good Literature of him. His Reputation increased daily, so that the Republic of Genoa made him their Historiographer, and assigned him a very good Pension for That Office. He applied himself with all his Might to compose the Annals of that State, and published the five first Books, wherein he spoke too freely, and too satirically of some Families, whereby he raised himself Enemies, who resolved to ruin him. They caused him to be accused of the Sin against Nature, and, there being Witnesses to convict him of it, he was condemned to be burnt (a) [B]. Some Authors say the Sentence was executed according to it's Form and Tenor; but others assert, that, by the Sollicitations of his Friends, the Punishment was commuted, and that he was beheaded [C]. This happened in

(a) Ghilini, Teatro d'huomini illustri Tom. I. pag. 70.

[A] He was born in Italy near the Lake di Garda. Authors do not agree about Bonfadius's Country. Some say, that he was born at Salona upon that Lake; Salona ad Benacum natus (1); others call his Country Gazani, luogo picciolo della Riviera di Brescia (2). — A small place on the River Brescia. I believe they are in the right; for in a Letter dated from Gazano, wherein he describes that fine Lake, you will meet with these Words, libero mi starò nel mio Gazano. — I shall be free in my Gazano. This Letter was written to Plinio Tomacello, and is in the second Book (3) of Lettere volgari, printed at Venice Anno 1558. König is wrong in saying he was of Verona.

[B] He was accused of the Sin against Nature — and was condemned to be burnt. He was accused of having satisfied that brutish Passion with one of his Scholars. — Fu calunniato, che in dotto da simulato e pazzo amore, che ad un bellissimo giovanetto suo Scolare portava, con esso le fozze e impudiche sue voglie sfogasse; sopra di questa imputazione fu subito incarcerato, e da testimoni di sì grave e enorme eccesso convinto, fu condannato al fuoco, nel quale finì i suoi giorni l'anno 1551 (4). — It was laid to his Charge, that, instigated by an inordinate Passion for a very handsome Youth, his Scholar, he had gratified his foolish Inclinations with him, on which Accusation he was immediately sent to Prison, and, being convicted by Evidence of so great and enormous a Crime, was condemned to the flames, in which he ended his Days in the Year 1551. Thus Ghilini acknowledges the Justice of the Accusation. The Cavalier Marini has likewise acknowledged it: See the two Madrigals of his Ritratti, which Mr Menage quotes (5). Paul Manucius owns it likewise in the Poem that he addresses ad eos qui laborarunt pro salute Bonfadii (6). — To those who endeavoured to save Bonfadius. See how he speaks,

(5) Menage, Antibalilet, cap. lxxxix.

(6) You will find it in the Delicie Poetarum Italorum.

(7) See Ghilini ubi supra, pag. 71. & Mr Teiffier, Elog. Tom. I. pag. 131. Edit. 1696.

Lapsum erat miser in culpam Bonfadius, index Detulerat patribus, nec inani teste probat. Quid facerent legum custodes? legibus uti Coguntur.

— Unhappily did poor Bonfadius fall Into a Crime, for which before the Senate An Accusation was advanced, the Informer Produced his Evidence, and prov'd the Charge. What could the Ministers of Justice do? They're bound to put the Laws in Execution.

But others pretend, that Bonfadius was oppressed by Calumny. It is the opinion of Giovanni Matteo Tofcano in his Peplus Italiae (7), where we find what follows: 2

Haud minus intumuit nuper Benacus alumni Bonfadii, ac Musis, doctæ Catullus, tuis. Bis tamen infelix; rapuit nam Roma Catullum, Bonfadium letho das scelerate Ligur. Historia æternum ejus fera Genua vivis, Immeritum sævâ lege necare potes? Mitius est quod te spumanti vertice marmor Tundit; & es scopulis durior ipsa tuis.

Not less Benacus boasted of her Son Bonfadius, than of learn'd Catullus Muse. But twice unhappy she: Rome of Catullus Robb'd her, and wicked Genoa took the Life Of her Bonfadius; canst thou, Cruel Genoa, Thus sacrifice, to barbarous Law, the Man, Whose History has made thy name immortal? Milder the Waves, that beat against thy Shore, With frothy Tops: Thou harder than Thy Rocks.

Scipione Ammirato says nothing on either side, nevertheless he seems more inclined to question Bonfadius's Innocency. You'll see in the following Words, that the true Cause of the Persecution of this unfortunate Man, was, that he inclined the Youth to disapprove the Government that was then established. — Trovata che egli tirava la gioventù a governo contrario di quello che allora si era indurito, sotto colore d'impudici amori gli pose le mani addosso: e peravventura non trovato senza colpa, il condannarlo al fuoco. Del cat tivetto; per che fosse meno scusabile; si leggono ancor rime, lequal par che rendan testimonianza di cotesta sua inclinazione (8). — It being found that he inclined the Youth to a Government contrary to what was then established, he was seized on pretence of unnatural Lewdness, and being found perhaps not altogether blameless, he was condemned to the Fire: A wicked Man, for he was not excusable; some Verses are extant yet which seem to shew this Inclination in him. It is very likely, that he was guilty of the enormous Crime whereof he was accused, but that he would not have been punished for it, had he not done something else that exposed him to the Hatred of certain Persons.

[C] Others say he was beheaded. Boccacini, Ghilini, the Cavalier Marini, and some others, assert, that he was burnt: Scipione Ammirato says the same. Questo misero col fuoco in Genova vedemmo terminare l'infelice vita (9). But Thuanus is more to be believed, when he says that Bonfadius was beheaded. Ob rem latendam Genua — securi percussus (10). Read these Words of Mr Menage: — It is true, that he was condemned to be burnt, but, at the solicitation of his Friends, and particularly a great lie.

(9) Menage, Antibalilet, cap. lxxxix.

(10) Thuan. lib. xxvi. pag. 538. Note that König instead of Genoa, which is a great lie.

in the Year 1560 (b). Those who blame his Imprudence are in the right, and have fared the worse for imitating it [D]. There are some Speeches, Letters, and Latin and Italian Poems of his. The Day of Execution, he wrote a Note to *Johann Baptist Grimaldi*, to testify his Acknowledgment to the Persons who had endeavoured to serve him. He promised to inform them how he found himself in the other World, if it could be done without frightening them. He is not the only one that made such Promises [E]. He recommended to them his Nephew *Bonfadino*, who

(b) Thuan. lib. xxvi. pag. 538. *But Ghilini, Tom. I. pag. 70. places Bonfadino's Death in the Year 1558.*

ticularly of young *Grimaldi*, his Punishment was changed; and he was only beheaded. This we learn from the Latin Poem of *Paul Manucius*, intitled, *Ad eos qui laborarunt pro salute Bonfadii*, printed in the *Deliciae Poëtarum Italorum*. Here is that part of the Poem, which concerns the change of that Punishment:

Exprimitur tandem hoc invito à Judice, vivus
Ne comburatur crepitanti deditus igni:
Tum se carnifici sævo Bonfadius ultro,
Mente Deum spectans, animo imperterritus offert.
Ille ministerio propter functurus iniquo,
Terribilis rigidam suspendit ad alta securim (11).

(11) Menage, *Antibaillet*, cap. lxxxix. pag. 357, 358.

*Thus from the unwilling Judge at last obtain'd,
Tis to the crackling Flames he shall not be
A Victim given; then, Bonfadius, thou
To the fierce Executioner thy neck
Didst freely offer of thy own Accord;
He, sudden to dispatch his task unjust
And terrible, high rais'd his rigid Sword.*

[D] Those who blame his Imprudence are in the right, and have fared the worse for having imitated him.] I have *Boccalini* in view, who supposes that *Bonfadius's* complaints, coming out of the Flames (12), were rejected by *Apollo*, and that the God of *Parnassus* declared to him, that tho' he had been innocent of the Crime imputed to him, he would have been justly punished for having had the folly to blemish the Honour of some potent Families. It was represented to him, that a Judicious Historian imitates the Grape-gatherers and Gardeners; he forbears to speak of things, before time has ripened them, that is to say, till the Persons who have committed an ill Action are dead, and their Children are not able to revenge themselves on him that publishes it. 'Che i saggi virtuosì nello scrivere le historie molto prudentemente si consigliavano, all' hora che imitavano i vendemmiatori, e gli altri accorti de' frutti, i quali percioche conoscevano, che cosa poco grata havrebbono fatto a gli huomini, se dalle viti tagliando l'uva immatura, e da gli alberi staccando i pomi acerbi gli havessero portati al mercato quella necessaria pazienza havevano, che si conveniva anco gli historici di lasciar che il tempo conducesse i fatti, e le cose passate alla perfezione loro (13). — That the wise Artists in writing History, acted with a great deal of Prudence, when thus they imitated the Gatherers of Grapes and other Fruit; who, because they know it would not be grateful to gather green Grapes, and pluck unripe Fruit, and carry it to Market, wait with the necessary Patience: thus also should an Historian let time bring out facts, and things come to their Maturity.' *Tacitus* was instanced to him, who used the like Precaution, and chose rather to offend against the Laws of History, than to expose himself to danger. 'Che lo stesso gran Maestro de' gl' Historici saggi *Tacito*, all' hora che ne gli scritti suoi faceva mentione di quei Senatori grandi che *Tiberio* regnante *poenam vel infamiam subire* all' hora che *posterì* manebant. *Tac. lib. 4. Ann.* saggiamente alzava la penna della carta, piu tosto eleggendosi di offender le leggi historiche, che pregiudicare alla riputatione di quelle famiglie che non di altra cosa erano conosciute far capital maggiore, che dell'honore, stimando quell'huomo singolare ad un' historico esser cosa di troppo evidente pericolo, nimis ex propinquo diversa arguere. *Tac. l. 4. An. (14).* — That that Grand Master of wise Historians, *Tacitus*, when he mentioned in his Writings some great Senators who had suffered Infamy or Punishment under

(12) Dal fuoco tutto bruciato compare Giacomo Bonfadino. *Boccalini Ragguagli di Parnasso*, Centur. I. c. xxxv. pag. 108.

(13) Id. *ibid.* pag. 108, 109.

(14) Id. *ibid.* pag. 109.

Tiberius, while their Posterity still remained. *Tac. l. 4. Ann. Wisely with-held his Hand, abusing rather to transgress the Laws of History, than Prejudice the Reputation of such Families, as were known not to stand upon any thing more nicely than on their Honour; this singular Man, for an Historian, judging it too dangerous to say any thing against them, while he was too near them.*

Thus a Man knows the Maxims of Prudence better than he can practise them; for we have seen that *Boccalini* lost his Life for having spoken too freely against *Spain* (15). The Counsels which he ascribes to *Apollo* are doubtless very judicious. Nothing can be finer in the Theory than the Ideas of the Legislator of Historians; he commands them not to dare to say any thing that is false, and to be bold to say all that is true (16). But they are as impracticable Laws as those of the Decalogue in the State that Mankind is in. If it were proper to compare Human things with Divine, it might be said that the Legislator of the Historians has imitated the Legislator of the Jews: He supposed a State of Innocency, and not a state of Sin; he supposed That Free-will which is lost, and the great Strength that Man would have had, if he had persevered in his original Innocency. Observe on the other hand a great difference between these Laws, that are so a like. A perfect Wisdom is requisite to fulfil the Decalogue, and a Man must be foolish to the highest degree to fulfil the Laws of History. Eternal Life is the Reward of Obedience to the Decalogue, but Temporal Death is almost an unavoidable Consequence of obeying the Law-giver of the Historians.

(15) See *Boccalini* immediately after the Citations (b) and (c).

(16) *Quis nescit primum esse historiam legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Cicerone de Oratore lib. ii. cap. xv. See the Preface to the first Edition of this Dictionary; Paragraph IV.*

[E] He promised to inform them how he found himself in the other World. — He is not the only one that has made such Promises.] These are his Words: *Se da quel mondo di là si potrà dar qualche segno senza spavento, lo farò.* They are taken out of the Note that he sent to *Giovanni Battista Grimaldi*: You will find it entire in the *Antibaillet* (17). Mr *Menage* took it out of a Collection of Italian Letters intitled, *Lettere di diversi Uomini illustri raccolte da diversi libri*, printed in 8vo, at *Trevi*, appresso *Fabrizio Zanetti*, in 1603. The *Barnabite Baranzani* had made the same Promise, and did not perform it. I speak of it in his Article. It is pretended, that *Marcellus Ficinus* having promised the same thing, kept his Word: Read this passage of *Peter de St Remuald*. 'Marcellus Ficinus, a Priest of Florence, a great Platonic Philosopher, and a great Divine, died, and immediately his Ghost, in the form of a Cavalier clothed in white, mounted on a Horse of the same colour, ran full speed to the Door of *Michael Mercatus*, who was his intimate Friend, and likewise a great Platonic Philosopher, who was then studying by break of Day in his Closet, in a Town at a good distance from Florence, and cried to him, that the Discourses which they had together concerning the Life to come, were true; and having said this, ran away towards the place from whence it came, and quickly escaped his Friend's sight, who called to him to stay for him. This happened by reason of the Agreement made between them, under the good pleasure of God, that he that died first should come and tell the Survivor, whether things passed in the other life as *Plato* had written in his Book of the Immortality of the Soul. Cardinal *Baronius* says he had this Story from the Grandson of *Mercatus* (18). Note, That *Baronius*, relating this in the fifth Volume of his Annals, observes that *Michael Mercatus*, who had always lived exemplarily, and like a good Philosopher, raised his Virtue to a higher pitch after that Apparition; for he forsook the Study of Philosophy, and applied himself wholly to the Business of his Salvation.

(17) *Menage*, *ut supra*, pag. 357, 358. cap. lxxxix.

(18) *Peter de S. Remuald Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire, Tom. III. p. 251, 252. ad ann. 1499.*

VOL. II. N^o. XXXIII.

R

tion.

who is perhaps the PETER BONFADIUS, who is Author of some Verses extant in the *Gareggiamento poetico del confuso Accademico ordito*. It is a Collection of Verses divided into eight Parts, and printed at Venice in the Year 1611.

(19) Baronius, ad ann. 411. n. 69.

(20) Id. *ibid*.

(21) Id. *ibid*.

tion (19). The Annalist adds, that the reciprocal Promise, which *Marcellus Ficinus* and *Michael Mercatus* made to each other, relating to the state of things after this Life, &c. was attested by divers learned Persons, and had often been related to the People by the Preachers. *Haud inexplorata referam, sed quæ complurium eruditorum virorum scimus assertione firmata, immo & à religiosis viris ad populum pro concione sæpe narrata* (20). It is pity that *Michael Mercatus* did not leave a juridical Attestation of it upon Oath, and registred in the Archives of Florence. He was much in the wrong that he did not do it. His Grandson *Michael Mercatus*, who told this Story to *Baronius*, was Prothonotary of the Church, and commendable for his Probity and Learning (21).

The place, where *Seneca* relates the Tranquillity of Mind, wherewith *Canis Julius* went to his Execution, is admirable. That good Man was condemned to Death by *Caligula*, and was not executed till Ten Days after his Condemnation. He passed them without any disquiet, and when it was told him that he must go to the place of Execution, he lost nothing of his Chearfulness. Why do you afflict yourselves, said he to his Friends? You enquire, whether the Soul subsists after our Death, I shall quickly know it. The Philosopher, who accompanied him, asked him, what he thought of at that Moment? I do design, answered *Canis*, to observe well, whether my Soul will perceive it's going out. He promised that if he learned any thing, he would come and see his Friends to declare his Condition to them. *Tristes erant amici, talem amissuri virum. Quid mæsti, inquit, estis? Vos queritis, an immortales animæ sint: ego jam sciam. Nec deficit in ipso veritatem sine scrutari, & ex more suo questionem habere. Prosequebatur illum philosophus suus: nec jam procul erat tumultus, in quo Cæsari Deo nostro fiebat quotidianam sacrum. Quid, inquit, Canis nunc cogitas? aut quæ tibi mens est? Observare, inquit Canis, propius illo velocissimo momento, an sensurus sit animus, exire se. Promittique, si quid explorasset, circumiturum amicos, & indicaturum quis esset animarum status* (22). *Seneca* does not tell us whether they heard any news of *Julius* in consequence of his Promise.

(22) *Seneca*, de Tranquillitate Animi, cap. xiv. p. 671.

SOME Considerations on the Nature of the Proof drawn from the Apparition of a Soul.

Perhaps the Reader will not be displeased to find here the discussion of two Questions, which naturally present themselves. The first is, Whether the Friends of this *Julius* had any good pretence to question the Immortality of the Soul, because they did not hear of him as he had given them to expect? The second is, Whether they would have had a good reason to believe the Immortality of the Soul, in case they had heard news of him by some Phantom.

I answer as to the first Point, That such a pretence for questioning the Immortality of the Soul, would be very bad; for tho' a very good reason might be given for the non-performance of *Julius's* Promises, by supposing that his Soul did no longer exist, it does not thence follow, that That Hypothesis can justly be used to shew the Causes of the non-performance of his Word. When a *Phænomenon* may be accounted for by three or four probable Suppositions, there is none that can form a Conviction. No demonstrative Proof can be given, but when the Hypotheses, different from that made use of, are either impossible, or manifestly false. Since then, supposing the Immortality of the Soul, good Reasons may be given why *Julius* did not return to tell his Friends in what State he was, the Hypothesis of the Mortality of the Soul may be very well rejected, notwithstanding that it may be very proper to explain that Event. It may with great reason be supposed, either that a Soul, separated from it's Body, remembers no more the Promise it made in this Life; or that, if it does remember it, it is ignorant of the Expedients requisite to perform it, or has not the liberty to put them in practice; either because it dares not, or will not disobey some Superior Cause, that forbids it to have any

Commerce with Mankind. Let us say then, that *Bonfadius's* Friends would have argued very ill, if they had inferred the Mortality of the Soul from his not keeping his word with them.

The second Point is more nice; and first of all I make a distinction. If a Phantom, calling itself the Soul of *Julius*, had appeared to the Friends of that Roman, and had told them some News from the other World; they might in consequence of that have looked upon the Hypothesis of the Immortality of the Soul as very probable: but if they had taken that Apparition for a demonstrative Proof that the Soul of *Julius* did still exist, they would not have judged right; for as I have already said, an Hypothesis does not afford any demonstrative Proofs, when the matter of Fact, which it accounts for, may be accounted for by different Hypotheses. A Proof cannot be said to be demonstrative, unless it be made appear that the contrary is impossible, or manifestly false. Since then some possible Causes may be given of the Apparition of a Phantom, calling itself the Soul of such a Man, and performing certain Promises which that Man had made to his Friends; since, I say, this may be explained by possible Hypotheses, without supposing that the Soul of Man is immortal, it is plain, that *Julius's* Friends would not have philosophized with the utmost exactness, if they had taken such an Apparition for a demonstrative Proof that the Soul of their Friend was living. They might have been told, 'it is possible, that tho' the Soul of your Friend be dead, you may have seen a Phantom that told you what he had promised to come and acquaint you with. There are many *Genii* in the World that know what we do, and that can act on our Organs. One of them diverted himself with deceiving you, and made you believe that he was the Soul of *Julius*. We cannot prove to you by natural and convincing Reasons that this is true; nor can you prove it to be false. Do not go so fast then, do not draw a certain Conclusion; be contented to take it as a very probable Hypothesis.' *Julius's* Friends might have replied, that the Existence itself of those *Genii* is a proof of the Immortality of our Soul; for if those *Genii* are immortal, why should not our Soul be so too? It might be answered, That those *Genii* might have power to do many things in the stead, and under the Name, of the dead Soul of *Julius*, even tho' they were mortal. Are not all Men mortal? Do not all of them die, some sooner, and some later? Would that hinder them from deceiving Beasts, in the Supposition that I am going to make. Suppose that the Souls of Dogs should be persuaded that they subsist after their separation from the Body. Suppose that one Dog, in particular, has promised the rest to come and tell them how he finds himself after Death. Lastly, suppose that a Man knows that Promise, and the manner how the Dog has agreed to perform it. Is it not true, that That Man might easily do what would be necessary to deceive the other Dogs? He could shew them Phantoms; he could make Puppets bark, &c. If from thence the Dogs should conclude that *their Souls are immortal, or at least that Men are immortal*, would they not be mistaken? Any one, that reflects ever so little upon it, may easily apprehend that the invisible Spirits of the Universe, which the *Platonists* call *Genii*, might do all that the Art of Necromancy attributes to them, even tho' they were mortal; provided their Species was preserved, notwithstanding the successive Death of all the Individuals, as our Kind preserves itself, tho' all Men die. To say, that the Generation of Individuals is impossible among the *Genii*, is to decide rashly what is not, nor can be, known to us. The Infinity of Nature may contain a thousand sorts of Propagation that we are ignorant of. Note, That some Pagans believed the Mortality of the *Genii*.

Let us conclude from all this, That what is called the Return or Apparition of Spirits, is not strictly speaking, a necessary Proof (23) either of the Immortality of our Souls, or of the Immortality of the

(23) These two Conditions ought to be carefully minded, I. Strictly speaking. II. Necessary Proof.

the *Genii*. I do not deny, that it is such a Proof of it, as one may prudently and reasonably acquiesce in; but I speak here of demonstrative Proofs: I speak of such Proofs as can only be eluded by Cavils, the Defenders whereof may be easily reduced to an Absurdity.

BONFINIUS (a) (ANTONY), a Native of *Ascoli* in *Italy* in the *Marca d'Ancona*, flourished in the XVth Century. He applied himself to the Study of Philology, with good Success. *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, having heard a Report of his Learning, sent for him. Bonfinius had the Honour to kiss that Prince's Hand at *Reetz*, a few Days before he made his Public Entry into the City of *Vienna*, which he had conquered (b). At this first Audience he presented several Books, which he had lately published [A], and had dedicated to that King, or to *Beatrice* of *Arragon* his Queen. The King read these Books with great Pleasure in his Camp, and was present with all his Court at a Speech made by Bonfinius in *Vienna*, the first Day of *January*; and having ordered the Books of that Author to be brought to him, he distributed them to his Prelates and Courtiers, and recommended them to their Reading; and he was so far from granting Bonfinius leave to return into *Italy*, that he retained him with a good Pension, and gave him several things to compose, and commanded him to follow him in his Armies (c). He ordered him to compose the History of the *Huns*: Bonfinius began to work upon it before the Death of that Prince (d), but it was by the Order of King *Uladi-slaus* that he wrote the whole History of *Hungary*. Though that Work cannot be looked upon as a finished Piece, yet it is certain that the Author deserves a Place among the good Historians [B]. He brought that History as far as the Year 1495. It contains four Decads, and a half, that is to say, Forty five Books. The Original of it was placed in the Library of *Buda*, and the Public saw nothing of it till after the Death of the Author. One *Martin Brenner*, a *Transylvanian*, got an imperfect Copy of that Work, and published thirty Books of it in the Year 1543. *Sambucus* found the other Fifteen, and published the whole Work in the Year 1568, revised and collated from the best Copies (e). I cannot say when, or where Bonfinius departed this Life; but I believe he did not return home, as many learned Men of *Italy* did, whom *Matthias Corvinus* had sent for into his Kingdom [C]. This Historian is accused of having been a Slanderer [D], and is blamed for hav-

(a) He calls him-
self Bonfinis in
his History of
Hungary.

(b) In 1485, ac-
cording to Calvi-
sius.

(c) Ex Bonfinio
Decad. IV. lib.
viii. pag. 463.

(d) Id. in Epist.
Dedicator.

(e) He published a
better Edition of
it in 1570, at
Frankfort by An-
drew Wechel.
The other was
printed at Basil
by Oporinus.

[A] He presented to the King of Hungary several Books, which he had lately published. He himself informs us of it: He tells us, that three of those Books were dedicated to King *Matthias*. viz. The Translation of *Hermogenes*, and that of *Herodian*, and the Genealogy of the *Corvinus*; that two of them were dedicated to the Queen, one of which treated of *Virginity*, and *Conjugal Chastity*; and the other was an History of *Ascoli*: That, besides, he had dedicated a small Collection of Epigrams to the young Prince *John Corvinus*, to which he had prefixed a Preface that treated of the Education of a Prince (1). He adds, that having followed against his Will *Matthias Corvinus* to the Army, he translated *Philophrastus* for his Diversion. 'Castra sequi praeceperat Scriptoribus & philosophantibus inimica. Quod cum ille invitus facere cogeretur, ne ingrato in castris tumultu molestaque ocio uteretur, oblatum sibi Philophrastum tribus mensibus in Latinum transtulit (2). — He ordered him to follow the Camp, a disagreeable Place to Writers and Philosophers. Which he being forced to do, to avoid the Tedium of Idleness, in the Tumult and hurry of a Camp, Philophrastus falling in his way, he translated him into Latin in three Months.' I must say something of his Book concerning *Virginity* and *Conjugal Chastity*. It is written by way of Dialogue; *Sambucus* got it printed in the Year 1572. It is intitled, *Symposium Beatricis*. *Matthias Corvinus*, and his Wife *Beatrice* of *Arragon*, are very much praised in it: The Author takes notice in that Book of the particular Regard they had for him (3). The Congregation of the *Index* has condemned that Work.

[B] He deserves a place among the good Historians. *Sambucus* speaks thus in praise of Bonfinius: 'Quantum ingenio non ad hoc argumentum modo, sed ad omnem omnino Philosophiam, excelluerit, Dialogi ejus de pudicitia conjugal vulgo testantur, *Herodianus*, *Hermogenes* Latini: nec vino hauc opus est hederam. Praeterea tamen neque paucorum esse gentium historias copia & stylo patet (4). — What an excellent Genius he had, not only for this Subject, but for all kind of Philosophy, his Books on *Conjugal Chastity*, *Herodian* and *Hermogenes* in Latin, are an Evidence to the World: These Works need no Recommendation. I

cannot omit, that the Histories of few Nations are equal to it in Style and Copiousness.' He adds, that *Seldius* was wont to say, 'Nullo se in scriptore post Livium & aequales ejus quam ipso hoc Bonfinio vacuas horas libentius ponere solitum. — He never spent his leisure Hours so agreeably in any Author, since *Livy* and his Contemporaries, as in Bonfinius.' In the Preface to the Dialogues is a Judgment no less favourable. 'Sambuci in Dialogorum Praefatione tale de Bonfinio judicium est, ingenio ad omnes res arduas & laudabiles excellisse, Styloque uti idoneo non ad historiam minus quam Philosophiam vel orationes (5). — *Sambucus*'s Judgment of Bonfinius in the Preface to his Dialogues is this, that he excelled in Ingenuity in all difficult and laudable matters, and that he wrote a Style proper, as well for History, as Philosophy or Orations.

[C] I believe he did not return home, as many learned Men of *Italy* did, whom *Matthias Corvinus* had sent for into his Kingdom. Bonfinius tells us, that they returned home poorer than they came. 'Invitati etiam muneribus Poetae, Rhetores, & Grammatici, qui falsi opinione sua miseros longe multas quam adduxerint in Italiam redeunt (6).

[D] He is accused of having been a Slanderer. *Matthias Corvinus* accuses him of it; he fancies that his Pen was often directed by his complaisance to *Matthias*, whose Pensioner he was; but he observes, that That Prince was little spared himself. 'Ceterum ut Bonfinii laudes non sunt obscurae, ita dissimulare nequeo nonnihil ipsum officii sui interdum oblitum in mores privatos & vitam calumniose impotentiusque effusum: secus quam *Livium*, *Salutium*, *Tacitum*, *Suetonium*, in Romanos orbis dominos gentemque togatum fecisse constat (7), idque fortasse redempto a *Matthia* judicio & calamo ejus, quae rerum seriei nihil detrahunt. Nec *Matthiae* tamen peperit, quem impudentem, voluptuosum, theatris deditum, ambitiosum, serum, in adjungendis amicis praecipitem, in relinquendis facilem, adulatoribus benignum, immemorem beneficiorum, ausus sit dicere (8). — But as the Merit of Bonfinius is not obscure, so I cannot dissemble it, that he has sometimes a little forgot his Duty, and inveighed against the Lives and Manners of private Persons

(5) Vossius, ubi supra.

(6) Bonfin. Decad. IV. lib. viii. pag. 459.

MATTHIAS CORVINUS roughly treated by Bonfinius.

(7) It is nevertheless true, that most of these Historians do sparingly inveigh against the Vices and Disorders of Rome.

(8) Sambucus in Epist. Dedicator. Hist. Ungaric.

(1) Bonfin. rerum Ungaric. Decad. IV. lib. vii. pag. 463. Edit. 1690.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 659.

(4) Sambucus in Epist. Dedicator.

ing used too many heathenish Expressions in his Stile [E]. His Notes on *Horace* are not good (f). *Moreri's* Faults here are more numerous than considerable [F].

(f) Bonfinio nullus ineptus magis, & dum ab aliis diffinitio studiose getit, Siculis gerris vana committitur. . . . No body trifles more than Bonfinius, who, out of a fondness of differing from others, writes the silliest Stuff imaginable. Hadrian. Junius Epist. I. where he gives his Judgment on the Commentaries upon Horace.

(g) Bonfin. Hist. Ungaric. Decad. IV. lib. vii. p. 459.

(10) Zeiller. de Hist. pag. 21.

Persons too reproachfully and weakly, contrary to the practice of Livy, Salust, Tacitus, Suetonius, towards the Romans, Masters of the World, and a Nation of Senators; perhaps Matthias bought his Pen and Judgment in these Cases, which no ways affect the Series of the Story. Nor yet did he spare Matthias, whom he has ventured to call impudent, voluptuous, a lover of Stage-Plays, ambitious, cruel, bawly in taking Friends, easy in leaving them, kind to Flatterers, unmindful of benefits. To this might have been added, that he lays, that Matthias invited all sorts of learned Men to come to him, without excepting the Magicians. 'Viro quaque arte præstantissimo undique disquisivit, conduxitque, Aronomos, Medicos, Mathematicos, Jurisque consultos dilexit. Ne Magos quidem & Nigromantes abominatus est: nullam artem contempsit unquam (9). — He sought out every where, and engaged the most excellent Men in every Art; he loved Astronomers, Physicians, Mathematicians, and Civilians; he had no Aversion even to Magicians and Necromancers; he never despised any Art.' A German, named Zeillerus, observes, that among other things People complained of what Bonfinius said of the unhappy Queen Gertrude: *Taxatur etiam a quibusdam ejus Historia Ungarica, imprimis narratio de morte innocentis Reginae Gertrudis. Vid. Brunnerus Part iii. Annal. Boic. pag. 602 (10).*

[E] And for having used too many Heathenish Expressions in his Stile.] The Jesuit Raderus is here his Accuser, as the same Zeillerus testifies. 'Matthæus Raderus, volum. ii. Bavaricæ sanctæ, pag. 191. hæc de eo scribit: Bonfinius profanus nimium & paganus scriptor, cum sanctos appellat Deos & numina; Dei matrem numen & Deam. Catholicæ religionis disciplina non novit nec colit nisi unum Deum & unum Numen. Bonfinius dum vult Latine, quod ipsum sincere non potest, scribere, superstitiose & profane, ne quid dicam gravius, loquitur. — Bonfinius is too profane and heathenish a Writer, for he calls the Saints Gods; and Deities; the Mother of God, a Deity and Goddess. The Doctrine of the Catholic Religion knows not,

nor worships, any more than one God and one Deity. Bonfinius, while he endeavours to write Latin, which plainly he cannot do, writes superstitiously and profanely, to say nothing worse.' It must be acknowledged, that some Italian Authors have made themselves ridiculous, for scrupling, when they spoke of Christianity, to make use of any other Terms than what they found in the best Latin Authors (11): but I cannot approve Raderus's Nicety, or rather his Partiality. He thinks it strange, that Bonfinius should give the Name of Numen to the Holy Virgin; but is it not the stile of a great many Devotees, as Mr Drelincourt has proved demonstratively (12)?

[F] *Moreri's* Faults, on this Head, are more numerous than considerable.] He says, that Sambucus added five Books, which were not in the first Edition. He ought to have said fifteen. He says, that Bonfinius translated *Hermogenes's* Rhetoric; he should have said *Hermogenes*. He cites *Vossius, lib. i. de Hist. Lat.* he ought to have cited *lib. iii.* He quotes *Miræus in Aust.* he should have said, in *Austario*. He cites *Raderus, tom. III. Bavar. Sanctæ, pag. 191.* and immediately after *Zeillerus*. It may be affirmed, that he quotes him only on the Credit of *Zeillerus*. Now the latter marks the second Volume of *Raderus* pag. 191, and does not say that *Raderus* blames any thing else but the Paganism of Bonfinius's Stile. And yet, if we believe *Moreri*, that Jesuit censures many things in his History of Hungary. The fault that follows is worse. *Moreri* takes Bonfinius for a simple Man, who spoke things plainly, and without any design. Never was Criticism false than this. Bonfinius was no Fool: He was cunning, subtle, and worthy of his Country; and when he slandered any Body, or made use of certain Terms, it was not undesignedly. If I take notice of some mistakes, which are plainly Errors of the Press, 'tis for the sake of so many People, who have bought the many Editions of *Moreri's* Dictionary. It may be there are five hundred Persons, who believe very honestly, that *Moreri* has cited an History of Austria, written by *Aubertus Miræus*.

(11) See the Remark (B) of the Article BEM-BUS.

(12) See his Queries to the Bishop of Bayley.

BONGARS (JAMES), in Latin *Bongarsius*, born at Orleans, was one of the learned Men of the XVIth Century. He followed the prevailing Taste of those Times; that is, he applied himself to Critical Learning, and though he went not so far as your *Lipsius's* and *Casaubon's*, yet he acquired great Reputation by it, and perhaps would have equalled them in that Kind of Learning, if he could have spent all his Time in it, as they did; but State Affairs did not permit him. He was employed near thirty Years in the most important Negotiations of King Henry IV (a) [A], for whom he was several times Resident with the Princes of Germany, and afterwards Ambassador. The Letters, which he wrote during his Employments, are very much esteemed [B]. But to return to his Study of Critical Learning,

(a) See the Preface to his Letters, prefixed to the French Translation.

[A] He was employed for thirty Years in the most important Negotiations of King Henry IV. It is true that Bongars negotiated in Germany under the Reign of Henry III. but it was for the King of Navarre, and not for Henry III. *Moreri* has not made this distinction.

[B] The Letters, which he wrote during his Employments, are very much esteemed.] Tho' he did not, like *Bembo* and *Manucius*, reject all terms that are not in the best Roman Authors; yet his Stile is fine, clear, polite, and full of natural Charms; his Letters were translated, when the Dauphin began to learn the Latin Tongue, and it appears by the Epistle Dedicatory to that young Prince, and by the Translator's Preface, that it was thought nothing could be more proper for a Scholar of Quality than to read this Work of Bongars. Because by reading it, a Man learns, at the same time, both to express himself in noble terms about State Affairs, and to judge well of the Conduct of an Ambassador. Not only Words and Phrases are to be learned by it, but also the Course of the Affairs of those times, and many particular Facts, which still have some relation to the present time, and may be of greater use than any thing that is to be found in *Cicero's* Letters. We are more inclined to concern ourselves with the Af-

fairs of our own Country and our own Age, than with those of the Ancient Romans: besides the latter were managed after a manner infinitely less agreeable to the present time, than that wherein things were managed in the last Age, and the beginning of this. All these Thoughts and many others, to the Praise of Bongars's Letters, are very well set forth in the Translator's Preface. *Morhofius* observes that the French Letters of Bongars were lately published at Paris. 'Post mortem ejus editæ fuerunt tum hæ Latinæ epistolæ, tum aliæ Gallica Lingua quæ nuper admodum Parisiis lucem viderunt (1). . . . After his Death, were published both these Latin Letters, and others in French, which are very lately come out at Paris.' He is in the right, if he means a small Book intitled, *The Plain Secretary*, or a Collection of divers Letters of the Sieur James de Bongars, &c. with the Instructions given him by the late Marshal de Bouillon. That Collection contains Thirty four Letters, which are inserted in the Edition of the *Hague* 1695. I ought not to forget that there reigns, throughout these Letters of Bongars, a certain Character of an honest Man, which prepossesses the Readers very much in his Favour.

(1) Morhof. in Polyhist. pag. 306. That Book of Morhofius was printed in 1688.

Notes

Learning, I must observe, that he published an Edition of *Justin*, which is very good [C]; he restored many corrupted Passages, and cleared many difficulties by his Notes; and in all this he shewed his Sagacity, his Erudition, and the Pains he had taken to consult good Manuscripts. He had a vast Knowledge of Books both Manuscript, and printed, and made a very great Collection of them. In 1603 he bought, jointly with *Paul Petavius*, the Manuscripts of *Peter Daniel*. His share of them fell at last to the *Vatican Library* [D]. The Library of *Bern* gained much by that of *James Bongars* [b], which he had very much increased, in 1604, with the broken Remains of that of *Cujacius* [E]. He died at *Paris* in the Year 1612, being Fifty eight Years of Age (c). His Death was new Matter of Grief to *Casaubon* [F]. The Emperor's Partisans endeavoured to prejudice *France*, by spreading certain Reports against this Agent [G]. He was of the Reformed Religion,

(b) See *Father Jacob's Traité des Bibliothèques*, pag. 226.

(c) Witte, *Diat. Biograph.*

Note, that the *French* Translation which I have mentioned was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1668, and re-printed in *Holland* soon after. A new Edition of it was published in the Year 1694, and it was said in the Title that it was corrected and enlarged. It was to deceive the Reader: this can be said, only of the Edition of the *Hague* 1695. Many mistakes of the Translator are corrected in that, and many things which he had cut off out of bigotry are restored (2). Note also, that Mr *Spanheim*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, caused a Collection of our *Bongars's Latin* Letters to be printed there in 1647, to which he prefixed a Letter by way of Preface, which was inserted in the Edition of the *Hague*, 1695.

(2) See the Advertisement in the Edition of the *Hague* 1695.

[C] He published an Edition of *Justin* which is very good. I do not mind the *Scaligerana*, where it is said, that it was another *James Bongars*, and not he, who had published that Author. Every body ascribes that Work to the same *Bongars*, who negotiated in *Germany* for *Henry IV* (3); and besides, *Scaliger* speaks in that place so inaccurately, that there is reason to believe he had but a confused notion of what he said. It is twenty Years, says he, since the other *Jacobus Bongarsius* gave his *Justin* to Monsieur de l'Escale at *Bordeaux*. He must then have given it at the farthest in the Year 1558 (4), and the two *Vassans* must have heard *Scaliger* say this in the Year 1578. These two things are impossible; the first Edition of *James Bongars's Justin* is that of *Paris* 1581, in 8vo. The *Vassans* were not with *Scaliger* till after he was settled at *Leyden* in the Year 1593.

(3) See the Epistle Dedicatory of *Grævius's Justin*, and a Letter of *Frederic Spanheim* prefixed to those of *Bongars*.

(4) The Year in which *Julius Caesar Scaliger* died.

[D] His Manuscripts ----- fell to the *Vatican Library*. The curious will be glad to find here a Passage relating to the History of Libraries, taken from a Book of the Learned *Father Mabillon*. When, in the Year 1562, the Protestants plundered the Abbey of *Fleury*, they found there a great many good Manuscripts. *Peter Daniel* (5) making a dexterous use of the Interest he had with Cardinal *Cbatillon* Commendatory Abbot of that Abbey, got many of those Manuscripts from the Soldiers, and among others a *Servius* on *Virgil*, which he published in the Year 1600. After his death (6) his Heirs sold the Manuscripts for the Sum of 1500 *Livres* to *Paul Petavius*, and to *Bongars*. *Paul Petavius's* share was left to his Son *Alexander Petavius*, who sold it to the Queen of *Sweden*. That of *Bongars* was carried to *Strasburg*, where he made his residence: He left it by Will to one *Granicet* (7), who was his Landlady's Son (8). *Gruterus*, Library-Keeper to the Elector Palatine, persuaded that Prince to buy the Manuscripts which *Bongars* had left to *Granicet*, and thus they were carried to *Heydelberg*, and from thence to *Rome* (9).

(5) An Advocate at Orleans, and Bailiff of the Abbey of *Fleury*.

(6) He died in the Year 1603.

(7) I think it should be *Gravisset*, or rather *Gravisset*.

(8) She was of Lyons, and a Jeweller's Wife. *Mabillon* ubi infra.

(9) *Mabillon*, prefat. libri de Liturgia Gallicæ, published at Paris in the Year 1685.

[E] He had increased his Library very much with the broken Remains of *Cujacius's Library*. What he says upon this, in a Letter of the nineteenth of January 1604, shews so plainly the great Fondness he had for Study and Books, that I cannot forbear placing it here. 'Whilst I was on this Journey, I could not write to you, because I was wholly taking up with my Domestic Affairs, which it was necessary for me to put into some Order before my departure. In that very Occupation, the greatest of my cares has been to seek some Remains of Mr *Cujacius's Library*. Doubtless you will laugh very heartily, when you represent to your self that crowd of People that

go to the Court as to a Fair, to make their Fortunes, and to endeavour to get Money from the King, and that at the same time a Courtier, as I am, who is not overstocked with Money, should go into by-places to bestow part of his Estate upon Books and Papers half eaten by Worms. By this you may see whether I am very covetous. When I am to buy Books, I value neither Pains nor Expence. Would to God I were free from business and at leisure to read them. Then I would neither envy the Riches of Mr de *Rosny*, nor the golden Mountains of the *Perfians* (10). [F] His Death was new Matter of Grief to *Casaubon*. That Critic's Letters testify that he was extremely obliged to *James Bongars*, and that he esteemed him very much. See particularly the Six hundred and ninety eighth, and the Six hundred and ninety ninth, wherein he speaks of his death. There he grieves because that good Man had not received at *Paris* the Funeral Honours that were due to him, and which infallibly would have been done him in *Germany*. 'Qui si in Germania diem ultimum obisset, habuissent docti viri rationem funeris ejus, & orandæ illius memorie pro meritis ingentibus tæ maxime (11).----- Who if he had died in *Germany* learned Men would have taken care of his Funeral, and adorning his Memory, agreeably to the great Merits of the deceased. Mr *Colomies* is mistaken when he says that *Bongars* died at *Bern* (12).

(10) *Bongars*, Letter 35, pag. 99. Edit. of the *Hague* 1695. See also the 47th Letter of *Lingelheim*.

(11) *Casaub. Epist.* ccxcviii. pag. 382. Edit. 1656.

(12) *Colomies*, *Biblioth. choisie*, pag. 189.

[G] Certain Reports were spread against this Agent. Cardinal d'Offat's Letters inform us of the matter. It is reported here, (this he writ from *Rome* to Mr de *Villeroy* the second of December 1600) 'That the King keeps a Gentleman with the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, named *Bongars*, who tells them, and those of their Sect, that the King, notwithstanding his Conversion, has not altered his Opinion in his heart, but only makes an outward show in order to enjoy his Kingdom peaceably, complying with the times as it is his Interest. I cannot believe that the said *Bongars* speaks in a manner, so contrary to Truth and Sincerity, for which the King ought to be commended, not only to the Catholics, but even to the Protestants, who otherwise could not trust him, nor would use their Interest for him: but I take it to be a Savoyard or Spanish Invention (13). That Cardinal had too much sense not to apprehend the prejudice this might do the King at the Court of *Rome*; therefore he thought it best to deny that *Bongars* had said any such thing. It was offered to be proved to him; let us see the consequences of those offers. 'Several Letters, says he, were put into my hands, written in Latin to a learned German here, named *Gaspar Schoppius*, some written by the said *Bongars*, and others by one *Vesler* who lives at *Ausburg*. I understood by all those Letters, that *Schoppius* had been a Huguenot, and that, having been converted in this City, he writ to his Friends that were Huguenots, and among others to the said *Bongars*, some sharp and injurious Letters, more fit to exasperate and harden them in their Opinion, than to gain and convert them, which *Bongars* somewhat relented, and answered him bluntly, but not without great Respect and Modesty: and in all those Letters there is not one word concerning the above said Discourse, nor any thing like it: So that the production of those Letters justifies him in my Opinion.

(13) d'Offat, Letter cxxi. lib. vi. pag. 595.

ligion; but there is reason to suspect from his Letters, that he had some Scruples about the Civil-Wars of the Protestants [H]. The Public is indebted to him for the Publication of several Authors, who wrote the History of the Expeditions into Palestine (d). I do not think that he was ever married: A French Lady, whom he was to marry, died on the very Day appointed for the Wedding, in the Year 1597 [I].

(d) That Work is intitled, *Gesta Dei per Francos. It was printed at Hanaw in 1611, in two Vol. in Folio.*

(e) Colomies Biblioth. choise, p. 189.

He studied at Strasburg in the Year 1571, and had an Anabaptist for his Tutor (e). He studied under Cujacius in 1576 (f). The Answer which he published in Germany to a Piece, wherein the bad Success of the Expedition of the Year 1587 was imputed to the French, who accompanied the Germans, was praised by Thuanus [K]. But that Answer, though never so glorious to the Author, is nothing, if

(f) See below, Citation (51) of the Article B.O.DIN.

pinion. But I find among the Letters of the abovementioned Velfer, that those which he said Bongars writ to the said Schoppius, passed through the hands of Velfer, who opened and read them and sent them afterwards to Schoppius; and there is one of Velfer's to Schoppius, wherein he suggests to him that in replying to Bongars he should reproach him with the Conversion of his King, and that he had said such and such things about it to the Protestant Princes of Germany. But it appears that this Velfer is an Enemy of Bongars, and partial to the House of Austria, as Schoppius was maintained by the late Cardinal Madruccio, who was so much for the said House, that the King of Spain had trusted him with the Secret of the Conclave, rather than his own Embassadors, or the Spanish Cardinals. So that I take this Imputation, and Charge laid on Bongars, to be a meer Calumny, contrived chiefly to prejudice the King (14). As for my self, I look upon that which Velfer would have had James Bongars reproached with, to be probable enough. There were but very few among the Protestants, who, during the first Years of Henry IV's Catholicism, were persuaded that he had altered his Opinion. His Envoy in Germany was not a Man who could easily imagine, that at the age of Henry IV, one may begin to believe Transubstantiation and what depends on it. It is therefore probable that he might have said, without thinking to tell a lie, that his Master's Conversion was a work of meer necessity, and like the *Rifus Sardonius* only from the Teeth outwards. But suppose that he judged otherwise; can it be thought that he would scruple to have recourse to an officious Lie, to prevent the Protestants of Germany from withdrawing themselves from Henry IV? Can it be thought that, in order to keep them in the Interest of France, he would have made a difficulty to tell them confidently, that the King was still a good Huguenot in his Heart, though he believed no such thing? It is just as when du Bellay made the same Princes believe that Francis I was not averse to the Reformation (15). Ay, will some say, but du Bellay was a Papist, and Bongars was a Protestant. What then? A Protestant Embassador is made like another; he makes the same use of Political Address that others do, and if he suffers himself to be bubbled, it is not out of Zeal, or out of any Scruple of Conscience. Take notice, that, according to the commonly received Notions of things, Bongars would have done nothing against the duty of a Man of Honour, in doing his Master good services by the Insinuations in question. The main thing was to take care that the Spaniards should know nothing of it.

(14) Id. Letter cxlvii. lib. vii. pag. 602, dated from Rome the 2d of January 1601.

(15) See above, the Article BEL-LAY (WILLIAM du).

[H] He had some Scruples about the Civil-Wars of the Protestants. Mr Colomies made this Remark, and has inserted it in the One hundred and fiftenth Page of his *Observationes Sacrae*, printed at Rochelle in the Year 1679, and in the Two hundred and Twenty sixth Page of a Collection which he printed in England in the Year 1687. 'Christiansimè in hanc rem Jacobus Bongarsius, Aurelianensis, Henrici 4. ad Germaniae Principes olim legatus, vir pietate ac eruditione illustris, in quadam ad Joachimum Camerarium Joachimi F. Epistola: Hic, clarissime & prudentissime Domine, effundam in sinum tuum amicum & candidum, quæ me sæpe agitant, nec turbant tamen. Repete & nostros Duces qui armis suis Religionem prætulunt. Videbis viros vestros à Carolo V. captoque & affectu contumeliosis, privatos etiam bonis. In Gallia captum primo bello Condæum, tertio oc-

cisum: Amiralium semper victum; tandem trucidatum cum magna Procerum turba. In Belgio, Aurantium iidem globo prostratum. Certè judicare aliud non possum, quàm ingrata illorum arma Deo fuisse (16).—Most Christian-like to this Purpose, James Bongars of Orleans formerly Embassador from Henry IV, to the Princes of Germany, a Man famous for his Piety and Learning, in a Letter to Joachim Camerarius the Son. Here, most excellent and prudent Sir, I will pour into your friendly and candid Bosom what often moves but does not disturb me. Consider now our Generals who have made Religion a Pretence for their Arms. You will see your People beat, taken Prisoners, harrassed, and deprived of their Goods by Charles V. In France, in the first War Condé taken, in the third killed: the Admiral always beat, and at last murdered, with a great number of the Nobility. In the Low-Countries, the Prince of Orange killed with a Ball. Certainly I can judge no other than that these Arms were displeasing to God.' This Passage of Bongars is in his nineteenth Letter to Joachim Camerarius. It has been a little curtailed in the Paris Edition. See the Advertisement of the Edition of the Hague 1695.

[I] A French Lady, whom he was to marry, died on the very day appointed for the Wedding. Her Name was Odette Spifame de Chalange. They had been near six Years in love with each other, and had desired to be married: but the Journeys he was obliged to make for the King's Service prevented the execution of their mutual Desires during that time. *Nuptias utrinque optatas peregrinationes meæ & regia negotia hactenus impediverunt* (17). The King not permitting Bongars to come home to marry her, she was so obliging as to go with her Father to her Lover; they had agreed to marry at Basil. She came to Montbeliard in the middle of the Winter, and through many dangers: and understanding that Bongars could not come and meet here till eight days after she went to him as far as Strasburg. There it was resolved to perform the Ceremony of the Wedding; but the poor Lady fell sick eight days after, and died the fourth day of her sickness. Bongars was extraordinarily afflicted at it, as appears by his Letters. I have taken these Particulars from the Letter he wrote to John William Stuckius the eighth of February 1597; it is in the seventh Page of the Edition of Strasburg 1660, and in the Sixty sixth Page of the Edition of the Hague 1695. That Edition of Strasburg contains but a small part of James Bongars's Letters; but those from Lingelsheim to him were added to them; which I should have liked better, had not a great many Proper Names been left out, which hinders the Reader from understanding what Lingelsheim speaks of in those places, and makes one believe that those Passages were curious. I do not believe that Mr Morhof apprehended any thing, in the Advertisement to the Reader, which is prefixed to Bongars's and Lingelsheim's Letters (18).

(16) Colomies. Observat. sac. pag. 115, 116.

(17) Bongars. Epistol. pag. 7. Edit. Argentor. 1660.

(18) See the Article LINGELSHEIM, Remark [B].

[K] His Answer - - - concerning the Expedition of 1587 was praised by Thuanus. These are the Words of the great Historian. 'Donavus an no infrequent - - - librum Germanicâ linguâ edit, quo facti invidiam omnem à se amoluebatur, eamque in Navarri tarditatem, Bullionii imperitiam, & Gallorum Ducum imprudentiam, sive in distribuentis mansionibus malignitatem quæ Germanis tumultuandi occasionem dedisset, re-torquebat; idque captato tempore fecerat Dona-vius,

if it be compared to that, which he had made to a Bull of Pope *Sixtus*, and which he had the Courage to post up in *Rome*. I have not read this any where, but in Mr *Varillas*, whose Words I shall recite [L], and I will make some Critical Notes upon them [M]. It was *Bongars* that published the Questions, which the Jesuit *Cotton* had drawn up to be put the Devil [N].

vius, cum Francofurtenses propediem Nundinae exiturae essent, ne ad scriptum responderi posset, interea volitaret illud per manus Germanorum, & nemine contradicte imponeres ea mentibus, quae haud facile postea eximi possent. Verum astu cognito, Jacobus Bongarsius juvenis ingenio & eruditione praestans, & Gallici decoris perquam studiosus, qui Navarri res istae procurabat, scripti exemplo ab amicis accepto, extemporaneo sed aculeato scripto contrario, quod & eadem festinatione typis mandari curavit, antequam Nundinae exirent, respondit, & omnem rei male gestae culpam primum — rejicit — deinde in

(19) Thuanus, Restitutus pag. 70, 71.

(19). — Donau the Year following — published a Book in the German Language, in which he shifted all the blame of the thing from himself, and laid it on the Dilatoriness of Navarre, the unskilfulness of Bouillon, and the Imprudence of the French Officers, or their Malice in appointing quarters, which occasioned the Germans to mutiny; and he chose the time for publication, just before the end of the Fair of Franckfort, that no answer might be made to it, and in the mean time, the Book might be dispersed among the Germans, and (nothing being said against it) make such impressions in their minds, as could not easily be effaced. But the Trick being discovered, James Bongars, a young Man of excellent Genius and Learning, and zealous for the Honour of the French, who was charged with the Affairs of Navarre there, getting a Copy of the Piece from his Friends, replied in an extemporary, but stinging, Answer, which he got printed with like expedition, before the Fair was ended, and removed the charge of the ill Success first — then, &c. Note that these words are not to be found in the Editions of Thuanus, but they were in his Manuscript. See Thuanus Restitutus.

[L] He had the Courage to post up, in *Rome*, his Answer to the Bull of *Sixtus V*. I have not read this any where but in *Varillas*, whose Words I shall recite.] Having related the violent Proceedings of *Sixtus V* against the King of *Navarre*, and against the Prince of *Condé*, he adds, that the Bull of That Pope remained a long time posted up in the Field of *Flora*, till James Bongars, a Calvinist, and Citizen of *Orléans*, who was then at *Rome*, tho' at that time he was but seventeen Years of Age, resolved to revenge the Honour of *France*, aspersed in the two first Princes of the Blood, and acquitted himself of it in such an undaunted manner, that it deserves a place in History (20). — As he was very learned, he composed a very strong and satirical Answer to the Pope's Bull. He transcribed it himself, in form of a Placart, and taking the opportunity of a very dark Night, fixed it up near the Bull in the Field of *Flora*. He was so fortunate, that he was neither perceived, nor so much as suspected; and it would have been unknown to this time, if he had not spoke of it afterwards himself, and given convincing proofs of it. He appealed, in the Name of the two Princes, from the Bull of *Sixtus V*, who called himself Pope of *Rome*, to the Court of the Peers of *France*; he gave his Holiness the Lie, as to the crime of Heresy, whereof he accused them; and he offered to prove in their behalf, in a Council lawfully assembled, that the Pope was a Heretic himself: He called him Antichrist, if he did not submit to it, and declared a perpetual and irreconcilable War against him in their Name. He protested, that the wrong that was done to the Most Christian King, to the Royal Family, and to the three States of the Kingdom, would be revenged on the Court of *Rome*: To that end, he implored the assistance of all truly Christian Princes, and conjured all the Allies of the French Monarchy, to oppose the Pope's Tyranny, and the fatal designs of the League (21). *Varillas* affirms, that, tho' all the Accounts that he had seen of that Action, suppose that Bongars was then but seventeen Years of Age, he cannot be per-

(20) Varillas, Hist. de Henry III. lib. ix. pag. 79. ad ann. 1585. Dutch Edition.

(21) Id. ibid. pag. 30.

suaded that a Writing, of that force, was the first Essay of so young a Man (22). He adds, I have enquired into the cause of that Error a long time (23), and what seems to me most likely, is, that *Stephen de la Boisse* had writ, being likewise but seventeen Years of Age, the famous Satire against all the Monarchs in the World, intituled *le Contre-Un*, and that this Satire had been at least as much admired for its Strength, as blamed for the Temerity of the Author; that *la Boisse* was a Catholic, and that the Calvinists, in order to set up a Man against him, that came near his Style, pretended that Bongars, who was of their Communion, was not older than he, when at *Rome* he defended the Dignity of the two first Princes of the Blood of *France*, with the utmost hazard of his Life. However Bongars staid not long there, and after he had repassed the Alps, (Pope *Sixtus V* not having been able to discover, that it was he who had treated him so ill) the Court of *France* gave him eleven solemn Embassies successively, of which he acquitted himself with great Honour. I have only seen the last, which is among the Manuscripts of *Lomenie* in the King's Library; it relates to the Treaties of *Henry the Great* for the Succession of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and I think is in some manner sufficient to comfort the Public for the loss of the rest.

(22) Id. in the Preface.

(23) Id. ib. fol. 7. verso.

[M] And I'll make some Critical Notes upon them.] I. He is to blame for not telling us whence he had his Account of this Action of Bongars. He could not be ignorant that our most celebrated Historians (24) take no notice of that Circumstance; so that it must be very secret; it was therefore requisite that he should discover how he had been more lucky than so many other Writers. II. I defy all the world to name any good Author, who says that Bongars was but seventeen Years of Age, when *Sixtus V* fulminated his Bull against the King of *Navarre* in 1585. Nay, I question whether any bad Authors have said it before *Varillas*. It is certain that Bongars was then in his Thirty first Year. III. *Varillas* should have said *Stephen de la Boetie*, and not *Stephen de la Boisse*. IV. The *Contre-Un* is ill defined, a famous Satire against all the Monarchs in the World. V. *La Boetie* was above seventeen Years of Age when he wrote that Piece. Thuanus observes that he wrote it in the Year 1548, when he was scarce nineteen Years of Age (25), and that he died in the Year 1563, not much above Thirty three Years of Age (26). VI. There was never a more fantastical Notion, than to imagine, that the Protestants lessened Bongars's Age, to have an occasion to boast that they had produced as admirable a Man, as *la Boetie*, among the Catholics. VII. There is a great deal of Exaggeration in the Eleven solemn Embassies, which the Court of *France* gave to Bongars, according to *Varillas*. They were most of them meer Deputations under the Character of Envoy, or Resident, and it ought to be remembered that the first Deputations did not proceed from the Court of *France*, but only from the King of *Navarre*. 'Ab eo etiam (Henrico IV) ad Germaniae Principes creperis rebus saepius missus, suam Regi fidem, candorem, & integritatem omnibus probavit, prolegati munere aliquoties, legati semel & quidem pro dignitate functus (27). — Being likewise several times sent by him [Henry IV.] to the Princes of Germany in critical Affairs, he gave proofs of his Fidelity to the King, and his Candour and Integrity to every body, discharging sometimes the Office of Envoy, and once of Ambassador, and that with due dignity.'

(24) Thuanus, Mezerai, Pertz, &c.

(25) Thuanus, Hist. lib. v. pag. 105.

(26) Id. lib. xxxv. circa fin.

(27) Frid. Spanhem. Epist. literis Bongarsii praefixa.

[N] It was he who published the Questions, which the Jesuit *Cotton* had drawn up to be put to the Devil.] *Benedict Turretin*, Pastor and Professor of Divinity at *Geneva*, examining the Reasons given by that Jesuit to justify his Conduct with respect to those Interrogations, had this Objection to answer. Some made them amount to thirty; some to forty, fifty, sixty, &c. Hence Father *Cotton* concluded that

that they did not proceed fairly; and that it was a piece of Calumny. 'It may be, answered Mr Turretin (28), That some of them did not transcribe all the Questions; for every one is not so curious — but the Original Paper, from which that swarm of Interrogations proceeds, has the number which is printed in *Latin* and in *French*, and it was not forgotten in the *Physiognomia Jesuitica*. Now the above said Original was seen by a great number of illustrious Persons yet living, who can testify it; and moreover, he who got it printed with that Preface, was one of the King's Officers in an honourable Post, to wit, the late Monsieur *Bongars*, to whom Father *Cotton* having complained of the Publication of the *Anti-Cotton*; he made answer, That he was not the Author of it; but that he had indeed caused his Questions to the Devil to be printed.'

(a) Gery, Apologie des censures de Louvain, & de Douai, p. 50, 51.

(b) See Mr Simon, Nouvelles Observations, p. 495, 496.

(c) Id. pag. 495.

BONONIA (JOHN de), a Sicilian by Nation, Archdeacon of Palermo (a), Bachelor of the Faculty of Paris, and Chaplain to the Emperor Charles V, was Professor at Louvain in the XVIth Century. In the Year 1553 he was at the Assembly of Divines, who, at the Instance of that Emperor, examined whether a certain Country, which he does not name, and in favour of which a Translation of the Scripture was made, ought to enjoy the Liberty of reading it (b). They decided unanimously, that they ought not to have that Liberty continued to them. Bononia was one of the hottest against the translating of the Scriptures into the Vulgar Tongue, and suspected those of Heresy who approved of it (c). In the Year 1555 he published a Book at Louvain about the Doctrine of Predestination. I shall observe below what Judgment a *Jansenist* gave of it [A].

[A] He published a Book — — — a *Jansenist* gave this Judgment of it.] That Work, dedicated to Charles V, is intituled, *De aeterna Dei Prædestinatione & Reprobatione, &c.* The Author shews some subtilty of Wit in it, but no great Solidity; he forms a System concerning Grace and Predestination, peculiar to himself, which he pretends to build upon St *Chrysostom*, without seeming to lay any great stress on St *Augustin's* Doctrine, or to understand the Opinions of those two Saints. Neither can I tell whether he understood his own well; for there are gross Contradictions in it. He has some Expressions which seem to ascribe a Sovereign Power to Grace over the Soul of Man, and an efficacious Operation upon it; but a Page or two after you will find, that he gives so great a Power to the Will, that he believes it capable to make all the Operations of Grace useless. In short, he is a Man that confounds every thing, who thinks sometimes he is opposing the Opinion of the Catholics, when he only attacks that of the Heretics (1). — — — He believes that the Opinion, which admits the Foreknowledge of the good and ill use of Free-will and Grace, (for he distinguishes those two Opinions) are contrary to the Apostle, to St *Augustin*, and even to Faith, being nothing else but meer *Pelagianism* (2). He acknowledges, that he had grounded his System on new Notions, and so different from the common Doctrine of the Schools, that at first, he almost despaired of bringing any one Divine to his Opinion (3).

(1) Gery, Apologie des censures, p. 51.

(2) Id. ibid. p. 52.

(3) Gery, id. ibid. pag. 53.

(a) Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheran. lib. v. pag. 273. lit. d.

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 272.

(c) Maimbourg, Hist. du Luther. lib. ii. pag. 120. Post biennium in seculo, vagi inter scholares Academicos conversationes, Wittenbergæ exadum — — — facta est Lutheri (si Diis placeat) ux. — — — After two Years spent in the World in loose Conversation with the Scholars of the University of Wittenberg, Luther has taken her for a Wife. Cochleus de Act. & Script. Luther. pag. 102.

(1) Hist. du Lutheran. liv. ii. pag. 120.

(2) Erasim. Epist. xi. lib. xviii.

(3) It should be Bore, or à Bore.

(4) It was but two Years.

(5) Hist. Lutheran. liv. ii. pag. 18. n. 11.

REFLECTIONS upon what some People affect to say, that Luther married a very handsome Nun.

BORE (CATHERINE de), Wife of Martin Luther, was the Daughter of a private Gentleman (a). She left the Monastery of Nimptschen, where she was a Nun, in the Year 1523. One Leonard Coppe, a Senator of Torgau, took her and eight other Nuns out. That Action, done in the holy Week, having made a great noise, and given much Offence; the Elector of Saxony did not think fit to approve it openly; he was contented to provide by private Gratifications for the Maintenance of those unveiled Nuns: But Luther published an Apology for them, and for Leonard Coppe, who had so well assisted them in their Design of leaving their Convent (b). Some have said, that Catherine de Bore, having been carried to Wittenberg, lived there in all kind of Freedom among the young Students of the University (c), and was very profuse of her Kisses (d), till Martin Luther married her two Years after; but the Lutherans maintain, that she behaved herself very modestly, and that she had a good Reputation (e). Those who say, that Luther who still wore the Habit of his Order, having seen the nine Nuns, who had deserted the Convent of Nimptschen, very much liked our Catherine, because she was very handsome [A], and designed her for his Wife, have but little consulted his Letters.

(d) Bellam illam Catharinam jam annos aliquot Wittenbergæ varia per studiorum oscula volutata, sibi uxorem duxit. — — — He married the beautiful Catharine who had now for some Years wallowed in the embraces of the Students at Wittenberg. Lindan. dubit. Dial. 1. p. 104.

(e) Seckendorf. lib. ii. pag. 15.

They

[A] She was very handsome.] Let us hear Father Maimbourg; Among those nine libertine and unveiled Nuns, who were all Maids of Quality, there was one named Catherine de Bore, whom Luther, who was yet in a Religious Habit, thought VERY HANDSOME, and fell violently in Love with (1). Erasmus praises this young Woman's Beauty. 'Lutherus, says he (2) duxit uxorem, puellam MIRE VENUSTAM, ex clara familia Bornæ (3), sed ut narrat indotatam, quæ ante annos complures (4) Vestalis esse desiderat. — Luther married a very beautiful young Woman, of the Illustrious Family of Bore, but without Fortune (as it is said) who had thrown off a Nuns Habit some Years before.' Mr Seckendorf thinks there is a great deal of Exaggeration in those Words as to Catherine de Bore's Beauty (5). No body is more to be credited in this Affair than he, and therefore we may say, that Luther's Wife was not extraordinary handsome. But let us reflect a little on the artificial and malicious Design of those, who affect to represent this Nun as a very handsome Woman. Their aim is, generally, to reflect upon Luther's Choice, and to conclude from thence, that he was too much given

to his Pleasures, and that he did not marry purely to bridle his Incontinence, but to satisfy Nature in the highest degree of Concupiscence. They put an ill construction upon a thing which may be very innocent: No Man, that desires to marry, is forbidden to make choice of a handsome Wife, rather than of one that is not so; nay, one may have a very good reason for so doing; a Man may be afraid his Conjugal Affection should unluckily cool, a thing most opposite to the Duties of a Christian Husband; I say, he may fear such a thing, if he makes choice of a Wife that is but ordinary. If therefore, in hopes of being always a good and affectionate Husband, as Reason and Religion require, he makes choice of a handsome Woman, preferably to any other, is it not certain, that he goes upon an honest Principle? And how do we know, but that, if Catherine de Bore was a beautiful Woman, Luther might choose her among the nine Nuns from this laudable Motive? I might say, that the fairer the Object was, the more Luther was to be excused for not being able to resist the Temptation; and it is very likely, that if he had married a homely Woman, his Enemies would have cried

They would have seen there, that he resolved to marry her all on a sudden, in the Year 1525 [B], and that This Resolution was put in Execution with the utmost speed to please his Father, and to put a Stop to Scandal [C]. It is even true, that he made haste, because, as he believed he should not live long, and was unwilling to die a Bachelor, lest he should transgress a Commandment, and retain something of Popery, and frustrate the Desires of his Father, who wished he was already a Grandfather, he thought he had no time to lose [D]. Besides there was a little Share of Spite to the

cried out, that his Incontinence was so great, that it wanted no Charms to kindle it. In a word, I might say, that one would be more ready to pardon a Person who should break an obligatory Fast at the sight of a well-dressed Partridge, than one who should do the same thing, at the sight of a piece of ruffy Bacon. But in truth, this Apology does not seem to be satisfactory; it has two Faces, and therefore it is better to let it alone: For it might be said, all things being otherwise equal, that of two Men, who should have the liberty to choose a very delicious Ragoo, or a piece of Beef, he that contented himself with the Beef, would do an act of Sobriety, and shew that he eat only to live, and to satisfy natural necessity; whereas the other, that should make choice of a Ragoo, would do an act of Gluttony and Daintiness, and shew that he only thinks to satisfy his voluptuous Appetite. The application is easy: If Luther had only looked for a remedy against Incontinence, and an opportunity to beget Children for the Church and his Country, he would have imitated him, who prefers a piece of Beef before the greatest Dainties. It were therefore to no purpose to judge of those things by a Comparison with eating. But besides the reason of Fact, I mean, besides *Catharine de Bore's* being not very handsome, one might alledge other Reasons of Right in favour of *Martin Luther*.

[B] His resolution to marry her was taken all on a sudden, in the Year 1525. Eight Days before his Epipouals (6), he wrote to *Rubelius*, That if his Example was necessary for the Cardinal of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz, he would soon marry, tho' he had been ever in doubt whether he was fit for Marriage, and that besides tho' he intended to marry before he died, his Marriage might perhaps, prove an Engagement like that of St *Joseph*. 'Si Elector forte dicet, cur ego ipse non ducam uxorem, qui omnes ad nubendum incito, respondebis, me semper adhuc dubitasse an idoneus ad id sim. Attamen si meo matrimonio Elector confirmari possit, propediem paratus essem ad exemplum ei præbendum. Nam & alias cogito, antequam ex hac vita discedam, ut matrimonium contraham, quia id à Deo exigi puto, licet forte futura esset desponsatio Josephica (7). — If the Elector chance to ask why I myself do not take a Wife, who persuade every body else to marry, answer him, that I have always doubted whether I were fit for it. Yet if the Elector could be determined by my Marriage, I would soon be ready to set him an Example. For on other accounts, I think to marry before I leave the World, because I think it is required by God, tho' perhaps it may be a Marriage like that of *Joseph*. A Man, who speaks thus, seems to look as yet on Marriage at some distance, and therefore, Luther must have changed his mind very suddenly. He thought that his change was a work of Providence, and he says that the wise Men of his Party, who blamed his Marriage so much, were forced to acknowledge the Hand of God in it.

Vehementer irritantur sapientes inter nostros: rem coguntur Dei fateri, sed personæ larva tam meæ quam puellæ illos dementat, impia cogitare & dicere facit (8). — The wise Men of our party are greatly provoked: they are forced to own the thing to be of God, but the disguise of the Persons, both of myself and the young Woman, makes them mad, and makes them think and say wicked things. In another place he speaks in this manner: Dominus me subito aliaque cogitantem conjecit mire in conjugium cum Catharina Borensi moniali illa (9). — The Lord brought me suddenly, when I was thinking of other matters, to a Marriage with Catharine de Bore, the Nun. Observe nevertheless, that he shews in a Letter of the fifth of May, of the same Year, that he had a design to marry his Catherine.

VOL. II.

[C] To put a stop to Scandal. This is what he wrote to *Rubelius* the fifteenth of June 1525. 'Postulante patre meo conjugium iniit, & ut linguas maledicorum & impedimenta vitæ, congressum nuptialem propter infortui (10). — I took a Wife in obedience to my Father's Commands, and hastened the Consummation, in order to shun the Tongues of Slanders, and all obstacles.' Had we no other Passage but this, we could not certainly know the nature of the Slanders which he designed to avoid; one might think, that he had no other aim than to put a stop to a thousand foolish Stories, that are reported in Towns during the time of Courtship. At that time People will say what they know, and what they know not; and it happens but too often, that the Broachers of News hinder the conclusion of a Marriage; but when the Business is concluded, it affords little occasion for talk. It might therefore be said, that Luther was not willing to give those Newsmongers time to spread the News of his design through the Town, and that therefore he put it in execution as soon as he had formed it; but we know by some other passages of his Letters, that there was a necessity to put a stop to another sort of Reports. *Os obstruxi*, says he to his Friend *Spalatinus*, *infamantibus me cum Catharina Boreana* (11). — I have stopped their Mouths who reproach me with Catharine de Bore. *Vera est itaque fama, me esse cum Catharina subito copulatum antequam ora cogeret audire tumultuosa in me, sicut solet fieri* (12). — To another he says the Report is true that I am married on a sudden to Catharine, before I was obliged to bear a Clamour against me as usual on such occasions. In all likelihood they spoke ill of him and her, because without doubt he saw her familiarly. He loved her, and called her His Catharine. Fortasse etiam rumoribus mota de quibus Lutherus epistola supra allegata queritur, quibus tamen ipse aliquam occasionem dedidisse videtur, optime enim cupiebat virginis, & suam vocare solebat Catharinam (13). — Perhaps too she was moved by the Reports, of which Luther complains in the Letter above cited, for which nevertheless he seems to have given some occasion: for he was very fond of her and used to call her his Catharine. Mr *Seckendorf* conjectures that those prattlings were one of the Reasons, that made her declare she would not marry Doctor *Gladius*; but that she was very willing to be married either to Luther, or *Amstdorf*. Let us add to all this what *Melanchthon* writes on that Marriage. Si quid vulgo fertur aliud indecentius, id mendacium & calumniam esse perspicuum est (14). — If common fame says any thing indecent, it is manifest it is a Lie and a Calumny.

[D] He made haste, because, as he believed he should not live long, he thought he had no time to lose. Here is the Proof of the two or three Facts contained in the Period that begins with the Text of this Remark. Ecce, quia sic infamant, (they are Luther's words (15), he means those who exclaimed against him on account of the War of Boors) ita me paravi, ut ante mortem meam, in statu quo creatus sum, à Deo inveniar, & quantum potero, nihil ex prior vita mea papistica retineam. Furant itaque tanto acrius, & hæc ultima & valedictoria erunt. Mens enim mihi præfagit, me à Deo ad gratiam suam evocatum iri. Itaque, postulante patre meo, conjugium iniit. — See, because they are thus mad, I have so prepared my self that, before I die, I may be found by God in the State in which I was created, & if possible retain nothing of my former Popish Life. Therefore let them rave yet more, and this will be their last farewell. For my mind presages that I shall soon be called by God into his Grace. Therefore at my Father's Desire, I have taken a Wife.

(6) The 3d of June 1525: The Day that they were betrothed was the 11th of June. See *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. pag. 16. n. 3.

(7) Lutherus, Oper. Tom. III. fol. 140. apud *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. §. 5.

(8) Luther. in Epist. ad Michael. Stifellum, pag. 204, dated the 10th of June 1525, apud *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. §. 5.

(9) Luther. in Epist. ad Wenceslaus Lincium, dated the 20th of June, cited by *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. §. 5.

(10) Lutherus, Tom. III. fol. 150. cited by *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. n. 4.

(11) Lutheri Epist. lib. ii. p. 204. apud *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. n. 5.

(12) Epist. ad Amstorfium, lib. ii. pag. 295, dated the 22d of June, apud *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. n. 7.

(13) *Seckendorf*, Hist. Lutherana, lib. ii. pag. 17. n. 3.

(14) Melanch. apud *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. n. 10.

(15) Epist. ad Rubelium, Tom. III. f. 150, dated the 15th of June, cited by *Seckendorf*, lib. ii. §. 5. n. 4.

(f) See the Remark [E].

the Papists in this Design of his Marriage (f). This young Woman refused the Man whom he advised her to marry, and told *Amldorf* that such a Marriage did not please her; but that if *Luther* or *Amldorf* would take her to Wife, she was ready to accept of either of them [E]. There went a Report that she was brought to bed soon after her Marriage [F]; but *Erasmus*, who had wrote that News to one of his Friends, acknowledged the Falsity of it a little after. *Luther*, with all his Courage, was at first a little put out of Countenance, by the Clamours which his Marriage raised both at home and abroad [G]. But he quickly took heart again,

(16) *Lutheri Epist. ad Amldorf. cited by Seckendorf. lib. ii. n. 7.*

(17) *Luther. Epist. ad Ruhejium apud Seckendorf. lib. ii. n. 2.*

(18) *Ad. ann. 1525, pag. 274. apud Seckendorf. pag. 17. n. 8.*

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) *Ibid. n. 9.*

(21) See above, Situation (3).

'Wife.' In another Letter he speaks thus. 'Spero enim me breve tempus adhuc victurum, & hoc novissimum obsequium parenti meo postulanti nolui denegare spe prolis, simul ut confirmem facta quæ docui (16). --- For I hope I shall live a little longer, and I would not deny this last Obedience to my Father, who required it in hopes of Issue, and also to confirm the Doctrines I have taught.' And this is what he says in another place. 'Alias cogito antequam ex hac vita discedam ut matrimonium contraham, quia id à Deo exigi puto (17). --- Besides I think I shall marry before I leave the World, because I believe it is commanded by God.'

[E] She refused to marry *Glacius* --- but for *Luther* or *Amldorf* she was ready to accept of either of them.] We know this from a Manuscript Memorial, which *Abraham Scultetus* has inserted in his Annals (18). The Man, whom *Luther* had desired *Catharine* to marry, was a Minister of *Orlamund*, one Doctor *Glacius*. Perhaps he might be called in French, le Docteur de la Glace [i. e. Doctor Ice] (a). The young Woman refused him; *Vellet Lutherus, vellet Amldorfius, se paratam cum alterutro bonisum inire matrimonium: cum D. Glacio nullo modo.* *Luther*, having heard this on one side, and having heard on the other, that if he married, he would make all the World, and the Devil himself, laugh, resolved to marry the Nun *Catharine*, to spite the World and the Devil. 'Hoc ubi *Lutherus* intellexit, audissetque ex D. Hieronymi Schurffii ore: Si Monachus ille uxorem duceret, risuros mundum universum & diabolum ipsum, facturumque ipsum irritas actiones suas universas: ut ægre faceret mundo & diabolo, ut parenti etiam hoc suadenti gratificaretur, *Catharinam* sibi uxorem ducendam censuit (19). --- When *Luther* understood this, and heard from the Mouth of *Jerom Schurffius*: That if that Monk married, all the World and the Devil himself would laugh at him, and he would undo all he had done: in order to vex the World and the Devil, and gratify his Father who desired it, he resolved to marry *Catharine*.' This agrees with what he wrote the fifteenth of May 1525, to *Rubelius*: 'Si domum venero ad mortem me Deo juvante præparabo, & novos istos dominos & latrones expectabo --- Illis autem ut ægre faciam, si fieri poterit, *Catharinam* meam uxorem ducam, antequam moriar, si pergere eos intellexero: neque enim os mihi obtruent, nec gaudium adiment (20). --- If I get home, I will, by God's Assistance, prepare myself for Death, and wait for these new Lords and Robbers --- But to vex them, if possible, I will marry my *Catharine* before I die, if I hear they go on, for they shall neither stop my Mouth nor rob me of my Happiness.' When I enquire what Reasons he could have to believe, that he would vex the Papists by his Marriage, I find none more likely than this, that he imagined they had yet some kind of Consolation left, because they thought he had still a regard for the Doctrine of Monastical Vows.

[§ (a) *Glacius*, from the German, *Glas*, which signifies either a drinking Glass, or simply *Glas*, ought to have been rendered in French, by la Glace. *Eys* is the German word answering to this French Word. REM. CRIT.]

[F] There went a Report that she was brought to bed, soon after her Marriage.] See here what *Erasmus* wrote about it; '*Lutherus*, quod felix faustumque sit, deposito Philosophi pallio duxit uxorem ex clara familia Bornæ (21), puellam elegantem forma natam, annos viginti sex, sed indotatam & quæ pridem desiderat esse Vestalis. Atque ut scias auspicias fuisse nuptias, pauculis

diebus post decantatum hymenæum nova nupta peperit (22). --- *Luther*, I wish him joy of it, has laid down his Philosopher's Cloak, and married a Wife of the noted Family of Bore, a Lady of excellent Beauty, Twenty six Years of Age, but with no Fortune, and one that had lately been a Nun. And to show that it was a lucky Match, the Bride was brought to bed a few Days after the Solemnization of the Marriage.' This was an egregious Falsity, *Erasmus* knew it by the Event, and owned that it was a false Report. The Letter, in which he makes that Confession, is dated the thirteenth of March 1526. He says only that *Luther's* Wife was with Child, and that she had not conquered the fierce Spirit of her Husband, seeing the Book that *Luther* had composed against him since his Wedding, was the most furious one that ever came from his Pen. 'De conjugio *Lutheri* certum est, de partu maturo sponæ vanus erat rumor, nunc tamen gravida esse dicitur. Si vera est vulgi fabula Antichristum nasciturum ex monacho & monacha, quemadmodum isti jactitant, quot Antichristorum millia jam olim habet mundus? At ego sperabam fore, ut *Lutherum* uxor redderet magis cicerem. Verum ille præter omnem expectationem emisit librum in me summâ quidem curâ elaboratum, sed adeo virulentum, ut hæcenus in neminem scripserit hostilius (23). --- *Luther's* Marriage is certain; the Report of his Wife's being so speedily brought to bed is false; but I hear she is now with Child. If the common Story be true, that Antichrist shall be born of a Monk and a Nun, as they pretend, how many thousands of Antichrists are there in the World already? I was in hopes that a Wife would have made *Luther* a little tamer. But he, contrary to all expectation, has published a most elaborate Book against me, but as virulent as any book that ever he wrote.

[G] *Luther* was put out of Countenance by the Clamours that his Marriage raised both at home and abroad.] He confesses himself, that his Marriage made him so despicable, that he hoped that Humiliation would rejoice the Angels, and vex the Devils. 'Sic me vilem & contemptum his nuptiis feci, ut Angelos ridere & omnes demones flere sperem (24).'
[24] *Lutheri, Epist. ad Spalatinum apud Seckendorf. pag. 18. n. 3.*
[25] Extat hæc epistola (quæ in editione Londinensi est 24. lib. iv.) è Græco versa apud Seckendorf. ubi supra, pag. 17. n. 10.
[26] *Luther* was not so much the Marriage, as the Circumstances of the time, and the Precipitation with which it was done, that occasioned the censures passed upon *Luther*. He married all on a sudden, and

(22) *Erasmi, apud Scultetum Annal. ad ann. 1525, pag. 278. citatum à Seckendorf. pag. 18. n. 11.*

(23) *Erasmi Epist. xxii. lib. xviii.*

(24) *Lutheri, Epist. ad Spalatinum apud Seckendorf. pag. 18. n. 3.*

(25) Extat hæc epistola (quæ in editione Londinensi est 24. lib. iv.) è Græco versa apud Seckendorf. ubi supra, pag. 17. n. 10.

again, and seemed very well satisfied with his Match; inasmuch that when his Wife had born him a Son a little after, he said he would not change his Condition for that of *Cræsus*; so sensible he was that God had given him a good Wife [H]. He was like to die of a Stoppage of Urine in the Year 1537, and in that State he praised his Wife very much (g). In his Will, which he made in 1542, he expressed a great Affection, and took care to provide for her (h). He did not pretend, that she was without Faults, but he believed she was less faulty than others (i). It has been observed, that she took a little too much upon her, and was too imperious (k), but it was an excusable Fault, considering the Glory that attended her Husband. In some things she was too saving, and in others too prodigal: she was sparing in her House-keeping, and too expensive in Building, which is the Character of a Woman that loves to make a shew. After the Death of *Lutber* she maintained herself and her Family decently, with the indifferent Estate of the Deceased, and the Assistance she received from the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Counts of *Mansfeld*. At last she went from *Wittenberg* to *Torgau*, and died there the twentieth of December 1552 (l). If *Erasmus* was not mistaken when he said, that she married at Twenty six Years of Age (m), she must have been Fifty three Years old when she died. *Varillas* has committed a prodigious Number of Faults in speaking of This Woman [I].

(g) Seckendorf, lib. iii. pag. 165. n. 4.

(h) Id. ibid. p. 651.

(i) See the Remark [H].

(k) Seckendorf, lib. iii. pag. 651. lit. n. See the Remark [K], Citation (49).

(l) Id. lit. (o).

(m) See the Remark [F], Citation (22).

Mr Mayer

at a time when *Germany* was almost laid desolate by the War of the Boors; a War which was said to be owing to Lutheranism. No body could account for that precipitation. *Lutber* was then Forty two Years of Age: and till then he had kept a chaste Celibacy during the hottest transports of Youth: It cannot be said that the incapacity of containing himself obliged him to conclude his Marriage so suddenly. But granting, as *Melanchthon* insinuates, that the remiss life which *Lutber* led, delighting too much in company, revived Nature, which the Monastical Retreat had in some measure laid asleep: In a word; Granting that he was necessitated to marry by the Lust of the Flesh; must he therefore pass by all Formalities? Could he not put off his Marriage for some Months, to communicate the matter to his Friends, and to prepare the Public for the News of his Marriage, by some preliminary Addresses? I do not wonder that, for want of good Reasons to explain those difficulties, *Lutber* and others have acknowledged something Divine in that Marriage, *Deus vult*, as in certain Diseases (26). 'Quod autem in re intempulivum & inconsultum inest, (in quo maxime delicias ostrectandi & accusandi studium adversariorum facit) videndum, ne nos conturbet. Isto enim sub negotio fortasse aliquid occulti, & quiddam divinius subest, de quo nos curiose querere non decet, neque curare nugis deridentium, & convitia facientium quorundam, à quibus neque pietas ad Deum, neque ad homines virtus exercetur (27).

(26) See above in the Remark [G], Citation (8).

(27) Melanchth. Epist. ad Camerac. apud Seckendorf. pag. 17. n. 10. See also the Remark [H], Citation (8).

----- But as for the Unseasonableness and want of Consideration in the affair (on which Accounts chiefly our Adversaries will gratify their desire of railing and slandering) we must take care that That do not disturb us. For perhaps there is some Secret, or something divine, couched under it, concerning which it does not become us to enquire too curiously, or to mind the trifling of some, who deride and reproach us, who neither exercise Piety towards God nor Virtue towards Men.'

[H]----- But afterwards he would not have changed his Condition for that of *Cræsus*, his Wife proved so very good.] Here is part of the Letter which he wrote, the eleventh of August 1526, to *Michael Sifstus*. 'Salut te Ketha costa mea, & gratias agit quod eam literis tuis tam suavis dignatus es. Ipsa belle habet Dei dono, mihi que morigera & in omnibus obsequens est, & commoda plusquam ausus fuissim sperare (Deo gratia), ita ut paupertatem meam nollem cum Croesi divitiis commutare (28). ----- My Rib, Kate, salutes you, and thanks you for the Favour of your kind Letter. She is very well through God's Mercy, and is obedient and complying with me in all things, and more agreeable (I thank God) than I could have expected, so that I would not change my Poverty for the Wealth of *Cræsus*. He was heard to say that he would not exchange his Wife for the Kingdom of *France*, nor for the Riches of the *Venetians* (29), and that for three Reasons. I. Because, she had been given him by God, at the time when he implored the assistance

(28) Luther. Epist. pag. 318. apud Seckendorf. lib. iii. pag. 651. lit. (r).

(29) This is related by *Bavarus*, Tom. I. p. 229. apud Seckendorf. lib. iii. pag. 651. lit. (r).

of the Holy Ghost in finding a good Wife. II. Because, though she was not without faults, yet she had fewer than other Women. III. Because she kept the conjugal Fidelity which she owed him. In his Will he gave her a good Character for Probity, Fidelity, and Modesty; he acknowledged that she had loved and served him, and that she had been fruitful, &c (30). He would not have the World to think that she had made a private purle, and he left her at full liberty to marry again (31).

[I] Mr *Varillas* has committed a prodigious number of Faults in speaking of this Woman.] He says that *Catharine de Bore*, and eight of her Companions, were taken out of a Nunnery, in a small Town called *Timigue*, two Leagues from *Wittenberg* (32). But, I. There never was a Nunnery of that Name, either in the Neighbourhood of *Wittenberg*, or any where else. II. The Convent which was near *Wittenberg*, and was called *Niemec*, was of Regular Canons of *St Augustin*, and ought not to be confounded, as it has been by some Authors, with the Convent of *Nimptschen*. III. The nine Nuns were taken out of *Nimptschen* on the *Mulde*, near *Grimma*, two days Journey from *Wittenberg*. IV. *Leonard Coppe*, who took them from thence, was not, as *Varillas* affirms, Provost of the Scholars at *Wittenberg*; there is no such Character or Function known in the Universities of *Germany*: But he was a Counsellor of the City of *Torgau*, the place of his Nativity. V. It is not true that *Catharine de Bore*, the handsomest of them all, was from that time designed to be the Wife of Doctor *Lutber*. He thought on nothing less at that time than on Marriage. A Letter, which he wrote about the end of the Year 1524, certifies, that God might alter his Mind, but that whilst his Heart should be disposed, as it always had been, and still was, he should never marry. 'Not but that I feel, says he, my Flesh and my Sex, I am neither of Wood nor Stone; but I have an aversion for Marriage, because I prepare myself for the Punishment wherewith Heretics are punished (33).'

See what has been said before (34) of the Precipitation wherewith he concluded his Marriage with *Catharine de Bore*, in the Month of *June*, One thousand five hundred twenty five. VI. *Varillas* should not have spoken of *Lutber's* Marriage in the Year 1526, but in the foregoing Year. VII. There never was any Abbess of *Misnia*. VIII. However that Dignity did never belong to *Catharine de Bore*. *Varillas*, who gives it her in the Eighty sixth Page, had said in the seventh Page, that she was a meek Nun, and that she fled with eight others on a Good-friday, while the SUPERIORS were extraordinary busy. By *Misnia* he means either a Town or a Province; if he means a Province, he is guilty of a great absurdity, for he supposes then that there was but one Monastery in a Country where there were Thirty. If he means a Town, he names it wrong; he should have called it *Misse*. IX. It is false that *Catharine de Bore* was of an illustrious

(30) His last Will is dated the 16th of September 1542. He had then five Children alive.

(31) See Seckendorf lib. iii. pag. 651. lit. (n).

(32) *Varillas*, Histoire de l'Herésie, liv. vi. p. 6.

(33) *Luthers*, Epist. lib. ii. apud Seck. lib. i. p. 314. n. 2.

(34) Citation (6).

* The true name both of the Country and Town is *Misse*.

(n) Of whom I have spoken before in Citation (35) of the Article BELLARMIN.

Mr Mayer (n) to whom I must make my Acknowledgement here, for the Favour he has done me in declaring publicly that he honours me with his Friendship, published a Dissertation which will afford me a very curious Supplement [K]. I do

illustrious Family, and that some of her Relations had a great Power in the Court of Saxony. She had a Brother that stood in need of Luther's recommendation to the new Elector of Saxony in the Year 1542 (35). Luther begged of the Elector, that he might have an Office instead of that which was taken from him; so that his Wife's Relations had more need of his Credit, than he of theirs. What protection can one expect from a Family, which is not able to give a Daughter a Portion? This was the condition of our Nun's Father, according to the account of the Author we criticize (36). X. The frequent visits, which Varillas says Luther made to Catharine in the Nunnery of Misnia (37), are meer Chimeras. Doubtless by Misnia he means the Town of Misnia. Grant him for once this Falsity, viz. That Catharine was Abbess of Misne, yet he supposed very falsely, that Luther made many Visits to that Abbess; for since the Town of Misne belonged partly to the Bishop, and partly to George Duke of Saxony, a great Enemy of the Reformation, Luther would have run very great dangers in Misne. I add, that if the Abbess had received his Visits so easily, there had been no need of any address to carry away Catharine de Bore, while the Superiors could not look after her. Thus we find many Contradictions between Page 7, and Page 86, of Varillas. Lastly, Those frequent Visits are strongly refuted by the two days Journey which is between Catharine de Bore's Convent, and the City of Wittenberg. XI. It appears by the first Letters of Luther which have been published, that he had some Thoughts of marrying from the time that he separated from the Communion of the Church. Varillas affirms this, but it is a sign that he never looked into those Letters. We plainly find there, that Luther thought on nothing less than Marriage during the first years of his Reformation, and that he resolved on it all on a sudden in the Year 1525. Have I not shewed that he would have married his Catharine to another Man? XII. The first measures he took with John Frederic, Brother and Successor to the deceased Elector (38), were, that he should permit him to marry the Abbess. A new mistake of Varillas. John Frederic was not Brother of the deceased Elector, nor did he succeed him. He that succeeded him was called John, and was his Brother. He was the Father of John Frederic, who did not come to the Electorate before the Year 1532. It does not appear that Luther communicated his Marriage to the Elector John, who was taken up with the War of the Boors; I say it does not appear that he did communicate it to him before he concluded it. XIII. Lastly, That Wedding was not so magnificent, that it did not differ in any thing from those of the most eminent Persons of the Empire (39). Who could imagine that such a famous Historian should heap up so many faults in so few Words? A Man would hardly be able to do it, if he were hired for the Purpose.

[K] Mr Mayer ----- has wrote a Dissertation which will afford me a very curious Supplement. It is a Book of Seventy two Pages in Quarto, intitled, *De Catharina Lutheri conjugis dissertatio*, printed at Hamburg in the Year 1698. The Author has omitted nothing that can be of use towards a full knowledge of the History of Catharine de Bore, and he gives a curious and exact account of the Children she brought to Luther. He brings always good proof for what he says, whereby the Falsities of Corbleus, Maimbourg, Varillas, and many other Writers, are solidly refuted. He shews, that the Example of the eight Nuns, who went with her out of the Convent of Nimptschen (40), was soon after followed by Sixteen Nuns of the Convent of *Widersteten* in the County of *Mansfield*, and that this was the fruit of the good and sound Doctrine, which Luther had taught, concerning the Laudableness of Marriage, and the Iniquity of Monastic Vows (41); that in all this, there was no force used to carry them away; for that these young Women were well persuaded that

they might return into the World, and were willing to do it (42); that Maimbourg was in the wrong to pretend that Luther durst not marry Catharine, so long as the Elector Frederic was living; for why should That Prince have condemned Luther's Marriage, after having permitted *Veltkirebin*, *Carolsbad*, and some other Ministers, to marry (43); and that some have spoken hyperbolically of Catharine's Beauty: *Luther fell in Love with a very beautiful Nun of Quality, whom he had taken out of her Convent*. These are the Words of the Bishop of Meaux, cited by Mr Mayer (44); and, to make it appear that they are overstrained, he gives a Print of that Woman, drawn by his order from three Pictures compared together, which were done in Catharine's Life time, by *Luke Cranachius*, an excellent Painter (45), and one of the Guests at Martin Luther's Wedding-feast (46); that is, at the Entertainment which was given without noise on his Wedding-day; for, some Weeks after, a more solemn and pompous Feast was made, to the Charges of which the Senate of Wittenberg contributed something. *Senatus Witebergensis nonnulla ex publico aerario suppeditavit, ut videre est in Consiliis Witebergensibus parte IV. p. 9.* Mr Mayer refers us to the Twenty second Page of the fourth Part of the *Consilia Witebergensia*, and to the sixth Chapter of the *Defensio Lutheri defuncti* of John Molerus against Charles de Creutzen, a Jesuit of Prussia. I say, he refers us thither, to see the Refutation of the Calumny which had been spread, and the excuses for Luther's marrying without publishing the Banns in a Church. His Enemies gave out that he had made so much haste to marry, because Catharine found herself with Child (47). This was false (48). There are also in Mr Mayer's Dissertation many proofs of the Love and Esteem which Luther had for his Wife. They are taken out of his Letters, and we are forewarned to give more credit to them than to a Letter of Pontanus, written to the Elector of Saxony after the Death of Luther. This Pontanus accused Catharine de Bore of Pride, and of having spent a great deal of Money in Building, and chiefly upon a Farm which was assigned her for her Dowry. *Huc itaque (Luthero) potius testi credamus quam Pontano apud Seckendorffum, lib. iii. p. 651. qui in literis post mortem Lutheri ad Electorem Sax. scriptis arguit eam animo fuisse elatiore & imperioso, tenacemque in victu domestico, etsi sumtuosam in ædificia, imprimis in prædium Zeulsdorf, quod ei in testamento dotulitii nomine Lutherus assignavit* (49). Some pretend that Luther submitted to the government of his Wife, and cite the Letters wherein he called her his Lord. Mr Mayer owns he has seen such Letters, but he maintains, that it was but a Jest (50), and that Luther, who had given his Wife full Authority over Household Affairs, always reserved the Rights of a Husband to himself. 'Tu mihi persuades quicquid vis, totum habes Dominium. In œconomia quidem tibi concedo dominium salvo jure meo. Mulierum enim Dominium nihil boni unquam effecit (51). — You persuade me to what you please, you have all the Dominion. I grant you the Dominion in the management of your House, saving my own right; for the Dominion of Women never did any good.' He has the Original of a Letter, wherein Luther exclaimed against the weakness of those Husbands, who suffer themselves to be mastered by their Wives, and encouraged one of them to curb the Insolence of his Wife (52). The following fact shews our Catharine's Conjugal Affection. Luther intending to make an Exposition of the Twenty second Psalm, took some Bread and Salt, and shut himself up in his Closet, and continued there three Days. His Wife looked for him every where, and was in the utmost concern; she knocked at the Door, she called him, and being at last no longer able to resist her Grief, she caused the Door to be broken open, and found him meditating. He was vexed that his Meditations on a Subject so sacred, and of so great concern, should be interrupted: but at last, he could not find fault with his Wife's Care and Uneasiness (53). She gave a remarkable

(42) Id. *ibid.*

(43) *ib.* pag. 19.

(44) Mayer, ubi supra, pag. 21. He quotes, *Histoire des Variations*, Tom. I. pag. 49.

(45) *ib.* pag. 22.

(46) *ib.* pag. 24.

(47) See *Lindanus de voto virginis*, pag. 13.

(48) See the Remark [F].

(49) Mayer, p. 55.

(50) Quis non videt, genii præsertim beati viri non ignarus, hoc innoxio joco ab illo factum? — *Who does not see, especially if he knew any thing of the Genius of this blessed Man, that it was done only as an innocent joke?* *ib.* p. 56.

(51) Luther apud Mayer, pag. 57.

(52) It may be seen in Mr Mayer's *Book*, pag. 57, 58.

(53) Id. pag. 59. He quotes Reinhard, *Bakius ad Pal. xxix.*

I do not think that any body will blame me for publishing, in this Place of my Dictionary, a Letter which has never been made public, written by *Erasmus*, before he was undeceived about the false Report that was spread, concerning *Catharine de Bore's* being brought to bed a little while after her Marriage [L].

(54) *Id.* pag. 59 & seq.

(55) *Ibid.* p. 66.

(56) A quarter of a Year after, and some few Days more. See the Funeral Program.

(57) Because the Plague raged at Wittemberg.

(58) Mayer, *ib.* pag. 66. & seq.

(59) *Id.* pag. 69.

(60) I speak of him at large in the Remark [F] of the Article WILHEM.

(61) It is beguiled in the Copy: Mr de Wilhem told me, that none of those, who helped to read the Original, have been able to find out the meaning of that Word. I guess at a venture, that it ought to be read, desultori.

a remarkable Instance both of her Affection and Constancy in a Sickness which he had in the Year 1527, which was so great and dangerous, that he made his Will, and took his leave of his Wife and his Son (54). Our *Catharine* continued the first Year of her Widowhood at *Wittemberg*, tho' her Husband had advised her to go elsewhere. Mr *Mayer* justifies her in that disobedience (55). She went from *Wittemberg* in the Year 1547, when the Town was surrendered to *Charles V.* Before her departure, she had received a Present of Fifty Crowns from *Christian III.* King of *Denmark*; and, as the Elector of *Saxony* and the Counts of *Mansfeld* gave her good Tokens of their Liberality, with the Addition of these helps, to what *Luther* had left her, she had wherewithal to maintain herself and her Family handsomely. She returned to *Wittemberg*, when the Town was restored to the Elector, where she lived piously, till the Plague made her resolve to leave it in the Year 1552. She sold what she had there, and retired to *Torgau*, with a Resolution to end her Life there. An unfortunate Accident happened to her in her Journey: The Horses growing unruly, she leaped out of the Waggon, and got a Fall, which hurt her very much, so that she died soon after (56) at *Torgau*, the Twentieth of December 1552. She was buried there in the great Church, where her Tomb and Epitaph are still to be seen. The University of *Wittemberg*, which was then at *Torgau* (57), made a public Program concerning the Funeral Pomp (58). It may be seen at length in Mr *Mayer's* Book; it was printed in the Year 1553, in *Intimationibus Wittembergensibus* (59). I had read it in the Four hundred and forty first, and Four hundred and forty second, Leaf of a Book printed at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1560 in 8vo, and intitled, *Scriptorum publice professorum à professoribus in Academia Wittembergensi, ab anno 1540, usque ad annum 1553. Tomus primus.*

[L] I shall insert a Letter written by *Erasmus*, before he was undeceived about the false Report of *Catharine de Bore's* lying-in soon after her Marriage.] It was written to an Illustrious Person, to wit, *Nicolas Everard*, President of the High Council of *Holland* at the *Hague*. I have seen the Original, which is very well preserved: *Erasmus's* Seal, with the *Deus Terminus* and the nulli cede, remain still intire. Mr de *Wilhem*, Counsellor in the Court of *Brabant* (60), has been so kind as to shew me that original Letter, and to give me a Copy of it, which I have compared with the Original. I think, the Readers will not be displeased to find it printed in this place of my Dictionary, since it was never made public.

S. P. Ornatiissime Præfex. Solent Comici tumultus ferè in matrimonium exire, atque hinc subita rerum omnium tranquillitas. Verum hanc catastrophem plerumque nunc habent Principum Tragœdiæ, non admodum lætam populo, sed tamen bellicis potiore. Malebat ille compilari quam venire. Similem exitum habitura videtur Lutherana Tragœdia. Duxit uxorem monachus monacham; & ut scias nuptias prosperis avibus initas, diebus à decantato hymeneo ferme quatuordecim enixa est nova nupta. Lutherus nunc mihi esse incipit, nec perinde sæviti calamo. Nihil est tam ferum quod non ceciderit uxor. Ego sedulo hortor utramque partem, ut æquis conditionibus jungant fœdus, & infana prælia dirimant. Vis scire quantum proficiamus? Quantum solent ii, qui inter duos armatos ira vinoque furentes intercedunt dirēpturi, & utrimque vulnerant. Opinor te legisse Apologiam meam adversus Sutorem. Quis credidisset tam stupidum animal latere inter Theologos & Cartusianos? Et tamen hoc portentum habet Theologos applaudentes. Si vendantur isti hic (61) desultori libri *Jodoci Clithovei*, quæso ut legas in *Antiluthero* 3. libri cap. primum, num. 3. nam *Beda* literis indicavit cum locum ad me pertinere; quod si verum, quis non intelligit in illo pediculis capite nullam esse micam sanæ mentis? Et tamen hujusmodi nebulones Lutherus armavit in nos: Nullum video finem nisi si quis

V O L. II.

Deus à machina, quod aiunt, apparet fabulam explicet. Lutherana factio nunquam suffulit majores spiritus. Et altera pars adeo nihil remittit, ut indies atringat priora vincula. Habent novum dogma, sed simpliciter insanum; totos hos tumultus exortos ex Linguis & bonis litteris. Hoc jam Principibus aliquot persuaserunt. Quoniam te videre aliter non licet, per literas saluto. Dorpium amissimus ante diem. Hic longe supra centum millia rusticorum interfecta sunt, & quotidie facerdotes capiuntur, torquentur, suspenduntur, decollantur, exuruntur. Non nego necessarium remedium, quamvis immite, sed Germani magis novimus malefacta punire quam excludere.

Tibi, uxori tuæ, tuisque liberis precor omnia læta.

Qui has reddet est *Franciscus Dilst*, quondam convictor meus; juvenis honesto loco natus, moribus mirè civilibus. Quem cupio ut digneris cognoscere.

Datum *Bas.* pridie Natal. Domini, an. 1525.

ERASMUS ROT. verè tuus.

Ex tempore manu propria.

Non vacabat relegere, ignosce.

Most Honourable President, Greeting. The brails in Comedies generally ended in Matrimony, and that made all quiet at once. But now-a-days the Tragedies of Princes have commonly the same Catastrophe, not very pleasing to the People, but yet better than War. They had rather be stripped than sold. Luther's Tragedy is likely to have the same end. The Monk has married a Nun; and to shew that the Wedding was in a lucky Hour, the Bride was brought to bed in fourteen Days after the Solemnization. Luther begins now to be a little quieter, and is not so busy with his Pen. There is nothing too savage for a Wife to tame. I earnestly exhort both Parties to make Peace on fair Terms, and put an end to this destructive War. Would you know my Success, it is just the same with theirs, who interpose to part armed Men in a drunken quarrel, and get wounded on both Sides. I suppose you have read my Apology against Sutor. Who would have thought, there had been so stupid an Animal among the Divines, and Cartusians too? and yet this Monster has Divines that applaud him. If the desultory books of *Jodocus Clithoveus* are to be had with you, I beg you would read the *Antiluther*, lib. iii. cap. i. num. iii. For *Beda* informs me, in his Letter, that That Passage relates to me; which if it do, it is plain to all the World, that there is not a grain of sound Sense in all that lousy Chapter: and yet such wretches as this *bas Luther* armed against me. I see no end, unless some God appears to unravel the Plot. The Lutheran Faction never had more Courage than now, and the other Party are so far from abating any thing, that they are daily straitening their former bands. They have got a new notion, but a silly senseless one, that all these Tumults, are owing to Language and good Literature. They have already persuaded some Princes into their Opinion. Not having opportunity to see you, I salute you by Letter. We have lost *Dorpius* a Day or two ago. Above a Hundred thousand of the Boors have been killed here, and every Day some Priest or other is taken, and tortured, hanged, beheaded, or burnt. I do not deny the remedy to be necessary, tho' inhuman, but we Germans know better how to punish Crimes than to prevent them.

I wish all happiness to yourself, your Spouse and Children.

The Bearer hereof is one *Francis Dilst*, formerly my Boarder, a young Man well born, and of very Gentleman-like Behaviour. I beg you would be pleased to admit him to your acquaintance.

Dated at *Basil* 24th of December 1525.

Yours sincerely,

ERASMUS ROT.

Extempore, with my own hand. I had not time to read it over, excuse Faults.

U

[A] Was

(a) That which blows from the North.

(b) Pindar. Od. iv. Pythion.

(c) Balzac. Entretien. v. cap. ii. pag. 80.

BOREAS, one of the four Cardinal Winds (a), and one of the Deities of the Heathens, was the Son of *Astræus* and *Aurora* [A], and had his Seat in *Thrace* [B]. *Pindar* calls him the King of Winds (b). 'I think, I have read somewhere that he had the Privileges of a Citizen given him in a City of Greece. I have read also, that they built Temples, and ordered Sacrifices to be made to him in another City; once, for having sunk a Fleet of the Enemies; and another time, for having blown the Dust into the Eyes of a Land Army of the same Enemies. If I am not mistaken, he was by a public Decree solemnly called the Son-in-law of the *Albenians*, because of his Wife *Orithya*, who was an *Albenian* (c).' The Author from whom I borrow these Words, (whose Originals I shall also shew) [C] makes

[A] Was the Son of *Astræus* and *Aurora*.] *Natalis Comes* confesses, he never read that the Inventors of Fables had said who *Boreas*'s Father and Mother were, *Boreas* è quibus parentibus ortus sit fabularum inventores non tradiderunt, quod ego legerim (1); and yet he had quoted *Hesiod*, who says, that the God *Astræus*, having lain with the Goddess *Aurora*, begat the four Winds (2). Here are the three Verses that he quotes:

Ἀστειῶν δ' Ἠὼς ἀνέμους τέκε καρτερὸν δούμης,
Ἀργεῖον, Ζέφυρον, βορέην τ' αἰ-ἰνεκέλευθον,
καὶ νότον, ἐν φιλότῃ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἐνέεισα.

Astræo vero *Aurora* ventos peperit magnanimos,
Argesten, *Zephyrum*, *Boreamque* rapidum,
Et Notum, in amore cum deo dea congressa (3).

Aurora, by *Astræus*' close Embrace,
Impregnate, bore the Winds magnanimous,
Eurus, with rapid *Boreas*, *Auster* moist,
And gentle *Zephyr*.

I must here take notice of a Fault of Mr *Hofman*. He says, that the Wind *Boreas* was the Son of *Astræus* according to some, or of *Strymon* according to others. He ought not to have expressed himself so; he ought to have said, that some Persons have maintained, that the Ravisher of *Orithya* was not the Wind *Boreas*, but the Son of *Strymon*. Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις τὸν τὴν Ἠδύταια ἀπαγάγοντα βορέην ὄντα Στρυμόνῳ ἐσθὶν ἐχέει τὸν ἀνέμον (4). *Hesiodorus*, in the *Megarica*, says that *Boreas*, the Ravisher of *Orithya*, was the Son of *Strymon*, and not the Wind.

[B] And had his Seat in *Thrace*.] A great many Authors have said this, and you will find many Authorities for it in *Lloyd's Dictionary* (5), and in the learned Commentary of Mr *Spanheim* on *Callimachus* (6). The Origin of that Hypothesis, is, that the Poets, who have spoken of that Wind, lived in a Country which had *Thrace* on the North. I speak of the Greek Poets. The Latin Poets, who imitate the Greek Phrases and *Epithetes*, have placed the Wind *Boreas* in the same Country, tho' they had not the same reason for it. Read these Words of Mr *Dacier*; they are taken out of his Note on the *Thracio Bacchante* magis sub interlunia vento (7). 'Horace speaks after the manner of the Greeks, who call *Boreas* or *Aquilo*, *Thracian*, because it came to them from *Thrace*.' I believe, it had been well to have commented in the same manner on this place of the same Poet, *Nunc mare, nunc syloæ Thracio Aquilone sonant* (8), without pretending that 'Boreas or *Aquilo*, that is to say, the North North-East, was truly a *Thracian* Wind for the Romans, as well as for the Greeks; because *Thrace* extended very far (9). I cannot believe, that *Horace* had in view, either the large extent of that Country, or the Subdivision of the Winds. He intended only to imitate the Greek Epithet of the North Wind; and the same Criticism might be made upon him here, as on this Passage of the Twelfth Ode of the fourth Book: *Jam veris comites, quæ mare temperant, impellunt animæ lintea Thraciæ* (10). I think, I ought not to omit this Passage of *Balzac*, because it is Critical: 'This *Aquilo*, of *Thracian* Origin, makes Excursions, and Travels over all the World; but if we may believe our *African*, who speaks Stones and Iron, his Stile is so rough and harsh, he makes his particular abode in the *Euxine* Sea. How many Leagues from *Thrace*? I shall inquire about it presently in the Map. Well, A-

quilo shall inhabit the *Euxine* Sea, for this time, *Ubi dies nusquam patens, sol nunquam liber, unus aër, nebula totus annus, hibernum, omne quod flaverit Aquilo est.* — Where the Day is no where clear, the Sun never free, the Air unvaried, Fog all the Year, always Winter, all that blows is the North Wind. But, by the by, I desire you to observe, whether there is not a kind of contradiction in these Words, *Nebula* and *Aquilo*; for in my opinion, they cannot well agree together (11).

[C] I borrow these words from *Balzac*; I will shew his Originals.] There are some Books in which it is allowable, and even commendable, not to name the Authors from whom a Writer takes what he alleges. This suits a vain Man extremely well; for these general Terms, I have read somewhere, a certain Author relates, &c. give an advantageous Idea of an Author. The Reader thinks, he that speaks so, would not do it, if the Book he mentions, without naming the Author, was known to other learned Men. It is therefore believed, that he found that Treasure in a very rare Manuscript. In a Word, if *Balzac* had said, I have read in *Pausanias*, or in *Herodotus*, he would not have made so good a figure with his Readers. As for me, I endeavour chiefly to satisfy the Curiosity of my Readers, and therefore I always name the Authors from whom I take what I relate; nay, I endeavour to discover from whence the Moderns have taken what they allege. I have succeeded in it, as to this Passage of *Balzac's* *Entretiens* (12).

I. *Ælian* observes, that the Inhabitants of *Thurium*, having been delivered from a great danger by a Storm which destroyed their Enemy's Fleet (13), offered Sacrifices to the Wind *Boreas*, who had caused that Shipwreck, and conferred on him the Freedom of their City. They provided him a House, and a settled Revenue, and celebrated every Year a Day of Worship in Honour of him (14).

II. The *Megalopolitans* consecrated a Temple to him, where they offered Sacrifices on a certain Day of the Year, and honoured no Deity more than him. It was in acknowledgment of a great Assistance, which they received from him, when *Agis* King of *Lacedæmon* besieged their City. The Besiegers Engine battered the Wall so furiously, that doublets the Breach would have been very great the next Day; but there came a North Wind which over-set the Engine. This is what *Pausanias* says (15).

III. *Herodotus* informs us, That an Oracle having ordered the *Albenians* to call their Son-in-law to their Assistance, they invoked *Boreas*; for as he was married to *Orithya* the Daughter of *Ereobtheus* their King, they took him for their Son-in-law. Wherefore, when *Xerxes*'s Fleet was come to the Coasts of *Magnesia*, they implored the assistance of that Wind, and his Spouse, with Victims and Prayers; and being persuaded that the Storm which scattered that Fleet, was the effect of that Worship; they caused a Temple to be built to *Boreas* on the Banks of the *Ilissus* (16). They believed, that the same Deities had already destroyed the *Persian* Fleet near Mount *Atbos* (17). I have not as yet been able to find The Author, who speaks of the great Service which this Wind did the Greeks in throwing dust into the Eyes of an Army of Persians. I have read indeed in *Xenophon*, that the Greeks, who repassed the *Euphrates* after the Defeat of young *Cyrus*, endured a great deal of cold because the Wind *Boreas* was full in their Faces; but that it was laid as soon as they had offered Sacrifices to it by the Advice of a Soothsayer (18). Note, that *Apollonius* represented to the *Albenians* that *Boreas* was their near Relation (19). *Balzac* might have added that

(1) Natal. Comes, Mythol. lib. vii. cap. xi. pag. 861.

(2) Id. ibid. lib. vi. cap. ii. pag. 551.

(3) Hesiodus in Deor. Generat. ver. 378. p. 126.

(4) Schol. Apollonii in lib. i. ver. 211.

(5) At the Word Boreas.

(6) Exech. Spanheimus in Callimachus, pag. 213, 214, 344, 366.

(7) Horat. Od. xxv. lib. i.

(8) Id. Od. xiii. Epod.

(9) Dacier upon Horace, Tom. v. pag. 260, 261, of the Dutch Edition.

(10) See Tanaquil Faber's 24th Epistle of the 2d Book.

(11) Balzac, Entretiens. cap. ii. pag. 81.

(12) That which I have set down in the Text of this Article. See above, Citat. (c).

(13) It was Dionysius the Tyrant.

(14) Ælian. divers. Histor. lib. xii. cap. lxi.

(15) Pausan. lib. vii. pag. 259, 266.

(16) A River of Athens.

(17) Herodot. lib. vii. c. 189.

(18) Xenophon, de Cyri expedit. lib. iv. pag. 143.

(19) Philostratus in Vita Apollonii, lib. iv. p. 167.

makes a Remark on *Orithya's* not complaining of the Coldness of such a Husband [D]: but that Remark is more pleasant than solid; for *Boreas*, how cold so ever he is represented, was very warm in his Love [E]. He had several Children, and

(20) Libanus
Declam. 20.

(21) Matron
apud Athenæum
lib. iv. cap. v.
pag. 134.

(22) Casaub. in
Athen. lib. iv.
cap. v. p. 254.

(23) In tractatu
de festis Græco-
rum.

(24) Fazoldus in
Jerologia p. 124.

(25) Plato in
Phædro circa
init. pag. 121.

(26) In the Re-
mark [G].

(27) Balzac. En-
trec. 5. cap. ii.
pag. 80, 81.

the *Athenians* swore by the Deity of *Boreas*, and that his Festival was celebrated by them with great Solemnity, and rich Banquets (20). *Casaubon* is going to tell us this in his Commentary on these Words of *Matron*, τῶν καὶ βορέης ἡρώσας πεπτο-
μενῶν, quarum dum coquerentur, sive recens co-
actarum vel *Boreas* poterat affici desiderio (21). —

Which while they were baking, or new baked, even *Boreas* might long for (21). Sensus autem est, adeo bonos panes illos aut placentas fuisse; ut etiam *Boreas* celebrantibus apponi potuerint. Moris fuit *Athenis* *Boreæ* sacra facere, demerendi illius gratia. Magna solennitate is dies celebrabatur, atque in primis lautis opiparisque epulis. *Boreæ* hoc dicebant & *Boreas* superstitionis hujus ritum. *Hesychius* *Boreas* μὲν, Ἀθήνησιν οἱ ἀγῶνες τῶν *Boreæ* ἡρώσας καὶ γοῖνας ἵνα ἀντοῖσι (malum ἀντοῖσι) πρῶσιν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ *Boreas* μὲν. Vi-
detur dicere thiasos horum sacrorum fuisse ap-
pelatos *Boreas* μὲν. Ego arbitror *Boreas* μὲν id esse quod jam diximus: at qui superstitionis hujus sacra concelebant, eos esse dictos *Boreas* μὲν, ut *εἰκα-
δισὰς, τετραδισὰς*, & similes (22). — The meaning is, that those Loaves or Cakes were so good that they might be served at the Festival of *Boreas*. It was a Custom, among the *Athenians*, to sacrifice to *Boreas*, in order to appease him. That Day was celebrated with great Solemnity, especially with elegant and dainty Feasts. This they called *Boreas* μὲν, and the Ceremony of this superstition *Boreas* μὲν. *Hesychius* says, *Boreas* μὲν at *Athenis* were those who celebrated Festivals and Games to *Boreas*, for the preservation of their breath; they were called *Boreas* μὲν. — He seems to say that the Assistants at these Festivals were called *Boreas* μὲν. I am of opinion that *Boreas* μὲν is what I have said, that the Assistants at the Ceremony were called *Boreas* μὲν, as *εἰκαδισὰς, τετραδισὰς* and the like. *Cassellian* does not mention that Festival (23); but *Fazoldus* has taken notice of it (24). To conclude, I shall observe that mention is made of the Altar of the God *Boreas*, in a Dialogue of *Plato* (25); it is also said there, that it was built where it was thought *Orithya* had been stolen away. We shall make a Reflexion hereafter (26) on this folly of the *Athenians*.

[D] *Orithya's* not complaining of the Coldness of such a Husband.] After the Words I have inserted in the body of this Article, *Balzac* continues in this manner: 'Whereupon a *Signor Dottore*, who has been some Months in my House, to whom I have communicated some of my Observations, desires you to consider, that the Women of those Times were more modest, and more patient, than those of our Time, and that if an *Orithya* of those Times had married a Husband as cold as the North Wind, she would have accused him of Impotency the Day after her Wedding, and petitioned for a Divorce. However the *Athenian* Lady did not complain to the *Areopagites*, nor employ an Advocate to plead the Law of *Frigidis*, nor live ill with *Boreas*, or otherwise with *Aquila* (27).'

[E] *Boreas* was very warm in his Love.] *Balzac* may be allowed to joke on the Impatency of modern Women; but he ought not to take the liberty to strengthen his observations with the praises of *Orithya's* Patience; for that Lady had no occasion to exercise that quality. None, not *Jupiter* himself, surpassed the Wind *Boreas* in warmth of Constitution. Poor *Europa*, who was carried away by force, had no sooner called upon him for his assistance, but she retracted her Prayers; she considered that the one was as good as the other, and that she should get nothing by the change. Thus she complains, in the midst of the Waves, on the back of her Lover, as *Nonnus* relates it in the first of his *Dionysiaca*: O undæ, ô littora, mutæ undæ, surdæque littora, meas audite preces, meque huic subtrahite Tauro. Tuque, *Boreas*, pennis me subleva tuis. At verò misera, quem appellas, cujus imploras auxilium, ad quem confugis? nempe ad eum qui *Nympham* *Orithyam* rapuit, qui sic effusus est in venerem, ut magis nemo. — O

Waves, O Shores, dumb Waves, deaf Shores, bear my Prayers, and deliver me from this Bull. And thou *Boreas*, take me up on thy Wings. But poor Wretch whom do you call? Whose Aid do you ask? To whom do you fly? Even to him who ravished the *Nymph* *Orithya*, who is so prone to *Veneris*, as none more. And certainly what *Homer* says, in the twentieth Book of his *Iliad* (28), confirms these last Words of *Europa*: Erant *Erichthonio* Regi *Dardaniæ* Equæ ter mille, quæ circa paludes pascabantur. Eas ut vidit *Boreas*, ut perit, ut malus eum abstulit amor. Equi speciem induit, fallitque feminas, & ex eis suscepit pullos duodecim, currere sic pernicies, ut summas aristas non læderent (29). But observe, that this Translation is not literal. However it is true that *Homer* says, that *Boreas* fell in Love with *Erichthonius's* Mares, and that, having assumed the shape of a Horse, he covered them (that is some of them) and had twelve Colts by them. *Casaubon* should not have said, that those Mares did belong to *Dardanus* (30). Mr *Hofman* has committed the same error. It has been said expressly and particularly, that *Orithya* was very well satisfied with her Ravisher, and did not find him cruel; *Crudelem* & *Boream* rapta *Orithya* negavit (31). Be the Husband she was married to as cold as you please, she was soon brought to bed of Twins:

Dum volat, arserunt agitati fortius ignes,
Nec prius æræi cursus suppressit habenas
Quam Ciconum tenuit populos & mœnia raptor.
Illic & gelidi conjux *Actææ* tyranni
Et genitrix facta est, partuque enixa gemellos (32).

He flew, his Fires increasing in his Flight;
Nor check'd his Chariot in its airy Height,
Till now the Ravisher had reach'd the Walls
Of the cold Cicones, where *Hebrus* falls.
And there in time the bright *Athenian* Dame
The Mother of a double birth became:

His Fire increased by the swiftness of his flight; and therefore it is very likely that he was not long in his Passage; so that *Ovid* does not represent him too patient, when he supposes that the Marriage was not consummated before they came to the Town where the Ravisher made his abode. But others assert that he did not tarry so long before he satisfied his Love. They pretend that as he flew over the Sea he spied a Plain covered with Flowers, which seemed fit to serve him for a Nuptial Bed, and that he made use of it for that purpose. Read what follows.

Hic misere rorem infestat crudelis, & asper.
At prædo, & facilis, & rapta conjuge mitis.
Namque per ærias Ponti dum præterit oras
Vota ferens, vidit procul in convallæ remota
Planitiem viridi late florescere campo.
Admonuit locus optatæ cum conjuge noctis.
Deflavit, ac molli lacrymantem amplexus in herba,
Explicuitque sinus, munusque implevit amantis.
Illa gravis oculos ab humo vix anxia tollens
Flebat, eam insolito conjux solatur honore.
His ego pro lacrymis florum, gratulæ memorque,
Nocturnos spargam rores, ea præmia furo.
Debeat hoc raptæ pontus memor *Orithyæ*.
Subrisit, tenerumque genus suffudit honorem,
Lætæ viri dictis, & tanto munere conjux.
Ille novam sensit labi per pectora flammam,
Optatos repetens somnos, mollique quiete
Lenit accensum complexu conjugis ignem.
Scilicet & *Boreas* calido contrarius Austro, &c. (33).

----- This cruel wind and sharp,
Is dreadful enemy to gentle Dew,

But

(28) Verse 221.

(29) Notes sur
l'Aristote de Vir-
gile, pag. 106.
Ed. Lyons.
1663.

(30) *Casaubon* in
Athen. pag. 254.

(31) Propert.
Eleg. xxvi. lib.
ii.

(32) *Ovid.* Me-
tamor. lib. vi.
ver. 703.

(33) *Jovianus*
Pontanus in Me-
tamor. cap. de
præmia & rore,
fol. 113. versio.

and among others Zetes and Calais, whose History I shall give [F]. The Megalopolitans honoured him as their chief Deity (d). I speak of it in the Remarks, and likewise

(d) See the Remark [C], n. 11.

But when, a Ravisher, b' had stol'n a Wife
Gentle and mild. — For as his airy Course,
Bearing his prize, o'er Pontus he pursu'd,
By chance he spy'd, in a retired vale,
A verdant Plain; the place so opportune
Presenting to th' Enjoyment wif'd invites;
Quick he alights, and on the tender Grass
Places the weeping Fair, unfold, her Charms,
And there performs the ardent Lover's part:
She anxious weeps, scarce lifting from the Ground
Her drooping Eyes; mean while the Husband grieves,
With promis'd Honours, to allay her Grief;
These Flowers my Gratitude shall ever share;
Then for these Tears I'll e'er with nightly Devo
Reward, and Pontus ever thankful shall
This benefit to ravish'd Orithya owe.
Pleas'd with the Speech, and with a Boon so great,
The fair one smil'd, and straight a modest Blush
Overspread her Cheeks; he felt new Flames arise
Within his Breast, and satiate now he seeks
Needful Repose, and, in a gentle Sleep,
Camps'd the Tumults of his amorous Thoughts.

Apollonius pretends that the Ravisher enjoyed Orithya on the Bank of a River in Thrace (34), and that he covered her with a Cloud (35). You must not think that the Poets have offended against Probability, in representing the fame God both very amorous and covered with Ice.

Nunc gelidus sicca Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto (36).
— and now
Comes frozen Boreas raging from the North.

Thracius hos Boreas scopulos immitia regna
Solut habet, semperque rigens nunc littora. —
Atque ubi se terris glaciali fundit ab Arcto (37).

Now Thracian Boreas ever frozen rules
These Rocks, inhospitable Realm; The Shores —
When from the icy North he sallies out
Spreads o'er the Earth.

Cum gravis armatur Boreas, glacieque minaci
Hispidus, & Getica concretus grandine pennas (38).
When dreadful Boreas arms, all shaggy o'er
With horrid Ice, his Plumes congealed with Hail.

Does not History tell us, that Love reigns in the most icy Climates? In this respect all the Zones of the Earth are torrid, as I have said elsewhere (39). Why should not Boreas be in Love, seeing Neptune in the midst of all his Waves, and Pluto in the abode of the Manes, have been likewise in Love? Why should not be feel the effects of that Passion, seeing Polyphemus was struck with it in his Cave?

Omnia vincit Amor.

Love conquers all; nothing can resist him. He sports no less with Lions than with Sparrows, and triumphs in the Euxine Sea as well as in France. Propertius has expressed it in few words.

Hic Deus & terras, & maria alta domat.

This God commands both Earth and Sea.

And Guarini in the first Scene of the first Act of his *Pastor Fido* (40). The Author whom I quote relates the whole Passage of *Pastor Fido*; I refer my Reader thither. This Spark, adds he (41) speaking of Boreas, is of a good Temper. Tho' he burns with Love, yet he is familiar with Cold and Snow:

(40) Note sur l'Aristée de Virgile, pag. 97.

(41) Id. ibid. pag. 110, 111.

Scit nivibus servare fidem:

2

And as Virgil says,

Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurit.

A proof of Boreas's Sensibility in point of Love may be gathered from his fury, which made him dash a Mistress to pieces against a Rock, because she had preferred Pan before him. I will quote the same Author again, seeing I must criticise him in some things. Orithya, says he, did wisely (42), not to shew any Grief for having been ravished, 'for she had to do with a strange Ravisher, who might have dashed her against some Rock, as he did the Fair Pitys, according to Pausanias (43). Hear what Achilles Boecbius says of it, in his Emblems.' He sets down the Verses of Boecbius at length; you will find the Sense of them in this Passage of a Commentator upon Propertius: 'Vere amica Pinus Arcadio Deo, utpote quem Boreæ amatori item suo, tunc quum puella adhuc esset, longe præferret, unde Thrac ille injuriæ impatiens deprehensam forte solam spatioso campo saxo allisit, quam infeliciter moribundam exceptam intra gremium suum tellus in arborem cognominem commutavit, cujus frondibus postea tempora præcinctus semper spectatus est Arcadius Deus. Quæ fabula existit apud Constantinum Geoponic. XI. & tangitur à Nonno in Dionys. (44). — Pinus was truly a Friend to the God Pan; for when she was very young, she preferred him to her other Lover Boreas; at which Injury the Thracian was so provoked, that, catching her one Day alone in a spacious Plain, he dashed her against a Rock: the Earth receiving the unhappy dying Maid into her bosom, changed her into a Tree of the same Name, with the Boughs whereof the Arcadian God was ever after seen crowned. This Fable is extant in Constantine, Geoponic. XI. & is touched on by Nonnus in Dionys.' If I would say with Mr Hofman that Boreas was in Love with the beautiful Youth Hyacinthus, who was also beloved by Apollo, I should have a second Example of the raging Jealousy of that Ravisher of Orithya; for every body knows that Apollo's Rival was so enraged, that he had not the preference, that he killed Hyacinthus, by driving back upon his Head the Quoit, which Apollo had thrown: But Mr Hofman is mistaken; for it was the Wind Zephyrus, and not the Wind Boreas, that did this (45). Note, that this Writer commits another fault in calling Orithya's Father Erichonius, instead of Erechtheus.

[F] Zetes and Calais, whose History I shall give.] They were Twins, and, as Ovid says, the first born Children of Orithya, but, as others (46) say, they were born after their Sisters Chione, Chtonia, and Cleopatra. They were in the company of the Argonauts, and did their Brother-in-law Phineus very great Service (47); they drove away the Harpies which tormented him cruelly; for they took away all the Meat that was brought upon his Table, and if they left any thing, they infected it with an horrible stench. They pursued them as far as the Islands Strophades, and would have destroyed them, if an unknown Voice from the Gods had not forbid it (48). 'In the Games celebrated by Atacus the Son of Pelæus, at which all the Argonauts were present, Zethes and Calais obtained the Victory: In ludis quos fecit Atacius Pelei filius, vicerunt Zetes Aquilonis filius dolichodromo, Calais ejusdem filius diaulo.' I take this from the Notes on Virgil's *Aristeus*. The Latin Passage is taken from Hyginus, Chapter 273. 'They were killed by Hercules, says the Author of those Notes, in the Isle of Tenos at the Funeral of King Pelias, for having taken the part of Tiphis, Captain of the Ship Argo, against Telamon, who would have had them wait for Hercules, who was gone from them to seek his dear Hylas. The Gods being moved at their Death changed them into Winds, which commonly precede the rising of the Dog Star about eight Days; hence it is that they are called ἀπὸδ' ποταμοῦ, that is, Forerunners. Nevertheless Hyginus says in his fourteenth Chapter, that they were buried, and that their Sepulchre is seen to move at the blowing of their Father (49). We find some other Reasons for the Anger, which made Hercules

(42) Id. ibid. pag. 102.

(43) It is not true that Pausanias mentions it.

(44) Donza fuit in hac verba Propertii Eleg. 18. lib. 1. vera 20. & Arcadio Pinus amata Deo.

(45) See Palmyræ cap. xlvii. Lucian in Dialog. Mercurii & Apollinis. Philostratus in Hyacintho. Tzetzes Chil. i. cap. xii.

(46) Scholiast. Apollon. in lib. ver. 211. See also Apollodorus, lib. iii. pag. 246.

(47) He had been married to Cleopatra.

(48) Ex Valerio Flacco, lib. 4.

(49) Notes sur l'Aristée de Virgile, pag. 141. The Author took this from Vigenere upon Philostratus in Glaucon Ponticus, pag. 741, 742. of the 1st Tome in 4to. Apollonius is the first Author who mentions this. Argon. lib. i. ver. 1300, &c.

(e) See the same Remark, n. 111.

likewise of the Worship which the *Albenians* paid him (e). The Circumstances of *Orithya's Rape* are variously reported [G]. The anonymous Author, who published a *French Translation of Virgil's Aristeus* (f) with Notes, in the Year 1668, has collected many things concerning the History, and Qualities of This Wind, and particularly concerning the Violence peculiar to it, which *Ovid* describes so well (g). He, who calls it the *Author of Shipwracks* (b), would keep that Epithet for other Winds, if he was to represent what passes in the *Channel*, and on the Coasts of the *Netherlands*. It is not the North Wind, but the North-West, and

South

(f) It is an Epitome of the Georgics.

(g) *Ovid*. *Metam.* lib. vi. circa fin.

(b) See Balzac, *Entretien* xxxvii. pag. 351.

(50) See *Natalis Comes*, *Mythol.* lib. viii. cap. xi. pag. 863, 864, who had it from the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, lib. i.

(51) *Propert.* Eleg. xx. lib. i.

(52) *Callimach.* hymn. in *Delum.* ver. 232.

(53) *Natalis Comes*, *Mythol.* lib. viii. cap. xi. p. 864.

(54) *Apollon.* Argon. lib. i. ver. 215.

(55) *Pausanias*, lib. i. pag. 17.

(56) Notes sur l'Artifice de Virgile p. 101, 102.

(57) *Natalis Comes*, *Mythol.* p. 864.

(58) Scholiast. *Apollon.* lib. i. ver. 211.

(59) *Thucyd.* lib. ii.

(60) *Strabo*, lib. ix. pag. 275.

(61) *Plin.* lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 423.

(62) Scholiast. *Apollon.* lib. i. ver. 211.

(63) Ο τόπος ἐστὶν ὅπου τὰς πηγὰς. Here are the Fountains of the River. *Pausan.* lib. x. pag. 351.

(64) *Plinius* lib. iv. cap. vii. see also *Aulus Gellius* lib. xviii. cap. x.

(65) *Plato* in *Phaedro*, pag. 1211.

(66) *Guillet*, *Athenes ancienne & nouvelle*, pag. 264.

Hercules kill them (50); but there is no mention made of a thing which raised his Jealousy, and perhaps provoked him more than any thing else. — *Propertius* says that those two Brothers perceiving that *Hylas*, the favourite of *Hercules*, was going by himself to look for a Fountain, followed him, and caressed him passionately (51).

Callimachus mentions three Daughters of *Boreas*, who carried Offerings to the Isle of *Delos* (52). He calls them *Oupis*, *Laxo*, and *Hecærga*. It is said also that the Rape of *Orithya* is not the only Act of that kind which *Boreas* committed; it is pretended that he carried away *Chloris* the Daughter of *Arcturus*, and that he had a Daughter by her. — *Memoriae* proditum est à *Cleante* in primo libro de moribus, *Boream* rapuisse *Chlorim* quoque *Arcturi* filiam, atque illam in collem *Niphatem* asportasse, qui postea *thorus Boreæ* vocatus fuit, antequam diceretur *Caucasus*, de qua filiam suscepit *Hyrpace* (53). — It is recorded by *Cleantes*, in the first book de Moribus, that *Boreas* took away *Chloris*, the Daughter of *Arcturus*, and carried her up to the Hill *Niphates*, which was afterwards called *Boreas's Bed*, before it was called *Caucasus*, and by her he had a Daughter called *Hyrpace*. See the Remark [H].

[G] The Circumstances of *Orithya's Rape* are variously reported. Some say that she was on the Bank of the River *Ilissus*, when she was carried away; it is the opinion of *Apollonius* (54), *Pausanias* (55), and *Dionysius Periegetes*. — *Izertus* follows this opinion in his *Cybiades*. Yet *Chærilus* says, that it was on the Banks of the Fountain *Cepheissus*, and *Simonides* near the River *Brilissus* (56). The Author, from whom I borrow this Passage, took it from *Natalis Comes*. He should have observed that the Original does not say that *Brilissus* was a River. There are only these words in it: *Simonides tamen Poeta non ab Ilisso, sed à Brilisso, raptam fuisse Orithyam putavit* (57). — Yet *Simonides* the Poet was of opinion, that *Orithya* was taken, not from *Ilissus*, but from *Brilissus*. This is taken from the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*. These are his Words: τὴν δὲ Ὠρίθυαν Σιμωνίδης ἀπὸ Βριλίσσου φασὶν ἀρπαγεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τὴν Σαρπηδονίαν πύργον τῆς Ὠκεῖνης ἐνὶ Χθονὶ (58). But *Simonides* says that *Orithya* was taken from *Brilissus* and carried to the *Sarpedonian Rock* in *Thrace*. It is very likely that his *Brilissus* is the Mountain *Brilissus*, mentioned by *Thucydides* (59), *Strabo* (60), and *Pliny* (61), and which was in *Attica*. It is the same Scholiast who informs us of *Chærilus's* Opinion. *Χοιρίλλος δὲ, φησὶ* (62), ἀρπασθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀκρὶ ἀμυγδαλέω, ὑπὸ τὰς τῆς Κηφισσοῦ πηγὰς. But *Chærilus* says, that she was taken, as she was gathering Flowers, by the Fountain of *Cepheissus*. By these last Words might be understood the Spring of the River *Cepheissus* near *Lilea* in *Phocis* (63), but it is better to understand them of a particular Fountain, called *Cepheissus*, near *Athens* (64). We have not yet said all that concerns the different accounts of Authors concerning the place where the Rape was committed. *Plato* observes that there was a Tradition, that *Orithya* was carried away from the *Areopagus*. *Ἡ δὲ Ἀεὶς πᾶσι λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρεῷ, ὡς ἐκείθεν ἀλλ' οὐ ἐνθάδε ἠρπάσθην* (65). Or out of the *Areopagus*. For there is another Tradition, that she was not taken from this Place, but from thence. He had just before touched upon the most general Opinion, viz. that *Ilissus* was the place from whence she was carried away. We must not take for a new Opinion what *Mr Guillet* says, that *Boreas* stole away the young *Orithya* in that part of *Athens*, called *Agra* or *Agræ*, and that it was the first time the Goddess *Diana* went a Hunting (66). The Altar of *Boreas*, and the Temple of *Diana Agræa*, stood there on the Banks of the *Ilissus*.

VOL. II.

This may be inferred from two Passages compared together, one of *Plato* (67), and the other of *Pausanias* (68).

The different Reports concerning *Orithya's Employment* are these. Some say in general that she was diverting herself (69); others that she was gathering Flowers (70); others that she was going over the *Ilissus* (71); others that she was dancing; others that she was bathing. *Plato* insinuates the last Opinion very clearly (72); and we find the fourth in express Words in these Verses of *Apollonius*.

Ἐὼ χατὴν δὲ ἄλκας δὲ ὡς χεῖμῆρας ἐνθ' ἀγῶν γὰς
ὀφινὶς βόρεος ἀνέρι-ῶτο κενεστίνδεν,
Ἰλισσοῦ περὶ πᾶσι χορῶν ἐνὶ δινεύσαν (73).

In ultima intempesta *Thracia*, quo istam *Thracius Aquilo* rejecerat à *Cecropia*, Cum se propter *Ilissum* in choro circumagebat.

To the remote and rigid Climes of *Thrace*
The fair, by *Thracian Boreas*, was convey'd
From *Attica*, where on *Ilissus* banks
He found her dancing.

I only quote this Passage to shew the rashness of the Historian of another *Apollonius*. He supposes that his *Hero*, censuring the *Athenians*, told them, that, if *Orithya* had danced, she would not have inspired any Love. That Passage of *Philostratus* is curious enough to deserve that I should set down the Latin Translation of it. — Oportet ventos venerari, præsertim cum socii vestri sint, & pro vobis maxime spirent, neque *Boream* asinem vestrum, qui maxime ventorum omnium masculus est, foeminam facere decet, neque enim ipse *Boreas* *Orythiam* amasset, si eam vidisset tripudiantem (74). — You ought to reverence the Winds, especially because they are your Allies, and blow mostly for you, nor is it fit that *Boreas* your Kinsman, who is the most Masculine of all Winds, be made a Woman; for *Boreas* himself would not have loved *Orithya*, if he had seen her dancing. *Artus Thomas*, *Sieur d'Embri*, who wrote a Commentary upon that Work of *Philostratus*, should have informed us of the opposition there is between the discourse of *Apollonius* the Poet, and that of *Apollonius* the Philosopher. It had been more reputable for him to observe the Impertinences of the latter, than to tell us, I. That some make *Boreas* the Son of *Aëreus*, and others say that he was a *Thracian*. II. That *Simonides* calls the River, near which *Orithya* was ravished, *Brilissus* (75). Here are two Faults; for to be the Son of *Aëreus*, and to be of *Thrace*, are not contraries, and *Simonides* does not say that *Brilissus* was a River. It would be to no purpose to say, that *Apollonius's* design being to reform the *Athenians*, he would have been to blame if he had gone about to refute the Stories which they related of *Boreas*; I say such a Reason ought not to be alledged, seeing there was a Medium which might easily have been kept, between refuting ridiculous Traditions, and supposing them to be true. He should not have mentioned them; a Philosopher, who was persuaded that a Refutation of those idle Stories would offend his hearers, ought to have said nothing of them. But what a disorder is this! The *Athenians*, so ingenious, so polite, so knowing, so acute a People, suffer themselves to be persuaded that the Daughter of one of their Kings made a Wind in love with her, that she lay with him, that she conceived by him, that That Marriage occasioned an Alliance between them and that Wind, and that this Ally proved very serviceable to them, when they implored his assistance in the War against the *Persians*. They were

(67) *Plato* in *Phædro* pag. 211.

(68) *Pausanias*, lib. i. pag. 17.

(69) *Id. ibid.*

(70) See above, Citation (62).

(71) *Apollon.* lib. iii. pag. 247.

(72) *Plato* in *Phædro*, pag. 210.

(73) *Apollonius* lib. i. ver. 213, pag. 24.

(74) *Philostat.* in *Vita Apollonii* lib. iv. pag. 137.

(75) *Artus Thomas* *Sieur d'Embri* in his Annotations upon *Apollonius's Life*, translated into French by *Vigener*, Tom. I. pag. 801.

South-West Winds, that are feared there. Those are the two Authors of Shipwracks there. I make this Observation to shew that Poets, who are too servile Imitators of Antiquity, give us often Descriptions not well suited to their Country. I must add, to what I have already said, an Observation on a Passage of *Natalis Comes* [H], which I have quoted at the End of the Remark [F] of this Article.

were so persuaded of all these things, that they confirmed them by public Decrees, by erecting an Altar, and by the celebration of an Anniversary. I make this observation, lest it should be objected to me, that the Rape of *Orithya* was looked upon at *Athens* as a poetical Fiction, and a witty Conceit. That Objection is absolutely false. All that I have said concerning the Wind *Boreas*, was an Article of Faith among the *Athenians*. I am apt to believe, that at first it was only a poetical Fancy sang about the Streets; but at length it became part of the Public Religion. The same might be said of the other parts of the Pagan Religion, and we may observe upon this occasion a remarkable difference between Mahometism and Paganism. An Impostor founded Mahometism; it was his design. But Paganism was formed out of the witty Conceits of some Poets, who had no design to sanctify their Fictions, but invented them only for amusement. It is of them, it might have been said, *Hæ nugæ serâ ducunt in mala. — These trifles lead into serious mischief.* When once those Fooleries came to be looked on as a point of Faith, they never after lost their credit. It is in this respect that the *Egyptians* might have said to the Greeks, *ὦ Σῶλον, Σῶλον, Ἕλληνας αἰεὶ παῖδες ἔσε* ----- *νῶτερες (εἰπείν) τὰς Ἰνχῶς πάντες* (76). *O Solon, Solon, ye Greeks are always Children, your minds are always young.* But the Greeks might yet better reproach them with the same thing in that respect:

Quis nescit Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Egyptus portenta colat — (77).

How Egypt, mad with Superstition grown,
Makes Gods of Monsters, but too well is known.

DRYDEN.

And indeed we do not find any Author among them that deserves the civility, which a Roman shewed to *Diodorus Siculus*, of whom he said, that he was the first among the *Greeks* that left off fooling (78).

I do not pretend that all the *Athenians* were so simple, as to believe those idle Stories. I remember the answer, which *Plato* put in the Mouth of *Socrates*, who was asked whether he believed that the Tradition of the Rape of *Orithya* was true:

ἀλλ' εἰπὲς πρὸς Διὸς, ὃ Σώκρατες. καὶ σὺ τῷ το
τὸ μυθολογίᾳ κείνῃ ἀληθὲς εἶναι: sed dice
per Jovem Socrates, tunc hanc fabulam parvas ve
ram fuisse (79)? If I disbelieved it as wise Men
do, answered he, I should not be absurd: Ἀλλ'
εἰ ἀπιστοῖν ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοί, ἐκ δὲ ἀπορίας εἶναι
(80). *Jam si non putarem ut sapientes absurdus
non essem.* It appears by these words on the one
side, that the most knowing Persons judged right
ly of it; and on the other, that they explained
their Thoughts cautiously upon that Subject in a
public Work. However, a great many *Athenians*,
Men of Parts and good Sense in all other things,
and much more capable to deceive others than to
be deceived, believed honestly what was told them
of *Boreas* and *Orithya*. This is a matter of Won
der, and affords a good Moral Reflexion about
the Weakness of Humane Understanding. Let us
judge of the Ancients by the Moderns. At
this day, in *Rome*, where there is so much Wit,
and so much Prudence, they commonly believe
most of the Traditions, upon which the Worship
of some particular Chapels is grounded. Some
few thinking Men give no credit to them. We
must argue in this manner as to ancient Greece.

[H] An Observation on a Passage of *Natalis Comes*. We have seen (81) that That Author asserts, that *Boreas* stole away *Chloris*, Daughter of *Arcturus*, and carried her to the top of the Mountain *Niphates*, which was afterwards called the bed of *Boreas*; and that he had a Daughter by her named *Harpax*. *Natalis Comes* pretends that *Cleantes* has related this in his first Book of *Memories*; but here is what *Plutarch* says (82). Mount *Niphates* was called the Bed of *Boreas*, from the time that this God carried thither *Chloris*, the Daughter of *Arcturus* (83). He had a Son by her called *Harpax*, who succeeded King *Hemiochus*. This Mountain was afterward called *Caucasus*, because *Saturn*, taking his refuge there, after the War of the Giants, for fear of the Menaces of his Son, killed a Shepherd there, whose name was *Caucasus*. He was driven from that *Asylum*, and thrown into *Tartarus*. *Jupiter* threw him there, and ordered the Mountain to be called *Caucasus*, in honour of that Shepherd, and fastened *Prometheus* to it. This is what *Cleantes* has related in the third Book of the *Theomachia*. It is not certain that *Plutarch* cited him in what relates to the Wind *Boreas*; so that *Natalis Comes* is faulty in several Respects.

BORGARUTIUS (PROSPER), an Italian Physician, lived in the XVth Century. He published some Works, the first of which was a *Treatise of Anatomy*. He composed it in his Native Language; and finding it met with so good a Reception, that the Professors of Anatomy in the Universities of *Italy* scrupled not to use his very words, he resolved to translate it into *Latin*, with the Addition of several new Observations, which he had made while he taught Anatomy publicly at *Padua*. He not only communicated to the Public the Discoveries he had made by Dissection of Bodies, but studied Medicines also, and printed something on that Subject, though he had sworn never to have any thing to do with the Book-sellers [A]. He took a Journey to the Court of *France* in the Year 1567; and as

[A] He published something ----- though he had sworn never to have any thing to do with the Book-sellers. The trouble he was involved in during the printing of his Book of *Anatomy*, and the Vexation he met with in the Printers Work, made him, in a Fret, take such an Oath, but, when he was got from under the Press, he broke his word. He compares himself in this to those Women, who, in the Pains of Childbirth, protest they will never expose themselves to the like any more; yet notwithstanding when the Pain is over forget their Protections: Quod accidere universis parturientibus solet, mihi plane contigisse videtur, ut dum in labore quidem versantur se jurent amplius non parituras: postea vero extra discrimen

positæ, rursus & concipiunt & pariunt. Nam quod haud ita pridem Contemplationem Anatomicam, laboriosissimum partum, exarandum in publicam Studioforum commoditatem curarem; ac partim quidem immensis laboribus fractus, partim prælii difficultates ac molestias summas pertæsus, contuissim, ac propemodum apud me dejerâsem, non futuram mihi amplius rem cum Typographis. Postea quam factus jam editus est in lucem, violare jusjurandum compulsus fui; fabricam Pharmacopolitæcon (ut interim de meo pestilentis morbi Tractatu, ac Methodo de Morbo Gallico verba facere non curem) duodecim classibus digestam, publice educavi, ac meo quidem lacte tam diu sustuli, donec hinc inde seipsa audacter evolavit

(76) Plato in Timæo, p. 1043. C.

(77) Juvenal. Sat. xv. init.

(78) Apud Græcos defuit nugari Diodorus. Plin. in Prefat. p. 10.

(79) Plato in Phædro p. 1211. A.

(80) Id. ibid.

(81) See above, Citation (53).

(82) Plutarch. de Fluvio, pag. 18.

(83) It was the River called afterwards Phasis.

he writes himself *Medicus Regius*, the King's Physician, I conjecture that he obtained this Title at that time. He found at *Paris* the Manuscript of the *Great Surgery of Vesalius*, and bought it, and published it at *Venice* (a) in the Year 1569 in 8vo [B]. His Epistle Dedicatory, dated from *Padua* the thirteenth of September 1568, affords me this Information.

(1) Prosper Borganutius Epist. Dedicat. Chirurgie Magnae.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) There be is called Borganutius instead of Borganutius.

'evolavit (1)'. He adds that his Zeal for the good of the Public obliged him to break his Oath, for he saw that the Faults committed in the Composition of Remedies stood in need of Correction, and that he could employ himself therein to good purpose. I know not whether he published the four Books he promised *de Morborum Puerorum curandi ratione* (2). They are not mentioned in *Lindinius renovatus*, nor in the *Epitome* of the *Bibliothèque de Gesner* (3), nor in the Supplement to it; but that is not sufficient reason to conclude that he did not publish that Work; for he has published some others which these Authors do not mention.

Every body knows the Story of the Woman, who made the Protestations above hinted at, who notwithstanding was no sooner delivered, than she desired that the blessed Candle, which was burning on the Table, might be put out: for says she, *it may serve me another time*. One cannot here properly apply the *Italian Proverb*, *Passato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo*; when the Danger's over, send the Saint a grazing. It is well known that there are particular and indispensable Reasons which very justly discharge a Woman from any thing she may have sworn on such an Occasion. It is not the same thing in respect to Vows made at Sea in a Storm, which are commonly forgot on Shore.

There are no Authors so subject as Poets, to forget that they solemnly promised to print no more.

O! combien l'homme est inconstant, divers,
Foible, léger, tenant mal sa parole,
J'avois juré, même en assez beaux vers,
De renoncer à tout Conte frivole.
Et quand juré? c'est ce qui me confond:
Depuis deux jours j'ai fait cette promesse.
Puis suez-vous à Rimeur qui répond
D'un seul moment. Dieu ne fit la sagesse
Pour les cerveaux qui hantent les neuf Sœurs.

How light, and inconstant, is Man,

How apt of his Promise to fail!

I have sworn, in the best Verse I can,

To meddle no more with a Tale.

Sworn! when? ay, that confounds me sore;

'Tis two days since I made that Oath,

Henceforth who'll trust a Rymer more,

That for one Moment pawns his troth.

Wisdom by Heaven was never made

To adorn a Poet's giddy Head.

These are the Words of the ingenious *la Fontaine*, in the beginning of one of his Tales (4). Mr *Ménage* bestowed two Chapters (5), to prove, that Poets after they have sworn to write no more, do still write on (6).

[B] He found at *Paris* the Manuscript of the great Surgery of *Vesalius* — and published it at *Venice*, in the Year 1569 in 8vo.] He corrected and digested it into order, and made it, in a manner, his own Work; as he says in the Title Page.

Andreae Vesalii, Bruxellensis, Philippi

Hispaniarum Regis medici,

Chirurgia Magna, in septem libros digesta,

In quâ nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfectam atque integram, de curandis humani Corporis malis, methodum pertineat.

Ab Excellentissimo Philosopho, ac Medico Régio, Prospero Borganutio, recognita, emendata, ac in lucem edita.

Formæ etiam Instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi utuntur, his in libris apprimè descriptæ sunt.

Venetis, Ex Officina Valgrisianâ. 1569.

(a) Ex officina Valgrisianâ.

(4) La Fontaine au Conte de la Clochette, Toms I. pag. 192.

(5) In the Anti-bailler, Tom. II. chap. cxxiii, &c.

(6) See the Index to Anti-bailler at the word Poets.

BORRHAUS (MARTIN), Professor of Divinity at *Basil*, was first known by the Name of *Cellarius*. He was born at *Stutgard* in the Duchy of *Wittemberg* in the Year 1499 (a); and was a Disciple of *Capnio* (b). He took his Degree of Master in Philosophy at *Heidelberg* (c), and going afterwards to *Wittemberg*, he there acquired the Friendship of *Melanchthon*, with whom he had already some Acquaintance at *Tubingen* (d). As he wanted neither Parts nor Learning, he had a great many Scholars, by which he got a deal of Money. He was admitted to that Employment on *Melanchthon's* Recommendation. He suffered himself to be miserably seduced by *Stubner*, one of the first Founders of Anabaptism, and laboured with much Zeal to establish that Sect (e). He had a Conference with *Luther* in the Year 1522 [A], wherein he shewed a great deal of Fanaticism. Being gone into *Prussia* in the Year 1525, he was imprisoned there by order of the Prince; yet he went on, and wrote several Books to support his Errors (f). But when he

(a) Konig, Bibl. pag. 126.

(b) Frider. Spanhemius de origine & progressu Anabapt. n. 2.

(c) Höornbeck, summa Controv. pag. 356.

(d) Camerar. in vita Melanchthonis, pag. 48.

(e) Ex eodent ibid. pag. 47, 48.

(f) Id. pag. 48.

[A] He had a Conference with *Luther*, in the Year 1522.] The first fury of Anabaptism broke out at *Zwickau*, where *Nicolas Storch*, *Mark Stubner*, and *Thomas Munzer*, set up for Prophets, and boasted that they frequently had Conversation with God. They drew a great number of Hearers after them; for they promised that the new Reign of the Messiah would soon come. All this while *Luther* lay concealed; but he was informed of the great stir of those Fanatics, and of the Progress they made at *Wittemberg*, where they had also staggered *Melanchthon* (1). As for our *Cellarius*, they gained him intirely, and he became as zealous as any of them. 'Non paucos in suam sententiam perducebat (*Marcus Stubnerus*) quorum caput fuit *Martinus Cellarius*, qui istis pertinacissime diu sane adhæsit, & causam hanc egit atque defendit (2)'. *Luther* leaving his retreat came to *Wittemberg* in the Month of *March* 1522,

and stopped the progress of those Men by his Sermons. Nay, their Disciples heard him with great Veneration; but as soon as *Stubner*, who was gone from *Wittemberg* about some business, came back again, they adhered to him as before, and encouraged him to maintain his Opinions. *Cellarius* especially exhorted him to it (3). *Stubner* desired a Conference with *Luther*, and at last a Day and Hour was appointed for that purpose. He came to the Assignment accompanied with *Cellarius* and another; *Luther* had only *Melanchthon* with him. You will see in the *Latin Passage* recited below, that *Cellarius* shewed more Passion than *Stubner*, and how those Fanatics left *Wittemberg* the same day, and retired to *Cheberg*, from whence they wrote a Letter full of Curies to *Luther*. 'Audiuit Lutherus placide narrantem Marcum sua. Cum discendi finem fecisset, nihil contra illa adeo absurda & futilia differendum ratus Lutherus, hoc modo

(3) Inque omnibus maxime & ardentissime M. Cellarius. Id. ibid. pag. 50.

(1) See Secken-dorf, Hist. Luther. lib. I. p. 253.

(2) Camerar. in vita Melanchthon. pag. 47.

(g) Hoornbeeck, ubi supra, pag. 355. See also Camerarius, ubi supra, pag. 48.

(h) Viduus causa fenestrarum opificio se aliquando adoluit. He followed the Trade of a Glazier some time for a livelihood.

Hoornb. ib. pag. 356.

law that his Sect received great checks daily, and that the Hopes they had given of the Renovation of all things proved false, he was converted, and retired to *Basil* in the Year 1536 (g). He not only quitted Anabaptism, but also the Name of *Cellarius*, and took upon him the Name of *Borrhaus*. He married, and applied himself some time to a Trade for a Livelihood (h). At last he was admitted into the number of the Professors of the University; he taught Rhetoric first, and afterwards Divinity. He wrote some Books [B], and died of the Plague at *Basil* in the Year 1564 (i).

do monuit; viderent quid agerent. Nihil eorum quae commemorassent sacris literis nisi, commentaque esse cogitationum curiosarum, aut etiam fallacis & fraudulentis spiritus deliras & perniciosas subjectiones. Ibi Cellarius & voce & gestibus vesanis, cum & solum pedibus & propositam mensulam manibus feriret, exclamare & indignari, autum esse Luterum suspicari tale aliquid de divino homine. At Marcus paulo sedatior, ut scias, inquit, Lutere, me spiritu Dei praeditum esse, ego quid in animo tuo conceperis sum indicaturus, idque est: Te incipere inclinari ad haec ut meam doctrinam veram esse credas. Cum Luterus, ut ipse postea dixit, istam dedit opera sententiam cogitando esset complexus: Inrepet te Deus Satana: Post haec plus verborum faciendum Luterus non putavit, & minantes gloriantesque eos dimisit, ac nescio quid pollicentes de mirabilibus effectibus, quibus probaturi sua essent, cum hoc modo dixisset: Is Deus quem ego veneror? Ego solo facile vestra numina, ne quid tale efficiatur, coercetis; eo die oppido illi excesserunt, & Chembergo, distante passibus amplius millibus quinque, literas plenas maledictis & execrationibus ad Lutherum miserunt (4). — Luther patiently heard Marcus lay down his Doctrine. When he had done, Luther, not thinking proper to dispute against such absurd and empty stuff, only gave them this Admonition, to take care what they did. That none of those things, they had laid down, were founded on Scripture, that they were the Devices of curious Minds, or rather the pernicious Suggestions of a deceitful and lying Spirit. At that

Cellarius, with all the Extravagance of Gesture as well as Voice, stamping, beating the Table, and exclaiming, testified his Indignation, that Luther should suspect such a thing of the divine Man. But Marcus, who was a little more sedate, said to Luther, to let you see that I am endued with the Spirit of God, I will tell you what you have now in your Thoughts; and that is, you begin to incline to believe my Doctrine to be true. When Luther, as he said himself afterwards, had on purpose fixed his Thoughts on this Sentence; God rebuke thee Satan: After this Luther thought not fit to say any more, but let them go threatening and boasting, and promising to prove their Doctrine by I know not what Miracles, to which he only replied, the God, whom I fear and worship, will easily restrain your God from bringing any such thing to pass; the same Day they went out of the Town, and sent Luther a Letter from Chemberg, about five Miles distant, full of Curses and Maledictions.

[B] He wrote some Books. He published Notes on Aristotle's Politics in the Year 1545. A Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric in the Year 1551. A Commentary on the Pentateuch in the Year 1557. One upon Isaiah and the Revelations in the Year 1561. One on Job and Ecclesiastes in the Year 1564. I have not seen what he wrote on Logic and the Mathematics (5), nor his Commentary on the Book of Judges, and on the Book of Kings (6). Konig ascribes to him a Philosophical Work divided into three Books, de censura veri & falsi (7).

(i) Id. ibid.

(5) Praeter scripta logica & mathematica libris aliquot commentariis in Vetus Testamentum & Ecclesiae Dei commendavit. Spanhemius de orig. & progr. Anabapt. n. 2.

(6) Hoornbeeck summ. Controv. pag. 356, makes mention of it.

(7) Konig, in Biblioth. vet. & nova, pag. 126.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 51, 52.

(a) See the Remark [I].

BORRI (JOSEPH FRANCIS), in Latin *Burrhus*, a famous Chymist, Quack, and Heretic in the XVIIth Century, was a *Milanese* (a). He finished his Studies in the Seminary at *Rome* [A], where the Jesuits admired him as a Prodigy for his Memory and Capacity. He applied himself afterwards to the Court of *Rome*, but that did not hinder him from making several Discoveries in Chymistry. He plunged himself into the most extravagant Debaucheries, and in the Year 1654 was obliged to take refuge in a Church. A little while after he set up for a religious Man, and privately scattered certain visionary Notions [B]. He communicated to his Confidants the Revelations which he boasted he had received: but after the Death of *Innocent X*, finding that the new Pope *Alexander VII* renewed the Tribunals, and caused more care to be taken of every thing, he despaired of having time sufficient to encrease the Number of his Followers, as his Design required; and therefore he left *Rome*, and returned to *Milan*. He acted the Devotee there, and by that means gained Credit with several People, whom he caused to perform certain pious Exercises, which had a great Appearance of a spiritual Life. He engaged the Members of his new Congregation, to take an Oath of Secrecy to him; and when he found them confirmed in the Belief of his extraordinary Mission, he prescribed to them certain Vows by the Suggestion of his Angel, as he pretended. One of those Vows was that of Poverty, for the Performance whereof he caused all the Money which every one had, to be consigned to himself. The

[A] He finished his Studies in the Seminary at *Rome*. The Author of his Life has omitted a Circumstance, which well deserved to be mentioned. I shall give it in the Words of a Memorial which came to my hands from Mr *Baudrand* the Geographer. 'Borri, being in the Seminary of the Jesuits, raised a Sedition against them, and shut himself up with others for three days, so that they were forced to send for the *Barig*, or Grand Provost, with his Officers to bring Borri and the other Scholars to Reason. In the Year 1653, he was Secretary to the Marquis *Mirogli* Resident of the Archduke of *Inspree* at *Rome*, where I saw him at that time, as also in 1654, but there was no talk of his Heresies; in the Year 1655 he went to *Inspree*, and af-

terwards to *Milan*. These things do not well agree with the printed Life of Borri.

[B] After he had run into the most extravagant Debaucheries, he set up for Devotion, and privately scattered certain visionary Notions. Affecting an appearance of a great Zeal, he lamented the corruption of Manners which prevailed at *Rome*, saying that the Dissemper was come to the height, and that the time of the Recovery drew near: A happy time, wherein there would be but one Sheepfold on the Earth, whereof the Pope was to be the only Shepherd. 'Whosoever shall refuse, said he, to enter into that Sheepfold, shall be destroyed by the Pope's Armies; God has predestinated me to be the General of those Armies; I am sure that they shall want nothing; I shall

The fifth of those Vows engaged them to a most ardent Zeal for the holy Propagation of the Kingdom of God. It was to be the Reign of the Most High, the Reign of one sole Flock, in the Jargon of this new Sect (b). Borri was to be Captain-General of the Troops, which were to bring all Mankind into one Sheep-fold; he was to be assisted in a particular manner by Michael the Archangel; he had already received a Sword from Heaven, on the Handle of which appeared the Image of the seven Intelligences, and the Pope himself was to be killed, if he had not the requisite Mark on his Forehead. I omit the particulars of his other Visions (c), to say something of the new Doctrines of the Cavalier Borri. He taught, among other things, that the Holy Virgin was a real Goddess, and properly the Holy Ghost incarnate, for that she was born of St Anne, in the same manner as JESUS CHRIST was born of her. He called her the only Daughter of God, conceived by Inspiration, and caused this to be added to the Mass when the Priests his Sectaries celebrated it (d). He said, that as to her Humanity she was present at the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and alledged certain Passages of Scripture to maintain his Doctrine. He took it in his Head to dictate a Treatise on his System to his Followers [C]. I have said already, that he boasted of having a great Share of heavenly Revelations: and it was by that means he had learned, that St Paul had communicated to him the same Power, which God conferred on that Apostle to censure St Peter's Conduct. He boasted that he could communicate to others the Gift of Illumination for understanding Mysteries, and made use of the Imposition of Hands, beseeching the Trinity to receive the Novice into the Religion of the Evangelical Nationalists (e). His Design was, in case he could get a sufficient Number of Followers, to appear in the great Square in Milan, there to represent eloquently the Abuses of the Ecclesiastical and Secular Government, to encourage the People to Liberty, and so to profess himself of the City and Country of Milan, and then to pursue his Conquests as well as he could. But all his Designs miscarried by the Imprisonment of some of his Disciples, and, as soon as he saw that first step of the Inquisition, he fled with all the haste he could, and took care not to appear to the Summons of that formidable Tribunal. They proceeded against him for Contumacy in 1659, and 1660: he was condemned as an Heretic, and burnt in Effigy, with his Writings, in the Field of Flora at Rome, by the Hands of the Executioner, the third of January 1661 [D]. He staid some time in the City of Strasburg, where he found some support and assistance, as being persecuted by the Inquisition, and also as a great Chymist; but he wanted a larger Theatre. He looked for it in Holland in the Year 1661, and found it at Amsterdam. He made a great noise there; People flocked to him as to the universal Physician for all Diseases; he appeared there in a stately Equipage, and took upon him the Title of Excellency; they talked of marrying him to the greatest Fortunes, &c. The Chance turned, his Reputation began to sink, either because his Miracles no longer found any Credit, or because his Faith could work no more

(b) Quanto si doveva fare nello spazio di pochi anni col suo immaginario Regno dell' Altissimo ed il suo suo Ovile. Vita del Cavagl. Borri, pag. 347.

(c) See the Remarks.

(d) See the Remark [C] at the end.

(e) Coll' imporre loro tutte due le mani sovra il capo invocando la santissima Trinità affinché gradisse d'accettarli nella religione de Nazionalisti Vangelici. Vita del Borri, pag. 351.

' I shall quickly finish my Chymical Labours by the happy Production of the Philosophers Stone, and by that means I shall have as much Gold as is necessary for the Business. I am sure of the assistance of the Angels, and particularly of that of Michael the Archangel. When I began to walk in the Spiritual Life, I had a Vision in the Night attended with an Angelical Voice, which assured me that I should become a Prophet: the Sign that was given me for it was a Palm that seemed to me quite surrounded with the Light of Paradise (1). He boasted that St Michael the Archangel had taken Possession in his heart, and that whole Bands of Angels revealed to him the Secrets of Heaven, and what passed in the Conclave of Alexander VII. I only mention a few of his chimerical Notions; which may suffice to give an Idea of the whole.

(1) Gli apparisce una palma circondata d'ogni intorno, da lumi paradisiaci. Vita del Cavagliere Borri, pag. 342.

[C] He dictated a Treatise on his System to his Followers. He took it from them as soon as he understood that the Inquisition had heard something of their Nocturnal Assemblies, and hid all his Papers in a Nuntery. From thence they fell into the hands of the Inquisition: they contained very extravagant Doctrines; as: 'That the Son of God, through an ambitious Principle, and to become equal to his Father, moved him to create Beings; that Lucifer's Fall proceeded from his refusing to adore JESUS CHRIST and the Holy Virgin in idea: That the Angels, who adhered to Lucifer, not thro' deliberation, but only out of desire, remain in the Air: That God made use of the Ministry of rebellious Angels for the Creation of the Elements and Animals: That the Souls of Beasts are a Production, or rather an Emanation, of the

substance of the wicked Angels, and that is the reason why they are mortal: That the Holy Virgin proceeded conceived from the Bosom of the Divine Nature, and that, otherwise, she could not have been the Spouse of the Holy Ghost, because of the disproportion of Natures (2). I have said in the Body of this Article, that he called her the only Daughter of God. I shall now quote my Author. 'Chiamava la Vergine, sagratissima Dea, ed unispirata figlia dell' Altissimo, e da que' Sacerdoti suoi sciocchi fieguaçi faceva aggiungere al Canone della Messa le parole UNINSPIRATA FILIA (3). — He called the Virgin, most Holy Goddess, and only inspired Daughter of the most High, and made the Priests, who were his followers, add to the Canon of the Mass the Words, ONLY-INSPIRED DAUGHTER.'

(2) Vita del Cavagliere Borri, pag. 354, and following.

(3) Ibid. pag. 351.

[D] He was burnt in Effigy at Rome. — the third of January 1661. The same Thought, which many Writers have ascribed to Henry Stephens, is likewise ascribed to him, viz. that he should say, he never was so cold as on the day that he was burnt at Rome. It is said that Antonio de Dominis used the same Raillery. 'Gli pervenne la nuova che la sua effigie era abbruciata, e si lasciò intendere, che non aveva mai avuto tanto freddo quanto quel giorno, all' imitazione di Marco Antonio de Dominis, che disse lo stesso, mentre ritrovandosi egli in Inghilterra si faceva della sua effigie simil' esecuzione (4). — News was brought him that his Effigy was burnt, and he said that he never had been so cold as he was that Day, in imitation of Marco Antonio de Dominis, who said the same when he was in England, at the time the like Execution was done on his Effigy.'

(4) Id. p. 359.

[E] He

(f) Cominciando a mancare i miracoli alla sua fede & la fede à suoi miracoli. *Id.* pag. 372.

(g) Se ne fuggì di notte carico di gemme e danari alla somma di più di dodici mila doppie. *Id.*

(h) Borri's Journey to the Court of Saxony, has been forgotten in the Book, out of which this Article is extracted. See the Acta Eruditum, 1688. p. 587.

(i) Taken from a Book, intitled, Breve relazione della vita del Cavaliere Gioseppe Francesco Borri Milanese, printed at Geneva, (the Title says, in Colonia appo Pietro del Martello) in 1681, with another Treatise intitled, la Chiave del Gabinetto del Cavaliere Gioseppe Francesco Borri.

more Miracles (f). In short he broke, and fled one Night from *Amsterdam* with a great many Jewels and Sums of Money which he had pilfered (g). He went to *Hamburg* where Queen *Christina* was at that time; he put himself under her Protection, and persuaded her to venture a great deal of Money in order to find out the Philosophers Stone; which came to nothing. Afterwards he went to *Copenhagen*, and inspired his Danish Majesty with a strong Desire to search for the same Secret. By that means he acquired that Prince's Favour so far as to become very odious to all the great Persons of the Kingdom. Immediately after that King's Death, whom he had put upon great Expences in vain, he left *Denmark* for fear of being imprisoned, and resolved to go into *Turkey* (h). Being come to the Frontiers, at a time when the Conspiracy of *Nadasti*, *Serini*, and *Frangipani* was discovered, he was taken at *Goldingen* for one of the Accomplices; wherefore the Lord of the Place invited him to lodge at his House, and secured his Person; and understanding that his Prisoner's Name was *Joseph Francis Borri*, he sent that Name to his Imperial Majesty, to see if he was one of the Conspirators. The Pope's Nuncio had Audience of the Emperor at the same time when the Count of *Goldingen*'s Letter was brought. As soon as he heard the Name of *Borri*, he demanded, in the Pope's Name, that the Prisoner should be delivered to him. The Emperor, having consented to it, ordered that *Borri* should be sent to *Vienna*; and obtained a promise from the Pope that he should not be put to death, and sent him to *Rome*, where he was condemned to remain all his Life in the Prison of the Inquisition, and to make the *Amende honorable* [E]. Some Years after, he obtained leave to come out, to attend the Duke d'*Estree*, whom all the Physicians had given over for lost; and he cured him, which occasioned this Saying, that an Arch-Heretic had done a great Miracle in *Rome* [F]. The Duke obtained, that his Prisoner should be changed, and that he should be sent to the Castle of *St Angelo*. There was a Report since that time, that he was permitted to go abroad twice a Week, and to walk in the City with Guards (i) [G]. Some Pieces were printed

at

[E] He was condemned to remain all his Life in the Prison of the Inquisition, and to make the *Amende honorable*. The Reader will be glad to find here more at large, what I have touched upon in general, concerning the Punishment inflicted on the Cavalier *Borri*. On the last Sunday of the Month of October 1672; he was condemned to make Abjuration of his Errors in the Church della *Minerva*; for which end, he was brought upon a Scaffold raised on purpose for him, where one of his Adversaries, who was a Priest, read the Trial aloud, with his Confession and Abjuration. The Sentence was pronounced by the Holy Office, he being on his Knees, with a Torch in his Hands, whilst his Abjuration was reading; which done, he arose, and thanked the Sacred College for the Mildness wherewith he had been treated, in not inflicting a greater Punishment upon him, which he confessed he deserved. This was done in the Presence of a vast crowd of People, who were curious to see such a famous Man, and such a solemn and extraordinary Action. He was surrounded with a great many Archers, and Officers of the Holy Office. Many Prelates were also present, with the Sacred College, and an innumerable multitude of other Persons. The said *Borri*, seeing so many Archers, and other People of that sort about him, fell twice into a Swoon. The Ceremony being over, he was sent back into Prison, from whence he was carried to *Loretto*, as being too pernicious a Man in *Christendom*, with express Orders to make him say the Creed every Day, and the Penitential Psalms once every Week (5). — He was also ordered, by his Sentence, to receive the Sacrament once every Day, when he came to *Loretto* (6). — Before he came out of the Prison of the Inquisition, he was visited by several Men and Women, and also by some Princes and Princesses, Knights, and other Persons of Quality. When he came out of the Prison, they made him pass through a Troop of the Pope's Lancers, which made a Lane. He mounted the Scaffold with his Hands bound, and a lighted Taper between them, and kneeled all the while they were reading his Sentence, by which he was condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment, for having been (these are the very Words of the Sentence) an Inventor of a new Heresy; and to wear, for Penance, the Habit of the Inquisition all his Life, with a Red-cross on his Breast, and another on his Back. He was astonished to hear of a perpetual Imprisonment;

but the Inquisitors comforted him with this Reason, That if that expedient had not been found, they would certainly have taken away his Life; and that they had done him that favour, because he had made an Abjuration of his Errors thirteen Years before (7); which he ratified to the Inquisitors *Casanatta* and *Pozzobonelli*: The Pope, on hearing of the Confirmation of that Abjuration, was so well pleased, that he gave a plenary Indulgence of all Sins to all those that were present at it; for the Ceremony lasted above five Hours (8).

Mr *Baudrand* informed me. I. That it is not true that our *Borri* was sent to *Loretto* after his Abjuration. II. That the Inquisition could not put him to Death, since he was not a Relapse, and that he made an Abjuration of his Errors at the *Minerva*, before the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Holy Office. I wish that all who hereafter shall cite the *Mercurio Hollandis* were apprised of these two faults.

[F] He cured the Duke d'*Estree*, which occasioned this Saying, that an Arch-Heretic had done a great Miracle in *Rome*. The Physicians had given over the sick Person; he was therefore accounted as dead, and therefore his Recovery was looked upon as a Resurrection. Sendo cosa strana che un Eresiarca abbia fatto un miracolo di resuscitar' un morto, come veniva creduto da' medici (9).

[G] It has been said, that he was permitted to go abroad twice a Week — with Guards. I have it from very good Hands, that the Queen of *Sweden* sent for him sometimes in a Coach; but that, after the Death of that Princess, he went no more abroad, and that none could speak with him, without special leave from the Pope. I have been assured, that he pretended he was not a Prisoner in the Castle of *St Angelo*, but that he lodged there, as it was a large Palace, to apply himself to Study and Chymical Operations, and that he neglected opportunities of making his escape, which frequently offered.

Note, That Mr *Majclari*, having read this last Passage, informed me, that, when he was at *Rome* (10), he saw the Cavalier *Borri* several times, and that he knows very well, that he could come no lower than a certain Door in the middle of the Stairs, of the Dungeon of the Castle of *St Angelo*; so far he waited upon those who came to see him; that he had a pretty good Apartment, consisting of three Rooms and a Laboratory; that none could be admitted to see him without a Note from Cardinal *Cibo*, and that he looked upon that Castle

(7) The Author of his Life says nothing of that; he says that *Borri* was condemned for refusing to appear, and that he fled from Milan, as soon as he knew that he was discovered.

(8) *Mercurio Hollandis* of 1672, pag. 465, 466.

(9) Vita del Borri, pag. 379.

(10) That is in 1679, and 1680.

(5) *Mercurio Hollandis* of the Year 1672, pag. 463, 464.

(6) *Id.* pag. 465, 466.

at Geneva, in 1681; which are ascribed to him [H]. We shall see in the Remarks what was Sorbieri's Opinion of this Man [I]. It will be a pretty curious Supplement to this Article. You will see likewise what Monconis thought of him [K].

Mr Frischman

as a real Prison to him, from which he did not despair but that the Duke d'Esirée would deliver him. The difference of these Relations may be reconciled by distinguishing times, and those, who know the Character of our Borri, may easily see, that, when he had obtained permission to go abroad sometimes, he might perhaps boast, that he was no longer a Prisoner.

[H] Some Pieces were printed at Geneva in 1681, which are ascribed to him. They may be reduced to two, viz. Letters concerning Chymistry, and Political Reflexions. The first of those Works is entitled, *La chiave del Gabinetto del Cavaliere Giuseppe Francesco Borri Milanese*. It contains ten Letters; the two first, dated from Copenhagen in the Year 1666, are in substance the very same with *le Comte de Gaballus*, published by the Abbot de Villars in the Year 1670. Let the curious examine which of those two Pieces ought to pass for the Original. The other Letters run upon Chymical Questions, except the last, wherein the Author maintains Des Cartes's Opinion concerning the Souls of Beasts. The Title of the other Treatise is, *Istruzioni politiche del Cavaliere Giuseppe Francesco Borri Milanese date al Re di Danimarca*. They are some Political Aphorisms, with a pretty long Commentary. Borri's Life informs us, that, when he was at Straßburg, he published a Letter which went all over the World (11). The *Bibliothèque* of the Physicians mentions two of his Letters printed at Copenhagen in the Year 1699, and ascribed to *Bartholinus*, one of them *de ortu cerebri, & usu medico*; the other, *de artificio oculorum humores restituendi* (12). König ascribes another Piece to him, intitled, *Notitia Gentis Barbarorum*.

[I] This is Sorbieri's Opinion of this Man. I have only to add a few Words concerning the famous Cavalier Borri, whom I have seen at Amsterdam, this last time I have been there. You have a mind to know how it came to pass, that at such a distance he made so great a noise at Paris, that some Persons of Quality have been carried into Holland in Litters to be cured by that Quack; and that some ingenious Persons have gone thither on purpose to see so great a Man. I can say nothing more to it, Sir, than this, that it is as true now, as it was formerly, that our poor Humanity might be defined by the inclination to Lying, and by Credulity, *Homo animal credulum & mendax*, Man is a credulous and lying Animal, *Φιλόλογος ἴσως*. Those that can so easily believe the Stories which are told of those Workers of Miracles, such as Borri was taken to be, before the World was undeceived, must have been accustomed, without doubt, in their Infancy, to listen attentively to old Wives Tales; it is a mark of a good Nature, and a very tractable Disposition. I could make several Reflexions upon this (13). — Some People after they have laughed at Physicians, on a sudden give intire Credit to the promises of a Quack, and suffer themselves to be bubbled by his new Method, tho' he only sells the same Ware. He, whom I am going to describe to you, is a tall black Man, pretty well shaped; he wears good Cloaths, and spends pretty high, tho' not so much as is imagined; for eight or ten Thousand Livres will go a great way at Amsterdam. But a House of fifteen thousand Crowns bought in a good Place, five or six Foot-men, a Suit after the French Fashion, now and then a Collation to the Ladies, the refusing Money in some Cafes, five or six Rix-dollars distributed to the Poor in a proper Time and Place, arrogant Words, and such like Arts, made some credulous Persons, or some who could have wished it had been true, say, that he gave handfuls of Diamonds, that he had found the Philosophers Stone, and that he had the Universal Medicine (14). The Truth is, the Sieur Borri is a cunning Blade, the Son of an able Physician of Milan (15), who left him some Estate; but he has added to it, what he has got by the Industry I am going to speak of. As he does not want

for Parts, and has some Learning, he has found means to prevail with some Princes to supply him with Money, by giving them expectation that he would communicate to them the Philosophers Stone, which he was upon the point of finding. He has, without doubt, some Skill, or some Practice, in Chymical Preparations, some Knowledge in Metals, some imitation of Pearls and Jewels, and, it may be, some purgative or stomachical Remedies, which are commonly very general. As most diseases come from that Region, by this Lure he has insinuated himself into the good Opinion of those whom he stood in need of; and some Merchants, as well as some Princes, have fallen into the Trap. Witness a Promissory Note for two hundred thousand Livres, which he gave to one Demers, who had supplied his Expenses, for which the Heirs of that Merchant are at Law with the Spagyrist; for the Spark has worded it in such an odd manner, that no body knows what to make of it. This Cheat, to come into Credit, and make himself talked of, set up at first for an Heresiarch. He had heard say, that Physicians were suspected not to believe enough, and therefore he pretended to believe more than was required; and striving as it were to pay a greater Honour to the Holy Virgin, than what the Church prescribes, he began to say, That she was a fourth Person of the Divinity. The Inquisition prosecuted him for it; and he was condemned to be burnt for Non-appearance. He went to Inspruc (16), where the late Archduke became the first of his Dupes. And by his means he proceeded in his way to Holland, and settled at Amsterdam, as being a fit place to make his Persecution at Rome sound aloud; and where he might find several People ready to advance large Sums, on account of the great Profits he would give them expectation of. There he set up for a Man of Consequence. At first he acquired some Credit among the Citizens; and maintained himself there for some time by the support of an old Burgomaster, whom he kept up with his Cordial-waters, till every body discovered his knavery, and laughed at his artifices. They confist chiefly in a Method of debasing Coin, with impunity, and in some alteration of Metals, which is not yet well known. For as to his Cures, People are no more the better for them where he is, than they are in this City for the Remedies of a famous Mountebank, who has almost as great a Reputation in the Country of Liege and in Holland, as Borri has in Paris. — (17) Some say, that Borri being at Naples in the time of the Plague, and having an excellent Preservative, went into the infected Houses, which were forsaken by reason of the Infection and Mortality, where he thrived pretty well. I do not know what ground there is for it.

There are two things to be observed in this Narrative of Sorbieri. I. The first is that the Author of Borri's Life does not say that he was the Son of a Physician, but rather intimates the contrary. — Nacque in Milano, *says he*, figlio del Signor Branda Borri, di Famiglia antica della Città di Milano. — He was born in Milan, Son of Signor Brandi Borri, of an antient Family of the City of Milan. He adds that the Cavalier Borri boasted that he was descended from Burrus Governor of Nera. II. The second is, that the same Author says, that Borri, when he left Italy, went to Switzerland, and thence to Strasburg, Amsterdam, Hamburg, &c. Shunning the Catholic Countries. — Il Borri, *dit il* (18), uscito d'Italia, e passati li monti con quella fretta che ricercava il suo scampo se ne passò nell' Elvezia, ed indi ad Argentina fuggendo a più potere il passare per paesi Catolici. However it is certain that Borri distilled with the Archduke. See Monconis Part ii. pag. 149, 404.

[K] Likewise what Monconis says of him. He saw him at the Hague in 1663, and heard him say several things concerning Chymical Secrets. The substance

(11) Stampò la lettera di restituire l'occhio ad un cavallo, che corre per tutto il mondo. *Vita del Cav. Borri*, pag. 370. He could cure sore Eyes very well. See the Remark [K].

(12) Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato, pag. 289, at the word Franciscus Josephus Burrius. The Journal des Scavans of the 2d of September, 1669, speaks fully of these two Letters.

(13) Sorbieri, Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre, pag. 155.

(14) Ibid. pag. 153.

(15) See the end of this Remark, n. 1.

(16) See the end of this Remark, n. 2.

(17) Sorbieri, Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre, p. 163.

(18) Vita del Borri, pag. 563.

Mr Frischman, the French Resident at Strasbourg, wrote a Piece, worth reading, concerning Borri [L]. The Supplement to Dr Burnet's Travels is not exact on this Subject [M]. The Utrecht Gazette of the ninth of September 1695, informed the Public that Borri was lately dead in the Castle of St Angelo, being Seventy nine Years of Age.

(19) Monconis, Voyage, Part. II. pag. 135, 137, 145, 146, 147. &c. of the Lyons Edition.

(20) Ibid. pag. 144, 145.

(21) Ibid. pag. 147.

substance of which may be seen in the Relation of his Travels (19). Borri's Affairs were already in an ill condition; he was afraid of his Enemies, and mistrusted those he had most confided in, and spoke of retiring into Turkey (20). He said, it was indifferent to him, whether the World took him for a learned Man or an ignorant one; and with the same indifference he neglected to justify the Truth of his Belief (21). He added, 'That no Body could be a good Philosopher, without being a good Christian. When I told him, (continues Monconis) that he was accused of having said, that the Holy Ghost had incarnated himself in the Virgin, and his Gentleman had replied, 'Why is he accused of a thing, of which they never had any proof, since they could not shew any of his Writings, wherein there was any such thing: He answered *Si bene*, 'Yes indeed, in one that the Pope had had, which was the only one that remained by chance, when he had burnt all the rest; and as for supernatural things, no Misfortune did ever happen to him, but he was forewarned of it by a Star that appeared before him, even tho' he had his Eyes shut.' See, in the hundred fifty fifth Page of the same Relation, the Stories which were told Monconis about Borri's Cheats, and in the hundred seventy eighth Page an admirable Cure of an Eye. The Painter Otio told Monconis, that Borri had perfectly cured him of a Cancer in his Eye, which deprived him of his sight, and hindered him from working, which all the Doctors held incurable (22).

(22) Ibid. pag. 176.

[L] Mr Frischman wrote a Piece worth reading concerning Borri.] It bears this Title, *Monumentum in laudem gentis Burrorum Calend. Jan. MDCLX. Francisco Josepho Burrbo Medico Italo Atrubum*. The four Letters F.R.C.R. which stand for the Author's Name, signifie *Frischmannus Regis Christianissimi Resident*. He who gives me this Information, explains, in this manner, the Contents of that Piece: 'In quo, *says he* (23), potens artifex plantas in cineres, earumdem cineres ad eandem pristinum speciem, ignis beneficio rite suppositu balneo Mariæ deducens, Romæ ut fama sed incerta est, similem suam *παλινγεσείαν*, quæ est combustorum è cineribus resurrectio, expectans, laudatus est. . . . Wherein *says he*,

(23) Deckerhus, de Script. adscript. pag. 131. Tuldensis, Hist. Europ. Part. IV. pag. 144. & in Tractat. p. 303.

'the mighty Artist, reducing Plants into Ashes, and the Ashes into their former shape, by help of fire properly disposed in Balneo Mariæ, expecting for himself a like *παλινγεσεία*, which is a Resurrection of things burnt from their Ashes, was, as some, though uncertain, reports say, greatly commended for it at Rome.' He refers us to Tuldensis, who mentions the proceedings of the Inquisition against Borri, that is, the Proceedings of 1659, and 1660.

[M] The Supplement to Dr Burnet's Travels is not exact on this Subject.] Three Letters concerning the present State of Italy, are called a Supplement to those Travels: Those Letters were translated out of English, and published at Amsterdam in the Year 1688. We are told there, that Burri (for thus the Translator calls him) is a Gentleman of the Milanese, who had about Eight thousand Crowns a Year, Paternal Estate (24). He travelled in his Youth, and being returned to Milan, he held some Conferences there on the new Philosophy and Chymistry. He was put into the Inquisition; but as nothing could be proved against him, he was set at liberty (25). He went into Germany and Holland. The Inquisition complained of him to the Emperor; he was stopped at Vienna, and afterward sent back into Italy. He was accused of strange Opinions, which were all proved against him, tho' he protests, that he never thought of them (26), and he was obliged to abjure them in the Year 1668 (27). He was condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment. Of those Eight thousand Crowns a Year, they leave him but Three thousand (28); for the good Fathers out of Charity retained five thousand for themselves, and the three thousand are so curtailed by those, thro' whose Hands they pass, that he does not receive One thousand five hundred yearly. The Author of the three Letters imagines, that all the ground of Borri's Heresies, is, his speaking of Religious Things in the mysterious and unintelligible Jargon of certain Chymists. I know some Persons, who believe, that Borri pretended to explain the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c. by the Principles of Chymistry. Mr Baudrand says, that Borri had so small a Patrimony, that he could not live upon it.

(24) Pag. 140, &c.

(25) Had he been taken and judged by the Inquisition, the Italian Author of his Life would not have said, that he made his Escape, and that he was summoned to appear, which he refusing to do, he was condemned.

(26) But he did not deny to Monconis, that he had taught the Incarnation of the Holy Ghost in the Holy Virgin. See the Remark [I].

(27) It was in 1672. See above, the Remark [E].

(28) It is not at all likely, that Borri had then so large a Patrimony, and that the Inquisition left him 9000 Livres a Year.

BORRICHIUS (OLAUS), one of the most learned Men of his Age, was the Son of a Lutheran Minister in the Diocese of Ripen in Denmark, and was born the seventh of April 1626. He was sent to the University of Copenhagen in the Year 1644, where he applied himself six Years to several Sorts of Study; but chiefly to Physic. He taught a Class in the College of Copenhagen, and acquitted himself very well of that Function; for he was indefatigable, and a very sober Man. This gained him the Esteem of Gaspar Brochman, Bishop of Seeland, and that of the Chancellor of the Kingdom, and, by their Recommendation, he obtained a Canonicate at Lunden. The Rectorship of the Illustrious School of Herlora was offered him by Mr de Rosencrantz, after he had taught that Class of Copenhagen four Years; but he refused it, because he thought it would prove an obstacle to his Design of travelling, and perfecting himself in Physic. He began to practise it in the time of a dismal Plague, which destroyed a great many People in the Metropolis of the Kingdom. When the Contagion was over, he spent a Year more in teaching his Class, and then made ready for his Travels. But he was obliged to put off his Design to another time; for Mr Gerstorff, Prime Minister of State, would have him in his House for Tutor to his Children. He was there five Years, after which he satisfied his Inclination to travel; but, before he set out, he had the Advantage of being declared Professor of Philology, Poetry, Chymistry, and Botany, in the University of Copenhagen. He set out in the Month of November 1660, and having seen some famous Physicians at Hamburg, he came to Holland, where he stayed a considerable time. There he met Mr Gerstorff's Sons (a), whom he took under his Conduct. He shewed them the Spanish Netherlands, and England, and carried them to Paris, where he stayed two Years; their Guardians called them home, which gave him Opportunity to continue his Travels with more Liberty. He was made Doctor of Physic at Angers, and saw the chief Cities of the Kingdom;

(a) He died after Borrichius's Departure.

Kingdom; afterwards he went into *Italy*, and arrived at *Rome* in the Month of *October* 1665. He was there till the end of *March* 1666. After which he was obliged to return home: the Office, which had been conferred upon him in the University of *Copenhagen*, required his Residence. He crossed *Germany*, and arrived in *Denmark* in the Month of *October* 1666. His long Travels must needs have been very beneficial to him, since he made himself known to the most learned Men in every City he came to [A]. He made it appear in the Exercise of his Office, that he was very worthy of it; being laborious to the highest Degree, and furnished with a great Variety of Learning. The Books, which he published, were an authentic Proof of it [B]. He never would marry, for fear of abridging his Liberty of Philosophizing (b). He was promoted to the Office of a Counsellor in the Supreme Council of Justice in the Year 1686, and to that of the Royal Chancery in 1689. In that same Year he began to be troubled with the Stone (c). The Distemper increased daily, and at last, finding no other remedy than to be cut, he resolved to run the Hazard of that rigorous Operation the thirteenth of *September* 1690. It did not succeed; the Stone was so large and so hard that it was not possible to extract it. He bore that Accident, and all its Consequences, with great Constancy and Piety, till he died, which happened the third of *October* the same Year. His Will was a Proof that he made a pious Use of the Riches he had got (d) [C].

(c) Taken from his Life, written by himself, and prefixed to his Latin Poems in the second Tome of the *Delicæ quorundam poetarum Danorum*, collected by Frederic Roßgaard, and printed at Leyden in 1693.

(d) Taken from his Funeral Program, made by John Møller, Professor at Copenhagen.

(b) A conjugio tota vita abstinnit ut eo philosopharetur expediret. Borrich. in vita sua. See below.

[A] He made himself known to the most learned Men in every City he came to. The account of his Life, written by himself, and inserted in the second part of the *Delights of the Danish Poets*, contains the Names of several of those learned Men, and of several Persons of Quality, who shewed their Esteem for him in his Travels. The Marquis de Pianezze entertained him splendidly at *Turin*. At *Rome* he had several Audiences of Cardinal Pallavicini, and was often sent for by the Queen of Sweden, who loved Chymistry extremely. Adhibitus est quandoque colloquiis CARDINALIS PALLAVICINI, et sæpe accersitus ad disserendum cum REGINA CHRISTINA de arcanioris Chemicæ studio, veritate, experimentis, quibus tum sacris se Palladia virago deoerat (1).

(1) Vita Borrichii in Tom. II. *Delicæ Poetarum Danorum*, pag. 378.

[B] He was worthy of his Post of Professor. — The Books, which he published, were an authentic proof of it. His *Conspectus præstantiorum Scriptorum Linguae Latine*, is but a small part of a great Work compiled by him on that Subject, which is among his Papers. We have seen his *Cogitationes de variis linguae Latine ætatibus* et scripto G. J. Vossii de vitis sermonis, and his *Analecta Philologica* et *judicium de Lexicis Latinis Græcisque*. We have also seen his *Antiquæ Romæ imago*, and his Treatise *De syllabarum quantitate*, which he intitled, *Parnassus in nucæ*. Having observed that some Apothecaries, and even some Physicians, do not pronounce right the Latin Name of Remedies, he published a Piece intitled, *Lingua Pharmacopæorum*. His *Dissertationes de Poëtis Græcis et Latinis*, are not the least of his Works. Having seen that his *Prodrum de ortu et progressu Chemicæ* had been criticized by Conringius, he made an Apology for it, intitled, *De Hermetis Ægyptiorum et Chemicorum sapientia*. He explained a whole Course of Chymistry twice in public. That Work is not yet printed. His Latin Treatise *Decimasæ metallica* has been translated into High-Dutch and Danish. There are several Chymical and Botanic Memoirs of his in the *Acta medica Hafniensia*. He also published a Book, *De usu indigenarum plantarum in medicina*; a Treatise *De somno et somniferis*; another *De Cabala characterali*; another *De causis diversitatis linguarum*. Add to this, *Oratio jubilee Evangelica*, and *Memoria Dn. Oligeri Vindii* (2), and *Deusignius beaumontimorumenos*. This last Work contains some satirical Letters against *Deusignius*, wherein he gives himself the false Name of *Benedictus Blotensandæus*, which is the same thing as *Benedictus Nudiverius* (3); for *blot* signifies naked, in Danish, and *sandæ* signifies the Truth, as Mr *Placcius* observes in the hundred and fifth Page of his *Pseudonymous Writers*. I omit the Titles of some other Books of Borrichius, which I might transcribe out of that Work of Mr *Møllerus*, which I have quoted (4), and wherein he promises to speak of that Author at large in his *Cimbria literata*. I shall only give the Title of a posthumous Book, which was printed at *Copenhagen* in the Year 1697. *Olai Borrichii conspectus Scriptorum Chemicorum illustriorum*.

(2) Taken from his Life, ubi supra, pag. 379. & seq.

(3) Jo. Møllerus, ubi supra, & in hypomnematis, pag. 354.

(4) Jo. Møllerus, ubi supra, & in hypomnematis, pag. 354.

[C] He made a very pious Use of the Riches he had got. He dedicated great part of them to the good of the Poor, and to the benefit of Students. Read the particulars of it in the following Passage: 'Instituit ut & sufficeret juventuti Academicæ necessariis destitutæ adminiculis præsidium aliquod in uberiora studiorum incrementa, & famelicis afflictiisque solamen obtingeret: Illis quippe domum plane lateritiam magnificentissimæ structuræ reliquit, ubi omnia cernuntur splendide parata, cubicula octo cum suis conclaviis, sedecim destinata studiosis, modestia, virtute, ac doctrina conspicuis: amplum auditorium varie exornatum ut in hac palæstra commodius lacertos moveant juniores sacris Apollineis devoti; supellex libraria exquisitæ elegantiae diverso studiorum generi inserviens, cui adherent manuscripta rariora; cernitur ibi quoque laboratorum Chemicum medicinarum excolentibus profuturum; cernitur hortus floridus arboribusque confitus, oculis recreandis, animo pascendo dicatus. Hoc tam sumptuosæ structuræ domicilium vocari maluit COLLEGIUM MEDICEUM, quam ut à suo nomine appellationem haberet; nihil enim arrogantiae, nihil fastuosi ostentabat toto vitæ cursu, sed fortuna ac felicitate sua summa usus est modestia. Utrique tum hujus Collegii incolis, tum aliis elegantiae, ærumnis & imbecilli valetudine oppressis, nec non alumnis scholæ Ripensis ingentem pecuniæ summam attribuit, quæ resignatis post obitum testamenti tabulis, in Collegio Consistoriali annuo spatio reservatis, explevit numerum viginti sex mille & trecentorum Joachimicorum (5). He made a Provision, both to afford some Assistance to such Youth in the University, as were destitute of the necessary Supports for the thorough Improvement of their Studies, and to administer some Comfort to the hungry and afflicted. For he left the former a brick House, a Structure really magnificent, and splendidly furnished throughout; eight lodging Rooms, with proper Closets, designed for sixteen Students, eminent for Modesty, Virtue, and Learning; a large School with variety of Ornaments, for the Exercise of the young Devotees to Literature, where they might exercise themselves conveniently: a Library furnished with most exquisite Elegance, for different kinds of Study, and enriched with some rare Manuscripts; there is also a Chymical Laboratory for the use of those who study Physic, and likewise a beautiful Garden set with Trees for Recreation and delight. This sumptuous Edifice he chose rather to call the Medical College, than to give it any Appellation from his own name, for he had never shewn the least Arrogance or Pride in all his Life, but possessed his Fortune and Felicity with the utmost Modesty. He left both to this College, and to other people, poor, miserable, and sick, as also to the School of Ripen, a prodigious Sum of Money, which, after his Death, on opening his Will, (which had been kept for a Year in the Consistorial College,) amounted to 26300 Crowns. To shew the amount of his Estate, I add, that in the Division which

(5) Taken from his Funeral Program, pag. 383, 384, of the 2d Tome of *Delicæ quorundam Poetarum Danorum*.

which he made of it between his Relations, and the Students, &c. he bestowed 26300 Crowns upon the latter, and left 50000 Crowns to the

former (6). God grant that this may serve for an Example to those, who are able to do the like.

(6) Jo. Mollerus ubi supra, pag. 334.

BORSTEL (ADOLPHUS de), a German Gentleman, with whom Balzac had a Correspondence, and has given him great Encomiums, he was the Son of Conrad de Borstel, Lord of Guften, Plotzka, and other Places, and Prime Minister to the Princes of Anhalt, and Governour-General of that Principality. He was Envoy to France from the King of Bohemia, and the Princes, of the Empire in the Reign of Lewis XIII; and when his Negotiations were ended, he settled in the Kingdom, and procured Letters of Neutrality, and the Office of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He married Charlotte de Farou de Sainte Marcolle, by whom he had a Son, who has a numerous Family [A]. This Lady married a second time to Joseph le Brun, Knight, Lord of Brosse, Governour of the Town, and Castle of Cbinon. She died in her Castle of Zaille in Loudumois the fourteenth of March 1705, aged Forty three Years. She was of one of the best Families of Poitou (a). I shall say something of the Genealogy of this Adolphus de Borstel [B], who had two illustrious Nephews [C].

(a) Taken from the Mercure Galant for March 1705, pag. 257, &c.

[A] He had a Son, who has a numerous Family. He married a Cousin of the Marquis de Rafilli, the King's Lieutenant-General in Touraine, and Sub-Governour of the Children of France. The eldest of his Sons has served in the Marines, these twelve Years, and is Ensign of the King's Ships; the youngest was Page to the Duke du Maine, and is Provincial Commissary of the Artillery (1).

(1) Id. ibid. pag. 264.

[B] I shall say something of the Genealogy of this Adolphus de Borstel. The Author of the Mercure Galant says, that the House of Borstel is one of the most Ancient and most Illustrious in Germany. It is, continues he, originally from Zeland, and a certain Lord de Borstel, who was possessed of the Towns Flushing and de Wert, married the last Countess of Holland, and by his Marriage became Sovereign of that Province, which the Duke of Brabant afterwards took from him. After this Usurpation, several of that House settled in upper Saxony, where they built the Castle of Borstel, remarkable in the Map; and we find, that so early as the time of the Emperor Otto I, they made a very great Figure, and had the chief Employments of State both in the Ministry, in War, and in Embassies (2). Here are a great many faults; for in the first place, It was Francis de Borstel, or de Borstelle and not de Borstel, who married the last Countess of Holland. II. He ought not to have said de Wert, but de la Veret or rather de Ter-Veer (3). III. He did not become Sovereign of Holland by his Marriage: the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, would have put him to Death, if the Countess of Holland had not given him all her Dominions to

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 259.

(3) See the Article BERSAL. Remark [B].

save her Husband's Life (4). IV. He ought not to have said the Duke of Brabant but of Burgundy. V. I observe that this Countess of Holland died in 1436, and that the Emperor Otto I died in the Year 973. Judge then, whether, after this pretended Usurpation in prejudice of the Countess of Holland's Husband, several Persons of the House of Borstel could settle in Saxony, build a Castle there, and shine in Employments, in the time of this Emperor.

(4) See Part. II. of Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial, p. 6.

[C] He had two illustrious Nephews. One of them, FREDERIC DE BORSTEL, was Captain of the Life-guard to the late King of Sweden, Colonel of the Regiment of Westergothia, Governor of Gottenbourg and Babous, and Major-General of the Forces of his Swedish Majesty, who, in Consideration of his Services, made him Baron of the Realm; and the other ERNEST AMEDEE DE BORSTEL first Cupbearer to his late Electoral Highness of Brandenburg, Colonel of the Regiment of his Guards, Major-General of his Forces, and Governor of the Duchy of Magdeburg, which Government is yet in the Hands of John Henry de Borstel (5). The Mercure Galant adds, that there is in France a Lady DE BORSTEL who married Mr de Daumany, Lieutenant of Grenadiers in the Regiment of French Guards, who was Maid of Honour to the Electress Palatine, Mother of Madam (6), that her Mother was Governess to the Elector of Brandenburg; and that she has now a Nephew who is first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Electoral Prince.

(5) Mercure Galant, March 1705, pag. 261, 262.

(6) That is, the Widow of the Duke of Orleans, only Sister of King Lewis XIV.

BOSC (JOHN du), in Latin Boscbæus, Lord of Esmendreville, President in the Court of Aids at Rouen, put to Death by the public Executioner, on account of Religion, in the Year 1562. See ESMENDREVILLE.

BOSC (N. du), a Franciscan, lived in the XVIIth Century. He made himself known by a Book intituled, *The honest Woman*. His good Friend d'Ablancourt prefixed a Preface to it (a). I have heard say, that the Translation of Father Narni's Sermons, which went under the Name of Father du Bosc, is a Work of d'Ablancourt [A]. It is said, that this Franciscan, having lived several Years out of the Convent by the Pope's Permission, took the Habit again (b). He wrote several Books which are now in no esteem; his *Heroic Woman* is one of them. The most despicable of his Works are those he wrote against the *Jansenists*. No body would vouchsafe to answer them [B]; and that Silence, which is in reality a kind

(a) Histoire de l'Academ. Francoise, pag. 351.

(b) Colomies, Biblioth. choisie, pag. 171.

[A] I have heard that the Translation of Father Narni's Sermons, which went under the name of du Bosc, is a Work of d'Ablancourt. I have heard the thing related thus: du Bosc, having no Money, desired d'Ablancourt to lend him some: d'Ablancourt, being very sorry that he had none, offered him a Translation which he had made of Father Narni's Sermons, and gave him leave to dispose of it as he pleased. Du Bosc accepted the Manuscript, and agreed with a Bookseller for the Sum of thirty or forty Pistoles, and published it in his own Name. They are but few Authors who would testify their Friendship by such kind of Presents (1).

(1) See Mr. Colomies in his Biblioth. choisie, pag. 171. He had heard the thing related much in the same manner.

[B] His Books against the *Jansenists* were very much despised. No body would vouchsafe to answer them. Mr Arnauld has given a very disobliging reason why Father du Bosc's Books were not answered. It is in a Passage of the third Volume of the *Morale Pratique*, where he lays down several Rules whereby to judge, whether not answering an Adversary ought to pass for a proof of Weakness. This is his fourth Rule: 'It cannot be said, that those, who leave a Book unanswered, are not able to answer it, when, in forbearing to answer, they follow the Judgment of the Public. Now this happens when one scorns to refuse mean Authors, who

of blemish upon the Author, has been interpreted to his Glory by some *Anti-Jansenist* [C].

'who, to get a Name, take part in the Quarrels of the learned. — It is for that reason, that, at the same time that care was taken to answer Father Annat and Father Ferrier, Marandé and du Bosc were suffered to bark, without doing them the honour to think of them (2).

(2) Arnould, *Morale pratique*, Tom. III. cap. xi. pag. 261.

[C] *That Silence - - - has been interpreted to his Glory by some Anti-Jansenists.* 'The Question about the assistance of Grace for the Free-will of

'Man, was debated under Pope Clement VIII, and left as it was, that is to say, undecided under Paul V. Nevertheless, the *Jansenists* have lately printed it, to create a belief that That Sovereign Pontiff is on their side concerning efficacious Grace; but Father du Bosc, a *Franciscan*, struck them dumb by his Book intitled, *le Pacifique Aposolique*. These are the words of Dom Peter de Saint Romuald (3).

(3) In the *Journal Chronologique & Historique* under the 30th of November, pag. 574, 575.

BOSC (PETER du), a French Minister, and the greatest Preacher in his time among those of the Protestant Religion, was the Son of William du Bosc, Advocate in the Parliament of Rouen, and was born at Baieux the Twenty first of February 1623. When he had studied Divinity eighteen Months at Montauban, and three Years at Saumur, he had made so great a Progress, that though he was but in his Twenty third Year, he was qualified to serve the Church of Caen. He was presented to that Church the fifteenth of November 1645, and received the Imposition of Hands the seventeenth of December the same Year. Notwithstanding the Merit of his Colleagues, especially of Mr Bochart, and the Nicety of his Hearers, he acquired in a little time the Reputation of one of the chief Men of his Cloth. He was looked upon in his Country as a PERFECT ORATOR, and his Eloquence became so famous all over the Kingdom, that the Church of Charenton would have had him for their Minister, and sent Deputies to request him of his Church, in the beginning of the Year 1658. The most powerful Sollicitations were made use of; but neither the Eloquence of the Deputies of Paris (a), nor the Letters of the most considerable Persons in France, among the Reformed [A], could persuade the Church of Caen to deprive themselves of such an Excellent Pastor, neither would that Pastor leave his Flock. The Sollicitations of the Church of Charenton, which were renewed several times after, with all imaginable eagerness, did not prove more successful. It was impossible that so great Merit, and so advantageous to his Party as he was, should not disquiet and give umbrage to the Enemies of the Protestant Religion. They shewed it in the Year 1664, by surreptitiously obtaining a Letter de cachet (b), which confined him to Châlons till further Order. One Pommer (c) boasted that he was the Cause of that Disgrace. He deposed falsely, that Mr du Bosc had spoken of Auricular Confession in the most offensive Terms; inasmuch, that he accused him of having compared the Priests Ears to a Common-Shore, a Sink, and a Channell that receives all the Filth of the City. Which was the Reason why Mr du Bosc, as he went through Paris, in his way to the Place of his Exile, explained his Opinion about Confession to Mr le Tellier, and in what manner he had spoken of it. Mr le Tellier seemed satisfied with it, and even told him, that he had never questioned the Falshood of the Accusation. Mr du Bosc obtained the Liberty of returning to his Church the fifteenth of October 1664, and the Joy that appeared among the Brethren, when he returned to Caen the eighth of November, is inexpressible. Many considerable Persons of the contrary Party came to wish him Joy, and there was a Catholic Gentleman, who did at that time one of the strangest things that ever was known [B]. That Exile of Mr du Bosc shewed him how much he was beloved and esteemed [C]. The Civilities, which he received from the

(a) Mr Gaches, Minister, and Mr de Massines, Lay-Elder.

(b) Dated the ad of April.

(c) He was of Montauban, and had been a Protestant.

[A] They made use of - - - Letters of the most considerable Persons in France among the Reformed. Mr and Madam de Turenne, Mr and Madam de la Force, Madam de la Tremouille, and Madam de Rohan, sent some Letters to Mr du Bosc, written in their own Names, or with their own Hands, whereby they earnestly solicited him to accept the Call of the Church of Paris. Their Letters are still in his Closet. That which Mr de Turenne wrote to him *proprio pugno*, is inserted in the Life of Mr du Bosc (1), with two very fine Letters, which Mr Pellisson wrote to this Minister, whom he had formerly known at Montauban.

(1) Life of Mr du Bosc, pag. 7.

[B] At his return to Caen, a Catholic Gentleman did one of the strangest things that ever was known. An eminent Gentleman of the Romish Church, whose Life was not very regular, but who openly professed to love the Ministers, that had particular Talents, and who seemed altogether charmed with Mr du Bosc's Merit, having a mind to solemnize that Day with a Drinking-bout, took two *Franciscans*, whom he knew to be Good-fellows, and made them drink so much, that one of them died on the Spot. The next Day he went to see Mr du Bosc, and told him, that he thought it his Duty to sacrifice a Monk to the public Joy: that this Sacrifice would

'have been more reasonable, if it had been a Jesuit; but that his Offering ought not to displease him, tho' it was but a *Franciscan*. That Tragical Accident, whereof he was only the innocent Cause, did nevertheless interrupt the Joy he had to find himself again with his Family, and his Flock. He expressed it in the first Sermon he made, having taken these Words for his Text, *Here I am, O Lord, and the children that thou hast given me* (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 44.

[C] His Exile shewed him how much he was beloved and esteemed. Mr de Turenne desired Mr Bouchérat, (who is at present Chancellor) (3) to obtain a Letter from the Intendant of Caen, to give a good Testimony of Mr du Bosc to Mr le Tellier (4). The Count de Rouffi, who had a great Estate near Châlons, was so kind as to take care of Mr du Bosc's Lodgings, and of all other things which might conduce to allay his Grief (5). The Duke of Montausier undertook to acquaint the King with his Innocence. The advantageous Testimony which he gave him, together with the good Offices of Mr de Turenne, and Mr de Beringhen chief Equerry to the King, and of several other Persons of Quality of both Religions, proved effectual (6). Mr de la Vrilliere read to his Majesty the Letter which he had received from Mr du Bosc (7).

(3) I write this in 1699.

(4) Life of Mr Bosc, pag. 33.

(5) Ibid. pag. 36.

(6) Ibid. pag. 38.

(7) Ibid. pag. 41.

[D] The

(d) For example, the Observations upon the Declaration of 1666, printed at Amsterdam by James le Jeune in 1670, and the Observations on the Declaration against those that relapsed. They are also printed.

(e) Those of Paris and Rouen.

(f) Mr le Gendre, ubi infra, gives an exact and particular account of his Conduct and Management of those Affairs.

(g) Si Pergama dextra Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent. If by a mortal wound old Priam's Throne Could be defended, 'twas by his alone. DAVDEN: Virgil. Æn. lib. ii. ver. 291.

(h) In the Life of Mr Bosc, pag. 2.

(i) Ibid. pag. 3.

(k) Taken from his Life written by Mr le Gendre, heretofore Minister at Rouen, and now at Rotterdam.

(l) 1 Tim. iii. 7.

the Bishop of Châlons, ought not to be forgot [D]. In the Year 1665 he began to have some Affairs, wherein he signalized his Prudence, his Gravity, and his Eloquence; I mean the Prosecutions commenced against the Churches. He defended that of Caen, and many others of the same Province, against the unjust Pursuits of the Bishop of Baieux. The King having published a grievous Declaration, in 1666, against those of the Reformed Religion, all the Churches sent a Deputation to Paris, to make a most humble Remonstrance to his Majesty. The Churches of Normandy deputed Mr du Bosc, who set out from Caen the third of July 1668. As soon as he came to Paris the other Deputies chose him to draw up several Memorials (d). It being noised abroad that the King intended to suppress some Chambers of the Edict (e), all the Deputies of the Provinces hastened to Mr de Ruvigni the Deputy-General, to speak to him in a Business of such Importance. Their Design was to obtain leave to throw themselves at his Majesty's Feet; it was obtained, but in such a manner that none but Mr du Bosc was admitted to the Audience. He made a Speech to the King, who was alone in his Closet the Twenty seventh of November 1668, and after he had ended his Discourse, he had the Liberty to represent several things, in all which he succeeded so well, that the whole Court spoke of his Eloquence, and Prudence. After several Conferences with Mr le Tellier, and several times going and coming, something was obtained in the Month of April 1669, against the Declaration of the Year 1666. After that time Mr du Bosc made many Journeys for the Affairs of the Churches, and defended them before the Ministers of State, and the Intendants, with all the Force and Ability imaginable (f), till he himself was forbid exercising his Ministry in the Kingdom, by an Arrêt of the Parliament of Normandy the sixth of June 1685. If it had been possible to save the Reformed Churches of France by way of Negotiation, he was more proper to succeed in it than any other that could have been employed (g). It is certain that he kept off the Evil by his Care and Prudence (h), and that he knew how to manage those Affairs with so much dexterity, that they could not be in better Hands (i). After his Interdiction he went into Holland, where he was Minister of the Church of Rotterdam till his Death, which happened the second of January 1692. He died like a good Christian, and his Death was answerable to that regular and edifying Life which he always lived (k). No Man ever maintained the Gravity of his Character better than he: His Body in this Respect was answerable to his Mind; for he had a majestic Presence, which contributed not a little to the Glory he acquired by his Preaching: this is easy to imagine. He had also very great Talents for presiding in a Synod [E], and gained esteem among Persons of Quality [F]. They did him Justice in Holland, where he was generally esteemed; the very Sectaries could not refuse the Respect which he deserved for his wise Conduct; and they revered Mr du Bosc, as much as they despised those violent Men, who, by their turbulent and misanthropic Humour, made themselves unworthy of the Approbation of those that are without, the gaining of which the Scripture recommends so expressly to the Ministers of JESUS CHRIST (l). He was twice married, and left but two Daughters [G].

We

[D] The Civilities, which he received from the Bishop of Châlons, ought not to be forgot. I shall make use of the words of Mr le Gendre, Author of Mr du Bosc's Life. 'The Bishop of that place, of the Family of Herse Vialart, was also pleased to contribute to his comfort. He received all manner of civility from that excellent Prelate. If he would have accepted his Generosity, he had eat at no other Table; he dined with him twice every Week regularly. One day as this Lord shewed him his House, which was richly furnished, and the Apartments very sumptuous, he asked him what he thought of it, and whether he looked upon that Magnificence to be very Apostolical? Mr du Bosc, who would neither disoblige his Benefactor, nor belie his own Character, answered, That he had two Titles in the City, that he was Count and Bishop of Châlons, and that his Dignity of Count gave him quite different Rights and Privileges from those of Episcopacy; that he saw nothing in his House that was above the Magnificence suitable to a Peer of France. This gallant Answer did not displease the Prelate (8).

(8) Ibid. pag. 36.

(9) Ibid. pag. 37.

[E] He had very great Talents for presiding in a Synod. His Historian expresses this so happily that I shall use his own words. 'He was, says he (9), one of the Presidents of the Synod held at Rouen in 1663. Some intricate and difficult Matters were examined there; and he acquired no less Honour in it than he had done elsewhere. It is certain that he succeeded admirably well in those Assemblies. The Readiness and Clearness of his Apprehension, the Force and Solidity of his Judgment,

appeared there with great Lustre. He had surprizing Reaches and Hints, which often helped those Assemblies out of the most intricate Affairs. Add to this that he spoke so pertinently, and could give so easy and pleasant a turn to matters, that he commonly brought the Assembly to his Opinion.'

[F] — and gaining Esteem among Persons of Quality. I have already (10) named several Persons of the first Rank, who had a very particular esteem for him. I add, that the Duke of Roquelaure, who was complimented by Mr du Bosc in the Year 1674, when he was sent to command on the Coasts of Normandy, conceived an affection for him which he expressed all his Life in the most obliging manner. Mr de Schomberg and his Lady loved and esteemed him very much, and when he went out of the Kingdom they gave him the most obliging Letters of Recommendation to several Officers and Commanders of Places, and Garrisons, that were in his Road (11). The Count de Roze was very much pleased that he had to inform him, that the Queen of Denmark offered him a Retreat in her Dominions, and assured him both of a Flock, of which she herself would willingly be one, and an advantageous Settlement for his Family (12). The Prince and Princess of Orange did him all manner of Kindness at his coming into Holland, and gave him marks of their Esteem on all occasions. The Text of this Remark will be confirmed by several things which I shall mention below (13).

(10) In the Remarks [A] and [G].

(11) Life of Mr du Bosc, p. 147.

(12) Ibid. pag. 144.

(13) In the Remark [H].

[G] He was twice married, and left but two Daughters. He married his first Wife in 1650, and lost her in 1656. She left him two Children, a Son

We speak of his Writings in one of our Remarks [H]. He is mentioned in the *Menagiana* in a manner no ways disadvantageous to him [I].

Son and a Daughter. The Son died in 1676, Lieutenant-Colonel, in the Regiment of *Schomberg*. The Daughter was married in *Normandy* to *Michael de Neel*, Lord of *Bouillonniere*, who fled into *Holland* with his Wife and Children, at the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. He chose rather to forsake great Riches than abjure his Religion. He died at *Rotterdam* in the Month of *October* 1697. Mr du Bosq's second Wife is yet living (14): He married her about the end of the Year 1657. The Daughter which he had by her was married in *Holland* to *Philip le Gendre*, formerly Minister of *Rouen*, and at present of *Rotterdam*. It is he who composed the Life of Mr du Bosq, which I quote so often in this Article.

[H] We speak of his Writings in one of our Remarks. There are two Volumes of *Sermons*, and a *Collection of divers Pieces*, which was published after his Death. He had published some of those *Sermons* in *France*: The first of them was *St Peter's Tears*. He preached it on a Fast-day; the Missionaries found something in it, for which they begun a Process against him, and the Duke of *Longueville* was obliged to use his Authority to put a stop to that Persecution: He did it earnestly, as well because he was solicited to it by the *Duchess de la Tremouille*, at whose desire the Sermon had been printed, and who made it her own concern, as because he always had a particular kindness for the Author (15). He preached upon the Doctrine of Grace in the Year 1661. The Jesuits pretended, *That he had imputed some Opinions to the Church of Rome* which she does not hold, which obliged him to his Sermon (16). Some Years after he published two *Sermons*, intitled, *The Censure of the Lukewarm*. These *Sermons*, and most of those which had already appeared, were re-printed in *Holland*, with several others which had never been printed. They make two Volumes in 8^o, as I have said already. Mr du Bosq out-lived the publication of the latter Volume but few Days. The *Collection of divers Pieces* contains, I. The *Requests*, *Petitions*, *Memoirs*, and *Remarks* relating to the Affairs of the Reformed, which Mr du Bosq managed at *Paris*. II. The *Speeches* he made, and the *Letters* which he wrote, and received, on divers Occasions. The first *Speech* is that he made (17) to the *Duchess of Longueville*, who was charmed with it (18). III. *Divers Letters* by way of *Dissertation* upon some Passages of the *Scripture*, and some Points of *Divinity*. IV. Some *Greek*, *Latin*, and *French Verses*, which he composed at several times, and some other Poems made in his Praise. The Public is obliged for this *Collection* to the same Mr le Gendre, who composed the curious Life of that Great Man. Those Pieces shew, that Mr du Bosq was very fit for *Business*, a good *Divine*, a polite Man, and well versed in good Literature. I must not forget the Letter, which he wrote, in the Year 1660, to Mr *Brevint*, Chaplain

to his *Britannic Majesty Charles II*, wherein he discovers his Opinion concerning *Episcopacy*. Part of that Letter was inserted in a Book composed on that Subject: The *Presbyterians* complained of it. The whole Letter is to be found in the Author's Life (19). Mr le Gendre has added this Remark to it. 'The Joy which Mr du Bosq expressed in that Letter for the Re-establishment of the King of *England*, shews, that he differed not in his Opinion from the rest of our *Divines*, who have openly condemned the *Parricide of Charles I*. He always looked upon Kings as the lively Images of *God on Earth*, whose Character ought to render them inviolable to their People. No Body ever spoke of them with more respect, no Body submitted himself more cheerfully and freely to the Powers than he. He forgot nothing which might inspire his Flock with the Love and Obedience that is due to them. He chiefly applied himself to it upon extraordinary Occasions, as he did at *Rouen* in 1663, where preaching, in the presence of the Synod, on the first Chapter of the *Revelations*, the sixteenth Verse, he gave a Character of his Most Christian Majesty, altogether fit to confirm his Subjects in all their Duties. That Piece being now scarce, it will perhaps be re-printed to confute the Calumnies of those, who represent the Ministers as Enemies of Royalty (20). Another thing which must not be forgot, is, that in 1665, there appeared a Sermon (21) printed at *Paris* in his Name, wherein they had inserted several things concerning the Blessed Mother of the Son of *God* (22), which were so ill digested, that they might have created trouble to the Person to whom the Piece was falsely ascribed. But he pursued the Printer so smartly, that they could take no hold of him (23). The Public will quickly see (24) three Volumes of Mr du Bosq's *Sermons* on the three first Chapters of the *Epistle to the Ephesians* (25), and perhaps they will be followed by a fourth on several Texts.

[I] He is mentioned in the *Menagiana* in a manner no ways disadvantageous to him. When I was at *Caen*, I heard the Minister du Bosq preach. I never heard a Minister preach but that time. He preached very well; but it seemed strange to me, to see a Preacher in the Pulpit with a Hat on his Head. *Montagne* says, that there is nothing more ridiculous than the square Caps of our Priests. We are used to it (26). Mr Menage would not have gone to hear Mr du Bosq's Sermon, if he had not been told, that he was a very good Preacher. His Friends, that is to say, the most learned and ingenious Persons of that City, were of Opinion, that he would not know all that was remarkable in it, if he had not heard the *Huguenot Preacher*, whom the *Catholics* themselves admired.

BOSQUET (FRANCIS), Bishop of *Montpellier*, was one of the most learned Prelates of *France* in the XVIIth Century. He was born at *Narbonne*, and performed the greatest Part of his Studies at *Toulouse*. Before he took Orders he had discharged several considerable Offices; he had been Intendant of *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Normandy*, and Counsellor of State in Ordinary (a). *John de Plantavit*, whose Friendship he carefully cultivated, from the time he lodged with him in the College de *Foix* at *Toulouse*, resigned his Bishopric of *Lodeve* to him in the Year 1648. Mr Bosquet took Possession of it in the Month of *January* 1650. Five Years after he became Bishop of *Montpellier*, and continued so till his Death, which happened the Twenty fourth of *June* 1676. He was in his Sixty third Year, and a Year before his Death he had his Nephew the Abbot de *Pradel* for his Coadjutor. He composed some Books in *Latin*, which are in good Esteem [A]. Mr *Moreri*, out of whose Dictionary I have taken the

[A] He composed some Books in *Latin*, which are in good Esteem. The first Work he made public, is an Abridgment of the *Civil-Law*, which *Pellus* had composed in *Greek Verse* for his Disciple *Michael Ducas* in the XIth Century. That Poem of

Pellus had never been printed: Mr Bosquet not only translated it into *Latin*, but also added some Notes, wherein he shews what Authors *Pellus* had made use of, and explains the most difficult Passages. The second Work (1), is the History of the *Galli-*

(14) I write this the 14th of June 1699.

(15) Life of Mr du Bosq, pag. 17.

(16) Ibid. p. 31.

(17) In 1648.

(18) Ibid. pag. 5.

(20) Ibid. pag. 30, 31.

(21) Upon St Matthew, chap. i. ver. 23.

(22) This relates to the false Complaints lately made by a Jesuit in the Pulpit, that Mr du Bosq had said something against the Honour of the Virgin. Mr Bochart and Mr du Bosq went to the Intendant, and confuted the Jesuit in his Presence. Life of Mr Bosq, p. 45.

(23) Ibid.

(24) I wrote this the 14th of June 1699.

(25) The three Volumes, and the two following have been printed at Rotterdam by Reinier Leers.

(26) Menagiana, pag. 260. of the 1st Dutch Ed.

(a) Journal des Savans of the 31st of August 1676.

(1) I mention these Books in the same order as they are mentioned in the Journal des Savans, ubi incan fia.

greatest Part of what I have said in this Article, has very much commended this Prelate, and has not committed many Faults [B]. I had almost forgot to say, that

Henry

can Church, from the beginning of Christianity in Gaul, to the Reign of Constantine. There are two Editions of it. The same Author published the History of the French Popes, who resided at Avignon. It is the History of eight Popes: It reaches from the Year 1305, to 1394. He published also several Epistles of Innocent III (2), with very learned Notes. The Bishop of Montpellier, and the Abbot de Lacan, Nephews of Mr Bosquet, intend to publish two considerable Works of that learned Man: *The one relates to the Liberties of the Gallican Church, and the other contains Notes on all the Canon Law* (3). Mr Doujat, who might have read this in the *Journal des Savans* of the Thirty first of August 1676, confessed in the Year 1686, that he had not been able to find out where the Notes of Mr Bosquet on the Decree of Gratian were. *Plura alia majoris molis opera a litteratis expectata, imprimi vero Commentaria vel Notæ in Decretum Gratiani nondum prodierunt, nec ubi lateant discere ulla ratione adhuc potui* (4). If it were possible Authors should be acquainted with the most common Books, and with the most scarce Pamphlets; they would learn some things by them, the ignorance of which does them no honour. Further, the Abbot de la Roque should not have forgot (5) the Year, where in each of Mr Bosquet's Books were printed. I find (6) that the *Synopsis Legum Pællus* was printed at Paris in the Year 1632, in 8°. The *Oxford Catalogue* mentions, in the same Year, the History of the Popes who resided at Avignon. We find there that the Epistles of Innocent II, were printed at Toulouse in 1635. Now as the Abbot de la Roque places the History of the Gallican Church in the second Rank, therefore it must have appeared in the Year 1632, at the farthest; and so, Mr Bosquet must have published most of his Books at Nineteen Years of Age, and left off writing Books at Twenty-two, which would be a very hasty retreat, and almost without example. He deserves a Place in the List of *Enfants célèbres*, if Mr Baillet reprints it. I am sure, the Journalist has not observed the Order well; for if the History of the Gallican Church was Mr Bosquet's second Work, it is very unlikely that Father Morin should not have mentioned it, when, in 1633, he bestowed this Encomium upon that young Author: 'Nec non eruditus juvenis Franciscus Bosquetus doctæ synopsis legum Michaelis Pælli de Græco in Latinum versione, & Historiæ Pontificum qui de Gallici orti in ea sederunt correctæ editione, horumque eruditus notis illustratione, apud omnes antiquitatis amantes merito charus & acceptus (7). — *Likewise the learned Youth Francis Bosquet is deservedly loved and esteemed by all Lovers of Antiquity, for his learned Latin Version of Michael Pællus's Greek Synopsis of the Laws, a corrected Edition of his History of the Popes of French Extraction, who resided in France, and an Illustration of both with learned Notes.*' This Passage alone would be sufficient to convince me, that the *Historia Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ* was printed after the Year 1633, and after that of the Popes of Avignon.

The second Edition of that History of the Gallican Church, is of the Year 1636, in Quarto: it is much larger than the first, which was in 8vo, but some Lines have been left out of it, which Archbishop Usher has taken the pains to preserve (8). They are so considerable, that I will insert them in this place of my Dictionary. It appears from them that Mr Bosquet acknowledged, that the false Zeal of the Monks was the first cause of the fabulous Traditions, which have covered the Origin of the Gallican Church with such thick darkness. 'Quod de Gallicana nobis proxima Ecclesia notavit nuper prætor Narbonensis Franciscus Bosquetus, incertam longa antiquitate & posterorum commentis originem illius extitisse, idem in nostris quoque Britannicis verissimum fuisse comperimus (9). — *What Francis Bosquet late Intendant of Narbonne observed of the Gallican Church, our next Neighbours; that it's Original is rendered uncertain, by it's great Antiquity and the Fictions of later times, the same we find true concerning our British Churches also.*' He thinks, that the heat of their Zeal, and the desire of inspiring more Devotion into the People, made them believe what they taught others afterwards, concerning the pretended Wonders and Antiquity of certain Saints. One can hardly have so good and charitable an Opinion of the first Inventors of Fables; but it would be very unjust not to entertain it of those who succeeded them. However it be, here follows the Words in question: 'Primos, si verum amamus, hujusmodi zelotas monachos in Galliis habuimus. Illi simplici ac servida ideoque minus cauta & sæpe inconsulta religione perculti ad illicendas hominum mentes, & augustiori sanctorum nomine ad eorum cultum revocandas, illustres eorum titulos primum sibi dein credulæ plebi persuasos proposuerunt. Ex horum officina Martialis Lemoicensis Apostolatus, Urfini Bituricensis Discipulatus, Dionysii Parisiensis Areopagitice, Pauli Narbonensis proconsularis dignitas, amborum Apostoli Pauli magisterium, & in aliis Ecclesiis similia prodire. Quibus quidem sano judicio & constanti animo Galli primum Episcopi resistere. At ubi Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ parentibus, sanctissimis fidei præconibus, detractis his spoliis, injuriam fieri mentibus ingenuis & probis persuasum est, paulatim error communi consensu confurgere, & tandem antiquitate sua contra veritatem præscribere (10). — *To say Truth, we had the first of this Sort of zealous Monks in France. They out of a simple and fervent, and consequently less cautious and often inconsiderate, Zeal, in order to allure Mens minds, and bring them over to the Worship of the Saints, by giving them more august Names, first persuaded themselves, and afterwards the credulous People, of their illustrious Titles. From this quarter came the Apostleship of Martial, of Limoges; the Discipleship of Urfin, of Bourges; the Areopagitical Office of Dionysius, of Paris; the proconsular Dignity of Paul, of Narbonne; and the like in other Churches. Which indeed were at first opposed with good Judgment and Resolution by the French Bishops. But when the Fathers of the Gallican Church, and the most holy Preachers of the Faith, had given their Opinion, that ingenuous and honest minds might be hurt by removing these things, the Errors of this kind grew by Degrees, by common consent, and at last by their Antiquity out-weighted the Truth.*' I question whether it was a good piece of Policy to suppress these fine Words in the second Edition. The omission of this Passage plainly shews that the Roman Catholics are extremely cautious with respect to Errors; and that they, whose Interest it is to maintain them, are easily offended at any discovery of that kind. They should have considered, that the suppressing of those Words would raise the Curiosity of most People; and that those, who would have read them curiously, and with little attention, would, for that very reason, look upon them as a thing of the greatest Importance. They might very well think, that the Protestants would not fail to make their Reflexions upon it. In a word, we may say of this Passage, what an Historian said of Brutus and Cassius, whose Images did not appear in a Funeral Pomp (11). The suppressing of it gives it a greater lustre. We observe more easily when a Man is not at a certain Feast, than when he is there. Here is a Passage of Seneca: 'C. Cæsar villam in Herculanensi pulcherrimam, quia mater sua aliquando in illa custodita erat, diruit, fecitque ejus per hoc notabilem fortunam: statem enim præternavigabamus, nunc causa dirutæ queritur (12). — *C. Cæsar pulled down a very fine House near Herculænum, because his Mother had once been confined there, and by that means made her misfortune remarkable; for while it was standing People used to sail by, now they enquire why it was pulled down.*' Compare with this, what I have said in another Place (13).

[B] Moreri — has not committed many faults. I. He does not speak exactly, when he says, that Mr Bosquet

(10) Bosquet apud Usserium An. iij. Britann. Ecclesiæ. Præfat.

(10) Bosquet apud Usserium An. iij. Britann. Ecclesiæ. Præfat.

(11) Vincti clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelate sunt, Manlii Quinctii, alique ejusdem nobilitatis nomina: sed præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus eo ipso quod effluvia eorum non viderantur. Tacitus Annal. lib. iii. in fine.

(12) Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. cap. xxii.

(13) In the Remark [B] of the Article A. R. NAULD (ANTHONY the Doctor).

(2) That is, the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th Books of that Pope's Register in fol. Journ. des Savans of the 31st of August 1676.

(3) Taken from Mr Bosquet's Essay inserted in the Journal des Savans of the 31st of August 1676.

(4) Doujat, prænot. Canonie. pag. 633.

(5) Journal des Savans of the 31st of August 1676.

(6) Apud Cave Hist. literar. pag. 605. The Oxford Catalogue mentions but one Paris Edition of 1639.

(7) Morin. Exercit. Biblic. pag. 18. Edit. in 4to. 1633.

A REMARKABLE Passage left out in a second Edition.

(8) See Colomies, Bibliothéque Choise, pag. 84.

(9) Usserius in Pref. Britann. Ecclesiæ Antiquitatum, printed at Dublin 1639.

(b) Journal des
Savans, ubi su-
pra. See also
Doujat. Prænot.
Canon. pag. 653.

Henry de Mêmes, President in the Parliament of Paris, was the first Patron of Francis Bosquet, and that Mr de la Chambre was very useful to him, by the good Character he gave of him to the Chancellor Seguier (b). A Passage, which that Prelate left out of his Gallican History, when he reprinted it (c), shews, that tho' he was cautious in representing the Abuses of his Church, he was not ignorant of them. (c) See the Remark [A].

Mr Bosquet studied in the College de Foix at Toulouse; for there are neither Professors, nor any other Teachers, in that College. It is a House where a certain number of Students are maintained, who give a certain Sum at their Entrance into it. There are, or have been, several such Colleges in the same City. In a certain sense it is very true, that Mr Bosquet studied in the College de Foix; for he lodged there during his Studies, and he was constant in the Library of that College; but this is not what is commonly understood by Studying in a

College. The expression of the Journalist is therefore fallacious: it gives his Readers a false Notion, that the College of Foix is a Place of Learning. II. The Abbot de la Roque, is not more exact, when he places the *Pugio Fidei* of Raimond Martini among the Works of Mr Bosquet; for tho' he adds these Words, which he took out of the Library of the College de Foix, he leads his Readers into this Error, that Mr Bosquet published the *Pugio Fidei*. We shall see elsewhere (14), what share he had in the Edition of that Book.

(14) In the Remark [A] of the Article RAIMOND (MARTINI).

BOSQUET (GEORGE), Advocate in the Parliament of Toulouse (a), in the Reign of Charles IX, wrote some Books, and among the rest one which was condemned to the Flames [A].

(a) Du Verdier, Bibl. Fran. pag. 443.

[A] He wrote some Books, and among the rest one which was condemned to the Flames. His Latin Treatise, on the Edict of Henry II, concerning Marriages contracted by Children of a good Family, without the Knowledge or Consent of their Parents, was printed at Toulouse, by Jacques Colomies, in the Year 1558, in 8vo. He published, by the same Man, in 1563, *Hugonorum Hæreticorum Tolsæ conjuratorum proscriptio memoriae posita*, in 4to (1). It is this last work, if I mistake not, to which the following words relate: 'The King

— has commanded, and does hereby command, that the Book composed by one George Bosquet, of the said City of Toulouse, containing a diffamatory Libel, shall be burnt; and that all Bookellers and Printers be forbid to print or cause to be printed, or to sell, the said Book, and that all Persons be forbid to buy the same' (2). These are the Words of an Arrêt of the Privy-Council, held at the Chateau de Vincennes the eighteenth of June 1563 (3).

(2) Bena Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 2. pag. 59, 60.

(3) Ibid. pag. 60.

(1) Du Verdier
Biblioth. Fran.
pag. 443.

BOSSU (JAMES le), in Latin *Bossulus*, Doctor of Divinity in the University of Paris, and a Monk of St Denis, was one of the most violent Preachers of the League, before and after the Death of Henry III. I cannot tell whether he declaimed in the Pulpits of Paris, but I know very well that those of Nantes were the Stage of his Rebellion; and besides, not content to preach with the most brutal Fury against Henry III and Henry IV, he also printed at Nantes some Dialogues (a) between a Catholic and a Politician, wherein he vented the most extravagant Maxims of the Spirit of Sedition. He maintained in the first place, that Henry III was worse, and more atheistical than Judas (b). II. That James Clement was inspired by God to stab him (c). III. That no Prayers ought to be made to God for the Repose of his Soul (d). IV. That it was lawful for any body to kill him, on account of the notoriousness of his Tyranny, &c (e). The abusive Expressions of that furious Preacher against the Parliament of Paris sitting at Tours, and against all the Catholics who remained faithful to Henry IV, cannot be sufficiently detested. He maintained that the Catholics, who had any Commerce with Heretics, were *ipso facto* excommunicated (f); and that Heresy being worse than Paganism, and Paganism being true Atheism, Heresy ought to be called *Atheism*, and the most enormous of all Sins, and that Heretics ought to be shunned as the Plague (g). At that time France was full of such Preachers, and, to compleat her Misfortunes, was constrained not only to let them go unpunished, but to grant them what they desired, I mean that France should refuse to submit to it's lawful Prince, unless he turned Catholic. The Triumph of those rebellious Preachers over Justice will serve for a Model in all such like Cases; whereas if those Trumpeters of Sedition had been punished according to their Deserts, such an example would have served as a Curb for the time to come. There is nothing more dangerous in a State than such People; and with respect to this Evil, Sovereigns ought to be put in mind of the Maxim, *principiis obsta*. Mr Arnould, or a very good Friend of his, will not contradict me in it [A]. Father le Bossu must have been a Man of some Merit, since

(a) He calls them Devils.

(b) Second Dev's pag. 80.

(c) Third Dev's pag. 17, 18. He says the same of him, who killed the Prince of Orange.

(d) Ibid. pag. 8.

(e) Ibid. pag. 28.

(f) Traité contre l'adhésion aux Hérétiques, pag. 56.

(g) Ibid. pag. 3.

(1) Citat. (1).

[A] Mr Arnould — will not contradict me in it. I have promised in the Article of that Doctor of Sorbonne (1), to insert here an important Reflection which was made on a Conventicle, wherein something was hatched against him. It is as follows: 'Indeed, you Gentlemen in Authority, you are fine Folks to suffer such attempts. Do not you perceive that if the Proceedings of that Conventicle should succeed, (for this is not a chimerical Conventicle, as those of Mr Arnould) there is not one honest Man in Liege, but is liable to the like insults from them, if he should displease them, or be suspected to favour the

pretended *Jansenism*, of which they make Mr Arnould the Head? It is always dangerous to suffer such Audaciousness to get head, and it gathers Strength daily, when no care is taken to quash it in the beginning. Believe me, an Assembly of Men, moved by a false Zeal of Religion, supported by the Reputation, which their Habit, their Condition, and outward Austerity, procure them, armed with the Power which the direction of Consciences gives them over the Minds of the People, and above all animated, encouraged, and directed by a Rector of the Jesuits, are more to be feared than is imagined; and if your Politicians

laugh

since, besides his teaching Divinity among the *Benedictins*, he was one of the Members of the Congregation de *Auxiliis* under Pope Paul V (b). Mr *Arnauld* has commended him very much [B]. I believe this is the same *Bossu*, whom Mr *du Pleffis Mornay* mentions in these Words. 'Le *Bossu* (i) Steward of the Bishopric of *Nantes* discovered this (k), preached against it, made Remonstrances to Mr de *Mercur* about it, made the Agent of *Spain* protest against it.' This made him forbear speaking to him (l). Thus the very Heads of the League were Slaves to the Preachers.

(b) See the Compendium of the *Life of that Congregation*, printed at Brancfort, (or rather at Rotterdam) in 1687. pag. 9.

(i) *Memoirs of Du Pleffis* Tom. II. pag. 274. under the 24th of September 1592. See also the *Life of Mr du Pleffis* pag. 186, where *Bossu* is called Theological of *Nantes*.

OF WHAT consequence it is to keep a close Reins on the Ecclesiastics.

(k) Question Carieuse à Mr *Arnauld* est heretique, pag. 197.

(l) Difficulté proposée à Monsieur *Steyart* Part. IX. p. 251. Cologne 1692.

(a) *La Croix du Maine*, pag. 183.

(b) *Id.* pag. 389.

(1) *La Croix du Maine*, pag. 183.

(2) *Id.* *ibid.*

(3) *Id.* pag. 184.

(4) *Brant. vie des Capitaines étrangers*, Tom. II. pag. 117.

'laugh at it, I dare say, they understand nothing of the matter. Father *d'Iselin* boasts already that he has either a Commission, or a Permission, from his Highness to arrest Mr *Arnauld*, wherever he shall find him in the Diocese. . . . Believe me such Men must not be allowed too much Liberty. For if, notwithstanding the Advices given to the Superiors, of which they made no account, nor do make the use that was desired, we see them so heartily disposed to use Violences of that nature, so far as to be willing to take the Execution upon themselves by the Sovereign's leave, they will make no difficulty of acting without that leave in any thing they are pleased to undertake, as soon as they see themselves strong enough, and sufficiently supported by the Mob (2).'

[B] Mr *Arnauld* has commended him very much.] A Letter, written from *Rome*, says he, which was lately shewn me (3), contained an Extract of the *Memoirs* of Mr *Pegna*, who was Dean of the

Rota, under *Clement VIII.* and *Paul V.*, concerning what had passed under those two Popes in the Congregation de *Auxiliis*. Out of those *Memoirs* they had transcribed the Suffrage of Mr *le Bossu*, a Monk of *St Denys*, and Doctor of *Sorbonne*, of the Month of *October* 1607, one of the most learned Directors of that Congregation. He declared by that Suffrage, that he did not approve that a certain University should be consulted about the Matters that were in agitation there; and among other Reasons he gave these two: First, That they had not condemned certain Notes on *Cassian*, which tended to give a pretended good sense to the erroneous Propositions of that Author, whose Works had been censured by Pope *Gelasius*: Secondly, That they had divulged the Bull of *Pius V.* and *Gregory XIII.* These are that learned Doctor's own Words concerning this second Complaint against that University, &c.

(k) That is to say, that the Duke of *Mercur* had a Design to confer with a Royalist secretly.

(l) That is, the Duke of *Mercur*.

BOSSULUS (MATTHEW), a *Parisian* (a), taught in *Boncour* College at *Paris* in the Year 1583 (b) [A]. He was a great Orator: he had been Preceptor to *Don Carlos*, Son of *Philip II* [B], and taught Rhetoric in the University of *Valencia* in *Spain* [C]. I do not find that he has appeared in Print.

[A] He taught in *Boncour* College at *Paris* in the Year 1583.] In that Year *Bossulus* made a Speech in *Boncour* College, which lasted about an Hour and a half (1). *Du Perron* remembered it so well that he could have recited it word for word. He recited a great part of it in the presence of *la Croix du Maine* three Days after. That Speech was an Eulogy on the Art of Oratory and Orators. *Bossulus* spoke of a certain Orator, who seemed to come from Heaven, to bind the two Armies of *Francis I* and the Emperor *Charles V.* from fighting (2). I wish that Speech was printed, that I might know the Name of that Orator, who did a thing which *Signior Julio Mazarini* imitated to happily near *Cazal*, and which was the beginning of his Glory and Fortune. *Bossulus* wrote only the Heads of his Speeches, he supplied the rest in the Pulpit extempore (3).

[B] He had been Preceptor to *Don Carlos*, Son of *Philip II.* *Brantome* informs me of this. 'I have been told, says he (4), that a Book was wrote in *Spain*, and even printed, concerning the Stubbornness, Caprice, Whims and Maggots of *Don Carlos*, in which is amusement of all kinds for the Reader. His Preceptor was Mr *Bossulus* a Frenchman, whom we have seen since in *France*, one of the most learned and eloquent Men of his time, who also spoke several Languages fluently; but lead a wicked Life, in which he was capable of giving him fine Lessons.' Here is a

Man, who, according to *Brantome* and *la Croix du Maine*, was very Learned and very Eloquent; and for all that, I am sure, he is but little known in the Commonwealth of Letters, and a great many Persons less Learned than he, are a hundred times better known: The reason is, because they published Books; whereas the *Prés* was never employed on his Productions. It extremely concerns learned Men, who desire not to fall into oblivion after their Death, to set up for Authors; without which, their Name seldom out-lives the first Generation, *res erat unius ætatis*. The generality of Readers do not take notice of the Names of those learned Men, whom they only know by the Testimony of others: A Man is soon forgot, when the Encomium bestowed upon him ends thus, *The Public has seen nothing of his*. We must except those, who, like Mr *de Peirese*, signalize themselves in a singular manner.

[C] He taught Rhetoric in the University of *Valencia* in *Spain*.] I found this in a Book of the Jesuit *Andrew Schot* (5). I believe they took *Bossulus* from that Post to place him with *Don Carlos*, or at least, that his teaching Rhetoric served him for a mediate Introduction; and I cannot but wonder, that a Frenchman was chosen for such an Employment. I wonder yet more, that the *French* have spoken so little of a Man of their own Nation, who was honoured with such a Place in the Court of *Spain* in the XVIth Century.

THE Learned who desire to be spoken of after their Death, ought to print Books.

(5) *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, pag. 32, where instead of *Matthæus Bossulus Parisiensis*, it should have been *Bossulus*, &c.

BOSSUS (MATTHEW), born at *Verona* in the Year 1427, deserves an honourable Place among those who have been illustrious for Virtue and Learning. He was sent very young to *Milan* to study the belles Lettres under *Francis Philelpbus*, and *Peter Perleon*, and made good Improvement; but he had been spoiled as to his Morals, if he had not soon left a City so corrupt as that was in those Times, where he was at his own Disposal, in the midst of Temptations, and without the Assistance of the good Counsels or Censure of a good Tutor. Being called back to *Verona*, he lived under a better Discipline; and found fewer Occasions of perverting himself; He had vigilant Directors who made him weary of the Vanities of the World. He turned his Thoughts another way, and devoted himself to an Ecclesiastical State in the Year 1451, in the Congregation of the Regular Canons of *Lateran*. *Timothy Mapheus*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Ragusa*, persuaded him to take that good Resolution, and brought him soon after to *Padua*, where he taught Divinity. *Bossus* improved much under him, both in the Sciences, and in the Art of Preaching; and with a great Zeal and Capacity he discharged the Duties

Duties of the Employments his Superiors gave him. He caused many Houses of his Order to be repaired, and particularly the Abbey of *Fiesoli* in *Tuscany*. *Cosmo de Medicis* gave Seventy thousand Crowns for the Reparation of that Abbey: It was an admirable Building, and the Workmanship of *Philip Brunelleschi*, a *Florentine*, one of the most excellent Architects of that Time (a). It was in that Church that *Matthew Bossus* gave the Ornaments of the Cardinalate to *John de Medicis* [A]. *Laurence de Medicis* would have it so; which I observe only to shew how much he considered *Matthew Bossus*. Pope *Sixtus IV* had as great an Esteem for him; for as soon as he was raised to the Pontificate, he undertook to put a Stop to the Disorders of the Nuns of *Liguria*, and of the Neighbouring Provinces, and intrusted him with that Employment. As a Reward for his Pains, which had not been to much purpose [B], he offered him a very good Prelacy three several times, and pressed him to accept it; but *Bossus* excused himself, and by his Intreaties prevailed with the Pope to leave him in the Condition he was in. He stoutly opposed the Decree of *Innocent VIII*, whereby all sorts of Monks were ordered to give the Clerks of his Chamber, yearly, part of their Revenues. He was five times Visitor of the Order, and twice their Procurator-General at the Court of *Rome*. I do not mention several Deputations wherein he displayed his Eloquence, and other most necessary

(a) The Vault of the Cathedral Church of Florence is accounted a master-piece. It was he who had the Direction of it. *Philippo Inghram* inquam illo Architectorum corphæo, ejus prodigium ingenium super antiquos quocunque ac moderniores unum tholus seu testudo miris templi Florentini æternum extollit. *Lycæum Lateranense*, Tom. II. lib. xi. pag. 34.

[A] He gave the Ornaments of the Cardinalate to *John de Medicis*. *John de Medicis* was so young when *Innocent VIII* made him Cardinal, that, to save appearances, it was thought fit to require of him, that he should be debarred the use of the public Marks of the Cardinalate for three Years. Cum puer ad sacrum illum Senatuum assumptus fuerit ab *Innocentio octavo Pontifice*, hac una explicita conditione, ne palam insignibus uteretur aut se ut Cardinalis haberet nisi triennio expleto ad augendam ætatem (1). That time being expired, *Matthew Bossus* was chosen to install that Youth in the Dignity of a Cardinal. He performed the Ceremony with a great deal of Gravity in the Abbey of *Fiesoli*. *Laurence de Medicis*, the Father of *John*, chose him for that Function, which was attended with a most magnificent Pomp. You will find an account of that Ceremony in the hundred and eighth Letter of *Matthew Bossus*. The Author whom I quote, has inserted a long Extract of it in his *Lycæum Lateranense* (2). It appears there, that *John de Medicis* was but fifteen Years of Age (3), when he was named to the Cardinalate by *Innocent VIII*. I need not say that he was made Pope after the Death of *Julius II*, by the Name of *Leo X*.

[B] The pains — he took to reform the Nuns — was to little purpose. This business is much to the Honour of the Memory of *Sixtus IV*. One of his first thoughts, after his Exaltation, was to correct the disorders of the Nuns, and particularly to restrain the Licentiousness of those of *Genoa*, who were going the broad way to Perdition. Vixit dum sacro diademate caput ornaret magnus ille Pontifex *Sixtus quartus de Ruere*, cum homo regionis illius, & coherentis insubriæ, adque *Genuesis* præsertim reformandas, quarum status patulas vias perditionis intraverat; tantam provinciam, tamque laboriosam, tali tempore dubiam, implicitam uni *Bosso* commendatam voluit (4). — The great Pope *Sixtus the fourth de Rovere*, who was of the Province of *Genoa*, had scarce well put on the sacred Crown, before he turned his Thoughts on the Reformation of the Nuns of his own Country, and the *Milanese* his Neighbours, but especially those of the City of *Genoa*, who were in a State leading directly the broad way to Destruction; this Business, so great and laborious, and, at that time, critical and intricate, he assigned to *Bossus* alone. Our *Matthew* was chosen for such a difficult Employment, and of such a doubtful Success, that he was unwilling to accept of it. Nevertheless, he acquitted himself of it with great Courage and Vigilance. He gave them exhortations both public and private in the most pathetic manner he could; he animated the Magistrates, and shewed them what they ought to do; he despised the Dangers to which his Reputation, and even his Life, were exposed (5), and he had already put things upon a good Foot, when the Governour of *Genoa*, corrupted with Presents, ceased to second him, and spoiled what had been so happily begun. Quæ plane res Christo propi-

tio & magistratibus suffragantibus omnibus eo tum loci pervasit, atque iis fuit vallata & constituta præsidis, ut qui desiderabatur exitum prorsus foret habitura, nisi urbis tunc Præsidentis alienatus magna vi munerum, quod maximum esse solet ad omne scelus incitamentum, à nobis turpiter defecisset, ceptaque omnia perturbasset, & quæ erant jam acta sanctissime avarus ille atque infidus evertisset (6). — Which business, by the help of Christ, and concurrence of all the Magistrates, was really come to such a point, and was guarded and secured by such fences, that it must certainly have had the desired end, had not the Governor of the City been alienated with large presents, (the common Temptations to any kind of wickedness) and basely fallen off from us, and spoiled all our undertaking, and by his Covetousness and Treachery undone all we had been doing. Some time after, as the Letter from which I have taken this Passage informs us, the Magistrates took more effectual measures to bring at last those disorderly Nuns to Reason. *Bossus* heard that news with great satisfaction. Quod ego semper optavi qui *Genuesem* patriam istam singulari pietate atque constantia sum prosecutus, tuis literis audio fieri. — Cives scilicet istos ardentius curare atque moliri ut tandem Monialibus suis istis minus honeste, minusque sobrie ac religiose versantibus, modus adhibeatur, adhibere que jam ceperint (7). — What I, who have a singular and constant Love for my Country, *Genoa*, always wished, I understand by your Letter is done. — that is, the Citizens are studying and contriving how at last to lay a Restraint on their Nuns, who do not live so honestly, soberly, and religiously, as they ought, and that they have begun to restrain them. The Magistrates forbade the Superiors of Nunneries to receive any Maids; they deprived them of their great Riches, which occasioned the Luxury, and other Irregularities which they intended to reform. Quod scribis modo concordî, publicoque decreto questum, simulque definitum omnibus atque positum, ne puellæ videlicet ea ipsa in Monasteria ullo modo amplius excipi possint; videtur mihi sane optimus modus, optima ratio, — addunt æque fœminis istis magnæ opes & ingeruntimenta libidinum, ambitionis, delictiarum, & sumptuum, quibus si vel ex parte caruerint, in his fortasse frigeret ardens & petulca luxuries. — What, as you write, is now ordered by a Public Decree, and given in Charge to them all, viz. that no Maids shall henceforward be received in the Monastery itself, on any account, seems to me certainly the very best Method. — Great Wealth is to all these Women only a great Increase of Fuel for Lust, Ambition, Pleasure, and Magnificence, which if they are but partly deprived of, perhaps their wanton, flaming, Luxury may cool a little. Note, That *Bossus's* Care did not prove altogether useless; for though he made no general Reformation, yet some Nuns were affected with his Discourses, and renounced their disorderly Life (8). He had a peculiar Talent at representing to the

(6) Id. ibid. apud eund.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid. Tom. II. pag. 42.

(1) Celsus de Rosinis in *Lycæo Lateranensi*, Tom. II. lib. xi. pag. 38.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Others say he was but 14.

(4) *Lycæum Lateranense*, Tom. II. pag. 40.

(5) Quantum exaudaverim, quantum dimicaverim, quantum denique ad crimen usque famæ & vitæ contendendum, potius factis meminit *Math. Bossus*, Epist. 87. apud *Celsum de Rosinis* *Lycæi Lateranensis* Tom. II. pag. 41.

VOL. II. No. XXXIV.

B b

necessary Qualifications. He composed several Books which are worth reading [C]; for there is a great deal of good Morality in them, and they are wrote in a polite Stile for that time. His Book on Womens Drefs, and to prevent the recalling of the Prohibition they were under not to wear Ornaments, is very pious [D]. He was esteemed by Persons of the best Quality, and the most celebrated Scholars of his Time. He died at Padua, in the Year 1502, aged Seventy five Years. This Article is taken from the second Tome (b) of the *Lyceum Lateranense*, of Abbot Rosini, printed at Cesene, in the Year 1649, in two Volumes in Folio.

(b) Pag. 24. and following.

(9) Ibid.

(10) De parce cauteque verando sanctis etiam cum viris. Ibid.

(11) Cesner, in Biblioth. fol. 505. versio.

(12) Celsus de Rosinis Lycei Lateran. Tom. II. pag. 67.

(13) Upon five Orations, and upon the Rhetoric.

(14) In the Epistle to Bartholomew of Placentia. See Celsus de Rosinis Lycei Lateran. Tom. II. pag. 68.

(15) Id. ibid. Tom. II. p. 65.

(16) Id. ibid. pag. 60.

(17) Id. ibid.

Nuns their Duty. See the Letters which he wrote to *Istota Nogarala*, a learned and devout Nun, to *Violante Seraphica*, to *Cassandra Fidelis*, to *Antonia of Reggio*, to *Margaret of Mantua*, a Woman of a great deal of Wit, a good Memory, and great Learning, and to *Paulina* (9). He would have the Nuns (and he had good reason for it) to converse but seldom with Men, even with the most virtuous, and to observe a great deal of Circumspection in that too (10). O what good Advice was this!

[C] He wrote several Books which are worth reading. His Dialogues *De veris ac salutaribus animi gaudiis*: *De instituendo sapientia animo*: *De tolerandis adversis*, are none of the least of his Works. His Treatise *De gremio magistratu, justitiae colenda*, is a good one: Those four Books, with another *De immoderato mulierum cultu*, were re-printed at Strasburg in 4to, in the Year 1509, with a Letter of Politian, wherein the Author's Life and Learning are very much praised (11). His Speeches, Sermons, and Letters are worthy of him, and have been printed a great many times. A new Edition of his Works was published at Florence in the Year 1627 (12). As for the Commentary which he made on some Pieces of Cicero (13), it is not known whether it was printed, or not. He mentions it in one of his Letters (14). He had the pleasure to see four Editions of his Works; but because they were printed separately, he resolved to collect them into a Body, and to add to them some other Pieces which were still in the Dust of his Closet, or among the Papers of his Brethren. He intitled that Collection, *Recuperationes Pefulanæ*, and dedicated it to Cardinal John de Medicis (15). Note, That he made a kind of Apology for Phalaris Tyrant of Agrigentum, and that he solidly refuted an apocryphal Book, which the President Cassaneus was ashamed to insert in his Works: Read this Latin; Phalaridem dudum Agrigentinum tyrannum ab oppositionibus Benedicti Calchi Concanonici tutatus est, occasione Epistolarum quas ille scripsit, in quibus præter eloquentiam raram atque mirabilem, multa gravissima, multa sanctissima, summo Philosopho & Christiano digna comperiuntur. Sacerdotum temporale Christi Domini apocrypham cantilenam evidentissimis rationibus consultavit scribens ad Policletum Phificum, quem tamen ineptissime Bartholomeus Cassaneus in suo Gloriarum mundi theatro inseruit ex Libello ineptiore (16). He defended Phalaris, Tyrant of Agrigentum, from the Objections of Benedictus Calchus Concanonicus, on Account of the Epistles wrote by him; in which, besides a rare and admirable Eloquence, there are many very grave and pious things, and worthy of an excellent Philosopher and a Christian. He confuted an apocryphal Song, called the Temporal Priesthood of Christ the Lord, with the most solid Reasons, in a Letter to Policletus Phificus. And yet Bartholomeus Cassaneus has been weak enough to insert it in his Theatrum Gloriarum Mundi, from a Book yet more foolish.

[D] His Book on Womens drefs ----- is very pious. Timotheus Mapheus, preaching in Lent at Bologna, shewed so clearly in his Sermons, that Women ought to be forbid all superfluity of Drefs by a public Decree, that such a Law was promulgated. Egisset ex pulpito ut publico decreto petulantior mulierum cultus, & inundans vestimentorum luxuriam comprimeretur (17). Soon after came out an Harangue addressed to Cardinal Bessarion, Legate of Bologna, wherein it was attempted to be proved, that Women ought not to be deprived of their Ornaments, and that it was proper to revoke the Prohibition. Mapheus, who was gone to Tuscany, as soon as Lent was over, was not in condition to

refute the Censurer of the Decree which he had obtained, nor to prevent the impressions this Apologist for the Women might make on Peoples minds. So the Discourse of the Apologist was spread without Opposition; and as it was pretty eloquent, and maintained a Thesis very agreeable to the World, it was applauded by many: but the wiser heads were provoked, that the Extravagance of Drefs, so contrary to Modesty, and so dangerous with respect to Chastity, should find an Advocate to support it with all the turns of Rhetoric. Alii vero, quorum sanior erat mens, rectiusque judicium, dolebant ornamentorum licentiam, injuriâ continentiae, pudicitiaeque discrimine, literis illustratam (18). Our Matthew Bossus was therefore earnestly desired to refute it. Observe, that the Apologist concealed his Name, and introduced a modest Lady, called *Nicolsa Sanuta*, pleading the Cause of the fair Sex. He represented her very angry at the Prohibition, and making Heaven and Earth resound with her complaints and murmurs. It is not known, whether that Lady took it amiss, that her Name was made use of on such an Occasion. We only know that she was esteemed a Woman of Honour: Operi, ob turpitudinem, nomen non cuderit Auditor suum; verum ingenuam matronam Nicolosam Sanutam loquentem adduxerit, omnia mulierum querimonia replentem: cui ignotum gratiamne an injuriam fecerit, cum nobilissima femina magis præse ferre videretur pudicitiam, honestatem, frugalitatem, antiquos mores atque animi constantiam, quam lasciviam & immoderatum ornamentorum affectum (19). Bossus undertook to plead the Cause of the Preacher Mapheus, and addressed a very fine discourse to Cardinal Bessarion (20), to shew him that he ought not to give leave to the Women of Bologna, to use their Ornaments again. This discourse had all the effect the Author could desire; for the Decree continued in its full Force all the time of that Cardinal's Legateship (21). When that was expired, a Piece came out addressed by a very learned Person (22) to *Santes Bentivoglio*, a Man of great Authority in Bologna. The Author advised him, in this Piece, to give the Women liberty to adorn themselves, and fell very foul on those who held the contrary. Bossus wrote a handsome Letter to that Author, and retouched the matter so dextrously, that he brought him into the right way (23). I do not wonder that he converted his Antagonist; but I should have wondered, if he had Eloquence enough to persuade the Women to consent to the Decree. There was the Difficulty. Hoc opus, hic labor est. I have said elsewhere (24), they were obliged to abolish such a Law in Rome. See also Remark [C] of the Article PYTHAGORAS, and the fourth Chapter of the second Book of *Christian Advice for the Education of Children*. Mr Joly, the Author, speaks there of this Dispute of Matthew Bossus, and cites several curious things from it. I shall content myself with these. One of the most difficult Points to manage with Women, is to root out their curiosity for Cloaths and Ornaments of the Body. The reason of it is, Women naturally love to be fine. St Jerome calls the Female Sex *Philosopson*, that is to say, which loves Finery; and adds, that he knew a great many Women of extraordinary Chastity, who dressed themselves solely for their own satisfaction, without design of pleasing any Man. This therefore is one of the peculiar imperfections, with which he reproaches the Sex in these Words to *Eusebius*: Imperfectissimum mulierum affectus. Semper in vestibus, semper in auro, lapidibus & ornamentis, extrinsecus gloriam ponunt. The affection of Women is very imperfect, in that they place all their Glory in the outside, always in Cloaths, always in Gold, Jewels, and external

(18) Celsi de Rosinis Lateranensis. Tom. II. pag. 61.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) It is intitled, Ne feminae ornamenta Bononiensibus restituatur, ad Bessarionem Cardinalem atque Legatum cohortatio. It is also cited by the Title of de immoderato mulierum cultu.

(21) Celsi de Rosinis Lyceum Lateranense, Tom. II. pag. 61.

(22) Guarini de Veronense.

(23) Celsi de Rosinis Lyceum Lateranense, Tom. II. pag. 61.

(24) In the Article PRETEXTATE, about the middle of the Remark [B].

† In Epist. ad Gaudentium, de Pacatulae Inst.

† Hier. in Virginitate servanda.

(25) Joly, Institution des Enfants, pag. 257, 258.

'external Ornaments. And to Demetrias: Quando eras in seculo, ea quæ erant seculi diligebas; polire faciem purpuris, & cerussa ora depingere, ornare crinem, & alienis capillis torritum verticem struere. Ut taceam de inaurium pretiis, candore margaritarum rubri maris profunda testantium, smaragdorū virore, cæraniorum flammis, hyacinthorum pelago, ad quæ ardent & infaniunt studia matronarum (25). — When you were in the World, you loved the things of the World, as to

whiten your Face, to set off your Complexion with Vermilion, to curl your Hair, and adorn your Head with strange Hairs. I say nothing of the richness of Diamonds, the whiteness of Pearls fished from the bottom of the Red-Sea, of the beautiful green of Emeralds, the lustre of Rubies, nor the Sky Colour which appears in Saphirs and Jacinths, which are the objects of Passion, Admiration, and Folly of Ladies of Quality.'

BOTAL (LEONARD), in Latin Botallus, lived in the XVIth Century. He was born at Ast in Piedmont, and took his Degree of Doctor of Physic at Pavia. He came into France where he made his Fortune; for he was Physician to the Duke of Alençon, and to Henry III. He introduced at Paris the Practice of frequent Bleeding. Some Persons wrote against him on that Subject, and his Method was condemned by the Faculty of Physic. We shall see, below, Proofs of all this [A]. He published several Books of Physic and Surgery (a), a new Edition of which was printed at Leyden, in the Year 1660, in 8vo, by the Care, and with the Notes of John van Horne, a Physician (b).

(a) The Titles of them are to be found in Lindenius Renovatus, pag. 741.

(b) Ibid.

[A] He introduced at Paris the Practice of frequent bleeding, for which he was written against. Here are the Proofs of all this. Botal — a Piedmontese, of the Town of Ast, and Doctor of Pavia, having found the great effects of bleeding in the Distempers which came under his care, having large Practice in Paris, and at Court, in the Service of Francis Duke of Alençon, fourth Son of Henry the Second, he wrote a Book on that Subject, to which one Bonaventure Grangier a Physician in Paris wrote an Answer; to moderate the frequent Practice of drawing Blood, and shew how to make a proper Use of that great Remedy (1). Another Evidence, and the more authentic, as he was particularly acquainted with our Botal, says thus, 'And not to leave the Subject of Bleeding, I remember, when I was young (2), Physicians were very moderate in it, and took a great deal of care before they ordered it, and more before they repeated it. Mr Duret, my Friend, a Physician of a singular good Character, visiting me when I was ill, and playing on the equivocal meaning of the word Saigneur [Bleeder], used to say that he was but a very little Seigneur [Lord]. Afterwards there arrived in France one Botal, a Piedmontese, who was Physician to Henry III, who used Bleeding in all manner of Distempers,

even in the Gout, and would not stick to repeat it four or five times to one Patient. And as I was remonstrating to him one Day, (for I was his Advocate) that instead of curing Distempers, it was the way to turn them into Consumptions. He answered, that the more stagnated Water you draw out of a pit, the more good comes in its Place; and the more a Nurse is sucked by her Child, the more Milk she has: That it was just the same with respect to Blood and Bleeding. Notwithstanding, this Proposition was at that time condemned by our Faculty of Physic. Nay, there was a Book written expressly against it by Grangier, which was received with general Applause. And yet after the Death of Botal, his Practice revived in the Opinion of our Physicians, who do not spare repetition of Bleeding, not only to their Patients that are Strangers to them, but even to their own Wives, Children and Brothers by which they have had very good Success.'

Whatever helps to shew the Original and Progress of any thing is so pleasing to a multitude of Readers, that they will not be sorry to find here this Passage entire; and to be informed that I have recited elsewhere (3), the same Author's account of the Bleeding practised by Auerroës.

(3) Remark [D] in the Article AVERROES, near the end.

BOTEREIUS (RODOLPHUS), Advocate in the Grand Council at Paris, Author of a History of Henry IV. See the Article BOTERO, Remark [B].

BOTERO, or BOTERUS (JOHN), Native of Bene (a) in Piemont, flourished towards the end of the XVIth Century. He was Tutor to the Children of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, and died in the Year 1608 (b). He wrote several Books in Italian, which have been translated into divers Languages. They are accounts of the Government and Forces of several States of Europe, or bare Recitals of modern Transactions. He wrote also Discourses on Politics, &c. [A]. Consult Mr Moreri, and the Observations I make below [B]. Tbuannus blames the Translator

(a) Hence he is called in Latin Beneficius or Beneficius.

(b) Baudrand in Catalogo Geographorum ad calcem Lexici Geographici.

[A] He wrote . . . Discourses on Politics, &c. I shall take notice of one only: which is intitled, Della Ragion di Stato, libri dieci, contre libri delle Cause della Grandezza e Magnificenza della Città. It was printed at Venice by the Giolitti, in the Year 1589 in 4^{to}. The Author observes in his Epistle Dedicatory, dated at Rome the tenth of May 1589, that he had spent some Years past in several Journeys, to the Courts of Kings and great Princes, both within the Alps and without. Naudé mentions Botero's Works in several Places of his Bibliographie Politique, and seems to value them.

[B] Consult Mr Moreri, and the Observations I make below. It is pleasant enough to see all Piedmont erected into an Abbey: Boterus Abbot of Piedmont says Mr Moreri. A Comma after Abbot would help it a little, but would not hide the Author's negligence in expression. It is certain Botero had an Abbey: viz. that of St Michael de Claufula (1). He published his Works in Italian; and therefore it ought not to have been said, that he published his Relations under this Title, Amphitheatrum seu relationes Universales. It is falsely said, that Rodolphus Botereius, from whom this Author ought to be distinguished, is called indifferently BOTERUS or BOTEREY, and that the History which he published in 1610, reaches from the Reign of Henry II, to the beginning of that of Lewis XIII, and that it is different from the Latin Work, extant in three Volumes in Octavo, under the Title of Commentaries in XVIII Books. Here are a number of Faults in a few Lines. I do not well know the French name of the Advocate, who gives himself this Latin name Rodolphus Botereius at the head of his Works. Father du Breuil cites him often, and calls him sometimes Master Rodol Boterey (2), sometimes Boterays (3), sometimes Botrays (4), sometimes Monsieur Boterays (5), sometimes Monsieur Boterays (6). And all this in citing a Poem composed by This Author on the City of Paris (7). I think Mr Baillet in some of his Works has rendered Botereius by Bouteroue. The Bodlian Catalogue fixes his name Botereius; but mentions two others, Botereus and Bouterays. Among so many variations I find

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(2) Antiquities de Paris pag. 10, 14. Edit. 1639. in 4^{to}.

(3) Pag. 61.

(4) Pag. 426.

(5) Pag. 564.

(6) Pag. 726.

(7) Intituled Lucretia.

(1) Baudrand in Catalogo Geographorum ad calcem Lexici fol.

Translator of *Botero*, and calls him Impostor [C]. I will recite his Words, which shew that Engraving is as capable of falsifying History as Printing, and that the Licentiousness in publishing the Print of a fictitious public Monument did not begin in our Days.

I find not the name *Boterus*, which *Moreri* prefixes to the two others. The History published by *Boterius* in 1610, begins but in the Year 1594, and ends with the Death of *Henry the Great*. And therefore it is not true, that it extends from the Reign of *Henry II.* to the beginning of that of *Lewis XIII.* It is intitled, *de Rebus in Galliâ &c pene toto orbe gestis Commentariorum Libri XVIII in tres tomos tributi*. The first Tome contains eight Books, and ends with the Year 1601, the second Tome contains nine Books, and ends with the three first Months of the Year 1610; the third Tome contains but one Book of Twenty four Pages, which is only a relation of the Death of *Henry the Great*, and what followed in a few Days after.

CEREMONIES of the Abolition of *Henry IV.*

(8) Or the 50, according to the Latins. It is the *Miserere*.

(9) At the Creation of several Knights the Ceremonial requires that they shall have a blown on the Check, or with a naked Sword on the back. They do but just touch them. If that Act were repeated several times, would an Author have any Ground to say that the Knight received a hundred Blows with the flat of a Sword.

(10) The Edition of *Francefort* in 1628, which I make use of says *Botero*.

(a) *Thuanus*, lib. xcv. p. 280.

(b) *Varillas*, Hist. Hen. III. lib. viii. pag. 325. Edit. of Holland.

(c) *Thuanus*, lib. lxxxvii. pag. 127.

(1) *Thuan.* Hist. lib. lxxxvii. pag. 126, 127.

(2) *Tom. III.* in folio. pag. 644.

(3) In the Remark [A] of the Article AM-PHARES, near the end.

[C] *Thuanus* blames the Translator of *Botero*, and calls him Impostor. That is on Account of the Abolition of *Henry IV.* The King's Proxies, among other Ceremonies, were obliged to kneel before the Throne of *Clement VIII.* and bow their Heads, while the fifty first Psalm was read (8). At every verse the Pope gave them a gentle tap with his Wand; so the Ritual has appointed, according to the old Practice of the ancient Romans in enfranchising Slaves. *Henry IV.* was considered as a Person loaded with the Chains of Excommunication, who was going to be solemnly set free. It is certain the Pope gave himself too many haughty airs, and he ought not to think it strange that the Protestants blamed him for it; but then they ought to keep within the bounds of Truth, and not to carry their raileries too far; for then it is no longer a just complaint, but a Lampoon, and malicious Falsification. This does not effect *d'Aubigné*; for as his Catholic Confession of *Sanci* is truly a learned and ingenious, but burlesque, Piece, no Body takes all that he says literally. That is not the Case of *Botero's* Accounts; they are taken for grave and serious Narrations; and therefore the Latin Translator ought not to have falsified them, by pretending that the King's Proxies received a hundred blows with the Cudgel (9), and that the Pope erected a Column for an eternal Monument of his Triumph over *France*. *Thuanus* complains of him thus. 'Relationem de eâ re a Joanne Botero (10) Benensî, aliis editis libris non obscuro, vernaculè scriptam qui latine vertit, & Colonie cum inep- ta admodum & mendaci picturâ typis excuden- dam curavit, erga Regem Regnumque injuriosus fuit, quippe qui in explicanda vindictâ adhibita ratione fultibus cælos procuratores dicit, quod maxime apud nos contumeliosum dicitur. De- inde procuratores qui vestibus modestiæ sacerdo-

tali convenientibus induti erant cum penulis & gladiis in scenam inducit, & columnam quasi insignie triumphantis de Rege, & regni calamitate Pontificis monumentum Romæ erectum confingit

(11).— John Botero of Bene, a Man noted for some other Pieces, having published an Account of that Affair in French, it was translated into Latin, and printed at Cologne with a very foolish and lying Frontispiece; the Translator has abused both the King and Kingdom, for in setting forth the matter of inflicting the Penance, he says that the Proxies were beat with Cudgels, which in our Country is the utmost contumely. And then the Proxies, who were clothed in a modest Habit, suitable to Priests, he has introduced with Cloaks and Swords, and seigns of his own Head, that a Column was erected at Rome, as a Monument of the Pope's Triumph over the King, and the Calami- ty of the Kingdom. It is a common Saying, that Pictures are the Books of the ignorant: Authors ought therefore to make Conscience of putting false Prints into their Books: for they deceive such Persons as are least able to guard against Error. They deceive even the learned; for when we see a Print, which was published at the time the thing represented is supposed to have existed, it is looked on as an authentic Proof; so that they who see that figure of a Column which *Thuanus* complains of, dare not doubt but the Pope did really raise himself that pompous Trophy. And when a Man finds himself deceived by a representation of pretended public Monuments, he can no longer tell what to trust to: he cannot tell whether Medals, Inscriptions, and such like Monuments are more sincere than a mercenary Historian kept in annual Pay; and this is a Confirmation of Historical Pyrrhonism. Let us dispel the gloom of this Criticism by the Raileries of the *Sieur d'Aubigné*; 'Do not you see, say they, how the State submits to the Church, that this brave King, after defeating so many Armies, reducing so many Subjects to Obedience, and subduing so many great Princes, his Enemies, is obliged to prostrate himself at the Pope's feet, and suffer a drubbing in the Persons of Mr the Converter and the Cardinal d'Ofsat? Who lay flat on the Ground upon their Bellies, like a Couple of Mackerel on a Gridiron, from *Miserere* to *Vitulus*. And besides, say they, this Game he was obliged to play over again between himself in Person and the Legate, but that was done gently, and under the Rose (12). See the Remark [K] of the Article HENRY IV, and Remark [A] of the Article TEXERA.

(11) *Thuanus*, Hist. lib. cxlii. sub fin. pag. 608. ad ann. 1595.

(12) Confess. Cath. de Sancy, liv. i. cap. i. at the beginning.

BOUCHER (JOHN), a Parisian (a), Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Curate of *St Bennet at Paris*, in the time of the League, was a Trumpet of Sedition, and the most mutinous and furious Spirit among the Rebels. Their first Assembly was held in his Apartment, in the College of *Fortet*, in the Year 1585 (b). It was he, who, by ordering the Alarm Bell to be rung in his Church the second of September 1587 (c), contributed more than any body else to a Commotion of the People, the Consequences of which were so ignominious to *Henry III.* The Success of that Day made him more insolent, and the next he preached violently against the Person of the King, and against his Counsellors (d). History observes, that the Weakness of this Prince was the principal Cause of the Boldness of the Rebels [A]. *Boucher* prostituted, not only his Tongue, but also his Pen to the Head of the League, and published, among other things, a Discourse on the Justice of deposing *Henry III.* [B].

(d) Concilia- tores vero & in his familiam du- cens Bucerus ex Ambone in Re- gem & ejus Con- siliarios palam debacchari. Id. ibid.

[A] The weakness of *Henry III.* was the principal Cause of the boldness of the Rebels. See *Thuanus* (1) and *Mezzerai* (2). This confirms what I have somewhere (3) said, that it is not usually Tyranny, but want of Capacity to make themselves feared, that causes Princes to lose their Sceptres and Crowns. The Flatterers of the People would gladly persuade us, that there is nothing to be feared from them as long as they are well governed. But this is an Impostion: an enterprising Man does

what he will with the People, under a soft and gentle Government.

[B] He published, among the rest, a Discourse on the Justice of deposing *Henry III.* This we learn from *William Barclay*, in his Answer to that Book, which is part of his Work against the *Monarchomachi* (4). *Thuanus* mentions it still more clearly: See the next Remark. The same *Barclay* observes, that *Boucher* published another Book in French, under the Name of *Francis de Verone Constantin*. Quo- niam

(4) The 5th Book, the particular Title whereof is, Anacrisis libro- rum Jo. Bouch- erii de justâ imo injustâ Hen- ricî III. abdicat- ione e Franco- rum Regno.

The most infamous Satire imaginable [C]. There is a strong probability that he was an Accomplice in the enormous Action of *James Clement* [D]. He was the bolder after the Death of that Prince, because he could then screen himself under a pretence that the Successor was actually and notoriously a Huguenot. That pretence failed him to his great Grief, when *Henry IV* professed himself a Roman Catholic; nevertheless he persisted in his first Opinion. He continued to preach, that he ought not to be obeyed, and published nine Sermons, dedicated to the Cardinal of *Placentia*, wherein he maintained that the Abjuration of the * *Bearnois* was but a Feint, and that his Absolution was void [E]. Notwithstanding all his Sermons, and Libels, the *Parisians* submitted to *Henry IV*. The Day after the Reduction of the City his Sermons were burnt at *la Croix du Tiroir* (e). But he persisted in the Party of the Leaguers, and retired into the *Netherlands* (f) with the *Spanish* Garrison, which had been in *Paris* during the League, and

[* So he called *Henry IV*. born in *Bearn*. REM. CRIT.]

(e) *Cayet Chron.* Novenaire, fol. 225, verso ad ann. 1593.

(f) *Mezzerai*, Abr. Chronol. ad ann. 1594, pag. 114.

(5) *Gal. Barclaius lib. v. contra monarchomach.* pag. 599.

* *niam* — turbas illas civiles prioribus tuis Libris & Concionibus excitatas, accensaque in Reges odia, posteriore scripto, quod patriâ linguâ, sub Francisci Veronenfis Constantini nomine divulgasti, non modo non mitigare & compescere, sed novo artificio fovere & propagare de industria natus es: patere me tecum vehementius paulo, sed lenius tamen quam rei indignitas flagitat, regum & regnorum omnium nomine de hac injuria expostulare

(5). — Since — in a late piece published by you in French, under the Name of Francis de Veronne Constantin, you have endeavoured by a new Artifice, not to compose and mitigate, but to cherish and propagate the civil Tumults and Hatred of the King, caused by your former Books and Sermons; I suffer me to expostulate with you in the Name of all Kings and Kingdoms, concerning this Injury, whicb tho' I do some what warmly, yet will it be much more mildly than the baseness of the thing deserves. The French Book he charges him with, is even more wicked than the Latin one; for it is the infamous Apology for *John Châtel*, under this Title, *An Apology for John Châtel, a Parisian, who was executed, and for the Fathers and Scholars of the Society of Jesus, who were banished the Kingdom of France, against the Arrêt of Parliament, passed against them at Paris, the twenty second of December (1594); in five Parts.* By Francis de Verone Constantin. The Name of Francis de Verone Constantin is a convincing proof, that Barclay attributes this Apology for *John Châtel* to Boucher: nevertheless I shall give another Reason; and quote a Passage which will put the thing out of all manner of doubt. 'Cur in spurcissimâ illâ & infami tuâ Apologiâ, quam pro parricidâ & perduelle manifesto, recenti irâ & inveterato odio furens & fremens evomisti, nefarium perditu adolescentis conatum, facinusque omni memoriâ execrandum, in Regis iidem Christianissimi, & (si alium Galilia unquam habuit) clementissimi perniciem meditatum, ut pulcherrimum & prope divinum, atque omni ex parte heroicum commendasti (6)? —

(6) *Id. ibid. lib. vi. cap. xxv.* pag. 795.

'Why did you, in that most filthy and infamous Apology of yours, which you, fretting and foaming with fresh rage and inveterate hate, spued out for a manifest Murderer and Rebel, and extol an Act to be cursed to all Posterity, contrived for the destruction of a most Christian and (if ever France had one) a most merciful King; I say why did you extol it as a most beautiful and almost divine Action, and in every respect heroic.' Barclay after having said this, praises the Apology which the Jesuits had published, wherein they detested *Châtel's* Action and confessed that he was justly punished, as a Parricide. We shall see in the Remark [H] Citation (15), that Cardinal d'Osset was of Barclay's Mind, concerning the Apology for *John Châtel*.

[C] It was the most infamous Satire imaginable.] *Tuauus* says that *William Rose* Bishop of *Sentis*, the little *Feuillant*, the Jesuit *Commolet*, *Genebrard Feuardent*, *Launois*, (a Minister who turned Papist,) *Boucher*, and some others, defamed King *Henry III*, with a prodigious rage, both with their Tongues and in anonymous Libels, and that at last they gloried in putting their Names to those satirical Writings. He adds that *Boucher* was so bold as to put his Name to the Book in question, which was printed in a fine Letter for *Nicolas Nivelles*, but the Impression was not finished 'till a little after

VOL. II.

the tragical Death of that King (a). He vented in that Book all manner of abominable stuff against the King: Read what follows: 'Hac fiducia fretus librum scripsit Boucherus de justa Henrici III abdicatione, nomen suum professus apud Nicolaum Nivellem characteribus elegantibus expressum, neque dum, cum rex vivere desit, consummatum quo non aliud flagitiosius toto illo effrenata licentiae tempore publicatum est, eoq; rubra impudentissimus innumera dictu foeda & audita horrenda per summam calumniam Regi assegebat, propter quâ eum tanquam à communione ecclesiae ipso jure exclusum, ab omni regni jure excidisse, & legitime abdicatum, ac tandem jullo Dei judicio & impulsu interfectum esse colligebat' (7). — Emboldened by this, Boucher wrote a Book on the Justice of deposing *Henry III*, with his Name prefixed, printed by *Nicolas Nivelles*, in an elegant Letter, but not finished till after the Death of the King. A more flagitious thing than this had not appeared in all that time of exorbitant licentiousness: there the impudent Brawler had, in a most reproachful Manner, aspersed the King with many abominable and shocking Things; for which, as in his account, he was justly excluded from the Communion of the Church; so he concluded, he had likewise lost all Right to the Kingdom, and was lawfully deposed, and at last slain by the just Judgment and Impulse of God.

[§ (a) See the *Catholicon d'Espagne* Edit. 1712, Tom. II. pag. 332. REM. CRIT.]

[D] There is a strong Probability, that he was an Accomplice in the enormous Action of *James Clement* (8).] *Antony Lyesel* has left in writing in his Journal, that the same Day the King was wounded, and before any News was brought of his Wound, he heard a Sermon at *St Merry's* by *Dr Boucher*, who said, to comfort his Hearers, that as on that Day, the First of the Month *August*, in which they celebrated the Feast of *St Peter in Bonds*, God had delivered that Apostle out of *Herod's* Hands, they ought to hope, that he would grant them the like favour. Whereupon he did not scruple to advance this damnable Proposition, that it was an Act of great Merit to kill a King, who is a Heretic or a favourer of Heretics. The other Preachers, going Hand in Hand with him, preached at the same time with more passion and fury than ever they had done against *Henry de Valois*; and the same unexceptionable Witnesses says, that they gave the People certain hopes that God would soon deliver them from him: Which made many Persons believe that they had been acquainted with the horrible design of that Parricide (9). I take this from *Maimbourg*, an Author, who is not hasty in drawing consequences upon such a Subject.

[E] He published nine Sermons, against the Abjuration of *Henry IV*, wherein he maintained that his Absolution was void.] He published them the first time at *Paris*: He printed a second Edition of them at *Douay* after he had left *France*: A poor comfort for his vexation to see upon the Throne a Prince, whom he had so much reviled in his Discourses and Writings. *Tuauus* uses him 'as he deserves. Inter eos vero, says he (10), unus repertus est Joannes Boucherus S. Benedicti Curio qui maledicendi rabie effertus cum in defunctum regem

(7) *Thunn. Hist.* lib. xcvi. pag. 230. col. 1.

(8) *A Dominican Monk who killed Henry III.*

(9) *Maimbourg*, Hist. de la Ligue lib. iii. ad ann. 1589. pag. 100. Dutch Edit.

(10) *Thunn. Hist.* lib. cvii. pag. 558. ad ann. 1593.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

and marched out the Twenty second of March 1594. He obtained a Canonicate at Tournay, and died Dean of the Chapter of that City fifty Years after, but very much altered in his Humour, being as zealous a Frenchman among Foreigners, as he had been a furious Spaniard in France (g) [F]. His Character may be judged of by the Discourse which I mention in the Remarks; it is a Reproof given him by King Henry III [G]. On the News that he was to come to Rome, Cardinal d'Ofsat intreated the Pope to cause him to be imprisoned [H], and spoke vigorously

‘ regem contumeliosus fuisset, in hunc injuriosus
‘ esse voluit, & IX. longas conciones ad Mederi-
‘ ci fanum habuit de simulata Henrici Borbonii
‘ Benearni Principis ad ecclesiam reconciliatione,
‘ & irrita abfolutione, quas anno proximo Kalend.
‘ Mart. Cardinali Placentino in scriptis ac typis in
‘ urbe excusas, postea cum ab ea exularet, Duaci
‘ in Atrebatibus recudendas curavit, furore nondum
‘ per secutam rerum conversionem aut locorum
‘ aut temporis intercedinem domito. — But
‘ among them was one John Boucher, Curate of
‘ St Bennet, a furious railing Fellow, who as he had
‘ contumeliously treated the late King, was resolv-
‘ ed to abuse the present; and preached nine long
‘ Sermons in St Merry's Church, on the feigned Re-
‘ conciliation of Henry of Bourbon, Prince of Bearne,
‘ to the Church, and the Nullity of his Abfolution,
‘ which he got printed in the City, and published
‘ the Year following on the first of March, dedicated
‘ to the Cardinal of Placentia, and again, in his
‘ Exile, reprinted at Douay, his rage not being yet
‘ conquered by the Change of affairs that followed,
‘ or the distance of time or place.

The whole Title of that Work according to my Edition is thus: ‘ Some Sermons concerning the
‘ feigned Conversion and the Nullity of the pre-
‘ tended Abfolution of Henry de Bourbon, Prince of
‘ Bearne, at St Denis in France, Sunday the twenty
‘ fifth of July 1593, on the subject of the Gospel
‘ for the same Day, *Attendez à faulx prophetis,*
‘ &c. Mat. vii. delivered in St Merry's Church in
‘ Paris, from the first day of August following, to
‘ the Ninth of the said Month. By JOHN BOU-
‘ CHER Doctor of Divinity. *Nonne qui oderunt
‘ te Domine oderant, & super inimicos tuos tace-
‘ bant.* Psalm cxxxviii. According to the Copy
‘ Printed at Paris for G. Chaudiere, R. Nivelle,
‘ and R. Thierry, in St James's Street M.D.XCIV.’
The Approbation of the Divines of Paris is to be
‘ seen on the back of the Title Page. The Epistle
‘ Dedicatory to the Cardinal of Placentia, Legate of
‘ the Holy Apostolical See in the Kingdom of France,
‘ is dated from Paris the first of March 1594, and
‘ signed J. B. The Advertisement to the Reader says
‘ that several things have been added to what had
‘ been preached. At the end there are some Let-
‘ ters of Henry IV, to the Canton of Bern, to the
‘ Lady de Tinteville, to the Queen of England, to
‘ the City of Rochelle and such others, and to some
‘ private Persons, who were Huguenots.

[F] He died, Dean of Tournay: — but very
‘ much altered in his Humour, and as zealous a
‘ Frenchman among Strangers, as he had been a fu-
‘ rious Spaniard in France.] The continual railing
‘ of the Flemings against the French, could not but
‘ awaken by degrees a natural tenderness for his
‘ Country in the Soul of this mutineer. People at
‘ Paris were not thoroughly persuaded that he was
‘ changed in the Year 1625. For the Libel which
‘ came out at that time against France, which we
‘ shall see the Title of below, was ascribed by ma-
‘ ny Persons to Boucher: But he denied it by Let-
‘ ters; let us see what the *Mercurius Francicus*, says
‘ on this Subject: ‘ To prevent it's being discovered
‘ that this Book was first printed in Italy, it was
‘ given out that it was first dispersed in Flanders
‘ before it was handed about in France, and
‘ that Dr Boucher (who is yet living at Tournay,
‘ and who formerly wrote several Books on those
‘ matters during the League of 1588, and the
‘ following Years, and against the most Christian
‘ Kings) was the Author of it: But that Doctor
‘ having notice of it, protested in Letters, which he
‘ wrote to his Friends at Paris, that it was fall-
‘ sely ascribed to him, and that upon the Word of a
‘ Priest, he had not seen that small Book intitu-
‘ led *Admonitio*: His Letter was also shewn to
‘ the curious, which removed the suspicion that

‘ was entertained of him, and made it fall on the
‘ Jesuit Eudemon Joannes, a Greek by Nation,
‘ who came into France with the Legate (11).’

There never was more indignation shewn in
‘ France against any Book than against that: It was
‘ intitled G. G. R. ‘ Theologi, ad Ludovicum de-
‘ cimum tertium Galliae & Navarrae Regem Christia-
‘ nissimum, ADMONITIO, fidelissimè, humillimè
‘ verissimè facta, & ex Gallico in Latinum transla-
‘ ta. Qua breviter & nervosè demonstratur Galliana
‘ foedè & turpiter impium foedus inisse, & injustum
‘ bellum hoc tempore contra Catholicos movisse,
‘ salvaque Religione prosequi non posse Augustae
‘ Francorum, cum facultate Catholici Magistratus
‘ Anno M.D.C.XXV. — An Admonition most faith-
‘ fully, humbly, and truly given to Lewis XIII, most
‘ Christian King of France and Navarre, by G.G.R.
‘ Divine, wherein is briefly and fully proved, that
‘ France has basely and scandalously entered into
‘ an impious Alliance, and moved an unjust War at
‘ this time, against the Catholics, which they can-
‘ not carry on without Injury to Religion; at Soissons
‘ with Licence of the Catholic Magistrate Anno 1625.’

It was condemned by the Sorbonne, and by the
‘ Assembly of the Clergy of France: The Lieu-
‘ tenant Civil caused it to be burnt by the Common
‘ Executioner: The Parliament of Paris made several
‘ Decrees to hinder the Censure of the Assembly
‘ of the Clergy from being enervated. See the *Mer-
‘ curius Jesuite*, in the first Volume, a Work that is
‘ ascribed to James Godefroy the Son of Denis (12).

[G] His Character may be judged of by a Reproof
‘ given him by King Henry III.] That Prince sent
‘ for the Parliament and the Faculty of Divinity
‘ to the Louvre: ‘ and severely reprimanded the
‘ Divines for the insolent and unbridled liberty
‘ they took to preach against him and all his Acti-
‘ ons — — — and addressing himself particularly to
‘ Boucher, Rector of St Bennet, he called him a
‘ wicked Man, and told him that his Uncle Poisse,
‘ who had undeservedly been a Counsellor of the
‘ Court, was a wicked Fellow, but that he was still
‘ worse, and that his Companions were but little
‘ better: He added that he directed his Speech
‘ particularly to him, because he had been so im-
‘ pudent as to preach that he had caused Burlat,
‘ a Doctor of Divinity of Orleans, to be drowned
‘ in a Sack, though the said Burlat was daily
‘ eating, drinking, and making merry with him;
‘ telling them moreover, that they could not deny
‘ that they were notoriously wretched and damned
‘ for two reasons, first for having slandered him
‘ their Natural and Lawful Prince in the Pulpit
‘ of Truth, and spoken several calumnies against
‘ his Honour, which is forbidden them in the
‘ Holy Scripture. Secondly, that when they came
‘ out of the Pulpit, after they had slandered and
‘ told many Lies of him, they went directly to
‘ say Mass at the Altar, without reconciling them-
‘ selves and confessing the said Lies and Slanders,
‘ though they preached daily that if any one has
‘ told a Lie or spoke evil of any body whatso-
‘ ever, according to the Words of the Gospel, he
‘ must go and reconcile himself with him before
‘ he presents himself at the Altar (13).’ Nothing
‘ can be more solid than this censure; but it is not
‘ for a King to make use of it; he ought to have
‘ recourse to other Arms; and if Henry III had been
‘ as well versed in the Art of reigning as in the
‘ Morality of the Gospel, he would not have been
‘ reduced to the condition of a Catechist to the
‘ Preachers of Paris.

[H] On news that he was to come to Rome
‘ Cardinal d'Ofsat intreated the Pope to cause him
‘ to be imprisoned.] The account he gives of it to
‘ Mr de Villeroi will yet further discover the Acti-
‘ ons and Character of that Man: Wherefore I in-
‘ sert it at length. ‘ I told him (14) also that Dr

(11) *Mercurius*
‘ Fran. Tom. XI.
‘ pag. 1058, 1059.

(12) *Vide Prae-*
‘ fix. Samuel. Ma-
‘ resti ad distin-
‘ ctiones Castaneis.

(13) See the
‘ Journal of Hen-
‘ ry III, on the
‘ 30th of December
‘ 1587. p. 28. 29.

(14) *Viz. the*
‘ Boucher Pope.

roufully to him against this Mutineer. Can any thing be more horrible than the Complaint he made to the Duke of *Mayenne*, after the just Punishment of those who had caused the first President *Briffon* to be hanged? Had he not the Impiety to say that these profligate Wretches were Martyrs of JESUS CHRIST [1]? I add that he was one of the Adversaries of *Richer*, and published several Pieces against him in *French*, under the feigned names of *Paul Timoris*, and *Pompey Ribemont* (b).

(b) See the Journal des Sçavans of the 14th of December 1702.

(15) This letter, that Cardinal d'Ossat believed that the pretended François de Verone Constantin, who wrote the Apology for John Châtel, was no other than John Boucher. It was also William Barclay's Opinion. See above the Remark [B].

(16) The Letter wherein Cardinal d'Ossat speaks thus, was written from Rome the 1st of December 1600.

REFLECTIONS on the Rewards which the Spaniards bestowed upon those, who made Panegyrics upon the murderers of kings.

Boucher had left that Country before the said Count, to come to Rome to visit LIMINA APOSTOLORUM PETRI & PAULI, in the Name of the Bishop of Tournay who had given him a Canonicate in his Church: And hereupon I exposed to his Holiness the violence and rage of that Man, the Books he had written against the late King, and since against the Life and Conversation of the King now reigning, justifying the Parricide attempted by John Châtel (15), and exhorting every one to finish what that Murderer had begun, and that he had also written several things against the Authority and Power of the Pope and the Holy See, and was yet more obstinate and violent to this Day than ever, and there was but too much Cause and Reason to make him a Prisoner, and punish him severely for his crimes and blasphemies. But if his Holiness's Goodness and Clemency, and the condition of the Times and other considerations, did not permit him to use that Man so rigorously as he deserved, that at least his Holiness should shew him, by not admitting him to kiss his Feet or otherwise, that such Persons were not acceptable to him, nor ought to expect from his Holiness the reception and favours, which are due to good, peaceable, and moderate Men. The Pope answered me, that he remembered he had formerly heard of that Man, and also that the *Sieur Malvaufie*, at that time Nuncio in the Netherlands, had wrote to him, that he said the Pope could not observe the King. His Holiness asked me whether he was come. I told him, not that I knew. Well (said he) we shall see (16). When one considers that the Spaniards not only gave a Retreat, but also a Canonicate, to such a Man as he, one cannot forbear saying that in this World all things are fa-

crificed to Political Interest, and National Hatred. They knew he was a Man, who to satisfy the rage with which he was transported against the Person of Henry IV, overturned both the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority: He took the Power of Absolution from the Pope, he submitted Crowns to the caprice of Subjects, and the Life of Kings to the Daggers of Assassins. Those Principles were as opposite to the Faith of the Spaniards as to that of the French Nation: Nevertheless they were tolerated in that Doctor, because he hated the King of France, and as I have already said, they gave him Benefices. Nay, They let him pronounce and publish the Funeral Oration of Philip II (17). I have not been able to find out yet whether he performed his Journey or not. Cardinal d'Ossat wrote the twentieth of January 1601, that he had been told that Boucher remained Sick at Cologne (18). He was not the only one whom the Spaniards protected and rewarded in the Netherlands. Did not *Montgaillard*, so well known by the Name of the *little Feuillant*, one of the Panegyrist of the Murderer of King Henry III, obtain an Abbey (19)?

[1] He had the Impiety to say that the profligate Wretches, who caused the President Briffon to be hanged, were Martyrs of JESUS CHRIST. These are *Thuanus's* Words. 'Joannes Bucerus Curio S. Benedicti homo vecors Catholicorum bonorum ac zelotum nomine Orationem expostulatoriam ad ipsum (Meduanum) habuit, qua publicam ultionem, carnificinam, merito supplicio facinorosos affectos, Dei martyres, insigni impudentia vocabat (20). — John Boucher Curate of St Bennet, a furious Man, made an expostulatory Oration to him (the Duke de Mayenne), in which he had the consummate Impudence to call the public Vengeance Murder, and the criminals, deservedly put to Death, Martyrs of God.'

(17) At Tournay the 25th of October 1598.

(18) It is the 25th Letter in the Edition of Mr Amelot de la Houffle.

(19) That of Orval.

(20) Thuan. Hist. lib. cii. pag. 443. 444. ad ann. 1591. See also *Mœner* Tom. III. in fol. pag. 998.

BOUCHET (WILLIAM), *Sieur de Brocourt*, published a Book, intituled, *Les Séries*, in the Year 1584, and dedicated it to the Merchants of the City of *Poitiers*, who had constituted him their Judge and Consul. He divided it into twelve Chapters, and continued the Work to the third Volume: so his *Séries* are divided into three Parts, each containing twelve Chapters. The Reason of the Title is because they are Discourses supposed to have passed in Evening Conversations. These Discourses are stuffed with all manner of Jokes and Puns: gross Obscenities are frequent there: but they have this particular Character, that you find a great deal of Learning in them, and that the Author had read a great deal. He was dead when the Epistle Dedicatory of the third Volume was writ, the first Day of November 1607. There are several Editions of his *Séries*: I make use of that of *Paris*, by *Jeremy Perier*, in 1608, in three Volumes in 12mo.

BOUCHET (JOHN), Author of a great Number of French Books, some in Verse and some in Prose, was of *Poitiers*, and flourished in the XVIth Century. He was an Advocate, ora Counsellor at Law, if we believe *la Croix du Maine* (a); but *du Verdier vau Privas* makes him only an Attorney (b). The most considerable of his Works is that intituled, *Les Annales d'Aquitaine — The Annals of Aquitaine* [A]. He published it at *Paris*, in the Year 1537, in Folio (c); he afterwards revised it, and had it reprinted at *Poitiers* (d), in 1557, in Folio; he continued

(a) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Franç. pag. 208.

(b) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 656.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) By Englebert de Marne.

[A] The most considerable of his pieces is that of the *Annals of Aquitaine*. It is a very laborious Work, and full of fine and very memorable Stories, and, to repeat the Judgment of Robert Ceneau called *Cenalis*, Bishop of *Auranches* &c, in a learned Book which he wrote on the French; this Book of Annals by John Bouchet is one of the most valuable of all our French Histories, and deserves to be translated into Latin 'that Foreigners may be acquainted with it (1)'. There is no Flattery in this Judgment, but as for Encomiums given to this Author, and to the *Annals of Aquitaine* by John Quintin (2), I believe we may make large Abatements, without calling in

question his Assertion, that John Bouchet did not write after common talk, as many others had done, but examined the most certain Monuments: 'De quibus (Gallis) tam multa egregie Bouchetus, ut e dolio (quod aiunt) hausisse videatur: nec ea (crede) ex tonstrinis futrinisque deprompta, quo maxime nomine male audit bona nostrorum historiarum pars. Paginas in Annalibus Magistratum, Fastique, non sine longæ inquisitionis tedio ac sudore percurrit, lectu sæpe difficiles (scio) exelso jam tinea membranas vel literis exolecentibus, verisque interpunctis. Veterum monumenta, scalptos lapides, ruderata etiam marmora, omnia (hercule) in historiâ (non mediocre fidei & diligentia

(1) La Croix du Maine, pag. 208.

(2) In a Latin Preface to the Annals of Aquitaine.

tinued it to that very Year; for it ends with a long detail of the secret Machinations of the Spaniards against several Places in France: and as these Enterprizes were carried on during the Truce concluded in the Year 1556, he pretends to prove that King Henry II did not break it first [B]. John Bouchet must have been pretty old at that time; for he tells us that Peter Bouchet his Father, Attorney in the Court Laye at Poitiers, being at Supper in the Year 1480 with another Attorney his Neighbour, took the Poison which his Neighbour's dissolute Wife had prepared for her Husband, and died the third Day after (c). He says farther, that in the Year 1486 he saw the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of our LORD JESUS CHRIST acted and represented by Mysteries and Personages at Poitiers, in great Triumph and Magnificence: at which were present a great many Gentlemen and Ladies of the Province of Poitou, and the neighbouring Places (f).

(c) Bouchet Anal. d'Aquit. in the Year 1480, fol. 162. Edit. 1557.

(f) Bouchet Anal. d'Aquit. in the Year 1480, fol. 168. Edit. 1557.

(g) Joannes Quintinus Hedius, in Epist. ad lectorem Annalibus Aquitanis præfixa.

ligentiae argumentum) sedulâ manu revolvit, tempora temporibus, gesta gestis, resque rebus, acrimodum, & oculata supputatione componens (3). — Concerning whom (the French) Bouchet has said so many things excellently well, that he seems (as we say) to have gone to the Fountain, his stories not taken from Barber's Shops or Cobblers' Stalls, on which account chiefly great part of our Historians are blamed. He, with infinite Labour and Pains, revolved the Annals of Magistrates and public Records, which (I know) are often difficult to read, the Parchment being much eaten, the letters very old, and the words interpointed. He examined with Sedulity the Monuments of the Antients, Inscriptions, and even Marbles, buried in rubbish; every thing (in short) relating to History (no small Argument of his Fidelity and Diligence), comparing Times with Times, Actions with Actions, and Things with Things, with the greatest Sagacity and Judgment.

[B] He pretends to prove that King Henry II did not break the Truce first. He was accused of it, and Appearances were against him. John Bouchet is not alone in his endeavours to justify him. The Sieur Francis de Boyvin, Baron du Villars, has also given a detail of the secret Practices of the Spaniards, and says, that whoever considers impartially these Marvellous Intrigues, will excuse the Regretment of the French (4). The Maxim, which he had advanced on Occasion of the like Plots of the Spaniards in the Year 1550, might have place here. 'To say the truth, they break the Peace, not who first make War, but who

(c) Memoirs de du Villars, liv. viii. pag. 717, 718.

(a) Bouchin, Epistole Dedicatory to his Pleadings.

BOUCHIN (STEPHEN), Counsellor, and King's Attorney in the Royal Courts of Beaune in Burgundy, exercised that Office for twenty Years, after his Father and Grandfather who had held it for sixty Years (a). He published some Pleadings and Conclusions, which he had taken during his Exercise of that Employ, and printed a second Edition of them, with Additions, in the Year 1620 [A]. He had a great

[A] He printed a second Edition of his Pleadings in the Year 1620. This Edition was printed at Paris by Claude Morel in 8vo, it contains but six Pleas; and yet it is Three hundred and sixty Pages. The matter of these Discourses is pretty curious, and gives him room to quote a great many Love Stories. The first Plea is 'on the Case of one pretended to be under Age, who was accused and brought to Trial for having said in several Places, that a married Woman had been found divers times with the Curate of her Parish, who knew her carnally. The second, against a young Woman accused of having, by a pretended Charm, hindered the Consummation of a Marriage. The third, against a Son accused as a Criminal by his Father. The fourth, for a Husbandman condemned in a Fine for stealing some Bread Dough in a time of Famine. The fifth, touching the preference of Creditors and Privileged Persons, at the sale of Goods left by an Ecclesiastic. The sixth, on a Charivary, or Mock Music, given to a Woman that was married again immediately after the Death of her Husband (1). They who had given it, the next Day demanded Money of the new married Couple for the Charge they had been at (2); that being refused, they brought them before a Judge, who ordered them a small Sum (3). The married folks appealed from the Sentence. Bouchin concluded by the Evidence that it was ill judged, and the Appeal good (4).

(1) Three Weeks after.

(2) Bouchin, Plaidoies, pag. 302, 302.

(3) Note be observans, pag. 316, that Thomas Faber and Chastaneus do not approve the Charivary, yet others are of a contrary opinion, and have wrote that non fit injuria fecundo nubenti si carivarium detur.

(4) Bouchin, Plaidoies, pag. 360.

arm privately and use secret practices in prejudice of Treaties and Alliances, as the Emperor did (5).

In reality, the Aggressor is not he who gives the first blow; but he who first resolves and prepares to do it. This Mr Puffendorf has well determined. But when we have evident Proof, says he (6), that another does actually intend, and has taken proper measures to do us an injury, altho' he has not openly declared such his intention; then we may fairly put ourselves on our Defence, and anticipate the Aggressor, before he compleats the Preparations he is making to do us the designed mischief: provided notwithstanding we have endeavoured by friendly Advice, to move him to lay aside his ill purposes, so long that there remain no hopes of his being prevailed upon to do so by fair and gentle means: In using which friendly Advice and gentle Means, care must be taken that it be not done when it may prove a prejudice and a disadvantage to our own Affairs. He who first forms the design to do an injurious Act, and first makes preparation to bring it about, is to be accounted the Aggressor, altho' it may perhaps so fall out, that the other using greater diligence may prevent him, and so commit the first open Acts of Hostility. It is not absolutely necessary to a justifiable self-defence, that I received the first stroke, or that I only ward off and avoid the blows that are actually aimed at me.

According to John Bouchet and the Baron du Villars, this was the Case of Henry II, with Charles V.

(5) Id. liv. 1. p. 15.

(6) Puffendorf, Duties of the Man and the Citizen, Book I. Chap. V. §. 17. of the English Translation.

He leaves no manner of common place untouched; he begins with praising Virginity, and Widowers who do not marry again; then he proceeds to declaim against second Marriages; and especially against the impatience of Widows who marry too hastily, and against the impudence of old Men that marry, and lastly against Step-Mothers; and then, on a sudden, excuses or justifies all that he had been condemning, and confirms the whole by Quotations and Examples as before.

To give an Idea of his motley Stile, I will give a Specimen of it from the place where he details the inconveniencies of second Marriages. 'So that one may say with Hesiod, that he who marries a second time

* Ibid. pag. 330. and following.

Naufagus navigat bis profundum difficile.

Ναυηγός πλώει δις βαθύν ἀργάλεον,

Hesiod. ex I. Epigram.

he is shipwrecked in a place where there is no bottom; after the Death of one Wife to seek a second, is, according to the Opinion of the comic Philemon, to desire to float again on a Sea of Disquiet and Misery: it is a game where Chance has more share than Reason, and an effect of a blank Lottery, where every Body is hunting for Benefits, and the luckiest get them; and it is in vain for the unlucky to complain, that Cupid has not struck them with a golden Dart, armed with a shining point.

— Cujus

great deal of Reading, but according to the Custom of that time he displays it too profusely [B]: for without counting the Greek and French Verses, which he cites, there is almost as much Latin as French in his Pleadings. He followed the same Method in his Book, intituled, *The Perfect Magistrate*.

Ovid. vii. Met.
Fab. 26. ver.
673.

--- cujus fuit aurea cuspis.

‘ which is the Dart that begets Love in Hearts
‘ wounded with it; but with that which is endow-
‘ ed with a contrary Virtue, and creates Hatred in-
‘ stead of Love, being quite blunt and armed only
‘ with Lead.

Idem. i. Met.
Fab. ix. pag. 469.

--- fugat hoc, facit illud amorem.

‘ That if there be in the Wife some small remains
‘ of Beauty plastered according to custom,

Plaut. in Merc.
Act. 2. Sc. 2.

Quasi sit signum pictum in pariete,

‘ says *Plautus*,

Plaut. in Mostel-
laria, Act. 1.
Sc. 2.

Nam isthæc veteres quæ se unguentis unctitans,
interpoles

Vetulæ, edentulæ, quæ vitia corporis fūco occu-
lunt,

Ubi sese sudor cum unguentis consociavit, illico
Iridem olent, quasi quom una multa Jura confun-
dit coquus.

‘ That if they adjust their Hair with a little more
‘ artifice than ordinary,

Ovid. i. Fast.
ver. 406.

--- comptis arte manūque comis:

‘ If they dip it in the Water of the River *Cratis* or
‘ *Cybaris*, to make it look like thread of Gold,

Id. i. Met. ver.
315. Fab. 18.

Electro similes faciunt auroque capillos:

‘ If they never go without their Chains and Neck-
‘ laces,

Propert. lib. ii.
Eleg. 1.

Auratis circumdata colla catenis:

‘ And if there is still any thing agreeable,

Ovid. ii. de Arte
Amandi, ver.
678.

Et faciunt curâ, ne videantur anus:

‘ If, contrary to *Sofastra* in *Plautus*, they are com-
‘ plaisant and cajoling, the Husband's Head akes,
‘ and he grows jealous,

Idem. vii. Met.
Fab. 26. ver.
715.

Esse metus cepit, ne jura jugalia conjux
Non bene servasset.

‘ The Wife as susceptible of Jealousy as the Huf-
‘ band, more pale than the jealous *Procris*,

Idem. iii. de
Arte Amandi,
ver. 703.

Palluit ut ferâ lectus de vite racemus:

‘ More dry of this peccant Humour, and yellower
‘ than Leaves blown off by an ill Wind, or nipped
‘ by the cold,

Id. ib. ver. 704.

Frondes quas nova læsit Hyems;

Plutarch Roman
Questions, Qu. 16.
Emilius Probus
lib. xv.

‘ And who would not suffer her Maids to enter the
‘ Temple of the Goddess *Leucothea*, if it were not to
‘ box them, may on the other Hand complain with
‘ old *Syra*, that the Husbands imagine they have
‘ greater Privileges than the Wives,

Plaut. in Merc.
Act. 4. Sc. 6.

Ecastor lege durâ vivunt mulieres,
Multoque iniquiore miseræ, quam viri;
Nam si vir scortum duxit clam uxore suâ,
Id si rescivit uxor, impune est viro:
Uxor vero, si clam domo egressa est foras,
Viro sit causa, exigitur matrimonio.
Utinam lex esset eadem uxori, quæ est viro.

Ovid. Epist. v.
Oenone Paridi.

‘ She is susceptible of Jealousy if a Heifer but break
‘ into her Pasture (these are the Words of *Oenone*
‘ to *Paris*) or if her Husband

Fundum alienum arat, incultum familiarem deserit; Plaut. in Affin-
ria. Act. v. Sc.
27.

‘ which she does not think more lawful for him
‘ than for herself, *periniquum est ut pudicitiam vir*
‘ *ab uxore exigat, quam ipse non presert*, says the
‘ Civilian *Papinian*, that if he takes too much Liber-
‘ ty, or arrogates too much to himself, the common-
‘ ly follows his Steps,

Vitio est improba facta viri:

Ovid. ii. de Arte
Amandi, ver.
400.

‘ which, among other inconveniencies of Marriage,
‘ causes domestic quarrels, which happens, it may
‘ be, for want of having sacrificed to *Juno Jugalis*,
‘ the Inventress of Marriage, and who takes care of
‘ the Nuptials,

Toris quæ præfidet alma maritis,

Idem. Epist. ii.
Phil. Demo-
phoon. ver. 4.

‘ to whom *Dido*, desiring to marry *Aeneas*, took
‘ care to make the first sacrifice,

Junoni ante omnes, cui jura jugalia curæ.

Virg. 4. Æneid.
49.

[B] According to the Custom of that time he dis-
plays his reading too profusely (5). This ill Custom,
which prevailed not only at the Bar, but also in
the Pulpit, is by degrees abolished. Mr de la
Bruyere expresses this change very well. ‘ It is
not an Age ago, says he (6), that a French Book
was a certain Number of Latin Pages with a
few Lines, or a few Words of French scattered
here and there in them. Passages, Instances, Ci-
tations, would not suffice barely as such. *Ovid*
and *Catullus* decided finally concerning Marriages
and Wills, and came with the *Pandeſts* to the
Assistance of Widows and Orphans; sacred and
prophane did not shun each other; they were got
together even into the Pulpit; where St *Cyril*,
Horace, St *Cyprian*, and *Lucretius* talked alternate-
ly; the Poets were of the Opinion of St *Austin* and
all the Fathers; they would talk Latin a long while
together, and even Greek before the Women and
Sextons. A Man must have a prodigious deal of
Learning to preach so ill. Different times, differ-
ent Customs: the Text is still Latin, all the
Discourse is French and fine French, the Gospel
itself is hardly cited. Now a Man needs but
little Learning to preach well. The Advocates
were not alone in this Practice; the Advocates-
General and First Presidents ran into it as well as
they. This appears by the Collections of Harangues
pronounced at the opening of Sessions, and Arrêts
pronounced in the red Robe. Mr *Balzac* very much
disapproved this Custom (7), and makes merry with
a First President, who in the middle of his Speech
made an Apostrophe to the Attorneys, telling them
they might learn their Duty in the Scholiast on
Homer, on ten or a dozen Verses which he re-
cited. ‘ *Illum (Fori Principem) certe nos ipsi audi-*
‘ *vimus, in medio Orationis cursu compellantem*
‘ *his verbis Procuratores, quos vocant & Pragmati-*
‘ *cos. Docet vos, o Procuratores, officium vestrum*
‘ *Homerus Iliados x & Enſtatius Scholiastes Homeri*
‘ *in illos versus, quos memoriter ad decem aut*
‘ *duodecim recitabat, nullâ numerorum & accen-*
‘ *tuum habita ratione, ut scires qui loqueretur vere*
‘ *principem & legibus solutum esse. Vetus hic Fori*
‘ *Parisiensis morbus est, quo Falli, Pibracii, Brifſon-*
‘ *nii, docti profecto & egregii viri, miserum in*
‘ *modum laboraverunt (8). — I myself heard him*
‘ *(the First President), in the midst of his Discourse,*
‘ *addressing himself to the Attorneys and Solicitors,*
‘ *in these Words; Homer will teach you your Duty,*
‘ *ye Attorneys, in the tenth Iliad, and Enſtatius,*
‘ *the Scholiast of Homer, on these Verses, which*
‘ *he repeated by heart to the Number of ten or*
‘ *twelve, without any regard to Numbers or Accents,*
‘ *to let you see he was truly free from Latins. This*
‘ *is an old Distemper of the Law Courts of Paris,*
‘ *with which your Fayes, your Pibracs, your Brifſons,*
‘ *tho’ really learned and excellent Men, were misera-*
‘ *bly*

(7) See the 5th
and 6th Latin
Letters of Bal-
zac.

(8) Balzacius
Epistolæ. Selectæ.
pag. 54. Edit.
in Folio.

'bly affected.' I will add to this Passage another wherein he censures the same fault in the famous *Lewis Servin*. 'Scis enim quo genere dicendi uteretur Ludovicus *' (Servinus), & quam exoticis deliciis gauderet, doctrinæ aliunde apporata, vir alias præci moris retinens, & civis patriæ amantissimus. Apud te sunt variae quas reliquit orationes. Vide ut etiam de Cloaca aut stilicidio verba facturus,

Doctor ab Auroræ populis & littore rubro
Ægyptum viresque Orientis & ultima secum
Bactra vehat.

'Raro ibi reperies Prudentum Responsa, Paulos, Labeones, Scævolas. At passim occurrent Rabbi Maimon in Hal Beth Habecchira, cap. 4. & in Hal. Cele Hammikdash, cap. 10, & Rabbi Abraham ben David, & Rabbi Zacuth in Libro Jucasin, & Talmud in Massefa Joma, &c. --- You know Lewis (Servin)'s manner of speaking, and what foreign Kickshaws he delighted in, and Learning imported from abroad; a Man otherwise of uncorrupt Behaviour, and a true Lover of his Country. You have by you several of his Orationes, which he left behind him. See how, when he is to speak about a Sink, or the Eves of a House,

The Doctor fetches Egypt to his Aid,
From Asia brings the Powers of all the East;
Not India 'scapes.

You shall seldom find, there, the Decisions of Lawyers, the Pauli, the Labeones, or the Scævolæ. But, every now and then, you have Rabbi Maimon, &c. Let us observe, by the way, that even when this Mixture of Literature was most in use at the Bar, there were Advocates who seldom cited Classic Authors, either because they saw the Abuse, or they wanted the Art to apply their Learning, or else they were not well versed in the Classics. Their Method was certainly better than the other: for what purpose could this train of Citations serve, but to withdraw the Judge's Attention, and hide the true State of the Cause? An Advocate, such as our *Stephen Boucbin*, pleaded more for himself than for his Client; he laboured more to shew his own Learning than to prepare the Judges to determine rightly. What could *Homer's* Verses signify to the Judges of *Beaune*? Did the People understand Greek in these little Jurisdictions? It is to be feared that the opposite extrem, which we have sometimes since fallen into, will make the Advocates despise Learning as a piece of Furniture entirely useless: but what can be done? It is defined that the Remedy of one Abuse is the Introduction of another.

BOUGI (*The Marquis of*), Lieutenant-General in the Armies of France in the XVIIth Century. See REVEREND.

BOUHOURS (DOMINIQUE), a famous Jesuit, died at Paris, the Place of his Birth, the Twenty seventh of May 1702, in his Seventy fifth Year. I do not give the Article concerning him, because it is already done in several Pieces which are in every body's hand, viz, in the *Memoires de Trevoux* (a), in the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres* (b), in *Journal des Scavans* (c), and in the *Mercurc Historique* (d). I shall therefore only refer to them, and observe that among these several Elogies, those in the *Journal de Scavans*, and in the *Mercurc Historique* are the most instructive.

(a) In the month of August 1702. pag. 328, French Edit. and month of March 1703. pag. 163, Amst. Edit.

(b) August 1702. pag. 231.

(c) July 24. 1702.

(d) October 1702. pag. 413.

BOULAI (CÆSAR EGASSE du), in Latin *Bulæus*, Register and Historiographer of the University of Paris, was Professor of Rhetoric many Years in the College of *Navarre*. He published a Treatise of Rhetoric, intituled *Speculum Eloquentiæ*, which was valued. His *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, which he published at Paris in the Year 1650, in Folio, is very useful not only to those who understand nothing but French, but also to those who understand Latin. Divers Law Cases of his composing have been published, relating to the Differences which arose concerning the Election of the Officers of the University, or such like matters. Those Pieces shew his Zeal for the Faculty of Arts, and the great Knowledge he had of the Usages and Customs of that University. The Work which chiefly ought to immortalize him, is the *History of the University of Paris*, which he published in six Volumes in Folio [A]. The Impression of it was stopt for some time (a); but the Commissioners appointed by the King to examine what was already printed, and the Author's Design, reported that nothing could hinder the Impression from being continued. *Du Boulai* was not of *Tours* [B], as has been commonly believed. He died the sixteenth of October 1678.

(a) See the *Mercurc Galant*, Nov. 1678.

[A] The work which ought chiefly to immortalize him is his *History of the University of Paris*, in six Volumes in folio. See here what Mr *Baillet* says of it. 'The reasons for censuring that great Work seem to diminish, by degrees, and all of them will perhaps vanish at last, that the Public, notwithstanding that endeavours have been used to the contrary, may have a just value for a work, which is indeed a mixture of good and bad things, but is otherwise very useful to give Information of the Actions and Writings of the learned Men of France, and even of those Foreigners who have appeared in that first University of the Kingdom. And indeed they begin to say now that it is a good Book generally speaking, and that it contains many material Pieces, which it would be difficult to find elsewhere so well collected (1).'

(1) *Baillet*, *Jugem. des Scavans*, sur les Critiques Histor. n. 138.

(2) *Id. ibid.* pag. 170, and not 160, as he is quoted in the *Antibaillet*, n. 138.

[B] *Du Boulai* was not of *Tours*. Mr *Baillet*, who makes him a Native of that City (2), was censured for it by Mr *Menage*, whose Words are these: 'Cæsar Egasse du Boulai --- was

born in the Village of *S. Ellier*, in the Lower Maine, which is the last Parish of Maine on the side of *Bretagne*. What led Mr *Baillet* into this mistake is, that *du Boulai* was Dean of the Tribe of *Tours* in the University of Paris (3). Whereupon Mr *Menage* tells us that in that University the French Nation is divided into five Tribes, which bear each of them the Name of an Archbishopric. 'These five Tribes are those of Paris, Sans, Reims, Tours, and Bourges. --- The Members of the Nations are of the Tribe that bears the Name of the Archbishopric which is their Native Country, or of the Bishopric where they were born holding of that Archbishopric. And therefore Cæsar Egasse du Boulai, who was of the Diocese of the Bishop of Mans, first Suffragan of the Archbishop of Tours, was of the Tribe of Tours.' Mr *Patin* is therefore mistaken when he says that *du Boulai* was of the Province of *Anjou*. I shall recite the whole Passage, because the Reader will find by it at what time the History of the University of Paris was begun

(3) *Menage*, *Antibaillet* cap. 34.

to be printed, and what was then said of it. 'The University of Paris have appointed a learned Man, whose Name is Mr Boulai, of Anjou, who taught Rhetoric for several Years in the College of Navarre, to write the History of their own Body, *Studii Parisiensis*: It will make several

Volumes in *Folio*; the first will shortly be put to the Press; it gives an Account of the State of Learning at Paris before the University, and then explains, and proves the Foundation of it by the good King *Charlemagne* in the VIIIth Century, and the Continuation thereof (4).'

(4) Patin, 2 *Fol.*
Letter 218, dated Novemb. 26, 1660. pag. 258.

BOULEN (ANNE), Mistress, and afterwards Wife of Henry VIII, King of England. See BOLEYN.

BOUQUIN (PETER), a Carmelite Fryar, took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity at Bourges the Twenty third of April 1539 (a). He was Prior of the Convent of that City, and might have come to higher dignities in his Order, if he had not rather chosen to leave it in order to go to the Protestants in Germany (b). He went first to Basil in the Year 1541, where he spent the Winter. Afterwards he took a Journey to Wittenberg where Luther and Melancthon received him very kindly. His design was to go to a good Friend of his in Pomerania; but Melancthon made him alter his Design, and engaged him to go to Strasburg, where they wanted a Man to fill up the place which Calvin had left vacant by his Return to Geneva. He read Lectures in the College of Strasburg on the Epistle of St Paul to the Galatians. Some time after he returned to France, where he had a Brother who was Doctor of Divinity, and no enemy to the Protestants. He lodged with him at Bourges, but did not return into the Monastery. *Hefusius* taxed him falsely with having returned into it: Bouquin, being persuaded by his Brother that there was reason to hope for the Reformation of the Gallican Church, read Public Lectures on the Hebrew Grammar, and afterwards on the Holy Scripture. He did it without a Salary; but after he had waited upon Margaret de Valois [A], when she went by Bourges at the time of the Marriage of her Daughter Joan d'Albret (c), he was gratified with a Pension by order of that Princess (d), who besides procured him the Place of Preacher in the great Church of Bourges with the Archbishop's Consent. Those Employments and Gratifications continued after the Death of that Lady; for Michael de l'Hôpital, Chancellor of another Margaret de Valois (e), who had the same Inclinations as the first, brought her easily to make no alteration in Bouquin's Fortune. But that Protection was at last insufficient; he found himself exposed to so many dangers, that seeing no likelihood to make his Labours serviceable to the Work of the Gospel, he quitted his Employment. His Resignation did not stop the ill Designs of his Enemies: They brought him into trouble, and he was obliged to plead his Cause before the Parliament of Paris, and afterwards before the Archbishop of Bourges, not without hazard of his Life. He had the good Fortune to escape all those dangers, and took care not to be any more exposed to them. He returned to Strasburg [B], where he exercised the Ministry in the French Church for some Months. Otto Henry, Elector Palatine, invited him to Heidelberg in the Year 1557, and made him Professor of Divinity. That Employment exercised Bouquin's Patience very much by reason of the Disputes about Ubiquity, and the real Presence. Endeavours were used to suppress them at the Conference of Maulbrun, at which he was present in the Year 1564; but it had no better effect than most of the Assemblies of that nature, which inflame the Wounds instead of healing it. Being turned out of his Place in the Year 1577, with all the other Professors, who would not adhere to Lutheranism, he was invited to Lausanne, where he taught Divinity till his Death, that is, till the Year 1582 (f). I shall give the List of his Books [C], and observe that Baudouin says

(a) Catherinet, Calvinisme de Berri, pag. 3.

(b) Melchior. Adam. in vit. exter. Theolog. pag. 143.

(c) That is, in the Year 1548.

(d) Note, that she was not only Queen of Navarre, but also Duchess of Berry.

(e) Sister of Henry II. and Duchess of Berry. Bouquin had presented her with his Book, intitled, *L'homme parfait*. See Melch. Adam in vitis Theolog. exterorum, pag. 145.

(f) Taken from his Life written by Melchior Adam. See vita Theolog. exterorum.

[A] He waited upon Margaret de Valois. I add, that he presented her with a Book of the Necessity and Use of the Holy Scripture, and that he presented another, intitled *JESUS CHRIST the Spiritual Spouse*, to the Princess Joan d'Albret. He was the Author of those two Pieces (1). Note That no Professor of Divinity had a public Salary at Bourges before him, nor was any given after him. *Stipendium ex aerario publico ei numerari iussit*, (Regina Navarra) *quod nec ante nec post eum Theologorum concessum fuit nemini* (2). Here is a passage of John Chameau Lord of Laffai: The Doctors whom I knew in the Noble University of Bourges, are Mr Peter Bouquin, Professor of the Hebrew Tongue, &c (3).

(1) Melchior. Adam in vitis Theolog. exter. pag. 145.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Chameau, Histoire de Berri printed in the Year 1566. pag. 243. See Colomies Gall. Orient. pag. 32.

[B] He returned to Strasburg. Melchior Adam forgot a circumstance which informs us of the Year of that Journey, which is, that Bouquin left Bourges with the Civilian Francis Baudouin, and went with him into Germany. Baudouin says to himself, and that it was in the Year 1555. 'Cum jam septem annis in ea Schola (Bituricensi) Bal-

duinus magna cum laude fecisset officium suum tandem, qui fuit annus M.D.LV. dare se cepit quibusdam eum in Germaniam ad excitanda prioris jurisprudentiae studia vocantibus. --- Comitem & (ut loqueris) asseclam habuit Boquinum nunc vestrum Doctorem Theologiae. Eum non recusamus testem totius protectionis (4). --- When now Baudouin had done his Duty with great applause in that School [Bourges] for seven Years, at last, in the Year M.D.LV. he began to listen to some who invited him into Germany, to reform the Study of the Civil-Law --- He had for his Companion Bouquin, now your Doctor of Divinity. I appeal to him as a witness of the whole Journey.

[C] Here is the List of his Books. I give it such as I find it in Melchior Adam. (5). 'De senio ad calumnias Doctoris cujusdam Avili in Evangelii Professores (6). Examen libri quem D. Tilemannus Hefusius inscripsit de praesentia corporis Christi in cena Domini (7). Theses de cena Domini. Exegesis divinae communicationis. Adversio

(4) Balduinus in Resp. ad Cal. vin. & Bezaam. fol. 85.

(5) Vita Theolog. exterorum, pag. 147.

(6) Printed in the Year 1558, in 4to.

(7) Printed at Basil for Oporinus 1561.

he assisted him in the Misery to which the Reformed had reduced him [D]. Consult the *Gallia Orinetalis* (g).

(g) Colomesius, Gall. Oriental. pag. 32, 33.

(8) Printed at Heidelberg 1579, in 8vo.

(9) Printed in the Year 1576.

(10) Printed at Heidelberg 1563, in 8vo.

(11) Printed in 1562.

Adversus veteris ac veri Christianismi adversus novum & fictum Jesuitismum (8). Brevis notatio præcipuarum causarum diuturnitatis controversiæ de cœna Domini (9). Canones quibus defenditur *Sidiosa* in verbis Christi hoc est corpus meum, & controversiæ de cœna Domini atque similibus dijudicandæ certissima ratio demonstratur, item adversus ritus frangendi & in manus fumendi panis Eucharistici (10). The Dates, which I have placed in the Margin, are taken either out of the Epitomy of *Gesner's Bibliotheca*, or out of the Sacramentary History of *Hopinian*. I have found a Book in that History which *Melchior Adam* does not speak of, viz. Petri Boquini iusta defensio adversus injustam vim Heshulii & Villagagnonis de judicio Philippi Melancthonis ad Electorem Palatinum missio de cœna Domini (11).

[D] Baudouin says that he assisted him in the misery to which the reformed had reduced him. He expresses this in a most odious manner: 'Ipse cum volet & audebit Bouquinus idoneus testis erit: quem vos quia vos fugiens Gallus Germanis initio se dabat tam crudeliter persecuti estis, ut nisi subvenisset liberalis misericordia Balduini qui miserum aleret, vestra clementia hominem

fame & frigore enectum jugulasset. Atque is tamen dicebatur paulo post mortuo Principe Othone Henrico abs vobis corruptus objecta spe offiæ novæ, & ubi vobis turpiter servire cepit repente, vestro judicio ex foetido hircio (sicuti paulo ante loquebamini, ad hominis nomen alludentes) factus catellus Melitæus qui vobis esset in deliciis (12). — Bouquin himself when he is willing and dares do it, will be a proper witness: whom you persecuted because he, being a Frenchman, had at first shunned you and joined the Germans, that if the liberal Compassion of Baudouin, who supported the wretch, had not prevented, your Clemency would have starved the Man to Death. And yet, soon after Prince Otho Henry was dead, he being corrupted by you with hopes of a new Morfel, and basely entering on a sudden into your Service, was in your Judgment, from a stinking Goat (as you used to speak but just before, alluding to the Man's name) become your most favourite Lap-Dog.' Thus he reproaches Calvin and Beza, for having first persecuted that Man, and afterwards caressed him, according as they saw him a Friend or an Enemy to the Lutherans.

(12) Respons. ad Calvin. & Beza pro Franc. Balduino fol. 71.

BOURIGNON (ANTOINETTE), was one of those devout Maids, who think themselves directed by particular Inspirations; for which reason she was called a Fanatic. She published a great many Books full of very singular Doctrines, and there was something extraordinary in her Mind from her Infancy to her old Age. She was born at *Lisse* the thirteenth of January 1616, so deformed that it was debated for some Days in the Family whether she should not be stifled as a Monster (a). Her deformity lessened, and they resolved to let her live. At four Years of Age, she knew already that Christians did not live according to their Principles. She desired to be carried into the Country of the Christians (b); for she did not believe that she was amongst them, since she observed that People did not live agreeably to the Law of JESUS CHRIST. One of the greatest Vexations she had in her Family was that they had a Mind to marry her; That was not what she desired; a Nunnery seemed to her preferable to a Husband. She perceived her Mother was too unhappy in a married State [A], not to fear the same Inconveniency (c): besides she was endowed with a surprizing Chastity [B], and she found an extraordinary Delight in weaning herself from the Objects of the Senses to unite herself to her Creator in a most intimate manner. Her Father nevertheless promised

(a) Vie continuée de Mademoiselle Bourignon, pag. 11.

(b) Ib. pag. 16, 17.

(c) Id. pag. 20, & vie extérieure pag. 148.

[A] She refused to marry, seeing that her Mother was too unhappy in a married State. If I did not bring a Proof for what I advance here, it might perhaps be thought that I have not well understood the Author whom I quote; for in short this is not to reject Marriage through a motive worthy of Mrs Bourignon, to shun it because there is some trouble in it. It might therefore be imagined, that he who published the Life of that Woman, has not said what I relate. Let us prevent that rash Judgment by a good quotation. 'That Child observing that her Father was harsh to her Mother, and that sometimes he fell into a Passion with her, after having endeavoured to soften him with her little fond Embraces, for which her Father had some regard, she would step aside, where considering what a miserable thing it was to be married to a peevish Husband, she addressed herself to God, saying, My GOD, my GOD! Grant that I may never marry: A Prayer very different from that which St *Augustin* lamented to have made before his Conversion; Lord, Give me Continency and Chastity; but do not give it me so soon: Fearing to be too soon cured of that damnable and transient Charm: Wherein it is to be believed he has more Accomplices and Brethren, than Mrs Bourignon, yet a Child, has Imitators in her Prayer (1). This Author's reflexion is very good. The Gift of Continency is not a thing that many Persons care for (I speak of those who are not engaged to it by a Vow). St *Augustin* asked it, and is afraid of being taken at his Word; wherefore he desires God not to make too much haste.

(1) Vie continuée de Mademoiselle Bourignon, pag. 20.

[B] She was endowed with a surprizing Chastity. See here what is said of it in her Life. 'God gave her the Gift of Chastity and Continency from her Childhood in so perfect a manner, that she has often said, she never had in her life-time, not even by Temptation or Surprize, the least Thought which could be unworthy of the Chastity and Purity of the Virgin State. St *Teresa* says of herself, that God had formerly favoured her with the same Grace. But Mrs Bourignon possessed it in such an abundant manner, that it redounded, if one may say so, on those that were with her (2). Her Presence and Conversation diffused such an odour of Continency, as made those who conversed with her forget the Pleasures of the Flesh; and I leave it to the Experience of those, who read her Books with application, to judge whether they do not feel some Impressions of it, and some Inclinations to that Virtue which is so pleasing to God (3). Had I not reason to say that the Chastity of that Maid was surprizing? In School Terms it might be called not only immanent, but also transitive, since it's Effects were diffused outwardly, and did not terminate in her Person. I think your mystical People rather use the Word penetrative, than the Word transitive; for I remember a Carthusian says, that the Holy Virgin had a PENETRATIVE VIRGINITY, whereby those who looked upon her, though she was so beautiful, had none but chaste Thoughts. He adds that St *Joseph* had the Gift which they call INFRIGIDATION, which kept his Body and Soul free from all sense of Impurity (4). It seems to me that the Talent, which God had granted

(2) We shall see in the following Remark that this did not prove true at all times, and therefore it is said that the Gift of Continency is not a thing to be depended upon for the present, and for the time to come.

(3) Vie continuée pag. 21.

(4) Peter Garnet in his Elocutiones sacre in 5 libros de imaginibus antiquorum Eremitarum, pag. 645, apud Thomasmum in Schediasmata historica. The Book of that Carthusian, was printed at Cologne in 1622.

misf her in Marriage to a *Frenchman*: The time was already appointed for the Wedding, and to avoid the performance of it she was forced to run away on *Easter-day*, 1636 (d). It was not to throw herself into a Cloister; she had learned that the Spirit of the Gospel did not reign in Convents (e): But it was to retire into some Desert. She dressed herself, therefore, like a Hermit, and fled as fast as she could; but being suspected in a Village of *Hainault* to be a Woman, she was stopped (f). She never run so much hazard, as to her Virginity, as at that time: She fell into the Hands of a Soldier, who did not let go his hold but by a kind of a Miracle. The Curate of the Place (g) delivered her from that Danger, and observing the Spirit of God in her, he mentioned her to the Archbishop of *Cambray*, who came to examine her, and advised her against a Hermit's Life, and obliged her to return to her Father. She was soon after persecuted again with Proposals of Marriage, which obliged her to run away a second time. She went to the same Archbishop, and obtained leave of him to form a small Community in the Country with some other young Women of her Humour (b): He retracted it a little while after, which obliged *Antoinette* to go into the Country of *Liege*, from whence she returned to *Flanders*, where she spent many Years in retirement, and in great simplicity of Life, but not without inspiring a Man with a great deal of Love, who pretended to Devotion in order to get Access to her. He proposed Marriage to her, and not finding her pliable, he tried to supply by the Strength of his Arms what was wanting to the Efficacy of his Discourse [C]. But she implored the protection of the Magistrates; inasmuch that this false Devotee was obliged to address himself to another devout young Woman, whom he found more tractable [D]. Our *Antoinette*, who had resolved to renounce her Patrimony for ever, changed her mind

(d) *Vie extérieure*, pag. 150.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 143.

(f) *Ibid.* pag. 151, & seq.

(g) It was the Village of *Blacon*.

(b) *Vie extérieure*, pag. 100.

to Mrs *Bourignon*, ought to be called by that Name. That Word would admirably represent the Effect which she produced on her Neighbours: The Gift of *Infrigidation* should be that which makes those cold who come near us. But since we must determine the force of Terms, I will not insist upon it. I only say that the Clause, *notwithstanding that she was so very handsome*, which the *Carthusian* made use of, is not an expletive or a needless Parenthesis: It was essential to his Subject; the wonder lies in that; for Nature without Grace might very well confer a penetrative Virginity; there needs only a certain degree of ugliness for that. Wherefore I wish the Author of Mrs *Bourignon's* Life had inserted in the above quoted place, by way of Parenthesis, that the Gift of Continency, which she diffused outwardly, did not proceed from any Deformity, or any thing disagreeable, that was observed in her Person. I conclude with a Reflexion, which, if put to the Vote, would not be disallowed. I believe there are not many young Nuns that pray for a penetrative Virginity. The most virtuous are contented with the Gift of Continency, and would be very unwilling to mortify all the desires of the Men that look upon them (5). They would think themselves too much disgraced by Nature, did they believe that they need only shew themselves to make Mens Eyes and Hearts chaste; that Thought would not please them. I believe, therefore, that the most sublime and rarest degree of Chastity, in a Woman, is to wish not only to be chaste, but also to make all those chaste that are round about her, and with whom she converses. Generally speaking Women do not desire that this Gift should have a great Sphere of Activity; it is enough if it possess the whole space of one Person.

(5) I omit some very rare instances of Women, who disgraced their Faces, least they should occasion a Temptation.

[C] A Man ----- not finding her pliable in relation to Marriage, tried to supply, by the Strength of his Arms, what was wanting to the Efficacy of his Discourse.] That Man's Name was *John de St Saulieu*: He was the Son of a Peasant, and if all may be believed that is said of him in the Life of our *Antoinette*, he was a great Rogue. He insinuated himself into that young Woman's Favour by a devout Countenance and Discourses of the most sublime Spirituality. "The first time that he met with her ----- he spoke like a Prophet, but like a moderate and reserved Prophet, who having made an end of his Prophecy, retires quietly without explaining any thing, or insisting to make himself believed (6). ----- The second time he spoke to her he pretended to be a Man illuminated, charitable, and familiar with God (7). After he had pretty well insinuated himself, he declared his Passion; but finding that she took it ill, he seemed to be sorry for it: they fell out but were reconciled again, and at last he attempted by Force

(6) *Vie intérieure*, pag. 233.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 234.

See here what the Lady says of him: "Being often in my House, he was so importunate and insistent with me, that I was obliged to give my Maids notice to watch him, and to shut the Door of my House against him: For he came several times with a Knife in his Hand, which he presented to my Throat, if I would not yield to his wicked desires, inasmuch that I was at last obliged to have recourse to the Arm of Justice, because he threatened to break the Doors and Windows of my House, and to kill me, though he should be hanged for it in the Market-Place of *Lille*. The Provost gave me two Men to secure me in my House, whilst an Information was making of the Insolencies which the said *St Saulieu* had committed against me (8)."

(8) *Vie extérieure*, pag. 196.

The Conclusion was that the matter was made up between them; he promised never to go to any place where she should be, and retracted his Slanders (9); he protested that he knew her to be a good and virtuous Woman. That pious Maid had not always had a good Fame, nor always the Talent of inspiring Chastity. I say nothing of the design of the Officer of Horse who seized her in a Village, when she was disguised like a Hermit at about twenty Years of Age (10); Soldiers, especially when they are lodged in a Village, are very dangerous upon such an Occasion, and not very penetrable by a penetrative Virginity: Waving therefore this Adventure, I shall speak of the Nephew of the Curate of *St Andrews* near *Lille*. Mrs *Bourignon* had shut herself up in a Solitude in the Neighbourhood of that Parish. The Curate's Nephew fell in Love with her: He was so smitten with her that he was continually walking about the House, and discovering his Passion by Words and Pursuits (11). The solitary Lady threatened to leave her Post, if she were not delivered from that importunate Person. The Uncle turned him out of his House. Then the young Man changed his Love into Rage, and sometimes discharged his Gun through the Chamber of that Recluse; and seeing that he gained nothing by it, he gave out that he was going to marry her. The thing was noised all over the Town; the devout Women were offended at it, and threatened to affront Mrs *Bourignon*, if they met with her in the Streets. The Preachers were obliged to publish that there was nothing in the report of that Marriage. I do not think she was sorry to let the Public know that she had appeared so lovely to some Men, that they passionately desired to marry her. Old Maids are pleased with telling such Stories.

(9) You must know that when he saw she rejected his proposal of a Marriage, he gave out every where, that she had promised to marry him, and that he had lain with her. The whole Town talked of it; many believed it, and were offended at it. *Traité de la parole de Dieu*, pag. 78.

(10) *Vie extérieure*, pag. 155, & seq.

(11) *Traité de la parole de Dieu*, pag. 64, 65.

[D] And afterwards addressed himself to another devout Woman, whom he found more tractable.] *St Saulieu*, having made an Agreement with *Antoinette*, went to *Ghent*. He had his Will there of a devout Woman 'till she was with Child, and then

E c

(7) Vie continuée, pag. 128.

(8) *It was the Hospital of Notre Dame des sept douleurs at Lille. Vie extérieure, pag. 203.*

(1) Ibid. p. 200.

(m) *Traité de la parole de Dieu, pag. 79.*

(n) Vie extérieure, pag. 216.

(o) Vie continuée, pag. 220.

(p) Ibid. p. 226.

mind and took possession of it again (i) [E]. She became Governess of an Hospital in the Year 1653 (k), and shut herself up there in the Cloister in the Year 1658 (l), having taken the Order and Habit of St *Augustin* (m). By a very strange Fatality, Sorcery proved so general in that Hospital, that all the Girls, who were kept there, had contracted with the Devil (n). All Tongues took from thence occasion to give out that the Governess of the House was a Sorceress (o): The Magistrates of *Lille* fell upon Mrs *Bourignon*; they sent Sergeants into her Cloister; they had her before them, and examined her. She answered them pertinently; but believing that her Adversaries had as much Credit as Passion, she did not think it proper to remain exposed to their Prosecutions, and therefore she fled to *Ghent*. This happened in 1662. She was no sooner at *Ghent*, but GOD discovered some great Secrets to her (p). She got a Friend at *Mechlen* who proved always faithful to her. His Name was Mr *de Cort*; it was, if one may say so, her first spiritual Child-birth; but it had this singularity, that it gave her the same pains as a Child-birth in a proper Sense [F]. That Man being, twice successively, divinely warned, and threatened,

(12) Vie extérieure, pag. 197.

(13) Ibid. p. 194.

(14) Et qui redire, cum perit, nescit pudor. *Seneca in Agamemnone, Act. 2.*

(15) Vie extérieure, pag. 192.

(16) I found myself obliged to renounce my temporal Estate, rather than to leave it to those, whom it did not belong to, (this is her first reason) and rather than it should serve for doing evil: (this is the 2d.) Besides, God discovered to me that I should want it for his Glory, (this is the 3d.) Vie extérieure, pag. 141.

then be returned to *Lille*. Mrs *Bourignon* affirms it (12), and here are other Circumstances of it: 'Seeing (says she (13), that he could not marry me by Love or Force, he accosted one of my devout Maids, who seemed also a Mirror of Perfection, and got her with child, after which he would not marry her, till after many Intreaties and Endeavours of the said Maid, who at last mollified his Heart by her great Humility, and he married her a little before she was delivered of a Child. He lived very unchastly as well as she.' I do not wonder at it; for, if I may be allowed a proverbial Expression, the most difficult step is that of the Door: as soon as a devout Woman has once got over that first step by some Gallantry that has made a Noise, her Honour is lost: Now Modesty once turned out of Doors seldom returns again (14). What the Scripture says in general, that the Devil transforms himself into an Angel of Light, is particularly very true of the Devil called *Asmodeus*, who is that of Lewdness. The Bigots have invented a thousand Arts to make a great many devout Women fall into the Snare; who had a sincere desire to behave themselves chastly. He, who attacked Mrs *Bourignon*, made her believe, that he was quite dead to Nature; that he had been some Years a Soldier; and was returned from the War as unpotted as a Child, though several Women had inticed him to lewdness, and had even come to bed to him with an ill Design: That he had remained firm, because he conversed daily in his Spirit with GOD (15). He told her also, 'That he had lost the Taste of Meats and Drinks by his great Abstinencies and Mortifications; and that he could not discern delightful Meats from coarse ones, nor Wine from Beer or Water: That all those things seemed to him to have the same taste, that he loved the one as well as the other, and could not perceive any difference.' By this we may see that a Woman's Honour lies in the Centre of a Circle, the Circumference of which is blocked up by a thousand forts of Enemies. It is a Mark which Men try to hit all manner of ways, and even by the Appearances of the most mystical and illuminated Theology. Witness *Molinus*, and the Quietists of *Burgundy*.

[E] She had resolved to renounce her Patrimony: she changed her Mind, and took Possession of it again.] Three reasons of Devotion persuaded her to it (16); for if she had not retaken it, she would have left it to those, it did not belong to, who would have made an ill use of it: therefore to spare the Crime of possessing the Estate of others, and of employing it to do ill, she thought it her Duty to take it from them, and devote it by GOD's Order to good Uses. It did not lessen under her Direction; on the contrary it increased: two reasons contributed to this increase; for her Expences were small, and she gave no Alms: So that she might convert the superfluous part of her Income into Stock, which she did not fail to do. Not that she was covetous; she possessed her Estate without any Affection, and the Poverty of Spirit did not forsake her in the midst of her Riches. What was it then? She would have enough to make greater Expences for the Glory of GOD,

when there should be occasion for it. The Reason why she spent so little in Alms, was, because she found no body, that was in a real Poverty, and she was afraid People would make an ill use of what she should give away. She herself informs us of those Articles of her Morals. 'The temporal Estate I have, says she (17), fell to me by Succession, or increased by what I could not spend or give, because I could not find enough of People truly poor, or honest Persons in necessity: Therefore I have been sometimes obliged to increase my Stock out of the superfluous part of my Income; because Sobriety requires no great Expences; and the truly poor are so scarce that they must be sought for in another World: For the Assurances which are given in this wretched Age serve often to commit more Sins. Wherefore he who has a greater yearly Income than is necessary, is obliged to increase his Stock in hopes of finding an occasion to employ it to the greater Glory of GOD.' They, who accuse her of Fanaticism, would make a wrong choice of their Proofs, if they should alledge these. There is nothing here that favours of a Visionary or of a Fanatic; Every thing in it shews a subtle Wit, and a nice way of arguing. See below the Remark [M].

[F] Her first spiritual Birth --- gave her the same Pains as a Child-birth in a proper Sense.] I shall set down the whole Passage, though it be somewhat long; whereby it will appear, that the Disciples of our *Antoinette* were not always upon the high strain, and that they descended sometimes from the Sublimity of their Devotion to the innocent Jest of the Men of the World. 'When GOD gave him to Mrs *Bourignon*, it was after a very particular manner, and as the first of her spiritual Children, for whom she felt great bodily Pains, and like the pressing Pains of Child-birth: For it is a certain thing, and known by the Experience of all those who have conversed with her, (let wicked and impious Scoffers say of it what they please) that whenever any persons received so much Light and Strength, by her Words or Writings, as to resolve to forsake all, to give themselves to GOD; she felt, wherever she was, some Pains and Throws like those of a Woman in Labour, as it is said of the Woman whom St *John* saw in the twelfth of the Revelations (18). She felt them more or less, as the Truths, which she had delivered, had more or less strongly operated in Mens Souls; which occasioned an innocent Jest of the Archdeacon on Mr *de Cort*: For as both of them were discoursing with Mrs *Bourignon* of the Christian Life, and of their good and new Resolution, and Mr *de Cort* having observed that she had felt more pains for him than for the other, when they resolved to be born again according to GOD; the Archdeacon, considering that Mr *de Cort* was fat and corpulent, whereas himself was but a little Man, and seeing that he valued himself for having cost to his spiritual Mother dearer than he, told him smiling; it is no wonder that our Mother suffered more for you than for me, for you are a very large Child, whereas I am but a little one. Which Repartee made them all laugh (19).'

(17) Ibid. p. 140.

(18) It might have been added that St Paul, speaking of himself in relation to those whom he had converted, makes use of a Word, which signifies to be in labour. *Τελμα μὲν ὡς παῖδες ὧν ἐμὸν μέλος κοποῦμαι ὡς κοποῦμαι ὡς κοποῦμαι* Galat. cap. iv. ver. 19.

(19) Vie continuée, pag. 235.

[G] One

threatened, if he did not obey that Inspiration (q), had lent almost all his Estate to some Relations, who were endeavouring to drain an Island in the Country of *Holstein*, which the Sea had overflowed (r), and thereby he had acquired the Tenth, and the Direction and part of that Island [G]. He sold a Seat there to Mrs *Bourignon*, who was preparing to retire thither in the Year 1668 (s), after she had published at *Amsterdam* her Book *Of the Light of the World* [H]. She had written many Treatises, and Letters, in *Brabant* (t), and even on the Disputes of the *Janfenists* and *Molinists*, since her Persecution at *Lisle*. Her stay at *Amsterdam*, with her dear Profelyte Mr *de Cort*, was longer than she thought: She was visited there by all sorts of Persons, without excepting the imaginary Propbets and Propbeteesses (u). This made her hope that the Reformation which she preached might have some effect: Nevertheless few persons took a firm Resolution to conform to it. *Labadie* and his Disciples were desirous to have settled with her in *Noordstrandt* [I]: Mr *de Cort* consented to it; for they offered great sums of Money to buy the whole Island; but the Lady rejected their Proposals. She had Conferences with some *Cartesians*, and formed a terrible Idea of their Principles [K]. She composed more Books at *Amsterdam*, than she got Followers. Her Conversations with God were very frequent there: She learnt a great many particular things by Revelation; and it was then that she had the Visions which I spoke of in the Remarks of the Article ADAM (x). Mr *de Cort* died the twelfth of November 1669, and made her his Heiress, which exposed her for some time to more Persecutions than her Doctrine [L]. Being, moreover, sick and ill attended, she endured many Miseries.

[G] One of her Disciples had ----- acquired ----- part of the Island of *Noordstrandt*. He was one of the Fathers of the Oratory, and their Superior at *Mechlen*, and moreover the Director of a House of poor Children (20). The Expenses which he had been at to recover *Noordstrandt* tended to prepare a Retreat there for the persecuted Friends of God. He thought that he had been divinely informed, that such was the design of God (21); and presupposing that the *Janfenists* were those persecuted Friends of God, he drew many of them out of *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, into that Island, part of which he sold to them. ----- He resigned all the rest that he had there, and all his rights and pretensions into the Hands of the Oratory of *Mechlen* upon certain Conditions, which they did not honestly perform to him, for which he had afterwards redress. All this was attended with great Law-suits; the *Sieur de Cort* was imprisoned at *Amsterdam* (22), in the Month of *March* 1669, at the Prosecution of the famous *Janfenist*, Mr *de Saintamsour*, who went by the Name of *Lewis Gorin*. Before he was put into Prison he was severely censured by a Bishop (23), who called him a Heretic, and a Man, who coveted the Riches of this World to the prejudice of those whom he had deceived by selling Lands in *Noordstrandt*, a Man given to drinking and suspected of having lost his Faith and Chastity, and who suffered himself to be seduced by a Maid of *Lisle*, with whom he lived to the great scandal of every body (24). He remained six Months in Prison, and got out only by a fortuitous Accident. He went into his Island, where he was poisoned, and died the twelfth of November 1669. I am but a transcriber, and do not warrant the Facts that I borrow from the Books which I quote.

[H] Whether she designed to retire as soon as she had published ----- at *Amsterdam*, her *Light of the World*. The first Work which she published is a Letter to the Dean of *Lisle* concerning the State of the World, and the Judgments of God. It was printed at *Amsterdam* in the beginning of the Year 1668, and inserted in the second Part of the *Light* brought forth in *Darkness*; it is the fifth Letter in that Book (5).

[I] *Labadie* and his Disciples were desirous to have settled with her in *Noordstrandt*. *Antoinette* would not join with them: and therefore understanding that Mr *de Cort* had a mind to carry them into *Noordstrandt*, she said to him (26), you may then go thither without me; Because I perceive and know that we can never agree together. Their Opinions and the Spirit that governs them are altogether contrary to my Light, and the Spirit that governs me. She had already had some inward Sentiments about him from God, and a divine Vision, wherein he made her see, in the Spirit, a little Man very busy, with a great Pole in his

Hand, to hinder the fall of a great Building, or of a Church that was falling; and by some Conferences, which she had with him, wherein she endeavoured, but in vain, to dissuade him from going to brave the Synod of *Narden*, and to convince them of their wicked Doctrine of Predetermination. She was fully persuaded that he had no other Light than what the Learned of these times have, Reading, Study, some barren Speculations, and some Acts of his own Mind; and for a Motive of his Conduct, only some insatiation, and the Motions of corrupt Passions; without being any ways enlightened by God himself, or directed by the calm Motions of his divine Inspirations. This Passage will not be useless to those who have a mind to know by what Spirit our *Antoinette* was led. It was a Spirit that would not suffer any Companion or Colleague: Wherefore we have seen all Sects against that Maid, and that Maid against all Sects. The very Quakers have also wrote against her (27).

[K] She had Conferences with some *Cartesians*, and formed a terrible Idea of their Principles. Amongst others with Mr *Heydanus* and Mr *Burman*. They were but little satisfied with her, nor she with them (28). The Method of the *Cartesians* did not suit her. She would not have the Light of Reason to be consulted, whereas their Principle is to examine all things by that Touchstone. She affirmed, 'That God had shewn and even expressly declared to her, that this Error of Cartesianism was the worst, and the most cursed, of all the Heresies that ever were in the World, and a formal Atheism, or a Rejection of God, in whose place corrupt Reason was set up (29).' Which agrees with what she said to the Philosophers: 'That their Malady proceeded from her pretending to comprehend all things by the Activity of human Reason, without giving way to the Illumination of divine Faith, which requires a Cessation of our Reason, our Minds, and weak Understanding, that God may diffuse or revive that divine Light in them: Without which God is not only not well known, but also he and his true Knowledge are driven out of the Soul by that Activity of our corrupt Reason. Which is a true kind of Atheism and rejecting of God (30).' This Passage is proper to shew the Principles of the *Bourignonists*. They agree pretty well with those of the *Quakers* (31).

[L] The Inheritance of Mr *de Cort* exposed her to more Persecutions than her Doctrine. Many Law-Suits were commenced against her to hinder her from enjoying the Succession of her Disciple: and if some were animated with Zeal against her Errors, there were some whose Zeal for her Estate was no less forward. This latter Zeal heightened the first; for some of Mrs *Bourignon's* Persecutors cried out

(2) Ibid. p. 237.

(r) The Isle of Northstrand.

(s) Ibid. p. 280.

(t) Ibid. p. 265. & seq.

(u) Ibid. p. 284.

(x) In Remark [G]. See Vic continuee, chap. 21.

(27) Benjamin Furley, an Englishman, a Merchant at Rotterdam, a moderate Quaker within these few Years, and a Man of Genius and Learning, wrote strongly against her, and made it his business to shew that she contradicted herself.

(28) Vic continuee, pag. 295.

(29) Ibid. p. 306.

(30) Ibid. p. 296.

(31) See the Articles BRACHMANS, REMARK [K], and DIOSCORIDES, Rem. [A].

Miseries. She left *Holland* in the Year 1671, to go to *Noordstrand*. She stopped at several places in *Holftein*, and was obliged to dismiss some Disciples, who were come to lift themselves under her Banner: perceiving that every body minded his own conveniences and ease, she conceived that That was not the way to make a flock of new Christians (y). She provided herself with a Printing-House (z); for her Pen went as fast as the Tongues of others, I mean like a Torrent. She had her Books printed in *French*, *Dutch*, and *German*. She found herself very much defamed by some Books which were published against her Tenets and Morals, and she vindicated herself by a Work which she intituled *The Testimony of Truth*, wherein she mightily inveighed against the Clergy. This was not the way to find Peace: Two *Lutheran* Ministers founded the Alarm against her, and wrote some Books, wherein they said, that some Persons had been burnt and beheaded, whose Opinions were more tolerable than those of Mrs *Bourignon* (aa). The *Labadists* wrote against her (bb). She was forbid to make use of her Press. She retired to *Flensburg* in the Month of *December*, 1673 (cc). Her Enemies came to know it, and stirred the People so violently against her, calling her a Witch and *Circe*, that it was very fortunate for her, that she found means to retire privately. Being persecuted from Town to Town, she was at last obliged to leave *Holftein*; she retired to *Hamburg* in the Year 1676 (dd). She was safe there only so long as they knew nothing of her Arrival; for as soon as they had notice of it, they endeavoured to secure her; God knows how they would have used her, if she had been taken. She hid herself for some Days, and went afterwards to *East-Friesland* (ee), where the Baron of *Lutburg* granted her his Protection. She had the Direction of an Hospital there, and consecrated her Cares and Industry, but not her Purse, to the good of that House [M]. She found Persecutors there also; so that she went into *Holland* in the Year 1680 (ff). She died at *Franeke* in the Province of *Friesland* (gg), the thirtieth of *October* the same Year (bb). The rubs she met with in *Germany* did not hinder her from writing many Books. It would be a very difficult matter to give an account of her System. No Coherency must be expected from a Person who ascribes every thing to immediate Inspirations. It cannot be denied that it is a strange Error to pretend, as it is said she did, that the true Church was extinguished, and that the Liturgical Exercises of Religion ought to be laid aside. This last Tenet lies extremely open to Persecution [N]. It is to be remembered that the Journalists have mentioned the Works of *Antoinette Bourignon*

out against her Doctrine, that they might exclude her from Mr de *Cort's* Succession. This may be seen at large in her History (32).

[M] She employed ----- her Care and Industry but not her Purse. I have already spoke (33) of the Reasons whereon her Sparring was grounded.

What I am going to say shall be a Supplement to it. When she accepted the care of that Hospital, she declared that she consented to contribute her Industry as well for the building, as for the Distribution of the Money and Inspection of the Poor: But without engaging any part of her Estate (34).

She alledged two reasons for it; one was that she had already consecrated her Estate to GOD, for those who sincerely endeavour to become true Christians: The other was, that Mankind and all humane things are inconstant, so that it might happen that those, in whose favour she might part from her Estate, might make themselves afterwards unworthy of it. This was an admirable Reason, never to part with any thing, and to put off all manner of Gifts till she should make her Will. The Lady found by Experience that she was not rashly dissent of the inconstancy of Men; she was so far from finding any body in *East-Friesland* that deserved to have her Estate, that she could not so much as find any, upon whom she might bestow part of her Revenue, meeting with none but Poor, who had nothing left at Heart than to think of a Christian Life, who made use of what was given them to cheat, guzzle, and live in Idleness. Nevertheless, she and one of her Friends distributed to them for some Months certain Revenues of that place, which were annexed to that Hospital by the Founder: But when she was asked whether she would not contribute something of her own, she answered in writing, that because those Poor lived like Beasts who had no Souls to save, and abused the Gifts of GOD instead of giving him thanks for them, she and her Friends would rather choose to throw their Estates, which were consecrated to GOD, into the Sea, than to leave any part of them there. Which she and her Friends have also carefully

avoided in all their Transactions, so far as to reserve to themselves the Restitution of the Money they should get to the day wherein they would retire from that place (35). Other Countries

were not better provided with Persons that deserved her Charity. 'Nullos adhuc inveni (vere pauperes) & sic coacta fui mea bona ad hunc usque diem servare (36). ----- I have found none that are truly

poor, and so have been forced to keep my Estate to this time. Vellem ut occasionem haberem ea (bona mea) ad gloriam Dei impendendi, tunc ne uno

quidem die retinerem: sed nullam hucusque inveni: multi sunt qui ea acciperent, sed non impenderent ad gloriam Dei ut ego facere destino.

----- I wish I had an Opportunity of laying it out to the Glory of GOD, and then I would not keep it so much as one day; but I have found none

hitherto; there are many who would receive it, but would not bestow it to the Glory of God as I intend to do. So that this Head of Expende did not cost her much. It seems to me that the Children of this Age are not much more prudent in their Generation, than those Children of Light.

We shall see, in the Remark [P], that her Humour was not to spare those who stole any thing from her. She took it very ill that her Friends had not indicted those Thieves.

[N] She was for abolishing the Liturgical Exercises of Religion. ----- a Tenet which lies extremely open to Persecution. Two very powerful Interests engage the Directors of Churches to oppose that Tenet: the one is the Interest of the whole Body; the other a personal Interest. Take from the Church her public Assemblies, her Rites, Liturgy, and Discipline, and you take the way to ruin her before the third Generation. So that it is a Maxim destructive of the Church. It is moreover personally prejudicial to the Directors; for the more that Tenet is followed, the fewer People will be found in Churches; and so the Pains that are taken all the Week to prepare a Sermon become almost fruitless, whether the Preacher designs only the Conversion of the Hearers, or only to get Praise, or both these things together.

[O] The

(y) Ibid. p. 380.

(z) Ibid. p. 384.

(aa) Ibid. pag. 388.

(bb) Ibid. p. 391.

(cc) Ibid. p. 394.

(dd) Ibid. p. 446.

(ee) In June, 1677.

(ff) Ibid. pag. 580.

(gg) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Avril 1685, Art. 9.

(bb) Vie contin. pag. 585.

(32) Vie continuee, chap. xix, & seq. pag. 338, & seq.

(33) In Remark [E].

(34) Ibid. p. 504.

(35) Ibid. p. 505.

(36) Lumiere en ten. &c. Part IV. pag. 215, and Seckendorf. Apolog. Relat. pag. 78.

* Ibid. pag. 61, apud eund. Seckendorf. ibid. pag. 79.

rignon [O]. She had this in common with most Devotees, that she was of a cholerick and morose Humour [P]. Notwithstanding her peevishness, and all the Fatigues and Crosses of her Life, *one would not have thought her to be much above forty Years of Age*, when she was above sixty (ii). She had never made use of Spectacles (kk). *The most remarkable Periods of her Life*, as her Birth, her coming to be an Author, and her Death, were signified by Comets (ll). The Author of her Life was not aware, that by saying this he gave occasion to think, according to the common Hypothesis, that this Maid was as a scourge of Providence, and not a holy Prophetess. The Vanity and the Danger she found in having her Picture drawn (mm), hindered her from suffering it to be done (nn). She had a very singular Opinion concerning Antichrist [Q], which seemed to be taken from the Hypothesis of many Doctors concerning the Incubus's [R]. See John Mollerus, a Lutheran Author, in his Introduction to the History of the *Cerberus Cimbricus*, where he relates several things concerning Antoinette's Abode in Holstein, and concerning the Writers who attacked her (oo).

(ii) Ibid. p. 586.

(kk) Ibid.

(ll) Ibid. p. 590.

(mm) It concerned her extremely that her Face should not be known, by reason of her Persecutors, Ibid. pag. 586.

(nn) Ibid.

(oo) Mollerus, Parte II, pag. 151, & seq.

If

[O] *The Journalists have mentioned the Works of Antoinette Bourignon.* See in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* a Memorial of Mr Poiret on that Maid's Life and Doctrine (37). But in the Journal of *Leipsic* (38) there is an Extract of her Works which has occasioned a Dispute. An anonymous Author complained very sharply of that Extract, and accused the Journalist of a great many Fallhoods. A very ample, and elaborate, Apology was made for that Extract (39). Those who will not take the trouble to look over that Lady's Writings, and yet are desirous to know many things concerning her, need only see that Apology.

(37) April 1685, Art. ix, and May 1685, Art. viii.

(38) In January, 1686, pag. 9.

(39) The *Acta Eruditorum* of May 1687, speak of it. The Index of the ten first Volumes of that Journal informs us, that Mr Seckendorf is the Author of the Apology. Mr Mollerus says so likewise in his *Historia Cimbrica*, Part II, p. 161, 162.

(40) Seckendorf, in the Apology for the Journal of *Leipsic*, pag. 76, 77.

(41) Id. ibid.

(42) Vie continuee, pag. 169. See the Apology for the Journal of *Leipsic*, pag. xco.

(43) Vie continuee, pag. 477.

[P] Like most other Devotees she was of a cholerick and morose Humour. Mr Seckendorf found some Proofs of this in the Lady's own Writings. Multa vestigia (says he (40), in scriptis ejus apparent, ex quibus judicari posset feminam hanc duram, immitem, pervicacem, stomachabundam, rixosam --- fuisse. --- Several Marks appear in her Writings by which one may judge, that she was a severe, stubborn, passionate, brawling Woman. It came to that at last that no body could endure her ill Humour, and particularly her Maids were obliged to leave her. Unde factum ut nemo ejus morositatem tolerare posset, minime omnium feminæ quas in sodalium aut famulitium adsciverat: exercebatur nempe in illas, ut lussit Satyrus, Præfutura domus Sicula non mittit aula (41). --- For which reason no body could bear her ill Humour, especially the Women which she took for Companions or Servants: for she exercised over them, as the Satirist expresses it, A Family Government as cruel as the Sicilian Court. The following Passage will confirm this: 'If those who lived with her had not had strong Teeth to break some Cruels, very hard to corrupt Nature, they would have left her a thousand times for one. And indeed of so many Persons who have known, and even of those who have followed her, there were not four left that she would have kept with her (42).' Note, that she did not allow that her ill Humour was a fault; she called it love of Justice, and maintained that Anger was a true Virtue, and alledged in her Vindication the Rigours which the Prophets and Apostles used. She severely censured those of her Friends, who had not sued the Boors who had stolen something from her: and when her Friends excused themselves, saying they did not know whether she would have had them prosecuted with Rigour; she told them that these were but the Excuses of corrupt Nature, which will not take Pains, nor bear Inconveniences. Then she said with a strong Voice, 'Once for all, and I have already so often repeated it, we must prevent Evil, and oppose it with all our might, wherever we find it (43).' How well this agrees with the Patience which is so much recommended to us in the Gospel!

[Q] She had a very singular Opinion concerning Antichrist. She believed he would be a Devil incarnate. When she was asked, whether it was possible that Man should be born by the Operation of the Devil, she answered, 'Yes: Not that the Devil can do this alone without the Co-operation of Man; but having Power over lascivious Men, when they misuse the Principle

of Fecundity (which the Scripture calls *spilling it on the Ground*, Gen. xxxviii, 9.) the Devil carries it by his diabolical Interposition into his Witches, from whence he causes wicked Men to be born, who are all dedicated to himself, and are true Antichrists: And that the Devil will incarnate himself in that manner (44). She believed that the Reign of Antichrist ought to be understood two ways, the one sensually and the other spiritually. In the first Sense, it will be the visible Reign of a Devil incarnate, and that is to come. In the second Sense, it is the Corruption and the Disorders which appear in all Christian Societies; and on this head she gives herself a full Scope, and rails most bitterly against all those Societies, and spares the Protestants no more than the Roman Catholics. 'De spirituali Antichristo longe plura tractat & veluti æstro percita campo decurrit per quem magnus equos Auruncæ flexit alumnus. Ante omnia Romanæ Ecclesiæ --- Antichristum, caput, principem & rectorem --- confidentissime assignat --- nihilo tamen mitius Protestantium cœtus tractavit, ideoque in libris de Antichristo omnia in eundem censum refert, nihil relinquens quod non Antichristianum & diabolicum faciat effreni & incredibili maledicentia (45). --- Concerning the spiritual Antichrist, she says a great deal more, and beats about the Field like one mad. Above all, she calls the head Prince and Governor of the Roman Church Antichrist --- nor does she treat the Societies of Protestants more mildly, and therefore in her Books concerning Antichrist she brings them all into one Account, leaving nothing which she does not, by her unbridled and incredible Malediction, make Antichristian and Devilish. As to the true and sensual Antichrist, viz. a Devil incarnate, according to her Principles, she had known him so well in a Night Vision ratified, that she gave a Description of him, whereby one might see what Complexion, Stature, and Hair he should have (46). The Verses which contained that Description have been suppressed; I say the Verses, for she pretended to make some, without ever having learned the Rules of Poetry. Omnia ex Deo didicerit, etiam rythmorum artem, in quâ quidem ita versatur ut facile fidem inveniat se nullo magistro usum esse (47). --- She learnt every thing from GOD, even the Art of making Verses, which she does in such a manner that it is manifest she never learned it of any Master. I must explain in a few words what is meant by a ratified Vision. Mrs Bourignon little valued the Visions which are made by the Interposition of the Imagination (48). If she had any of that kind, she suspected them, till having been recommended them to God in a profound Recollection, and disentangled from all Images, she learned from God what she ought to think of them, and God ratified the Truth of them to her in so pure, so intimate, and so private a manner, in the recesses of a Soul so disengaged and so given over to God, that there could be no mixture of human Thoughts or diabolical Illusions. In that manner God ratified to her the Truth of the Vision of Antichrist.

[R] Which seemed to be taken from the Hypothesis concerning the Incubus's. The Opinion that certain Persons of an extraordinary Moxit have been

(44) Ibid. p. 555.

(45) Seckendorf, ubi supra, p. 154.

(46) Vie continuee, pag. 267.

(47) Seckendorf, ubi supra, p. 154.

(48) Vie continuee, pag. 265, 267.

If she was predestinated to be the Instrument of some Revolution of Religion, that Lot was not assigned to her Person, nor to the Ministry of her Voice : It will rather be an effect of her Writings ; for during her Life she had but a very small number of Followers, who after her Death decreased every day in the Countries where she was most admired. They want but little of being reduced to Unity, I mean to one single individual. But it is not the same in Countries which were never honoured with her Presence : Her Books have fructified beyond Sea ; some Persons in Scotland like her Doctrine, and have undertaken the Propagation of it. They have made themselves formidable ; and it was thought necessary to take Pen in Hand in order to stop their Progress. They have taken the same Weapons to defend themselves ; and that conflict of Books continues still : You shall see the Extract of a Memorial on that Subject, which a very worthy Man has communicated to me [S].

been begotten by those Spirits is very ancient, and wants not Favourers to this Day. See *Leo Allatius* in his Book concerning *Homer's* Country, where declaring for that Opinion, he maintains, that Children procreated in that manner, are nevertheless formed of human Seed (49). The Count *de Gabalis* explains that ridiculous Whim. 'Sir, said I to him, our Divines take care not to say that the Devil is the Father of all those Men, who are born without our knowing who brings them into the World. They acknowledge that the Devil is a Spirit, and therefore cannot procreate. *Gregorius Nyssenus* (replied the Count) does not say that ; for he holds that the Devils multiply among themselves like Men. We are not of his Opinion, said I, but it happens (as our Doctors say) that — Ha! do not tell, (interrupted the Count) do not tell what they say, for then you must say a most filthy and immodest thing as they do. What an abominable Evasion have they found there? It is a wonder, that they should unanimously embrace that filthy Opinion, and take pleasure in placing Hobgoblins in Ambuscades, to take advantage of the idle Brutishness of solitary Persons, and thereby bring those miraculous Men speedily into the World, whose illustrious Memory they blacken by such a foul Original. Do they call that philosophizing? Is it worthy of God, to say that he has that Indulgence for the Devil to favour those Abominations ; to grant them the Grace of Fecundity which he has refused to great Saints ; and to reward that filthiness by creating more heroic Souls for those Embryo's of Iniquity, than for those who are formed in the Chastity of a lawful Marriage? Is it worthy of Religion to say, as your Doctors do, that by that detestable Art the Devil may get a Virgin with Child whilst she is asleep without any prejudice to her Virginity? Which is as absurd as the Story which *Thomas Aquinas* (otherwise a most solid Author, and who knew something of the *Cabala*) is so heedless as to relate in his sixth *Quodlibet*, of a Daughter lying with her Father, to whom he ascribes the Adventure which some heretical Rabbins relate of the Daughter of *Jeremiab*, to whom they impute the Conception of the great *Cabalist Benysrab* by going into the Bath after the Prophet. I could swear that this Impertinence was contrived by some — (50).

[S] Here follows the Extract of a Memorial, which a very worthy Man has communicated to me concerning the writings for and against her Followers.] I have read there, that the Followers of *Antoinette Bourignon* are perhaps more numerous in Scotland than in any other part of the World. Some Laymen, and some Clergymen in Scotland have embraced that Sect, some who, by having been too fond of abstracted Speculations, have suffered themselves to be dazzled by the Subtilties of Mr *Poirer's Divine Oeconomy* (51) ; others, who because they were not satisfied with the present State of Things, were easily charmed by the magnificent Promises of *Antoinette Bourignon*. Inclined to Novelty, and greedy of a Change, they too hastily believed that her System would remedy the Disorders they were displeased with. It was their Desire, and therefore it was soon their Hope, and thus they bestowed many pompous Encomiums

upon that new Prophetess, who promised them such an advantageous Change, and such a noble Restoration of the Church. Two or three learned and pious Persons, who relished her Writings, encouraged the thing : Their Authority added weight to the frequent Discourses which were held on that new System ; and by often speaking of that Woman's Writings, which promised the Reformation of Faith and Manners, and that of Discipline and Worship, and which contain very sharp Censures against all sorts of People, and particularly against the Clergy, Dispositions to *Bourignonism* were sowed in People's Minds. The first thing that made a noise was the publishing an *English* Translation of one of the most considerable Pieces of our *Antoinette* in the Year 1696 (52). A very long Preface was prefixed to it, wherein the Translator maintained that she ought at least to be looked upon as an extraordinary Prophetess. *Charles Lesley*, a Man of great Merit and Learning, is the first who wrote against the Errors of Mrs *Bourignon* in Great Britain. The Books he wrote against the Quakers, have been very much esteemed, particularly his Treatise, intitled, *The Snake in the Grass, Anguis in herba*. Three anonymous Editions of it were published in two Years : in the Preface of the second Edition he took notice of the Errors of *Bourignonism* ; but he and several other Persons engaged Dr *Cockburn* to refute them more fully. That Doctor acquitted himself very well of it ; he published a Book, intitled, *Bourignonism Detected*. He proposes, and confutes the Judgment of Mr *Poirer*, Mr *de Cort*, and the *English* Translator of the *Lux Mundi*, concerning that Woman, and shews that neither their Authority nor their Reasons are sufficient to persuade that she was inspired, nor that she had received a Commission from God to reform Christianity. He has since published a Letter, wherein he justifies himself for writing on that Subject, and excuses himself for the delay of the new Relations he had promised, and answers some Difficulties. This was followed by a second Narrative printed in London, wherein having represented all the magnificent things that Mrs *Bourignon* attributed to herself, he shews that if they were true, she ought not only to be preferred before the Prophets, and the Apostles, but also before JESUS CHRIST. He believed this might be sufficient to undeceive the *Bourignonists*, and therefore he made no haste to publish the other two Relations, wherein he is to shew, I. That the Life of *Antoinette* did not answer the great Part that she pretended to act. II. That she had not the Characters peculiar to those who are raised by God. III. That there are good reasons to accuse her either of Imposture, or of Diabolical Illusion. IV. That her particular Doctrines, though veiled with a Pretence of a greater Piety, are contrary to true Piety. The *Bourignonists* of Scotland, not profiting by his writings, thought themselves obliged to write in defence of *Antoinette*, and therefore published an Apology for her, and an Answer to Dr *Cockburn's* Relations. This obliges the latter to go on in his Work, which, though chiefly designed to shew the Fanaticism of Mrs *Bourignon*, serves nevertheless to discover several other Illusions (53).

(52) That which is intitled The Light of the World.

(53) Taken from a Memorial imparted to me July 2, 1699.

(49) Allat. de patria Homeri, pag. 30. See what shall be quoted out of the Polygamia triumphatrix in the Article of LYSERUS (JOHN), the Author of that Book.

(50) Quatrième Entretien sur les Sciences secrètes, pag. 240, Paris A. M. 1670.

(51) It is a Book printed at Amsterdam, 1687, in seven Volumes in 12mo.

BOURLOTE

BOURLOTE (CLAUDIUS DE LA), a Soldier of Fortune, who raised himself by his Valour. Look for LABOURLOTE.

BOURSALT (EDMUND), known by divers Works in Verse and Prose, which have been in good Esteem, had a great share in the Affection of the Duke of Montausier. It was by his Order that he wrote a Book, in 1671, for the Education of the Dauphin. This Book is entituled *L'Etude des Souverains*, and is stored with illustrious Examples, necessary for young Princes who are to be instructed. The King was very well pleased with it, and the Duke of Montausier — recommended him to his Majesty for Sub-Preceptor to the Dauphin, and there was no other Obstacle but his want of the Latin Tongue, that kept him from so considerable Honour and Fortune (a); for it must be observed that Mr Boursault had no Knowledge of the Latin Tongue. He died in the Month of September, 1701. He was putting the last hand to a Work entituled *Esope a la Cour* (b). It is a kind of Supplement to the other *Esope*, which he had wrote (c). The Children he left are a Theatin, a Captain of Foot, and a Nun (d).

(a) Mercure Galant, of September 1701, pag. 398, 399.
(b) Id. pag. 400.
(c) Id. pag. 399.
(d) Idem.

BOXHORNIIUS, Professor at Leyden. See ZUERIIUS.

BRACHMANS, Indian Philosophers, of whom Strabo relates several things which are very singular (a). They begun so early to take care of their Scholars, that they sent learned Men to the Mother as soon as they knew that she had conceived. Those learned Men seemed to go thither to give their Blessing to the Mother and the Child, that she might have a happy time; but their chief design was to give her good Precepts. If the Mother was pleased with those Discourses, it was taken as a good Omen for the Child. As the Children grew up, they went thro' the Discipline of different Masters; as for the Brachmans they kept out of the Town in a Wood, and led a very rigid Life [A]. They slept on Hides, they eat no Fleth [B],

(a) Strab. lib. xv, pag. 490, ex Megasthenes.

nor

[A] They led a very rigid Life. It appears by a Passage of Strabo that they insured themselves to Toil; for he speaks of two Brachmans, one of whom made a Trial of Patience by lying on the ground, exposed to the Sun and Rain. The other who was younger made his Trial, by standing a whole Day sometimes on his Right, and sometimes on his left Leg, holding up a great Piece of Timber with both Hands. They were at Alexander's Court; the youngest returned home, but the other thought it better to follow that Prince, and to comply with the Customs of the Greeks (1). This was in some manner to forsake his Order. Arrianus says, that Alexander admired the Constancy of those Indian Philosophers (2). It would doubtless have been very wonderful, if they had done what Pliny ascribes to them. 'They look upon the Sun, says he (3), from it's rising to it's setting with a steadfast and unmoveable Eye, and stand all day long, sometimes on one Foot, and sometimes on another, in the hot burning Sands. Philosophos eorum quos Gymnosophistas vocant ab exortu ad occasum perficere contuentes solem immobilibus oculis, ferventibus arenis, toto die alternis pedibus insistere.' Solinus adds, that they sought great Secrets in the Sun (4). He seems to say, that it served them for a Looking-Glass to foretel things to come. It is to no purpose after this to extol and cry up such Saints as Simeon Stylites; they do not come up to those Indian Philosophers. But the Fact is almost as doubtful on one side as on the other. It looks altogether like a Fable with respect to those Philosophers, and if there was no other reason to question it than this, viz. that most of the Authors, who speak of them, do not mention that uneasy Posture, and that perpetual Contemplation, we should have sufficient ground to disbelieve it. It seems to me that standing always on one Foot, and having one's Eyes turned directly to the hottest Sun without the least winking, are such singular things, as no body will ever pass over in silence, who has a Mind to inform any Person what sort of Life those People live, who practise such extraordinary things. And consequently all those who asked any News of those Indian Philosophers, would immediately have been informed of such wonderful things. They must needs be publicly known in the Country, and are the best Part of the Story, the marvellous and rarity of the Sect, and therefore every body may and ought to acquaint Strangers with them. So that it is impossible that an Histo-

rian, who looks for Information, should not come to the Knowledge of such things; and if he knows them, he ought to make them the chief Article of his Account: he must have lost his Wits if he thinks they do not deserve to be mentioned. How comes it then that there are so many Writers, who do not say one word of them? Doubtless it is because they never heard of them; or because observing that all those who should have mentioned them, did not do it, they concluded that it was all Romance and Imposture. One may apprehend the reason why an Author may relate fabulous Stories; but one cannot apprehend why he should suppress such Truths as these. There are some cases then wherein a Negative Argument may take place; not only when it is grounded on the Silence of the greatest Number, which is our present Case. Strabo who had read many Relations, and who also cites some ocular Witnesses, says indeed, that those Philosophers suffered the excessive Heat of the Sun all the Day long, some standing, some sitting, and others lying down; and that they did not move out of their Places, till returned to the Town at Night: but he does not speak of their continual standing on one Foot, nor of their perpetual Contemplation of the Sun. Neither does Stephanus Byzantinus speak of it, though he says that the Brachmans were chiefly consecrated to the Sun. Βραχμάνων ἰδέειν οὐλον ἀνδρῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ θεοῖς φίλων, ἡλίῳ δὲ μάστιγα καὶ ὥστωμένων. Brachmanas visere homines philosophiae deditos et diis charos, soli vero praecipue dedicatos (5). — To see the Brachmans Men given to Philosophy, dear to the Gods, but chiefly dedicated to the Sun. I must observe that one of the Austerities of some Indian Philosophers was to continue a whole Day in the same posture, ἐν ὁμοίᾳ στάσει ἀκίνητον διαμένειν τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην (6). It would be a hard Penance for many Persons. See the Remark [F] of the Article GYMNOSOPHISTS.

[B] They eat no Fleth. Porphyry represents them very rigid on that Point: the Carthians do not come near them. They not only did eat nothing but Fruit and Rice; but they would have thought themselves guilty of the greatest Impiety, had they touched any Food that had had Life. Τὸ δ' ἄλλο τινὸς ἀφασθαι, ἢ ὅπως δίγειν ἐμψύχου τινος ἴσον καὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ νομιμαί (7). They were moreover very devout, and spent the greatest part of the Day and Night in singing Hymns to the Honour

OBSERVATIONS on a Case where the Negative Argument is strong.

(5) Hierocles in Philistoricis apud Stephanum de Urbibus in Βραχμάνων. See also Philostratus in vita Apoll. lib. iii.
(6) Strab. lib. xv, pag. 491.
(7) Porphyry de Abst. lib. iv.

(1) Strabo, lib. xv, pag. 491.

(2) Arrian. de expedit. lib. 7.

(3) Plin. lib. vii, cap. ii.

(4) In globo igneo rimantes scireta quaedam. Solin. cap. lii.

nor had any Commerce with Women [C]. They spent their time in fine Discourses, and communicated their Science to those who would come and hear them: But none of their Hearers was allowed to speak or to spit: Whoever did it was turned out for that Day. When a Man had been thirty seven Years in that Society, he was at liberty to leave it in order to live a more easy Life: He was then permitted to eat such Beasts as do not labour for Men, and to marry many Wives; but he was not allowed to philosophize with them [D]; for if they were bad, it was feared they would divulge the mysterious things among the profane; and if they grew better by the Lessons of their Husbands, it was feared they would live no longer under their Subjection. The *Brachmans* said, our Life ought to be considered as the State of Conception, and Death as a Birth to a true and happy Life for those who have philosophized well. They added, that the accidents of human Life are neither good nor evil, since the same things please some, and displease others, and even are agreeable and disagreeable to one and the same Person, at different times. Thus much for Morality. As to Physics, they taught several things which favoured of Folly; their main skill did not lie in that; their Actions were better than their Words, and they built a good part of their System on Fables; but otherwise they had the same Opinion as the *Greeks* in several things. They believed that the World had a Beginning, and would have an End; that it was round, and that God, who made and governed it, penetrated it every where; that the Principles of the Universe differed from each other, but that Water was the Principle of the World, and that there was a Quintessence, out of which the Heavens and the Stars were formed. They had also some Fables, like *Plato*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, the Tribunals of Hell, and such like things. It is *Strabo*, who speaks thus slightly of the greatest Truths of Religion. *Apuleius*, though he was taken for a Magician, has not so described those Doctrines of the *Brachmans* [E]. They cultivated Physic and Astronomy very much (b). *Clemens Alexandrinus* testifies that they drank no Wine, nor eat any thing that had Life, and that because they were persuaded of a new Birth, they did not value this Life (c). He looks upon them

as

(b) *Strab. ibid.*
pag. 494.

(c) Καταφρονέ-
σι δὲ θανάτου,
καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν
ἀγνοεῖται τὸ ζῆν.
πισθόνται γὰρ
εἶνα παλιγγε-
νεῖσθαι. Mor-
tem autem con-
temnunt & vive-
re nihili faciunt,
credunt enim ei-
se regeneratione-
nem. . . . They
despise Death,
and yet no value
upon Life, for they
believe there is a
new Birth. Cle-
mens Alexandr.
Stromat. lib. iii,
pag. 451.

(8) *Id. ibid.*

(9) *Bardejanes*
apud Euseb.
Præp. Evang.
lib. vi, cap. viii.

Honour of the Gods, and praying to them. Each had his Cell, and they could not abide to live in common; Κοινῇ γὰρ Βραχμῶνες μένειν ἐκ ἀνέ-
χομεναι (8). Here you see true *Carthusians* among the Pagans, and I do not even know whether they can be compared with *Cenobites*, rather than with *Anchorites*. *Bardejanes* represents them as Men free from Malice, and who thought only of God (9). They drank neither Wine nor Malt-Drink; they eat nothing that had Life; they worshiped no Images. That which is most wonderful is, that there was not a small Number of such great Saints; for there were several Thousands of them. *Credat Judæus Apella*.

[C] They had no commerce with Women.] *Suidas* speaks quite otherwise of them; what he says of them deserves to be taken notice of for its singularity. He says, that the *Brachmans* inhabit an Island of the Ocean, where the Air is so pure that they live a Hundred and fifty Years. They do not live there upon Bread and Water, but upon Water and Apples. They do nothing but pray to God. In the Months of *July* and *August* the Fruits, being then very plentiful, heat them with the Fire of Love, so that they go to their Wives beyond the River *Ganges*, and remain forty Days with them, and then return to their Island. When a Woman has had two Children, her Husband goes no more to see her; and she on her side comes no more near any Man: and if any Woman has been five Years barren, her Husband makes no farther attempt upon her; he goes no more over the Sea with the rest. This was not the way to people the Country: neither was it well peopled, as *Suidas* observes; but he should not have forgot to say that these are meer Stories and Romances forged by idle Writers. It may be they designed to make the neighbouring Nations ashamed by endeavouring to make them believe that there is a Country in the World, where People are far from being such gluttons as they. However it be, I do not think that in all the sincere Relations of Travellers there is any Country mentioned, where the Inhabitants are so chaste as the *Brachmans* spoken of by *Suidas*. There are some Sects, and some Fraternities every where, that make Profession of renouncing venereal Pleasures; but the rest of the Inhabitants laugh at that Morality, and scarce

confine themselves to any thing but to satiate their Appetites. The most savage Countries of *Africa* and *America*, the most icy parts of *Lapland*, abound with great gluttons in that Respect.

[D] They married many Wives, but were not allowed to philosophize with them.] Some would have made use of this Passage to adorn the common Topic of Women's prating, if *Strabo* had not prevented it by observing that the *Brachmans* were only afraid of the Indiscretion of bad Women. As for good Women, they only feared that as soon as they became good Philosophers, they would free themselves from the conjugal Servitude. But as all that is said of the *Indian* Philosophers swarms with Contradictions, we read in the following Page that some philosophized with Women, but in such a manner that they went not beyond Speculations; they begun and ended with the Spirit, they had nothing to do with the Flesh. Συμπρο-
λοσοφῶν δ' ἐνίοις καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεργουμένας καὶ αὐτὰς ἀρεσδισίων. Cum horum etiam nonnullis mulieres philosophari à veneris abstinentes (10).

----- Women philosophize with some of them, ab-
staining from Vener. The *Brachmans* went quite another way to work; They did not philosophize with their Wives, but endeavoured to get many Children by them. Ταυτὴν δ' ἐπιπλεῖσας εἰς πολυτέκνιαν. Quamplurimas ducere uxores multiplicandæ prolis gratia (11). ----- They marry se-
veral Wives in order to multiply their Offspring. If that Passage of *Strabo* were not so mangled as it is, we might see all the Reasons which he had given for their Conduct. Another Historian says that they philosophized also with them (12).

[E] *Apuleius* ----- has not represented the Opinions of the *Brachmans* as Fables.] These are his Words; 'Brachmanæ pleraque Philosophiæ ejus (*Pythagoræ*) contulerunt, quæ mentium docu-
'menta, quæ corporum exercitamenta, quot partes
'animi, quot vices vitæ, quæ Dii manibus pro-
'merito suo cuique tormenta vel præmia (13). ----- The *Brachmans* furnished great part of
'his (*Pythagoras*;) Philosophy, what were the pro-
'per Improvements of the Mind, what the Exer-
'cises of the Body, how many parts of the Soul,
'how many changes of Life, what Rewards or
'Torments the Dii manes had for every Man ac-
'cording to his Deserts.'

(10) *Strabo, lib.*
15, pag. 491.
See also pag. 494.

(11) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 490.

(12) *Nearchus*
apud *Strabonem*,
pag. 493.

(13) *Apul. Flo-
rid. lib. ii, pag.*
351.

[F] *Clemens*

as one of the two sorts of *Gymnosophists* (d) [F]; but it is very difficult to determine among so many contrary Relations, whether the *Brachmans* went naked or not [G]. *Lucian* calls the same *Indian Philosophers* indifferently *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists* (e). We must take care not to be deceived by his Expressions, when he says in an indefinite manner, that they burnt themselves, not by leaping into the Pile, like *Peregrinus*, but going into it with a grave pace, worthy of their Character of Philosophers [H]. If some did it, it does not follow from thence that it was one of their Customs. He observes also, that, by reason of their Sobriety, they lived a long time (f). The Treatise of *Palladius de Gentibus Indiae & Bragmanibus*, which was published at London in the Year 1665, deserves to be consulted [I]. If we had the Book that the *Brachman King* wrote in his own Language, concerning the Laws and Government of the *Brachmans* (g), it is likely we might see something very romantic in it.

The *Brachmans* subsist still in the East. The third Sect that is in vogue among the Chinese, may be called the Religion of the *Brachmans* or *Bramins*, and they call it so themselves. They are Priests who chiefly reverence three things, the God Fo, his Law, and

[F] Clemens Alexandrinus looks upon them to be one of the two sorts of *Gymnosophists*.] *Megasthenes* divides the *Indian Philosophers* into *Brachmanes* and *Germanes* (14); the first were more esteemed than the latter: Those that were most esteemed among the *Germanes* were called *Hyllobians*. The Reason of that Name was taken from their living in Woods (15). They fed only on Leaves and wild Fruits; their Garments were made of Barks of Trees; they abstained from Wine and from the Pleasures of Love. *Clemens Alexandrinus* follows the same Division of the *Gymnosophists*, only he calls the last sort *Sarmanes*, and subdivides them into *Allobians*, &c. (16). I cannot tell whether *Germanes* ought to be preferred before *Sarmanes* (17); but it is certain that the Word *Ἀλλόβιοι* is corrupted, and that it ought to be read *Ἰλλόβιοι*, as in *Strabo*. Now in order to know whether that Division is just, this question must first be decided, whether the *Brachmans* wore any Cloaths; for it is not to be doubted, that by the Word *Gymnosophists* the *Greeks* understood all the *Indian Philosophers*, who did not cover their Nakedness. See the following Remark, and the Article *GYMNOSOPHISTS*. *Ludovicus Vives* had not examined *Strabo* carefully, when he made him say, that there were two sorts of Philosophers, in *India*; that some made their abode in the Towns, and others in the Woods; that the first were called *Civil*, and were covered with Shirts and Skins; those were the *Brachmans*; and that the last were naked, or were sometimes covered with Leaves and Barks of Trees; they were called *Hermanes* and *Gymnosophists*, and from them proceeded the *Gymnosophists* of *Ethiopia* (18). This account is far from being exact. I. In the first place, when *Strabo* speaks of certain Philosophers who were called *Civil*, he means a Sect which they opposed to the *Brachmans*, and which did nothing but find fault. II. In the second place, he does not say that That Sect was divided into two Classes, but into three; that of the *Mountaineers*, that of the *Naked*, and that of the *Civil*. Lastly, he says that the last dwelt indifferently in Towns and the Country. How came *Vives* then to find out that the *Gymnosophists* of *Ethiopia* were issued from any particular *Indian Sect*, rather than from another.

[G] Among so many contrary Relations, it is difficult to determine whether they went naked or not. We have seen some of the Contradictions, that are to be found in Books concerning the *Indian Philosophers*. It is past doubt, that they had not all the same Customs: By what right should they have been uniform? Was ever such a Privilege seen any where? But this does not fully justify the Authors, who tell inconsistent things of them; for they have not denoted each Sect by their proper Name. Those, who ascribe such or such a thing to them, make use of the same general Names, as those who do not ascribe it to them. Nay, did not *Nearchus* say that *Calanus* was a *Brachman* (19)? Did not *Onesicritus* say that he had discoursed with *Calanus*, and that he found him stark naked (20). One might therefore conclude from those two Witnesses, that the *Brachmans* went

naked, and confirm it by *Megasthenes*, who reckoned among other Prerogatives of those, who left the *Brachmans* after having been Thirty seven Years among them, the liberty of wearing a Shirt (21). Yet an Author, named *Hierocles*, says the *Brachmans* wore a very singular Garment (22); it was made of Cloth of Stone, and did not consume in the Fire. *Philostrophus* in the Life of *Apollonius* says they wore flaxen Cloth (23). According to *Megasthenes*, the Philosophers, who were the most esteemed in the Sect of the *Germanes*, wore Cloaths made of the Barks of Trees. But *Cicero* says in general, that the *Indian Philosophers* go naked (24). *Hierocles* says that the *Brachmans* lay always in the open Fields (25); but *Onesicritus*, who had seen them, affirms that they came every Night into the Town. *Arianus* tell us that they spent the Summer under great Trees, and the Winter *sub dio*. Others say that each of them had his Cell (26). It may be they did not follow the same Institute in all Ages, and that, with a distinction of time, one might reconcile some of the Variations of the Authors, who have spoke of them.

[H] According to *Lucian* they burnt themselves, going into the Pile with a grave Pace worthy of their Character of Philosophers. We believe that *Jester*, they built the Pile, and stood unmoveable by it whilst the Fire roasted them. Afterwards they slept gravely and majestically into the Flames, and stirred no more than a Statue, after they had laid themselves down in the Fire (27). He opposes this way of burning ones self to that of *Peregrinus*, who threw himself into the Flames, and pretends that the Method of the *Brachmans* is much more glorious. Thus a Banterer finds some subject of Ridicule in every thing. If *Peregrinus* had imitated those *Indian Philosophers*, *Lucian* would have accused him of Irresolution; he would have said, *he hesitates, he has a mind to fortify himself by degrees; he would show more Courage if he threw himself headlong into the Fire*. See what the Baron *des Adrets* said to a Soldier who durst not throw himself down a Precipice at the first nor the second Trial (28). Let a Man turn himself all ways imaginable, he will never avoid the fatirical Stokes of such Men as *Lucian*, nor Slander in general. Read Mr de la Fontaine (29).

[I] The Treatise of *Palladius de gentibus Indiae & Bragmanibus* deserves to be consulted.] *Edward Bisseus* (30) published it in Greek and Latin at London in the Year 1665, as the *Bodleian Catalogue* has it; but I find the Year 1668, in the Title of my Copy, without any Observation of it's being a second Edition. It is likely that this Difference in the Date comes from the Booksellers, who are wont from time to time to renew the Titles of their Books. *Bisseus* added two other Treatises to that Treatise of *Palladius* (31), one of *St Ambrose, de Moribus Brachmanorum*, and the other of an anonymous Author, *de Brachmanibus*. Neither of them had ever been printed before. Those three Pieces are preceded by an exact Collection of what the Ancients have said concerning the *Brachmans*: the Testimonies of the *Greeks* are set down in their Language, and afterwards in Latin.

(d) Id. lib. i, pag. 305.

(e) *Lucian* in *satyris*, pag. 790, Tom. II.

(f) Id. in *Macrobii*, pag. 632, Tom. II.

(g) *Suidas*.

(21) Ibid. pag. 430.

(22) *Hierocles* apud *Stephanum de Urbibus in* *Βραχμανέσ*.

(23) See what *Pliny* says of the *Flax*, *Asbestos*, lib. xviii, cap. i.

(24) *Cicero*, *Tuscul. lib. v.*

(25) *Ἰεροκλῆς τὸν ἐπὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θύρου*. Sub *dio totam aetatem degunt*. *Hierocles* apud *Stephan. de Urbibus in* *Βραχμανέσ*.

(26) See Remark [B].

(27) *Lucian* de morte *Peregrini*, pag. 772, 773, Tom. II. He quotes *Onesicritus*, who had seen *Calanus* in the Flames. See the same Author in *Lucian*, pag. 700, in the same Tome.

(28) See above, Remark [B], Citation (10), in the Article *BEAUMONT*, &c.

(29) In the *Fable* of the Miller. It is the first of the third Book.

(30) *Eques Aularius & titulus Clarencl rex armorum*. Knight, and *Clarenclous King* at Arms.

(31) The same who wrote the *Historia Lausica*, and who lived in the 17th Century.

(14) *Megasthenes*, apud *Strabonem*, pag. 439.

(15) *Ζῆντρας ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις*.

(16) *Clem. Alex. andr. Stromat. lib. i*, pag. 305.

(17) *Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. iv*, divides the *Gymnosophists* into two Sects, viz. into *Brachmans* and *Sarmanes*.

(18) *Lod. Vives* in *August. de Civit. Dei*, lib. xiv, cap. xvii.

(19) *Nearchus*, apud *Strabonem*, pag. 493.

(20) Ibid. pag. 492.

G g

[K] They

(6) Charles le Gobien, a Jesuit, in his Histoire de l'Emp. de la Chine en faveur de la Religion Chretienne.

(7) Tachard, Voyage de Siam, Book iv, sub fin. pag. 241, Edit. Holl.

(8) T. Burnet, in Appen. Archæolog. Philosph.

and the Books which contain their particular Statutes (b). They have very odd Opinions about Non-entify, and their Morality has a great affinity with the Visions of our Quietists [K]. The Relation of Father Tachard shews that the Brachmans or Bramins of Bengal lead a very austere Life, that they walk bare-headed and bare-footed on their burning Sand, and that they live only upon Herbs (i). The Brachmans of Indostan have very ancient Books which they call Sacred, and which they pretend God gave to the great Prophet Brabma (k). They preserve the Language in which those Books were written, and use no other in their divine and philosophical Explications. By that means they keep them from the Knowledge of the Vulgar. They believe the Transmigration of Souls, and eat no Flesh. They say that the production of the World consisted in this, that all things came out of the Bosom of God, and that the World shall perish by the return of those same things to their first Original. A Spider serves them for an Emblem to explain that Opinion [L]. The Brachmans of Siam believe that the first Men were bigger than

[K] They have very odd Opinions about Non-entify, and their Morality has a great Affinity with the Visions of our Quietists. The Bramins assert that the World is but an Illusion, a Dream, a Deceit: and that Bodies, to exist truly, must cease to be in themselves, and be confounded with Nothingness, which by its Simplicity makes the Perfection of all Beings. Their Morality is yet more overstrained than that of our Stoics. For they carry the Apathia, or Indifference, to which they refer all Holiness, so far, that a Man must become a Stone or a Statue to acquire the Perfection of it. They do not only teach that a Wife Man ought to have no Passions, but also that he ought not to have any Desire. So that he ought continually to apply himself to desire nothing, to think on nothing, to feel nothing, and to remove all Thoughts of Virtue and Sanctity so far from his Mind, that there remains nothing in him contrary to the perfect quiet of the Soul. It is, say they, that profound drowsiness of the Mind, that Quiet of all the Powers, that continual suspension of the Senses, which makes the Happiness of Man (32): in that State he is no more subject to change; there is no more any Transmigration for him, any Vicissitude, any Fear of Things to come, because, properly speaking, he is nothing, or if he is any thing, he is Wise, Perfect, Happy, in a word, he is God, and perfectly like the God *Fo*: which certainly comes somewhat near to Folly. It is against this ridiculous Doctrine that the Chinese Philosophers display all the Strength of their Eloquence. They look upon a perfect Indifference as a Monster in Morality, and as the overturning of the civil Society (33). I omit the solid and short Refutation that follows in Father Gobien.

(32) Compare with this the Nirupan of the Siamele, of which I speak in the Article SOMMONA-CODOM.

(33) Father Charles le Gobien, in his Preface to the Histoire de l'Edit. de l'Emp. de la Chine.

(34) La Bruyere Dialogue 2, sur le Quietisme, pag. 33, & seq.

(35) Molinos Guid. spirit. Book iii, ch. xiii, apud Bruyere, ubi supra, pag. 35, 36.

(36) Madame Guyon, moien court, apud eundem, Dial. v, pag. 171.

(37) Regle des Allicees à l'enceinte de Jesus, apud eundem, ibid. pag. 172.

But I desire you to observe that this Monster of Indifference is the darling Doctrine of the Quietists, and that, according to them, one's true Felicity consists in Nothingness. Then in the threefold silence of Words, Thoughts, and Desires, finding ones self in a spiritual Sleep, in a mystical Drowsiness, or rather in a mystical Death, all the suspended Powers are recalled from the Circumferences to the Center: God, who is that Center, makes the Soul feel him by divine Touches, by a Taft, by Illapses, by unspeakable Suavities. It's Affections being thus moved, it lets them rest quietly, and finds a delicious Repose which sets it above all Delights and Extasies, above the finest Manifestations, and divine Notions, and Speculations: one cannot tell what he feels, nor what he is (34). Do not imagine that Mr la Bruyere has made any Amplification: You will see his Book supported with Proofs. You will find this Passage of Molinos in it. 'It is then that the divine Spouse, suspending it's Faculties, lulls it in a sweet and calm Sleep: It is in that Drowsiness that it enjoys with an unconceivable Calm, without knowing wherein it's enjoyment consists (35). You will find there, that a spiritual Soul ought to be indifferent to all things, either for the Body or the Soul, or for temporal or eternal Goods, and leave what is past in forgetfulness, and things to come to the Providence of God, and deny itself the present (36). And that the resignation of the Soul ought to be such as to act without any Knowledge, like one that ceases to be (37). That the Soul, feels, sees, and

knows itself no more: it sees, comprehends, and distinguishes nothing in God; there is no more Love, Light, or Knowledge (38). That that Soul, not feeling itself, is not at the trouble of seeking, or doing any thing: it remains as it is, which is sufficient. But what does it? Nothing, nothing, and always nothing (39). That the Indifference of this Lover is so great that it cannot incline towards Enjoyment, nor towards Privation. Death and Life are equal to it, and though it's Love is incomparably stronger than ever it was, yet it cannot desire Paradise, because it remains in the Hands of it's Spouse as things that are not. This ought to be the Effect of the most profound Annihilation (40). That the perfect Prayer of Contemplation puts Man besides himself, delivers him from all Creatures, makes him die and enter into the Rest of God; he is in Admiration that he is united to God, without doubting that he is distinguished from God. He is reduced to nothing, and knows himself no more: he lives and lives no more: he operates and operates no more: he is and is no more (41).

We do not want Persons in Europe, any more than in China, to confute those foolish Visions eloquently; but to the shame of our Age, and our Climate, they have found Apologists among us, who make themselves formidable. Note, That the Doctrine of the Brachmans is less dreadful in some respects than that of our Mystics; for the latter place Indifference, and the perfect Quietness, in a Transformation of the Soul into God, which they explain by the Notions of the Consummation of Marriage.

The essential Union, say they (42), is the Spiritual Marriage, where there is a communication of Substance, where God takes the Soul for his Spouse, unites it to himself, not personally, nor by any act or means, but immediately, reducing all to an Unity. The Soul ought not, nor can any more make any Distinction between God and itself: God is the Soul, and the Soul is God, since by the Consummation of the Marriage it is returned into God, and finds itself lost in him without being able to distinguish or find itself again. The true Consummation of the Marriage makes the Mixture of the Soul with it's God. The Marriage is made when the Soul finds itself dead, and expired in the Arms of the Spouse, who seeing it more disposed, receives it to Union with himself; but the Consummation of the Marriage is made only, when the Soul is so melted, annihilated, and disappropriated, that it can altogether run into it's God without any reserve. Then is made that admirable Mixture of the Creature with it's Creator, which reduces them to Unity. If any Saints, or any Authors, have established this Divine Marriage in a less advanced State than this which I describe, it is because they took the betrothing for the Marriage, and the Marriage for the Consummation (43). The Absurdity of this Doctrine as to Metaphysics is monstrous; for if there is any thing certain in the clearest Ideas, it is absolutely impossible that a real Change should be made either of God into a Creature, or of a Creature into God. Ovid, and the other Pagan Poets, were not so senseless as to mention such a Metamorphosis. What might not one say against this Cant of the Quietists, That a Soul is no more in itself, nor by itself; that

(38) Madame Guyon, in the Book of Torrents, apud eundem, ibid.

(39) The same, ibid. apud eundem, Dial. vi, p. 201.

(40) The same, Explicat. du Cantique des Cantiques, apud eundem, Dial. vi, p. 192.

(41) La Combe, analyse de l'ecartement mentale, apud eundem, Dial. vii, pag. 231.

(42) Madame Guyon, explicat. du Cant. des Cant. pag. 3, 4, apud eundem, Dial. vii, pag. 239.

(43) Ibid. pag. 14, &c. cited by La Bruyere, Dial. vii, on Quietism, pag. 239.

than those of this present time, and that they lived many Ages without any Sickness (l); and that our Earth shall be destroyed one day by Fire, and that another will come out of its Ashes, in which there shall be no Sea, nor any change of Seasons, but an eternal Spring (m). The *Brachmans* of the Country of *Coromandel* say, there are all at once several Worlds in different parts of the Universe, and that the same World is destroyed and renewed in certain periods of Time; that our Earth begun with the Golden Age, and will be destroyed by Fire (n).

(l) Tachard Voyage de Siam, pag. 39, apud T. Burnetium, ubi supra.

(m) Burnet, ibid.

(n) Id. ibid.

(44) La Bruyere, Dial. 7, pag. 261.

(45) The Abbot d'Edival, confessor, apud eund. Dial. ii. pag. 35.

(46) Madame Guyon, in the Book of Torrents, apud eund. Dial. vii. pag. 253.

(47) La Bruyere, Dial. vi. pag. 222, 223.

(48) Id. Dial. vii. pag. 255.

(49) Ibid. pag. 256.

(50) T. Burnetius, in appendice Archæol. Philol. pag. 472.

that it is relapsed and swallowed up in God by a fundamental and central Presence (44), that it admires God 'in his abyssal and supereminent Bottom' (45). Can any body forgive them, that State of Deification, wherein all is God without knowing that it is so (46), ----- that State of essential Union wherein the Soul becomes 'immutable, and has lost means' ----- that Union 'not only essential but immediate and without means, more substantial than the hypostatic Union' ----- that central Union with God, that has no need of Jesus Christ for a Mediator (47). This kind of *Eutychianism* multipliable in infinitum would appear horrible to *Eutyches* himself. But if one would excuse all these things, can any body forgive them the obscene Images they make use of, which are so proper to expose Religion, and outdo in a manner all the Licence of the ancient Heathen Poets? Can any one forgive them what they assert, that, in order to lead a Soul to the State of Death, which is a Preparation to Deification, 'God permits that the Senes should extrovert, that is to say, debauch themselves, which appears a great Impurity to the Soul. And yet the thing is reasonable, and to do otherwise is to purify ones self in another manner than God commands, and to fully ones self (48). Some faults are committed in that Extroversion, but the Confusion, which the Soul receives by it, and the Care of making use of it, make the Muck, wherein it rots the foener, and hastens its Death' (49). Can any thing be more dangerous to good Manners? It is likely I shall have some occasion to shew that the pretended essential Union of those Persons may very well be called *Seneca's Paradise*.

[L] A Spider serves them for an Emblem to explain that Opinion. See here how Dr Burnet expresses it: 'Hoc autem more Cabalistico vel Mythologico exprimitur. Fingunt enim immensam quandam Araneam esse primam rerum causam: Quæ, materia è suis visceribuseducta, hujusce universi telam contexuit, & mira arte ordinavit. Sed illa interea in arce sui operis, & cujusque partis motum sentit, regit, & moderatur. Tandem cum satis luserit in sua tela adornanda & contemplanda, retrahit, quæ evoluerat, fila, atque ita omnia reorbet in seipsam, totaque rerum creaturarum natura in nihilum evanescit. Hoc modo Mundi ortum, ordinem, & interitum, representant hodierni Brachmanes (50). ----- But this

they express in a Cabalistic and Mythological Manner. For they pretend that a certain immense Spider was the first Cause of Things: which wrought the Webb of this Universe of Matter drawn out of her own Bowels, and disposed it with wonderful Art. That she from the Summit of her Work continually observes, orders, and regulates the Motion of every Part. At last, when she has satisfied herself with the Pleasure of adorning and contemplating her Web, she gathers up the Thread she had spun, and so absorbs all again into herself, and the whole Nature of created Things vanishes. Thus the modern Brachmans represent the beginning, order, and end of the World. This Comparison of the Author of the World to a Spider, who having diverted herself with making her Web, draws in, and devours the same Threads that came out of her own Bowels, plainly represents the Doctrine of the Stoics (51). The Extravagancy of that Idea cannot be sufficiently wondered at. Physics, Metaphysics, and Morals, afford us an hundred solid Arguments to confute it: Doubtless I shall have some Occasion to touch upon this Matter. I shall only observe, here, that a Man is very excusable, when the Consideration of the Follies, which the Eastern Nations have believed for so many Ages about the Original of the World, moves him to ascribe them to the Wrath of Heaven, and raises his Astonishment at the Duration and Greatness of it. 'Miseret me quidem Terrarum Orientalium, primæ sapientum sedis, florentissimi olim bonarum literarum Emporii, à multis retro sæculis in fœdam barbariem conversarum.'

Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?

Faxit Deus, ut easdem non subeamus vices, neque retrahat iratus id luminis quo gaudemus in Occidente (52). ----- Indeed I pity the Eastern Countries, the first Seat of wise Men, once the most flourishing Men of Learning, for many Ages past fallen into abominable Barbarity.

Can Heaven such strong Resentment show?

GOD grant it may not come to our turn to do the like, and that he in his WRATH do not withdraw that Light which we are blessed with in the West.

(51) See T. Burnet, Archæol. lib. i. cap. vii. pag. 326, 327. Edit. Amstel. 1694.

(52) Id. ibid. pag. ultima.

(a) Gesner Biblioth. fol. 483, does not rank his Names right, for he places him under Lippus Brandolinus Aurelius.

(b) Taken from Michael Pocior. Florent. pag. 21. See also Ghilini, Tom. II, pag. 32, 33, who only paraphrases Pocior.

(1) König. Biblioth. vet. & nova, pag. 131.

BRANDOLINUS (AURELIUS), born at Florence in the XVth Century, was surnamed *Lippus*, from a Defluxion of Humours that ran down from his Eyes (a). That Distemper, so much an Enemy to Men of Letters, did not hinder him from becoming a very learned Man. He was a great Orator, a great Musician, and a good Poet. His Reputation being spread every where, he was invited to Hungary by King *Matthias Corvinus*, to teach the Art of Oratory, which he did many Years at Buda, and in Strigonia, with great Success. After his return to Florence he took the religious Habit of St *Augustin*, and some time after was made a Priest. He applied himself to preaching, and had every where the applause of a great crowd of Auditors. He died of the Plague at Rome in the Year 1498. He was Author of some Books which are esteemed (b) [A]. Moreri's Faults are not so considerable as his Omissions [B].

[A] He was Author of some Books which are esteemed. He put the Histories contained in the Old and New Testament into Heroic Verse. He wrote a Commentary on St Paul's Epistles; a Treatise de Lege; two Books of Christian Padoxes; a Dialogue de humanæ vitæ conditione & tollenda corporum aegritudine ad Matthiam Corvinum Regem; three Books de ratione scribendi. This last Work was very much praised by Sebastian Corradus. 'Quamvis penè cæcus, certe lippus, ex ea (Rhetorica) præcepta collegit, & à ratione dicendi ad rationem scribendi tam docte transtulit, & tam dili-

gentur accommodavit, ut verissime de eo scripserit Seb. Corradus, nihil neque majorem suorum memoria, neque sua, doctius aut elegantius in ea scriptum videri (1). ----- Though he was almost blind, at least sore eyed, he gathered Precepts from that (Rhetoric) and transferred them so learnedly from the manner of speaking to the manner of writing, and adapted them so carefully, that Sebastian Corradus said very truly of him, that there was nothing writ more learnedly or elegantly in the Memory either of his Ancestors himself. König, from whom I have these Words

Words, had not done amiss if he had told us where *Corradus* spake so; for one would never conjecture that those Words are prefixed to *Brandolini's* three Books *de ratione scribendi*, reprinted at *Basil* in the Year 1565, since Mr *König* speaks of that Edition immediately after, without saying any thing to shew that *Sebastian Corradus* was concerned in it. I shall therefore add a Passage which will serve for a Supplement to the other. 'Hoc pacto fere Lippus Brandolinus; vir suæ ætatis doctissimus, si non cæcus certe insigniter lippus, libros de ratione scribendi concinnaverat, Rhetoricen à clarissimo Hungarorum Rege Matthia Corvino evocatus, in Pannonia professus, teste Sebastiano Corrado (2), præstantis eruditionis viro.
'In like manner Lippus Brandolinus, the most learned Man of his Time, if not blind, yet certainly extremely sore eyed, writ his Books *de ratione scribendi*, when he was Professor of Rhetoric in Pannonia, whither he was invited by Matthias Corvinus, the most serene King of Hungary, as Sebastianus Corradus, a Man of extraordinary Learning, testifies. I take this from a Piece where mention is made of several learned blind Men: It is intitled, *Dissertationcula de cæcis sapientia ac eruditione claris, mirique cæcorum quorundam adio-*

nibus. You will see the Author's Name, and the Year of the Impression, in the Margin (3).

[B] Moreri's Faults are not so considerable as his Omissions.] I find but two in the Edition of Lyons 1688, the one is that *Lippus* is put instead of *Lippus*: the other is that *descript. Aug.* is put for *de Scriptor. Augustinianis*. Those two Faults are worse in the Dutch Editions; for instead of *Lippus* they have put *Lupus*, and instead of *Aug.* they have put *Angl.* This last mistake may persuade the Readers that *Elisius* and *Pamphilus* have composed some Books concerning the English Writers. I very much suspect two other Faults of Moreri. I believe he is mistaken when he says after *Miræus*, that the Treatises *de humana conditione*, *de ratione scribendi*, and *de paradoxis Christianis*, were dedicated to *Matthias Corvinus*, King of Hungary, and printed since at *Basil* in the Year 1498. The first of those two facts seems to me to be false as to the two last Treatises. Neither do I believe that the *Paradoxes* were printed at *Basil* in the Year 1498, for I see in *Gesner's Bibliotheca* that the first Impression is of the Year 1543. *Paradoxa Christiana nunc primum excusa* 1543. in 8vo. *Basileæ apud Rob. Winter* (4).

(3) Georgius Trinklhus Obrusf. Thuring. Gymn. Rathen Gerani Contrictor, in dissertationcula de cæcis sapientia ac eruditione claris, &c. fol. B 2. It was printed at Gera, in the Year 1672, in 4to.

(4) Gesner, Biblioth. fol. 483.

(2) Epistola ad S. P. Q. Rheginensem tribus Brandolini libris ab Operino excusis præmissa.

(a) See the Preface to his Commentary upon the Aphorisms of Hippocrates in Gesner Biblioth. fol. 62.

(b) Gesner takes notice of the *Basil Edition*, in *Folio*, of 1542. See his Biblioth. fol. 62.

(c) Gesner, ibid.

(1) In pag. 78.

(2) See Simleri Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri, p. 63, Edit. Tigurinae An. 1583, in *Folio*.

(3) Joubert Erreurs populaires, liv. 1, chap. 18, pag. 39.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 40.

(5) In Jovianus Pontanus, lib. vi, de Sermonibus, cap. 17, pag. 1727.

BRASAVOLUS (ANTONIUS MUSA), Physician and Professor at *Ferrara*, flourished before the middle of the XVIth Century; he taught Logic eight Years, and Natural Philosophy nine Years, in the University of *Ferrara*; after which he applied himself to the Explication of the Theory of Physic (a). The Commentaries which he wrote on the Aphorisms of *Hippocrates* (b) were well esteemed. He wrote several other Books on the Nature of Medicines, and the Method of preparing them [A]. He used the Form of a Dialogue between himself and an old Apothecary. His Style is clear and simple, and without any affectation of Ornament (c). He was very impertinently introduced by *Laurence Joubert*, in the Story of a Buffoon [B]. His Work on the Pox was judged very contemptible by *John de Renou*, a French Physician [C]. *Jerom Brasavolus* his Son was a Physician, and published something [D].

[A] He wrote several other Books on Medicines, and the Method of preparing them.] His *Examen omnium Simplicium quorum usus est in Publicis Officiis* was printed at *Rome* in the Year 1536, in *Folio*; and at *Lyons* in 1544, 8vo. You will find in *Lindinius Renovatus* (1) the different Editions of the *Examen omnium Symplicum, Linæum, Pulverum, Electuariorum, Confessionum Catbarticarum, Catapotiorum, vel Pitularum, Theracisicorum, Unguentorum, &c.* The Epitome of the *Bibliotheca* of *Gesner* gives the Titles of several other Works of *Brasavolus*, whether they had been printed, or not printed at that time (2). I have mentioned one in the Remark [D] of the Article GONZAGUE (LUCRETIA).

[B] He is very impertinently introduced by *Laurence Joubert* in the Story of a Buffoon.] *Joubert* says, that *Alphonse Duke of Ferrara* having asked of what Trade there were most People; *Gonelle* his Buffoon laid a Wager with him that there were more Physicians than other sort of People (3). He feigned the next day that he had got the Tooth-ach, and set down in his Table-book every one that told him a Remedy: the Duke was put in the List, for he had said to *Gonelle*, I know a thing that will put thee immediately out of pain though the Tooth be decayed; Mr Antonio Musa Brasavolo, my Physician, never uses a better. Do so and so and you will be immediately well (4). I omit the rest; you may find it in the Collections of *Jests*; I only say that *Joubert* was not well acquainted with the date of the Fact: it was before the time of *Brasavolus*, and of *Alphonse Duke of Ferrara*. This *Gonelle* was Buffoon to *Nicolas d'Est*, Marquis of *Ferrara*, and we read all the Story in a Writer of this kind of Stories; they are carried from Age to Age, and from Country to Country; but an exact Author ought to keep to the Source.

[C] His Work on the Pox was judged very contemptible by *John de Renou*, a French Physician.] I beg leave to recite the very Words of his Translator; they have not the Politeness of the present time, but every Age has its manner. I do by no means approve that this Author should out of spite forget Modesty, spite I say to see that the *Italians*

call the Pox the French Disease. 'It is a Distemper, says he (5), which 'till the Year 1493 was entirely unknown in Europe; the Italian Companies and Servants of *Christopher Columbus* brought it from the *Indies* about that time, and communicated it presently to the Women of *Italy*, who prostituting themselves to our French during the Siege of *Naples*, they infected immediately all that had to do with them: whence it followed that the French, after they had taken the City of *Naples*, returning home in confusion gave this Distemper also to a great number of other Italian Women, which they lay with here and there in diverse places of *Italy*, who also communicated it to their Husbands, being willing to acquit themselves of their matrimonial Duty. . . . At which the *Italians*, being extremely enraged at the French Nation, have, out of spite, and to revenge themselves for the Affront, called the Disease of *Naples* the French Disease. So that the Titles of the Books, which they have since wrote on that Subject, carry in them the Vengeance of their Courage, and the disorderly Life of their Wives, which makes me believe also that *Brasavolus* finding himself touched, as it were by Tradition, with the Injury of his supposed Predecessors, (I say supposed because possibly from the Spawn of some Frenchman) has wrote a certain little Book on the French Disease, in which he makes Two hundred and thirty four sorts of it; but I believe that the good Man doted when he writ the Book, or else he was willing that Posterity should know, that at the first Bout which our Frenchmen had with his Relations and Neighbours, there were Two hundred and thirty four of them done over; and for as much as they never were so well matched as then, he thought it was his Duty to leave us these eternal Memorials to raise our Frenchmen's Appetites to return thither again, and when they were there, to do the like Favour to all the Women they could meet with.' How flat and ridiculous this!

[D] JEROM BRASAVOLUS, his Son ----- published something.] An Exposition on the first Book of *Hippocrates's Aphorisms*, printed at *Ferrara*,

(6) Jean de Renou Antidotaire, liv. II, cap. xxi, pag. 602, in *Leurs de Serres's French Translation*, printed at *Lyons*, in 1637, in *Folio*.

(7) See Lindnerus Renovatus, pag. 113.
(8) Pag. 78.

Ferrara, in 1595, in 4to, and a Treatise *De Officiis Medicis*, printed at the same Place, in the Year 1590 (7), and in the Year 1599, in 4to. I find in Lindnerus Renovatus (8), *A Commentary on the first Aphorism of Hippocrates*, printed at Fer-

rara in 1594, and attributed to *Antonius Musa Brasavolus*. I rather think it is a Treatise of *Jerom Brasavolus*, as it is said to be in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.

(a) He is called Braunius in the Epitome of the Bibliotheca of Gieser, pag. 265, and Brauns in the Athenae Belgicae of Swertius, pag. 269. Note, the Bodleian Catalogue makes of this Mantua Authors, George Braun and George Braunius.

BRAUN (GEORGE), in *Latin Braunius* (a), Archdeacon of *Dortmund*, and Dean of our Lady in *Gradibus* at *Cologne*, lived 'till the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He published a *Latin Oration against the Priests that kept Concubines*, in the Year 1566. He wrote also the *Life of Jesus Christ*, and that of the *Holy Virgin*, and a Treatise of Controversy against the Protestants [A], which was printed at *Cologne* in the Year 1605 in 8vo; but his principal Work is the *Theatrum Urbium*, in several Volumes in Folio (b). He was at *Antwerp* at the time of the Insurrection of the People, on the thirteenth of March 1567, and relates how the Lutherans joined with the Catholics to resist the Calvinists (c). All the Accounts of that dreadful Action agree as to that Union. I shall extract from his Work of Controversy some Facts, which relate to the establishment of Lutheranism in the City of *Dortmund* [B], and to the Variations of the Confession of *Augsburg* [C].

(b) Swertii Athenae Belgicae, pag. 269.

(c) Braunius in Catholicorum Tremonensium Defensione, fol. 218, verso.

[A] He wrote a Treatise of Controversy against the Protestants. This is the Title, *Catholicorum Tremonensium adversus Lutheranicam ibidem factionis Praedicantes Defensio: in qua legitimae rationes & causae explicantur ob quas Catholicae Ecclesiae in qua nati, Christo initiati & educati, confessione deserta, Augustanam assumere & profiteri nequeant*. The Occasion which determined George Braun to publish this Work was, that the Magistrates of *Dortmund* (*Tremonia* in Latin), an Imperial City of the Circle of *Westphalia*, and the Diocese of *Cologne*, made a Decree the seventh of October 1603, that all the Inhabitants, who would not subscribe to the Confession of *Augsburg*, should be deprived of Liberty of Conscience. Braun urged ten reasons against this Decree. I shall touch a little of the first, because they are historical Points, of which the Readers, whatever dislike they may have to Controversy, may be glad to be informed.

[B] I shall extract from his Book of Controversy some facts, which relate to the Establishment of Lutheranism in the City of *Dortmund*. The Author represents to the Lutheran Ministers, that they ought to remember the first Step which their Ancestors took to introduce their Faith into the City of *Dortmund*. It was to present a Petition to the Magistrate, by which they humbly desired Liberty of Conscience, the Communion in both kinds, and a particular Chapel in the Parish Church, without pretending to give the least Disturbance in the World to the Catholic Religion, the public Exercise whereof was established in all the Churches of the City. And promising further, to live in submission to their Superiors, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, who were then of the *Roman Communion*. A Chapel was allowed them where they might communicate in both kinds. Some time after they obtained one of the Parish Churches, and the Liberty of singing in German. The Preacher who officiated there banished the Mass. He had been a Monk, he drew a great Number of Auditors, and succeeded so well that he established Lutheranism in all the other Parishes except that of *St Nicolas*; but that also fell some time after into the Power of a Lutheran Minister (1) who preached violently against the Priests. The Author observes that at the time of the Treaty of *Passau* (2), and a little after the Peace of the Religion had been concluded (3), there was no other than the *Romish Religion* prevailed in the City and County of *Dortmund*, but that it was suppressed there, and Lutheranism established by public Authority in the Year 1582, when the principal Magistrates and Patricians were absent on account of the Contagion, those who would oppose the Novelty proving to be the weaker Side. When the Confession of *Augsburg* was thus publicly authorized, it was not hard for the Ministers to fix it, and make it triumph throughout the whole City, till they had obtained the Decree I have mentioned (4). The Author compares the Conduct of the Lutherans in this Affair to a Wedge, the thinnest Part of which being once entered into a piece of Wood serves by little and little to introduce the thickest parts till the Wood be quite split. 'Talem procedendi modum amplexi estis, quem cuneo, cum Stanislao Hosio, comparo.

(1) Named Herman Emblinghoff.

(2) In 1552.

(3) In 1555.

(4) Ex Georgii Braunii Casus primus, pag. 3, etc.

ravero. Is prima parte tenuis, ita ut in lignum impactus magnam ligni disruptionem non videatur esse facturus; & tamen prima hac sua tenuitate aditum facit sequenti crassitie, adeo ut cum prima pars illa admittitur & recepta fuerit, sensim ac paulatim sequentia crassiora admittantur, donec solidum lignum penitus decussum disruptumque fuerit. Hujus cunei primam ac tenuiorem partem, apud vos Tremonenses, primam supplicationem ac petitionem vestram dixero, qua Calicem separatim in unicum tantum sacellum introduxistis. Is receptus, altera pars cunei crassior, tantum Germanicum & unius Parochiae occupationem extorsit, ex qua novus novi verbi Minister ac Praedicans legitimum Evangelicae Legis ac Catholicae sacerdotium ac iuge sacrificium sustulit, pedetentim, juxta Lutheri vaticinium, progrediendo (5). ----- You have taken such a Method of proceeding, as I, with Stanislao Hosius, will compare to a Wedge, that is thin at the first end, so that when it is driven into a Piece of Wood it does not seem as if it would make any great Rupture, and yet by it's thinness at first it makes way for the following thickness, so that when the first part is admitted and received, the following thick parts are insensibly, and by little and little, admitted, till the whole Timber is intirely rent and torn in pieces. The first and thin part of this Wedge, amongst you of Dortmund, I call your first Supplication and Petition, by which you introduced the Cap, separately, into one Chappel only: that received, the other thicker part of the Wedge extorted singing in German, and the Possession of one Parish, from which the new Minister and Preacher of the new Word took away the lawful Priesthood, and pure Sacrifice of the Evangelical and Catholic Law, proceeding, step by step, according to the Prediction of Luther.

(5) Braunius, ibid. pag. 4.

It is certain, that one of the Pretenses of those who oppose new Religions, is to say that we must not trust the Humility which appears in the respectful Demands which they make at first to be barely tolerated. That it is the Language of a Man who will enter like a Fox, and reign like a Lion, and that they have a Zeal which has an extraordinary Resemblance to Ambition. A private Man, who is ambitious, will be content at first to be advanced five or six steps, soon after he will desire as much more. And then he would be equal to his Principals, and afterwards surpasses them. A new Sect seem as if they would think themselves very happy if they obtain only Liberty of Conscience, but after a few Months that will not suffice them, they desire to be admitted to some Offices, and afterwards to share half the Government; and lastly, to be Masters, and will not allow the rest what they obtained of them by favour (6). Those who take literally the Command of *JESUS CHRIST* *Compelle intrare, Compel them to come in*, imagine that nothing is more justifiable than that Conduct; but it has been shewn that they are grossly mistaken, and that they expose Christianity to the just Detestation of all the World (7).

(6) I have recited, in Remark [C], of the Article A.B.B.A.S., the Words of Charles IX.

Most of the other Reasons of *George Braun* are taken either from the Divisions, which prevailed among the Sectaries, or from the Confession, which

(7) See the Philosophical Commentary upon Compel them to come in, Part I, chap. v.

H h

several Ministers had made, that the new Reformation had augmented the Disorders of Mankind; he cites a great deal: I know not whether he cites faithfully, but what he cites has been a thousand and a thousand times objected by the Roman Catholics: and Answers have not been wanting.

[C] — And to the Variations of the Confession of Augsburg.] It is the Subject of the fourth reason of George Braun. He says, I. That the Original German, and the Original Latin of the Confession of Augsburg, presented to the Emperor, and to the Diet of the Empire, in the Year 1530, differ both as to the Words and Sense in almost every Article (8). II. That Melancthon printed it in Latin and German, at Wittenberg, in the beginning of the Year 1531, but that he varied from the Original, especially with regard to the tenth Article, which relates to the Holy Supper. III. That in the same Year, in the same City, and in the same Printing-House, Luther and Melancthon got two Editions printed in Latin, one in 4to, the other in 8vo, which were extremely unlike both as to the Terms and the things. IV. That the Edition in Quarto admits Transubstantiation, and proves it by the Canon of the Greek Mass, and by Theophylact, but that the Edition in 8vo contains nothing of that, and that for that reason Hespeus, Pappus, and other Lutheran Preachers reject the Edition in 4to, and condemn it as Popish. V. That the German Editions, made under the Direction of Melancthon at Wittenberg in the Year 1531, and at Nuremberg in the Year 1532, differ from the Original, and from the two first Latin Editions, in several Points. VI. That every time the Confession was put to the Press, Alterations were made in it. VII. That he was blamed for it by the rigid Lutherans, as appears by the Conference of Altembourg, where they enquired which was the true Confession of Augsburg, and which was spurious, where the Partisans of Melancthon acknowledged that, with the Consent of Luther, in 1538, in 1540, and in 1541, he had altered, corrected, and augmented the Confession, and the Apology for the Confession. VIII. That after the Death of these two Heads of the Party, they continued making Alterations in the Confession of Augsburg till the Year 1580, and that the Lutherans knew nothing of any Edition conformable to the original German, and the original Latin. IX. That they began to open their Eyes, and not being able to find the true Original in the Cabi-

nets of their Ministers, they desired of the Archbishop of Mayence the original German, which had been presented to the Diet of the Empire, in the Year 1530, and was kept in the Chancery of the Empire, and that having obtained it they at last published in the German Tongue, for the first time, the true and genuine Confession of Augsburg in the Year 1580. 'Germanicum ejus originale, quod Moguntiae in Cancellaria Imperii inter acta comitiorum Augustanorum ab anno 1530, usque ad eum ipsum annum 1580, delitescens cum blattis & tinea rixabatur, ab Archiepiscopo & Electore Moguntino emendicantur, ac tum primum genuinam Germanicam Confessionem integra fide excusam publicantur (9).' X. That the Latin Apology, according to the Original, was not published till 1587, as we learn from David Chytreus, who had the Care of it. XI. That the Latin Confession, and the German Apology, as they were presented to the Emperor, with the German Confession in the Year 1530, at the Diet of Augsburg were never yet printed (10). I shall make a small Remark on the tenth Fact. David Chytreus has inserted in the Work cited by Braun, that is to say, in the History of the Confession of Augsburg, the true and unspurious Apology, according to the first Impression by George Rheu at Wittenberg in the Year 1531. Now this Work of David Chytreus was printed before the Year 1587; for I have the French Version of it, printed at Antwerp in the Year 1582. I know not whether David Chytreus, after he had published the Original of that Version, published a second Edition in the Year 1587, in which he inserted the Apology according to the first Manuscript of Melancthon; if so, there is nothing to be said against George Braun.

Observe, that Luke le Cop, who translated that Work of Chytreus into French, and was Member of the Lutheran Church at Antwerp, observes in his Epistle Dedicatory, that the Confession of Augsburg as it was translated into French, and afterwards printed some where in the Year 1566, is so disguised that it ought not to be acknowledged for what the Title imports. Observe also, that the Bishop of Meaux has taken a great deal of Pains to set forth the Alterations of the Lutheran Confession, and the Apology (11); but I do not believe that he advances all the Facts which Braunius has recited. Hospinian, who has given a very large detail of that Matter (12), was the Bishop of Meaux's Original.

BRAUNBOM (FREDERIC) (a), a Protestant Author, and a German, published in 1613, with great Ostentation, a Book, which he thought full of new Discoveries, on the Explication of the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament [A]. He determined all the Periods of the Reign of Antichrist; his Birth, his Youth, the highest pitch of his Strength, the beginning of his Decline, his decrepit Age, and his Death. By his account Antichrist was born in the Year 86, and he was in the state of Adolescence in the Year 376, at the Age of Manhood in 636, in the highest Prosperity in the Year 711; he begun to decline in 1086, his Decay, and the Adolescence of the Reformed Church, fell in the Year 1376; the decrepit State of the former, and the full Strength of the latter, was to happen in the Year 1636. Antichrist was to die in the Year 1640, and the end of the World

[A] He published -- a Book which he thought full of new Discoveries on the Explication of the Prophecies of the old and new Testament.] The Title of this Book is *Florum Flaminiorum Romanensium, Bapalium sive Papalium Decas una, inter quas inspersae Notae Anafceasticae in disputationem Martini Becani Antiesuidae Moguntini de Antichristo reformato, una cum Chronologia totius sacrae Scripturae nova, absoluta, &c. Hanoviae 1613* (1), in 4to. 'I dare affirm, says he, that I clear up certain Things which were not known before, that I prove the Truth of Propositions which others had advanced; that I correct Falsities, that I settle what was before uncertain (2); the first Reformers, continues he, understood not the Revelation. Neither Daniel himself, nor the Angel which instructed him, nor the Soul of Jesus CHRIST, understood the Numbers of this Prophet. Liber Apocalypsis non est intellectus initio reformationis aut parum pro evangelico habitus, & sinistra illa veterum suspicio de hoc sacro volumine antiquata est & sublata per Ecclesiam. Verum id qui-

dem, sed primipilis nostris suspecta erat Ecclesia, nec injuria, licet hoc non in loco (3). -- Non Daniel ipse, non Angelus Danielis instructor, non anima Salvatoris plena Sapientia, numeros Danielicos intellexit, quia non curavit, nondum enim tempus, nec ideo Apostolis curandi (4). -- The Book of Revelations was not understood in the beginning of the Reformation, or hardly taken for Canonical, and the Suspicion of the Ancients in prejudice of this sacred Volume is removed by the Church. That is true indeed, but the Church was suspected by our first Leaders, and not without cause, though in this place. -- Daniel himself, nor the Angel who instructed him, nor the Soul of our Saviour, who had the Fulness of Wisdom, understood Daniel's Numbers, because he did not take notice of them, for it was not yet time for him, and therefore not for the Apostles to take notice of it.' This nevertheless is what our Author boasts he has explained clearly and with all the Success in the World (5).

[B] Here

(8) Braunius Defensio Catholicorum Tremonensium, pag. 55, 56.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 91.

(10) Taken from the Defensio Catholicorum Tremonensium of Braunius, pag. 55, &c.

(11) See Tom. I. of his Histoire des Variations in the Places referred to in the Table of matters under the Word Augsburg.

(12) See Tom. II. of his Historia Sacramentaria.

(a) And not French, as in Konig.

(1) The Bibliotheca of Draudius observes, pag. 166, of the Edition of Hanau, apud Haeredes Aubrianos, 1615, in 4to, and pag. 459, Edit. of Francfort, apud Weckelianos, 1618, in 4to. Observe, that that of 1613 is printed at Hanau.

(2) Braunius, pag. 9, apud Contzen in Tractatu cui Titulus de Haereseon incrementis.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 22, apud eundem, pag. 55.

(4) Id. pag. 27, 28, apud eundem pag. 558.

(5) See fine peremptorio successu, pag. 5, apud eundem, pag. 558.

World should be in the Year 1711. We shall see below some other Particulars of that Work [B]. It is not necessary to observe that *Braunbom* applies to the Papacy, whatever he found in the Scripture concerning Antichrist and the great Whore :
I shall

[B] Here are some other Particulars of that Work. We find there a new beginning of the Christian Era; the Author was so pleased with the Invention that he exhorts all Christians to bless God for it: *Gaudete mecum & laudate Deum quoties estis Christiani: inveni Annum Nativitatis Christi qui perierat* (6). This fine Discovery conflicts in placing the Nativity of our Saviour ten Years sooner than it is commonly placed, and by this he is obliged to say that JESUS CHRIST was baptized in the fifth Year of *Tiberius*, notwithstanding *St Luke* places it in the fifteenth Year of that Emperor (7). He remedies this by supposing, that *St Luke* reckons from the time that *Tiberius* was made Colleague of the Emperor; he founds his new Chronology on five Arguments; I shall not recite them, nor the Answers that have been made to them (8).

(6) *Id. apud eundem*, pag. 558.

(7) *Luke iii. 1.*

(8) *The Jesuit Contzen refuted him in a Book quoted above*, Cist. (2).

(9) He that is mentioned in the Book of Judges, chap. iii. who killed the King of Moab.

(10) Contzen, de Hæreson, incremento, pag. 556.

The Title of his fifth Chapter of the tenth Book is *Mandatum divinum de Pontifice evertendo*. --- A Commandment from GOD to ruin the Papacy. He affirms in this Chapter that every Protestant has received a public Order, like that which *Ehud* (9) received in private: *Ubi publicum præceptum habere omnes Calvinistas asserit quale Ehud habuit privatum & ne desit concitandæ seditioni verba Apoc. xvi. 4, 5, 6, 7, Germanicè recitat. Omnia igitur supplicia irrogare jubet, exurere, carnes edere, nullum supplicium nimium putare* (10). 'Where he asserts that all the Calvinists have a public Command, such as *Ehud* had a private one, and that he may not want Words to stir up Sedition, he recites in German the xviii. of *Revelations*, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, Verses. Therefore he commands them to exercise all Punishments, to burn them, to eat their Flesh, and think no Torture too great.' I leave you to judge whether the Jesuit who answered him spared him on these sanguinary Notions. See below Remark [C] towards the end. He made an Objection to his Hypothesis that Popery should perish in 1641. 'The Protestant Princes may then, says he, spare their Preparations for War, since the Pope is not to perish 'till 1641, and then he will necessarily perish: It is then a foolish piece of Work in Mr du Plessis to exhort the King of England to equip a Fleet to go and destroy Rome.' 'Hoc monere amicè possum & debeo, periculo, sumptu, labore bellandi posse superfedere Principes adversæ Religionis; non enim nisi anno 1641 morietur Pontifex & certè tum morietur. Militari itaque soliditate Plessæus Sereniss. Magnæ Britannæ Monarcham hortatur, classem instruat, naviget Italiam, Romam exurat, Pontificem mactet, carnes edat: præmatura sunt vetuli militis consilia, nam ut vita in Annum 1641 suppetat Regi serenissimo & Plessæo, 37 annorum bellum in Italia sustinere tres Insulæ queant, meriti dubitare posse videntur Proceres Britannii' (11). --- This I may and ought to advise them, friendly, that the Princes of the contrary Religion may spare the Danger, Expence, and Trouble of making War, for the Pope will not die 'till the Year 1641, and then he will certainly die; therefore it is a piece of military Folly in du Plessis to exhort the most serene King of Great Britain to fit out a Fleet, sail to Italy, burn Rome, kill the Pope, and eat his Flesh: the Counsel of the old Soldier is a little too hasty; for suppose the most serene King and du Plessis should live to the Year 1641, yet there is some Reason for the British Lords to doubt whether the three Islands can bear a Thirty seven Years War in Italy.' This Objection is of no Force; for, I. In the first place, neither the Princes who were preparing for War, nor Monsieur du Plessis Mornai, who animated them to it, did rely on the Visions of our *Braunbom*. II. In the second place, there could be nothing more likely to persuade them to make Preparations for War, than the Opinion that Popery should come to an end in the Year 1641. There is nothing animates Persons more than an Assurance that an Enterprize will succeed. No body imagined that Popery would fall by it's own Cra-

(11) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 581.

zels, without some external Force to give it a hard Shock; they imagined on the contrary, that in order to execute the Predictions with more Expedition, they ought to employ all human means, and commonly it is the end and design of those who ballot the Numbers of the Apocalypse, and at last fix the time for Revolutions, to encourage Princes to undertake War. Some give no Credit to the Explications which they themselves publish; they print them only to serve for a Spur to ambitious Princes. Others believe them, but in such a manner, that they become thereby more ardent and active to move all the Springs of the human Passions, and all the Machines necessary for the Execution of great Designs; few People trust Providence less than they, who boast that they have fathomed the depth of his Decrees, and the Riddles of the Prophets.

I believe that many Persons, who made no great Account of *Braunbom's* Prophecies when they first appeared, changed their Opinion when *Gustavus Adolphus* had subdued so many Towns in Germany. They thought it very probable that Popery would be in it's decrepit Estate in the Year 1636, and that it would fall intirely in the Year 1641. And thus they conceived a particular Esteem for the Writer; but that vanished in two or three Years after. They had begun to think that *Gustavus* would be another *Alaric*, and another *Totila*, who would destroy Rome, and execute upon the Pope the Menaces of so many Commentators on the Apocalypse. His Death in 1632, and the Victory gained by the Imperialists at *Norlingen*, in the Year 1634, dissipated all these fine Imaginations. If *Braunbom* had chosen the Year 1632, instead of the Year 1636, he would not have been so far beside his Mark; for not only in Germany, but also in the Spanish Netherlands, the Protestants became Masters of several Cities in the Year 1632; but that still was not a Reduction of Popery to a decrepit State. The Protestants took Cities, but made no Converts. The number of Roman Catholics diminished but little; a Controvertist took notice of this to Mr du Moulin, who had wrote to *Balzac* during the Conquests of *Gustavus*, that the Reformed Religion made very great Progress in the Netherlands and Germany. 'De Belgio equidem suadeo, ne Molinæus plus nimio gloriatur; nam est potius sint Batavi non ita pridem Sylva Ducis, Ruemunda, Trajecto, & Limburgo, attamen plurimi & præcipui avitæ Religionis sunt retinentissimi, & dummodo excipiantur advenæ & milites,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,

dum hæretica fit Concio. Leodii propinquâ urbe habito, neque rem incognitam scribo. Item ea pars Germaniæ, quam Sueci & principes cum iis fœderati ad Rhenum & ad Mosenum occupaverunt, Hæresum verius dixerim patitur quam proficitur (12). --- As to the Low Countries, I advised du Moulin not brag too fast; for though the Dutch have lately got Boisdud, Roërmund, Maelricht, and Limburg, yet most, and the better sort, of the People stick very close to their old Religion, and, except only the Strangers and Soldiers,

(12) *Silvester, à Petra Sancta, in Notis in Epist. Molinæi ad Balzacum*, pag. 73. Edit. Antwerp. An. 1634.

They here and there are floating seen

in the heretical Assemblies. I dwell at Liege, a Town just by, and so do not write a thing that I am not acquainted with; likewise that part of Germany, which the Swedes, and the Princes in Alliance with them, have conquered on the Rhine and the Maine, may rather be said to suffer than to profess Heresy. Besides, *Braunbom* did not believe that That Ruin of Antichrist was to happen without the Assistance of a powerful Confederacy. These four Verses he used to sing upon the Subject:

Dalmata

I shall observe that he published his Work the same Year that, according to other Divines, the World was to be at an end [C]. This furnishes me with a Digression against

Dalmata & Englandus, Francus, Germanus, & Illyr,
Hi venient Romam dilaniare suam.
Quid facient Italus, Lusitanus? quid, nisi plangent
Emptricem mercis dispersisse suæ (13).

(13) Braunbom,
apud Contzen de
Hæreson Incre-
mento, pag. 610.

From England, Istria, Germany, and France,
And from Dalmatia shall the People flock,
And each Man raise his Share of bated Rome,
Whilst Italy and Portugal bewail
The Fall of her who purchas'd all their Wares.

I know not whether he lived long enough to be witness of the Falsity of his Prediction in relation to the Death of Antichrist, but I believe, that if he was alive in the Year 1637, he continued as bold as ever; for it is very common for those, who are rash enough to take too short a Term, to make it up with Assurance, and some frivolous Subterfuge, when they find themselves contradicted by the Event. He was wiser as to the end of the World; he put that off to a time he knew very well he should not live to (14).

(14) Compare
this with what
Mr de Bauval
says in his Histoi-
re des Ouvrages
des Savans, June
1702, pag. 252.

[C] He published his Work the same Year, in which, according to other Divines, the World was to be at an end. They thought that because all the Letters of the word *Judicium* are numeral, and make 1613, that the last Judgment would be in the Year 1613. 'Nostrum hoc seculo ex vocali *JUDICIUM*, in quo omnes literæ sunt numerales, non pauci collegerunt anno 1613 *judicium ultimum* & universale futurum, eoque videtur D. Menzerus etiam Theologus Giesiensis celeberrimus, & ab omni quidem Fanaticismo prorsus alienus, collimasse in Dedicatione Exegetico Augustanæ Confessionis quam hinc voluit claudere verbis: Anno a nato Christo millesimo sexcentesimo decimo tertio quem enumerat vox jam olim omnia *JUDICIUM* (15). — In our time from the word *JUDICIUM*, in which all the Letters are numeral, several have concluded that the last universal Judgment should come in the Year 1613; and D. Menzerus, a noted Divine of Gießen, and intirely free from any Fanaticism, seems to have alluded to that in his Dedication of the Exposition of the Confession of Ausburg, which he hath closed with these words: In the Year of CHRIST, One thousand six hundred and thirteen, which is the Number contained in the ominous word *JUDICIUM*. A fine Reason indeed! those who built upon it deserved at least to live till 1614, on condition that they would humble themselves at the Sight of their Error.

(15) Andr. Car-
olus Memoir.
Ecclesiast. Sæculi
xvii, lib. ii, cap.
xi, pag. 321.

What is surprizing is, that the ill Success of an infinite Number of Commentators on the Apocalypse, does not hinder others from falling into the same Temerity (16). We see that it is a Den like that of the sick Lion; a great many go there, but no body comes back, that is, with the Treasure they went to seek: ought not they to have remembered the Fox in *Æsop*.

(16) See the Ar-
ticle STIPHENE-
LIUS.

Olim quod Vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
Respondit referam: quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum (17).

(17) Horat. Epist.
i, lib. i, ver. 73.

My Answer must be what fly Reynard said
To the sickly Lion, I'm afraid
Great King of Beasts, for all the Treads, I see,
Are to thy Den, none back, that frightens me.

CREECH.

Ought not one to take good care not to come into that Cavern, where so many have been, and returned without the Sybilline Branch, without the Information expected? Notwithstanding, the Voyage is as often undertaken as ever, and no regard paid to those, who represent that there is no Return from thence; that it is like the Grave, and cry with all their Might, you are going

----- per iter tenebricosum,
Illuc, unde negant
Redire quenquam (18).

(18) Catal. Epi-
gram. iii.

A dark and gloomy way unto the Place,
From whence no Traveller returns.

They embark every Day on this Sea, as if it were not noted for thousands of Shipwrecks.

A Minister of Rotterdam published in 1686, *An Accomplishment of the Prophecies*, in which he gave out, among other things, that what *Joseph Mede* said, that the Duration of the corrupt should be 1260 Years, and that the Duration of the pure Church was to be 360, seemed to him inspired (19). *Joseph Mede* adds, that we may begin these 360 Years, I. Either from the Birth of JESUS CHRIST; II. Or from the Time of his Passion; III. Or from the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem; IV. or lastly, From the Time that St John prophesied (20). Which ever Account we take, the Minister of Rotterdam owns, that the Business answers very well as to the Epoche of Antichristianism (21); but nevertheless, the first Calculation and the second have proved false; for Antichristianism, which, according to the first Calculation, was to have ended in the Year 1620, and according to the second in 1653 or 1654, was still in being in 1686 (22). And since it subsists at the time when I write this in the Year 1702, the third Calculation, by which it was to end in 1690, was no better than the two first. The Minister suspected it. 'It does not appear, says he (23), that things are ripe, at this Day, for so great an Event; we must not imagine that the Empire of Antichrist and Idolatry will fall so easily, and be destroyed in four or five Years.' He fixes upon the fourth Calculation, and gives it for true; from whence he concludes, that the Reign of Antichrist will end in the Year 1710, or in some of the Years following to the Year 1714 (24); so he expresses himself in Page 22; and there are his Words in Page 28. 'We will place the approaching Fall of the Empire of Antichrist in the beginning of the XVIIIth Century. I believe it would be difficult to pitch upon the precise Year; for God in his Prophecies is not so exact, a few Years under or over make no difference; yet we may say that it ought to happen between the Year 1710, and the Year 1715 (25). This Empire, says he in Page 33, was born about the Year 450; it will die about the Year 1710, just 1260 Years after its Birth. This may happen sooner; for the Roman Empire under *Valentinian*, whom I reckon the last of the Roman Emperors, was already very much dismembered; but I do not see that it can go any farther, unless perhaps to the year 1714, to reckon the 1260 Years from the Death of *Valentinian*; this I own seems to me something more than bare conjecture (26).'

PROPHETICAL
Calculations of
Mont. *Jurieu*
refuted.

(19) *Jurieu* Ac-
compl. des Pro-
phetes, Tom. II,
cap. ii, pag. 20,
of Edit. 1.

(20) Id. *ibid.*

(21) Id. pag. 21.

(22) Id. pag. 22.

(23) Id. pag. 29.

(24) Id. pag. 22.

(25) Id. pag. 25.

(26) Id. pag. 33.

A Man who had been wise enough to have profited by the Errors of another, would have abandoned *Joseph Mede* as to his fourth Calculation, as well as to the three first; for is there any thing more scandalous than to say on one hand, that the pure Church should continue 360 Years, and on the other, that these 360 Years should begin in the Year 94 of the Christian *Æra*. The Church then had not been pure till that time, since its Purity began only in the Year 94; what can be imagined more absurd? It is certain therefore, if *Joseph Mede* deserves any Credit, that the Duration of the pure Church must have ended in the Year 360, or in the Year 393, and consequently that the Empire of Antichrist would have ended either in the Year 1620, or in the Year 1653. Now it is as flourishing, or rather more so, in the beginning of the XVIIIth Century, as in the Year 1653. *Joseph Mede* therefore has laid down nothing but *Reveries*, which ought to have prevented the Minister of Rotterdam from tumbling into the Mire.

The

against those who have so often foretold the approaching Fall of Popery, without taking warning by the Disgrace of their Companions; they ought to be sent to the School of a Pagan Poet, who would not suffer to consult the *Babylonian Numbers*,

Tu ne quæsieris scire (nefas) quem mihi quem tibi
Finem Dii dederint, Leuconoe: nec Babylonios
Tentâris numeros: — (b)

(b) Horat. Od.
xi, lib. i.

*Ab do not strive too much to know
My dear Luconoe,
What the kind Gods design to do
With thee and me.
Ab do not you consult the Stars,
Contented bear thy Doom, &c.*

and

The Example of this Man ought to be a warning to new Calculators, and yet they continue to foretel. What appearance is there that his fourth Calculation will succeed better than the three first? Let us reflect a little upon this Passage; we shall see at what time Popery should have begun to be cut down. 'If you account these 180 years from the year 1517, the time that Luther began to preach against Popery, that brings us to the year 1697; if you count them from the year 1520, the Date of the Bull of Leo X, that brings us to 1700; take away ten years, because seven times fifty make but 350, and the prophetic year is of 360 Days, or 360 Years; this falls exactly in 1690, and that is the time which I think ought to be the beginning of the Vintage; now the Witenesses shall rise at that time, after which France shall break with the Pope, as I judge, before the end of the Century; and in the beginning of the next, the rest of the Empire of Antichrist shall be totally abolished; so that all comes to my Calculation, which is that we cannot be far from the end of the Empire of Popery (27). We must not forget one of the reasons which made him believe, that the Rupture between the King of France and the Pope would have so speedy, and so happy, Consequences. It is, says he (28), that the Bishops of France have lately declared, that it is not lawful at any time to disobey the King on pretence of Religion. I look upon, continues he, what has happened in England, as another Preparation to this Event. A King of a Religion contrary to that of the State is suffered to reign there peaceably. Providence will accustom the People to submit to Princes who are Enemies to the prevailing Religion. How happy was this Man at Conjectures; he did not know that in two Years time England would drive out her Popish King, which would be a Proof that Providence did not intend to accustom People to submit to a Prince, who was not of their Religion, but rather dispose the French Nation, by a fresh and neighbouring Example, to disobey their King, in case he made any Alteration in Religion. Observe, that this Writer has reckoned several Miracles among the Causes which drove James II out of the Throne (29). He had made therefore an ill Judgment of the Design of Providence; but let us leave that and shew him more directly the Fallhood of his Prophecy.

France has been so far from breaking with the Pope between the year 1690 and the year 1701, that, on the contrary, they are become more Popish. We know the Advantage which Innocent XII obtained, by causing things to be placed on the old foot, in the Year 1693 (30). We know the Complaints which have been published, on the Subject of the Pope's Brief against the Archbishop of Cambray, in 1699. The Minister of Rotterdam himself has maintained, that it is a Bull which absolutely destroys the Liberty of the Gallican Church (31). This is, says he (32), the most terrible Blow that could have been given to the Liberties of the Gallican Church; there they are all destroyed by one single Thunderbolt. Gerson, and his Apologist Rieber, the Jesuit Maimbourg himself, Gerbais, Father Quæfnel, Ellis du Pin, and all the rest, to whom the Quarrel between Innocent XII and

King Lewis XIV, had given Courage to lift up their Heads against the Usurpations of the Court of Rome, are overthrown, as well as the great number of Arrêts made by the Court of Parliament for the Preservation of the Liberties of the Gallican Church. So many Regulations, Decisions, and Declarations made by the Clergy of France tending to the same end, all is come to 'nothing.' If that Author had said all that he thought, he would have added, *this is also the most terrible Blow that could have been given to my Prophecies*. I am sure that the Vexation, which he shews at the Clergy of France (33), is occasioned partly because his Predictions have been so ill seconded by Lewis XIV, and his Prelates. I omit the other Successes which have happened to Popery, between the year 1690 and 1700; the Edict of the Emperor of China in 1692; the IVth Article of the Peace of Ryswic, in 1697; the Cession which the Turk has made of so many Places, by the Treaty of Carlowitz, in 1698. I omit also the Complaints which a Minister of Groningen has given out in a Piece published in 1701 (34), which shew that the Church of Rome has not been weakened in the last ten Years of the XVIIIth Century, and that on the contrary she has oppressed the Protestants in several places (35).

The beginning of the XVIIIth Century has produced nothing prejudicial to the Empire of Popery; the Pope was never so much taken notice of as he is at this Day by the Catholic Princes. The Emperor, the King of France, and the King of Spain, strive who shall make their Court to him best. It is true that the most powerful Protestant States have made a Confederacy, but they think on nothing less than harassing the Court of Rome; they have Affairs to manage which they think more pressing, and if they act against one Catholic Prince, it is only in favour of another Catholic Prince; and in case France should turn her Arms against Rome, they would be the first to send the Pope Succours: so that we do not see that the fourth Calculation is likely to have better Success than the other three. And yet there is Mr Allix, after the ill Success of Mr Jurieu, has entered the Field to declare to the Public, that Antichrist shall perish either in the year 1716, or in the year 1720, or at least in the year 1736 (36). Mr Gurtler, Professor of Divinity at Deventer, does not express himself so exactly; he fixes upon no Year, but he believes that the Apocalyptic Babylon shall fall intirely in the Course of the XVIIIth Century (37). I will observe by the by, that one of Mr Jurieu's Proofs is very weak: 'It is certain, says he (38), that since the year 1620, Images and Saints have lost their Credit prodigiously, and we shall find, since that time, more People, who, even in Popish Countries, disbelieve these false Worship, than were to be found in all Ages before. In like manner the Tyranny of the Pope has been ever since that time manifestly declining. In the last Century the Popes were pretty well recovered of the Blow which the Council of Constance had given them - - - but since the year 1620 - - - the Power of the Pope has been constantly diminishing, and is at this day in such a decayed State, that it will never recover from it any more (39). I shall not trouble myself to ask how

(33) *Id.* pag. 313.

(34) Mr du Vidal in the Epistle dedicatory of his Book, intitled L'Eglise Romaine pleinement convaincu d'Antichristianisme. - - The Roman Church plainly convicted of Antichristianism. He speaks there of the Oppression the Protestants suffer in the Palatinate, in Mombellard, and in Hungary.

(35) It was written in 1702.

(36) See l'Histoire Mytique des Ouvrages des Savants, April 1701, pag. 234, 235.

(37) Nicol. Gurtlerus in System. Theol. Prophet. cap. xxxiii, pag. 563. Edit. Amsterdam, 1702.

(38) Jurieu Accompl. des Proph. Tom. II, pag. 30, 31.

(39) *Ibid.* pag. 33.

(27) *Id.* chap. ix, pag. 143, 144. See chap. xii, pag. 222.

(28) *Ibid.* chap. xii, pag. 208.

(29) See Lettre Pastorale of Feb. 25, 1689.

(30) See the Remark [B] of the Article OTTO BONI, and Mr Jurieu, pag. 216, of his Traité Hist. sur la Theologie Myst.

(31) Jurien, Traité Histor. sur la Theologie Mystique Art. xvii, pag. 304. (32) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 305, 306.

and who thought that God had very wisely covered in thick Darkness the time that is to come:

Prudens futuri tepmoris exitum
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus:
Ridetque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat. — (c)

(c) Horat. Od.
xxix, lib. iiii.

*Future Events wise Providence
Hath hid in Night from human Sense,
To narrow Bounds our Search confin'd,
And laughs to see proud Mortals try
To fathom deep Eternity,
With the short Line and Plummet of their Mind.*

Observe

(40) In his Pre-
servative, and in
his Janſenite
convaincu de
Vaine Sophisti-
querie, where he
has endeavoured
to prove, that the
invocation of
Saints is still ex-
cessive at this day;
and we have seen
that he complains,
in his Traité de
la Theol. Myſt.
that the Authority
of the Pope has
been restored to its
first Splendor in
France.

(41) Jurien Ac-
compl. des Proph.
Tom. II. cap. v.
pag. 86, 87.

(42) Id. in his
Avis a tous les
Chrétiens, pre-
fixed to the first
Volume, pag. 5.

(43) Id. Tom. II.
cap. xii, pag. 214.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Id. pag. 217.

(46) Id. pag. 218.

(47) Id. pag.
214, 215.

this Minister will reconcile those things with what he has said in other Books (40). I confine myself to this single Consideration: The Bounds set to false Worship, and to the Pretensions of Popes over the Temporals of Kings, are rather a Pledge of the future Duration of Popery, than a Mark of it's approaching Ruin. The nearer an Evil approaches to it's Height, the nearer it approaches to it's End; it cannot stand long at it's highest Pitch; the enormity of Abuses favoured Luther, who probably would have effected nothing against ordinary Evils. If Mr Jurieu will not believe me in that, he ought at least to remember what he has said, 'that the prodigious Advancement of the Papal Authority, which in effect brought Antichristianism to it's Perfection, was nevertheless one step to it's Ruin.' If the Popes had kept themselves within the Bounds, which they had kept in the preceding Centuries; if they had not meddled with the Affairs of the World, to dispose of them absolutely, perhaps we should never have known that the See of Rome is Antichrist: but then that Truth became so obvious, that every body perceived it (41). One would wonder for several reasons, that the Chagrin he was in, when he composed this Work (42), had not presented to him the black and frightful Ideas, which presented themselves to most of the Commentators on the Apocalypse; he has not taken in a literal Sense, those Images of devouring Fire, Blood, and Slaughter, which the Holy Ghost presents in the eighteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse (43); 'Certainly, says he (44), these are not the ways which GOD makes use of to establish his Empire. We ought not to take in a literal Sense the Terms of War, and Destruction, which are here used; for Example, that JESUS CHRIST shall tread the Wine-press of the Wrath of GOD; and that he shall give the Flesh of Kings, of Captains, of mighty Men, of Horſes, and them that sit on them, both bond and free, to the Fowls of the Air, &c. These are Images borrowed from War, and we ought to understand them agreeably to the Nature of that spiritual War, which the Lord JESUS CHRIST shall make against Idolatry, Superſtition, Hereſy, and Tyranny; it is against them that he will fight, and not against Men (45): therefore I am afraid that they are deceived, who hope to render to Babylon what we have received from her, and to fill to her double in the Cup, in which she hath filled to us, i. e. to return her Blood for Blood, Torment for Torment; that is not the Spirit of the Church (46). But notwithstanding, he is of opinion there shall be a great deal of Blood shed; he only qualifies the thing, and that is very commendable. 'I am of opinion, says he (47), that he will suffer the Destruction of Rome, as he did that of Jerusalem. I believe also, that this great change of Religion shall be brought about without Effusion of Blood, as it happened in the last Century; but as the City in this Chapter, and generally in the Apocalypse, comprehends the whole Empire of Babylon, we must not imagine that all that great Extent of Country shall be brought to Desolation.'

Our Braunbom was not so pacific; he would have the Sword to be the principal Instrument of the Destruction of Antichrist. He that answered him took it ill that these barbarous Maxims were founded on a Book so obscure, that there had not

been two Protestant Commentators that had understood it alike. 'Omnia igitur supplicia irrogare jubet (Braunbomus) exurere, carnes edere, nullum supplicium nimium putare. Verum quoniam est ista barbaries eorum qui hæc præcipiunt, cum non intelligant quid Liber obſcuriſſimus velit? Cum contradictionem implicuerint hoc postremum à sanguinatis & latrocinantibus Theologis, rogo obſteſtorque ut ex tot suorum Scriptoris duos non sibi mutuo, non sibi ipsis contradicentes in hoc judicio, exhibeant; & deinde quâ datâ portâ ruant in nostrum sanguinem? Adde unum præſent, qui non omnibus aliis contradicat, & ecce jugulum præbemus, non jure nec merito; ad unius enim homuncionis pronunciatum meliorem orbis partem exurere, devorare, nec ipsa iniquitatis æquum esse censeret; sed fiducia causæ iniquo judicio experiri placet (48). — Therefore He (Braunbom) commands them to inflict all kinds of Punishment; to burn, eat the Flesh, to think no kind of Torment too great; but what Barbarity is this of theirs who teach these things, not understanding the meaning of that most obscure Book, since they always contradict themselves? Lastly, I desire and beseech these bloody and plundering Divines, out of so many of their Writers, to produce me two that do not contradict each other, and even themselves in this Point, and then rush upon our Destruction by what means they can; nay let them produce one who does not contradict all the rest, and we will yield them our Throats, though without just reason; for even Iniquity herself would not judge it right to burn and destroy the greater part of the World at the Word of a single little Fellow; though in confidence of our Cause we are willing to be tried by this unequal Judgment! The same Author, as we have seen above (49), abused Mr du Pleſſis for having exhorted the King of England to attack the Pope. It must be allowed, that this great Man forgot himself very much on that Occasion, and that his Zeal took a Flight, which made him lose sight of what his Age and Prudence might have suggested to him; he was rallied and insulted cruelly (50), and was not well defended by Mr Rivet, his Apologist. If you desire to know what that great Man's Exhortation was, read these Words: 'The thing (51) is easy, because she is ripe; the Day invites to it, Nature herself aids the Birth, the Destinies open the way, God favouring the Enterprize, of which he is the Author, and assisting and pushing it forward; let there but appear any one who will set about it, who is bold and resolute enough, it will not be in vain, since after so many Poisonings and Parricides, nothing is wanting of the full Measure of her Cruelty; there wants nothing to bring her Impiety to the Height: let us therefore, O King, throw away the Pen; satisfied I here lay down mine; this Generation requires other Conduct; henceforward other Arms are necessary. From Great Britain may there come forth another Constantine to overthrow this Maxentius, this other Pharaoh, and ruin him intirely; may he confirm the Princes and People who are irresolute, unite those that are divided, and compose those that are in disorder. And further, may the Alps carry him on their Necks, the Po dividing of it's own accord, the Apennine making way for him, many running to the Signal of Liberty, others waiting the Event; may he conduct his Troops

(48) Contzen de
Hereſion Incre-
mento, pag. 556.

(49) In the Re-
mark [B], Citat.
(11).

REFLECTIONS ON
an Epiſtle Dedi-
catory of Mr du
Pleſſis.

(50) See the Re-
mark [E], of the
Article SCIOPI-
PIUS.

(51) That is to
say, the Destruction
of Popery.

Observe that I know nothing of *Braunbom's Book*, but by the Extract of it, given by *Adam Contzen*, a Jesuit, who refuted it (d).

(d) In a work intituled de Hereseon incremento.

'strait to *Rome*, never attacked in vain. Who doubts but at the sound of the Trumpets her Hills will lower, her Walls fall, even the Castle of *St Angelo* itself? May this severe Executor of the Judgments of *God* go on, and tearing the Thunder from *Jupiter* in the Capitol, cast him out of his Seat without Hopes of ever returning again; may he sink *Babylon* like a Mill-stone, that she appear no more; may the *Tyber* overflow her, and Hell itself be let loose upon her. Let it not come to pass, O mighty King, that you should suffer this Praise to be taken from you, or desire that it should be kept for another, but may you rather chuse to purchase it with the Price of your Blood, of your Life, or of what is yet more dear to you; but Thou, O Eternal *God*, for whose Interest and Glory this Business is, without whose Aid our Desires, our Sighs, and our Attempts are vain, awake, arise, cloath thyself with Might and Justice, as with a Coat of Mail; call thy Servant by his Name; take thine Anointed by the Hand, and walk before his Face. May the Hills be made plain, the Mountains laid low, and the Rivers dry up; may the Gates open, and the Bars be broken; may the People tremble, and this *Jerico* fall by the Breath of his Mouth and his Presence. And I, though already above sixty years of Age, may I keep close by his side: may I put off my old Age in the narrow Passes and Rocks of the *Alps*; may I be found one of the first in the Attack; that in the Triumph, when the Angel sings before us, I may redouble these Words, *SHE IS FALLEN*; and may I, when totally swallowed up in this holy Gladness, on the brink of Eternity, in Rapture finish my Days. Now, most Serene King, may the Good and Great *God*, who hath set you apart for this Enterprize of so holy a War, preserve you to his Church, your Kingdom, and all the Faithful, in Health, and Safety from all your Enemies. Amen (52).

(52) Du Pleffis Epist. Dedicatoire of the Latin Edition of his *Mystere d'Iniquite*. I use the French Edition of this Passage, made by Rivet, pag. 94, &c. of Defence of his Epistles, and the Preface to this Book of Mr du Pleffis.

(53) At Saumur in 1632, in 2vo.

(54) Rivet Defence de la Preface, &c. du *Mystere d'Iniquite*, cap. v, pag. 93.

* Rev. xviii, 6.

(55) Rivet, Defence, of the Preface, &c. pag. 94.

Andrew Rivet, who was then Minister of *Tbouars*, published (53) *A Defence of the two Epistles and Preface of Mr du Pleffis's Book* ----- against the Cavils and Calumnies of *Pelletier* and *du Bray*. You need not ask whether he was obliged to attempt to apologize for the Passage I have just recited; every body will imagine that this was one of the Places which afforded the Adversaries of Mr du Pleffis the finest Field for Declamation. They were answered (54), that *St John* having prophesied that the same Princes, who had given their Power to the Beast, should devour and burn her, he ought not to think it strange, that the Protestants exhorted them to the Execution of that Prophecy, that they address themselves to Princes whose Hearts *God* had already touched, to the end that, by their Example, they might draw others to the Execution of this Judgment of *God* against the Whore: and if they cry, after the Voice of Heaven, reward her even as she hath rewarded you, render unto her double, according to her Works, and in the Cup, which she hath filled, fill to her double; Rivet adds, that 'the Epistle to the King of Great Britain tends to this end, and only sets before his Eyes this Prophecy, the Accomplishment whereof now is coming (55). The Advocate and the Client were in the same Illusion; they believed that the Hour of the Accomplishment of the Prophecies was at hand, that the Fruit was ripe and ready to be gathered; they wished for it, and that was the reason they believed it.

Credimus? an qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt (56).

--- May Lovers what they wish believe,
Or dream their Wishes, and those Dreams deceive.

DRYDEN.

The Advocate was more inexcusable, because he had an opportunity of reading some Reflections which the Client had not seen; he knew very well that the Adversaries of Mr du Pleffis considered his Epistles dedicatory to King *James* as the Action of an Incendiary, who had a mind to draw into France a foreign Army, who breathed nothing but Fire, and Blood, and universal Confusion; who would not spare the Blood of the Infant, nor the innocent Mother that suckled it (57). And that they had boasted, that they were an hundred for one who were obliged to maintain the Authority of the Pope, at the hazard of their Lives; that they had spoken of the Keenness of their Sword; and put them in mind of the *Croisade* of *Simon de Montford*, and the *Sieur de Beaumont*; and promised the Crown of Martyrdom to those who died in that Contest (58). And that they had declared that whoever attacks the Pope attacks the Catholics, and whoever is his Enemy is theirs (59). This was more than sufficient to disabuse Mr Rivet, in the Opinion that he had of the near approach of the Fall of Popery. The Expedition proposed to King *James* would have served for nothing but to set all Europe in a Flame, and cause a Deluge of Blood to be shed. All the Catholic Princes would have united for the Defence of their Religion; and there was no appearance that the Success of that furious War should be more fatal to them, than to their Enemies: the general Desolation of all the States in Europe, the most execrable Horrors of a War for Religion, were the only things that could appear certain. Now who can deny, that a Man, who makes himself the Intligator of such a *Croisade*, deserves the Reproaches of Inhumanity and Barbarity, which were made to Mr du Pleffis. His Apologist has not brought him off in this Particular: all his Answers are rambling and illuory.

(57) Rivet. Defence of the Preface, &c. p. 96.

(58) Id. pag. 97.

(59) Id. pag. 190a.

One can never lawfully exhort the Princes who are not Catholics to make War upon the Pope, till such time as his Followers are reduced to so small a Number, that there will be reason to believe, that, without Effusion of Blood, he may be constrained either to renounce the Papacy, or to retire, with a Passport, to some corner of *Africa*; but so long as the Catholics, and those of a contrary Persuasion in Europe, remain in the Condition they were in when Mr du Pleffis published his Book, and are now at the beginning of the XVIIIth Century, it is endeavouring to introduce Slaughter and Massacre every where, to talk of accomplishing Prophecies. The Books on these Oracles of *St John* are Oil to the Fire; they serve only to invite an Enemy who is already but too much provoked, and to furnish him with this Excuse for his Persecutions, that, in order to prevent his own Ruin, he is obliged to endeavour that of the Protestants, who are perpetually foretelling that he shall, in a little time, be exterminated by the Sword of the same Princes who formerly adored the Beast (60). If any thing can enervate such an Excuse, it is, that they, who have the Sovereign Authority among the Protestants, do not measure their Conduct by the Predictions or Exhortations of their Writers.

(60) Compare with this what is in the Journal de Trevoux, July and August 1704, pag. 60, Edit. Amst.

BREAUTÉ (*CHARLES de*), a Gentleman of the Country of *Caux* in *Normandy*, made himself famous by a Duel, wherein he died. He was extremely brave, and after the Peace of *Vervins*, finding no occasion in France to show his Valour, he went into *Holland* with some French Troopers, where he obtained a Troop of Horse (a). His Lieutenant had the misfortune to suffer himself to be beat by a Party of the Garrison of *Boisseduc*, which was inferior in Number to that which he commanded. He was taken, and conducted to *Boisseduc*, from whence he wrote to his Captain to desire him to procure him his Liberty; but his Captain sent him for answer that he would not acknowledge such Persons for his Troopers, as suffered themselves

(a) Thuan. lib. cxxiv, pag. 900a.

(b) His Name was
Antony Schetz,
Lord of Grobbendonc.

(c) He had two
or three Horses
killed under him.

themselves to be defeated by a lesser number of *Flemings*, instead of beating them, though they had been twenty to forty, as he offered to do in any Rencounter [A]. This Letter being read by the Governor of the Place (b), according to Custom, before it was delivered to the Prisoner, appeared so shocking, that the Commander of the Party of *Boisseduc* wrote immediately to *Breauté*, to offer to fight him with an equal Number. His Proposal was very acceptable; but the Superiors on both sides could hardly be persuaded to consent to it [B]. Nevertheless at last they appointed the Day, and the Place, and agreed upon other Conditions. It was resolved that they should fight on Horse-back, Twenty two against Twenty two [C], on the fifth of February, 1600. *Breauté* would have had the Governor of *Boisseduc* to put himself at the head of his *Flemings*; but the Archduke *Albert* would not suffer it. Their Chief was the Lieutenant of the Governor's Troop, the same *Gerard Abraham* who had beat the Party. He sent word by a Trumpeter that his Men had sworn not to give any Quarter, for as much as they undertook that Combat much more to defend their Prince's Cause, and that of the Catholic Religion, than for their own Honour [D]. He and his Brother and four more began the Fight with *Breauté* and five more; the rest engaged each his Man. *Breauté* killed *Gerard*; the Brother of the latter, and two others, were also killed: The fifth was so wounded that he died some Days after of his Wounds. But this was all the loss of the *Flemings*; that of the other Party was much more dismal; for *Breauté's* Valour (c) could not hinder his Men from being beaten with the utmost Shame [E]. Fourteen of them were killed on the spot,

[A] He offered in a Letter to beat the *Flemings* twenty to forty in any Rencounter. *Thuanus* says, that the Writers on the Dutch Side do not ascribe the Cause of the Quarrel to *Breauté's* Letter, written to his Lieutenant, but to some false Reports: They will have it that it was *Grobendonc* himself who offered the Combat, having heard, by those false Reports, that *Breauté* reviled the *Flemish* Troops (1). Several French Writers (2) say, that *Breauté* did not send a Challenge till he heard some slighting Words spoken by *Lekerbitkem*, both of himself and of his Nation (3). *Lekerbitkem* was he who had defeated his Lieutenant.

[B] Combat was offered him with an equal Number — the Superiors would hardly consent to it. According to *Thuanus*, Prince *Maurice* dissuaded *Breauté* from that Duel as much as he could: He represented to him, that it was an unbecoming thing for a Gentleman of his Quality, who might signalize himself on more glorious Occasions, to expose himself with common Soldiers (4), or perhaps with some perfidious Men, who had been the Authors of betraying *Gertrudenberg*. He meant *Gerard Abraham*, and his Brother *Antony* (5); but Prince *Maurice* had done better to have interposed his Authority, and not his Remonstrances. The Archduke *Albert* was very much to be commended for not suffering *Grobendonc* to play the Gladiator, on that Occasion.

[C] They agreed on a Combat, Twenty two against Twenty two. I have followed *Father Gallucci*, tho' I have read no Author that makes the Number of the Combatants to be above twenty. We find in a History of the Archduke *Albert*, printed at *Cologne* in 1693 (6), the Names of those that went out of *Boisseduc* against *Breauté*; they are but twenty. The Author informs us, that he saw those Names in a Picture of that Fight. This should be an authentic Proof, and yet he contradicts himself, for he says, Page 334, 'that when *Breauté's* Trumpeter came to tell the *Belgians* at *Boisseduc* that his Master staid for them with twenty more; *Grobendonc* commanded one *l'Épine*, a reduced Officer, to take a Horse out of his Stable, and to join the other twenty that were ready to get on Horseback.' So that here are one and twenty Men. He had said, Page 331, 'that it was agreed to fight nineteen against nineteen; but that the *Frenchmen* on the Dutch side broke the Agreement, and came into the Field of Battle to the number of twenty; that *Grobendonc's* Lieutenant being in presence with his eighteen Champions complained of that Trick,' and that after the excuses made for it, he sent to *l'Épine* to come and join him; that *l'Épine* came, and that it was he who took *Breauté*. Here they are but twenty. That Author is not very exact, for he declares, Page 128, that 'it was concluded to fight nineteen against nineteen, and that *Breauté* at the Head of nine-

teen Troopers — met *Grobendonc's* Lieutenant 'at the Head of nineteen *Belgians*.' What I am going to mention is yet less exact. He says, Page 126, That the Joy the Dutch had for the taking of Fort *St André*, the eleventh of May 1600 — was abated by an Adventure which deserves to be mentioned in the beginning of the XVIIth Century, viz. by the Combat of *Breauté*, the fifth of February 1600. I do not question but he took the year 1600 for the first of the XVIIth Century, and so he committed two Faults: For, 1. The year 1600 was the last, and not the first of the Century. 2. If it was the first, it would be the first of the XVIIth Century.

[D] The *Flemings* — declared, that they fought more for — the Catholic Religion, than for their own Honour. Thus Religion comes in every where. What had it to do with the Fists or Rodomontades of a private Man? it was in truth a Quarrel of Duellists for a vain Reputation of Bravery; and yet they had the Dexterity at *Boisseduc* to interest the Church in it. *Breauté* was metamorphosed there into a new *Goliath*, who insulted the People of God; those that should conquer him were to be accounted, like *David*, the anointed of the Lord. Care was taken to supply them with the Bread of the Strong (7). They were not sent to the Field of Battle before they had confessed their Sins and communicated: (8) The Dominicans made use of all their Devices to increase their Courage. The Archduke's Council of Conscience approved that his Highness should consent to the Duel (8). But who would not admire the reason, that made the Champions of *Boisseduc* engage themselves by Oath not to give any Quarter? It was because they pretended to fight for Religion; but that very thing should have left some Remains of Humanity.

[E] All *Breauté's* Valour could not binder his Party from being most shamefully beaten. I shall set down the Words of an Author, who has wrote concerning the use of Duelling: 'The two Chiefs had distinguished themselves to know each other: *Breauté* put on a large white Feather, and *Lekerbitkem* a red one. *Breauté* advances to encounter his Enemy, fires a Pistol at him, kills him, and breaks through his Men with such Fury that five of them were killed on the Spot, whereof *Lekerbitkem's* Brother was one. But *Breauté* was ill seconded. For in the first place, two of the five, who were killed at the first onset, died by his own Hand; which shews, that if his Friends had done like him, the Enemy had not been half a Match for them. Secondly, most of them fled at the second onset, and left him with three more in the midst of fifteen, who besides the Advantage of number had also that of Weapons (9). We shall see the Sequel of this Passage in the Remark [F].

[F] Three

(1) *Thuan.* lib. cxxiv, pag. 900.

(2) *D'Audiguer*, usage du duel, cap. xx, pag. 343. *Botereus*, or *Boterius*, lib. vii, pag. 519. *Cayet*, Chronol. Septenfol. 119. See below the Passage of *d'Aubigné*, in the Remark [I].

(3) *D'Audiguer* ibid.

(4) *Ignobilibus ac gregariis militibus*. *Thuan.* lib. cxxiv, pag. 900. *Lekerbeeten* was a Soldier of fortune; but he was at that time Lieutenant of a Troop of Horse.

(5) *Gerardus & Antonius Abrahami fratres Lekerbitkem* vulgo dicti. *Id.* ibid. *Lekerbeeten*, i. e. dainty bit, or as *Grotius* expresses it, *Cupidarius*, was a Nick-name of that *Abraham*.

(6) *Page* 331, 332.

(7) *Hist. de l'Archiduc Albert*, pag. 330, 333.

(8) *Id.* pag. 330.

(9) *D'Audiguer*, Usage du Duel, cap. xx, pag. 343. *Botereus* relates the thing much in the same manner.

spot, and, of the eight that fled, three died of their Wounds [F]. *Breauté* and one of his Relations, being mortally wounded [G], in vain begged their Lives with a promise of a good Ransom; but no regard was given to it [H]. His Body, wounded in Thirty six places, was carried to *Dort*, and drawn to the life, to have that Picture sent into his Country. It exasperated the Friends and Relations of the deceased to such a degree, that one of them (d) went immediately into the *Netherlands* to revenge his Death. For that purpose he challenged the Governor of *Boisleduc* to fight a Duel with him; but the same reason, which hindered that Governor from being in the first Fight, excused him again from this. The Victors, to the number of eighteen, among whom four were wounded, were received in *Boisleduc*, with the Acclamations of the whole Town. Thus the thing is related by the Historians of the *Spanish* Party, among whom the Author, whom I cite, ought to be reckoned; but all the parts of their Narration are not allowed to be true [I]. This has always been the Fate of such Duels; their Success and Circumstances are always related several ways. *Breauté* had married the Daughter of *Nicolas de Harlai-Sancy*, by whom he left a Son. She was a Woman equally beautiful and virtuous, and not above twenty Years of Age. Though she was courted by several People, yet she renounced the Pleasures of the World, and made herself a Nun of *St Theresa* (e), which Order was but newly settled in *Paris*. It is said (f), that their Son, intending to revenge his Father's Death, sent a Challenge to the new Lieutenant of the Governor of *Boisleduc* during the Siege of *Breda*, and that he was killed in that Duel (g). I cannot tell whether a Marquis de *Breauté*, who was killed at the Siege of *Arras*, in the Year 1640, was descended from the Duellist.

(d) Gallucci calls him Hocvincurius. It is probably a fault of the Impression, for Hocvincurius; Hocvincurius is a Family celebrated for Bravery.

(e) Ex Angelo Galluccio de bello Belg. lib. xii, pag. 557, & sequ. Edit. Norimberg.

(f) Ex Thuano, lib. cxxiv, pag. 900.

(g) Histoire de l'Archiduc Albert, printed at Cologne, 1693, pag. 334.

[F] Three of his Party died of their Wounds.] The anonymous Author, who published an History of the Archduke Albert, says, that all the French were killed except three, who fled, and were hanged in Holland (10). What Variations! The anonymous Author of the Memoirs of L. C. D. R. printed at the Hague in the year 1687, multiplies Lies and Confusion (11).

[G] He and one of his Relations were mortally wounded.] This confutes the silly Story which was published by that anonymous Author, that Swords could not hurt *Breauté*, because he had a Charm. Which was the reason why they knocked him on the Head with the Stocks of their Pistols on the Draw-bridge of the Gate of *Boisleduc* (12). That Author contradicts himself; for he says, Page 129, that *Breauté* was burnt in the Head before he set his Foot in the Town (13).

[H] He begged his Life with a Promise of Ransom; but no regard was given to it.] Most Historians, who are not in the *Spanish* Interest, say, that the Ransom which *Breauté* offered was accepted, and that he was brought alive to *Boisleduc*; but that the Governor, vexed at the Death of the two Brothers, reprimanded their Comrades so severely, because they had not revenged their Death by that of the Prisoner, that they killed him immediately in his Presence. Thus, as *Thuanus* tells us, the Writers of the *Dutch* Party related the thing. *D'Audiguier* and *Cayet* go yet further; they say that *Grobendonck* had no sooner censured them, but they stabbed *Breauté* and his Cousin. *Bouteroué* goes farther still; he says the Governor ordered expressly, that the four Prisoners that were brought, whereof *Breauté* was one, should be killed in cold Blood. *Grotius* says only, as a certain thing, that *Breauté* had already gone a good way, when some Men from *Boisleduc* killed him with thirty Wounds. 'Pepigisse vitam Galli asseverant, contra Brabant prædictum ne victi aliud quam mortem expectarent. Certè jam multum captivus processerat, cum missi ex urbe orantem ut saltem armato & tanquam viro occumbere liceret, triginta vulneribus conficiunt, digno probrobus hominibus facinore (14). - - - The French assert, that his Life was granted him contrary to the Declaration of the Brabanters, that the conquered should expect nothing but Death. It is certain, he was gone a good way, as a Prisoner, when he was stabbed in thirty Places, by Persons sent from the City; notwithstanding he prayed that, at least, he might die armed, and like a Man; an Action worthy the best of Mankind.' Which irrefragably confutes what is said by some, that he was killed by *Leckerbeethen's* Seconds, who had engaged to do it by an Oath. See the Remark [D].

[I] All the Parts of the Narration of the Spanish Historians are not allowed to be true.] This appears by the foregoing Remark. But here is an

Omission for which they cannot be excused, and which would very much alter the Nature of the Success, if it were true that they were guilty of that Fault. In this Case there would remain but little Honour to the Victors. It is pretended, that the Fight was not with equal Arms, since the French came only with Swords and Pistols, and the other Party brought their Carabines besides. Here is the Sequel of the Passage of *d'Audiguier*.

Besides the Advantage of Number, they had more over that of Weapons, and that was it that deceived the French, who had no other offensive Arms but Pistols and Swords, when they saw the Enemies with great Carabines, which they fired at a considerable Distance at the beginning of the Fight, and then advanced with their long Pistols against People who had nothing left but their Swords (15). He had said before, that they charged each other, *Breauté* and his Men with long Pistols, and his Enemies with long Pistols and Carabines. There might be more imprudence in that Case on the French side, than fraud on the other. Perhaps they had only said in their Agreement, that each Party should come armed as usual; and therefore if it had been the Custom of the *Flemings* to wear Swords, Pistols, and Carabines; and if it had been the Custom of the French to wear only Pistols and Swords; the *Flemings* would not have acted knavishly: the French only would have been to blame, for being so heedless as not to specify the Number and Quality of the Weapons which were to be used. But suppose the Honesty of the *Flemings* was untainted, it would at least be certain that their Victory would be no ways glorious. However, let us see how *d'Aubigné*, a much more credible Writer than *d'Audiguier*, speaks of this Duel. 'When

that Siege was over (16), there happened a Duel between *Breauté* and nineteen more, with the Lieutenant of *Grobendonck*, called *Lekerbitken*, on account of some injurious Words and Challenges sent by some Prisoners. Being agreed on the Time and Place, *Breauté*, not finding his Enemies, went to look for them very near *Boisleduc*, and there the two Chiefs, distinguished with white and red Feathers, made choice of each other before their Troops. *Breauté* killed his Enemy at the first Charge, as also his Brother, who, having dispatched his Adversary, came to his Assistance; but all the *Wallons*, having other fire Arms besides Pistols, made a second discharge, at which the French, having only their Swords, were overthrown; and *Breauté*, being forsaken by part of his Men, was taken Prisoner, and *Grobendonck*, hearing of the Death of the two Brothers, caused him to be killed in cold Blood. The Death of that Gentleman was lamented by Prince *Maurice*, who had used his Endeavour to dissuade him from that Combat by reason of the Inequality (17).'

K k

(15) *D'Audiguier* de l'Usage du Duel, pag. 346. See also *Cayet*, Chronol. Septem. fol. 194.

(16) He speaks of the Siege of *St Andrew's Fort* in the life of *Bomelz*; but he is mistaken as to the time. He owns that this Siege was undertaken in May; but the Duel was fought the fifth of February. *Bouteroué* has committed the same fault; he places the Duel after the taking of *St Andrew's Fort*.

(17) *D'Aubigné*, Tom. III, pag. 722.

(10) Pag. 334.

(11) Memoires de Mr L. C. D. R. pag. 164.

(12) Hist. de l'Archid. Albert. pag. 332.

(13) That is, he was shot in the Head by a Pistol. See the same Phrase, pag. 196.

(14) *Grot.* Anal. lib. 9.

(18) Grotius Anal. lib. ix.

(19) Those things might be reconciled, by saying that the place, where *Breauté* met the Enemies, proved advantageous to him by chance. *Grotius* might have made this Observation without swerving from his *Laconic* Style.

(20) Gallucius de Bello Belg. Part I, lib. xii, pag. 560.

(21) Hist. de l'Archid. Albert, pag. 300.

(a) At Nuremberg.

(b) Taken from the *Acta Eruditorum*, July 1682, pag. 205.

(1) That James Geusius, a Divinus and Physician of Friesland, published at Groningen, in 1675, a Book intitled *Victimæ humane*.

(2) Taken from the *Acta Eruditorum*, July 1682, pag. 205, 206.

(3) Ibid. p. 206.

tius gives the Advantage of the Arms to the *Flemings*, and that of the Place to the others; *Grobendoniani armis validioribus, Breauté loco potior* (18). But how shall we reconcile this Advantage of the Place with what *d'Aubigné, Bouteroue, Cayet, d'Andiguiet, &c.* say, that *Breauté*, not finding the Enemies in the place agreed upon, went farther till he met them half a League from *Boisleduc* (19)? And how shall we reconcile this with *Father Gallucci*, who says, that *Lekerbecken* coming to the Place of Battle, and not finding his Enemy there, sent a Trumpeter to tell him that he staid for him; and that *Breauté* dispatched another to let him know that he was come within a Quarter of a League of the Place, and that he would either die or overcome there (20). An Historian, who is very partial for the *Spanish Netherlands* (21), owns, that *Breauté's* martial Heat, *which made him advance farther than he should have done*, was the reason why the Duel was not fought in the place designed for it; *They kept*, says he, *to that Field of Battle where they happened to meet*. That Author is far from acknowledging that the *Flemings* had more fire Arms than the others; for he says of the latter, that they had all their Pistols in their Hands, and that the *Belgians* had only their Swords in their Hands. He adds one thing that ought not to be omitted: 'The *Belgians* had the forecast to fasten little Chains behind the Bridles of their Horses, for fear, if the Enemies should happen to cut them, they should not be able to govern their Horses. The *French* on the Dutch side had not that forecast, which

'contributed much to their Defeat (22).' We may infer from hence that the *Flemings* fought cunningly; they fell first upon their Enemies Horses; the Bridles being cut it was not easy for the Troopers to save their Horses from being killed. *Father Gallucci* observes, that at the first onset there were above Twenty six Horses killed. *Tbuannus* informs us, that almost all the Horses of the *French* were lost there (23). We find the reason of it in the *New History of the Archduke*. I cannot pass over in silence the Confusion of *Father Gallucci*: After he has described the whole Issue of the Fight, he adds, that a little Boy, who had looked on at a Distance, having seen the whole Event (24), got upon a Horse, that he found without a Master, and galloped to carry the News of the Victory to *Boisleduc*. Presently a Citizen fired two great Guns on the Ramparts. That noise made both Parties fear an Ambush, and obliged the *French* to run away. How could they have staid till then before they fled, since the Boy did not ride away till after he had seen the whole Event of the Fight? To mend the Narration, it should be said that the two Guns were fired before the Victory had been fully declared for the *Flemings*. Now the latter being so near home, almost in sight of *Boisleduc* (25), it is no wonder, if the Cannon of that Town alarmed the *French*, who were still defending themselves. I find but one fault in the Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary* (26) viz. that the Fight was in the Sight of both Armies.

(23) Dispar fortiorum cum Belgis congressus fuit in quo plures Galli cecidere, equis fere occisis. *Tbuann. lib. cxxiv, pag. 900.*

(24) Hoc exita animadverio.

(25) Hist. d'Albert, pag. 330.

(26) At the Word Abrahami.

BRENZIUS (SAMUEL FREDERIC), a German Jew, was converted to the Christian Religion in the Year 1614. He immediately published a Book (a) concerning the Motives of his Conversion, and forgot nothing that might render his first Religion odious. It is not known whether any private Discontent directed his Pen, or whether the hopes of persuading the World that his Conversion was sincere, inspired him with the Animosity which he shewed in his Book; but it is well known that he strained things [A]. He gave a horrid Description of the Malice of the Jews, of their Frauds, Crimes, Impiety and Blasphemies against **JESUS CHRIST**, and against the Holy Virgin; he exhorted every body to have a care of them, and to look upon them as sworn Enemies to the Christian Name, whose only design is to hate, dishonour, and destroy, the Followers of the Gospel. **Salman Zebi**, who was a pretty learned Jew, took upon him speedily to refute him in a Book, which he intitled *Judaical Treacle*. He fell into another Extreme, I mean that he extenuated too much the Faults of his Party. This is a faithful Representation of most Controvertists [B]. The Work of the Proselyte, and the Jew's Answer, were translated out of the German Tongue into Latin, in the Year 1681, as shall be shewn here-under (b).

[A] He wrote against the Jews - - - and strained things.] A Christian Author owns it, viz. Mr *John Wulfer*. See the Notes which he added to the Latin Translation of the two Books I speak of; for he did not barely translate the Book of *Brenzius*, and that of *Salman Zebi*, into Latin, but has also interposed his Judgment about the Accusation of the one, and the Defence of the other. He finds that *Brenzius* is a meer Calumniator in some things. See the following Remark. His Translation and Notes were printed at Nuremberg in the Year 1681. He added a little Book to them which *Isaac Viva* had formerly published at Amsterdam, with this Title, *Vindex sanguinis, hoc est, vindiciæ secundum veritatem quibus Judæi ab infanticidiis & victimæ humane contra Jacobum Geusium* (1) vindicantur. The Apology of *Salman Zebi* was printed at Hanaw, and the Jews animated with envy against the Author, suppressed it with so much care, that no Copies of it were to be found (2).

[B] The Jew, who refuted him, extenuated the Faults of his Party too much. This is a faithful Representation of most Controvertists.] I shall first recite a Passage of the *Acta Eruditorum*. 'Cæterum ut Judæis multa sola criminandi libidine falso obijcit Brenzius, ita vicissim multa negat, vel certe emollit, aut aliter interpretatur Zebi, quorum tamen Judæi jure optimo postulantur: Uterque interdum commode locutus, aliquando & mentitus est, quod in animadversionibus suis diligenter excussit Jo. Wulferus (3). - - - But as Brenzius charges several things falsely on the

'Jews, merely from a Desire to blacken them; so, on the other hand, Zebi denies, or, at least, softens, or gives another sense to, several things, with which the Jews are nevertheless justly chargeable. Both of them have sometimes spoke to the Purpose, and sometimes told lies; as Jo. Wulferus has carefully observed in his Animadversions. This Behaviour of Brenzius may make one suspect his Conversion. It seems to signify that he forsook Judaism, only to revenge himself for some Injury he had received. They who forsake their Religion from such Motives are in great numbers, and commonly publish a hundred Lies against the Party they forsake. The personal Resentment of some Affront, or of an enormous Injustice, animates them to Revenge, and they find no better way to revenge themselves than Calumny. All new Converts in general are almost forced to speak ill of their old Religion (4); for if they did not, they would give occasion to believe that they love it still. Besides, the Stories which they tell, or publish, concerning the domestic Disorders of the Party, which they forsake, please the new Brethren, and dispose them to give the Proselyte a better Reception. Thus you see how contagious the Impertinence of the Heart are: many Persons are obliged to be dishonest, because their Honesty would be taken wrong, and would give offence. But let us make an end of our Commentary. Most Controvertists aggravate the Evil of the other Party as much as they can, and extenuate the Evil of their own Cause as well as they can. When they attack, they excuse nothing; they take nothing in a favourable

(4) That is, with respect to Morals, Cabals, and such like things, different from the Confession of Faith.

a favourable Sense; they give a malicious turn to every thing; they ascribe the Irregularities of some particular Persons to the whole Communion. But when they make Apologies, they put a favourable Construction upon every thing, they set aside what is most odious, and shew only their fair Side, and they think it very strange that their Adversary should be so unjust as to observe their weak Side, and take advantage of the Faults of some Authors. We find this double Artifice of Rhetoric sometimes in the same Book. If the first Part of a Book is designed for an Accusation, and if the second is designed for an Apology; in the first you see all the Cunning of a Plaintiff Advocate, and in the second that of a Defendant. The Principles upon which the Author builds in the first are refuted in the second; as for example; if in the first he gives an odious turn to a thing that

might be favourably construed; he gives in the second a favourable turn to a thing that is susceptible of an ill Construction. This shews that Honesty is not the Soul of those Disputes; it is sacrificed to the Desire of getting the Victory. Sometimes certain Authors are asked, *why have you said such a thing?* They answer, *because it is true*: But, replies the Querist, *you should have known that it was not fit to be made public*. Do not those, who speak in this manner, create just Suspicions, that a zealous Historian suppresses whatever may be prejudicial? How then can one trust an Historiographer, who, out of zeal for his Religion, acts continually the Part of an Apologist, or of an Accuser, and who, properly speaking, turns an History into a Book of Controversy of a new Method?

BREZÉ (PETER de), Lord de la Varenne, and Great Seneschal of Normandy, was in great Favour in the Reign of Charles VII. This made him less acceptable to Lewis XI, the Son and Successor of Charles VII. Therefore it was believed that Lewis XI, soon after he came to the Crown, made choice of him to command the Succours which he granted to Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England, only to be rid of him, because that Succour was so very inconsiderable [A]. Brezé was fortunate in the beginning, and made a considerable Progress against the contrary Party; but it came to nothing; the French were besieged in the Towns they had taken, and obtained no other Capitulation than their Lives, on condition that they should return into France (a). An Historian says, that their Commander and the Queen fell among a Company of Highwaymen [B]. It does not appear that this Expedition of England did any Prejudice to the Fortune of the Seneschal of Normandy; for in the Year 1465 he made a very fine Figure at the Court of France. The War for the public Good, supported by the Count de Charolois, who advanced into the very heart of the Kingdom, was a very troublesome business for Lewis XI. He advised, among others, with Peter de Brezé, what he was to do: He suspected him of keeping Intelligence with the Enemy; and having a mind to be satisfied in it, he asked him himself whether it was so or no? Brezé, who turned every thing into Pleasantry, came off by an Answer in that Strain [C]. He had the command of the Vanguard at the Battle of Montleberi (b), which had been the Subject of the Deliberation; and, whether he was exasperated by some Reproach, or because he was naturally brave, he charged the Enemy with so little Caution, that he was one of the first that was killed [D]. He left a Son, who proved more faithful to the King,

(a) Belcarius, lib. i, n. 4, ad Ann. 1462.

(b) The 27th of July, 1465, according to Comines.

[A] He commanded the Succours sent to the Queen of England, which was very inconsiderable. It consisted only of Two thousand Men, and some Historians make it much less. 'Ludovicus Margareta Andegavenfi --- auxiliarem militem duce Petro Brezeo (Varennium nonnulli à Varennio fundo appellaverunt) Normanniae Seneschallo misit. Hunc Carolo patri in primis charum ac magnis muneribus publicis donatum certis periculis obiectare visus est, siquidem equites peditesque eidem bis mille duntaxat attribuit (1). — Lewis sent some auxiliary Forces to Margaret of Anjou, under the Command of Peter Brezé (de la Varenne some call him from Varenne his Estate) Seneschal of Normandy, with design, as it was thought, to expose the Man to unavoidable Hazards, who had been a great Favourite of his Father Charles, and preferred to several great Posts; for he gave him no more than Two thousand Horse and Foot.' Father d'Orleans says, that the Queen of England obtained only about Five hundred Men of Arms under the Conduct of Brezé (2).

[B] He and the Queen fell into the Hands of a Company of Highwaymen. Monstrelet says, 'That Queen Margaret, her Son, and la Varenne met some Highwaymen; that she fled into a Wood, and said to a Robber that she met, Friend, save thy King's Son; and that she went to Shyrs, and from thence to Bruges; and the Duke of Burgundy had her conducted to her Father (3).' This Adventure of the Queen is very well described by Father d'Orleans (4).

[C] Brezé, who turned every thing into Pleasantry, finding himself suspected --- by Lewis XI, came off by an Answer in that Strain. We learn this from Philip de Comines, who had it from Lewis I. Let us see that great Historian's Words: 'The King consulted the said Count du Maine,

the Great Seneschal of Normandy, whose Name was de Brezé, the Admiral of France, who was of the House of Montauban, and some others. — He suspected the Great Seneschal of Normandy, and desired him to tell him whether he had given his Seal to the Princes that were against him, or not? The said Great Seneschal answered he had, and that it should remain with them, but his Person should be the King's. This he said in a merry way, according to his Custom. The King was satisfied, and gave him the Command of his Vanguard and the Guides, because he was willing to avoid the Battle, as has been said. The Great Seneschal, having got his Desire, then said to one of his most trusty Friends, 'I will put them to day so near together, that it will be a hard matter to part them again. And so he did, and the first who lost their Lives there were he, and his Men. The King himself told me this, for I was then with the Count de Charolois (5).' I remember a good Jest of this Great Seneschal: Lewis XI did every thing of his own Head; Brezé upbraided him with it in a pleasant manner one day as they were hunting. The King was mounted on a little Pad: Sir, said he to him, I think there cannot be a stronger Horse than that Pad. How so? said the King. Because, replied the Seneschal, he carries your Majesty and all your Council.

[D] Whether he was exasperated by some Reproach, or otherwise --- he exposed himself so, that he was killed one of the first. Some say that the King was at last of the opinion of those who would have him give Battle. Nay, some say that he resolved upon it first of all, and that he called the Great Seneschal a Coward for being of another Opinion. That Reproach was so nettling, that it made Peter de Brezé desperate. 'Cæteri Regem

(1) Belcarius, lib. i, n. 4, ad Ann. 1462.

(2) Revolut. of Eng. lib. vi, pag. 291.

(3) Monstrelet, cited by Pierre Matthieu, Hist. of Lewis XI, lib. ii, pag. 96.

(4) Revolut. of Eng. lib. vi, pag. 294.

(5) Comin. lib. i, cap. iii, p. 17.

(c) See Father Anselm's Hist. Geneslog. de la Maison de France, pag. 123. He quotes Joh. Chartier, and Montfretet.

(d) Father Anselme, ibid.

King than his Mother [E], and is the same James de BREZÉ, Count de Maulevrier, Great Seneschal of Normandy (c), who married one of the Natural Daughters of Charles VII, by Agnes Sorel [F], and caused her to be killed at Romiers, near Dourdan, the Night between Saturday and Sunday, the fourteenth of June, in the Year - - - He paid dear for it [G]. From that Marriage came Lewis de BREZÉ, Count de Maulevrier, Great Seneschal of Normandy (d), who married the famous Diana of Poitiers, Mistress of Francis I, and afterwards of Henry II.

This Lewis de Brezé died the Twenty third of July, 1531. His Widow caused a stately Monument to be erected for him in the Church of our Lady at Rouen; but she caused a Prediction to be inserted in the Epitaph which has proved false [H]. Note, that Father Anselme did not know the year wherein the great Seneschal James de Brezé caused his Wife to be killed: If he had consulted the Chronique Scandaleuse of Lewis XI, he would have found there that it was done in the Year 1476. That Adventure deserves to be related in the very Words of that Chronicle [I]. Therefore you have it below with some Corrections of Mr Baudrand.

' Regem quoque in priorem de pugna ineunda sententiam concessisse, immo vero ejus authorem fuisse, & Brizeum quod in contraria sententia esset timiditatis arguisset tradunt. Hinc accensum ira Brizeum se inconsultus in medias hostium acies precipitasse, & quadam veluti desperatione in mortem irruisse (6).'

(6) Belcarius, lib. i, n. 20.

(7) History of Lewis XI, lib. ii, towards the end.

(8) Memoires, lib. i, chap. 35, pag. 316.

This way of ridding himself of the Great Seneschal, was yet more sure than the first; I mean than that which this Prince made use of, when he sent him to the Assistance of the Queen of England with a handful of Men: For what will not a brave Man do after such Reproaches? I am apt to believe that Varillas has a little too much embellished the Paraphrase that he made (7) upon Belcarius's Words, which we have seen in the Remark [A]: But he might very well say, that Brezé was a famous Commander. Oliver de la Marche, though he was in the Party of Burgundy, spoke notwithstanding in praise of that Lord. 'My Lord de Charolois, says he (8), kept that Day the Field of Battle (anciently called the Field of Plours). The next Day he encamped at Montleberi, where James de Montmartin and myself had been sent to view the Ground, and there we found the dead Body of the Seneschal de la Varenne laid on Straw, (which was great pity) and also the Bodies of several other French Noblemen.'

[E] He left a Son who proved more faithful to the King than his Mother. Whilst they were endeavouring to end the War for the public Good, by way of Negotiation, the confederated Princes made themselves Masters of Rouen. The most considerable of the Inhabitants were more willing to live under a Duke of Normandy, than under a King of France; for which reason they persuaded the Widow of Peter de Brezé to receive the Duke of Bourbon into the Castle, and most of them took an Oath of Fidelity to the Duke of Berry. 'Hi Brizei pugna Lethera nuper cæsi persuasa uxore vidua, quæ veluti urbi præerat cuique Rex plurimum confidebat, Joannem Borbonium in arcem admiserunt, & paucis exceptis in Biturigis verba jurarunt. Quo comperto Brizei filius non secus ac pater Normanæ Seneschallus sacramento se Biturigi obligare recusavit, & protinus invita matre ad Regem se contulit.' The Son of that Lady, Great Seneschal of Normandy, would not imitate them, and in spite of his Mother went to King Lewis XI (9).

(9) Belcarius, lib. i, n. 37, ad Ann. 1465.

(10) Gallantries of the Kings of France, Tom. I, pag. 119.

(11) He ought to have said Coitini.

[F] - - - And is the same James de BREZÉ who married a Natural Daughter of Charles VII. and Agnes Sorel. A modern Author calls him Lewis. Agnes Sorel, says he (10), had two Daughters by the King; Charlotte, married to Lewis de Brezé, Seneschal of Normandy, who, having surprized her in Adultery, stabbed her in several places with a Dagger; and Mary, who married Oliver de Coitini (11), Lord of Rochefort. James de Brezé, Son-in-law of Agnes Sorel, and Son of Peter de Brezé, who is the Subject of this Article, punished the unfaithfulness of his Wife too cruelly, and out of a Niceness for much the more blamable, because he should have been prepared to see her a Sportswoman by Defect. We shall see that his Revenge brought him into Trouble, and cost him dear.

[G] And that he caused her to be killed at Romiers. - - - He paid dear for it. He caused her

to be strangled for Adultery. Lewis XI took it very ill, and designed to bring him to a Trial for it. The Great Seneschal redeemed himself for a Fine of an Hundred thousand Crowns, for which he gave, among other Lands, the County of Maulevrier. He had also caused the Lover of his Wife to be put to death, who was a Gentleman of Picardy, called Lavergne. Lewis de Brezé, his Son, marrying Diana of Poitiers for his third Wife, recovered the Lands that had been given for the Fine. The King granted him that Favour in consideration of that Marriage (12). Messieurs de Ste Marthe do not agree to this, in all the Circumstances. They say, that by Letters of the Month of October, 1481, King Lewis XI gave to Lewis de Brezé, eldest Son of James and of Charlotte de Valois, his Natural Sister, the County of Maulevrier, the Lordships of Becrepin, of Maulni - - - and other Lands in Perigord and Quercy. It was in Favour of the Marriage of that Lewis de Brezé with Joland de la Haye, Daughter of Lewis de la Haye, and of Mary of Orleans (13). The Letters of King Lewis XI import, I. That those Lands had been made over to the King, by James de Brezé, for an Hundred thousand Crowns Fine, wherein he had been condemned for having caused his Wife to be put to death. II. That if Lewis died without Sons, those Lands should come to his Brother John de Brezé, and after him to Gaston de Brezé, his other Brother (14). Note, That Messieurs de Ste Marthe having said this, pag. 525, say, pag. 600, that those Letters of Lewis XI were of the Month of October, 1491.

(12) This is taken from a Memorial which a Lady of great Merit procured me.

(13) She was Daughter of the famous Bastard of Orleans Count de Dunois.

(14) Ste. Marthe Geneslog. of the House of France, Tom. I, lib. viii, pag. 525.

[H] The Widow of Lewis de Brezé caused a Prediction to be inserted in the Epitaph which proved false. The Epitaph contains these four Verses:

Hoc Lodoice tibi posuit Bresæ sepulchrum
Pictonis amisso mœsta Diana viro.
Indivulsa tibi quondam & fidiſſima conjux
Ut fuit in thalamo, sic erit in tumulo (15).
Diana, mournful for her Husband dead,
This Monument, Brezé, has rais'd to thee:
Faithful to thee as in the Nuptial Bed,
So in the Grave inseparable she'll be.

(15) You will find them in the second Volume of an History of the City of Rouen, printed in the Year 1668.

It promises that Diana shall be buried in our Lady's Church at Rouen; which did not come to pass, for her Tomb is at Anet.

[I] The Adventure of James de Brezé deserves to be related in the very Words of the Chronique Scandaleuse. These are the Words of John de Troye; for so the Author of the Chronique Scandaleuse was called, if we believe Naudé (16). 'Upon a Saturday, the thirteenth of June, 1476, the Count de Maulevrier, Seneschal of Normandy, Son to Messire Peter de Brezé, who was killed at the Fight of Montleberi, being a hunting near a Village called Romiers les Dourdan, which belonged to him, and having with him Madam Charlotte of France his Wife, and Natural Daughter to the late King Charles, and Mrs Agnes Sorel; it happened unluckily, after hunting, that they returned to sup and lie at Romiers; and there the said Seneschal went alone into a Chamber to take his Rest that Night, and his said Wife

(16) Naudé Adit. to the History of Lewis XI, pag. 29.

went likewise alone into another. She, as her said Husband reported, full of disorderly Lust, carried in with her a Gentleman of *Poitou*, called *Peter de la Vergna*, who was Huntsman to the said Seneschal, and made him lie with her; which was told the Seneschal by one *Peter l'Apothicaire*, his Servant and Steward; the Seneschal immediately took his Sword, and broke open the Door of the Chamber where the said Lady and Huntsman were; the Huntsman he found in his Shirt, and struck him with his Sword, and thrust it into his Body, so that he killed him; and then he went into a Chamber, where he found his said Wife hid under a Bed wherein his Children were, and took her by the Arm and threw her down; and as he threw her down, he struck her with the said Sword over the Shoulders, and she being down and on her Knees, he thrust the said Sword into her Paps and Stomach, and sent her into the other World, and had her buried with the Service of the Church

in the Abbey of *Coulons*. As for the Huntsman, he had him buried in a Garden joining to the House where he had killed him (17). In the time of the *Romans* such a Punishment would have been permitted; but our Laws do not suffer a Husband to revenge the Unfaithfulness of his Wife in that manner. Nevertheless it is done sometimes, and those few Examples are but seldom useful.

Here is what I find in some Manuscript Notes which were sent me by Mr *Baudrand*: 'It is not true that this was transacted at *Romiers* near *Dourdan*; *Lewis de Brezé* stabbed his Wife in the Village of *Reuvers*, on a little River called *Pegre*, two Leagues from *Houdan*, and half a League from *Anet*. It was in his House, joining to the Parsonage, where there are yet some marks of her Blood, together with her Bust, as I have seen it several times, it being in a Seat that belongs to me: And afterwards he caused that Woman to be buried in the Abbey of *Coulons*, near *Neugent le Roy*.'

(17) *Chronique Scandaieuse of Lewis XI*, pag. 329, 330. See also *Rob. Gaguin*, *Annal. lib. x.*, fol. 276.

BREZÉ (the *Mareschal de*), acquired great Glory in the XVIIth Century. His Name was **URBAN DE MAILLE BREZE**: He was of a very ancient Nobility [A], but it is likely that neither this, nor his Courage, did so much contribute to his Fortune, as his Marriage with *Nicole du Plessis*, Cardinal *Richelieu's* Sister. That Match, which would have been made more advantageous to him, if he had been less haughty to his Brother-in-law, procured him nevertheless some noble

[A] He was of a very ancient Nobility. Certainly Mr *le Laboureur* has not very fairly cleared that Genealogy, since Father *Anselme*, who epitomized him, could hardly make any thing of it; and yet that good Father applied himself very much to that Study. I confess ingenuously, that I have been obliged to read that place of Mr *le Laboureur* more than once to apprehend it well; and it is true, generally speaking, that Figures are not much more necessary in matters of Geometry than in matters of Genealogy. This is the Idea I have of the Extraction of the *Mareschal de Brezé*, after having read, with great Attention, what Mr *le Laboureur* says of it (1).

This *Mareschal* descended from the House of *Maille*, which possessed the Lordship of *Maille* in *Touraine* (2), and was so ancient, that there are twenty Degrees of Descent to be found in it. A Lord of that Family, whose Name was *Peau de Maille*, who lived about three hundred Years ago (3), married *Joan*, Heiress of the eldest Branch of the House of *Brezé* in *Anjou*. By that Marriage the Seat of *Brezé* came into one of the Branches of the House of *Maille*, viz. into the Branch whereof *Peau de Maille* was the Head. It remained there till the Death of the *Mareschal de Brezé*, descended from that *Peau de Maille* in the tenth Degree. **LEWIS DE BREZE**, Count of *Mauverrier*, Great Seneschal of *Normandy*, Husband of *Diana of Poitiers*, Duchess of *Valentinois*, so well known by the Amours of *Henry II*, descended from a younger Branch of the House of *Brezé*; so that he was only related to the Ancestors of the *Mareschal* by the Mother's side. We must conjecture this in reading Mr *le Laboureur*, for he does not say so in express Words, but rather inspires another Thought. 'Peau de Maille, says he (4), married *Joan*, Heiress of the eldest Branch of the House of *Brezé* in *Anjou*, the Name whereof continued till *Lewis de Brezé* Great Seneschal of *Normandy*, who had but two Daughters by *Diana of Poitiers*, Duchess of *Valentinois*.' The first sense, and the most natural, that presents itself to any one that reads these Words, is, That the Seneschal of *Normandy* descended from that *Peau de Maille*: yet it is not what the Author means; his meaning is (if I can apprehend any thing of it) that though the eldest Branch of the House of *Brezé* ended by Marriage in the House of *Maille*, nevertheless the House of *Brezé* continued, from Male to Male, till the Great Seneschal of *Normandy* sprung from the younger Branch of the House of *Brezé*. We shall see in a little time (5), that a famous Historian could not disentangle himself out of this Chaos. I have said that *Peau de Maille*, who married the Heiress of the Seat of *Brezé*, was not of the eldest Branch of his

House: I must say now, that the eldest Branch ended with *Francis de Maille*, who left but two Daughters, whereof one was married to *Giles de Laval*, *Sieur de Loué*; and the other to *Francis de Batainai*, *Sieur de Boucage* (6). The Mother of those two Daughters was *Margaret de Rhean*. Mr *le Laboureur* informs us, though in an indirect manner, that the Father of those two Daughters was the Son of *Hardouin de Maille* and *Antoinette de Chauvigni*, and that this *Hardouin* was the Son of another *Hardouin*, and *Petronelle d'Amboise*, and Brother of *Jubez de Maille*, who married *Isabella de Chateaubriant*. 'Hardouin de Maille, says he (7), younger Brother of *Francis* (he had just before spoken of that *Francis de Maille*, who left but two Daughters, and with whom the eldest Branch ended) Son of *Hardouin de Maille*, and of *Antoinette de Chauvigni*, Lady of *Chateauroux*, Viscountess of *Bresse*, &c. married *Frances*, Heiress of *la Tour-landri*, upon condition that he and his Posterity should bear that Name and Arms; and from him is descended the *Marquis de la Tour-landri* and *Jalesne*, who is the Head of it, and whose younger Brothers are the *Marquises de Carmen* in *Bretagne*, and the *Sieurs de Chedrué*, de *la Gueritaude*, and du *Flotté*, descended from the Marriage of *Jubez de Maille*, *Sieur de Ville Romain*, with *Isabelle de Chateaubriant*; which *Jubez* was Son of *Hardouin* *Sieur de Maille*, the Husband of *Petronelle d'Amboise*, whose Brother was the before mentioned *Hardouin*, married to *Antoinette de Chauvigni*. To bring this within the Comprehension of less attentive Readers, we must say, I. That *Hardouin de Maille*, the Husband of *Petronelle d'Amboise*, had two Sons, *Hardouin* and *Jubez*. II. That the eldest of those two Sons married *Antoinette de Chauvigni*, and had two Sons by her; *Francis*, who left but two Daughters, and *Hardouin*, who married the Heiress of *la Tour-landri*. III. That *Jubez de Maille* married *Isabella de Chateaubriant*. IV. That the eldest Branch of the House of *Maille* subsists at present in the Family of *la Tour-landri*; and that the Descendants of *Jubez*, Uncle of this same *Hardouin*, from whom the *Marquis de la Tour-landri* is descended, are the younger Branch of the House of *Maille*. As to the Branch of *Maille-Brezé*, it was divided into some others: there remained no Male in the eldest Branch after the Death of *Mareschal de Brezé*; but there are yet some in the Branch of the Lords of *Benebart* and *Fleury* (8). Father *Anselme* is much less intelligible than Mr *le Laboureur* whom he epitomizes (9). He speaks of two *Hardouins de Maille*, whereof one was the Father of the other; the Father married *Antoinette de Chauvigni*, the Son married the Heiress of *la Tour-landri*. A little after he observes, that the Descendants of *Jubez de Maille*, the Husband of

(6) *Mary de Batainai*, Grand-daughter to this, was the Wife of *William Viscount de Joazeux*, *Mareschal of France*; and so *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, the *Dukes of Guise*, &c. are descended from her. *Le Laboureur's* Additions to *Castelnau*, Tom. II, p. 299.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 299.

(1) Additions to the *Memoirs of Castelnau*, Tom. II, pag. 298, &c.

(2) At present erected into a *Duchy* and *Peerage* by the Name of *Loines*. *Le Laboureur*, *ibid.*

(3) Mr *Le Laboureur* said this in 1660: it is the Date of his Book.

(4) *Page* 299.

(5) See the Remark [E], of the Article **BREZE**, (CLARA-CLEMENTIA).

(8) See *Le Laboureur*, p. 300.

(9) Of the Original and Progress of the Families of *France*, pag. 47.

noble Employments. The Cardinal had some Reasons for revenging himself but imperfectly of the bluntness of the Marechal de Brezé [B], and he was so far from punishing the Father's Insults upon the Children, that his resentment moved him to take special care of them. He caused the Marechal's only Son to be made Admiral of France, and to have the Dignity of Duke of Fronsac; and he married the said Marechal's Daughter to a Prince of the Blood, to that Duke of Enguien, who has made himself famous under that Name, and more still under that of Prince of Condé. We shall see the Fate of that Son, and of that Daughter of the Marechal de Brezé, in the following Articles. As for himself, he received the Marechal's Staff, with the Government of Calais, the Twenty eighth of October, 1632, a little after he had signalized himself in the Battle of Castelnaudari (a). He was Captain of the Life-Guards, and the Year following he was made a Knight of the Holy Ghost. He commanded an Army in Germany in the Year 1634, and relieved Heidelberg (b). The next Year, which was that of the Rupture between France and Spain, he had the Command of the Army of the Netherlands jointly with the Marechal de Chatillon. The first Exploit of that War, which was great and glorious to the utmost, I mean the Battle of Avein, which they won the twentieth of May, and which might have been attended with great Consequences, if a good use had been made of it, proved almost insignificant, either because of the great Misunderstandings that arose between the two Chiefs (c), or for other Reasons which it would be hard to give. Some French Writers lay the fault upon the Prince of Orange, who, say they, was vexed that those, who were designed to serve under him, should have obtained such a signal Victory without his Participation (d). They so wholly let slip one of the fairest Opportunities to ruin the Spanish Affairs in the Netherlands, that the next Year the Spainards came and ravaged Picardy, infomuch that the Marechal de Brezé was not able to hinder them from forcing the Passages of the Somme before his face (e). Notwithstanding this Misfortune, he obtained the Government of Anjou, and that of the Cattle of Angers that same Year. He was made Viceroy of Catalonia in the Year 1642, and died in his Cattle of Milly near Saumur (f), the thirteenth of February, 1650. It was the Fifty third Year of his age (g). He was twice Embassador; first to Gustavus [C], and afterwards in Holland (h). They were Embassies of Honour, and not of Negotiation, though they were not altogether without some Business.

(a) Father Anselme's Hist. of the great Officers, pag. 256.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Aubert's Life of Cardinal Richelieu, lib. vi, cap. lxxviii, Tom. II, pag. 262.

(d) See the Memoirs of the Sieur de Pontis; and the Remark [L], of the Article LEWIS XII.

(e) Aubert, ibid. lib. v, cap. xxxvii, Tom. I, pag. 548.

(f) He was Governor of Saumur. See Rem. [K], of the Article AMY-RAULT.

(g) Father Anselme, ubi supra.

(h) The Year 1635, in the quality of Embassador Extraordinary, Ansel. ibid.

Isabella de Chateaubriant, are the younger Brothers of the Marquis de la Tour-landri. 'Jubez de Maillé, continues he, younger Brother of Har- douin, was married to Joan, Heiress of the elder Branch of the House of Brezé in Anjou, whose Name continued till Lewis de Brezé, great Seneschal of Normandy, who married Diana of Poitiers, Duchesse of Valentinois. Pean de Maillé, Lord of Brezé, contracted Marriage with Joan, Heiress of Brezé, who brought that Seat into the House of Maillé, wherein it continued till the Death of the Marechal de Brezé.' What Negligence! what a Chaos! Is not Jubez de Maillé, younger Brother of Har douin, a true individuum vagum? Is this the way to distinguish Persons? Father Anselme had mentioned two Har douins; ought he not therefore to have observed of which of the two that Jubez was the younger Brother? It is not true that this Jubez married the Heiress of Brezé; and he is the same Jubez, of whom Father Anselme had said that he was married to Isabella of Chateaubriant. What deceived him is, that, in these words of Mr le Laboureur, He married Joan, Heiress of the eldest Branch of the House of Brezé, he believed that by He he ought to understand presently Jubez de Maillé; but it is certain, that he should have understood it of another Person. Mr le Laboureur is somewhat the Cause of this Mistake; for, according to the Rules of Grammar, his He ought rather to relate to Jubez de Maillé than to any other. Jubez prevails in all the foregoing Period; the other Persons are only inserted in that Period as Dependencies and Accessories of Jubez; but this Confusion, in the words of Mr le Laboureur, does not excuse Father Anselme; a Man must use his Reason when Grammar does not remove Ambiguity. Now if this good Father had made use of his Reason, he would have given us Jubez de Maillé and Pean de Maillé, both married to Joan, Heiress of the House of Brezé? would he have understood by He two different Persons? would he not have fixed on Jubez, understanding his Author wrong, or on Pean, understanding him right? One can scarce believe how obscure the French Language is, when an Author does not place his Words right, and when his *il*, his *le*, and his *que*, have not

their Relation well marked. The Genealogists are commonly very careless of that Part of our Grammar. We shall presently see (10) whether there was any reason to say, that the Prince of Condé under matched his Son by marrying him to Marechal de Brezé's Daughter.

[B] The Cardinal de Richelieu revenged himself, but imperfectly, of the bluntness of Marechal de Brezé. Mr le Laboureur relates, that the Marechal 'had not always that regard, which the Authority, and haughty Humour of his Brother-in-law, Cardinal de Richelieu, required from those that belonged to him; and that his want of Complaisance went so far as to tell him to his Face that he had married his Sister only for her Beauty; and that being vexed to see himself upbraided with the Government of Calais, he resigned it, and it was given to the Count de Charrois. Nevertheless, adds the Author, he (11) gave him other Employments; but he (12) always acquitted himself of them in such an independant manner, that the Cardinal made it his chief Business to raise his (13) only Son Armand de Maillé, whom he made Duke of Fronsac, and Admiral of France, and Clara Clementia de Maillé, his Daughter, whom he married to Lewis de Bourbon, at that time Duke of Enguien, now Prince of Condé (14).'

[C] He was sent Embassador to Gustavus. In the beginning of the Year 1632, when the Affairs of the Swedes were in great Prosperity, several Catholic Princes of Germany sent Deputies to Lewis XIII, to recommend to him the Interests of their Religion, and to desire him not to favour the Protestant Religion, which was become so formidable. Lewis XIII exhorted them to forsake the Emperor's Party, and promised them, that on that Condition he would reconcile them with the King of Sweden: but to shew them his religious Zeal, he sent the Marquis de Brezé, Embassador Extraordinary to the King of Sweden, and charged him to mediate some Accommodation favourable to the Princes of the Catholic League. Gustavus was then at Mentz, where he received the Embassador honourably. The Marquis's Proposals and Instances, and the King's Replies, took up almost a whole Afternoon. The King acquainted him with the Artifices of the confederate

(10) In the Article BREZE, (CLARA CLEMENTIA de), Remark [B].

(11) This he is very wrong, according to the Rules of our Grammar; for it doth not relate to the Person which is the Nominative of the whole Period, but to another Person.

(12) Here is another Grammatical Fault; this second *he* relates to a person different from that to which the first relates.

(13) Another Grammatical Fault; this *his* does not relate to the Cardinal, but to another Person.

(14) Le Laboureur Addit. aux memoires de Castelnaud, Tom. II, pag. 298, & seq.

(15) Taken from
a Book of Frederic
Spanheim,
entitled, The
Swedish Soldier,
pag. 200, & seq.

confederate Princes; yet upon certain Conditions he granted him a Truce for fifteen Days, on the Assurances that the Embassador gave him, that the King his Master would dispose the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the other States of the Confederacy, to a reasonable Accommodation; and that, in default thereof, he would not concern himself any more with their Affairs (15). If Brezé negotiated with that great Conqueror, he played also wanton Pranks with him. I have read in a French Writer, what I am going to

relate: the Reader may abate of it what he pleases, he has my Consent. 'The great *Gustavus* spent all his Life in storming Towns, and winning Battles; yet, to divert himself, he played every Evening at Blindman's Buff with his Colonels and Captains; and *Mareschal de Brezé* said often, that he had played several Farces with him, and that commonly, laying aside all his Majesty, he acted the Part of a Cheat, or a Pickpocket, who was surprized, and beaten at the end of the Play (16).'

(16) Costar's Defence of *Vautour's* Works, pag. 67.

BREZÉ (ARMAND DE MAILLÉ), only Son of the *Mareschal* of that Name, was born in the Year 1619. He was raised early to great Employments, for he commanded the Naval Forces of France on the Ocean, in the Year 1640 [A]. He obtained a signal Victory over the *Spaniards* near *Cadiz* [B]. He was called at that time *Marquis de Brezé*: Some time after he took upon him the Title of *Duke of Fronzac*. I do not relate the Particulars of his Actions; they may be seen in *Moreri*, who took them word for word out of *Father Anselme* (a). It is pity that young Lord died so soon; for he was but little above Twenty six Years of Age when he was killed by a Canon-ball on board his Ship near *Orbitello*, in the Year 1646. *Father le Moine*, a Jesuit, who had been his Preceptor, made some Verses on his Death (b), in which he said, among other things, that his Spring and Autumn passed together. Several other Poets signalized themselves on the same Subject. *Balzac* admired the Latin Verses that the *Sieur de Peyravede* made upon it (c).

(a) History of great Officers of the Crown, pag. 326.

(b) They are inserted in the *Peintures morales* of that Jesuit.

(c) See his Choice Letters, Book iii, Lett. 37. And the Article PEYRAVEDE, *Rame* [C].

[A] He commanded the Naval Force of France, in the Year 1640. *Father Anselme*, whom *Moreri* follows, affirms, that the *Marquis de Brezé* commanded the Gallies of France in the Year 1639. I believe he is mistaken; for he says himself elsewhere, that the *Marquis de Pont-de-Courlai* was General of the Gallies from the Year 1635, to the Year 1643.

[B] He obtained a signal Victory over the *Spaniards* near *Cadiz*. Here is what *Auberi* says of it: The Naval Forces of the Western Ocean, 'commanded by the *Marquis de Brezé*, attacked and defeated the *Spanish* Fleet, bound for the *Indies*, near *Cadiz*; so that the General, who was the *Marquis de Castiglione*, was forced to return again into the Harbour with more speed and fewer Gallies than he went out with: which disabled the *Spaniards* from sending to the *West-Indies* that Year, and consequently from drawing any Assistance of Money

from thence, as they had promised themselves (1). When we consider the Naval Victories that the French obtained over the *Spaniards* in the time of *Philip IV*, and the Fleets immensely rich, which the Dutch did often take from the *Spaniards*, one cannot but be surprized at two things: one is, how that Nation could lose so much; the other is, that the French, who are now stronger beyond Comparison, than they were in those times, either in number of Ships, or in Maritime Experience, have not hitherto (2) been able to undertake or execute an thing considerable against that Nation by Sea, during this last War. *Philip II* must needs have put his Kingdom into a very powerful Condition, since it subsists still after the great and innumerable Losses it has sustained for the Space near of a hundred Years.

(1) In the Life of Cardinal *Richelieu*, Book vi, cap. xxxvi, *Tom* II, pag. 238.

(2) This Remark is written in the Month of May, 1694.

BREZÉ (CLARA-CLEMENTIA DE MAILLÉ), Daughter of the *Mareschal* of that Name, was married in the Year 1641, to *Lewis de Bourbon*, Duke of *Enguien*, and afterwards Prince of *Condé*. It was thought strange that a Prince of the Blood consented to that Marriage; but the Duke of *Enguien* was not so much blamed for it, as his Father the Prince of *Condé* [A]. Many excused him by reason of the trouble he might have brought upon himself by offending Cardinal *Richelieu*, Uncle of *Mademoiselle de Brezé*. The Truth is, that the hatred People had for that Cardinal was the chief cause of the Murmurs; for several Marriages have been made between Princes of the Blood and French Ladies, where the under-matching was at least as sensible as in this (a), and yet it does not appear that those Marriages have been criticized. The Prince of *Condé* made a diligent enquiry into the Nobility of the House of *Maille-Brezé*, and found it very illustrious and very ancient [A]. A modern Satirist does not know what he says, when he

(a) See the Remark [B].

[A] The Duke of *Euguien* was not so much blamed for his Marriage with the Lady de Brezé, as his Father the Prince of *Condé*. A History of the Prince of *Condé* was printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1693 (1), wherein it is said, that the Father of the Duke of *Euguien* being at Cardinal *Richelieu's*, some Days after he had somewhat coldly hearkened to the Proposals of the Marriage, fancied that there was a design to arrest him; and that, to prevent that Disgrace, he shewed himself disposed to give his Consent. The Author adds, Every body blamed the Prince of *Condé* (2), because it was found out by the great Advantages that he obtained, on account of that Match, that he had acted more out of Interest than out of Fear (3).

[B] The Prince of *Condé* found the House of *Maille-Brezé* very illustrious and ancient. 'The late Prince had not so much regard to the Power of the Uncle, as not to desire to be informed of the Nobility of the Niece, before he made that Match; and he was well pleased to hear, since

he was necessitated to secure himself against a Man, whose resentment was very much to be dreaded, that the House of *Maille* had all the Qualifications that he could desire, to defend himself against the Censure of the Vulgar, who generally judge rashly of the Conduct of Princes, and who, either out of Ignorance or Malice, would have it, that there was a Disproportion between this Marriage and those of the other Princes of the Blood. This is what I thought fit to refute here; and because I should not be allowed to make a long Digression in order to give twenty Degrees of Generation, I will content myself with a very singular Observation, of which no Example is to be found, I do not say in any House of France, but of all Europe; which shall serve to shew the Antiquity and hereditary Valour of the House of *Maille* (4). This singular Observation will be seen in the Remark [D]. Mr *le Laboureur* gives a short Account of the Genealogy of that Family, and then concludes with these Words: 'Thus have I shewn

(1) The Title says at Cologne for F***. That Work is curious, and well wrote. It was reprinted in the Year 1695, revised, corrected, and augmented, by the Author.

(2) That is, the Father.

(3) Histoire du Prince de Condé, pag. 15.

(4) Le Laboureur's Additions to the Memoires of Castelnau, *Tom* II, p. 298.

he relates the thing otherwise [C]. We find an extraordinary Passage concerning a Knight of that Family [D]. Some very able Historians have confounded it with

shewn, in a few Words, the Condition of the House of Maillé, and now I shall not scruple to say, that it is not inferior to that of Beauvais, which was the House of the fifth Grandmother of our King, Isabella de Beauvais, Wife of John de Bourbon, Count de Vendôme; and that it is, without any Comparison, more illustrious than that of Montespèdon, which was the House of Philippa de Montespèdon, Wife of Charles de Bourbon, Prince of la Roche-sur-Yon, a very proud Prince, though descended from one Wast de Montespèdon, a Fleming, Valet de Chambre of John of France, Duke of Berry; and than many others, which it would be needless to name (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 300.

[C] ----- A modern Satirist does not know what he says, when he relates the thing otherwise.] I mean the anonymous Author, who published some

(6) Memoirs of Mr L. C. D. R.

(7) Pag. 74.

Memoirs in the Year 1687 (6). 'The Duke of Anguien, says he (7), eldest Son of the Prince of Condé, had married Mademoiselle de Brezé, the Cardinal's Niece, and his Father had been obliged to agree to that Marriage to secure his Life, or at least his Liberty. His Son, who knew the Violence that was done him, looked upon his Marriage as Fetters that were put upon him, and, taking occasion from thence to slight his Wife, he had already upbraided her with a thousand Faults, which were but too manifest. She was of a noble Birth, and doubtless she was of an ancient Family; but the Duke of Anguien having sent for a Man, skilled in Genealogies, to know the Origin of it; this Man found himself turned so many ways, that, whether it was true or not, he told him that the House of Maillé, of which she was, came from a Bastard of an Archbishop of Tours. This was enough for the Duke not only to insult his Wife, but also to make poignant Jest upon the Cardinal; and as nothing passed but he was told of it; he was so vexed at it, that he waited only for an Occasion to shew his Resentment. An Occasion soon presented itself: Bouteville having fought a Duel, contrary to the Ordinances, and even to the particular Prohibitions that were made him, was so closely pursued, that he was arrested before he could escape into Lorraine. The Count Des-Chapelles, his Cousin, who had been his Second, and who fled with him, was likewise taken; and as it was a Spight to the House of Condé, to put them to death by the Hands of the common Executioner, the Cardinal did it under pretence of Justice, but in reality to revenge himself for a private Quarrel. I have already said several times, and I may perhaps have a hundred Occasions to repeat it, that the Boldness of these Libel-makers cannot be sufficiently wondered at; they assert the falsest things in the World for Truth, though a great many Persons may convict them of Ignorance. It is notorious, that Bouteville and the Count Des-Chapelles were beheaded in the Month of June 1627, and that the Duke of Anguien did not marry Clara-Clementia de Maillé 'till the Year 1641. And yet they dare suppose that the Cardinal caused those Duellists to be put to death to be revenged for the Injuries the Duke of Anguien did to his Wife.

[D] We find an extraordinary Passage concerning a Knight of that Family. Here is what I promised in the Remark [B]. 'Above four hundred Years ago (8), in a Combat between Girard de Bidefort, Grand Master of the Templars, and the Saracens (9), a young Knight of that Order, Jakelin de Maillé, a Native of Tourain, (they are his own Words (10), in white Armour, performed so many Wonders at the Head of a Troop, which he commanded, that those Infidels believing there was something divine in his Valour, took him for St George, honoured by the Christians, and were touched with so much Respect, as to desire him to surrender, promising to send him back again; but though he alone was left of all his Troop, and could not long resist the Fatigue of so long a Fight in the midst of so many dead Bodies, that lay every where round about him,

(8) They are the Words of Mr Le Laboureur, ubi supra, pag. 298. He says he has this Story from a contemporary Author, printed in the Book entitled, *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

(9) He should have said Turks

(10) That is the Author quoted by Mr Le Laboureur, and printed in *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

it was impossible for them to daunt his Courage; so that the same Historian says, that after he had trod to dust the spot of Ground which he maintained, which was in a stubble Field, where the Corn had newly been cut, he was at last over-powered by the Multitude that fell upon him, whom the Admiration of his Valour made so superstitious, that they gathered the Dust that was sprinkled with his Blood, to rub their Bodies with, thinking by that means to get some part of his Valour. Lastly, there was one among the rest, who, through a great desire of having an Heir of that Merit, cut off that part where-with he might raise one in his Wife. This cannot be explained more modestly; but on the other hand I could not forget such a strange Testimony of Esteem.

When one considers that the *Gesta Dei per Francos* is a Compilation of several Authors in two Volumes in Folio, the first of which contains 1206 Pages, and the second 361, without any Table of the Matters contained in it, one cannot sufficiently wonder at the Negligence of a Writer, who, under a general Quotation of the Title of the Book, alleges out of it one of the most surprising things in the World. Ought he not to suppose that all the Readers would be desirous to satisfy themselves by consulting the Original? He should therefore have made that Enquiry easy to them. Must a Reader be obliged to turn over every Page of two great Volumes? Is not this like looking for a Needle in a Bottle of Hay? I will not be guilty of Mr Le Laboureur's Carelessness; the more I have felt the ill Effects of it, the more I find myself disposed to spare my Readers the same Trouble; and I shall not only quote the Page of *Gesta Dei per Francos*, but also set down many Words of the Original. 'Salahadinus ----- Palestinam violentè aggressus Admiralium Edeffæ Manafaradinum cum septem millibus Turcorum qui Terram Sacram depopularentur, præmisit. Hic autem, cum in partes Tyberiadis processisset [casus] sibi obvios magistrum Militiæ Templi Gerardum de Biddefordia, & magistrum Hospitalis Rogerum de Molendinis, illum quidem fugatum, istum vero interfectum inopino Marte confecit. In quo confictu, cum nostrorum paucissimi ab immenso concluderentur exercitu, insigne quiddam & memoria dignum contigit: nam quidam Templarius, Officio Miles, Nazione Turonius, Nomine Jakelinus de Maillaco, quadam virtutis in se omnium provocabat insultus: cæteris autem commilitonibus suis, qui quingenti æstimabantur, vel captis, vel interfectis, belli totius impetum solus sustinuit: & pro lege Dei sui athleta gloriosus effulsit. ----- Et quia in equo nitido & armis albicantibus tunc casu pugnator incesserat, Gentiles qui Sanctum Georgium in hujusmodi habitu militare noverant, se militem nitentis armaturæ, Christianorum propugnatorem, interfecisse jactabant. Erant in loco, ubi pugnabat, stipulæ, quas messor, post grana paulo ante decussâ, reliquerat inconculsas. Turcorum autem multitudo tanta irruerat, & vix unus contra tot acies tam diu conflixit, ut campus in quo stabant totus resolveretur in pulverem, nec ulla prorsus messis vestigia comparerent. Fuere, ut dicebatur, nonnulli qui corpus viri jam exanimatum pulvere superjecto conspicerunt; & ipsum pulverem suis imponentes verticibus, virtutem ex contactu hausisse credebant. Quidam vero, ut fama ferebat, ardentius cæteris movebatur: & abscissis viri genitalibus, ea tanquam in usum gignendi reservare disposuit, ut vel mortua membra, si fieri posset, virtutis tantæ succitarent hæredem (11). ----- Saladin ----- attacking (11) Historia Hierosolymytana auctoris incerti, in pag. 1157. Operis cui titulus *Gesta Dei per Francos*, as far as Tiberias, and meeting, by chance, with Gerard de Biddeford, Master of the Knights Templars, and Roger de Molendin, Master of the Hospital, he attacked them unexpectedly, and beat them, putting the first to flight, and killing the other. In which Conflict a very small Number of

with that of Brezé [E]. But laying aside all those things, I shall only say, that the Hero, who married the Lady Brezé, used her well enough [F]. She on her side took part in her Husband's Misfortunes. Whilst he was in Prison, she fled with the little Duke their Son to Bourdeaux, whither the Duke of Bouillon brought her safe (b). After she had left that City, she was brought to the Court by the Marechal de la Meilleraye, and earnestly begged her Husband's Liberty (c). Her Conduct on that occasion was praised by an Historian who is no Flatterer [G]. That Princess obtained nothing; she was only permitted to go where she pleased, and she retired to Montrond (d), as she had done before she went to Bourdeaux. She returned to that City, when she heard that the Prince of Condé was there, and staid there 'till the Inhabitants submitted, and the Prince retired into the Spanish Netherlands (e). She went to him thither, and took the Duke of Enguien with her (f), and did not return into France till she came with him after the Peace of the Pyrenees. She died in the Month of April, 1694, at Chateau-Roux in Berry, whither she had retired after a very strange Accident that happened to her, about the

(b) Priolus, lib. v, cap. xiv.

(c) Id. ibid. See also the end of the Remark [G], Citation (20).

(d) It was a Fortress in the Bourbonnois, which has been dismantled.

(e) Priolus, lib. vi, cap. xxxvi.

(f) Condrea cum Enguiano in Belgium ad maritum, Melinia Manlio fuit femine principis. Id. lib. ix, cap. vi.

of our Men being beset by a large Army, a very notable and memorable thing happened: a certain Templar from Tourain, named Jaqueline de Maille, by his peculiar Valour provoked the Attacks of every one against himself: and when all the rest of his Companions, who were about five hundred, were either taken or killed, he alone sustained the brunt of the whole Fight; and approved himself a glorious Champion for the Law of his GOD. --- And because the Warrior by chance at that time fought on a white Horse, and in white Armour, the Infidels, who knew that St George used to fight in that manner, boasted that they had killed the Knight of the white Armour, the Champion of the Christians. There was, in the Place where they fought, Stubble, which, the Corn being but newly reaped, was left ungathered. And so great a Multitude of Turks fell upon him, and he alone fought so long against so great an Army, that all the Field where they stood was trod to dust, and not the least appearance of the Stubble remained. There were some as it was said, who sprinkled the dead Body with Dust, and afterwards put the same Dust on their Heads, imagining they had received some Virtue by touching him. But one, as it was reported, was more earnest than the rest; and cutting off the Man's Genitals kept them as it were for Preservation, that the very dead Members, if possible, might raise him an Heir of so great Valour. This happened in the year 1177.

[E] Some able Historians have confounded the House of Maille Brezé with that of Brezé. When Varillas speaks of the Cardinal of Lorraine's Design to marry his elder Brother to one of the Daughters of the Dukes of Valentinois, he adds this Reflexion: 'That Match was only unequal supposing the Custom of the Princes of Lorraine, who married none but Princesses; for the House of Maille, whereof that of Brezé was a Branch, was accounted, without any Contradiction, one of the noblest and most ancient Houses of France; and it was well known, that besides the famous Jaquelin de Maille, so much celebrated in the History of the Levant, it had afforded some Governors of Provinces from the time of St Lewis (12).' The Author of the Life of Admiral de Coligni (13) has taken notice of that Fault. 'Mademoiselle de Brezé, says he (14), was the Daughter of Mr de Brezé Maulevrier, Seneschal of Normandy, and of Diana of Poitiers. She was of an illustrious Family among the Nobility; and though she was not of that which Mr de Varillas mentions, yet she had some Persons among her Ancestors who had been Governors of Provinces for above three hundred Years. Her Coat of Arms was also very different from that of the other Brezés, whose Sirname is Maille, whereas her's was Brezé. But what deceived Mr de Varillas is, that there is none left of that Family; and he thought, as well as Mezerai, who says the same thing, that it was the same as that of the Maille Brezés.' Varillas made a public Confession of his Fault, wherein he has committed three or four other Mistakes. These are his Words: 'I ingenuously confess, that I believed, on the Credit of a Genealogy which I saw thirty Years ago in the House of Garman, that Peter de Brezé, Great Seneschal

of Normandy, came from the House of Maille; but I have found out since, that this Brezé, Husband of Diana of Poitiers, who was afterwards Dukes of Valentinois, was of the ancient House of Brezé in Normandy, and that it was only for want of Male Issue from him, that the Heiress of that Family of Brezé brought the Name of it into the second House of Brezé, a younger Branch of that of Maille, which subsists no more but in the Person of the Princess Dowager of Condé (15). I. The Husband of Diana of Poitiers was called Lewis de Brezé, and not Peter de Brezé. II. The House of Brezé was not of Normandy, but of Anjou. III. It was not for want of Male Issue from the Husband of Diana of Poitiers, that the Heiress of that House brought the Name of it into the second House of Brezé, a younger Branch of that of Maille. Mr le Laboureur says, That Pean de Maille, who lived above three hundred Years ago, married the Heiress of the eldest Branch of the House of Brezé in Anjou (16). Mr Varillas himself tells us (17), that the whole Succession of the Wife of the Seneschal of Normandy was shared between her two Sons-in-law, who were the Duke of Bouillon and the Duke of Aumale. IV. Lastly, The Branch of Maille Brezé was not reduced to the only Dowager of Condé; for Mr le Laboureur speaks (18) of the Marquis de Benegart, who had two Brothers and two Sisters, and who descended from that Branch.

[F] Her Husband used her well enough. I have read a thing in Marigni's Letters that may do Honour to the Prince of Condé's Memory. The Title of that Letter is, A New-Year's-Gift to the Duke of Enguien; it was written, from Frankfurt, in 1658. Marigni relates, That in a dangerous fit of Sickness, which the Prince of Condé had lately had, he had expressed his Zeal for Religion, his Submission to Providence, and his Satisfaction to have the Internuncio for a Witness of his Respect for the Head of the Church, and of the Humanity wherewith he adored the Mysteries of it; and that he had given sincere Marks of CONJUGAL LOVE, of fatherly Tenderness, of Cordiality for his Friends, and of Kindness to all his Servants and Domestics; which were so many Christian and Moral Battles, wherein he had triumphed over the blackest Calumny of his Enemies.

[G] Her Conduct --- was praised by an Historian who is no Flatterer. These are Priole's Words: 'Condrea ad Regis & Regina conspectum admitta sine ulla vilitatis suspitione innocentiam suam tacita exprobratione ingessit: nullius tamen demissionis verba protulit, sed suppliciter tristis tanta modestia sermonem commendavit, & tam concinne merces visa, ut in eisdem cum illa affectus sentirent se omnes mutari (19). --- The Princess of Condé, admitted into the Presence of the King and Queen, without the least Token of Meanness, tacitly upbraided them with her Innocence; but uttered not one Word below her Character, but, suppliantly sorrowful, she managed her Discourse with such Modesty, and so handsomely bemoaned what she had seen, that she infused the same Affection into all the by-Standers. Nihil promissum de viri liberatione quam tam ardentem genibus advolta Regis & Regina postulavit, sed data copia eundi quo velle & recedendi. Repente, relicta aula, per Andegavenfes & M m Turones

(12) Histoire de Hen. II. Book I, pag. 45. Edit. Holl.

(13) Printed at the Hague, in 1686.

(14) Pag. 36.

(15) Varillas, in the Preface to The History of Hen. II.

(16) Le Laboureur's Additions to Casselneau, Tom. II, pag. 299.

(17) Hist. de Hen. II, lib. I, pag. 37.

(18) Pag. 300.

(19) Priolus, lib. v, cap. 27.

the latter end of the Year 1670. One of her Domesticcs was so mad as to draw his Sword upon her, and to give her a thrust with it. He made his escape, but was taken up a little while after. It is said, that That Princess, so far from desiring that he should be put to death, begged his Life, out of a sense of Humanity and Meekness. This Adventure occasioned many Reflexions [H], which was unavoidable in a City so full of Novelists as Paris is; I mean your Political Praters, and who pretend to guess right.

(20) Id. lib. v. cap. 14.

'Turones Montem-Rotundum petiit ubi mariti in libertatem asserti inculcata vitæ norma mandata expectavit (20). ----- Nothing was promised her concerning the Release of her Husband, which she so earnestly begged on her Knees, at the Feet of the King and Queen; but leave was given her to go and retire wherever she would. Immediately she left the Court, and going through Anjou and Touraine, retired to Montrond, where she waited the Commands of her Husband, when he should be set at Liberty, leading a blameless Life.'

[H] One of her Domesticcs ----- did strike her with his Sword ----- this Adventure occasioned many Reflexions. I have just now read some Circumstances of that Action, and of its Consequences, in Mr Patin. 'Three Weeks ago, says he (21), a Man, who had been one of the Prince's Footmen, came into the Place of Condé, and drew his Sword upon the Princess, whom he found at Advantage, and run it into her Body, but the Wound is not mortal. It is thought he had a mind to rob her, but he fled, and is not taken.

(21) Patin's Letter is dated January 14, 1671. It is the 531st.

'All the Devils are not in Hell, nor all the Madmen in Bedlam; many People are weary of their Life. At last he is taken, and his Name is du Val; he asked her for some Money which he pretended was due to him. He is going to be tried. This matter is variously whispered. ----- The Footman du Val, who wounded the Princess, is condemned to the Gallies, and chained with the rest; but they are not yet gone, for he is still at Paris. As for her, it is said she will soon be carried to Chateau roux in Berri, by the King's Command, and her Husband's Order. The Secret of it is not known (22). The Prince of Condé a little while before he died wrote a whole Page with his own Hand, and having caused the Dukes of Enguien and Gournville to read it, he ordered it to be sealed, and given to the Duke his Son after his Death. The Prince spoke in that Writing of his Wife the Princess of Condé, and even desired the King to take care of that Princess, and to prescribe her the manner how she ought to behave herself (23).'

(22) Patin, ibid. Letter 532, pag. 585.

(23) Histoire du Prince de Condé, liv. v. pag. 575.

BRISEÏS, a Concubine of Achilles, was accidentally the cause of a thousand Disorders in the Grecian Army at the Siege of Troy [A]. Her right Name was Hippodamia (a); that of Briseïs is one of those Names which the Grammarians call Patronymical (b). She fell into the Hands of Achilles when that Hero had taken Lyrnessus, and killed her Husband Mynes, who was King of that Place. This is Homer's Opinion, which some Authors do not follow [B]. Achilles had that Prince's Widow for his share of the Booty, and loved her very tenderly (c). She hoped he would take her with him into Theffaly to marry her [C]. When Agamemnon and Achilles were reconciled, the first made many Presents to the other, and returned him

(a) Eustathius & Scholiastes Homeri in Iliad. lib. i. Dict. Cretensis. lib. ii.

(b) That is, formed out of the Father's Name. Briseïs's Father is called Briseus by Homer, II. lib. ix, ver. 392, lib. ix, ver. 132, 274, and Brises by Diogenes Cretensis, lib. ii.

(1) Hom. II. l. i.

(2) Id. tota fere Iliade.

(3) In Iliad. ii, ver. 199.

(4) Meziriac on Ovid's Epistles, pag. 255, conjectures that it ought to be read Ection.

(5) Dict. Cret. lib. 2, pag. 172.

(6) See how Meziriac, ibid. pag. 256, corrects Cedrenus's Text.

[A] She was accidentally the Cause of a thousand Disorders in the Grecian Army at the Siege of Troy. This is the Chain of all those Events. In a Council of War Achilles was of opinion that Chryseïs, the Concubine of Agamemnon, should be returned to her Father: After a great deal of abusive Language on both sides, Agamemnon was forced to yield to that Advice; but to make himself amends he, seized on Briseïs (1). Achilles being provoked with this Affront, laid down his Arms, and from that time the Trojans obtained several Advantages, which put the Army of the Greeks in an ill Condition (2).

[B] She fell into the Hands of Achilles ----- at the taking of Lyrnessus. This is Homer's Opinion, which some Authors do not follow. He says in the second and nineteenth Book of the Iliad, that Achilles took Briseïs in the City of Lyrnessus; and it is easy to conclude from those two Passages, that Mynes, who reigned, and was killed there, was Briseïs's Husband. The Scholiast upon Homer (3) and Eustathius says so in express Words. Diogenes Cretensis is of another Opinion; he says that Fastion (4) was King of Lyrnessus, and Husband of Astynome, the Daughter of Chryseïs, when Achilles took that Town (5). He adds, that, after that Conquest, Achilles went speedily to attack Pedasus, a Town of the Lelegones, where reigned Phryx, whose Daughter, Hippodamia, was taken. Cedrenus follows the Opinion of Diogenes Cretensis (6). We must remember, that Briseïs and Hippodamia are one and the same Person here. However it be, Moreri is greatly mistaken in saying, that Briseïs was a Trojan Lady.

[C] She hoped Achilles would take her with him ----- to marry her. It was Patroclus who inspired her with such hopes, and perhaps he did it only to soften her Grief for the Death of her Husband and of her Brothers, and for the Ruin of her Country. However it be, the Remembrance of those hopes

melted Briseïs into Tears, when, at her Return to Achilles, she saw the dead Body of Patroclus.

Οὐδὲ μὲν ἔδ' ἐμ' ἔασκε, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμὸν
ἀκούς Ἀχιλλεύς
Ἐκλείων, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν Δείσοιο Μύνητον,
Κλαίειν, ἀλλ' ἐμ' ἔρασκες Ἀχιλλεύῳ Δείσοιο
Κυεσίην ἀλοκὸν ὄσεν, ἀεὶν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
Ἔς φθιν, δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμι-
δόνεσσι.

Τῷ σ' ἄμοτον κλαίω τεθνότα μείλιχον αἰεὶ.

Minime tamen, minime sinebas me, cum virum
velox Achilles
Interfecit, evertitque urbem divini Mynetis,
Flere, sed me dicebas Achillis divini
Charam uxorem te facturum esse, ducturumque
in navibus
Ad Phthiam, celebraturumque nuptias inter Myr-
midones,
Ideo te insatiabiliter defleo mortuum, suavem sem-
per (7).

Thy friendly hand uprear'd me from the Plain,
And dry'd my Sorrows for a Husband slain.
Achilles' Care you promised I should prove,
The first, the dearest, Part'ner of his Love;
That Rites Divine should ratify the Band,
And make me Empress in his Native Land;
Accept these grateful Tears, for thee they flow,
For thee, that ever felt another's Woe.

POPE.

[D] When

(c) See the Remarks [E], and [F].

(7) Homer, Iliad. lib. ix, ver. 295.

him *Briseis*, and swore solemnly that he had not touched her [D]. If it be not false that he foreswore himself, it is at least very likely. I do not know what became of that Woman after *Achilles* was killed. *Horace* argued wrong, when he alledged *Achilles*'s Example, to prove that a Man ought not to be ashamed of loving his Servant-Maid. Mr *Menage*'s Criticism upon this is very well grounded [E].

Dares

[D] When Agamemnon — restored her to Achilles, he swore solemnly, that he had not touched her.] I swear, said he, by the great God Jupiter, by the Earth, by the Sun, and by the Infernal Furies, who punish Perjuries, that I never laid my Hands on her, either to enjoy her, or on any other Account.

Μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κέρη Βρισηΐδῃ χεῖρ' ἐπενείκα
'Οὐτ' εὐνῆς πρόσθεν κεχρημένῳ ἔτε τευ
ἀλλ',
'Αλλ' ἔμεν, ἀπρόσιμας ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐμῇ-
σιν.

Me non puellæ Briseidi manum intulisse,
Neque concubitus causa egentem, neque alicujus
alterius rei,

(8) Id. ibid. ver.
261.

Sed mansisse intactam in tentoriis meis (8).

The black-eyed Maid inviolate removes,
Pure and unconscious of my manly Loves.

POPE.

Ovid brings in *Briseis* swearing, that she lived like a chaste Widow in *Agamemnon*'s Tent, whilst *Achilles* comforted himself in the Arms of another Mistress for the loss of *Briseis*.

Nulla Mycenæum sociasse cubilia mecum

Juro: fallentem deseruisse velis.

Si tibi nunc dicam; Fortissime, tu quoque jura

Nulla tibi sine me gaudia facta, neges (9).

(9) Ovidius in
Epist. Brise. ad
Achill. ver. 109.

I swear,
And last of all, by thine own Head, and mine,
Whom Love, tho' parted now, did sometimes join,
That I preserve my Faith intire and chaste;
That I no foreign Love or Pleasure Taste:
That no Asperion can my Honour touch:
O that Achilles too could say as much!

CARYL.

Ovid did not believe that Oath of *Briseis*; for he alledges *Agamemnon* as an Example of one of his Remedies for Love. That Remedy consists in driving away one Passion by another, in applying one's self to *Briseis*, as *Agamemnon* did, in order to forget *Cbryseis*. What would it avail me to be a King, if I did not lie with this Woman? I had as good yield my Royalty to the vilest Fellow.

Nam si rex ego sum, nec mecum dormiet illa,
In mea Therites regna licebit eat.

Dixit, & hanc habuit solatia magna prioris,
Et prior est curâ cura repulsa novâ (10).

(10) Ovid. de re-
med. Amor. ver.
43.

This is what *Ovid* makes *Agamemnon* say; after which he affirms, that *Briseis* succeeded with that Prince in the Function of *Cbryseis*. *Agamemnon*'s Temper renders the thing very likely. He was a very lascivious Man; for, whilst the Fleet lay at Anchor for a fair Wind, 'He ran all over *Bæotia* after a pretty Youth whose Name was *Argynnus*, whom he pursued dishonestly; till at last, not being able to prevail, he bathed himself in the Lake *Copaïs* to extinguish his Heat (11). With what Suddenness and Fury did he fall in Love with *Cassandra*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, in the Temple of *Minerva* (12)? His Oath did not persuade *Achilles*. See one of *Libanius*'s Speeches, wherein *Achilles* says to *Ulysses*, 'He swears that he has not touched *Briseis*; be it so. But will any Body believe it?' 'The Shame of it will therefore stick to me in every Body's Opinion; and to tell you in one word what I think, I give no Credit to *Agamemnon*'s Oaths. Καὶ τὴν οἰμίζεται μὲν Ἀγαμέμ-

(11) Vigenere
on Philostratus,
in the Picture of
Ajax the Locran.
Ex Plotarcho, de
ratiocinio beati-
ssimum.

(12) Id. ibid.

νον. δεδόσθαι δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆς. πείσει δὲ ὁ
δῖνα. μένει δὲ τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. ὁλ. δὲ,
ἔδαμῃ ἢ πῶς οἷς ὁμῶς.

[E] *Horace* — alledged *Achilles*'s Love to *Briseis* — to prove — that a Man might love his Servant. Mr *Menage*'s Criticism upon this is very well grounded.] These are his Words; 'I had designed to make an Ode on *William Colletet*'s loving Servant-Maids, in Imitation of *Horace*, who made one upon one of his Friends, who had the same Passion; but I have not done it. Examining that of *Horace*, I found it was all wrong. He praises his Friend for imitating the Ancients, who had also loved and married their Servant-Maids. He quotes *Achilles* for an Example, who married *Briseis*; but *Briseis* was no Servant, she was a Slave who was a Queen, and had been taken by the Right of Arms (13). This Thought of *Horace* is very odd, and contains a pitiful Argument (14). *Achilles* was not ashamed to love a Queen, whom the Chance of Arms put into his Hands; *Agamemnon* did not blush in the midst of his Triumph to love the Daughter of King *Priamus*; therefore you need not blush to love a Slave you have bought. I own that he endeavours to mend the Matter a little, by supposing it was likely his Friend's Maid might be of a good Family, considering the good Qualities wherewith she was endowed; but this does not repair the Fault. We should now-a-days call a Man fool and extravagant, if he encouraged his Friend to love a Servant-Maid, under pretence that some Generals of Armies, who had taken a Count, or a Prince of the Empire, Prisoner, with his Wife and Daughters, would make no difficulty to entertain their the Prisoners with amorous Addresses, and to marry them. I know very well, that Men do not judge of the same Things alike in all Ages, and that I ought not to insist upon my Parallel without any Restriction; but *Horace*'s Argument will never be justified, and at the worst it will appear, that, in *Homer*'s Time, the Ideas of Reason were still very much confused, since *Achilles* expresses himself thus in the *Iliad*: I loved *Briseis* with all my Heart, though the Force of Arms made her fall into my Hands.

(13) *Menagiana*,
pag. 258, of the
first Edition of
Holland.

(14) Ne fit ancilla tibi amor pudori, &c.
Horat. Od. iv,
lib. ii.

ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν.
'Εκ θυμῷ φίλεον δεροκτῆσιν περ ἔσσαν.

ut & ego hanc

Ex animo amabam, armis captam licet existitem (15).

(15) *Homer*
Iliad. ix, ver.
342, 343.

Slave as she was my Soul ador'd the Dams.

POPE.

If *Alexander* had argued thus in Relation to *Darius*'s Wife and Daughters, would it not have been said, that he did not know what he said? Perhaps I venture a little too much, since we read, in *Quintus Curtius*, that this Conqueror justified his Marriage with *Roxana*, by this Reason, that *Achilles* did not scorn to lie with a Prisoner. *Achilleum quæque a quo genus ipse deduceret cum captiva coisse* (16). *Ovid* makes use of the same Argument as *Horace*, to justify the Trade he drove with the Maid of his *Corinna*. He was not contented with the Mistress's Favors; he went as heartily to work with the Chamber-Maid, protesting, nevertheless, when *Corinna* complained to him about it, that a Man must have lost his Judgment, to mind Servant-Maids.

(16) *Q. Curtius*
lib viii, cap iv,
n. 25.

Quid quod in ancilla si quis delinquere posset,
Illum ego contendi mente carere bona?

Theſſalus ancillæ facie Briseidos arsit:

Serva Mycenæo Phœbas amata duci.

Non ego Tantalide major, nec major Achille:

Quod decuit reges cur mihi turpe putem (17)?

(17) *Ovid. Amor.*
lib ii, Eleg. viii,
ver. 9.

What

BRISEÏS. BRISSOT.

(d) Printed at
Paris in 1620,
in 8vo.

Dares Phrygius represented *Briseïs* as a charming Woman [F]. He says her Eyebrows joined each other, which would not pass in our Age for a Beauty. Du Souhait, in his Translation of the *Iliad* (d), very ridiculously calls *Briseïs* a Virgin [G], when she was taken from Achilles's Tent, and brought to that of Agamemnon.

What though I call it a disgrace to prove
Steln Sweet, or make a Chamber-Maid my Love;
Achilles wanton'd in Briseïs Arms,
Atrides bow'd to fair Cassandra's Charms:
Since I am less than these, then what can bring
Disgrace to me, that so became a King?

CREECH.

Pheroras, Herod's Brother, was so passionately in love with a Servant-Maid, that he chose rather to persist in that mean Amour, than to marry Herod's Daughter. Pheroras impuros ancillæ complexus Herodis filia impolluto cubili prætulit (18). If ever any Body makes the Catalogue mentioned by Mr Menage (19), he will do well to enlarge it with those who have imitated Pheroras.

I must say something, by the by, of Mr Dacier's Remark on these Words of Horace,

Hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque (20).

One robb'd of what he eagerly desir'd,
Was rais'd by Love; but both by Fury fir'd:

Here is a Judgment of Horace that is very remarkable, says Mr Dacier (21). Speaking of Achilles and Agamemnon, he says, 'that Love burns the latter, and that both are equally inflamed with Anger, Achilles is not therefore in Love; which is true. Homer, who was thoroughly acquainted with the Passions, did very well see that Love could not possess a Man of Achilles's Character.' Mr Dacier cites two Passages of Homer, which make him conclude, 'That Achilles is only sensible of the Affront put upon him, by taking a Prize from him, wherewith his Valour had been honoured; Love has no share in his Complaints. It is not so with Agamemnon; he loved Briseïs; he expresses his Passion thus.' Mr Dacier quotes here some Verses of the *Iliad* which concern Chryseïs, and not Briseïs, and then he adds, 'It was very important to distinguish those two Characters of Achilles and Agamemnon: For many have been mistaken about it, thinking that Homer had made Achilles in love with Briseïs. Horace took care not to commit that Fault.' It would be difficult to reconcile this with the Verses of the ninth Book of the *Iliad*, which I have quoted above (22). See also Plutarch, who affirms, that Achilles was in love with Briseïs (23), and therefore it must be said, that when Propertius observed that Achilles suffered many Things for the Love of the fair Briseïs,

Omnia formosam propter Briseïda passus (24), he did not make use of the Privilege of Poems of Gallantry, wherein Love is brought in as the Cause of all; he went upon the Notion of Homer, who grounds Achilles's Anger on taking away from him an Object that was dear to him (25). All the other Poets went upon the same Notion: see the *Index Achilleus*, Article 184, 185.

[F] Dares Phrygius represents Briseïs as a charming Woman. He says, she was very handsome, fair, of a middle Size, and of a strait Shape; that she had fine Eyes, the Eyebrows joined, a sweet, modest, and mild (26) Humour, without any Art: Briseïdam formosam, nec alta statura, candidam, capillo flavo & molli, superciliis junctis (27), oculis venustis, corpore equali, blandam, verecundam, animo simplici, & piam. All the Authors, who have spoke of her, make her very handsome: see the *Index Achilleus*, Article 305.

[G] Du Souhait — very ridiculously calls Briseïs a Virgin. He renders these Words of the first Book of the *Iliad*. Παρθένος ἔειπεν ἄγων (28), thus, Patroclus brings him the Virgin. See also his Translation of the 345th and 346th Verses of the same Book. Patroclus, says he, in Obedience to his Friend delivered the Virgin. He repeats the same Word in other Places. This is altogether impertinent: There is no Consequence to be drawn from one Language to other Languages; and therefore under pretence that the Greeks might give a Woman the Name of *ἄγων*, which was chiefly designed to signify a Maid; it does not follow, that in French those that have been married, or Concubines, may be called, *puelles, filles, vierges, (Maid or Virgins)*. That Translator could not be ignorant, that Briseïs had lost her Husband at the taking of Lyrnessus (29), and that she had lain a long time with Achilles. The Latins were as free as the Greeks in the use of the same Words to signify a Maid, and a Woman: they called those *Puellas & Virgines* who had had Children, or who had a Husband. Dr Drelincourt has produced a great many Examples of the *Greeks and Romans* in the 370th Article of the second Edition of his *Index Achilleus* (30). He has acquainted me with the *Mistake* of the *Sieur du Souhait*. He does not mention it in his Book, as he mentions that of *Dausquejus*.

Quam (Briseïda) Dausquejus oscitantur cum Chryseïde confundit, Not. ad Sil. Ital. lib. xv. pag. 656. (31). — Whom (Briseïs) Dausquejus carelessly confounds with Chryseïs. These are Dausquejus's Words, 'Agamemnon in Achillem fuit injurius abrepta Chryseïde ejus captiva. — Agamemnon did wrong to Achilles in taking away his Prisoner Chryseïs.

(24) Propert. lib. ii. Eleg. viii.

(25) *Iliad*, lib. ix. ver. 342.

(26) The Latin Word may signify devout.

(27) See concerning those kind of Eyebrows, the Authors quoted in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Novembre 1684. Article. viii.

(28) Homer, *Iliad*. lib. i. ver. 337.

(29) Homer says so in express words, *Iliad*. lib. xix. ver. 291.

(30) See concerning the first Edition of that Work, *Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans*, May 1693, pag. 511, and the Dutch Journal intituled *Boekzaal van Europa*, September 1693, pag. 286; concerning the second see the Journal of Mr Chauvin, intituled *Nouveau Journal des Savans* dressé à Rotterdam par les Sieur C***, July and August, 1694, pag. 4-98; and concerning the third, the Journal des Savans of Jan. 6. 1698, pag. 8.

(31) Drelincourt, in *Indice Achilleo*. n. 184. pag. 63. Edit. 2.

(18) Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xvi. cap. xi, pag. 564. apud Drelincourt. Indic. Achill. pag. 62. Edit. 2.

(19) Menagiana, pag. 253, of B. dit. 1. of Holl.

(20) Horat. Epist. ii. lib. i. ver. 13.

(21) In the 8th Vol. of his Remarks on Horace, pag. 147. Edit. Holl.

(22) Citat. 15.

(23) *Οτι τῆς Βρισηίδος ἔργον. Plut. de audiend. Poëtis, pag. 33.

(a) In 1502.

BRISSOT (PETER), one of the most able Physicians of the XVIIIth Century, was the Son of an Advocate of great Repute, and was born at Fontenai-le-Comte, in Poitou, in the Year 1478. About the Year 1495, he was sent to Paris, where he went through a Course of Philosophy under Villemor, one of the most famous Professors of those times. It was by the Advice of that Professor that he resolved to be a Physician: He studied Physic there four Years, and then began to teach Philosophy in the University of Paris (a). After he had done it for the space of ten Years, he left it off to prepare himself for the Examinations, which he was to undergo at Paris, before he could be admitted Doctor of Physic. He began to prepare himself for it in 1512, and took his Doctor's Degree the Twenty seventh of May, 1514. Being one of those Men, that are not contented with Custom and Tradition, but will examine Matters carefully, he made an exact Comparison between the Practice of those Times, and the Doctrine of Hippocrates and Galen; and he found that the Arabians had introduced many things into the Practice of Physic, that were contrary to the ancient and true Method of curing Diseases, and to the Doctrine of those two great Masters, as also to the Knowledge that Reason and Experience might furnish. He therefore went about to reform Physic, I mean to re-establish the Precepts of Hippocrates and Galen, and to explode the Doctrines of the Arabians. It was almost impossible, at that time, to imagine another Reformation. First of all, he undertook publicly to explain Galen's

Galen's Books, instead of those of *Avicenna*, *Rhasis*, and *Mesue*, that were commonly explained in the Schools of Physic. He caused one of *Galen's* Works to be printed at his own Charge (b), according to the Edition and Translation of *Leonices*, and explained it so learnedly, that he made it appear, that the *Arabian* Physicians understood nothing of it. Then he proceeded to the Explication of another Piece of *Galen* (c), and to that of *John Mesue* (d). He mistrusted this last Explication, either because he was ignorant of Botany, or by reason of that Physician's Obscurity. He resolved therefore to travel, in order to acquire the knowledge of Plants, and put himself in a capacity of reforming Pharmacy. But, before he left the City of *Paris*, he made the Public sensible of an inveterate Error. The constant Practice of Physicians, in the Pleurisy, was to bleed, not on the side where the Distemper was, but on the opposite Side; I mean, that, if the Pleurisy was on the left Side, they let Blood in the right Arm, and *vice versa*. *Brissot* had a Disputation about it in the Schools of Physic, confuted that Practice, and shewed that it was falsely pretended to be consonant to the Doctrine of *Hippocrates*, and *Galen*. Moreover, he made use of a quite contrary Practice, the Success whereof proved wonderful, and by that means he suppressed that Abuse. *Brissot* being fully resolved to travel, even as far as the new World, if there was occasion, left *Paris* in the Year 1518, and went into *Portugal*. He stopped there in the City of *Ebora*, where he practised Physic. His new way of bleeding in the Pleurisy did not please every body; but he justified it by a learned Apology, which he wrote in answer to a long and disobliging Letter he had received from a Physician (e). He would have published that Apology, if Death had not prevented it, in the Year 1522 [A]. His Friend *Antony Luceus* (f) caused it to be printed three Years after at *Paris*. It was re-printed at *Basil* in the Year 1529. *Renatus Moreau* published a new Edition of it at *Paris*, in the Year 1622. with a Treatise of his own, *De missione sanguinis in Pleuritide*, and the Life of *Brissot*, out of which I have taken this Article. The Endeavours that were used to suppress the Practice, which this French Physician endeavoured to introduce in *Portugal*, deserve a Reflexion [B]. *Brissot* composed some other Books, but the Manuscripts were lost. He would never marry, being of opinion, that Marriage did not well agree with the Muses (g). He cared so little for Gain, that it is said, that, when he was called to any sick Person, he looked into his Purse, and, if he found but two Testoons in it, he refused the Practice. He loved his study so well, that it was difficult to take him from it (h).

(b) Opus hupacis ad Glauconem.

(c) Viz. περί της πνεύμονος ασθνης.

(d) He explained it in private, [privatim], to the Apothecaries.

(e) His Name was Denys, and he was Physician to the King of Portugal.

(f) A Native of Ebora.

(g) Cælebs vixit comitibus tædii vitans, quocumque Mus perpetuum diffidum interesse distulabat. Ren. Moreau in ejus vita.

(h) Laboris tam patiens, studii tam avilus, ut libris tanquam faxis Polypos adherereciet. Id. ibid.

[A] His Death prevented it in the Year 1522.] *Merklinus* is therefore in the wrong, to say that he flourished under *Clement VII* (1); for that Pope was not elected before 1523. The Author, whom I censure here, has forgot the first Edition of *Brissot's* Apology. It is that of *Paris*, printed for *Simon Colines*, in 1525, instead of which he mentions one in the Year 1538, printed for the same, and at the same Place, and altogether unknown to the curious *Renatus Moreau*; which might in some manner make it suspected of Falsity.

[B] The Endeavours that were used to suppress his Method in Portugal deserve a Reflexion.] The Dispute between *Denys* and *Brissot* raised a kind of Civil-War among the Portuguese Physicians. The Business was brought before the Tribunal of the University of *Salamanca* (2), where it was thoroughly discussed by the Faculty of Physic; but whilst they were examining the Reasons pro and con, the Partizans of *Denys* had recourse to an Expedient which seldom fails those who are the strongest: they bore down the others by the Authority of the Secular Power, and obtained a Decree forbidding Physicians to bleed in the same side in which the Pleurisy was. At last the University of *Salamanca* gave their Judgment, importing that the Opinion ascribed to *Brissot* was the true Doctrine of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*. The Followers of *Denys* appealed to *Cæsar* about the Years 1529. They thought themselves superior both in Authority and Number, so that the matter was brought before *Charles V*. They were not contented to call the Doctrine of their Adversaries false, but they said

moreover that it was impious and mortal, and as pernicious to the Body as *Luther's* Schism to the Soul. They did not only blacken their Adversary's Reputation by private Arts, but also openly accused them of Ignorance and Rashness, of attempting on Religion, and of being downright Lutherans in Physic. It fell out unluckily for them that *Charles III*, Duke of *Savoy*, happened to die of a Pleurisy, after he had been bled according to the Practice which *Brissot* had opposed. Had it not been for this, the Emperor, as it is thought, would have granted every thing that *Brissot's* Antagonists desired of him. But though that Accident should have made the good Cause triumph, no other Good resulted from it, but that the thing remained undecided. It is true that from that time several Books were published all over Europe on that Question, wherein the Practice of the *Arabians* was highly condemned (3). *Renatus Moreau*, in the Work which I have cited, gives a very curious List of those Books, and of those wherein that Practice was approved. But who would not admire, on the one side, the Infatuation of Men, in favour of the Opinions commonly received, though they be ever so ill grounded; and on the other side the Readiness of Magistrates to declare for or against certain Remedies: for since it happens but too often that they condemn some, which in time are generally approved, for very good Reasons grounded upon Experience, it may be said that they judged without Knowledge, being led away by the most noisy and violent Cabal? Antimony is a Proof of what I say. See *Furetiere's* Dictionary (4).

AN INSTANCE of the ill Custom of interesting Religion into the Disputes of the Learned, to alarm the People and the Magistrates.

(3) Ex vita *Brissoti* per *Renatum Moreau*.

(4) At the Word Antimoine.

BRITANNICUS (JOHN), an Italian, was one of the best Scholars of the XVth Century. He was born at *Palazzolo*, near *Brescia*. He published Notes on some Classical Authors, on *Perfius*, *Terence*, *Statius*, *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*; some Rules of Grammar, several little Tracts, and Letters, and a Panegyric upon *Bartolomew Cajetan*, a brave and learned Man (a). *Britannicus* taught with great Application: He did it long enough at *Brescia*, to acquire the Method and Practice of teaching

(a) Leonardo Cozzando, della Libreria *Bresciana*, pag. 155.

VOL. II,

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a Form

a Form. He died in that City in the Year 1510 [A]. When he dedicated his Commentary on *Juvenal* to the Senate and City of *Brescia*, he gave a reason for it, which was, that the Commentaries, he had already dedicated to them, had procured him a considerable Present [B]. Was not this asking for another? Those who have said that he was the first who commented upon that Poet are very much mistaken [C]. He took the Name of *Britannicus* because his Ancestors were of *Great Britain* (b).

(b) Ghilini, *Teatr. d' Huom illustri*, Parte I, pag. 78.

(1) Bibliot. Gefneri, fol. 393.

(2) Ghilini, *Teatr. Parte I*, pag. 78.

(3) Britann. *Epist. Dedicat. Juvenal.*

(a) Vignier, in *the Theatre de l' Antichrist*, Parte I, cap. 22. Thuanus makes him Subalpinus; and Spondanus, Pedemontanus.

(b) He was afterwards Professor at Franeker.

(c) Voetius, *Disput. Theologic. Tom. II, p. 1075* who quotes the Preface of Lambert Daneau's Commentary on the Minor Prophets.

(1) Vide Voetii Disput. Tom. II, pag. 1075.

(2) In the Remark [B].

[A] He died - - - in the Year 1510.] Who would believe this, when he reads in a Work printed in the Year 1545, *Joannes Britannicus claret in civitate Brixiana, & varia composita opuscula* (1). - - - Joannes Britannicus flourishes in the City of *Brescia*, and writes several Works. 'Honest *Gefner*, [will some say] had found these Words in some Book wherein they were true, and, without thinking that the time was altered, transcribed them Word for Word. It were better to write fewer Books, and to take the Pains to accommodate to the present time what our Predecessors said.' I answer that he had this from *Tritemius*, and that his Preface may hinder any body from being deceived in it. *Ghilini's* Mistake is more gross; he believed that *Paul Manutius* flourished at the same time as *Britannicus* did. 'Non li fu difficil cosa non solo d'agguagliare il valore di Paolo Manucci - - - ma di superarlo ancora (2). - - - It was not hard for him not only to equal the Merit of *Paulus Manutius* - - - but even to exceed it.'

[B] His Dedications had procured him a considerable Present.] These are his Words; 'Quod autem lucubrationes meas vobis amplissimi Patres dicandas esse censerim, illud me maxime impulit quod memineram superioribus annis quum in *Achilleida* Statii, & *Satyras* Persii commentarios edidisset, vobisque nuncupassem alteros, ita placitos fuisse, ut me non mediocriter solum laus & gratulatio vestra secuta sit, sed insuper AMPLISSIMUM MIHI MUNUS publico totius Senatus consulto decretum fuerit (3). - - - But what moved me, Most Noble Fathers, to dedicate my Lucubrations to you was this, that I remember some Years ago, when I published Notes on the *Achilleid* of *Statius* and the *Satires* of *Persius*, and dedicated the latter to you, you were so pleased that I not only had

'great Commendation and Thanks from you, but further, a very handsome Present was decreed me by a public Act of the Senate.'

[C] Those who have said that he was the first who commented upon *Juvenal*, are very much mistaken.] *Cælius Secundus Curio* published some Notes on that Poet in the Year 1551. He declares that he found it a very laborious Piece of work, because none but *Britannicus* had yet explained that Author. 'Unum modo Joannem Britannicum habuit explicatorem, qui quamvis illa ætate eruditissimus fuerit, non tamen Poëtæ sensum est affectus: neque mirum, fuit primus, neminem habuit quem sequeretur (4). - - - He has had only one Expositor, who though he was a very learned Man at that time, yet did he not hit the Sense of the Poet; and no wonder, for he was the first, and had no body to follow.' It is a greater Fault than is commonly believed, not to read the Prefaces and the Epistles Dedicatory. But especially those that write Books are very much in the wrong not to read them: if *Curio* had read the Epistle Dedicatory of *Britannicus*, he would not have given out such an inexcusable Falsity. *Britannicus* acknowledges that some learned Interpreters had commented upon *Juvenal* before him: 'Juvenalis Satyras est temporibus nostris à nonnullis aliis egregie literatis commentatoribus vel cum magna ipsorum laude enarratæ fuerant, aggressi sumus, quod omnino animadverteremus in toto opere multa ab iis five incuria quadam, five consulti opera præterita esse (5). - - - I have attempted the *Satires* of *Juvenal*, notwithstanding they have been explained in our time by some other learned Commentators, with great Reputation, because I have observed through the whole Work that they have omitted many things either through Negligence or Design.'

(4) C. Sec. Curio in *Epistola nuncupatoria*.

(5) Britann. in *Epist. Dedicat. Juvenal.*

BROCARDUS (JAMES), an Apocalyptic Author, and one of the honest Visionaries of the XVIth Century, was a *Venetian* (a). He embraced the Protestant Religion, and expressed a great Zeal against Popery. He published several Books in *Holland* [A], wherein he maintained that the particular Events of the XVIth Century had been foretold by the Prophets. After he had applied the Oracles of the Scripture according to his Fancy to things already happened, he took the liberty to apply them to future Events, and, by virtue of such and such Passages, he foretold that such and such a thing would happen to the Prince of *Orange*, *Philip II*, Queen *Elizabeth*, the Emperor, &c. The Synods of the United Provinces were afraid, not without reason, that People would think they approved those extravagant Notions, if they were wholly silent about them. Wherefore the National Synod of *Middleburg* condemned, in 1581, that Method of explaining the Scripture, and enjoined *Lambert Daneau*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, and *Martin Lydius*, Minister of the Church of *Amsterdam* (b), to speak to *Brocard* about his Visions. The Author, from whom I have this, thinks he remembers that *Brocard*, not being able to answer the Objections raised against his System, promised to leave off meddling with such Prophecies (c). That Visionary had inveigled a *French Gentleman*, who was a good Protestant [B], so as to persuade him by I know not how many

[A] He published several Books in *Holland*.] His Commentary on *St John's Revelations*, and his *Mystical and Prophetical Explication* of *Leviticus*, came out at *Leyden*, in the Year 1580. Two other Books, *Alter ad Christianos de Prophetia quæ nunc compleatur in his quæ sunt secundi adventus Domini*; alter *ad Hebræos de primo & secundo ejusdem adventu*, were printed at *Leyden* about the same time (1). We shall see hereafter (2) at whose Charges those Books came out of the Press. If the Author had not wrote in *Latin*, it might be thought strange, that no Bookseller would venture to be at the charge of printing them; for such Works in the *Vulgar Tongue* sell well enough in troublesome Times, or when great Changes are

desired. His Treatise *De Antibaptismo jurantium in Papam & in Ecclesiam Romanam, deque eorum idolo xeli*, was printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1580, and contains Seventy seven Pages in 8vo. I shall speak hereafter of his Commentary on *Genesis*. See the Titles of some other Treatises in the Remark [C].

[B] He had inveigled a French Gentleman, a good Protestant.] His Name was *Segur-Pardailan*. 'Jacobus Segurius Pardallianus, è præcipua Aquitanie nobilitate, homo Calvinisticæ factioni addictus (3). - - - Jacobus Segurius Pardallianus, one of the principal Nobility in *Guienne*, a Man of the Calvinistic Faction.' It is a very illustrious Family in *Guienne*. *Thuanus* speaks of him thus: 'Segurius

(3) Thuan. lib. lxxix. ad Ann. 1583. pag. 500.

many Passages of the Scripture, which he explained in his way, that a Protestant Prince would quickly overthrow the Pope's Throne, and make himself the Head of all the United Christians. That Gentleman, who was a faithful Servant to the King of Navarre, thought Heaven designed the King his Master for such a glorious Enterprize, and, big with these hopes, proposed to him to send an Embassy to the Protestant Princes, offering to be his Ambassador. There being nothing in his Proposal but what suited with the Necessities of the Time, it was approved of, and he was actually deputed to those Princes (d). He was a little ridiculed when it came to be known by what Motive he was influenced, and for what reason he had been at the Charge of printing the Books of his Prophet (e). Here is an Instance of what such People can do; they will occasion the attempting of a thousand things, which no body would think of; they are perfect Incendiaries. Doubtless many of them are no Impostors; they are infatuated with their Notions; they believe what they foretel: but some of them design only to cause Wars and Insurrections; they have more Wit than Honesty, and are the plague of Mankind. I do not think that Brocard was a Man of that Stamp. The Catholic Writers abuse him at a strange rate [C]; the Protestants are tender of his Reputation [D]: but the National Synod of Rochelle, in 1581, gave him no quarter [E].

I find

Segurlus homo probo & vivaci nec inerudito ingenio, ceterum credulo, ante aliquot annos, dum in Belgio esset, arctam familiaritatem cum Jacobo Brocardo Subalpino coluerat, vaticinationum argutus ad infaniam sectante, cujus & scripta hujusmodi vanitatis plena ille postea sumptibus suis publicanda curavit. Ab eo cum accepisset, locis scripturæ, ut dictis fidem faceret, ad id de totis, fore, ut non ita multos post annos Pontifex à principe Protestante de sede deturbaretur, isque princeps caput concordie Christianæ futurus esset, eum principem infito erga herum suum affectu protinus Navarrum fore sibi persuaserat, eoque majore studio & ardore pro auctoritate, qua in aula Navarri pollebat, legationem eam, cui & obediendæ se obtulit, promovit, quæ alioqui abque hoc secreto ridiculo, quod tandem emanavit, & ab adversariis postea in Germania illi impropertum est, tanquam in speciem utilis & necessaria multis probatur (4). — Segurius, a Man of a good and lively Genius, not unlearned but credulous, some Years ago, when he was in the Netherlands, cultivated a close Familiarity with James Brocard, a Subalpine, a Man fond of the Secrets of Prophecy even to Madness, whose Books, stuffed with these kind of Vanities, he afterwards published at his own Expence. Having learned from him by Jundry Places of Scripture wrested to that Purpose, in order to gain Credit, that the Pope was in a few Years to be overthrown by a Protestant Prince; and that That Prince should become head of all Christianity united; he, out of hearty Affection to his Master, immediately judged that That Prince should be the King of Navarre; and he more zealously and industriously used all the Interest he had there in the Court of Navarre to promote that Embassy, which he offered himself to undertake, which, if it had not been for this ridiculous Secret, which was at last discovered, by the opposite Party, who upbraided him with it in Germany, is thought by many to have been otherwise useful and necessary to amuse his Enemies. Surely, says David, Men of low degree are Vanity, and Men of high degree are a Lie (5).

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Psal. lxxii, 9. Lie (5).

(6) Mart. del Rio, Disquis. Magicar. lib. iv. cap. i. quest. iii. sect. vi. pag. 197, 198.

[C] The Catholic Writers abuse him at a strange rate. Martin del Rio maintained, That James Brocard was the Devil's Instrument, and that his Revelations were diabolical. 'Quid quæso aliud est liber ille manuscriptus Jacobi Brocardi Calvinistæ revelationum ad Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam, & Prefatio in Genesim, aliæque nonnulla ejusdem opuscula, nisi farrago quædam daemoniacarum revelationum, quarum præcipuum de anno 1580, jam tempus mendacii convicit (6)? — What else I pray is that Manuscript of Revelation to Queen Elizabeth, by James Brocard, the Calvinist, and his Preface to Genesis, and some other Works of his of that kind, but a heap of devilish Revelations; the principal of which, concerning the Year 1510, Time has already proved to be false.' We learn from this Passage, that some Manuscript Copies of the Revelations, which this Man inscribed to Queen Elizabeth, were handed

about, and that his chief Prediction concerned the Year 1580, and proved false: I would fain know what it was. We have seen that Thuanus does not spare that Mystical Commentator. Spondanus, who gives the substance of what Thuanus says concerning Pardaillan's Embassy, is no less satirical. 'Qui (Segurius) cum ante aliquot annos in Belgio à Jacobo Brocardo Pedemontano inepto & fatuo hariolo (cujus & scripta inanum vaticinationum plena edita fuere) accepisset fore non ita multos post annos ut Romanus Pontifex à principe quodam Calvinistarum de sede deturbaretur, isque Caput concordie Christianæ futurus esset, &c. (7). — Who (Segurius) having learned some Years before in Holland, from James Brocard, a Piedmontois, a silly foolish Predictor, (who was also Author of some Pieces full of empty Predictions, which have been published) that in a few Years the Pope should be pulled down from his See by a Calvinist Prince, who should become Head of the Christian League, &c.' He laughs at Pardaillan's Credulity, and says, that a Piece was published at Ingolstadt against his Deputation, entitled Incendium Calvinianum (8). He is so ingenuous as to confess that there are some Fanatics in his Communion, who put upon great Designs, and fill with vain Hopes, those that trust to their Promises, and he gives a fresh Instance of it. He names no body; but if I am not very much mistaken, he means Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy. All this is to be found in a long Parenthesis; for long Parentheses are but too common with him. 'Id etiam testimonio Sacre Scripturæ firmans, he speaks of James Brocard, (quales fuerunt singulis sæculis qui ejusmodi sua deliria apertissimis sibi, ut fingunt, sed occultissimis aliis scripturæ auctoritatibus fulcire non dubitarent: & fuit non ita pridem vir apud nos probæ ac religiosæ vitæ magnique apud eos qui ejus opera utebantur habitus, qui similibus fanaticis persuasionibus, ex Joannis Apocalypsi somniatis, nobilem principem in grandes impensas vana spe cujusdam imperii conjecit, qui tamen nec parvum suum statum defendere potuit, & fere omnium rerum inops mortuus est) (9). — Confirming this also by Testimonies of Holy Writ, (such there have been in all Ages who do not stick to build such like Whimsies of their own on certain Scripture Authorities, which as they pretend are plain to them, but most obscure to every body else: there was lately in our Country, a Man of a good and religious Life, and a very useful Man to those who stood in need of his Assistance, who having formed the like fanatical Dreams out of St John's Revelation, caused a noble Prince to put himself to great Charge in vain hopes of a certain Empire, who could not so much as defend his own little State, and died in want of almost every thing). Florimond de Remond insults poor James Brocard very rudely. See the following Remark.

[D] The Protestants are tender of his Reputation. Voëtius rejects the Opinion of Brocard, who believed that the HOLY GHOST denotes all sorts of Events by one sole literal Sense, which may be a thousand

(d) In the Year 1583.

(e) See the Remark [B].

(7) Spondan. Ann. Eccles. ad Ann. 1583. n. 9.

(8) The Jesuits, says Thuanus, lib. lxxix. pag. 523, were the Authors of that Piece. They supposed as omnia Navarro ab Araujonensi infusata hujus telæ textore, quo cladem quam rebus suis pertimebat, excitato in Gallia & Germania motu, à se averteret.

(9) Spond. Ann. Eccles. ad Ann. 1583. n. 9.

I find in *Bongar's Letters*, that our *James Brocard* retired to *Nuremberg*, where he met with some charitable Patrons, who did him very good Offices [F]. He had not yet received, in 1593, the Three hundred Crowns which *Segur* left him by his Will (f). He was still living in 1594. The Writers of the League took advantage of his Predictions; but they committed two Faults, of which *Mr du Pleffis Mornai* quickly informed the Public [G].

(f) See the Remark [F].

(g) In the Remarks [C] and [D].

We have already seen, in general (g), that *Florimond de Remond* treated him ill; but in this new Edition I shall insert his own Words [H].

thousand times mystically applied to particular Occurrences; but he adds, that he was otherwise a good Man, very orthodox and pious. 'Fuit hic Brocardus cætera vir probus, orthodoxæ ac pietatis studiosus, uti videre est ex libello ipsius, tit. 'De Antibaptismo jurantium in Papam & Ecclesiam Romanam, deque eorum idolo zeli (10). — This Brocard was otherwise an honest Man, a Lover of Orthodoxy and Piety, as appears from his Book, intitled, *De Antibaptismo, &c.*' *Nicolas Vignier* goes farther, for he grants, That in some things he had the real Gift of Prophecy. These are his Words: 'I must say something of *James Brocard*, a Venetian, who is very much abused by *Remond*. It were to be wished, that this Man, who was no Ecclesiastic, had not been so forward to publish his Thoughts upon the Holy Scripture. For tho' he does not depart from the Purity of the Gospel Doctrine, and the Analogy of Faith, yet he too frequently lays aside the true meaning of the Words, and the literal Sense, to run into mystical Interpretations. Nevertheless, so far as God's Power is infinite, and he imparts his Gifts to whom he pleases, those who have been familiarly acquainted with the said *Brocard*, witness that he had wonderful Revelations of particular things, the Truth whereof was confirmed by the Event, as the Venetians, among others, experienced by the loss of *Cyprus*, and of their *Arsenal*, as he had foretold them (11).'

(10) Voeth's dissertation, Theol. Tom. ii, pag. 1075.

(11) Vignier, Theatre de l'Antichrist, Parte I. esp. xxii. p. 339.

(12) See Mr. Quick's Synodicon in Gallia Reformata.

(13) Bongars Letter vi, to Camerarius, pag. 129. Tom. I. printed at the Hague, 1695.

(14) Id. Epist. lxxxiii. Tom. II. pag. 335.

(15) Id. Epist. lxxxix. pag. 301.

[E] The National Synod of Rochelle, in 1581, gave him no quarter. That Assembly drew up an Act importing, That having seen and examined a Latin Book upon *Genesis*, written by *James Brocard*, a *Piedmonteze*, and printed at *Rebelle*, they have declared, and do declare, that it is full of Impiety and horrid Profanations of the Holy Scripture, and pernicious Errors, especially about Revelations and Prophecies: And that therefore they exhort all the Faithful to beware of being deceived by such a Book (12). Here is a Synod much more vigorous than that which was held at *Middleburg* in the same Year. What might be the Reason of this Difference? Are the French less moderate than the Dutch? This Reason cannot be alledged; for I could instance some Synods, wherein the French Spirit prevailed, that shewed a greater Moderation than that of *Middleburg*. Perhaps some will say, that *Brocard* was in *Holland*, when these two Synods condemned him; which was the Reason why he had some Friends at *Middleburg*, and none at *Rebelle*; but I would advise no body to rest satisfied with such a Solution.

[F] He retired to *Nuremberg*, where he met with charitable Patrons, who did him very good Offices. *Bongars* praises their Charity, and the Person to whom they were so kind. 'I hear, says he in a Letter to *Camerarius* (13), that your Republic has kindly received the good old Man *J. Brocard*, who in his Youth appeared among the most polite and learned Men. I have been lately well pleased to see him in your Town, and am obliged to Mr *Bongars* for it. By this means you heap up for yourselves a Treasure in Heaven.' This he wrote the third of February 1591. He expresses the same Affection for *Brocard*, in a Letter of the sixteenth of November 1594. 'Non possum quin & tibi gratias agam ob miserum, bonum tamen, senem Brocardum tam benigne & liberaliter habitum (14). — I cannot but even thank you for your kind and generous Treatment of the poor, but good, old Brocard.' 'I am mightily pleased (says he in another Letter dated from *Frankfort* the Twenty fourth of July 1593 (15), with the great Affection you express for M. *Brocard*. He does certainly deserve that some Persons, of such a Probity as yours is, should take care of him. As for me, I am hardly in a Capacity to oblige him. I leave no Stone returned to procure him the Payment of

'Three hundred Gold Crowns, which Mr *Segur* left him by his Will.'

[G] The Writers of the League - - - committed two Faults, of which Mr du Pleffis Mornai informed the Public. They mentioned *Segur's* Embassy among the Expedients which the King of *Navarre* made use of after the Death of the Duke of *Anjou*, to secure his Succession to the Crown of France. 'He has sent, said he (16), *Segur Par-dailan*, one of his Gentlemen, into *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *England*, to renew the ancient Confederacies he has contracted with all the Heretics, and to make new ones, and set all his Friends against you, that being assisted with their Forces he may usurp a Crown, from which he is excluded by Reason. To this he has been instigated by the Minister *Brocard*, a Trumpet of Satan, who, being out of his Wits, is fully persuaded, and has made him believe, that he is spoken of in the Revelations, and that he is to be King of France, and to expel the Pope from his See.' Mr du Pleffis Mornai answered, that *Segur* was sent Embassador a Year before the Duke of *Anjou* died, and that his Highness was then in very good Health. - - - Note, adds he (17), that *Brocard* is an old Italian, who neither is, nor ever was, a Minister, who was condemned by their Synods, who never saw the King of *Navarre*, nor ever set his Foot in France. He does not deny *Segur's* Credulity, nor *Brocard's* prophetic Fancies; he answers nothing upon that Head. One may conclude from his Silence, and from a Passage of *d'Aubigné*, that those things were real Matter of Fact. *D'Aubigné's* Words are these: 'Some body proposed the Opinion of the late *Segur*, who said, That Madmen are accounted Prophets in *Turkey*, and that every thing went on prosperously in that Country; so that France would be in a happy State, if *Brocard's* Prophecies were more credited (18).'

(16) Avertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques, p. 33.

(17) Du Pleffis Memoires, Tom. I, pag. 631.

(18) Baron de Farnette, Book iii. chap. xxii. pag. 179.

(19) *Segur Par-dailan*. See Remarks [B] and [C].

[H] I shall here insert the Words of *Florimond de Remond*. 'They are Persons, who - - - have had, as they say, Inspirations from Heaven, like this new Prophet, *James Brocard*, of whom a Gentleman of our *Guienne* (19) has formerly told me several strange things. He revered him as a second *St Paul*, and had such Confidence in him, that he reckoned the ruin of the Church already certain; this poor Man built on that the hopes of his Fortune, when I told him that these were Réveries: these Réveries, says he, are no less than the best digested Thoughts of the greatest Man that has been these several Centuries. Not long ago one of my Friends, who cannot yet shake off that Opinion, entertained me pleasantly with the Sallies and Whimsies of that Spirit which had filled their Heads with a Notion of a great Battle, which was to be fought on the *Rhine*, where the Catholic Name was to be entirely extinguished. On the Descent of that great and terrible Army of so many thousand *Pistoleer Reifers*, *Suiss*, and *Lansquenets*, who came to fall upon us; they expected to see the Accomplishment of their Prophecy, on the Banks, not of the *Rhine*, but of the *Loire*, where God stopped their Progress. These are nothing but Réveries and Non sense like those of the Protestants in the Year 1546, which *Aretius* himself laughed at, as our pretended Reformed do at what *Brocard* foretold should happen in the Year 1580, which was promised, as he said, by *Jeremiah*. In order to see what this *Brocard* was of whom they made so great Account, I took the Pains, or rather I put myself on the Rack, to read his Works; for what greater Torture is there, than to see Books from which, after a great deal of Pains and Sweat, you can learn nothing, nor gain any thing but the Trouble? - - - Such is this *Brocard* - - - after I had carefully read him

over and over, and not found a single Page in which he does not mention Antichrist; I could at last learn nothing unless it be this, that some Phrensy seized him at Venice, in the Year 1583, which he calls a Vision, or Revelation of the HOLY GHOST, when, coming from a Debauch, he set himself to read to the Bible. Whereupon he tells a thousand Whimsies of the Spirit that appeared to him, and how he was carried to the Inquisition, which is nothing else, says he, but the Abomination of Desolation foretold by Daniel and

St Paul. He does not say how he got out, or whether he promised to be wiser for the time to come. Scarce all the Hellebore, that Antychrist ever produced, would have sufficed to cure this distempered Brain, which has formed a Notion of a second coming of the Son of GOD, in this Century, and a thousand other Réveries, which were revealed to him by an Angel that GOD sent to him, as he has said both in his Notes on *Genesis*, and in a Discourse dedicated to the Queen of England, which I have seen in Manuscript (20).

(20) Florim. de Ramond. de l'Antichrist, cap. 18, n. 3, fol. 53.

BRODEAU (JOHN), in Latin *Brodeus*, born at Tours, was a learned Critic. He flourished in the XVIth Century. His chief Works are, a Commentary upon the *Anthologia*, ten Books of *Miscellanies*, Notes upon *Oppian*, *Euripides*, &c. Consult *Moreri's* Dictionary; but observe the Faults he has committed, which I shall take notice of [A]. *Lipsius* falsely believed that *Brodeus* was a young Man [B]: He had more reason to be sorry that he was not celebrated in proportion to his Merit. I must observe, that, if he was Sixty three Years of age when he died in 1563, as *Sammarthanus* affirms, *Sigismund Gelenius* had been wrong informed concerning his Age, for he makes him but Twenty nine Years old in 1594, and makes this a ground for greater Commendations [C]. I am now prepared to give a Supplement touching the Nobleness of his Extraction [D]. If I did not observe it before, nor the Merit of some of his Relations, it was because I referred to *Moreri*, who has made ample mention of them, and I could add nothing to what he has said.

[A] Observe the Faults of *Moreri*, which I shall take notice of. I. If *Brodeus* died in 1563, being Sixty three Years of Age, as *Moreri* affirms, after *Scævola Sammarthanus*, he did not live in the XVth Century; and yet *Moreri* says he did. II. He did not well understand the Latin Words of *Sammarthanus* concerning the learned Men with whom *Brodeus* contracted a Friendship in Italy. *Brodeus* went twice into that Country, with the French Embassadors: He went to Venice, in the Retinue of *George de Selve*, and to Rome in that of *George d'Armagnac*, and, during those two Journeys, he contracted Acquaintance, and particular Friendship, with *Sadolet*, *Egnatius*, *Bembo*, *Flamininus*, and other Men eminent for their Learning. *Hos Brodeus omnes PARTIM Venetiis PARTIM Romæ* --- *Et vidit familiariter, & propter studiorum conjunctionem facile sibi conciliavit* (1). Mr *Moreri*, instead of mentioning *Brodeus's* Stay at Venice and at Rome, as *Sammarthanus* does, ascribes all to his Stay at Rome. It was in the Capital City of the Christian World, says he, that *Brodeus* got the Friendship of *Sadolet* and *Bembo*, both Cardinals, and of *Baptist Egnatius*, and many learned Men. Those who know that *Egnatius* was Professor at Venice, and did not stir out of his House at that time, must needs own, that it had been better for *Moreri* to translate *Sammarthanus* faithfully. III. It was not by the Advice of those Illustrious Friends, that he applied himself to the Study of the *Mathematics*, and the Hebrew and Chaldaic Languages. What was *Moreri* dreaming of, when he found that pretended Advice in the Words of *Sammarthanus*, which signify only that *Brodeus* exceeded those Gentlemen, in that, besides polite Learning, which he cultivated as well as they; he understood also *Mathematics*, *Hebrew* and *Chaldaic*: 'Hoc etiam aliquanto superior, quod ad eas quibus pariter incumbant elegantiores literas, ille & Mathematicas artes & Hebræam Chaldaicamque linguam insuper adhiberet' (2). IV. *Moreri* should not have said, that he died in the beginning of the Civil Wars of Religion, but about the end of the first Civil Wars of that kind. *Sub exitum primi civilis ob religionem belli capiti levi tentari febri-cula, sed ad extremum exitiali*. These are *Sammarthanus's* Words, which, however easy, were not understood by *Moreri*. V. He grew old at Tours in St Martin's, which he called a College. So have been translated these Words of *Tbuanus*, *Apud B. Martinum cui Collegio nomen dederat* --- *consensit* (3). It is certain, if a School-boy did not translate better, he would be laughed at by his School-fellows, and would well deserve Correction. This Blunder was not committed by *Moreri*, but by the good du Rier of the French Academy. *Moreri* only copied it from Mr *Teiffier* (4). *Tbuanus* means,

that *Brodeus* grew old in St Martin's Church, where he was a Canon.

[B] *Lipsius* falsely believed, that *Brodeus* was a young Man. *Colomestus* made this Observation before me. *Nescivit Lipsius, Brodeum obisse sexagenario majorem. Juvenis etiam vocatur a Claverio in Claud. 1602, pag. 9 (5).* --- *Lipsius did not know that Brodeus died above sixty Years of Age. He is also called a young Man by Claverius. These are Lipsius's Words: 'Joh. Brodeus hæc de Ulyssis errore in Miscellaneis scite coarguit: Brodeus, vir, five adolescens potius, acris ingenii, probi judicii, lectionis diffusæ, quem non magis in ore famæ esse miror, imo indignor (6).* --- *Brodeus, in his Miscellanies, has very well refuted all this concerning the wandering of Ulysses: Brodeus is a Man, or rather a Youth, of an acute Genius, good Judgment, extensive reading; I wonder, nay, am grieved, that he is not more famous.* The most learned Critics, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, and many others, bestowed great Encomiums upon *Brodeus* (7); nevertheless it may be said, That some Writers, inferior to him in Learning, have been much more talked of; which, it may be, proceeded from his great Modesty, which hindered him from putting himself forward. See how *Baptist Sapin* Counsellor to the King praises him for his Modesty (8).

[C] *Gelenius* makes him but twenty nine Years of Age, in 1549, and makes this a Ground for greater Commendations. It is in the Epistle dedicatory to *Brodeus's* Notes on the Epigrams in the *Anthologia*: this Epistle dedicatory is dated from *Basil*, the first of September, 1549; these are *Gelenius's* Words: 'Commentariorum Autor est juvenis multijugæ lectionis, idemque $\mu\eta\nu\sigma\iota\nu\alpha\tau\alpha$ (9). *Johannes Brodeus, Turonensis, ut mirum sit in ejus ætatem tam variam exactamque omnis generis Librorum cognitionem cadere. Aiunt enim vix dum undetrigesimum annum ingressum.* --- *The Author of these Commentaries is John Brodeus of Tours, a young Man of great Variety of Reading, and an extraordinary Memory, that it is a Wonder so various and exact a Knowledge of Books of all kinds could be got at his Age; for they say he is scarce yet entered into his Twenty ninth Year.* 'I am almost twice his Age, adds he, and yet he has cited Authors of which I did not so much as know their Names.' The other Commendations which he bestows upon him are very exquisite.

[D] I am now prepared to give a Supplement touching the Nobleness of his Extraction. JOHN BRODEAU, Marquis of Chabres and Candé, formerly a Justice in Eyre of the Woods and Forests in France, is the eldest of the Family. He retains the original Titles of the House, which first became Illustrious in *Victor Brodeau*, who was ennobled by

(1) *Sammarthanus*, *Elog. lib. ii*, pag. 125.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Tbuan. lib. xxv*, pag. 715, ad Ann. 1563.

(4) *Elog. tirez de Mr de Thou*, *Tóm. I*, p. 227.

(5) *Colomest. Gall. Orient. pag. 32.*

(6) *Lipf. in Germaniam Tacitii.*

(7) *Colomest. Gall. Orient. pag. 32, & 267; Sir Thomas Pope Blount censur. Author. p. 464, have collected them.*

(8) *Prefat. in Brodeus notæ ad Euripidem 1561, apud Colomestum, Gall. Orient. pag. 30.*

- 9) *Mercurius Gallant* of the Month of May, 1702, pag. 164, 165.
- (10) *Idem*. May, 1702, pag. 185.
- (11) *Idem*. 186.
- (12) *Idem*. 171.
- (13) *Id.* Feb. 1703, p. 70, 71.
- (14) *Id.* pag. 69.
- by Philip Augustus, in the Field before Acre, in Egypt, for his Father's and his own Glorious Actions (9). Peter Julian Brodeau, Lord of Mancherville, is the eldest of another Branch, who has been twelve or thirteen times at Sea in the King's Service in Quality of Commissary; he has been in several different Actions, and has been wounded in some of them, particularly at the Battle which the Marechal de Tourville gave to Papachin, Vice-Admiral of Spain (10). --- He has for some Years quitted the Sea Service, and addicted himself to Letters (11); he published a new System of the Universe, in the Year 1702. You will find the Analysis of it with great Commendations in the *Mercurius Gallant*, and also an Account of other Works which he intends to publish (12). You will find him there Author of a Work, intituled, *Jeux d'Esprit Et de Memoir*, of which above Six thousand Copies have been printed in France (13); and also of another Book printed at Tours, in the Year 1703, and intituled, *Moralitez curieuses sur les premiers Jours de la Creation du Monde* (14). ---
- Curious moral Reflexions on the six first Days of the Creation of the World. JULIAN SIMON BRODEAU, his Brother, Lord of Oiseville, heretofore Counsellor in the Parliament of Metz, is now Lieutenant-General at Tours (15); they are Sons of Julian Brodeau, who died Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, the Twenty sixth of March, 1702 (16); who was the Son of Julian Brodeau, that famous Advocate of Parliament, who, always preferring his Function before the most exalted ones of the Robe, chose to die in it (17). He has published, among other Books, the *Life of Charles du Moulin*, and *Notes on the Decrees of Louet*, which makes Boileau say in his first Satire, *Et feuilletant Louet allongé par Brodeau*, --- And perusing Louet prolonged by Brodeau. The Father of this Advocate was called Charles Brodeau, and was Advocate-General to Henry the Great, at that time King of Navarre, and Son of Francis Brodeau, Counsellor of State, and Master of Requests to Antony of Bourbon, King of Navarre (18).

BROSSE (JAMES de la), a great Warrior in the XVIth Century, was born in the Bourbonnois [A]. It is said that he was thirty Years of Age, when he began to bear Arms (a). He quickly got a great skill in the Art of War, and acquired the Esteem of Francis de Lorraine, Duke of Guise, whose Lieutenant-Colonel he afterwards was. He was made Governor of a Duke of Longueville (b), and then he was appointed, together with Sansac, to watch over the Conduct of Francis II, and teach him good Maxims (c). Brantome says, that he was the mildest, and the most courteous Soldier that ever was seen, and that he gave his Advice in such gentle and obliging Words, that every body esteemed him for it; whereas Sansac (d) was on the contrary a bestowing and churlish Man, both in War and at Hunting (e). La Brosse being entirely devoted to Messieurs de Guise, he was chosen to command Two thousand Men, which were sent into Scotland to the Queen-Regent their Sister, in 1559 (f). He departed from his Character, which was Mildness and Clemency, and complied with the Humour of Cardinal de Lorraine [B], or rather he was obliged to act as he was directed by him. That proved very prejudicial to France, because the Scotch, in concert with the English, made it their Business to get themselves rid of his Troops. The French were besieged in little Leith, and shewed as much Courage and Conduct as could be expected from Troops consummate in the Art of

[A] He was born in the Bourbonnois. Le Laboureur, who knew so many Families, and Genealogies, owns (1), 'That he knows nothing of the Birth of this Mr de la Brosse, because there is nothing extant about it, and because his Family was extinct by the Death of himself and his Son at the Battle of Dreux.' I have found by chance, in Belcarius's History, what Province he was of. 'Franciscus Rex præclaræ indolis, cujus adolescentiæ moderandæ Jacobus Brosianus Bonus ac Sansacus attributi erant, ille vir prudentissimus & rerum bellicarum peritissimus, iste ingenio turbido, sed non malo, id (2) non permittet, nam supra ætatem sapere jam cœperat, ut mihi idem Brosianus sæpius confirmavit, eramus enim vicini ac per familiares (3). --- Francis, who was a King of an extraordinary Genius, whose Governors in his Youth were James de la Brosse, of the Bourbonnois, and Sansac, the former a very prudent Man, and well skilled in Military Affairs; the latter of a turbulent, but not evil, Disposition, would never have suffered it; for he began then to have Understanding above his Age, as the said la Brosse has often told me, for we were Neighbours, and very intimate.' Mezeray was not ignorant that la Brosse was a Native of that Country. 'The Earl of Lenox, says he (4), brought some Troops of Francis I into Scotland, in the Year 1543, but that young Man, having lost their Muster-Money at play, went into the Service of the King of England, who married him to his Niece. La Brosse (5), a Gentleman of Bourbonnois was sent in his Room, and then Lorges Earl of Montgomerie. Thus he speaks under the Year 1545. He says under the Year 1559, That a Succor of three thousand Men was sent to the Queen Regent of Scotland, Commanded by la Brosse, a Bourbonnois. I think he is in the wrong to believe, that this Gentleman was sent thither before the Year 1545.

[B] He complied with the Humour of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Hear Mr le Laboureur: 'Henry Clutin, Lord of Ville-Paris, commonly called d'Oysel, who was sent to her as her Lieutenant, and afterwards la Brosse, though he was naturally inclined to Mildness, and Nicolas de Pelvé, Bishop of Amiens, who were likewise sent thither, exasperated the People by their Maxims and bold Undertakings, being not sufficiently supported by France, from whence they received more Counsels and Orders, than Money and Troops, but particularly from the Cardinal of Lorraine; who is accused of an Intention to carry things to the last Extremity with the same Boldness and Confidence he shewed in the Administration of Affairs in France (6). One of la Brosse's Maxims was, 'That in order to secure Scotland, it was necessary to settle in it a Colony of a thousand French Gentlemen, who should be put in Possession of the Estates of those, who were to be out-lawed on Account of Religion (7). The Scotch, being informed that he had given such Advice, conceived a great Aversion for the French. They discovered it by some intercepted Letters, if we may believe Buchanan. 'Labrossius equestris loco natus, sed (8) qui magnum in militari usum habebat --- censabat, omnem, sine discrimine, Scotorum Nobilitatem esse extinguendam: in eorum autem prædiis mille Catafractos equites, Gallos, collocari posse: reliquam multitudinem servorum loco habendam. Id consilium, literis ejus ad Gallum interceptis, divulgatum, mirum, quantum Gallorum odium, jam aliis de causis natum, auxit (9). --- La Brosse, who was Son of a Knight, but had great Experience in Military Affairs --- was of opinion, that all the Nobility of Scotland ought to be cut off without Distinction: and a thousand Frenchmen at Arms be placed on their Estates; and that all the rest should be counted Slaves. This Advice being discovered by intercept-

(1) Additions to Castellan's Memoirs, Tom. II, pag. 96.

(2) To wit, that Catherine de Medici should govern the Kingdom.

(3) Belcar. lib. xxviii, n. 37, 51.

(4) Mezerai, Abr. Chron. Tom. IV, pag. 632.

(5) It is so said in the Dutch Edition: It should be Brosse.

(15) *Idem*. May 1702, pag. 91.

(16) *Id.* p. 163.

(17) *Id.* ibid.

(18) *Id.* p. 164.

(6) Le Laboureur's Additions to Castellan's Tom. i, p. 436.

(7) Mezerai, Vie de François II, pag. 16, Tom. III, of the F. lib. Edit.

(8) This sed, [but] does not seem worthy of Buchanan; for Men of a noble Extraction do commonly apply themselves to the Art of War.

(9) Buchanan's re- rum Scotic. lib. xvi, sub fin.

(g) See Brantome in his *Encomium upon the Prieur de Martignac*, who commanded in the place.

of War (g); but at last they were obliged to capitulate, and to leave that Country for ever. *La Brosse* performed his Duty very well during the Siege, notwithstanding he was Seventy five Years old [C]. He was killed at the Battle of *Dreux*, with his Son, in the Year 1562 (b). He was Knight of the Order, and, if he had not been killed in that Battle, he would certainly have been made Marshal of France [D]; for he received the Pension of a Marshal from the time that he and *Sanfac* were appointed to attend King Francis II (i). None but he and *Sanfac* took care of the King's burial.

(b) See some curious Circumstances in the Remark [D].

(i) Brantome, in his *Encomium upon the Marshal de Vieille-Ville*.

ing his Letters to France, most strangely encreased the Hatred which had been conceived against the French on other Accounts. Belarius does not deny that *Pelleus* and *la Brosse* advised to confiscate the Estates of the Calvinist Gentlemen, and to give them to a thousand French Gentlemen, and to lay a Tax, as in France, upon all other Families (10).

(10) Belarius, lib. xxviii, n. 51.

[C] *La Brosse* performed his Duty very well during that Siege, notwithstanding he was Seventy five Years of Age. The General for the King, in the Town, was that venerable old Man, and great Captain, the good Mr *le Brosse*, Seventy five Years of Age, an old Register of War, whose Valour, wife Conduct, and Intrepidity were of great Use in the Siege (11). If he was then Seventy five Years old, he could not be eighty when he was killed at the Battle of *Dreux*; for there are but two or three Years between this Siege and that Battle. However, I will not be too critical upon Brantome; for he uses a Restriction: That old Man, says he, died at the Age of eighty Years or very near.

(11) Brantome, in his *Encomium upon Mr de Martignac*, pag. 246.

[D] If he had not been killed at the Battle of *Dreux* — he would certainly have been made Marshal of France. At that time this Dignity was bestowed only on a Vacancy: There was one after the Battle of *Dreux*, where the Marshal de *St André* lost his Life. Brantome says, that the Duke of

Guise would have procured that Dignity to M. de *la Brosse*, for he had a great Affection and Esteem for him; and he deserved it, having been a Man of Honour, and without blemish. And though the Duke of *Guise* was a very great Captain, he always consulted that good and honourable old Man, who, both in my Opinion and that of other People, was very well skilled in the Art of War (12). I remember (continues Brantome) that very early in the Morning on the Day that the Battle of *Dreux* was fought, it being very cold Weather, as they were drawing up the Army in Order of Battle, that good Man passed by M. *Beaulieu*, Captain of the Guards, and me. We put off our Hats to him very respectfully; he did the same to us, and said, How, Gentlemen, do you pull off your Hats this cold Weather? We answered him, Sir, who deserves it better than you, who are one of the most honourable and ancient Captains of this Army? Gentlemen, replied he, I am one of the most inconsiderable; and then he added, I do not know what will be the Success of this Battle, but I fancy I shall be killed. And indeed I have lived too long, and it is a shame for me to bear a Lance, and imbrue it in Blood, when I should be at Home begging of God, that he would forgive me the Sins of my Youth: And thus he left us, because the Duke of *Guise* sent for him, being always desirous to consult him.

(12) In his *Encomium upon the Marshal de Vieille-Ville apud de Labureau, Tom. II, pag. 97.*

BROSSIER (MARTHA), a Woman who pretended to be possessed by the Devil, was like to have occasioned great Disorders in France, towards the latter end of the XVIth Century. Her Father, who was a Weaver at *Romorantin*, found it more convenient to ramble about with his three Daughters, one of which had the Art of making a thousand Distortions, than to stay at home and mind his Trade. He therefore went up and down through the neighbouring Towns, showing his Daughter *Martha* as a Woman possessed by the Devil, who stood in great need of the Exorcism of the Church. A prodigious multitude of People resorted to that Spectacle. The Cheat was found out at *Orleans*, and for that reason, in the Year 1598, all the Priests of the Diocese were forbid to proceed to Exorcisms on pain of Excommunication. Nor was the Bishop of *Angers* (a) more easy to be imposed upon [A]. He quickly smelt out the Cheat; for, having invited *Martha* to Dinner, he caused some Holy Water to be brought her instead of common Water, and common Water instead of Holy Water [B]. *Martha* was caught; she was not at all affected

(a) His Name was Charles Meron.

[A] *Martha's Cheat was found out at Orleans* — Neither was the Bishop of *Angers* more easy to be imposed upon. The thing is related by *Tibullus* in this Order: I do not know whether he narrowly considered the Matter; for the other Historians tell us, That the Cheat was found out first at *Angers*, and then at *Orleans*; nay, they say, that the Theologal of *Orleans* promoted this Imposture by his too great Credulity, before *Martha* had been examined by the Bishop of *Angers* (1). This Trick being found out, that Prelate was contented with having deceived the Devil, who had a mind to deceive the World, and sent her away, threatening to punish her, if she returned into his Diocese. She was carried to *Orleans*, where two cunning Devices were thought of, in order to try her. I. They presented to her *Despauterius's* Grammar in an old binding. *Martha*, looking upon it as the Scourge of the Devil, trembles at the bare Sight of the Cover, and the two Copper-clasps. They opened that Book, and bid her read in it. She lights by chance upon some Verses made up of hard Words without any Signification, which she takes to be the most violent Exorcisms, and, having imperfectly pronounced them, throws herself upon the Ground making a thousand Motions. II. As it is said, That the Devils are pleased with

(1) Cayet, Chronol. Septenaire, Book II, fol. 89, verso. Matthieu, Hist. de la paix, lib. II, narrat. III, pag. 335.

† Imposturam fecit & passus est. D. GALLIENI. TREBELL. Pol. lib.

‡ Martha lights upon these Words of *Despauterius* Nexo xui, xum vult Texo xui, indèque textum.

Perfumes, and grow fat with Vapours †, they presented to her a Perfume, composed of Drugs and Herbs, so stinking, that as soon as the Vapour came near her Nose, as she was set tied to a Chair, and struggling with her Feet, being overcome with the Fire, and the horrible stink, she cried out, Gentlemen, forgive me, I am choked, he is gone. By that means the Official of *Orleans* discovered the Imposture, and forbade the Clergy of his Diocese to exorcise her upon pain of being suspended (2).

[B] The Bishop of *Angers* — caused some common Water to be brought to her for holy Water. I do not know what to think of a Story of *d'Aubigné* concerning that same Prelate (3). The Bishop ordered the Demoniac to be brought to him, and made a very strict Enquiry about her: He desired to know what were the most violent Signs that gave occasion to believe that she was possessed with Devils. One of the Protocols answered him, That the Violence of her Torments appeared by two things; one was, when her Skin was touched by a Cross wherein there was a piece of the true Cross; the other Proof was manifest, by her roaring and contortions, when some Text of the Gospel was read to her. The Bishop had about his Neck one of those Crosses, whereof I shall speak

† Mali daemones gaudent libamine & nidore quibus eorum corpusculum pinguescit, vivit enim id vapouribus, & robatur nidoribus. Porphy. de Ab. inentia.

(2) Matthieu, ibid. pag. 337, See also Cayet, ubi supra, fol. 90.

(3) Confeff. Cath. de Sancy, lib. I, cap. VI, pag. 352.

fectured when she drank the Holy Water, but she made a thousand Contortions when the common Water was presented to her. Thereupon the Prelate calls for the Book of Exorcisms, and reads the beginning of the *Aeneid*. *Martha* was trapped a second time; for thinking those *Latin Verses* of *Virgil* were the beginning of the Exorcism, she put herself into violent Postures as if she had been tormented by the Devil. This was sufficient to convince the Bishop of *Angers* that she was an Impostor: however he only reproved her Father in private. The Knave did not care to go back to *Romorantin* with his Daughter, as the Prelate had advised him; but, on the contrary, he carried her to the great Stage of the Kingdom, I mean to *Paris*, where he hoped to be supported by credulous and ill-affected People, and by those whom the Edict of *Nantes* had lately exasperated against the King. He pitched upon *St Genevieve's Church* to act his Farce. The Capuchins, who immediately took up the Business, lost no time, and quickly exorcised the wicked Spirit of *Martha*, without a previous Enquiry, as it is ordered by the Church, into the Life and Health of that Woman. The Postures she made, whilst the Exorcists performed their Function, easily made the common People believe that she was a Demoniac, and the thing was quickly noised about all over the Town. The Bishop (*b*) being willing to proceed orderly in the matter, appointed five of the most famous Physicians in *Paris* to examine the thing: They unanimously reported, that since it did not appear that *Martha* had any Skill in Greek or Latin [*C*]. The Devil had no hand in the matter, but that there was a great deal of Imposture, and some Distemper in it (*c*). Two Days after, two of those Physicians seemed to waver, and, before they answered the Bishop, desired the three others might be sent for, and time granted them till the next Day. Thus on the first of *April*, 1599, a critical Day for the Cause, Father *Seraphin*, on the one side, renewed his Exorcisms, and *Martha* re-iterated her Convulsions on the other: She rolled her Eyes, lolled out her Tongue, quaked all over her

(b) Henri de Gondi.

(c) Unanimi ab his consensu, Episcopo rogante, responsum est, nihil à spiritu, multa fida, paucà à morbo esse. *Tbuanus*, lib. cxxiii, pag. 880.

in the Chapter concerning Relics; for his Father, who informed me of the most secret Passages of the late King's Life, had received the same Jewels with others, and cleverly cured them of their Cancers; (this by the by). The Leader of the Demoniac, who saw that Crows about the Bishop's Neck, turned up her Petticoats, as she lay on the Ground, to her Knees, and made a Sign to the Prelate to touch her with the Crows subtly. But that wicked Man pulled the Crows from his Neck, and with his other Hand cunningly took a Key out of his Pocket, and the Jade no sooner felt the cold Key upon her Thigh, but she frightened the Assistants with her Gambols. In order to a second Tryal, the Gospel was to be read in her Presence. The Bishop took a *Petronius* out of his Pocket, which he carried instead of a Breviary, and began to read, *Matrona quædam Epheſi*, &c. Then she fretted and fumed, and when the Bishop came to these Words, *placitum etiam pugnabis amoris*, she fell into a Swoon. That Prelate, who is half *Lutheran*, says he cannot countenance those Impostures. — He has been severely reprimanded for it, and therefore he proved more favourable to the second Demoniac called *Martha*, who was lately brought to him by a Capuchin who had instructed her. She has two Devils, the one called *Belzebub*, and the other *Astaroth*, &c.

EXAMINATION of a Story related by *D'Aubigné*.

I must needs say, that I suspect the Truth of this Story; and when I compare what *Tbuanus* says of that Bishop's Conduct towards *Martha* with *d'Aubigné's* Narrative of his Conduct to a former Demoniac, I find nothing in it but what puts me in mind of the Custom and Method of satirical Writers. One would think, that the Rules of their Art impose upon them the Necessity of altering such Circumstances as are not diverting enough, or so disadvantageous as they would have them, and to put, in the Room of them, some that are more ridiculous, or more disobliging. To say that a Prelate recited a Verse out of *Virgil*, instead of the Formula used in Exorcisms, is not a satirical Stroke; but to say that he took a *Petronius* out of his Pocket, which he carried about him instead of a Breviary, and that he pitched upon the Story of the *Epheſian Matron*, is a cruel Raillery upon a Prelate. The unhappy Rules of Satire required therefore, that, instead of keeping to *Tbuanus's* Account, *Petronius* should be put in the Room of *Virgil*, &c. (5). But because it was well known that *Petronius* had not been made use of upon *Martha Brosſier*, there was a necessity to mention another Woman possessed by the Devil instead of her. And because *Tbuanus*

(5) In the Baron de Fœnellet, chap. v, of the second Book, pag. 60. *D'Aubigné* supposes that the Bishop read an Epigram of *Marſial*.

observes, that this Passage of the Exorcism, *Et homo factus est*, struck the greatest Blow, there was a necessity to suppose a like Circumstance in the pretended Exorcism of *Petronius*, and, in order to it, to pitch upon these Words, *Placitum etiam pugnabis amoris*? A satirical Writer ought to be mistrusted; for he does not relate things as they are, but as he wishes they were, that he might be a Slanderer, without being a Liar. They are generally his own Ideas; he gives us not Realities. The *Liberty d'Aubigné* took, contrary to the Accounts of all Historians, can never be excused, if it be seriously considered. He charges the Bishop of *Angers* with a fraudulent Conduct towards *Martha*; This may give occasion to draw Conclusions; and it is to be feared some Consequences will be drawn from it, against his other Stories, and that, when this is observed, People will say,

Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, & crimine ab uno Disce omnes (6).

(6) *Virgil. Æn. lib. ii, vers. 65.*

Now see how well the Greeks their Will dignify'd, In this our Crime, behold the rest compriz'd.

[C] She seemed not to have any Skill in Greek or Latin.] See the Remark [B] of the Article GRANDIER.

Observe, that the People had been made to believe, that *Martha Brosſier* understood and spoke many learned Languages. Being at *Cleri*, she was asked how the Devil got into her Body (7)? and she answered, *That it was for the Glory of God*. This was a wrong Answer. Being asked the Manner how the Thing was done; She answered, why it was done (8). 'Nevertheless from that very time it was said, that she understood and spoke Greek; and because upon such Occasions a common Report increases daily, it was further said, that she spoke Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic; so that it was impossible to bring off the People from their Belief that *Martha* was truly possessed by the Devil (9). This is a remarkable Instance, how easily the Bulk of Mankind suffer themselves to be imposed upon, and what a vast Difference there is between the Judgment of the Vulgar, and that of the Learned, who examine Things with an unprejudiced Mind. The latter found that the pretended Demoniac understood neither Greek nor Latin, and alledged this Ignorance as a Proof of the Cheat; but the greatest Part of the People believed, that *Martha Brosſier* spoke High-Dutch, English, Latin, Hebrew, and all sorts of Languages (10).

(7) Πῶς ἡδράσθη, ἡ τοῦ δαίμονος. *Matthew*, *ibid.* pag. 335.

(8) *Id.* pag. 336.

(9) *Id.* pag. 336.

(10) *Cayet. Chronol. Septem. fol. 90.*

[D] She

Body; and when the Father came to these Words, *Et homo factus est*, she fell down, and skipped and capered from the Altar to the Door of the Chapel. Whereupon the Exorcist cried out, that if any one persisted still in his Incredulity, he needed only fight that Devil, and try to conquer him, if he durst venture his Life. *Marescot*, one of the five Physicians, answered, that he accepted the Challenge, and immediately took *Martha* by the Throat, and bid her stop. She obeyed, and alledged, for her Excuse, that the evil Spirit had left her, which was confirmed by Father *Seraphin*. *Marescot* inferred from thence, that it was he that had frightened the Devil away. The Bishop ordered, that the Exorcisms should be carried on: At first *Martha* was not moved with them; only when she saw that *Marescot* was ready to struggle with her, she said, that he, *Riolan* and *Hautin*, would do better to mind their Physic: But when she knew they were gone, she threw herself upon the Ground, and began again her mad Tricks. They returned, and quickly made her quiet, and maintained to Father *Seraphin* that there was nothing supernatural in the Case, exhorted the Maid to deceive the People no longer, and threatened her with the Rack. They consulted again about it, and laying great stress on *Martha's* confessing, when asked several Questions in Greek and Latin, that she was ignorant of those two Languages, they all concluded, except one, that she was not possessed by the Devil (d). It is true, there was another (e), who notwithstanding the Signs of Imposition, which he acknowledged, gave his Opinion, that she should be observed three Months longer. Two Days after some other Physicians were sent for, the first being dismissed. Father *Seraphin* attended by one of his Fraternity, who was an *Englishman*, repeated his Exorcisms; and then *Martha*, besides her usual Postures, answered some Questions that were asked her in Greek and English (f) [D]. Whereupon, the Physicians asserted, that she was truly possessed by the Devil: *Marescot* confuted all the Arguments they alledged for it. People being divided in their Opinions about it, and there being reason to fear that some Answers might be suggested to that Maid, which might raise a Sedition, under pretence of the Edict granted to the Protestants; *Henry IV* was advised not to neglect the matter. He was sensible of the Importance of it, and enjoined the Parliament of *Paris* to use their Authority in the Affair. The Parliament ordered *Martha* to be put into the Hands of the Lieutenant-Criminal, and the King's Attorney in the *Chatelet*. They kept her forty Days, during which time they shewed her to the best Physicians, who asserted, that they observed nothing in her that was beyond Nature. In the mean time the Preachers gave themselves a prodigious Liberty (g) [E]: They cried out, that the Privileges of the Church were incroached upon, and that such Proceeding was suggested by the Heretics. *Andrew du Val*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and *Archangel Du-Puy*, a Capuchin, were the most furious among those seditious Declaimers. The Parliament had much ado to silence the latter; but at last they made him sensible of their Power, and on the Twenty fourth of May, 1599, the Provost was ordered to carry *James Brossier* and his three Daughters to *Romorantin*, and the Father forbid to let his Daughter *Martha* go abroad without leave from the Judge, on pain of corporal Punishment (h). Thus the Devil was condemned by an Arrêt (i). We shall see, in another place (k), what became of her.

(d) His Name was Duret.

(e) Called *Hautin*, *Altrius*. The Author of the Notes upon the *Confession Catholique de Sancy*, pag. 486, of the Edition of 1603, calls him *Aubin*, and ascribes to him a Book against the Judgment of the Monks. He says he follows *Thuanus*, but I find no such thing in that Historian.

(f) Observe, that she always answered in French.

(g) Non propterea plebis jam commotæ tremulus aut concionatorum ex ambone licentiosæ voces cessant, libertatem ecclesiasticam à magistratû regio eripi quantiam. *Thuanus*, lib. cxxiii, pag. 882.

(h) Taken from the 123d Book of *Thuanus's* History.

(i) Du Chesne, *Antiq. des Villes de France*, pag. 269.

(k) In the Text of the Article *ROCHEFOUCAUD* (ALEXANDER DE LA).

[D] She answered some Questions that were asked her in Greek and English. *Marescot* was in the right to say (11), I. That it was not certain that *Martha* had answered the Questions put to her in Greek and English. II. That if she had answered them, it was a meer Trick, she being taught to give a certain Answer to some Greek and English Words, that had been agreed upon: For, said he, if she understands Greek, why did she say, that she understood not Latin, when she was asked some Questions in that Language, which is so common among us? And why, being afterwards interrogated in Greek, did she make no answer? What *Montagne* says somewhere, was never better practised than upon this Occasion. The Exorcists, perceiving that *Martha's* Ignorance of the learned Languages was objected to them as a great Difficulty, helped the Matter as well as they could, by suggesting to *Martha* an Answer to some Questions in Greek; and having an English Monk at their Disposal, it was an easy thing to add the English-Tongue to the Greek. But let us hear *Montagne*: 'I have seen, says he (12), the Rise of several Miracles in my time; and though they are stifled in the Birth, yet one may see what course they would have taken, if they had lived their full time; for it is but finding the end of the Thread, and you may wind off as much as you please; and there is a greater Distance from nothing to the least thing in the World, than from the least to the greatest. The first Persons, who are

well seasoned with the beginning of a Miracle, when they come to publish their Story perceive by the Opposition that is made where the Difficulty of gaining belief of it lies, and patch up that Place with some false Piece.'

[E] The Preachers took a prodigious Liberty. When I think that the wretched Daughter of a Weaver, carried from Town to Town like a Bear, and at last engrossed by two or three Monks, who pretended that she was a Demoniac, made *Henry IV*, the Parliament of *Paris*, and all honest Frenchmen, very uneasy: when I think that such a Creature gave occasion to fear that a large Kingdom would fall again into a Combustion, which was but just quenched; when I think that, upon the News of her going to *Rome*, the Agents of the French Court were ordered to omit nothing with the Pope in order to ward off that Blow (13): I say, when I consider all these things, I cannot but pity the Fate of Sovereigns, and their unavoidable Dependence upon the Clergy. Whether they be devout or not, they will be always obliged to have a regard for them, and to fear them; they are a true *Imperium in imperio*. It is true, the Kingdom of *JESUS CHRIST* is not of this World; he says so himself (14): but those, who pretend to represent him, are frequently Masters of the Kings of the Earth, and will give, or take away Crowns. And those, who talk so much of the Church Militant, are more in the right than they think. This Title of her's cannot be called into question; she is too much concerned in Wars,

(11) In the Confutation of the Writing of the Physicians who declared that *Martha* was possessed by the Devil. *Apud Thuanus*, lib. cxxiii.

(12) *Essais*, lib. iii, cap. xi, pag. 436.

(13) See the Text of the Article *ROCHEFOUCAUD* (ALEXANDER DE LA).

(14) *John xviii* 36.

Wars, her Arms are too formidable, to contend with her about it. It is true, she pretends to be unarmed; but what does this signify to those who are afraid of her, since she has a thousand ways of arming the World, and shewing the Futility of the Maxim, *Nemo dat quod non habet*. - - - - No

body gives what he has not. How many Men has she, of each of whom one may say what the Poet says of *Misenus*?

----- quo non præstantior alter

Ere ciere viros, martemque accendere cantu (15).

(15) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. vi, ver. 164.

(a) Samuel Clark's Observation. *selecte ad Rem. Literariam Speculat.* Tom. III, pag. 198.

(b) Broughton scribit in Apocalypsim profecto magnas nugæ, ut fecit in Daniel: est furiosus & maledicus. *Scaligerana secundus*, pag. 38.

(c) See the Title of it below, in the Remark [B].

BROUGHTON (HUGH), an English Divine, who died in the Year 1612, was very learned, and published a great Number of Books. He was so laborious, that, unless some considerable Affair hindered, he studied twelve or fourteen, or often sixteen Hours a Day (a). His *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, and on the *Prophet Daniel* [A] are very poor, and he himself is a furious and abusive Writer, if we may believe the *Scaligerana* (b). He was extraordinarily attached to the Discipline of the Church of England, and rigorously condemned that of the Presbyterians. The Oration he addressed to the Inhabitants of Geneva (c) [B], shews it in a very lively manner; he aimed particularly at *Theodore Beza*, and it is he who reproached him with what we have seen elsewhere [C]. He wrote him very rough Letters, and communicated the Copies of them to the Jesuit *Serarius*, with full Permission to publish them [D].

[A] He wrote a *Commentary on the Prophet Daniel*. What he writ in English on this Prophet was translated into Latin, and published at Basil in the Year 1599, by a young Man, who was afterwards Pensionary of the Province of Zealand, named *Adam Boreel* (1).

[B] He addressed an Oration to the Inhabitants of Geneva. It was printed in Greek, at Mentz, apud *Johannem Albinum*, in the Year 1601 in 8vo, under this Title. *Ἀρχὴ πρὸς τοὺς Γενεύαιους περὶ τῆς κατὰ δόξαν εἰς ἑσέως, τί δέλει τὸ πρῶτον. Oratio ad Geneveses de descensu ad inferos, quid locutio velit.* An Oration to the Inhabitants of Geneva concerning the Signification of the Expression of descending into Hell. It contains Ninety three Pages in 8vo, and is a very learned Piece. *Præclara est & rebus scitu dignissimis referta. Facile trecenti auctorum textus ut plurimum sine auctorum nomine & librorum allegatione recitantur in opusculo illo. Defectum est ejus de Beza, Billono, Barleo (2), ac aliis judicium, & nemini non placere potest (3). - - - It is excellent, and full of things worthy to be known; there are at least three hundred drest Authors cited in that little Work, generally without the Authors names, or Titles of their Books; his Judgment concerning Beza, Billon, Barlow, and others is clear, and must please every Body.*

He complains, that he had heard it said at Geneva that a certain English Lord was an Apostate from the Faith, because he believed that the Discipline of Geneva was not Apostolical. *Quæ Broughtonum se cum Genæ esset, audivisse refert de imputatâ Domino suo Apostasiâ ex hoc Capite quod non crederet Geneveses τὴν ἀποστολικὴν κρατεῖν πολιτείαν.* Verba ejus adscribere non pigrabimur; ita vero illa habent: Παρ' ὧν ἂν ἀκηκοα, τὸν ἐμὸν κύριον ἀποσύναι τῆς πίστεως, ὅτι ἔπεισέται ὑμᾶς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν κρατεῖν πολιτείαν. Quinam ille sit Dominus quodam modo ex sequentibus colligere pronum est; nam paulo post, ut Broughtonum Latine loqui non nemo fecit, Geneveses ita compellat: *Diligentiam præterea adhibete ut tandem Beneficio adficiatis eos, qui vobis succurrerant in extremâ paupertate vestra octo chiliadibus coronatorum, quibus mei Domini, Henricus Comes Vindoniensis & Franciscus Valsinghamus & Gualterus Mildemæus, &c. vobis inferoierunt* (4). - - - What Broughton says, when he was at Geneva, concerning the Imputation of Apostasy to his Lord, on this Account, because he did not believe that they of Geneva held the Apostolic Discipline. I have transcribed his Words, which are these: When I was amongst you I heard that my Lord had apostatized from the Faith, because he does not believe that you hold the Apostolic Discipline. Who that Lord is may in some measure be gathered from what follows; for a little lower, Broughton, as some body has translated him, speaks thus to the People of Geneva: Furthermore, take care at length to requite those who assisted you in your extreme Necessity with eight thousand Crowns, with which my Masters, Henry Earl of Winchester, Francis Walsingham, and Walter Mildmay, &c. assisted you. A Physician of *Vratislaw* has a Greek and

Latin Copy of that Oration, accompanied with Notes; and he designs to deposit it in some public Library, or impart it to the first Person that comes, who has a Mind to print it (5).

[C] It was he who reproached Theodore Beza with what we have seen elsewhere (6). That is to say, the continual Alterations of his Notes on the New Testament in every new Edition. Mr *Columies* believed that the Letter wherein this Charge is found was *Drusus's* (7); but he is mistaken, and probably only followed the Error of the Jesuit *Rosweide*. We will go to the Source; the Jesuit *Serarius* having said that *Casaubon* had observed some Faults committed by Beza on the New Testament, adds, that another Author, not a Catholic, promised to point out a greater Number of them. Presently he repeats the reproachful Terms used by this other Author in accusing Theodore Beza of Ignorance, and cites *Oratio πρὸς τοὺς Γενεύαιους* (8); some Pages after he recites the Passage in question, and observes that he takes it from a Letter written to Theodore Beza by an Innovator, whom he had cited before (9): it is certain he means the Author of the *Oratio πρὸς τοὺς Γενεύαιους*; and yet the Jesuit *Rosweide* was of Opinion, that *Drusus* was the Author of that Letter; for in copying the Passage mentioned by *Serarius*, he puts in the Margin *Joh. Drus. epist. ad Beza* (10). But *Sixtus Amama* shewed him that *Drusus* was not the Author of that Letter, and that *Serarius* pretended to attribute it to *Hugh Broughton*, a Man who had had great Differences with Theodore Beza and Liveleius. *Novit universa Anglia, omnis Germania, quam acris contentiois ferram (nec enim est quod hoc dissimulemus, nec est quod Papistæ eo nomine nobis insultent;*

Trojanos intra muros peccatur & extra)

cum Beza & Liveleio reciprocaverit. Norunt hoc optime Moguntini Jesuitæ qui à se oleum in hunc ignem contra Legis præscripta injectum non ibunt inficias. *Drusii* itaque non est. Nota, Hy-lus, & libri ejus repugnant. Norunt omnes qui ipsum, testes sunt libri ejus quam de Liveleio præclare fenserit. Culpam ergo agnoscat Rosweidus aut alia prodat documenta (11). - - - All England and Germany are acquainted what a warm Contest he had with Beza and Liveleius (for we have no occasion to dissemble it, nor had the Papists room to insult us on that Account,

That Crime's committed both in Camp and Town),

The Jesuits of Mentz know it very well, nor will they deny that they poured Oil into that Flame contrary to the Direction of the Law; therefore it is not *Drusus's*: the Character, Style, and his Books, shew the contrary. All who knew him know, and his Books testify, how good an Opinion he had of Liveleius; therefore let Rosweide acknowledge his Fault, or bring other Proofs.

[D] He communicated to the Jesuit *Serarius* Copies of his Letters to Beza, with full Liberty to publish them. A Canon of Cologne soon discovered this Game; for he inserted in a Book, which he published

(5) Ibid. p. 200.

(6) In the Remark [E], of the Article BEZA.

(7) See the same Remark.

(8) *Serarii Minervæ*, lib. ii, cap. vi, pag. 39. See also lib. iv, cap. iii, pag. 89.

(9) Id. ibid. lib. ii, cap. x, p. 47.

(10) *Rosweyd.* in Anti Casaubono, pag. 31.

(11) See the Letter which Sixtus Amama wrote to Sibrandus Sicama, prefixed to the second Edition of the *Treatise of Drusus de Hæresis*, &c. fol. ††† 3, verso.

(1) Voëtius Polit. Eccles. Tom. III, pag. 772.

(2) It should rather have been Barlo, for it is Dr Barleo that he abuses.

(3) Observat. select. ad Rem. Literariam Speculat. Tom. III, pag. 199, Edit. Hæle Magdeb. Ann. 1701.

(4) Ibid. p. 199.

* Hanc Epistolam Brochtonus Francforto Moguntiam misit ad Doctissimum virum Nicolaum Serrarium qui mihi communicavit. Auctor ut Serrario publicaret permittit. — Broughton sent this Epistle from Francfort to the most learned Nicolas Serrarius. The Author gave Serrarius leave to publish it.

published in the Year 1602, a Letter communicated to him by this Jesuit, which Broughton had wrote to Theodore Beza a little before. It is very proper to shew the Animosity of this English Doctor. Idem iste Brochtonus in Epistola Græcâ ad Beza * tria crimina gravissima illi exprobat, quam Epistolam Græcam fideliter Latine translatam, ut ab omnibus melius intelligatur, ad eorum speiendi & publicanda diffidia, subijcio. Multa habeo adversus te, ô Theodore, de quibus me accusasti: quare te omnino injuriarum postulare cogor. Primum crimen est, quod duo testes Magnates Angliæ contra testificari perhibentur, quæ jam typis excuduntur. Posteaquam eorum gratiæ quæ de rebus Bizantium ad te scripsi, me, sicuti nunc omnibus palam feci, vanum hominem cognominasti: Nisi ostendas hos testes non locuples, ac fide dignos esse, tuam stoliditatem promulgabo. Volui etiam Genève typis mandare nuncupationem, ac illam Hebræi Epistolam illustre encomium Heroine Angliæ continentem. Ac permittente Synodo & Syndico tu obstitisti, pari modo admonitus, quam inconsiderate & absurde, & cum fidei periculo, interpretemini illud, descendere ad inferos, obduratus es, neque cedis. Tertium est illud quod mendaciter contra Senatum vestrum locutus es: quasi mihi ut homini turbulento, & in Angliæ Reginam maledico, necem allaturus esset. Hæc enim ad Prælatem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ scripsisti. Expecto quid sis ad ista solide responsum. Literas tuas celebri medico tradas, Domino novæ turris, hospiti meo: Ipse dabit operam ut ad me perferantur. Quod si nihil respondebis, polliceor tibi rem omnibus Ecclesiis me patefacturum, etiam exhausta jam prope tibi vita. Opinor autem & mihi ipsi adhuc paululum vitæ superesse, ideoque conabor offensionis expers, videri. Vale, Francforti decima Aprilis 1601.

Tuus BROUGHTONUS.

* Inscriptio Epistolæ erat,

Theodoro Beze, multi nominis Viro, Genève (12). — This same Broughton, in a Greek Letter to Beza, upbraids him with three heinous Crimes: The Greek Letter I subjoin, faithfully translated into Latin, that it may be understood by every body, in order to discover their Contents, and make them public. I have many things against thee, O Theodore, of which thou hast accused me, wherefore I am absolutely obliged to charge you with having done me wrong. The first Fault is what is disproved by the Testimonies of two English Peers, which are already in the Press, in as much as you have called me a vain Man, on account of what I write concerning the Affairs of Constantinople, as I have now published to the World; unless you shew that these Witnesses are not substantial and credible, I will proclaim your Folly. I had a mind also to print a Discourse at Geneva, and that Epistle of the Hebrew, containing a notable Encomium on the Heroine of England, and when the Synod and Syndic had given me leave, you opposed it. In like manner, when you were admonished how inconsiderately, absurdly, and to the hazard of the Faith, you interpret that of descending into Hell, you hardened yourself and would not yield. The third is what you falsely have said against your Senate, as if they were about to put me to Death, as a turbulent Person, for speaking ill of the Queen of England; for so you wrote to the Primate of the Church of England. I want to know what solid Answer you will give to these things. You may deliver your Letter to a noted Physician where I lodged; he will take care to convey it to me; but if you make me no Answer, I promise you I will lay the matter before all the Churches, even though your Life be almost at an end; for I think I have yet a little time before me, wherein I will endeavour to approve myself void of Offence. Farewell.

Yours BROUGHTON.

Francfort 10 April 1601.

The Letter was directed,

To the celebrated Theodore Beza, at Geneva.

The same Author had just before cited several things taken from a Letter, which Broughton wrote to Serrarius, which was prodigiously violent against Theodore Beza. * Pacificus, ut apparet, Calvinista Hugo Broughton in Epistola manuscripta ad doctissimum virum D. Nicolaum Serrarium doctorem Moguntiae in Collegio Societatis Jesu, ait Genevesem rabiem prorumpere in Cyclopæcam immanitatem, nullam fovere lenitatem, neque placide differere, unde fiat, ut Pacifici cum seditiosis in unam mentem coalescere non possent (13). In eadem epistola scribit se de Beza mendaciis conquestum fuisse ad summates Angliæ, ad Senatum Genevesem, ad Tigurinos, Morgisianos, Basilenses, & complures alios. Nam cum scriberet de usu Sadaie Arabici ad Mosen & Persici commentarii; & scriberet Græcè de multiplici Rabbiorum varietate, Beza non destitit ipsum vexare maledictis omnino nolens credere talia studia sibi nota vel utilia fuisse. Rabiem autem Beza inde ortam fuisse conjicit, quod sancto aliquid pervenerit ad illius aures spretum suum studium, ad Novum Testamentum: quod cum LXX posuissent 2000 vocabula sic exponi ut apud se ex altera parte respondeant linguæ Judaicæ, & plurima sint à S. Apostolis divinitus accommodata ad Prophetas, & serè totum Novum Testamentum constatum ex stylo piorum Rabbiorum, ut etiamnum hodie exstant vestigia sparsim in eorum libris, & minima pars sit merè graugena oratio usu ex ethnico, hoc ultimum attulit secum Beza, inops abs reliquis, uti fesse sæpè affirmasse contestatur. Detestatur idem hoc etiam in Beza quod testimonia veteris Testamenti citata ab Apostolis directè ad suam causam, ut etiam Judæi antiquissimi assentiuntur, secus Beza cum Calvino interpretatur, ut cabalistica vis tantum concedatur Apostolis; quod & recèntes Judæi libenter jam annos 500 ut Aben-Ezra in Præfatione ad Mosen abjectare conspiciuntur. Hæc in Beza, inquit, reprehendi sæpius, & hinc illius persecutio & maledicta adversum me (14). — Hugh Broughton, a peevish Calvinist, as it should seem, in a manuscript Letter to the learned Dr Nicolas Serrarius, a Tutor in the College of the Jesuits at Mentz, says, that the Rage of those of Geneva breaks out into monstrous Cruelty, exercises no Lenity, nor can dispute patiently, whence it comes that the pacific cannot join in one Mind with the seditious. In the same Letter he writes, that he had complained of Beza's Lies to the chief Men in England, the Senate of Geneva, of Zurich, of Morges, of Basil, and several other places; for when he wrote of the use of the Arabian Sada on Moses, and of the Persian Commentary, and wrote in Greek concerning the great Variety of the Rabbins. Beza was continually speaking ill of him, nor would by any means believe, that he was acquainted with these Studies, or that they were of any use; and he conjectures that Beza's Rage rose from this, that he had by some means or other heard that he had spoke slightly of his Commentary on the New Testament. For whereas the LXX requires Two thousand Words to be so explained, that they may exactly correspond to the Hebrew Tongue, and a great many things are by the Apostles divinely accommodated to the Prophets, and almost the whole New Testament composed in the Style of the pious Rabbins, of which there remains some Footsteps to this day in their Books, and very little of it is merely Hebraistical according to the Heathen use: Beza has at last introduced this, being unprovided with any thing else, as he himself has often affirmed. He likewise detests this in Beza, that he interprets the Testimony of the old Testament, cited by the Apostles, directly to their purpose, as the most ancient Jews allow, differently from Calvin, leaving to the Apostles nothing more than the force of the Cabala, which the later Jews have generally laid aside for these 500 Years, as Aben Ezra in his Preface to Moses. This, says he, I have often blamed in Beza; and hence comes his Persecution and Railing against me.

(13) Ibid. fol. 2, verso.

(14) Idem.

(12) Ex Corneli Schellingii, Epist. Dedicat. Tom. IV, Biblioth. Catholice & Orthodoxæ, fol. 3.

BRUYN (JOHN de), Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at *Utrecht*, was born at *Gorcum*, the Twenty fifth of August 1620. He went through a Course of Philosophy at *Leyden*, under the Professor *Heerboord*, and then pursued his Studies at *Boisleduc*, where he was very much esteemed by *Samuel Marcfus*, who taught there Philosophy and Divinity. From thence he removed to *Utrecht*, and applied himself diligently to the Mathematics, under the Professor *Ravensberg*, who had a particular Affection for him. He went afterwards to *Leyden*, where he obtained leave to teach Mathematics. *Ravensberg*, finding himself declining, so earnestly recommended him to the Magistrates and Curates of the University, as a very fit Man to fill up his Place, that they made him Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics; and because the Professors of Philosophy had agreed among themselves, that every one of them might teach at home such a part of Philosophy as he should think fit, *de Bruyn*, not contented to teach what his public Professorship required, made also Dissections, and explained *Grotius's* Book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*. He had great skill in dissecting Animals; he was a great lover of Experiments; and made also Astronomical Observations. The Dissertations he published, *De vi altrice*; *de corporum gravitate & levitate*; *de cognitione Dei naturali*; *de lucis causis & origine*, &c [A], are manifest Proofs of his Worth. In the Year 1652, he married the Daughter of a Merchant of *Utrecht*, Sister to the Wife of *Daniel Elzevir*, the famous Bookseller of *Amsterdam*, by whom he had two Children, who lived but few Days. He departed this Life the Twenty first of October, 1675, after he had been a Professor for the space of Twenty three Years (a).

(a) Taken from his Funeral Oration pronounced by M. *Grævius*, Novem. 5, 1675.

[A] He wrote a Treatise *De lucis causis & origine*. He had a Dispute upon this Subject with *Isaac Vossius*, to whom he wrote a Letter of Sixty eight Pages in 4to, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1663, wherein he criticizes *Vossius's* Book, *De natura & proprietate lucis*, and strenuously maintains the Hypothesis of *Cartes*. He wrote also an Apology for the Cartesian Philosophy against a Divine, named *Vogelsang*.

BRUN (ANTONY le), Ambassador of *Spain*, at the Conferences held at *Munster*, was an excellent Negotiator. He was a Native of *Franche Comté*, and discharged the Office of Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Dole*, when he was sent Ambassador to *Munster*. All the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain* took Place of him; but he exceeded them all in Capacity: He knew better than they the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, and being a Man of a more complying Humour [A], and of a more pleasant Conversation, he was better qualified for a Negotiation. The King of *Spain* was particularly beholden to him for the Peace which the Dutch made at *Munster*, exclusively of *France*. As a Reward for that Service, he was appointed Ambassador to the States of the United Provinces, and then a considerable Office was bestowed upon him in the Finances at *Brussels*. — He was very well beloved at the *Hague*, where he would have been very useful to his Master, had not his Employment ended with his Life, when he began to be well known, and esteemed on account of his Merit (a). He left behind him four Sons (b), I do not know what was their Fate. He was an intriguing Man, and made himself dreaded by the French Ambassadors [B], not without Reason, since he overcome the Difficulties which kept back the Treaty of Peace between *Spain* and the United Provinces [C]. He received an Affront for concerning himself

(a) Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. II, pag. 422, 423.

(b) James Richard, King at Arms of the King of Spain, and his Consul at Amsterdam, Description of Franche Comté in Blaeu's Atlas.

[A] He was of a complying Humour. Others say, that he was a very popular Man, and consequently very fit to impose upon the Multitude. Ingenio populari aptissimoque fuco plebi faciundo (1); and that *Servien*, who affected Stateliness in every thing, was not for that very reason so well qualified to succeed in *Holland* as *le Brun*, who had a Citizen-like Behaviour. Huic (*Serviano*) omnia nobilia, magnifica, excelsa fuere: Bruno vero vulgaris & popularis omnis ratio: eo factum uti quo similior his cum quibus agebat, ita & apud ipsos validior fuerit (2). — He (*Servien*) was in every thing noble, magnificent, and lofty: but *le Brun's* manner was altogether low and popular; wherefore as he was more like those with whom he had to do, so he had more Prevalency with them.

(1) Labardeus de rebus Gallicis, lib. v, pag. 252.

(2) Id. pag. 259.

[B] He made himself dreaded by the French Ambassadors. That was the Reason why Mr *Servien* would not consent that Mr *le Brun* should be permitted to go to the *Hague* in his Return from the *Low-Countries* to the Conferences of *Munster*. When the seventy Articles had been signed, the eighth of January, 1647, between the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, and those of the United Provinces, *Antony le Brun*, one of the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, set out from *Munster* the very next Day, to carry the News of it to *Brussels*. Whilst he was there, he sent to the States desiring a Pass-

port to go to the *Hague*. His Design was to observe and thwart *Servien's* Negotiation, who was about a Treaty of Guarantee; but *Servien* opposed the granting the Passport, and so contrived the Matter, that the States having consulted the Prince of *Orange*, refused Mr *le Brun* (3). Mr *de la Barde* expresses with greater force Mr *Servien's* Uneasiness upon hearing that Mr *le Brun* was to come to the *Hague*. Mr *Servien* declared, says he (4), that if the Passport was granted, he would immediately retire. He adds, That the Princes of *Orange* favoured *le Brun* upon that Occasion; but the Prince was of Opinion, that *Servien* should be satisfied, and so *le Brun* was obliged to negotiate by way of Letters. He wrote to the States; *Servien* answered his Letter (5): *le Brun* made a Reply (6). Mr *de la Barde* observes, that there was a personal Hatred between those two Ambassadors.

(3) Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. I, pag. 413, 414.

(4) Labardeus, lib. v, pag. 252.

(5) Id. pag. 253.

(6) Id. pag. 259.

[C] He overcame the Difficulties which kept back the Treaty of Peace between *Spain* and the United Provinces. The Difficulties were Foreign and Domestic. The former were started by the French Ambassadors, and were the least considerable. If Mr *le Brun* had not been warmly and dexterously seconded by Mr *Pauw* and Mr *Knuitt*, the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, and had nevertheless concluded the Treaty of Peace, he would much more deserve to be praised for it than he does; for it must be confessed,

self with the domestic Differences that arose in *Holland*, in the Year 1650 [D]. But, because he was not easily discouraged, he countenanced those who desired, that the Dignity of Stadtholder should be suppressed [E]. He made use not only of Libels [F], but also of false Suppositions [G], for the Service of his Master. The French Writers took delight in reflecting upon him [H].

This

confessed, That those two Plenipotentiaries did very much clear and smooth the Difficulties for him. Every thing was made use of, even Contradictions, to oppose those who were for continuing the War. The Misery and Power of France were both alledged to that end (7). Sometimes she was represented so exhausted that she could no longer support her Allies; and sometimes so powerful, that it was to be feared the Continuation of the War would make her formidable to her Neighbours. Mr Servien one Day so strangely inveighed against Mr Pauw and Mr Knuit in the Assembly of the States-General, that he made bold to say, That they were the Pudenda of the Republic. *Le Brun* turned the thing to their Advantage; he called them the virile Parts of the State, which *Servien* designed to cut off, that the Republic might lose that manly Vigor, without which it could not maintain itself. 'Quandoque dicendi studio cum apud Federatos Ordines de republica differeret, elatus eo evasit, ut ambos pudenda reipublice appellaret, quod est ab Bruno haud illepidè correctum, ubi Serviani Scripto postea respondit, eodem rei Sociarum Civitatum publicæ virilia appellando, quæ Servianus execrare vellet, ut huic minus masculæ virtutis inesset, quo tutari se aut adversum hostes possent, aut adversum socios æque prope damnosos, qui videlicet omnem societatis fructum sibi habere studerent, de sociorum commodis nihil solliciti (8). - - - One time, in a Speech which he made before the States-General, in the Heat of his Discourse, he launched out so far as to call them two the Pudenda of the Commonwealth, which was wittily enough corrected and turned to their Advantage by *le Brun*, in his Answer to *Servien's* Memorial, by calling them the virile Parts of the Commonwealth, which *Servien* had a Mind to cut off, that the Commonwealth might have less manly Virtue, to defend themselves against their Enemies, and against their Allies, who are almost as hurtful to them, in that they sought to reap all the Benefits of the Alliance themselves, taking no care of the Interest of their Allies.' But if what Mr de la Barde says were true, there would be less reason to wonder, that the Intrigues of two Dutch Embassadors, seconded by *le Brun*, should have overcome the Obstacles to the Peace. He will have it that the Princes of Orange, being offended that Cardinal Mazarin had not paid her all the Honour she expected, endeavoured to make a separate Peace during the Sickness of her Consort. 'Hic (Knuitius) Zelandiæ publicæ Legatus, privatum Araulphi cliens erat, qui tum ob perditam valetudinem, sicuti ferme homines tali suo tempore, in uxoris Solmiz fuit potestate: quæ quoniam ab Mazarino haud satis se cultam arbitrabatur, eo nobis infesta erat, atque omni ope nitebatur, uti pax Hispanos inter, & Socias Civitates, post-habito foedere nostro, fanciretur, de qua re Knutium continuo, sicuti & Batavorum Civitas Pavium, fatigabat (9). - - - He (Knuit) was in his public Character Embassador of Zeland, privately a Creature of the Prince of Orange, who, by reason of his ill State of Health, was then, as Men commonly are at such times, intirely led by his Wife Solmia, who, because she did not think she had sufficient regard paid her by Mazarine, was therefore our Enemy, and used her utmost Endeavour to settle a Peace between the Spaniards and United Provinces, exclusive of our Alliance, about which she was continually teasing Knuit, as the State did Pauw.'

[D] He met with an Affront for concerning himself with the domestic Differences of the Low-Countries in 1650.] M. de Wicquefort gives the following Account of it: 'In the Year 1650, there arose some Differences between the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland. Some of their Deputies were confined to the Castle of Lovestein, and the Prince brought the Troops of the State before the City of Amsterdam. Antony le Brun, Embassador of

Spain, otherwise a dexterous and very wise Minister, thinking to please the Prince, offered him the Forces of the King his Master to reduce that Town; but the Prince answered him, That the King of Spain needed not concern himself with the domestic Affairs of his Country, and that neither he nor the States wanted his Assistance: That if the King should cause his Troops to advance, those small Differences would be quickly laid aside, and all the Forces of the States would immediately be re-united to oppose the Foreign Troops. And indeed, those differences were quickly over; and the same Embassador, thinking to mend his first Fault, committed a second, by asking Audience of the States, to compliment them about the Reconciliation. It was granted him; but, when they came to know the Subject of it, they sent him word, tho' he was already at the Foot of the Stairs, where their Deputies were to receive him, That they were obliged to desire him not to take it ill, that he should be put off till another time: So that he went home with a kind of an Affront, for having had a mind to speak of a domestic Affair, which he should have taken no notice of (10).

[E] He countenanced those, who desired that the Dignity of Stadtholder should be suppressed.] M. de la Barde gives us the substance of M. le Brun's Speech both to the States-General, and the States of the Province of Holland. What he said was very disobliging to the most Serene House of Orange: he spoke not in that manner till after he had been at Brussels, to confer with the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty. On the contrary, the Court of France sent an Embassador Extraordinary to the States in favour of that House (11).

[F] He made use not only of Libels.] He published several during the Conferences of Munster, wherein he abused France. Those Pieces were written in a pleasant Stile, and with a great deal of sprightliness; but his Satires were too comical, and too much like Burlesque, if we believe the Author I have quoted. 'Hic (Brunus) fori rerum in quibus ætatem egit prudens, neque aliarum ignarus est, cæterum ingenio populari, artificiosoque fuco plebi faciundo. Eâ gratiâ libellos sæpius apud Monasterium Vestfalorum edebat, haud illepidos hos quidem, sed qui saperent Atellanum, & quibus plebejâ planè lasciviâ ipsi ab natura infusa maledicta in Legatos, cæterosque Gallos jaceret, omnemque eorum tam in bello gerendo, quam in pacis negotio rationem vituperaret (12). - - - This le Brun is very well acquainted with all the business of the Bar, in which he has spent his time, and has a good knowledge of other Things; but is of a popular Disposition and well cut out to impose on the multitude. For that purpose he frequently published Books at Munster, which were not unpleasant, but smelled of the Buffoon, suberein, with meer mobbish wantonness, natural to him, he cast his reproaches on the Embassadors, and on the French in general, blaming all their Conduct both in managing War and Peace.

[G] but also of false Suppositions.] M. de Wicquefort, speaking of some Embassadors, who spread false News, does not forget to say, That some do no scruple to publish Letters, pretending they have been intercepted, to cry down the Affairs and Conduct of those, whose Prosperity makes them uneasy. He says, That during the War of the Barberini, the Spanish Embassador dispersed a Letter at Venice, wherein Cardinal Mazarin exhorted Cardinal Richelieu to do nothing too hastily &c. That those Letters were sent to all the Courts of Europe, but that the Cheat was quickly found out. *Le Brun* (continues he), Embassador of Spain at Munster, went more cunningly about it, but with no better success. He knew the Plenipotentiaries of France were not well pleased with those of Sweden, and that they would express their Discontent in their first Dispatches to the Court; wherefore

(7) See a piece printed in 1648, intitled la Confession de l'Impprimeur.

(8) Labardeus, pag. 259.

(9) Id. pag. 247.

(10) Wicquefort de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. II, pag. 93, 94.

(11) Labardeus de Rebus Gallicis, lib. ix, page 623.

(12) Id. lib. v, pag. 252.

This Article had been printed some Months, when I received a Memorial, which enables me to give a clearer and more certain Account of Mr *le Brun*. Messire *Antony le Brun*, born at *Dole*, in the Year 1600, was a considerable Man, not only for his Parts and Employments, but also for his noble Extraction, and his Father's Merit [I]. He was Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Dole*, and discharged the Duties of that Office with great Ability, during which time he was employed in all the State Negotiations which concerned the Province. See the History of the Siege of *Dole*, written by President *Boivin*. He was sent afterwards by *Philip IV* to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, and from thence to the Court of the Emperor *Ferdinand III*. He was then made Counsellor of the Council of State for the Affairs of *Flanders* and *Burgundy*. I have said before, that he was one of the Plenipotentiaries of his Catholic Majesty, at the Conferences of *Munster*, that he continued there alone, intrusted with that important Negotiation for a considerable time, and that after he had concluded the Treaty of Peace between *Spain* and the United Provinces, he was sent Embassador to the *Hague*. The Services he did there to *Philip IV*, were so acceptable to That Prince, that he made him Counsellor in the Supreme Council, and in the Council of State, and then the Head of his Finances in the *Low-Countries*. This last Office was always filled up by Persons of Quality, and often by Knights of the *Golden Fleece*. The Count *d'Isenburg*, associated to Mr *de Brun* in that Office, was one of those Knights. Mr *de Brun* was honoured at that time with the Dignity of Baron, for him and his Male Issue (c). He died at the *Hague*, during his Embassy, and was buried in the Church

(c) You will find among his other Titles, that of Baron d'Alpremont in *Blacw's Atlas*, in the Map of *Franche Comté*, dedicated to him.

wherefore he found means to get a Letter, wherein the Humour and the Proceedings of *Oxenstern*, and his Father the Chancellor, were sharply reflected upon. *Le Brun*, who thought it necessary to go beyond the Letter, altered some Passages in it in such a manner, as was not only very offensive to those two Ministers, but might have occasioned a Rupture between the two Confederated Crowns. He went too far in the Matter, and thereby gave an advantage to the *French*, who being able to discover the falsity, found it no difficult thing to render every thing else suspicious, and to cause a belief that it was all a Cheat (13). One may argue, upon this Occasion, quite contrary to *Virgil*. If Servants, said he, are so bold, what will not Masters do?

(13) Wicquef. de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. II, p. 138, 139.

(14) *Virgil*, *Ecl.* III, v. 16.

Quid domini faciant audent cum talia fures (14)?

What Nonsense would the Fool, thy Master, prate,
When thou, his Knave, can'st talk at such a Rate:

DRYDEN.

But we may say, if the Embassadors of the greatest Kings do not scruple to divulge false News, and Calumnies forged by themselves, what may not one expect from those Men, who without a Name, and without being owned, take upon themselves to write about the present Affairs for a Livelihood, and to satisfy their detaching Humour. Is it any Wonder, that such People should venture to publish the most absurd Fictions, and give out, as Matter of Fact, the Falsities which they invent to indulge their Passions, and comply with the public Distemper? They meet with some Casuists, who flatter that Passion; for I make no doubt, that there are several *Escobar's* and *Baun's*, who absolve private and public Persons, that forge Calumnies for the Good of their Country; and I know that a Protestant Minister, the same who by so many Pastoral Letters set up, as it were, for an Oecumenical Pastor, or for an Universal Bishop, has declared, That every thing is lawful and fair against an open Enemy (15). *Wicquefort*, who was a Statesman, and not a Divine, had a better Sense of Morality, as it appears from the following Words: Having said, that a Minister of the Court of *Vienna* (16) forged a very scandalous Piece in the Year 1672, as if it had been a Discourse made by the Commander of *Grenonville*, a Minister of *France*, to the Emperor's Council against the United Provinces, he adds: 'A Public Minister ought to abhor those Impostures and wicked Contrivances; he ought to be above those mean Tricks, which are only the Productions of a weak and perverse Mind (17).'

(15) He only excepts Assassination in another place. See the *Entretiens sur la Cabale Chimérique*, pag. 86, & seq.

(16) Probably the Baron *Lifela*.

(17) *Wicquef.* *ibid.* pag. 140, 141.

(18) *Intituled*, Jugement de tout ce qui a été imprimé contre le Cardinal *Mazarin*, depuis le 6. Janvier jusques à la déclaration du 1. Avril, 1649.

[H] The French Writers took delight in abusing him. The following Passage is in a Book written by *Naudé* (18). His Design is to shew, That the Spa-

niards prevented the Conclusion of the Peace at *Munster*, and he uses these Words. 'The particular Agreement of the *Dutch* was no sooner concluded, but *Pegneranda* made it his whole Business to break with us, and to raise Difficulties, not only about the Articles, not yet agreed upon, but also about those wherein there was no longer any difficulty; inasmuch that he went away from *Munster*, where he only left *le Brun* without any Power; which the whole Assembly was the more offended at, because tho' he had been provided with a full Power, no body could believe that the King of *Spain* would trust his most important Interests to a *Burgundian*, or have that great Work concluded by a Man of so inconsiderable Quality, at the very same time when he recalled his chief Plenipotentiary, whom *le Brun* was used to obey, as a Servant obeys his Master (19). Every body will perceive, that *Naudé* knew not how great a Trust the Court of *Spain* reposed in M. *le Brun*. Another *French* Writer, who could not deny it, and who acknowledges the Credit of that Minister, finds fault with him only about the Meanness of his Equipage. 'Ab Hispanie rege comes *Penneranda* cui additus *Antonius Brunus* à *Sequanis*, qui duobus servulis, scissili veste, & rheda femilacera, plus ponderis rebus addidit, quam dimidia pars totius cœtus (20). On the part of the King of *Spain* was Count *Penneranda*, with whom was joined *Antony de Brun*, a *Burgundian*, who, with two Servants, a ragged Coat, and a worn out Chariot, was of more weight in the Affairs, than half the whole Assembly.

(20) Priolus de rebus Gallicis, lib. x. n. 3. pag. 341.

[I] He was considerable for his noble Extraction, and his Father's Merit. It has been a Noble Family ever since the time of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*. It appears by some public Acts, registred in the Chamber of Accounts at *Dole*; that *John Brun* was an Esquire, and possessed some Lands and Lordships in Fief, which he held of that Duke, and for which he paid him Homage in the Year 1447. The Act of that Homage is signed by the same Duke. The Arms of that Family (21) are, Or, three Grapes purple, supported by two Lyons Or, armed, and languid, Gules. The Father of our *Antony de Brun*, was *Charles Brun*: He was Counsellor in the Parliament of *Dole* in the Year 1595. The King of *Spain* sent him twice to the Court of *France*, when *Marshall de Biron*, Governor of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, occasioned some Troubles, and when the Neutrality of the two *Burgundies* was renewed. He was likewise sent to the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, for some important Affairs of the House of *Austria*. He was also deputed by his Parliament, and his Province, to pay the Homage of Fidelity to the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, when the King of *Spain* yielded to them *Franche Comté* and the *Low-Countries*. He acquitted himself of those Employments to the Satisfaction of the Public

(21) They may be seen in the Map of the County of *Burgundy*, in *Blacw's Atlas*.

(d) Taken from
a Manuscript
Memorial.

Church of the Carmelites at Mechlen (d). I shall speak of his Children [K]. These Words of Balfac ought not to be forgotten: 'I refer it to the French and Burgundians, to M. Brun, the Demosthenes of Dole; and to M. le Maître, the Cicero of Paris (e).'

(e) Balzac, Discours 2, to Cardinal Bentivoglio, printed with the Socrate Chretien, pag. 472.

(22) Taken from
a MSS. Memo-
rial.

and of his Prince. His other Son, JOHN BRUN, was Counsellor in the Parliament of Dole (22).

[K] I shall speak of his Children.] He married Donna Magdalena de Acosta, a noble and ancient Family of Spain, by whom he had many Children of both Sexes. Don LORENZO de BRUN, one of them, Baron d'Asprement, &c. was Captain of Caraffiers in the Service of the

King of Spain against the Portuguese, when he was killed at the Battle of Villaviciosa. Two of his Brothers died in the same Service, without being married. There remains a fourth, who married in Languedoc, and has a Family. He resides in Burgundy (23), and is Knight of Honour in the Parliament of that Province. A Seat of his has been erected into a Marquifate (24).

(23) I think
Franche Comté is
meant by it.

(24) Taken from
the same MSS.

BRUN (CHARLES le), Chief Painter to the French King, Director of the Manufactures, &c. [A], was one of the greatest Men that ever France produced for Painting. His being elected Prince of the Academy of Painters at Rome, where they pretend to have exceeded, for so many Ages, all other Nations in the Knowledge of the Liberal Arts, is a sufficient Proof of his Ability. He was born in the Year 1618, with so many Dispositions to become a great Painter, that, at three Years of Age, he took Coals out of the Fire, and sketch'd upon the Hearth, and against the Chimney, having no Light but that of the Fire. When fourteen Years old, he drew the Picture of his Father (a), who was a Sculptor, and performed it so well, that the Picture is still accounted a very good Piece. At that time there was no Painter in France more esteemed than Mr Vouët [B]. Mr le Brun, who lived in his House, and distinguished himself from his other Scholars, got the Affection and Esteem of Chancellor Seguier, who gave him a good Pension, and afterwards sent him to Rome, where he maintained him for some Years. His easy way of drawing, and the Correctness of his Works, surprized the most famous Painters, and the best Sculptors of Italy. He saw there the finest Pieces that could be seen, both Ancient and Modern, and perfected his good Taste, which has been so much admired since. He always preserved a deep sense of Gratitude for Chancellor Seguier, and gave an admirable Instance of it after the Death of his Patron, by the divine Service that was performed for him in the Church of the Fathers of the Oratory, and by a Mausoleum erected there according to the Draught he had made of it, and under his Direction. At his return from Rome he very much distinguished himself from the best Painters of Paris; and the first President de Bellievre proved a new Patron to him. He painted Madam du Plessis Belliere, Mother to Marshal de Crequi's Lady, so well, that her Picture was, and is still, accounted a Master-piece. Cardinal Mazarin came to know him by some other Pictures which he drew for the same Lady; and, as he was a good Judge of Painting, he expressed a great Esteem for Mr le Brun's Pencil, and made him famous every where. After the Peace of the Pyrenees, the King, being resolved to make the Liberal Arts flourish, found no body better qualified than Mr le Brun to preside at the Gobelins with the several Employments he bestowed upon him; which put him in a capacity of discovering the whole Extent of his noble Talents. He was not only an excellent Painter, but also a Man of a vast and inventive Genus, and fit for every thing. He knew the History and Manners of all Nations. In an Hour's time he cut out Work enough for many different Artists. He supplied the King's Sculptors and Goldsmiths with Designs, and gave many of them to paint whole Apartments, and to make Cabinets and Hangings. When he was about the large Picture of Darius's Family, from which one of the five Pieces of Tapestry of Alexander's History was made, and which is now in the King's great Apartment at Versailles, His Majesty spent near two Hours every Day at Fontainebleau to see him paint; and some time after sent him his Picture, and then a Patent of Nobility (b), and a Coat of Arms (c). The Great Duke of Tuscany conceived so great an Esteem for him, that he did him the Honour to ask him for his Picture, and to inform him that he would willingly keep Correspondence with him. The great Esteem he was in at the French Court appeared during the Sickness of which he died on the twelfth of February, 1690 [C].

(a) Mr Perrault, in his *Homages to the Arts*, pag. 216, says that le Brun, being but ten or twelve Years of Age, drew the Picture of his Grandfather, who was a Sculptor at Paris.

(b) Dated December, 1662.

(c) Which are a Sun in a Field Argent, and a Flower de-luce Azure, with a Crest Felle.

[A] Director of the Manufactures, &c.] To fill up this *Sc. cetera*, I observe, That Mr le Brun was Director of the Royal Manufactures of the Household Goods of the Crown; Director, Chancellor, and Rector, of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and Prince of St Luke's Academy at Rome.

[B] At fourteen Years of Age he drew his Father's Picture. - There was not at that time any Painter in France more esteemed than Mr Vouët. I mean Simon Vouët, who had two Brothers Painters also. See the Book entitled *Noms des Peintres les plus celebres*, or, *Names of the most famous Painters*, printed at Paris, Anno 1679, pag. 48.

He had a Pension from the King, and lodged in the Galleries of the Louvre. It was he, who painted the Vault of the Chapel of St Germain en Laye, and the most excellent Painters in France, as Mignard, Bourdon, Tetelin, and le Sueur, were his Scholars. He was a Native of Paris, and died in the Year 1690.

[C] The great Esteem he was in at the French Court appeared in his last Illness. The King and the greatest Lords often sent to know how he did. Mr de Louvois sent him the most famous Physicians. He was visited by the Prince of Condé, and many Lords of the first Rank.

He was buried in the Chappel he had built for himself, in the Church of St Nicolas du Chardonneret, his Parish, where he founded two Masses to be said every Day for ever. He also left a Fund to marry three poor Maids every Year. He died without Issue, and therefore Mr le Brun, his Nephew, Auditor of the Accounts, will be his only Heir after his Wife's decease (d).

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, we have seen an Encomium upon Mr le Brun, written by Mr Perrault, in his *Hommes Illustres*. I could take many Particulars out of that Book, but I rather chuse to refer the Reader to it. The Widow of that excellent Painter died in the Year 1699.

BRUNUS (LEONARD). Look for ARETIN (LEONARD).

BRUNUS (JORDANUS), a Native of Nola, in the Kingdom of Naples, was a Man of great Parts, but he made an ill use of his Knowledge; for he wrote not only against Aristotle's Philosophy [A], at a time when such a thing could not be done without occasioning great Disorders, and exposing one's self to many Persecutions, but also against the most important Truths of Religion [B]. Being expelled from Italy he retired into a Country less dangerous for such Philosophers as he was (a). He run over Germany, France, &c. and it had been well for him if he had gone on, for, when he returned into Italy, he was burnt there, say some, as an impious Man, in the Year 1600. I shall set down the Titles of some of his Works [C], and mention some things relating to four or five of his other Books [D].

He

(a) See the second Letter of *Acidalius*: it was written in 1592, to Baron Forcetti, who was then at Padua. *Acidalius* asks him whether it was true, according to common Report, that *Jordanus Brunus* taught at Padua.

[A] He wrote against Aristotle's Philosophy. See the Book intitled, *Jordani Bruni Nolani Cameracenensis Acrotismus, seu rationes articulorum Physicorum adversus Peripateticos Parisiis propositum*, &c. It was printed at Wittenberg in the Year 1588, in 8vo. You will find in it a Letter which *Brunus* wrote to Henry III, one that he wrote to the Rector of the University of Paris, and one he wrote to the Friends of the true Philosophy. *Parisensis & alii d. generosissimi Galliarum regno philosophis sensationis philosophiae dogmatum amicis & defensoribus*. You will find in it, *Excubitor, seu Jo. Hennequinus Apologetica declamatio habita in auditorio regio Parisiensis Academiae in festo Pentecostae anno 1586, pro Nolani articulis*; and at the end of the Articles are these Words: 'Articuli de Natura & Mundo à Nolano in Principibus Europæ Academiae propositi: quos Jo. Hennequinus nobilis Parisiensis sub ejusdem felicibus auspiciis contra vulgaris & cuiuscunque adversariae Philosophiæ Professores triduo Pentecostes in Universitate Parisiorum defendendos evulgavit: brevibus adjectis rationibus (1). — *Theses concerning Nature and the World, proposed by Nolanus in the principal Universities of Europe, which John Hennequin, a Noble Parisian, put up to defend in the University of Paris, the third Day after Pentecost, against the Professors of the common or any contrary Philosophy; with short Reasons added thereto.* It appears from these Words, that *Brunus* acted the part of a Knight-Errent in point of Philosophy, being always ready to engage any one that was willing to enter the Lists with him, &c.

[B] And the most important Truths of Religion. It is said that he wrote some Books, wherein he maintained, that there are a great many Worlds, all eternal; that the Jews only descended from Adam and Eve, and that all other Men were sprung from a Race created by God long before; that all the Miracles of Moses were an Effect of Magic, and exceeded the Wonders performed by the other Magicians only because he had made a greater Progress in Magic; that he himself forged the Laws he delivered to the Israelites; that the holy Scripture is a mere Fiction, &c. *John Henry Urfinus*, who informs me of this, adds, that *Brunus* was burnt at Rome, in the Field of Flora, for those impious Doctrines, on the ninth of February, 1600 (2). He mentions all these things upon the Credit of *Scio-pianus*, who had given a full Account of them in a Letter. *Nicodemus*, in his Additions to the *Bibliotheca Neapolitana*, says, that it is not certainly known whether every thing related by *Urfinus* be true. It is somewhat strange that one should not know at eighty Years end whether a Dominican (3), was burnt at Rome in a public Place for his Blasphemies. When Facts of this nature are uncertain, they are very like to be false.

[C] I shall set down the Titles of some of his Works. He fell into *Raymund Lullius's* Notions, and refined them, and invented several Methods of Artificial Memory; all this, say they, discovers a great Genius; but there is so much Obscurity in them, that they can be of no use. See *Morbo-fus's Polyhistor* (4). However it be, here are the Titles: *De specierum scrutinio & Lampade combinatoria Raymundi Lullii*, Prague, 1588, in 8vo. That Book was put in the Index of the Inquisition (5): It has been reprinted several times with a Tract of the same Author, *de progressu logicae venationis*, among *Lullius's* Works. *Jordanus Brunus* de monade, numero & figura: item de innumerabili, immenso, &c. *Frankfort*, 1591, in 8vo. *Jordani Bruni Nolani de imaginum, signorum, & idearum compositione, ad omnia inventionum, dispositionum, & memoriae genera libri tres* (6). *Frankfort*, 1591, in 8vo. De umbris idearum, *Parisi*, 1582. Cantus Circeus ad memoriae proxim ordinatus quam ipse judicariam appellat, *Parisi*, 1583. De compendiosa Architectura & complemento artis Lullii, *ibid.* 1580 (7). Artificialium perorandi. *Alstedius* published it at *Frankfort* in 1612 (8). *Vossius*, page 510 of the first Volume of his Theological Disputations, quotes *Jordanus Brunus de Hereticis*; but he should have said *Conradus Brunus*.

[D] ——— and some things relating to four or five of his other Books. I have seen none of *Brunus's* Books mentioned in the foregoing Remarks; but I have seen some others which are not to be found in the Catalogues I have consulted (9). I have seen the Book intitled *Giordano Bruno Nolano, De causa, principio, & Uno*. It was printed at Venice in the Year 1584, in 12mo, and dedicated by the Author to *Michael de Castellano, Seigneur de Mauvissiere*, Embassador of France to Queen Elizabeth. I find in the Epistle Dedicatory, that this Lord protected *Giordano Bruno* against the Malice of his Enemies. *Mi riduco à mente come — mi siete sufficiente & saldo difensore ne gl' injusti oltraggi ch' io patisco. — Brings to my Mind how effectual and solid a Protector you have been to me against the unjust Outrages which I suffer.* The Author pretends that his heroic Firmness prevented his falling into Despair; for his ill Fortune was attended with a thousand Disgraces: nothing was wanting to complete it but the malicious disdain of a Mistress. 'Wherefore I had need to have been of a truly heroic Spirit, not to submit, despair, or yield to such a rapid Torrent of criminal impostures; whereby they have with all their Might drawn upon me the Envy of the Ignorant, the Presumption of Sophists, the Detraction of the Malevolent, the Murmurs of Slaves, the Whispers of Mercenaries, the Contradiction of Domestic, the Suspensions of the Stupid, the Scruples of Tale-bearers, the Zeal of Hypocrites,

(4) Pag. 365, & seq.

(5) Toppi Bibliotheca Neapolitana, pag. 151.

(6) Nicodemus, ubi supra.

(7) Du Verdier in Supplem. Bibl. Geogr. pag. 33.

(8) Morhof. Polyh. pag. 355.

(9) I speak thus as far as I can remember, and I even except *la cena de Ceneri*; for it is a Book, the Title of which is to be found in *du Verdier*, ubi supra.

(2) Joh. Henr. Urfinus in Praefatione Tractatus de Zoroastre.

(3) Urfinus says that *Brunus* was profusione Dominicanus.

He wrote some that were not Philosophical; for in the Year 1582. he published an Italian Comedy at Paris, intituled *Candelais* (b). He gave himself the Title there of *Academico*

(b) Du Verdier
in Suppl.
Bibl. Gein. pag.
33.

Hypocrites, the Hatred of the Barbarous, the Fury of the Vulgar, the Madness of the Popular, the Lamentations of the Abandoned, the Cries of the Chastitatis; certainly there wanted nothing, but the unkind foolish and malicious Disdain of a Woman, whose false Tears alone are more powerful than the most swelling Waves, and rigid Tempests of Presumption, Envy, Detraction, Murmurs, Treachery, Disdain, Hatred, and Madness. Doue bisognava che fusse un animo veramente eroico per non dismettere le braccia, disperarsi, & darsi vinto à si rapido torrente di criminali imposture, con quali à tutta possa m'havve fatto empeto l'invidia d'ignoranti, la presuntion di sopsisti, la detraction di malevoli, la murmuration di servitori, gli susurri di mercenarii, le contraddizioni di domestici, le suspitioni di stupidi, gli scrupoli di riportatori, gli zeli d'hypocriti, gli odii di barbari, le furie di plobi, furori di popolari, lamanti di riproscisti, & voci di castigati. One altro non mancava ch' un disortese, pazzo, & malitioso sdegno femminile, di cui le false lacrime soglion esser piu potenti, che quantosivoglia tumide onde, & rigide tempeste di presuntioni, invidie, detractioni, mormorii, tradimenti, ire, sdegne, odii, & furori. The same Epistle Dedicatory contains the Substance of the five Dialogues of which that Work consists. The first is an Apology for la Cena de la Cineri, which is the Title of a Book I shall speak of hereafter. The second treats of the first Cause or Principle, and shews how the efficient and formal Cause are reunited in one Subject, which is the Soul of the World; and how the formal general Cause, which is but one, differs from the formal particular Cause, which is infinitely multiplied. The Author declares, among other things, that his System removes the fear of Hell, which, says he, spoils the sweetest Pleasures of Life (10). He shews in the third Dialogue, that David of Dinant was in the right to look upon Matter as a Divine Thing. He maintains that the substantial Form is never destroyed, and that Matter and Form differ only as Power and Act: from whence he concludes, that the whole Universe is but one Being. He shews in the following Dialogue, that the Matter of Bodies is not different from that of Spirits; and lastly, he concludes in the fifth Dialogue, that the Being which really exists is One, Infinite, Immoveable, and Indivisible. Senza differenza di tutto & parte, principio & principiato. -- Without distinction of Whole and Part, Cause and Effect: That an infinite Extension is necessarily reduced to an Individuum, as an infinite Number is reduced to Unity. This is a general Notion of what he expresses more particularly in his Summaries, and more at large in his Dialogues; from whence it appears, that his Hypothesis is in the main altogether like Spinozism. There is at the end of the first Dialogue a Digression in Praise of Queen Elizabeth.

Here follows another Book, which he dedicated to the same Mr de Castelnau. Giordano Bruno Nolano. De l'infinito Universo & Mondi. Stampato in Venetia. Anno M.D.LXXXIV. in 12mo. It consists of five Dialogues, wherein he alleges many Reasons to shew that the Universe is infinite, and that there is an infinite number of Worlds. He declares for Copernicus's Opinion concerning the Motion of the Earth round the Sun. I have also seen his *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante, proposto da Giove*. Effettuato dal consiglio, Revelato da Mercurio, Recitato da Sapia, Uitto da Saulino, Registrato dal Nolano. Diviso in tre Dialogi, suddivise in tre parti. -- Stampato in Parigi M.D.XCIV. in 12mo. He dedicated it to Sir Philip Sidney, who had done him many good Services in England. 'Tis a Moral Treatise, oddly composed; for the Author represents the Nature of Vices and Virtues under the Emblems of the Celestial Constellations turned out of the Sky to make room for new Asterisms, which represent Truth, Goodness, &c. Du Verdier Vau-privas reckons, among the Works of our *Giordano*, la Cena de la Cineri descrittà in cinque dialoghi, per quattro interlocutori contre considerazione circa doi Sogetti. Stampata

VOL. II.

nell' anno 1580 (11). The Copy I have seen is in 12mo, and was printed in 1584. That Book was dedicated by the Author to Mr de Castelnau, unico refugio de le Muse, during his Embassy in England. The reason of the Title is, that those Conversations are supposed to have been a Table-talk the first day in Lent. The Opinion of Copernicus is maintained among other things in that Work; and it is added, that there is an infinite number of Worlds like this, and that they are all intellectual Animals, which have Vegetative and Rational Individuums as there are upon Earth. The contrary Opinion is called childish. La quarta afferma esser conformi in materia quello mondo nostro ch' è detto globo della terra, con gli mondi che son gli corpi de gl' altri astri, & che è cosa da fanciulli haver creduto & credere altrimenti. Et che quei son tanti animali intellettuali: & che non meno in quelli vegetano & intendono molti & innumerabili individui semplici, & composti, che veggiamo vivere & vegetar nel dorso di quello (12). The fourth affirms, that this World of ours, which is called the Globe of the Earth, is composed of like matter with the Worlds which are the Bodies of the other Stars: and that it is childish to believe otherwise. And that they are so many intellectual Animals, and that there are in them innumerable, vegetable, and intelligent Individuals, simple and compound, as well as we see here on the Surface of this Globe. Lastly, I have seen li Heroici Furori of that Writer. They contain two Parts, each of which is divided into five Dialogues. The Author wrote them during his stay in England, and dedicated them to Sir Philip Sidney. There are many Italian Verses in that Work, and many Cabalistical Notions; for, under certain Figures, which seem to represent the Transports and Disorders of Love, he pretends to raise the Soul to the contemplation of the most sublime Truths, and cure it of its Imperfections. There are some Poems at the end, wherein he celebrates the Beauty of the London Women.

Two general Observations may be made upon the Notions of this Author: One is, That his chief Doctrines are a thousand times more obscure, than the most incomprehensible things that have been advanced by the Followers of Thomas Aquinas, or John Scotus (13). For can any thing be more contrary to the Notions of our Minds, than to maintain that an Infinite Extension is wholly in each point of Space, and that an Infinite Number does not differ from Unity? L' uno, l' infinito, lo ente & quello che è in tutto, è per tutto anzi è l' ineffezzo UBIQUE. Et che così la infinita dimensione per non essere magnitudine coincide con l' individo, come la infinita moltitudine, per non esser numero coincide con la unita (14). The other Observation is, That he ridiculously fancies, that whatever he says is repugnant to the System of the Peripatetics, which is the Sophism called Ignoratio Elenchi. There is nothing but a Dispute about Words between Him and Them, as to what concerns the Immutability or Destructibility of Things. They never pretended that Matter, as it is a Substance, and the common Subject of Generation and Corruption, is capable of any change. But they maintain, that the Production and Destruction of Forms supposes, that the Subject, which acquires and loses them successively, is not immutable and unalterable. Brunus cannot deny it, but by taking the Words in a particular sense; and therefore it is only a misunderstanding and an equivocation. It appears from the following passage, that he acknowledges a Mutability in his one Being: 'Per il che, says he (15), non vi sonora mal nel orecchio la sentenza di Heracito, che disse tutte le cose essere uno, il quale per la MUTABILITÀ' hà in se tutte le cose; & perche tutte le forme sono in esso, conseguentemente tutte le definitioni gli convegnono; & per tanto le contraddittorie enunciationi son vere. Et quello che fa la moltitudine ne le cose non è lo ente, non è la cosa: ma quel che appare, che si rappresenta al senso & è nella superficie della cosa. --- Therefore

(11) Du Verdier, Suppl. Bibl. Gein. pag. 33.

(12) Giordano Bruno, Epist. Dedicat. della Cena de la Cineri.

(13) That is, Followers as to Philosophy.

(14) Giordano Bruno, Epist. Dedicat. del trattato de la causa, Principio & Uno.

(15) Id. Dialogo quinto del medesimo trattato, pag. 127.

Academico di nulla Academia, detto il Fafidito. Some ingenious Persons pretend that Mr Des Cartes has borrowed some of his Notions from him [E].

'fore the Opinion, Heraclites, will not sound ill in your Ears, which says that all things are one, because MUTABILITY contains all things, and because all Forms are in it, consequently all Definitions agree to it; and thus contradictory Propositions are true, and the cause of the multitude of Things is not the Being, not the Substance, but those things that appear are only represented to the senses, and are the superficies of the Substance of the thing. A Peripatetic would grant him the greatest part of what he says here, if the Equivocations were once removed. Pray take notice of this Absurdity: He tells us, that Being is not the Cause of the Existence of many Things; but that this Multitude consists in what appears on the Surface of the Substance. In answer to which, I ask, Whether those Appearances, which strike our Senses, exist or do not exist? If they exist, they are Beings: and therefore Beings are the Cause of the Multitude of Things. If they do not exist, it will follow that Non-Entity acts upon us, and becomes sensible; which is absurd and impossible. There is no getting out of this Difficulty, but by the Help of an Ambiguity. Spinozism is liable to the same Inconveniences.

Sorel mentions and confutes some of our Bruno's Opinions, and even endeavours to excuse him; but he does not go the right way about it. Read what follows. 'Though Jordanus Brunus, says he (16), might be in an Error as well as some others; yet we ought to consider the Nature of his Work, which is a Poem, and that since Authors have been allowed at all times to make use of Fables and Fictions in such Books, it is no wonder he did it. His Performance seems to be the more diverting, because he has ingeniously described an Infinity of Worlds, and informs us, how Metadorus, Leucippus, Epicurus, and some other Philosophers, understood it. — He always affirms, that God is every where, and fills up all Things, ascribing to the supreme Essence whatever is due to it; and as he does not meddle with any Articles of the Christian Faith, he might have come off, notwithstanding some few Words in his Commentaries, that seem to those who understand them to be a little too free, by giving out all those things as meer Hypotheses and Suppositions, which he did not approve, and had wrote in Germany, where he had been for some time, and where those Opinions were acceptable, and there was more Liberty than in Italy (17). It may be answered, I. That since Sorel acknowledges (18), as he has done, and was obliged to do, that Bruno's Poem is like that of Lucretius, he should not have said, that the Author might very

well insert several Fictions in it; for there is a great difference between that sort of Poems, and those of Tasso and Ariosto; those are dogmatical Books, but these are full of Fictions. A Man is no less answerable for an impious Thing which he dogmatically advances in a System written in Verse, than when he teaches it in a System written in Prose. II. It ought to be known, that Bruno wrote some Books in Prose, wherein he advances the same Opinions as in his Poems. Sorel was not altogether ignorant of it (19). III. God's Immen- sity, &c. are not Doctrines less impious in Jordanus Brunus than in Spinoza: Those two Writers are extravagant Unitarians; they acknowledge but one Substance in Nature. Sorel cannot be excused for not knowing this. IV. It is not true, that the Opinions concerning an infinite World, and innumerable Earths and Suns, were acceptable to the Germans at that time. It is a sad thing (thus he concludes (20) that a Man who wrote very fine Books, should meet with such an unfortunate Death. These Words depend upon what he had been saying in the foregoing Page: 'Father Merfenne mentions some of Brunus's Opinions in his Book against the Deists, wherein he represents that Author as an Atheist and a Teacher of Impiety, who was burnt at Rome by a Sentence of the Inquisition. Perhaps it was for something else than what is contained in his Books de Minimo, and de Immenso (21).'

We are told of one Brunus, who wrote a Panegyric upon the Devil (22). I do not doubt but that it is the same Brunus of Nola, who is the Subject of this Article.

[E] Some ingenious Persons pretend, that Mr Des Cartes borrowed some of his Notions from him. Mr Leibnitz cites a learned Mathematician, who observes, that Mr Des Cartes suppresses the Names of the Authors whom he pirates, and that he is indebted to Jordanus Brunus, and to Kepler for his Vortices. See the Journal of Leipzig 1682, pag. 187. The learned Mr Huet, Bishop of Avranches, gave a long List of the Hints that this Brunus might have furnished Des Cartes. 'Exstitit inter novitios Philosophos Jordanus quidam Brunus Nolanus, quem Cartesianæ doctrinæ antesignanum jure dicas: adeo accurate omnem propædædum ejus compositionem præsignavit in eo libro quem de immenso & innumerabilibus inscripsit (23). — There was, among the new Set of Philosophers, one Jordanus Brunus of Nola, who may justly be called the Founder of the Cartesian Philosophy; he has so exactly pointed out almost his whole Composition, in his Book concerning Immensity and Innumerables.'

(19) Brunus Nolanus — — — composid some Poems, on which he himself wrote a Commentary in Prose. — The first Poem is de Minimo — then comes his Poem de Mensura & Figura — to make way for his Poem de Immenso & innumerabilibus seu de Universo & Mundo. Id. ibid. pag. 238.

(20) Id. ibid. p. 242.

(21) Sorel de la Perfection de l'homme, pag. 241.

(22) Joannes Bruno Italus laudavit diabolum Wittemberge publice, Kecherm. Syst. Rhet. special. lib. 1, c. xviii. pag. 1647, Tom. II. Oper. Edit. Genev. 1614, in Fol. If I am not mistaken, the Word Joannes crept in instead of Jordanus.

(23) Huetii Centura Philosophiarum Cartesianæ, cap. viii, pag. 215. Edit. Paris 1698.

(16) Sorel, ubi infra, pag. 238, & seq.

(17) Sorel de la perfection de l'homme, p. 241.

(18) Ibid. p. 242.

(a) Bruschi in Poematis, pag. 336.

(b) Melch. Adam in vitis Philof. pag. 183.

(c) Bruschi. ubi supra, pag. 320, ult.

(d) Id. ib. p. 314.

(e) Id. ibid. pag. 338, 366.

(f) Ib. pag. 318.

(g) Ibid. p. 316.

(h) Ibid. 315.

(i) Melch. Adami Vitæ Philofoph. pag. 183.

BRUSCHIUS (GASPAR), was born at Egra, in Bohemia, the nineteenth of August, 1518 (a). He had a great Inclination, and a great Facility, to make Verses. He could make a very great Number extempore, which were not bad (b). Nothing was more fluent, nor of a more easy and natural Strain, than his Latin Verses. He began early to publish some of them on several Subjects. He got a Reputation by them, and attained to the poetical Crown, to the Dignity of Poet Laureat, and of Count Palatin: He received that Honour at Vienna from Ferdinand of Austria, King of the Romans, in the Year 1552 (c). His business thither was to present a Work to Maximilian, King of Hungary, which he had dedicated to him (d). It was the first Century of the German Monasteries. In his return from Vienna, he stopped at Passau, where he found a Protector and Benefactor in the Person of Wolfgang of Salms, Bishop of that Place. He resolved to settle there, and to remove his Library and Family thither (e), and hoped he might go on there conveniently with a great Work that he had undertaken. It was The History of all the Bishoprics and Bishops of Germany. He had travelled much (f), and looked into several Records and Libraries, to gather Materials for his Purpose. I cannot tell whether this new Settlement continued long; for I find that Bruschi was at Basil in the Month of June, 1553 (g), and had got the Cittadel of Oporin, Arcem Oporinianam, so they called that famous Printer's House (h), which stood on a rising Ground (i). There it was that he published some Writings he had finished at Passau, some in Prose, and others in Verse. He spake very freely in them of the Corruption of Manners that he had observed in Vienna, and of the Ravages which the Troops of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, that were sent to the Assistance of Hun-

gary

(k) Brusch. in
Poemat. p. 366.

(l) Id. ibid. pag.
381.

(m) Melch. A-
dam in Vitis
Philosoph. pag.
113.

gery against the *Turks*, had committed on the very Lands of the King of the *Romans* [A]. He was married (k), but had no Children, when, in the Month of *January* 1553, he recommended his Nephew *Gaspas Bruschi* to the Principal of the College of *Passau* (l). He was far from being rich, and would have had much ado to maintain himself, if he had not been assisted by those for whom he made Verses. He received Presents also from the Abbots and Abbeſſes, whose Monasteries he described. He was very well received by the Abbets of the Convent of the *Caczi* (m); he supped and danced with her, and obtained some Presents from her, a Gold Crown, and a Handkerchief, &c (n). The Liberalities of some Abbots, while he was with *Oporin* at *Basil*, enabled him to buy a new suit of Clothes: But when he found that appearing well dressed in the Streets, procured him many marks of Respect from the Vulgar, he tore his new Finery to Pieces, as a Slave which had usurped his Master's Honours [B]. Some say, that his

Treatises

(n) Descriptio Il-
lius Canonici
(Cacziensis) anti-
quitates, dis-
cessuro à 2244
dñ. nova cor-
dedit coronatum
aureum, sudari-
um, cornu ibici,
& alia plurima.
---- When he
had described the
Antiquities of that
Convent, and was
about to depart,
the good Abbeſs
made him a pre-
sent of a Gold
Crown, a Hand-
kerchief, a Roe-
buck's horns, and
several other
things. Id. ibid.

[A] He spoke freely of the Corruption of Man-
ners which he had observed in Vienna, and of the
Ravages which the Elector of Saxony's Troops com-
mitted on the Lands of the King of the Romans.]
I shall transcribe some of his Verses: they will
serve two Purposes, to comment on my Text, and
to give a Specimen of that Author's Muse.

Luxuriat tanquam tuta omni parte Vienna,
Luxuriat miris Austria tota modis.
Et cum copia nunc sit Bacchi, ita vivitur illic
Ac si Turca ferox nullus in orbe foret:
Aut procul ad Tanaim à nostris diffitus oris
Non nostras raperet barbarus hostis opes.
Tantum indulgetur genio, mereantur ut omnes
Austriaci recte hoc nomen agreste viri:
Quo Paschaléri populo dicuntur ab omni
Quàm latè nomen Rhenus, & Ister habent;
Paschata dum semper celebrant, jejunia nunquam,
Dum semper Baccho, dum Cererique vacant.
Nullus ibi aut rarus timor est Dominique Deique,
Rarus honos legum, rara pudicitia.
Et quia vulgus ibi variis ex partibus orbis
Collectum est discors nil nisi colluvies.
Nunc Hispanorum succumbunt ense Croatae:
Nunc Germani etiam Pannonique viri.
Vidi Germano stillantes sanguine favos
Hispanorum enses non equidem ipse semel:
Imo impunè etiam fieri hoc, nec rursus ad ullum
Supplicium hæc adeo noxia monstra rapi (1).

Vienna lies in Luxury and Ease,
All Austria revels in surprising sort;
Dissolv'd in flowing Wine they live secure,
As tho' no Danger threaten'd, no furious Turk
Were in the World, nor any barbarous Host
Come from the distant Banks of Tanais,
Plunder'd our miserable Countries Store.
So pamper'd are their Lives, they merit well
The Nick-name Paschalers, by which they're known
Far as the Rhine and Danube take their Course.
With them 'tis Easter e'er: no Lent they know,
To Wine and Feasting they devote each Day.
Reverence of Deity, Regard for humane Laws,
Or Chastity, with them, are Virtues rare:
And as the People are a lawless Mob
Gather'd from various Climes; Croations now,
Now Germans, and in turn Pannonians, fall
A Sacrifice to Spanish Cruelty;
Reeking with German Gore I've often seen
The Spaniards Swords, and yet no Justice done:
Free and unpunish'd the dire Monsters pass.

Thus much for what Concerns the Corruption of
Manners at Vienna, and the Impunity that the
Audaciousness of the Spaniards found there. Here
follows the Description of the good Discipline of
the Auxiliary Troops:

Descendit nuper dux auxiliaribus armis
Saxonicus, secum millia multa trahens:
Ingentes equidem peditumque equitumque cohortes

Instructos animis militiaque viros:
Sed quos absmiles Turcisque Getisque profecto
Si recte inspicias, dixeris esse parum.
Qui quamvis Christo sint per baptismata renati
Inferitque Deo, & turba professa Deum
Quem scelorum ultorem norunt, quem sumere

poenas
A raptoribus, à furibus atque sciunt,
Per fas perque nefas nihilominus obvia quæque
Sunt ausi hostili diripuisse manu.
Vidi egomet, quantam furtis cladem atque rapinis
Intulerint Boiis Austriacisque casis.
Imo casis non tantum & haris: sed & omnibus aris
Divorum templis, muneribusque sacris.
Nil fuit intra etiam divum penetralia tutum,
Nec puerile genus, nec muliebre genus.
An tales homines evertent Turcica regna?
Barbarico qui ipsi sunt magis hoste mali?
Si corvus corvum, lupus aut laniabit avaro
Dente lupum, nostro milite Turca cadet (2).

The Saxon Duke came lately to our Aid,
With many thousand Troops, a mighty Force,
Of Men well skill'd in Arms, of Bravery try'd,
Both Horse and Foot, but mark them well you'll find
Twixt them and Turks the Difference is but small:
Who notwithstanding they're to GOD united
By Baptism, and to CHRIST regenerate;
Professing Worship of a righteous GOD
Avenger of all Crimes, and whom they know
Of Theft and Rapine Punisher severe,
Yet impious dare with hostile Hand to spoil
Whate'er they meet with. I myself have seen
How desolate their Plunderings have made
The Dwelling of the poor Inhabitants
Of Austria and Bohemia: nor content
With plundering these they ravag'd Altars too.
Devoted Off'rings, Temples, could not 'scape,
Nor ought be in most sacred Cloysters safe.
Nor Sex, nor Age would their fell Rapine spare.
Shall these Men then destroy the Turkish Pow'r,
Themselves than our Barbarian Foes far worse?
When Vulture Vulture kills, or ravenous Wolf
With greedy Jaws his fellow Wolf pursues,
Then shall these Raveners the Turk destroy.

One of the Calamities of War is, that the Soldiera
designed to repulse the Enemy are almost as much
to be feared by the poor People, as the Enemy
himself.

[B] Seeing that a new Suit of Cloaths gained
him Respect ---- he tore it to pieces as if it ---
usurped it's Master's Honours.] Let us recite the
Relation of *Melchior Adam* in this Place. 'Basi-
lea in arce Oporiniana (sic enim domum Oporini
' ob situm excelsum vocabant) tenui re familiari
' vivens, à vicinis Abbatibus stipe corrogata, novis
' vestibus ornatus in publicum aliquando prodit.
' Ibi plebecula splendorem vestitus more suo admi-
' rata, exurgendo caputque aperiendo honorem ho-
' mini exhibuit. Tunc ille honorem non sibi,
' sed vestibus deferri animadvertens, domum rever-
titur,

(2) Id. ibid. pag.
383.

(1) Bruschius in
Poemat. cum
Tractatu de Lau-
reaco & Patavio
Germanico im-
pressis, pag. 358.

Treatises of the Ecclesiastical History of Germany favour too much of *Lutheranism*, with which he was already tainted [C]. This will be seen in one of my Remarks (o), and something also concerning his Writings [D]. He was killed in a Wood,

(o) In the Remark [C].

(3) Melch. Adam. in vitis Philosph. pag. 183.

titur, & vestimenta partim concidit, partim deturpat: tanquam improba mancipia sui domini gloriam præcipientia accusans (3). — *When he lived at Basil, in Oporin's Tower (for so Oporin's House was called from it's Situation on an Eminence), on a small Income, Collection being made for him by the neighbouring Abbots, he happened to go abroad, dressed in a new Suit of Cloaths. The People, according to their Custom, admiring the fineness of his Dreß, paid their Respects to him by rising up and uncovering their Heads. He perceiving that the Respect was not paid to him, but to his Cloaths, returned Home, and cut his Cloaths in some places, and dawbed them in others, accusing them as wicked Slaves that robbed their Master of his Glory.*

[C] Some say that his *Treatises of the Ecclesiastical History of Germany* favour too much of *Lutheranism*, with which he was already tainted.] Let us cite *Gewoldus*: 'Levissimam quamque occasionem arripit perquam avide, says he (4), Romæ & Romano Pontifici obloquendi: sed jam tum in Lutheri hæresin, Cereis Bacchique mancipium, Bruschi totus propendebat. — Bruschi takes every, the most slight, Occasion of speaking ill of Rome and the Pope: but he, a Slave of Gluttony and Drink, was then strongly inclined to Luther's Herefy.' He acknowledges however that the Work which that Writer composed on the Monasteries of Germany is not despicable (5). The Jesuit *Gretser* shall be my second Witness. 'Bonam operam navavit Gaspar Bruschius Ægranus, tametsi jam quinti Evangelii genio afflatus, cum Catalogos Episcopatum, & qui eos administrant Episcoporum, &c. collegit, ejus vestigia alii postea secuti, accuratius quadam dioceseon, & præfulum indices texuerunt (6). — Gaspar Bruschi of Egra did a good Work, notwithstanding he was already tainted with the Spirit of the fifth Gospel, in collecting Catalogues of the Bishops and the Bishops that held them; others have followed his Example, and composed more accurate Indexes of some Dioceses and Bishops.' Note, that *Nicolas Serrarius*, and *Christopher Brower*, have spoken of our Author with much Contempt, the first in his History of *Mentz*, and the last in his *Antiquities of Fulda*. See *Zeillerus* at the Place I have cited. It will appear in the following Remark, by the Title only of some of Bruschi's Books, that he relished *Luther's* Opinions pretty early.

[D] Here is something concerning his Writings.] The Catalogue of them is to be seen at the end of a Book of the Abbot *Engelbert* (7), which he himself published; as also in the Epitome of *Gesner's* *Bibliothèque*, to which I refer my Reader: Nevertheless, I shall set down some Titles. In 1537 Bruschi published, at *Tubingen*, *Tabula Philosophiæ partitionem continens*. So that he was an Author at the Age of nineteen Years. The Title of one of his Books is, *Capita doctrinæ Christianæ versu elegiaco comprehensa*: another is intitled, *Narratio tumultus cujusdam Magdeburgi à Monaco quodam Carmelita excitati, heroico carmine scripta*. He translated *Melanchibon's* *Catechism* and his *Postilles* into German, as also a Letter of his to the Count de *Weda*, and the Treatise of *George Major* de *Autoritate Verbi Dei*. He translated a German Book into Latin, wherein *Luther* had explained the *Dominicals*, and his *Treatise of Consolation*; and wrote a Preface to some *Canticles* of the same *Luther*. These Labours are Proofs of *Lutheranism*. Here are other Titles: *De omnibus totius Germaniæ episcopatus epitomes tomus primus*, *Archiepiscopatum Moguntinum cum aliis 12 episcopatus qui Moguntino subsunt comprehendens*, at *Nuremberg* 1549. *Monasteriorum Germaniæ præcipuorum ac maxime illustrium centuria prima*, at *Ingolstadt*, 1551. These two Books are not in Verse, as is affirmed in the Supplement to *Moreri*. Our Bruschi laboured much on the Description of the *Fichtelberg*, and on that of the four Rivers which

have their Source in that Mountain (8). He made a Map of it, with a Treatise wherein he gave a very large Description of the City of *Egra*, and the adjacent Countries. That Treatise was inserted in the *Cosmography of Munster*, and was reprinted at *Wittenberg*, in 1540, in 4to (9). His *Treatise de Laureaco, veteri admodumque celebri olim in Norico civitate, & de Patavio Germanico, ac utriusque loci Archiepiscopis ac Episcopis omnibus*, was printed at *Basil* by *Oporin*, in 1553, in 8vo, with a Collection of the *Latin Poems* he made in *Bavaria*. The City which he calls *Laureacum* (a), was formerly an Archbishop's See. It was situated at the Place where the River *En* discharges itself into the *Danube*, three Miles below *Lintz* (10). As for the *Patavium Germanicum*, it is the City now called *Passau*. He declares in the Epistle Dedicatory of this Treatise, That if he relates things contrary to the common Tradition, and if he speaks disadvantageously of some Prelates, it must be imputed to the Obligation he was under of following the Laws of History.

multa hic scripta legentur
Dicta videbuntur quæ nec clementer in ipsos
Pontifices quosdam Latios, neque sat reverenter
De summis aliquot vestra Pastoribus urbis.
Invenietis & hic non pauca inserta, quibus cum
Pugnabunt vestri Annales fortassis. Ad ista,
Quod res est, breviter respondeo: plurima summis
Esse à præsulibus Romanæ facta cathedræ,
Que laudare bonus (nisi quis vel tartara cœlum,
Cuncta vel atra velit candentem dicere lucem)
Nemo potest; quæ qui laudaverit haud bonus ille
Esse potest: veluti qui non reprehenderit, idem
Nec bonus esse potest, verum ex *Acheronte*
profectus
Est Dæmon. Sive est igitur de Patribus urbis
Romulæ, seu de vestris Primatibus istic
Dictum aliquid durum: sic dictum credite vero
Ut servandus honos fuerit suis & mihi leges
Historiæ quoque non violandæ, aut transgre-
diundæ (11).

many things
Will here be found, which on some Popes perhaps,
May seem to bear too hard, and not to shew
Sufficient Reverence to your City Primates,
And some things, possibly, may not agree
Exactly with your Annals. Briefly thus
I answer. 'Tis the Truth, that many Fathers
Have by the Heads o' the Roman See been done
Which no good Man can praise; none who'd not call
Hell Heaven, or Darkness Light: for who commends
Or spares to blame 'em, is a Devil sent from
The infernal Regions. And if therefore ought,
Or of the Popes, or City Primates said,
Has too severe a Look, judge it to be
Spoke from a strict regard to Truth, and to
The Laws of History, which to violate
I dare not.

The Principles, he sets forth in these Verses, are the justest in the World, and it is very strange, that an Historian, who follows them religiously, should be reputed a Satirist. The Corruption of Manners has been so great, as well among those who have lived in the World, as among those who have lived out of it (12), that the more a Person endeavours to give faithful and true Relations, the more he runs the hazard of composing only dif-
famatory Libels. Doubtless there is a great Difference between History and Satire, but a small matter suffices to metamorphose the one into the other. If

(8) *Munus, Egra, Nabs, Sala.*

(9) See the Bibl. German. of Michael Hertzius, n. 90.

(a) It is yet a Town called *Lorch*, in the Map of the *Danube*, by *N. de Per. R.E.M.C. 17.*

(10) *Bruchius de Laureaco*, p. 20.

(4) *Christoph. Gewoldus*, Tom. I, Metrop. Salisburg. fol. 436. apud *Zeiller* de Hist. Parte II, pag. 26.

(5) *Id. Tom. II*, Metrop. fol. 495. apud *Zeill.* ibid.

(6) *Gretf. Hist. Catal. omnium Episcop. Eyflett. init. præfat.* apud *Zeill.* ibid.

(7) *Engelbertus Abbas Admontensis.*

(11) *Id. ib. Epist. Dedicat.*

(12) That is to say Churchmen.

Wood, in the Year 1559. *Thuanus* relates this, where he mentions a Prophecy that *Bruschius* had published [E].

on the one hand, you take from Satire that Spirit of Sharpness, that Air of Anger, which discovers that Passion has a greater share in the Scandals reported, than a love of Virtue; and if you add the Obligation, one is under, of relating indifferently the good and the bad, it is no longer reputed Satire, but History. Let a Historian, on the other hand, faithfully relate all the Crimes, Weaknesses, and Disorders of Mankind, his Work shall be reputed rather a Satire, than a History, if he discover but ever so little Emotion in himself at the thoughts of so many condemnable Facts which he exposes to public View. I do not believe that That Coolness of Temper, with which a Judge ought to pronounce Sentence against Robbers and Murderers, is always to be exacted from a Historian. Some pointed Reflexions do not become him ill.

[E] He was killed in a Wood, in the Year 1559. *Thuanus* relates this in mentioning a Prophecy which *Bruschius* had published. He says, I. That *Regiomontanus*, the ablest Astronomer since *Ptolemy*, had predicted, that the Year 1588 should be memorable for great Revolutions. II. That that Prophecy, contained in four German Verses, was published in the Year 1553. III. That *Gaspar Bruschius*, who inserted it in a small Book of the Abbot *Engelbert* (13), de ortu & fine Romani Imperii, put it into Latin, and altered the Sense of it, though he understood the German Tongue very well. IV. That his bad Translation was a new Prophecy more surprizing than that of *Regiomontanus*; for he noted that those great things should happen under one *Sextus*. *Thuanus* adds, That he had often admired that Conduct of *Bruschius*, and thereupon observes, that he was killed in the Year 1559, a long time before *Sixtus V.*, who was Pope in 1588, attained to the Papacy. Here are his Words: 'Joannes --- *Regiomontanus* --- diu ante id præmonuerat, quatuor versibus seu rhythmis vernacula lingua exaratis, qui in Castellensi superioris Norici cœnobio hodie leguntur, ante XXXV annos à *Gaspare Bruschio* Egrano, cum *Engelberti* Abbatis Admontensis, qui sub *Rodulfo Habsburgio* floruit, libello de

(13) He lived under *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg*.

ortu & fine R. Imperii publicati, quos cum ille interpretaretur, quod mihi mirari sæpius subiit, quamquam minime linguæ suæ ignarus, tamen dum verba Germanica aliter, quam scripta erant, latine reddit, vaticinium *Regiomontani* longe alio majore cumulavit. Si quidem id, quod ab illo prædictum erat, sub *Sexto* quodam eventurum tradit; atqui diu est, ex quo *Bruschius* satis concessit; anno videlicet hujus sæculi LIX à *ficariis* juxta *Rottenburgum* ad *Duberam* interfectus, multo antequam *Sixtus V.* summum magistratum in ecclesia iniret, & *Regiomontani* verba, sicuti dixi, id minime significant (14). — *Johannes Regiomontanus* had foretold that long before, in four Verses written in the German Tongue, which are still to be found in the Convent of *Castel*, in Upper Austria, and were published about Thirty five Years ago, by *Gaspar Bruschius* of *Egra*, with a Book concerning the beginning and end of the Roman Empire, written by *Engelbert*, Abbot of *Aumont*, who flourished under *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg*. In translating these Verses, though he was very well skilled in that Tongue, yet by reading the German Words in Latin, otherwise than they were written, he has encreased the Prophecy of *Regiomontanus* with another much greater, which I much wonder at. For he says, that what *Regiomontanus* had foretold, was to happen under one *Sixtus*; but it is long since *Bruschius* died, for he was murdered in the LIXth Year of this Century, near *Rottenburg*, upon the *Tauber*, long before *Sixtus V.* came to the Papacy, and *Regiomontanus*' Words, as I have said before, have no such Signification. Note, That it was believed, that some Gentlemen, against whom *Bruschius* was about to write something, caused him to be assassinated. He was murdered in the Forest of *Stalingenbach*, between *Rottenberg*, on the *Tauber*, and *Winheim*. See *Crusius* in his Annals of *Swabia* (15). If the same Advice had been given our Poet, which *Horace* received, to forbear flandering, or else expect to lose his Life (16), it would at least have been as prophetic as the four Verses mentioned by *Thuanus*.

(14) *Thuanus* lib. xc, init. pag. 176.

(15) *Parte III*, lib. x, cap. vii, apud *Zellier* de *Hist.* pag. 27.

(16) O puer ut sis *Vitalis* metuas, & majorum ne quis amicus Frigore te feriat. *Horat.* Sat. 1, lib. ii, v, 60.

BRUTUS (LUCIUS JUNIUS), Son of one of *Tarquin's* Sisters (a), was obliged to feign himself stupid, that he might not be thought capable of revenging the Death of his Father and Brother; for if *Tarquin*, who ordered them to be put to Death, had found him a Man of Parts and Courage, he would not have let him live (b). This feigned Stupidity got him the Surname of *Brutus* (c). Under this false appearance of Brutishness, he impatiently waited for an Opportunity to expel *Tarquin*. He found it, when *Lucretia* killed herself after the Injury she received from the Tyrant's eldest Son; and he made so good use of it, that in a little time the City of *Rome* was changed from a Monarchy to a Commonwealth. This Revolution happened in the Two hundred and forty fifth Year of *Rome*. The Dignity of Consul was instituted to be enjoyed by two Persons for one Year. He and *Collatinus*, the Husband of *Lucretia*, were the first on whom it was conferred. He did not long survive his Work, I mean the establishing of Liberty; for before the Year of his Consulship was expired, he was killed in a Battle [A], having engaged in so sharp a Combat, hand to hand, with one of *Tarquin's* Sons [B], that they

(a) See Remark [D].

(b) *Dionys.* *Halicarnass.* lib. iv.

(c) Id. ibid. *Livius*, lib. i, Plut. in *Valerio* Publico.

[A] Before the Year of his Consulship was expired he was killed in Battle. *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* say it expressly. *Florus* committed a great Fault then, which I do not find censured in the *Variorum* of *Holland*. He pretends that the Death of *Brutus* followed the Peace which *Proffenna* made with *Rome*. 'Et rex quidem tot tantisque virtutum territus monstris valere liberolique esse jussit. *Tarquinius* tamdiu dimicaverunt donec *Aruntum* filium regis manu sua *Brutus* occidit, superque ipsum mutuo vulnere expiravit, plane quasi adulterum ad inferos ulque sequebatur (1). — The King, terrified with so many and so great Prodigies of Valour, left them to enjoy their Liberty. The *Tarquins* fought so long until *Brutus* killed *Aruns*, the King's Son, with his own Hand, and expired upon him of a Wound he had received from him, as if he pursued the Adulterer to the Shades.'

(1) *Florus*, lib. i, cap. x.

[B] Having engaged in ----- Combat hand to hand against one of the Sons of *Tarquin*. The Passage of *Florus*, which we have just now cited, might induce us to take these Words literally; yet it is better not to take them so; for it is certain that *Brutus* and *Aruns* (2) fought on *Horfeback*, and that they ran at each other with their Lances. Thus *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* relate it. Notwithstanding all the Violence which animated *Brutus* against the *Tarquins*, yet it was not he that was the Challenger, but *Aruns*, who, having singled out *Brutus*, run towards him, insulted, reviled, and provoked him to a single Fight. But *Brutus*, who accepted the Challenge, met the Aggressor with equal Fury. Each thought only on killing his Enemy, without defending himself: 'Adco infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter dum hostem vulneraret sui protegendi corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parvam uterque transfixus duabus hærentes

(2) That was *Tarquin's* Son's Name.

VOL. II. N^o. XXXVI.

S

hærentes

they died on the spot. He lived long enough to shew, by a vigorous Action, that he preferred the Safety of his Country to that of his own Sons (d) [C]. The Roman Ladies mourned for him a whole Year, because he had so well revenged violated Chastity (e). I censure but one Passage in *Moreri* [D].

Among all the Attempts that ever have been formed to change the Civil Government, and dethrone Kings, there is hardly any so reasonable as this; for in short, this King of *Rome*, whom our *Brutus* endeavoured with so much Success to expel, was doubly a Tyrant [E]; his Reign was unjust and violent, and he had usurped the Sovereign Power: He had dethroned his Father-in-law who was the rightful Possessor, he caused him to be murdered, and in this he acted against the People's Intention; nor did he ever get his Usurpation approved by Law, but maintained himself in it by all kinds of Violence. It was happy for *Rome* that she had never had a Tyrant King before, or a Citizen so great a Lover of Liberty as *Brutus*; for had it been reduced to a Democracy under the preceeding Reigns, before it had been brought to a due Confidence, it could never have subsisted, but

(d) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv. v. Livius, lib. i. ii. Plut. ubi supra.

(e) Matronæ animum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatæ pudicitie fuisset, Livius, lib. ii, pag. 41.

(3) Livius, lib. ii. See also Dionys. Halicarn. lib. v. & Plutarch in Valer. pag. 201.

(4) Livius, lib. ii. Plut. in Val. Public. pag. 98.

(5) Dion. Halicarn. lib. v.

(6) Livius, lib. ii. Vide quoque Dionys. Halicarn. lib. v. & Plutarch in Valer. Public. pag. 99.

(7) Lib. iv.

(8) Livius, lib. i, pag. 43.

(9) Id. ib. Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Dion. Halicarn. ibid.

(12) Livius, lib. i, pag. 23.

hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint (3). — They engaged with such Fury, that neither of them, so he could but wound his Enemy, took any care to defend himself; so they were both of them run through their Shields, and fell dead from their Horses, stuck on the two Spears.

[C] He shewed that he preferred the Safety of his Country, before that of his own Sons. He had married a Wife of the Vitellian Family (4), by whom he had two Sons, who had not yet attained to Man's Estate (5). They suffered themselves to be engaged by two of their Uncles on the Mother's side, and by some others, who loved the Kingly Government better than a Common-wealth, in a Plot to recal *Tarquin*. The Conspiracy was discovered, and *Brutus* himself condemned his Children to death, and had them executed in his Presence. 'Consules in sedem processere suam: missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis cædunt, securique feriunt: cum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque & os ejus, spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicæ poenæ ministerium (6). — The Consuls took their Seats, and the Lictors, who were ordered to do the Execution, stripped them, and scourged them, and then cut off their Heads. The Father's Countenance and Aspect was all the while the Object of every one's Observation, the Love of his Country eminently appearing during the Execution of public Justice.'

[D] I censure only one Passage in *Moreri*. He says that *Brutus* was Son of a Daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus*, King of *Rome*. I own this is the Opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassicus*. *Brutus*, says he (7), was the Son of *Marcus Junius*, descended from one of *Aneas's* Companions, and his Mother was *Tarquinia*, Daughter to the first *Tarquin*. This does not hinder my saying that Mr *Moreri* asserts a Falsity, and that he ought to say, with *Livy* (8), That *Tarquinia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, was Sister of the last *Tarquin*. My Reason is this: It is certain *Brutus* was very young when his Father was killed (9); he was much about the Age of *Tarquin's* Sons, and was educated with them: It is true, it was rather to serve them for a Buffoon, than for any thing else (10). It is moreover certain, than his Father was not put to death, 'till after *Tarquin's* Usurpation (11); it may therefore reasonably be supposed, that *Brutus* was not above fifteen Years of Age when *Tarquin* usurped the Crown. His Mother must needs then have been very old when she was brought to bed of him, if she had been the Daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus*. She must have been the Daughter of *Tanaquil*, for *Tarquinius Priscus* had no other Wife but *Tanaquil*. That *Tarquinius* came to *Rome* by the Advice of his Wife, in the Reign of *Ancus Martius*. He had attempted in vain to have a Share in the Government of his own Country. Considering the manner in which she argued with her Husband, to engage him in that Journey to *Rome* (12), she could not be a Girl of fifteen or twenty; she must be at least about Twenty five Years of Age; her Ability in explaining Auguries confirms my Supposition. They must have been married a considerable time, since they hoped for nothing in their own Country. One is not disheartened 'till after divers Attempts. They lived several Years at *Rome*, and made themselves so

considerable there, that *Tarquin*, being chosen Tutor to the King's Children, secured to himself the Succession of *Ancus Martius*. It is not too much to allow ten Years to an Abode which had Consequences so very important. Say then, that they came to *Rome* ten Years before *Ancus Martius* died. By this means *Tanaquil* must have been Thirty five Years of Age when her Husband became King of *Rome*. Nor can her last lying-in be later than the fifteenth of her Husband's Reign. Let us suppose then that the pretended Mother of *Brutus*, the Daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus*, was born in the fifteenth Year of her Father's Reign. Thus she must have been Twenty three Years of Age when her Father died (13); to which if we add the Forty four Years that *Servius Tullius* reigned, we shall find that she was Sixty seven Years of Age when *Tarquin the Proud* seized on the Throne. Now we suppose that *Brutus* was then fifteen Years of Age, he must then be born when his Mother was Fifty two Years old. If that be not impossible, it is at least very improbable. Now a judicious Historian never puzzles himself, but in the utmost necessity, with Chronological Accounts, which clash with Appearances. It is dragging, as we may say, the Devil by the Tail, to be obliged to place the Marriage of Daughters at twelve or fifteen, to adjust his Account, and make them fruitful 'till fifty. See *Laurentius Valla*, who reckons, That if the Mother of *Brutus* had been the Daughter of *Tanaquil*, it ought to be concluded that she was the Mother of a young Man at above ninety Years of Age (14).

[E] The King whom *Brutus* expelled from the Throne was doubly a Tyrant. We must not therefore alledge this Conduct of the Romans, as an Example of the Rights of the People exercised against a lawful Sovereign who abuses his Power. *Tarquin the Proud* was not only a Tyrant in his Administration, but was also a Tyrant by Usurpation. Read these Words of *Livy*: 'Conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsepsit. Neque enim ad jus regni quicquam præter vim habebat; ut qui neque populi iussu, neque autoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in charitate civium nihil spei repenti metu regnum tutandum esset: quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat, non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam prædam sperare posset. Ita patrum præcipue numero imminuto, statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum à prioribus morem de omnibus Senatui consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis Rempubli- cam administravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates per se ipse cum quibus voluit, injussu populi ac Senatus, fecit, diremitque (15). — Besides being conscious that Example might be taken against him, from himself, of seizing the Kingdom by ill means, he set Guards about his Person; for he had no other Right to the Crown than Force, as reigning neither by Consent of the People, nor the Authority of the Senate; to this may be added, that as he reposed no Confidence in the Love of the

(13) The Reign of *Tarquinius Priscus* lasted 33 Years.

(14) See his Dissertation against Titus Livius, on the Question, If *Tarquinius Superbus* was the Son of *Tarquinius Priscus*.

(15) Titus Livius, Dec. I, lib. i, pag. 30, 31.

but must have been destroyed by the Factions and Discords which the Tribunes of the People raised at every turn, under the specious Pretence of Liberty [F]. Nothing is finer in all the Romances that have appeared under the Name of Mr de Scuderi, than what concerns Brutus in the Romance of Clelia.

However austere and stern his Virtue was, nevertheless he mitigated an Article of Religion so remarkably, that instead of human Sacrifices, it cost only the Heads of Poppies [G].

'the People, his Government was to be secured by Fear; which that he might spread the more, he himself took Cognizance of all capital Causes, without any Council, and by that means could put to death, banish, or fine, not only whom he suspected, or hated, but others, for no other reason but to plunder them; by this means, having lessened the number of the Senators, chiefly he resolved to abuse none into the Senate, that the Order of it might become contemptible by the smallness of their Number, and not take it so much amiss, that all things were done without them; for he was the first King who changed the Custom, practised by his Predecessors, of consulting the Senate in every thing. He administered the Government by private Councils; he, of his own Head, went to War, made Peace, Treaties, or Alliances with whom he pleased, or broke them again, without consulting either the People or Senate.' This is a very elegant Description of Tyranny.

[F] If Rome had had a Tyrannical King, or such a Citizen as Brutus, sooner ----- which the Tribunes of the People raised on pretence of Liberty.] This Reflexion is not mine; it is Livy's, and serves to shew that Author's Judgment and good Sense. 'Neque ambigitur, says he (16), quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriæ Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturæ cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela involuti templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepti, soluta regio metu, agitari cœpta esset tribunitiis procellis? & in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignora conjugum ac liberorum, charitatis ipsius soli, cui longo tempore affluebat, animos eorum confocisset? dissipatæ res nondum adultæ discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent. ----- There is no doubt but even Brutus, who merited so much Glory for expelling Tarquin the Proud, would have done the Public a great Prejudice, if out of too hasty desire of Liberty he had wrested the Kingdom from any of the former Kings; for what would have been the Case, if that Multitude of Shepherds and Strangers, who had fled from their own People, had obtained either Liberty, or Impunity, by the Privilege of an inviolable Sanctuary, and being freed from the Fear of a King, had began to be agitated by the Commotions of the Tribunes, and to enter into Contentions with the Nobility in a strange City, before the Pledges of Wives and Children, and Love of the Place itself, to which they had been long accustomed, had cemented their Minds? their State, not yet come to Perfection, would have been destroyed by Discord, which was cherished by an undisturbed and moderate Monarchical Government, and nursed up to its full Strength, when it was able to bear the good Fruit of Liberty.' The first Inhabitants of Rome had need of a Monarch. Their new City would soon have sunk, if it had been exposed in its Infancy to the continual Contentions of the Patricians and Plebeians. It is next to a Miracle that they suffered it to maintain and aggrandize itself.

[G] He mitigated an Article of Religion so remarkably, that instead of Human Sacrifices they

only offered the Heads of Poppies.] Tarquin the Proud, having re-established, according to the Order of Apollo, the Compital Games in honour of the Dii Penates, and the Goddess Mania, they thought themselves obliged to sacrifice Children to Mania, the Mother of the Lares, for the common Good of their Families; for the Oracle had told them, they must offer Heads if they would preserve Heads. This Custom continued some time; but Brutus, after the Expulsion of Tarquin, interpreted the Words of the Oracle favourably, and ordered them to offer the Heads of Garlic and Poppies, and by that means abolished the Cruelty of the Sacrifice. This we learn from Macrobius: 'Qualem nunc permutationem sacrificii ----- memorasti invenio postea Compitalibus celebratam, cum ludi per urbem in compitibus agitantur, restituti scilicet à Tarquinio superbo Laribus ac Maniæ ex responso Apollinis: quo præceptum est, ut pro capitibus, capitibus supplicaretur; idque aliquandiu observatum, ut pro familiarium sospitate pueri mactarentur Maniæ. Deæ matri Larum: quod sacrificii genus Junius Brutus Consul, pulso Tarquinio, aliter constituit celebrandum; nam capitibus allii & papaveris supplicari iussit, ut responso Apollinis satisfaceret de nomine capitum, remoto scilicet scelere infauitæ sacrificiationis (17). ----- Such an Alteration of a Sacrifice ----- as you have now mentioned, I find afterwards practised in the Compitalia, which Games were celebrated throughout the City in the open Streets, being restored by Tarquin the Proud, to the Lares and Mania, by the Direction of the Oracle of Apollo: whereby it was ordered that they should sacrifice Heads for Heads, which was observed for some time, and Children were offered to Mania, the Mother of the Lares, for the Safety of Families: which kinds of Sacrifice Junius Brutus, after he had expelled Tarquin, ordered to be celebrated otherwise; for he commanded them to offer only Heads of Garlic and Poppies, to satisfy the Oracle, as to the Names of Heads, and remove the Wickedness of the abominable Sacrifice.' This Author adds, that they hung up the Effigy of Mania at the Doors of the Houses, to avert the Dangers, with which the Family might be threatened. That Effigy doubtless was very hideous; for ugly Masks, such as fright Children, were called Maniæ (18). I wish Macrobius had attempted to resolve a Question proposed by Plutarch, Why they prayed to the Goddess Geneta Mana, (the same with Mania, she who presided at Births) that nothing that was born in that House might become good (19)? Plutarch's Answers are not very satisfactory to nice Minds. He says, in the first place, I. That perhaps this was only understood of Dogs, a domestic Animal, which one would wish to be bad, and apt to create Terror: but what appearance is there that the Ancients should use a general Expression (20), if they understood no more than one Species. In the second place he conjectured, II. They wished that nothing might die, and cites an Authority to prove that the Expression make good sometimes signified to kill. This is straining things with a Witnells. A French Writer (21), has conjectured that Goodness was used then for that dull Simplicity which we understand, when we say a Man is a good natured Fellow. Boxhornius had used this Explanation of Berault, but he owns it is more subtle than true (22).

(17) Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. vii. pag. 154. Lond. Edition, 1694, in 8vo.

(18) Scholiastes Persii in Sat. vi. ver. 56.

(19) Plutarch. in Quest. Romanis, pag. 277. Edit. Francof. Anno 1620, where there is twice ἀρχαῖος instead of ἀρχαῖος.

(20) Καταρχαῖος τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα ἀρχαῖα τῶν ἀρχαῖων. Voto petunt nequis domi natorum bonus fiat. Id. ib.

(21) John Berault in his Notes on Barclay's Euphormion, says, in his Epistle Dedicatory, that he has seldom found any body who has not had the misfortune to have, at his Birth, the assistance of the Goddess Geneta Mana, to whom the Ancients made Vows, that nothing good might be born in their Family; Nequis nascitur aut probus, It may be doubted whether the Word probus, which does not signify soft and simple, as Plutarch's Word ἀρχαῖος does sometimes, be here properly used.

(22) Boxhornius in Plutarchum de Quest. Roman. pag. 114.

BRUTUS

BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS), the Son of Marcus Junius Brutus, and of Servilia, the Sister of Cato, was one of the Murderers of Julius Cæsar. He was the greatest Republican that ever was known. He did not believe that any body was obliged to keep Faith, or the sacred Oaths, to those who usurped a tyrannical Power in Rome [A]. He was so full of the great and noble Ideas of Liberty, and that Love of his Country, which the Greek and Roman Authors have described so pompously: I say he was so bewitched to these, that neither the Obligations he had to Julius Cæsar, nor the certain Prospect he had of aggrandizing himself as much as he pleased under that new Master of Rome, could balance the Ambition he had of restoring things to their first State by the Murder of the Tyrant. He conspired against him with several others, and their Plot was so well concerted and carried on, that Julius Cæsar was stabbed in the Senate, the fifteenth of March, 709. The People applauded that Action at first, but all on a sudden, like a Sea agitated by contrary Winds, they grew exasperated against the Murderers. These were forced to seek their Safety by flight. Brutus and Cassius were not discouraged; they endeavoured to support their Party in the Provinces abroad; they made a stand in Macedonia, at the head of some very good Troops; but Fortune declared for the Oppressors of Liberty. These two grand Republicans, who were called the last of the Romans [B], were defeated by Octavius and Marc Antony, and reduced to the necessity of killing themselves, in the Year of Rome 711. Brutus is condemned for having employed his last dying Words in decrying Virtue (a) [C]: he was not so much in the wrong as is imagined [D]. It is

(a) See Plutarch in the Life of Brutus.

(1) Appian. de bellis Civil. lib. ii, pag. 282.

(2) Tacit. Annal. lib. iv, c. xxxiv.

(3) Sueton. in Tiber. cap. lxi.

(4) Plut. in Brut. pag. 1005.

(5) Ἀναβοήσας τὸ δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὁ τῶν ἄνθρωπων λόγος ἄρ' ἦν. Ἐγὼ δὲ σὺ ὡς ἔργον ἔσθαι οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐθέλεις σὺ γὰρ. Atque voce recitato Hercules ista dixit, O infelix virtus heane quum nihil quam nomen effices ego te tantum rem aliquid quam exercui, quam tu fortunæ servieris. Dio, lib. xlvii, sub fin. See Plutarch, de superst. init.

[A] He did not believe that any one was obliged to keep Faith ---- with those that usurped a tyrannical Power in Rome.] In one of his Speeches to the Roman People, in the Capitol, he told them, Οὐδὲν πιστὸν ἐστὶ Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τυράννους, ἐδ' ἑσέχοι: Cum tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulla jurisjurandi religio (1). — The Romans are obliged to no Faith with a Tyrant, nor to keep any Oath. This Maxim seemed unreasonable to Grotius: See how he has refuted it in the fifteenth Paragraph of the thirteenth Chapter of the second Book De Jure Belli & Pacis. Boetius approves this Refutation in his Notes on the Fifty sixth Chapter of the second Book of Velleius Paterculus. However, this Maxim of Pagan Rome is more excusable, than that which Christian Rome is said to have established in the Council of Constance, That Faith is not to be kept with Heretics.

[B] He and Cassius are called the last of the Romans.] Crematius Cordus, according to Tacitus, said this of Cassius only: Postulatur ---- quod editis Annalibus laudatque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset (2). — He was arraigned ---- for that in the Annals which he had published he had commended M. Brutus, and called C. Cassius the last of the Romans. But Suetonius affirms, he said it of both. Objection & Historic quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset (3). ---- It is objected to that Historian, that he had called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans. That Historian, whom Suetonius does not name, is undoubtedly Crematius Cordus. The Elogy he gives these two Republicans was given to Cassius by his Companion Brutus, when the News of his Death was brought him (4).

[C] He employed his last dying Words in decrying Virtue.] Unhappy Virtue, cried he, how have I been deceived in thy Service! I believed thou wert a real Being, and devoted myself to thee on that Account; but thou art only a vain Name, a Phantom, the Prey and Slave of Fortune. He was not the first that made use of these Words. A Greek Poet had put them in Hercules's Mouth (5). I do not believe that it is known who that Poet was, since a learned Man was contented to give him the indefinite Title of a Tragic Poet. It is in a Translation of one of Plutarch's small Pieces, that these Words are to be found: Though all is not seen in it that Dion makes Brutus say, yet in recompence something is to be seen in it, that Brutus never did say, but which is a Consequence natural enough from what he said. According to Plutarch, he, who made these Complaints for having followed Virtue as a real Being, added, that he had forsaken Injustice, the fruitful Source of Riches; and Intemperance, the plentiful Dispenser of all kind of Pleasures. Ἀπαίς τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἀδικίαν, καὶ τὴν γόνιμον ἀπάσας ἡδονῶν ἀπο-

λαίαν. Omissa divitiis largiente injustitia, & omnis voluptatis ferace intemperantia (6). I cannot tell why the Translator, of whom I speak (7), has given quite another Sense to the Original. That which he substitutes does not countervail what he has omitted, and does not so well represent the Indignation of a Person who repented for having followed the Ways of Virtue, and who reckons it an ingrateful and barren Soil. Note, That Florus has given his Approbation of this Complaint of Brutus. Sed quanto efficacior est fortuna, says he (8), quam virtus! & quam verum est quod moriens efflavit, non in re sed in verbo tantum esse virtutem! victoriam illi prælio error dedit. — But how much stronger is Fortune than Virtue! and how true is that which he uttered when he was dying; that Virtue was not a Thing but a Name; the Victory in that Battle was owing only to a Mistake.

[D] He was not so much in the wrong as is imagined.] He is so far from deserving to be condemned in all Respects, that, on the contrary, we ought to say that perhaps never Pagan said a thing more just and reasonable. But to discover this, we must put ourselves in that Roman's Place. He had considered Virtue, Justice, and Right, as absolute and real things; I mean as Beings, whose Force was superior to that of Injustice, and which soon or late would place their Followers above the Accidents and Outrages of Fortune; but he experienced quite the contrary. He saw the side of Justice, the Cause of Liberty, a second time at the Feet of a rebellious Party: He saw Marc Antony, the most profligate Man alive, with Hands imbrued in the Blood of the most illustrious Citizens of Rome, pull those to the Ground who were asserting the Liberty of the Roman People: Thus he found himself miserably abused in the Idea he had formed of Virtue; he had gained nothing in it's Service but the choice of killing himself, or becoming the sport of an Usurper, while Marc Antony was favoured with Occasions of gratifying all his Passions in the Service of Injustice. This made Brutus say, That Virtue had no Reality, and that a wife Man, and one who would not be bubbled, ought to look upon it as an empty Name, and not as a Reality. But was he not wrong in saying this? Let us distinguish: in the general Thesis, and absolutely speaking, he advanced a great Absurdity, and an impious Falsity. According to his own Hypothesis, and considering the System he had formed to himself, his Complaints were well grounded. It may also be said, that the Pagans, in the Obscurity wherein they lived, as to another Life, reasoned very inconsequentially on the Reality of Virtue. It belongs to Christians alone to argue upon it aright, and, if those good things to come, which the Scripture promises the Faithful, were not joined to the Exercise of Virtue, That

(6) Plut. de Superstit. pag. 165.
(7) Mr le Fevre of Saumur.

(8) Florus, lib. iv, cap. vii. circa fin. pag. 116.

is a pity he fulfilled, by the Murder of his Benefactor, a Combination of the greatest Qualities that a Man can possess [E]. His Action was condemned by several Romans of those Times (b), and it can hardly be denied that it was at least ill (b) See, in Remark [F], Citation (18), the Words of Tacitus. You will find the Proof of this in *Dio Cassius* [F]. He followed the Sect of the Stoics: He loved

and Innocency might be placed in the Number of those things, on which *Solomon* pronounces his definitive Decree, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*. To trust to one's Innocency, would be to trust to a broken Reed, which pierces the Hand of him that leans upon it. *God*, as being the Disposer of Events, and the Distributer of good and bad Success on Earth, has submitted Virtue and Innocency to general Laws, no less than Health and Riches. One of the most considerable States of *Europe* lost and gained by turns, as long as it made only unjust Wars; nay, it gained more than it lost. Ever since it has been engaged only in just Wars, it does nothing but lose. How happens this? It was powerful at that time, and now is not so. To conclude, whoever shall go upon *Brutus's* System, and look upon Virtue as the Fountain of good temporal Successes, may happen one Day to complain, as he did, of having taken that for a Reality which is only a Name.

A CONFUTATION of those who pretend that Injustice is a means of Prosperity.

(2) This was written in 1698.

(10) That really happened.

(11) See above, Citat. (82), of the Article BEL-LARMIN.

(12) Note, that on some Occasions they miscarry, because they dare not be wicked enough.

But let us beware of the heady Reflexions of those extravagant Spirits, who pretend, that to have an ill Cause is the readiest way to carry it. Say we on the contrary, that, all things being in other Respects equal, Reason and Justice on one's Side is a good Step towards the Victory. How great soever the Disorders of human kind are, they are not yet come to such a Height, that it can with truth be said, that Right averts or retards the Victory. I was not long ago (9) in Company where the Discourse turned upon two Princes, who had been named for a very high Dignity: Opinions were not much divided; almost all agreed, that such an one would baffle the Pretensions of his Competitor (10). They grounded themselves on several Reasons which were particularized, as the Interest of all *Europe* to favour one of the two Pretenders, the Situation of the Countries from whence each was to expect Assistance, the overgrown Power of the Promoter of him whose ill Success was foretold, and an hundred other Considerations besides (11). And now you think you have said all, said a Frenchman suddenly, who had not spoken a Word before, but it is a Mistake, I will give you one Reason stronger than all. Such an one has Right of his Side; his Election is regular, and therefore he must sink: The Election of the other has all possible Defects; it is contrary to the most essential Formalities, and to the fundamental Laws of the Nation; that alone were enough to secure him the Superiority and the Triumph. This Argument was laughed at; but some, who were by, were willing to give themselves the Trouble of examining it in cold Blood, and these alleged, That Injustice, in itself, is fitter to prejudice a Cause than to forward it, and that it is only by accident that Justice is an Obstacle to good Success on several Occasions. It happens very often that they who are concerned for a good Cause, are less active than their Adversaries. They flatter themselves, like *Brutus*, that Heaven will declare for them; they imagine, that Right needs less Support than Injustice; hereupon they slacken their Vigilance, and sometimes they are such honest People, that they would not make use of ill means to support the good Cause. But they, who are engaged in bad Causes, scruple not to add Iniquity to Iniquity; and if they doubt the Success, they have recourse, with an extreme Activity, to all imaginable Expedients; they forget nothing that may either forward their own Work, or retard the Progress of the Enemy (12). It may also be supposed in the Hypothesis of good and bad Angels, that, from the same Principles, the latter are much more active. However it be, there is no arguing from the Justice, or the Injustice of a Cause, to it's good or ill Success; and except in Cases where *God* works by Miracle, which happen but seldom, the Fate of a Business depends on the Circumstances, and the Con-

VOL. II.

currence of the means that are used; whereby it sometimes happens that Injustice miscarries, and that one may say, *tandem bona causa triumphat*, — *The good Cause triumphs at last*.

[E] He fulfilled, by the Murder of his Benefactor, a Combination of the greatest Qualities that a Man can possess. The most extravagant Flatterers of the Descendants of *Cæsar* found only that one Exception to *Brutus*. 'Hunc exitum M. Bruti partium septimum & trigessimum annum agentis fortuna esse voluit: corrupto animo ejus in diem quæ illi omnes virtutes unius temeritate facti abstulit (13). — (13) Patereulus, lib. ii, cap. lxxii. Fortune had decreed this for the last Scene of the Life of M. Brutus, who was in his Thirty seventh Year: his Mind being disordered from the Day, when he tarnished all his Virtues by one rash Action.' I confess, he, whom he killed, deserved Death; an hundred thousand Lives, if he had had them, would not have sufficed for the Expiation of his Crime; but it was not the Business of three or four private Persons to undertake to punish him. Let us then apply the Maxim *Passio justa actio injustissima*. — *The Punishment is just, the Action most unjust*. Besides, the Attempt was against the Interest of the Country; the Event shewed it, and it was not hard to foresee it. See *Seneca*, who proves solidly that, as things then stood, they were not to hope for a Return of the Republican Government. The Manners of the Romans were altered; the Prize of Ambition was too great; the Post, from whence they would make the Conqueror of Great Pompey fall, was so coveted, that it was easy to foresee that, as they thrust one Person out of it, several others would present to fill it up. 'Cum vir magnus fuerit (M. Brutus) in aliis, in hac re videtur vehementer errasse; ibi speravit libertatem futuram, ubi tam magnum præmium erat & imperium di, & serviendi; aut exilium civitatem in priorem formam posse revocari, amissis pristinis moribus; futuramque ibi æqualitatem civilis juris, & statutas suo loco leges, ubi viderat tot millia hominum pugnantia, non an servirent; sed utrum. Quanta vero illum aut rerum naturæ, aut urbis suæ tenuit oblivio, qui uno interempto, defuturum credidit alium, qui idem vellet, cum Tarquinius esset inventus post tot reges ferro ac fulminibus occisos (14)? — (14) Seneca de Benef. lib. ii, cap. xx. Marcus Brutus, though a great Man in other Respects, seems to have been very much mistaken in this Affair; in that he hoped that Liberty could be there where there was so great a Prize, both for commanding and obeying; and judged that the City might be reduced to it's former State, when their ancient Manners were lost. That there could be an Equality of civil Right, or the Laws maintain their Ground, where he saw so many Thousands of Men contending, not whether they should be Slaves, but to whom. How intirely had he forgotten either the Nature of Things, or his own City, who believed that when one was killed there would be never another to attempt the same thing, when Tarquin arose after so many Kings had been killed with the Sword and Thunder?' [F] That Action was - - - unreasonably committed. You will find the Proof of this in *Dio Cassius*. That Historian observes two things. I. That a wicked Fury seized some who envied *Julius Cæsar*, and hurried them on to kill him unjustly. II. That though they alleged the fair Pretence of re-establishing Liberty, yet their Action was really impious, and threw back the State into Seditions, when it began to taste the Advantages of a good Administration. He afterwards declares, that Monarchy is to be preferred before Democratical Government, and that both Greek and Roman History shew, that Cities and private Persons have enjoyed greater Blessings, and felt less Adversity under the Authority of a single Person, than under a popular Government; that if there have been States which have flourished under such a Government, it lasted no longer than till they had attained a certain Point of Greatness and

T t

Power,

(c) Gravitatem
Bruti. Quintil.
lib. xii, cap. x,
pag. 580.

(d) See Cicero in
Bruto, in Philip-
pici & alibi.

loved Books, and had wrote some [G]: He was a good Orator; and as he had for his own part always made choice of a concise and grave Stile (c), no wonder if he thought Cicero's Eloquence wanted Nerves [H]. He had an excellent Panegyrist in the Person of that Orator, by whom he had been infinitely esteemed from his Youth (d). He was older than Paterculus supposes [I]. No one ought to affirm that he was descended from that Brutus who expelled Tarquin [K], or that he had been

Power, beyond which nothing but Discord had been seen, the Fruits of Envy and Ambition; and therefore since the City of Rome saw itself at that time Mistress of a great many Nations, and glutted with Riches and Glory, it was impossible but the Inhabitants should give a loose to their Passions in the midst of the Republican Liberty; and yet more impossible, that, while none of them restrained their Desires, they should agree among themselves. 'Αδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρασίᾳ σωφροσύνας, ἀδυνατώτατον δὲ μὴ σωφροσύνας ὁμονοῦναι. In populari republica statu impossibile erat cives animis suis moderari; atqui continentia sublata ut concordēs permanerent, id adhuc minus fieri poterat (15). That if Brutus and Cassius had well considered these things, they would never have killed the Head of the Republic, nor thereby plunged themselves and the whole Roman Empire into endless Calamities (16). Note, that Xiphilin has disapproved Dio Cassius in this (17); but I do not believe any Person can reasonably deny, that at that Point of Greatness to which the Romans had attained, which had accustomed them to Luxury and Ambition, they could have enjoyed any Tranquillity, either in the Provinces or Capital City, under a Democratical Government. Rome had already been a pretty long time a Republic only in Name. The Alteration of Government will always be inevitable in popular States which amuse themselves with Conquests. If they intend to preserve their Liberty, they must avoid all offensive Wars as the Plague, and be satisfied with a small Extent of Land; they must aggrandize and fortify themselves intensively, and not extensively, if I may be permitted to make use of the School Distinction.

I have said in the Body of this Article, that several Romans disapproved Brutus's Action. I am to produce a Witness. 'Die funeris (Augusti) milites velut praesidio steterē, multum inidentibus qui ipsi viderant, quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii, & libertatis impio, prospere repetitae, cum occisus Dictator Caesar aliis pessimum aliis pulcherrimum facinus videre-tur (18). — On the Day of Augustus's Funeral the Soldiers stood upon Guard, which was very ridiculous in the Eyes of those that had seen or heard from their Fathers of that Day, when Slavery was yet new, and the Renewal of Liberty unsuccessfully attempted, when the killing of the Dictator Caesar seemed to some a very wicked, and to others a very laudable Action.' Consult Forsterius on this Passage of Tacitus, and Boetius on the Fifty sixth Chapter of the second Book of Paterculus.

[G] He loved Books, and he had wrote some. Plutarch relates, that, in the greatest Heat of the Civil Wars, Brutus employed some part of the Night in Study (19). He abridged the Roman History of Fannius (20), and that of Antipater (21). He wrote a Book de Officiis, cited by Charisius and by Priscian. Doubtless it is that which Seneca calls περὶ καθήκοντος (22). Cicero (23) and Seneca (24) speak of that de Virtute: Diomedes makes mention of that de Patientia. There are still extant some of Brutus's Letters, either in Greek that were printed apart, or in Latin among those of Cicero. He had made an Elogy on Cato, and Caesar found that Piece not very well written. Bruti Catone lecto se sibi visum disertum (25). — When he had read Brutus's Cato he imagined himself learned. The Oration he made in the Capitol upon the Murder of Caesar, pleased Cicero very well, though they had not the same Taste in Oratory. See the first Letter of the fifteenth Book to Atticus. I cannot tell whether he finished the Abridgment of the History of Polybius, on which he was at work in Pompey's Camp, the very Night that preceeded the Battle of Pharsalia (26).

[H] He thought Cicero's Eloquence wanted Nerves. The Author of the Dialogue de causis corruptae eloquentiae informs us of this: 'Ciceronem, says

he, male audivisse à Bruto, ut ipsius verbis utar, tanquam fractum atque elumbem. — Cicero was blamed by Brutus, to use his own Words, as feeble and weak. Cicero was even with him: he thought Brutus's Stile negligent and loose: Ciceroni visum Brutum otiosam atque divanum (27). Brutus's Stile has another Defect, which is that it was full of Verses; Versus bi fere excidant, quos Brutus ipso componendi datus studio sepiissime facit (28). Cicero confesses, that Brutus found fault freely enough with his Taste, in point of Eloquence. See the twentieth Letter of the fourteenth Book to Atticus.

[I] He was older than Paterculus supposes. He was born ten Years after Hortensius began to plead (29), which was under the Consulship of Lucius Crassus, and Quintus Scævola (30). That Consulship falls in with the Year of Rome 658 (31). Brutus then must have been born in the Year 668. So that having died in the Year 711, he lived Forty three Years. Paterculus must therefore be in the wrong, to give him but Thirty seven Years of Age (32).

[K] It should not be affirmed that he was descended from that Brutus who expelled Tarquin. Dionysius Halicarnassensis maintains, that our Marcus Brutus was not descended from him (33). He says it is the Opinion of the Historians who had examined this Matter with the greatest exactness (34), whereof they bring divers proofs, and among others this following. The Junius's and the Brutus's of later times were of a Plebeian Family, as appears by the Tribuneships of the People which they had held. Now it is certain that the Junius's of Tarquin's Time were of a Patrician Family. The Historian, I have cited, thinks this a very strong Reason Τεκμήριον συσπντίκετον. Signum cui facile contradicere non possit. Dio plainly declares, that the first Brutus caused the two only Children he had to be put to Death, who were yet but Youths (35). This, without doubt, is of greater weight than Plutarch's Authority, who says, that Brutus had several Children. Ἀδελφὸν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Βρῦτος εἶχε καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτοῦς ἀκείνοιας. Sororem eorum (Vitelliorum) habebat Brutus in matrimonio, & ex ea numerosam prolem (36). — Brutus had married their Sister (the Vitellii) and had by her a numerous Offspring. Cicero having spoken in his Philippics as an Orator, and not as an Historian, is not very fit to weaken the Testimony of Dionysius Halicarnassensis and of Dio: However, he is a good Authority to shew that the Brutus's of his Time pretended they were issued from him, who delivered Rome from the Tyranny of Tarquin; and Dio does not deny but they made use of the Conformity of Names, at Rome, to incite Brutus to conspire against Caesar, as the ancient Brutus, of whom he was descended, say they, had conspired against Tarquin the Proud (37). Some may be pleased to find Cicero's Words here. 'Fuerit ille L.

Brutus qui & ipse regio dominatu Rempublicam liberavit, & ad similem virtutem & simile factum stirpem jam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit (38). Si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahala. Hi igitur his majoribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam à suis, & foris potius quam domi (39). — Lucius Brutus, who both freed the Common-wealth from Kingly Government, and left Posterity, of like Virtue, to perform a like Action, almost five hundred Years after. If we wanted Leaders to deliver our Country, when these Men have lead the Way, I would stir up the Brutus's, who both every Day see the Image of Lucius Brutus, and one of them that of Ahala too. Shall these Men therefore, descended from such Ancestors, ask counsel Abroad, rather than at Home? No great stress is to be laid on these Words, because an Orator

(27) Dial. de
Causis corr. eloq.

(28) Quintil. lib.
ix, cap. iv. pag.
443.

(29) Cicero in
Bruto, pag. 447.
(30) Id. ibid. pag.
343.

(31) Sigonius in
falsis.

(32) Patercul.
lib. ii, cap. lxxii.

(33) Dionys. Ha-
lic. lib. v.

(34) Ὁς οἱ τῶν
Ρωμαίων ἐπι-
στάται ἐκταύ-
τες γράψαν-
τι, οἱ ἑκατέρω
Ρωμαῖοι ἐν-
vestigant, scrip-
to tradiderunt.

(35) Dio, lib.
xliv.

(36) Plut. in Va-
lerio, pag. 98. D.

(37) Dio, ubi su-
pra.

(38) Cicero,
Philipp. i.

(39) Id. Philipp.

(15) Dio Cassius,
lib. xlv, p. 273.

(16) Taken from
Dio Cassius, lib.
xlv, init.

(17) Xiphil. E-
pist. Dio, lib. xlv,
init. pag. 25.

(18) Tacit. An-
nal. lib. i, c. viii.

(19) Plut. in
Bruto, pag. 100.
E.

(20) Cicero, ad
Attic. lib. xii,
Epist. v.

(21) Id. ibid. lib.
xiii, Ep. viii.

(22) Seneca, E-
pist. xclv.

(23) Cicero Tuf-
cul. i, & de fin.

(24) Seneca Con-
sol. ad Helviam,
cap. ix.

(25) Apud Cicero.
Epist. xlv, ad
Attic. lib. xii.

(26) Plut. in
Bruto, p. 98, E.

been adopted by *Julius Cæsar* [L]. Yet *Moreri* says it positively. I say nothing of his Faults of Omission.

I cannot pass over in Silence the Proof, that our *Brutus* gave of his Love of Justice in the beginning of the War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. He was the Son of a Man whom *Pompey* had ordered to be put to death, so that he had the greatest Reason in the World to hate *Pompey*: he had not dissembled his hatred; he never vouchsafed to salute or speak to him; this caused a Belief that he would take *Julius Cæsar's* part; nevertheless he embarked in *Pompey's* Cause, which he took to be the best, and justest [M], and most for the Interest of his Country, which he judged ought to be preferred before any personal Considerations (e). I shall not mention the Tenderneſs *Cæsar* expressed for him before the Battle of *Pharsalia*, by the Orders he gave his Commanders to give him good Quarter, or even to let him escape if they could not prevail with him to yield (f): Nor will I mention the kind Reception he gave him after the Battle: but I shall say a Word or two of the private Conversation he had with him concerning the Rout that *Pompey* might have taken. *Brutus* spoke his Opinion after such a manner, as made *Cæsar* judge that *Pompey* had bent his Course towards *Egypt* (g), and in that he was right. Some pretend that *Brutus* was much to blame in giving such a hint to the Conqueror [N].

is not so much concerned whether such Facts be true or no; he is satisfied if only a part of the People believe them (40). But here is an Historian, who appears of *Cicero's* Side, and alleges Proofs. *Plutarch* affirms, that *Marcus Brutus* was descended from him who expelled *Tarquin*, and that none but *Julius Cæsar's* Friends, in hatred to the Murderer, maintained, that the first *Brutus* left no Posterity, and that the other *Brutus's* were descended from the Steward of the first (41). He adds, that the Philosopher *Pofidonius* affirmed in one of his Books, that *Lælius Brutus* had three Sons, the last of whom was the Stock of the Family of the other *Brutus*, and that there were illustrious Men of that Family in his own time, whose countenance resembled the Statue of *Lucius Brutus*. Add to this, that the reason, which seems so strong to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, is not unanswerable, seeing there are examples of *Patrician* Families which became *Plebeians* (42). A learned Man sets forth, that, according to *Plutarch*, the Enemies which *Brutus* had made himself, by the Murder of *Julius Cæsar*, maintained, that this had happened to the Family *Junia*. 'Sed & fieri potuisse ut *Junia gens* 'a patriciis ad plebem transiverit, & scribit *Plutarchus* id ab iis qui ob *Cæsaris* necem *Brutus* erant 'infernū fuisse jactatum (43). Had *Plutarch* said this, he must have clashed directly with common Sense. What is to be done in this Conflict of Arguments and Witnesses? Quite the contrary to what *Mr Moreri* has done; that is, we must remain neuter; but if one would be decisive, he ought to prefer the Authority of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and *Dio*, to that of *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

[L] Or that he was adopted by *Julius Cæsar*. I do not think any credible Author ever said this. It should have been said, that *Cæsar* called him his Son (44), and that he even believed himself to be his Father, because of his Gallantries with *Servilia* the Mother of *Brutus*. See that Lady's Article, Remark [B].

[M] He engaged in *Pompey's* Party because he took it to be the best, and the justest. He was not one of those who hate the Tyrant, but not the Tyranny; or of those that love not Liberty, but the Person of him who declares for it. He hated *Pompey*, and yet he sided with him: he had all the reason in the World to love *Cæsar*, and yet he conspired against him; it was because he believed that *Pompey* maintained the Cause of the Country, and that *Cæsar* was become a Tyrant. That Integrity of Heart in him was never contested; People judged otherwise of his Colleague *Cassius*; and most were persuaded that he laboured more for his private Interest, than for the Advantage of *Rome*. Παντός μάλλον ἀνὴρ πολεμῆν, καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἀντὶ τινος δυνάσεως καλᾶσκουαζόμενον, ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις. Omnino arbitrabantur (*Cassium*) bellum gerere & circumscutire, & discrimina subire potius ad quærendam sibi potentiam, quam civibus libertatem (45). — They were intirely of Opinion, that *Cassius* waged War, and encountered Dangers, rather to seek Power for himself, than Liberty for the City. This may be confirmed by another Place of

Plutarch. Ἀλλὰ Κάσσιος, ἀνὴρ θυμωδὴς, καὶ μάλλον ἰδίᾳ μισοκαίσαρος ἢ κοινῇ μισοτύραννός. ἐξέκαυσεν καὶ κατήπεισεν, λέγειν αὐτὸν μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν βαρύνεσθαι, Κάσσιος δὲ τὸν ἀρχοῦν μισεῖν. Verum ferocis vir animi *Cassius*, magisque privatim *Cæsari*, quam publice tyranno infestus, incendit & stimulat *Brutum*. Dicitur *Brutus* regnum non tulisse, *Cassius* odisse regem (46). — But *Cassius*, a Man of a furious Spirit, and rather a private Enemy to *Cæsar*, than a public one to the Tyrant, provoked and excited *Brutus*. *Brutus*, it is said, could not bear a Monarchy, *Cassius* hated the Monarch. It was thought that *Pompey* would not have made a good use of a Victory in case he had obtained it, but that he would have maintained himself in an absolute Power under the Title of perpetual Dictator or Consul, or some other less invidious Name; *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*, took up Arms only to become Tyrants: the Conquest of their Country was the Prize they proposed to themselves (47); but People had quite another thought of our *Brutus*; his very Enemies acquitted him in this Point. Several had heard *Marc Antony* say, that he was the only Man among the Conspirators, who was carried away by the seeming Beauty of that Action. *Plutarch's* Words have much force. Βρῦτος δὲ λέγουσιν μὴδὲ τῆς ἐχθρῆς περὶ σὺνδάλαν τοιαύτην μετὰβῆναι, ἀλλὰ Ἀντωνίου γε καὶ πολλὰς ἀκούσαι λέγοντος, ὅς μόνον ἑαυτοῦ Βρῦτον ἐπιδέσθαι Κάισαρι, περὶ τὴν αὐτῆς τῆς λαμπρότητος καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῶ τῆς πράξεως, τὸς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνδρα συστῆναι, μισούντας καὶ φθονούντας. At *Brutus* perhibent ne hostes quidem eam objectasse varietatem: imò ex *Antonio* etiam multos audivisse, quum diceret solum se putare *Brutum* adortum *Cæsarem* facti splendore & opinato bono adductum, alios in illum conspirasse odio proventos & invidia (48). — But they say, that even *Brutus's* Enemies never charged him with such

Diffimulation; nay, that several People had heard *Antony* say, that he believed, that *Brutus* was the only Person, who was induced to attack *Cæsar* from the Glory, and supposed Good, of the Action; that the rest had conspired against him out of Hatred and Envy. This probably was the thing which obliged *Marc Antony* to do so much honour to the dead Body of *Brutus* (49), and *Othavius* to leave the Statue of that illustrious Conspirator intire at *Milan* (50). [N] He conversed with *Cæsar* concerning the Rout which *Pompey* had taken — he is blamed for giving such a Hint to the Conqueror. I cannot approve the Apology which *Don Francisco de Quevedo* endeavours to make for that Action. He pretends, that, as things then stood, *Brutus* was permitted to revenge his Father's Death, by discovering to *Cæsar* the Road by which he was to pursue the conquered. If there were no better Thoughts than this, in that *Spaniard's* Book (51), it never would have been so much esteemed as it justly is. I should rather alledge in *Brutus's* Justification, I. That he was not entrusted with *Pompey's* Secret concerning the Choice of a Place of Retreat. II. That he did not see how, by communicating his Conjectures to *Cæsar*, he could make the unhappy Fate of the Fugitive worse; for perhaps he imagined, that

(51) It is a Commentary on a part of the Life of *Brutus*, by *Plutarch*. It has been translated out of Spanish into Latin, by *Grafwinckle*. That Latin Translation was printed at the Hague, Anno. 1663, in 4to, but does not come up to the Original.

(e) Plot. in *Bruto*, pag. 985. See him also in *Pompeio*, p. 653.

(f) Id. in *Bruto*, ibid.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 986.

(40) See what will be said in the Article *CASSIUS*, a Family, Remark [B].

(41) *Plut.* in *vita Brutii*, init. pag. 984.

(42) *Suetonius*, in the second Chapter of the *Life of Augustus*, gives the *Othavian* Family as an Example.

(43) *Abram.* in *Cicero*, *Philippicam* I, pag. 438.

(44) Thus he called him, when he saw him among the Conspirators. *Sueton.* in *Julio*, cap. lxxiii.

(45) *Plot.* in *Bruto*, p. 997. D.

(46) Id. ibid. pag. 987.

(47) Id. ibid. pag. 997. D.

(48) Id. ibid. D.

(49) Id. ibid. pag. 1009. C.

(50) Id. ibid. pag. 1011. D.

Egypt would be thought so good a Retreat, that they would not think fit to attack the Great *Pompey* there. However it be, we may here admire the Sagacity of his Judgment: he guessed very right what Way the conquered Chief had chosen. He was no worse a Prophet in another Conjunction, which was, when he condemned *Marc Antony's*

Imprudence, who, having had it in his Power to be named among the *Brutus's*, the *Cassius's*, and the *Cato's*, had joined himself as a Second to *Octavius*. If they [*Marc Antony and Octavius*] are not beaten together, said he, they will soon be seen in Arms against each other (52).

(c2) Plot. in
Bruto, pag. 997.

BRUTUS (JOHN MICHAEL), a learned Man in the XVIth Century, was a Native of *Venice*; and there happened something, I know not what, which obliged him to leave it [A], and might make him be looked on as an Exile. He studied at *Padua*, and applied himself chiefly to hear the Discourses and Lectures of *Lazarus Bonamicus* (a). He travelled much [B]; but that ambulatory Life did not hinder his becoming a learned Man and an Author. He wrote politely; though he condemned the Scruples of the *Ciceronian* Sect (b), and he may pass for a very good Humanist. His Notes on *Horace*, *Cæsar*, *Cicero*, &c. are very good Proofs of it. We shall see what he answered to those who accused him of Plagiarism [C]. He was

(a) John. Mich.
Brutus, Epistol.
pag. 596, Edit.
1698.

(b) Ibid. p. 588.

[A] He was a native of Venice, and there happened something, I know not what, which obliged him to leave it. The Words that I am going to copy, which are taken from the One thousand and sixty seventh Page of the new Edition of his Letters, testify that he did not leave his Country willingly, and that, nevertheless, he left it without any blemish to his Honour. 'Nam quod illa (patria) hoc tempore careo, neque ulli illius culpa hoc, neque dedecore ullo meo accidit, sed fortunæ injuria. Ejus enim mihi iniquitate ereptus est inter meos locus quem Majores per CCC annos retinuerunt honestissimum. — For that I am now deprived of it (my Country) is owing neither to any Fault of my Country, nor any Disgrace of mine, but to the Iniquity of Fortune. For by her Frowns I was robbed of that Place amongst my Countrymen, which my Ancestors had held with the greatest Honour for Three hundred Years.' This, you will say, does not prove that he was of Venice; but you will not doubt it if you consult the Sequel of that Passage: 'Quo quidem, continues he, speaking to a Venetian, who exhorted him to write the History of the Republic of Venice, cum adsum, non possum æquo animo carere, fore ut aliquando eundem cum pristina fortuna recuperem, tua gratia fretus non despero. Sed ne hæc nos cura magnopere angat, quot patria nostra habet (1), qui has illi partes possunt egregie præstare? Neque enim est Petrus Bembus jam, & Andreas Navagerius mortuus, summi homines, & quorum est apud posteros merito futurum semper illustre nomen, simul etiam cum iis est lumen eloquentiæ in civitate extinctum. — Without which, If I return, I cannot live to my Satisfaction; but relying on your Favour I do not despair, but that I shall one Day recover it together with my former Fortune. But least this Thought disturb us too much; how many are there in our Country who could perform this excellently? For though we have lost Peter Bembus and Andreas Navagerius, both very great Men, whose Names will be deservedly famous to all Posterity, yet is not the Spirit of Eloquence extinguished in the City.'

(1) He says, at pag. 1071, At ne cui tamen videri esse oblitus hanc mihi patriam esse.

(2) See p. 1109, of his Letters, Edit. of Berlin, 1698.

(3) Ibid. pag. 1065.

[B] He travelled much. He passed part of his Life in Spain, England (2), France, Germany, Transylvania, and in Poland. He says, he had suffered several Hardships in his Travels in Spain (3), but that he had seen most of the other Courts of Europe quietly, and thereby had acquired Experience enough to write the History of it. 'Magna quædam res est historiam scribere: qua quidem ego in re ita sum per multos annos versatus, ut me longa jam exercitatio doceat, quam prudenter ea sit & cunctanter attingenda. Quam autem ego re confusus & scribere jam instituerim, & nunc quidem — scribendi studio insitum, dicerem, si id mihi per meam modestiam liceret: certe ut non me destituat spes eo perveniendi, quo contendendo, non ingenio confido magis, cujus haud me penitet tamen, quam diligentia & studio, usu quidem rerum tanto, quantum esse in eo homine æquum est, qui magnam Europæ partem, aulas fere Regum omnium maximorum, per summum otium lustravit. Itaque si quæ mihi incommoda (id quod necesse fuit) tot terras obeunti obtige-

runt, fit quidem fructu, quem ex his capio, maximo quidem ac uberrimo, eorum etiam ut mihi fit jucunda recordatio (4). — It is a great Work to write a History: in which I have been so conversant for several Years, that long Practice has taught me how cautiously and deliberately it is to be undertaken. What emboldened me first to undertake to write, and now to continue writing, I would say if my Modesty would give me leave: it is certain I am not without Hopes of attaining what I aim at, not so much out of an Opinion of my Genius (tho' with that I am not dissatisfied) as Diligence and Care, and such a knowledge of Affairs, as might be expected of a Man who has seen great part of Europe, and the most considerable Courts in it, at full Leisure. Wherefore, if I have met with any Inconveniences (as of course I must) in travelling through so many Countries, the great and valuable Advantages I reap from them make the Remembrance of them pleasant. He is right in maintaining, that the Knowledge which is acquired by travelling is very useful to those who compose a History. They ought all to deserve, that what was said of *Ulysses* might be applied to them:

(4) Jo. Mich.
Brutus Epistol.
pag. 1064. See
also pag. 432.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes (5). (5) Horat. de Arte Poët. ver. 142.

[C] We have his Notes on *Horace*, *Cæsar*, *Cicero*. — We shall see what he answered to those who accused him of Plagiarism. His Observations on the four Books of the Odes of *Horace*, and on the Epodes, were printed at Venice, by *Paulus Manutius*, with those of *Lambinus*, in the Year 1566, in 4to. His *Scholia* on *Julius Cæsar* were printed by the same *Manutius* in the Year 1564, in 8vo. They are inserted in the Edition of *Jungerman* at Frankfurt, in the Year 1606, as the Journalists of *Utrecht* (6) observe, who observe also that he caused the Works of *Cicero*, with Notes, to be printed in duodecimo, by *Anthony Gryphius*, in the Year 1571. They tell us, what I have to say on the other Point of my Text. He had been accused of having made use of *Lambinus's* Observations on *Cicero*; he wrote to *Lambinus*, That he might go to the Fountain-head as well as he, and when he made use of another Writer's Thoughts, he cited him punctually; whereby he secured himself from all Reproach of Plagiarism; for this was borrowing and not stealing: 'Falsam hanc opinionem *Lambinus* eripere conatur, his inter alia verbis utens: Quisquis is est, qui me in his, quæ scripta edidi, surripuisse ab ullo affirmet, quæ transferrem in mea; is neque plane me novit, & facit ipse ut se prodatur, tacente etiam me: Ut enim qui aqua indigent, ubi facultas sit, de fonte sumere, quam de rivo, malunt; egentes, divitum adire, quam infirmorum, domus: Ita, mi *Lambine*, ut bene sis à literis & ab ingenio paratus, cum mihi iidem fontes pateant, de quibus tu haussisti, (nondum enim exaruerunt) æque pateant eorum penetralia, &c. stulte faciam, si de tuo surripiam, non minus quam tu, si inducas animum surripere de meo (7). Postea addit, se sumpsisse quidem ab aliis, non vero surripuisse. Sumere enim eum, qui, à quo mutuatur, indicet; & laudet, quem auctorem habet: Surripere vero qui taceat, qui ex alterius industria

(6) In July and August, 1698, pag. 566.

(7) Brutus, pag. 599, Epistol. Edit. 1698, cited ibid.

was not content with only writing Books, but he took pains also to search for Manuscripts, and publish them [D]. He passed some Years at Lyons, from whence he went in all likelihood to Basil. He there received great Civilities from the learned Theodore Zuinger, Author of the *Theatrum vitæ humanæ* (c). He was in Transylvania from the beginning of the Year 1574 (d). He was invited thither by Prince Stephen Battori, in order to compose a History of that Country (e) [E], and values himself mightily on the Reception he met with there (f). One of his Letters, dated from Crasow, the Twenty third of November, 1577, informs us, that he had followed that Prince, then King of Poland, to the Expedition of Prussia (g). He had a convenient Apartment assigned him in the Castle of Cracow (h), that he might apply himself more conveniently to his Function of Historiographer [F]. He left Poland after the Death of that Monarch (i), and lived with William of St Clement, Embassador from the King of Spain to the Imperial Court. He was honoured with the Title of his Imperial Majesty's Historiographer (k). He was at Prague on the first of January, 1590, which is the Date of that Book which he dedicated to the Spanish Embassador whom I have mentioned (l). He must have been at that time Seventy three Years of Age, since, in a Letter, dated the nineteenth of August, 1582, he takes notice that he had attained to his Sixty fifth Year (m). He makes mention of his Daughter's Marriage, in a Letter dated from Clausenburgh, the Twenty third of January, 1574 (n). He had a great share in the Friendship of Dudithius, and Crato. The latter had persuaded the Emperor Maximilian to retain him in his Service (o). I cannot tell what became of John Michael Brutus, after the Year 1590, nor where, or when, he died. His Writings, which were become very scarce, were so earnestly fought after by the best Judges, that there was great Joy in the Republic of Letters, on hearing that Mr Cramer (p) had undertaken

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 291, item. p. 69.

(f) Id. ibid. pag. 511. See also pag. 293.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 330.

(h) Ibid. pag. 328, 329.

(i) Ibid. pag. 898.

(k) Ibid. pag. 901.

(l) Ibid. pag. 900.

(m) Ibid. pag. 335.

(n) Ibid. pag. 510.

(o) Ibid. pag. 283.

(p) I speak of him towards the end of the Remark [C], of the Article GRETHERUS. He had been Preceptor to the Prince Electoral of Brandenburg.

to

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 59.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 515.

(8) Journal of Utrecht, July and August, 1698, pag. 565, 566.

(9) Brutus Epit. pag. 220.

industria fructum querat; quod quidem à se omnino alienum esse dicit (8). ----- He endeavours to convince Lambinus of his Mistake, using these Words among others: Whoever he be that affirms, that, in any Writing which I have published, I have stolen any thing from any Author's Work to insert in my own; he is, in short, both unacquainted with me, and betrays himself, though I were silent: For as they, who want Water, would rather, when they have Opportunity, take it from the Fountain than from the Stream; and the Poor go rather to the Houses of the Rich than of the meaner for; so, my Lambinus, thou art you are well furnished with Learnings, and a good Genius, as the same Fountains from whence you drew are open to me (for they are not yet dry), and their inmost Recesses are as open, &c. I should act as foolishly in stealing any thing of your's, as you would if you should take it in your Head to steal from me. He afterwards adds, that he has borrowed from others, but not stolen: for that he is a Borrower, who tells from whom he borrows, and gives the Author the Honour: But he steals, who says nothing, who seeks to reap the Benefit of another's Industry; which he says he utterly abhors. These Gentlemen cannot tell us, whether his Book de Infaturatione Italiae was ever published: Neither do I know any thing of it. He mentions it in the Six hundred and twentieth, One thousand and seventh, One thousand and Seventy first, Pages of his Epistles, and cites Fragments of it. By the way, what he composed on Caesar did not consist wholly in Scholia and in Varie Lectiones. He gives a more advantageous Idea of it in the Passage I am going to transcribe: 'Habeo in manibus Caesaris Commentarios, multis à me animadversionibus emendatos, quibus justum volumen accedet, in quo, certo ordine, politissimi scriptoris voces phrasisque omnes, tum, quod permagni faciendum est, rerum omnium descriptiones, in locos communes redactæ habentur; ut si cui sit scribenda historia & lauta supellex, & luculenta ex tanti scriptoris monumentis, ad ea ornanda atque illustranda quæ velit, suppedientur. Eum librum Basilæ excusum animus est inscribere Transylvaniæ principi (9). ----- I have in hand Caesar's Commentaries which I have improved with a great many Animadversions; to which will be added an entire Volume, in which all the Words and Phrases of that most polite Writer, and, what is most valuable, all his Descriptions of things reduced to common places in proper Order. So that any Writer of History may here be furnished, from the Monuments of so great a Writer, with a smooth, elegant, and beautiful Stock, to adorn and illustrate whatever he has a

VOL. II.

mind. This Book I think to print at Basil, and to dedicate it to the Prince of Transylvania.'

[D] He took pains to search for Manuscripts and to print them.] He was the first that published the ten Books of Bartholomew Facius, de rebus ab Alphonsio I. rege Neapolitano gestis. He got them printed at Lyons, by Gryphius, in the Year 1560, in 4to. Two Years after he published, in the same place, Francisci Contarenti libros tres de rebus in Hetruria à Senensibus gestis; a Work that was reprinted at Venice in the Year 1623, in 4to. In the Year 1582, he published in Poland the three Books of Callimachus Experiens de rebus gestis Uladislai Ungarorum & Polonorum Regis (10). [E] He was in Transylvania ----- invited thither by Prince Stephen Battori, to write a History of that Country.] Simon Forgats, who had a Design to write a History of Hungary, desired to have John Michael Brutus with him, to be assisted in that Labour (11), and to that end proposed to him such honourable and advantageous Conditions, as he thought might draw him into Transylvania. Brutus was then at Venice, and did not seem very fond of that Journey (12); for nothing was concluded eight Years after (13); at last the Business was brought about; he sent word by a Letter, dated from Basil, the first of June 1572, that he would speedily set forward (14), and yet he took a Journey into France before he began the other. I find that he wrote a Letter to the Prince of Transylvania, dated from Lyons the first of June 1573 (15), and that he departed from Lyons, the seventeenth of October of the same Year (16). He arrived at Vienna in Austria the twenty fourth of November following (17).

[F] He applied himself ----- to his Function of Historiographer.] He was to begin where Bonfinius had ended, and to carry on the History of that Country to his own time (18). It appears by a Letter he wrote to the King of Poland, the first of December 1579, that he applied himself diligently to that Function, and that of the twelve Books, into which the Work was to be divided (19), four, which reached to the Year 1542, were finished. He owns that he makes use of Paulus Jovius's History; but that he rectifies it in several Places, where that Author is mistaken, or wanted ample and exact Instructions. He proposed, after he had finished these twelve Books, to write the History of Stephen Battori in particular (20). A Letter, which he wrote the fifteenth of January 1578, testifies the extream Passion he had to perform all the Duties of an Historian well; for he desired very earnestly that he might be permitted to consult the Records, and to send for the Library which he had left in Transylvania (21). He

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observes,

(10) Idem. ibid. pag. 366.

(11) Ibid. p. 221.

(12) Ibid. p. 225.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid. p. 216.

(15) Ibid. p. 86.

(16) Ibid. p. 222.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid. p. 294.

(19) Ibid. p. 74.

(20) Ibid. p. 80.

(21) Ibid. p. 206.

(22) Ibid. p. 207.

to publish a new Edition of them. The first part of that design is already accomplished [G], and the rest is promised in a little time. It is said, that the *History of Florence*, composed by our *Brutus*, and printed at *Lyons*, in 1562, is not favourable to the House of *Medicis* (q), and that it displeased the Duke of *Florence* very much. Among the Letters of this Author, I have not found that which he had promised to add to them, wherein he designed to treat of an ill Custom introduced a long time ago, of giving the same lofty Titles to Persons whom we write to in *Latin*, as are given in the *Vulgar Tongue* [H]. Ancient *Rome* had no such Usage in the time of it's greatest Glory, and of it's most accomplished Politeness. *Brutus* would not conform to the new Stile, not even in writing to some *Polish* Lords [I]. Let us not forget that he endured much Vexation in *Poland*; he had

Enemies

- observes, that it was not large, but consisted of choice Books, and of the best Editions; *ut numero non ita copiosa est, at libris optimis, atque ex elegantissimis editionibus est instructa* (22). He had put the Charges of the Carriage of his Books in the Articles of Agreement, and he declared that he could not live without his Library. *Præmissis, cum aliis impedimentis, bibliotheca, qua quidem carere, ut dixi, nisi ut vita simul mihi cendum sit, baud facile possum* (23). He observes also that the Bookellers of *Basil* were enquiring already for his *History of Hungary* (24). He informs us in a Letter written from *Cracow*, the seventh of *February* 1580, that as to the Bulk, his Labours equalled the three first Books of *Cæsar* (25), and reached to the taking of *Lippa*: He adds, that he had made very good use of the Work of *Ancianus Centorius* (26), and that they who would examine after what manner he wrote, would not think it strange that his Book was so small. *Multum inquis? imo tum videbitur multum, ubi leges non quantum scriperim solum, sed quid & quemadmodum id adeo scriperim* (27). — *Much do you say? you will think it a great deal when you read not only how much I wrote, but what, and how it is done.*

[G] Mr Cramer undertook a new Edition of his Works, the first part of which Design is already accomplished. See the Book intitled, *Job. Michaelis Bruti opera varia selecta, nimirum epistolarum libri V. de historię laudibus, sive de ratione legendi scriptores historicos liber: præceptorum conjugum liber, epistolis & orationibus compluribus editione Cracoviensi auctiora*. It was printed at *Berlin* in the Year 1698, in 8vo, and contains Eleven hundred and Fifty five Pages. That second Edition is more ample the first, which is that of *Cracow* 1582; for two Letters are added to it, which Mr *Grævius* had obtained from the Library of *Breslaw*, and the Letters of our *Brutus*, which were inserted in the Collection *Epistolarum Clarorum Virorum*, which he had caused to be printed at *Lyons*, in the Year 1561.

[H] He designed to speak of an ill Custom — of giving the same lofty Titles in *Latin*, that are given in common Languages. This I found in a Letter which he wrote to *Crato* in the Year 1582. *Credo te miraturum, cum mihi summi homines multi, in his sint maximi reges appellandi, parcum me esse his, titulis honestandis, cum nullo meo incommodo liceat in hoc genere officii effuso esse. De quibus titulis adeo mihi parum opportunis animus est epistolam scribere, quam aliis attexam* (28). — I believe you will wonder, as I am to mention in this Work several Men of the first Rank, and great Kings, that I am so sparing in giving them Titles, of which I might, without any Inconvenience to myself, be profuse. Concerning these Titles, which are very disagreeable to me, I purpose to write a Letter, which I will join to the rest. He afterwards exclaims against the reigning Vanity among the meanest private Persons, of expecting, in the Addresses of Letters, and in public Acts, the Title of magnificent, clarissimi, atque amplissimi, and the necessity of having recourse to the Substantives, Majesty, Highness, &c. in speaking to Kings and Princes. He adds, That on pretence that the Title of Excellency was abused by having been bestowed on Physicians and Lawyers, the Lord of a small State had used so many Arguments and Intreaties with the Pope, that at last he had granted him the Title of Highness. See here his Words at length: *Tanta autem hominum levitas in hac nescio qua gloriolæ titillatione, ut nullus sit hoc tempore in Europa regulus, quin*

se Altum, Sublimem, Excelsum appellari velit: nullus tam tenuis census privatus, quin sibi clamet insignem fieri injuriam, nisi illi magnifici, clarissimi, atque amplissimi nomen in literarum inscriptionibus, publicis actis, regum diplomatis extet, quasi tituli viros pariant, non titulos viri. Quid? quod cum est nobis cum regibus & viris principibus loquendum, cogimur ab his recedentes per abstracta nomina, quibus vulgo utuntur in Philosophorum scholis, cum eorum majestatis loqui, altitudines affari, & quas vos Germani in vexillis celsitudines, nostris Sublimitates invidentes. Nihil verius est quam tenuis ditionis principem hoc tempore, cum Excellentia contempta, quasi obsolevisset inter medicos & legulejos, ac minorum gentium regulos, majora ambiret, diu egisse apud pontificem maximum, ut se altitudinis titulo honestaret; cum minus illo æquo uteretur, non prius orare, fatigare precibus, contendere desisisset, quam exoratum in sententiam traduxerit. Quod frustra contendisse N. civitas dicitur, cum Serenitatis titulum Venetorum principum, propter civitatis amplitudinem concessum, pontifex negaret se passurum vilescere per minores potestates evulgatum (29). — The Vanity of Men is so great in this unaccountable lib after a little Glory, that there is not at this time a petty King in Europe, but requires the Titles of High, Sublime, Mighty. No private Man, of ever so low Condition, but thinks he is highly affronted, if he has not the Titles of Magnificent, Famous, Great, in the Addresses of Letters, public Acts, and Kings Patents, as if Titles made Men, and not Men Titles. Why, when we are to speak to Kings or Princes, are we obliged to take no notice of them, but speak in abstract Terms, such as are commonly used in the Schools of Philosophers, to their Majesties, or address their Highnesses or Celsitudes, which you Germans have introduced to match the Italian Titles, Sublimities? It is certain that a Prince of a small State, not satisfied with Excellency, as if the Title were debased among Physicians, Lawyers, and petty Princes, lately desired a greater, and treated a long while with the Pope to obtain of him the Title of Highness; the Pope making some difficulty of it, he never ceased praying, soliciting, and pressing him, till he had obtained his Purpose. A certain State, as it is said, solicited the like in vain, the Pope alledging that he would not suffer the Title of Serenity, given to the Duke of Venice, on account of the largeness of that State, to be debased among smaller Powers. The last part of this Passage informs us, that the Pope was inexorable with regard to a small Republic which desired the Title of Serenity. Things are strangely altered for the worse, since the Death of *John Michael Brutus*. Such a Title, as would have satisfied the most excessive Vanity in the Year 1582, is at present an intolerable Burden, of which People endeavour to be delivered by the Acquisition of some more pompous and sublime Expression. I shall doubtless have a favourable Occasion of giving Collections on this Subject.

[I] *Brutus would not conform to the new Stile, not even in writing to some Polish Lords.* There are but few Countries in which they are more nice in this Point than in *Poland*, and yet our *Brutus* dispensed with all Ceremonies that might make him deviate from the Purity of the ancient Language of *Rome*. This was his only Motive: Pride had no part in his Conduct; he considered no other Interests than those of a good *Latin* Writer. *Hæc meæ sunt literæ ad te primæ, (says he, in a Letter to John Ponetowski)*

Enemies there, who did him several ill Offices, and blasted his Reputation (r): his Salary was so ill paid, that he was afraid he should be obliged to contract new Debts (s), and that Fear could not but be most uneasy to a Man like him, who had more than once felt the Rigour of Creditors. He had reduced himself for a long time to a small Expence, the better to maintain his Credit, without troubling any body [K], and by that Frugality had laid up something out of his first Year's Salary, which served to pay the most pressing Debts. He proposed to save as much out of his second Year's Salary, and still with the same good Design (t).

(r) Brutus, Epist. pag. 312, & alibi.

(s) Ibid. pag. 520.

(t) Ibid. pag. 502.

Ponetowski) quas ut soleo ad regem etiam, Romano more. Alia possum à me omnia impetrare, te colere, observare, ferre in oculis, id quod mea sponte, tuo merito maximo faciam: cum Latine quid ad te scribendum, patere me nulla tua cum offensione ex usu Latini sermonis scribere: non enim ad amplitudines nescio qua tuas, & magnificencias, cum nullæ sub orbe lunæ sint, sed ad te cum scribendum mihi esse intelligo (30). - - - This is my first Letter to thee, which I write in the Roman Manner, as I use to do even to the King. I can bring myself to every thing else, I can love you, obey you, and always regard you, which I shall do very willingly, as you highly deserve; when I have any thing to write to you in Latin, permit me, without any Offence, to write according to the use of the Latin Tongue; for when I write I do not understand that I am writing to your Greatnesses, your Magnificencias, which exist no where on this Side the Moon. I

(30) Brutus Epist. lib. iv, pag. 449, 450. See also pag. 555.

write to you. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (31).

[K] He had reduced himself to a small Expence, the better to maintain himself without incommoding any Body. See how he expresses himself: 'Ut mihi liceret nullo cujusquam incommodo tueri meam fidem, hoc à me impetravi jam pridem, ut victu frugi uterer, mensa tenui, parvo lare, uno aut altero puero, LX annos nata muliercula quæ domestica ministeria obiret (32). This was declaring that he bid farewell to all good Cheer, that he was content with one Servant or two, and that he got a Woman of sixty Years of Age to keep his House. Doubtless he made choice of one of that Age to avoid all Suspensions, to which those expose themselves, who have neither the Prudence, nor it may be the Virtue requisite to make a good Choice of the Governesses of a Family. What would not his Enemies have said, if they had seen the House of an Italian Widower governed by a young Maid?

(31) For the Month of September, 1684, Art. 4, pag. 682, 683, Edit. 1686.

(32) Brutus, ibid. pag. 302.

BRUTUS (STEPHEN JUNIUS), a disguised Author of a Book of Politics, intituled, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. See LANGUET.

BUCER (MARTIN), a Protestant Divine, born at Schelestadt (a), in 1491, and who died at Cambridge, in 1551 (b). He was one of the ablest Ministers of that Century. He not only preached and composed Books and Lectures, but was also very fit to manage Business; and there were but few Ecclesiastical Negotiations in which he was not employed. He laboured with great Zeal, and with much Dexterity, to pacify the Differences between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians, but could not compass it. He wished that both Parties had been less rigid; and if all the Heads had been Persons of a reconciling Temper like him, that great Affair might have succeeded happily. He did not throw away his time, in England, in running down the Hierarchy; he did nothing less than follow Calvin's Opinion in this Point [A]. The Bishop of Meaux endeavours to make him pass for a Dissembler,

(a) Melch. Adam. in vit. Theolog. pag. 211. *Correct then Prætorius in Elencho Hæretic.* pag. 106; *Father Gaultier, in Tabulis Chronol.* pag. 756, and several others who make him a Native of Stralbourg.

(b) Melch. Adam. ibid. pag. 220.

[A] He did not throw away his Time, in England, in condemning the Hierarchy; he did nothing less than follow Calvin's Opinion in this Point. I have read in one of Volpius's Letters, that Calvin's Friends accused Bucer of introducing a new kind of Popery, which they called Bucerism, in opposition to Calvinism. This Bucerism consisted principally in his approving of Episcopacy. Traducebant Calvini amici Bucerum quasi novum Papiſmum erigeret. - - - Bucerum negat à se hoc nomine accusari Calvinus, sed optare tamen ut ne anſam præbeat calumniæ dum sic mediam - - - infilit viam. Quod cum ex cunctis ejus pateat scriptis, tum præcipuè à forma reformationis, præscripta Hermanno Archiepiscopo Colonienſi, & illis quæ Anglicanæ Reformationis ergo scripsit. Cum vero Bucer propius ad Romanam Ecclesiam accederet, quam Lutherus; Calvinus longius ab ea abiret, quam idem Lutherus; extra Lutheranismum, duæ ortæ Appellationes, Bucerismi, & Calvinismi: & fatebatur Calvinus, Bucerismum esse magis tolerabilem, quam Calvinismum, si non ad obruſam Scripturæ rem exigi oporteret. Nunc Bucerum paci nihilum dare, se omnia metiri veritate. Sed Calvini verba audiamus. Fruſtra mihi excuſas, novo Papiſmo erigendo - - - te non studere; sed vellem aliis omnibus sic exploratam esse puritatem tuam, ut ne ſuſpicionis locum relinqueres. Fruſtra etiam id te dare operam, ne quid Calvinismi admisceatur. Si à ſcripturâ ſemel deſeſtendum ſit, non ignoro, quam ſit tolerabilior Bucerismus, quam Calvinismus, &c. (1). - - - Calvin's Friends traduced Bucer, as if he was ſetting up a new Kind of Popery. - - - Calvin denies that he ever laid this to Bucer's Charge, but wiſhes that he do not give a handle for Calumny, while he thus ſolves the middle way, which is manifest from all

(1) Volpius, Epist. cccclvii, p. 403, col. 1.

his Writings, but especially from the Form of Reformation, prescribed to Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, and what he wrote for the Reformation of England. Now as Bucer came nearer the Church of Rome than Luther; Calvin departed further from it than the same Luther; so that there arose two Denominations besides Lutheranism, viz. Bucerism and Calvinism: and Calvin confessed that Bucerism was more tolerable than Calvinism, if the matter were not to be tried by the Scriptures, and that Bucer studied Peace too much: but he himself measured all things by Truth. But let us hear Calvin's Words. You have no occasion to make any excuse to me, that you are not erecting a new Popery; but I would have your Integrity so well known to all the World, that no room might be left for Suspicion. It is also needless for you to endeavour not to take in any thing of Calvinism: if we might vary from Scripture, I know very well how much more tolerable Bucerism is than Calvinism, &c. Here is another Passage in which Calvin exhorts Bucer to order matters so, that the Reformation of England may be well purged of all Remains of Popery. He lets him know that if he does not take pains, he will never be able to wipe out the ill Suspicions which several had conceived of his inclining to both sides. Dominum Protectorem, ut volebas, conatus sum hortari, ut flagitabat præſens rerum ſtatu: tuum quoque erit modis omnibus inſtare, ſi modo detur audientia (quod te facere ſum perſuaſus) præſertim vero, ut ritus, qui ſuſpitionis aliquid redolent, tollantur à medio. Hoc tibi nominatim commendo, ut te invidia liberet, qua te falſo gravari apud multos non ignoras: nam mediis conſiliis vel auctorem, vel approbatorem ſemper inſcribunt. Scio hanc quorundam animis

(c) See his first Volume of his Histoire des Variations.

sembler, and alledges the Testimony of Calvin for it (c) [B]; but it is better to believe that for the sake of Unity, and out of an ardent and sincere Desire of Peace, Bucer invented Expressions that were likely to please both Parties. It is very probable that he always believed good Works meritorious [C]. There has been

(2) Calvinus, Epist. ad Bucrum. It is the 93d in my Edition, which is that of Hanaw, 1597, pag. 199.

'animis suspicionem altius infixam esse, quam ut eam revellere facile sit, etiam si nihil omitas. Et sunt qui te maligne nullo errore inducti calumniantur. Denique fatale quodammodo hoc tibi malum est, quod fugere vix possis. Cavendum tamen ne imperitis detur male suspicandi occasio, improbi vero obloquendi pretextum arripiant (2). - - - I shall endeavour according to your Desire to advise the Lord Protector, as the present State of Affairs require; it will be your Business to press him every way if you can but gain Audience (as I am persuaded you do), but chiefly that all Ceremonies may be abolished, which any way savour of Superstition. This particularly I recommend to you, that you free yourself from the Envy, which you know you labour under, without cause, among several Persons; for they always call you the Author, or Approver of indifferent Counsels. I know that this Suspicion is so deeply rooted in some People's Mind, that you will scarce be able to remove it, though you omit nothing: and some there are who stander you, not out of Mistake, but meer Malice. In short this Evil is as it were destined for you, and you will hardly be able to escape it, but you must take care not to give occasion to the Ignorant to think ill of you, or a handle to the Wicked to reproach you.' It does not appear that Bucer took any notice of these Admonitions. Yet Calvin testifies that he expected great things from him, if Death had not taken him away too soon. Dum mecum reputo, quantum in unius hominis morte iacturam fecerit Dei Ecclesia, fieri non potest quin novo subinde more excreuer. Angliæ multum profuisset. Plas aliquanto in posterum sperabam ex ejus scriptis, quam hæcenus præstitit (3). - - - When I consider with myself, what a Loss the Church of GOD has suffered, by the Death of this one Man, I cannot but every now and then renew my Grief; he would have done great Service to England. I hoped for something greater from his Writings hereafter, than he had hitherto performed.'

(3) Ibid. Epist. cxxiii, pag. 246.

(4) Histoire des variations, liv. iv, n. xxv, pag. 167. Edit. Holl.

[B] The Bishop of Meaux calls him Dissembler, and alledges the Testimony of Calvin.] These are Mr de Meaux's Words (4): 'Now whether Bucer had a formal Design to trifle with the World by affected Equivocations, or whether any confused Idea of Reality made him believe that he might sincerely subscribe to Expressions so evidently contrary to the figurative Sense, I leave to the Judgment of the Protestants. What is certain is, that Calvin, his Friend, and in some measure his Disciple, when he would express a blameable Obscurity, in a Profession of Faith, said that *There was nothing so perplexed, so obscure, so ambiguous, so winding in Bucer himself*.* There are Calvin's own Words: 'Tu Buceris obscuritatem vituperas & merito. At nihil est in Bucero adeo perplexum, obscurum, flexiloquum, atque, ut sic loquar, tortuosum (5). I do not rely on the disadvantageous Judgment that a Divine of Saxony made of Bucer, after the Conferences of Marpurg, in the Year 1529. In Zuingle, says he, agresse quoddam est & arrogantulum: in Oecolampadio mirabilis bonitas naturæ & clementia: in Hedione non minor humanitas ac liberalitas ingenii: in BUCERO calliditas vulpina, perverse imitata acumen & prudentiam (6). - - - There is in Zuingle something rustic and a little arrogant: in Oecolampadius a wonderful good Nature and Clemency: in Hedione no less Humanity and good Nature: in BUCERO a Fox-like cunning, wretchedly imitating Sagacity and Prudence.'

* Ep. Calvin. pag. 50.

(c) Calvin, Epist. xlii, pag. 94.

(6) Justus Jonas in relatione de conventu Marpurgensi apud Seckendorf. Histor. Lutheran. lib. ii, pag. 140.

[C] It is very probable that he always believed good Works meritorious. While we are on this Subject, it will not be useless to consider what this Doctor thought of it, who was one of the Heads of the second Party of the new Reformation, in a solemn Conference where he spoke in these Terms: Seeing GOD will judge every one according to his Works, it must not be denied, that

good Works performed through the Grace of JESUS CHRIST, and which he operates himself in his Servants, DO MERIT eternal Life; not indeed by their own Dignity, but by the Acceptance, and the Promise of GOD, and through the Covenant made with him: For it is to such Works the Scripture promises the Reward of eternal Life, which therefore is not less a Grace in another Respect, so much as those good Works, to which so great a Reward is given, are themselves the Gifts of GOD.† This is what Bucer writes in 1539, in the Dispute of Leipzig, that it might not be thought that these were things written in the beginning of the Reformation, and before People had time to look about them. Upon the same Principle, the same Bucer decides in another Place, that it must not be denied that one may be justified by Works, as St James says, seeing GOD will render to every one according to his Works.‡ And, continues he, the Question is not concerning THEIR MERITS: We do not reject them in any wise, and we acknowledge that eternal Life is MERITED according to that Word of our Lord: He who forsakes all for my Sake, shall receive an hundred Fold, and inherit everlasting Life. One cannot possibly acknowledge more clearly the Merits which every one may treasure up for himself, even with regard to Life eternal. But Bucer goes yet farther: And as the Church was accused of ascribing Merits to the Saints, not only for themselves, but also for others, he justifies it in these Words: As for what concerns the Public Prayers of the Church, which are called Collects, wherein mention is made of Prayers, and of the Merits of the Saints; seeing that, in those same Prayers, whatever is asked of that kind, is asked of GOD, and not of the Saints, and also that it is asked through JESUS CHRIST; it follows, that all they who offer up that Prayer, acknowledge that all the Merits of the Saints are Gifts of GOD freely granted. And a little after: For we confess also, and preach with Joy, that GOD does not only reward the good Works of his Servants in themselves, but also in those for whom they pray, seeing he has promised that he will do good to those who love him unto a thousand Generations. Thus Bucer disputed for the Catholic Church in 1546, in the Conference at Ratisbon (7). To these Passages may be added that which Vossius mentions in the Letter I have cited: 'Non possum non sanius judicium optare quibusdam, qui hoc nostro sæculo plurimos admodum turbant hoc paradoxo; sola nos fide servari. Cum viderent tamen hoc eo rapi, ac si iustitiam sola animi exultatione finirent, & bona opera secluderent. Quæ jam illa Charitas, quæ huic malo uno verbulo mederi designatur, ut dicerent, fide formata iustificamur, aut per fidem bonorum operum voluntatem ac ita iustitiam consequimur, aut fides fundamentum & radix est iustæ vitæ, ut Augustinus dixit. Neque veris enim quisquam est offendendus, &c (8). - - - I cannot but wish a more sound Judgment to some Persons, who have disturbed many in this our Age with this Paradox; that we are saved by Faith only. Though they saw that the thing was carried so far as to confine Righteousness only to the Opinion of the Mind, and excluding good Works. Where is their Charity, who refuse to cure this Evil by one Word or two? it is only to say, that when Faith is formed we are justified, and that through Faith we obtain a Disposition to good Works, and consequently a righteousness: or that Faith is the Foundation and Root of a righteous Life, as Augustin said. For no Man is to be offended with Truth, &c.' Vossius observes, that these Words are taken from the Edition of Strasburg 1529, and that they have been corrupted in the Edition of Geneva 1554. He observes in general, that, to know that Minister's Moderation, his Writings must be consulted as printed in Germany, and not the Editions of Geneva. Consulendæ sunt editiones illæ quas nobis Germania produxit, non

† Disput. Lips. an. 1539.

‡ Resp. ad Ambrinc.

(7) Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, Histoire des variations, liv. iii, n. 42, 43, pag. 124, 125.

(8) Bucerus commentar. in Psalm. li, apud Vossium Epist. cccclvii, pag. 403, col. 2. Note, that I have corrected the Faults that are crept into this Passage of Vossius.

been much Talk of a Letter which he wrote to Calvin [D]. He had several Children.

* non quæ ex sententia Calvini castratæ prodierunt
* Genevæ. — Cum vero omnia fere Bucer sint
* moderatissima, tum imprimis præfatio in commen-
* tarios super quatuor Evangelistas in editione Argen-
* toratenſi anni 1530. quæ & ipsa præterita
* in editione Rob. Stephani 1530. LIII (9). — — —
* We must consult those Editions which we have from Ger-
* many, and not those which were castrated at Cal-
* vin's Pleasure at Geneva. — — — Now as all Buc-
* er's Works were very moderate, so particularly was
* his Preface to his Commentary on the Evangelists,
* in the Edition of Strasburg, in the Year 1530,
* which was intirely omitted in Robert Stephens'
* Edition in the Year 1553.

(9) Vossius, ibid.

(10) Thus it
ought to be read,
as Vossius had said
a little before,
and not 1553.

(11) See Apolo-
geticus pro vera
pace Ecclesiastica,
by Rivet, Tom.
III, pag. 1071,
the Grotianæ dif-
cus Aduersus
ibid. pag. 1140,
and the End of
the Remark [K].

(12) Rivetus in
Apologetico pro
vera Pace Eccle-
siæ, Tom.
III, pag. 1071.

Vossius is mistaken when he says, that the Pre-
face to Bucer's Commentary on the four Evangelists
was suppressed in the Edition of Geneva, printed
by Robert Stephens, in the Year 1554 (10). Gro-
tius, to whom he wrote this, makes this Remark
in his *Votum pro Pace*; but he gave no good Answer
to Andrew Rivet, who affirmed to him, that this
Preface is contained in Robert Stephens's Edition
(11). The Integrity of that Printer was much
better justified in this Article, than in respect to
his Deprivation of a Passage in the Commentary
on the second Psalm. Rivet endeavours to per-
suade, that the Difference which is between the Edi-
tion of 1539, and that of 1554, is owing to the
Author's correcting himself, and retracting from
time to time. The Passage which I am about to
cite, being very proper to shew the Genius of this
Author, may seem in a manner necessary. 'Soli-
tum — — — fuisse Bucerum, quod plerisque doctis
accidit, quam diu vivunt Lucubrationes suas recen-
sere, addere vel demere quædam, nonnulla etiam
retractare. Id de se profuturum Bucerus in præ-
fat. in Enarrationem Evang. quam nescio cur dicat
D. Grotius omisum fuisse in Stephanica editione.
'In meo enim exemplari eam reperio totam inte-
gris sex foliis constantem, in qua hæc lego. Per-
turbat postremo & hoc nonnullis quod non dubitant
plerisque offensum iri, quod videtur jam ipsi pa-
rum nobis constare. Et post pauca: Quia Domi-
nus donavit ut quædam loca nunc solidius intelligam
quam aliquando intellexi, id quod cum mihi tam be-
nigne largitus est, cur non impartirem liberaliter
fratribus & domini benignitatem ingenue prædica-
rem? Quid inconstantiæ sit proficere in causa sa-
lutis? & quis in hoc sæculo vel superiore Scrip-
turas tractavit qui non expertus sit hoc quoque in
studio priorem diem discipulum esse posterioris?
'Postea exemplum Augustini proferit in retractioni-
bus: optatque ut hac tempestate plures edi retra-
ctionum libros videremus. Si Bucerus profutur
ipse quod multa retractavit ex prioribus suis me-
ditationibus, qua consequentia, vel etiam conscien-
tia, posteriores ejus editiones corruptas esse probat
aliquis, si in illis non omnia totiusmodi verbis repe-
riuntur in nonnullis locis expressa (12). — Bucer
used, as often happens with learned Men as long
as they live, to revise his Lucubrations, to add or
take away some things, and even to retract some.
Bucer declares this concerning himself in his Pre-
face to his Commentaries on the Gospels, which
Grotius affirms to have been omitted in Ste-
phens's Edition. For what reason I know not; for
I have it intire in my Copy, consisting of six
whole leaves; in which I have these Words.
Lastly, this also disturbs some, because they make
no doubt but many will be offended that I now
seem not very consistent with myself. And a
little after: Because the Lord has given me to
understand some Places more fully than I formerly
did, which as it is so bountifully given to me,
why should I not impart it liberally to my Bre-
thren, and ingenuously declare the Goodness of
the Lord? what inconstancy is there in profiting
in the Work of Salvation? and who in this Age,
or the last, has treated of the Scripture, and has
not experienced, that even in this Study the
former Day is the Scholar of the latter. After-
wards he produces the Example of Augustin in his
Retractions, and wishes that we had more Books
of Retractions published at this Day. If Bucer

VOL. II.

* himself declares that he retracted many things of
* his former Meditations, by what consequence, or
* even with what conscience, can any Body assert, that
* the later Editions of his Works are corrupted, if
* in some Places of them every thing be not found
* expressed in the very same Words? I shall ob-
serve, by the by, that David Paræus made a Con-
fession like this of our Bucer (13), and that he was
insulted on that Account by a Jesuit of Mentz (14).

[D] There has been much Talk of a Letter he
wrote to Calvin. It is said he writ to him, You
judge according as you love, or according as you
hate; or you love and hate from meer Fancy. Vossius,
who was a good Arminian in his Heart, takes this
up a little too smartly, and tells us (15) what Calvin
answered to so injurious a Reproach. 'Calvinus
'sic à magno viro increpatus respondere: hæc
'esse genii potius sui, quam judicii; & (ut Calvini
'ipsius verba ad Bucerum retineam) sic scribere, Ut
'verum fatear, nulla mihi cum maximis, & plu-
'rimis vitiis meis, difficilior est lucta, quam cum
'ista impatientia; neque certe nihil proficio, sed
'nondum id sum consecutus, ut belluam placè do-
'muerim. Hæc sane satis modeste, si id postea con-
'secutus. Illud vero concoquere non potuit, quod
'idem Bucerus, qui eum vel norat, vel nosse pu-
'tabat, non veritus esset scribere; Judicas prout
'amas, vel odisti; amas autem, vel odisti, prout
'lubet. Quod cum legisset, literas scripsit, qua-
'rum hoc initium. Cum literæ tuæ mihi sub
'cænam allatæ essent, tanto gaudio perfunctus fui,
'ut non meminerim tribus totis mensibus lætio-
'rem mihi horam affuisse. At cum eas super cæ-
'nam, utcumque percurrissem, lætione ipsa sic fui
'flagellatus, ut proxima nocte irrequietus semper
'æstuarim, nec toto post triduum fuerim apud meip-
'sum, &c. — Calvin, when thus rebuked by
'this great Man, answered, that That was the
'Fault of his Temper rather than of his Judg-
'ment, and (to keep to Calvin's own Words to
'Bucer) writes thus; To tell the Truth, I have
'a harder Struggle with this Impatience than
'with all my other great and numerous Vices;
'and I do profit a little, but have not yet pre-
'vailed so far, as intirely to have conquered that
'Passion. This is modest enough if he had after-
'wards attained a Victory. But he could not digest
'what the same Bucer, who either knew him or
'thought he knew him, ventured to write. You
'judge as you love or hate, and you love or
'hate just as you please; on reading of which he
'wrote this Letter, which begins thus: When I
'received your Letter, just before Supper, I was
'so rejoiced, that I do not remember that I have
'been so well pleased this three Months; but
'when I had cursorily run it over, at Supper, I
'was so nettled with the reading of it, that I
'could not rest all Night, nor was I myself again
'for three Days, &c.' In all probability we
should never have known of this Letter, if Francis
Baudouin, who lodged with Calvin, had not been
so dishonest as to reveal the Secret. He did it
by degrees: First, he only said, that, in Bucer's
Judgment, Calvin kept no measure either in his
Love or Hatred, or that he either raised People
above the Heavens, or sunk them down to Hell.
Calvin protested with an Oath, that Bucer had
never censured him so: 'Quin etiam Bucer ju-
'dicium recitat (Baudouin) quod ab ipso impro-
'bissime confictum esse Deum & Angelos ejus
'testor. Bucerus, inquit, aliquando tibi dixit,
'nullum te fervare odii vel amoris modum, sed
'ea te esse vehementia, ut vel supra cælos attol-
'leres, vel ad inferos usque dejiceres. Ita vero
'mihi propitius sit Deus, si quid unquam tale au-
'dierim. Quin potius vir ille, quem loco patris
'reverebam, tanta comitate vicissim fraternam me-
'cum amicitiam coluit, ut ægerrime passus sit Ar-
'gentina me avelli. Certe ad extremum usque con-
'tendit, quibuscunque fieret modis me retinendum.
'Extant etiam ejus ad Senatum nostrum literæ,
'quibus conqueritur cum maxima Ecclesiæ totius ja-
'ctura me huc retrahi: ac demum eo usque pro-
'vehitur, ut dicat me inter sanæ doctrinæ mi-
nistros

(13) In his Pro-
legomena on the
Prophet Holca.

(14) See the Je-
suit Mulhufius,
in Chap. II. of
the Auctarium
primum Speculi
miseriarum Davi-
dis Paret.

(15) Epist. 457.
pag. 403, col. 2.

(16) That is to
say, to be trans-
ported against
the who are not
of his Opinion.

X x

dren [E], but I cannot well tell what became of them. What several Writers affirm,

(17) Calvinus in Respons. ad Balduinum, pag. 367, col. 2. Tractatum Theologorum.

'niferos nemini esse secundum, paucos vero habere pares (17). --- He [Baudouin] recites the Judgment of Bucer, which I call God and his Angels to witness is a wicked Fiction of his own. Bucer says he told you once that you kept no measure in your Hatred or Love, but were a Man of such Vehemence, that you either extol a Man above the Skies, or debase him to Hell. But may God so prosper me as I never heard any such thing; on the other hand, that Man, whom I revere as a Father, cultivated a mutual brotherly Friendship with me, with so much Affection, that it grieved him very much that I left Strasburg. It is certain he strove to the utmost to retain me by any means whatsoever. There is extant also a Letter of his to our Senate, wherein he complains that I was recalled hither to the great Loss of the whole Church, and in short goes so far that he says, that I am inferior to none of the Ministers of sound Doctrine, and have but few Equals. Baudouin confesses, in his Answer, that he had not seen what Bucer had wrote to Calvin, but he brags he had Calvin's Answer to Bucer. He says that Answer was of Calvin's own Hand, and that he shewed it to several, who knew the Author's Hand-writing, and he maintains, that That Letter testifies that Bucer had taxed Calvin with judging according to his Passion, *judicas prout amas, amas autem prout libet* (18). It appears by that Work of Baudouin, that his Adversary had complained that what Bucer had said in general, and without excluding himself, was applied to him personally *judicamus prout amamus*, &c (19). But Baudouin maintains, that Calvin had made the Application of it to himself. The only thing that sticks in this Process, is Calvin's Oath; yet it is easy to ward that Blow, by maintaining that Baudouin had expressed himself in such a manner as to make People judge, that Bucer had made use of that hard Censure in Conversation. Now it is certain, that Calvin had never received this Reproach in such a manner; so that he might safely swear what he did. Read what follows; it is the Apology that Beza made for him in this Point: 'At enim, inquis, imprecatus est sibi Calvinus si quid unquam tale ex Buceris audisset. Verum cur tu omittis quod ad rem maxime facit, sycophanta? Nam hæc sunt Calvini verba, Bucerum inquit Balduinus aliquando mihi dixisse, nullum me servare edii vel amoris modum: sed ea me esse vehementia, ut vel supra caelos attollerem, vel ad inferos usque deicerem. Ita vero mihi propitius sit Deus, si quid unquam tale audierim. Vides, manifeste, sycophanta, etiam si iracundia & odio cæcus nihil vides, quæ de Buceris objurgatione obscure scripseras, Calvinum ut de quopiam colloquio accepisse, ac proinde memorem ejus suavissimæ, & nunquam interruptæ conjunctionis, quæ inter se & Bucerum fuisset, non temere in vocem illam erupisse. Nihil hoc igitur ad literas, quas ipsas etiam corumpis. Neque enim scripserat Bucerus, cujus *ἀπολογίζομαι* habemus, Ita judicas ut amas, sed, Ita judicamus ut amamus: sic nimirum ut sese in hoc etiam numero comprehenderet, & commune hominum vitium deploraret (20). --- But you say, Calvin cursed himself if he ever heard any such thing from Bucer; but why, Sycophant, do you omit what is most to the purpose; for these are Calvin's Words: Baudouin says, that Bucer once told me, that I kept no measure in my Hatred or Love; but was a Man of that Vehemence, that I either extolled a Man above the Skies, or debased him to Hell. But may God so prosper me as I never heard any such thing. You see manifestly, Sycophant, though you are so blind with Rage or Hatred that you can see nothing, that what you wrote obscurely of Bucer's Rebuke, Calvin understood as of some Conversation, and therefore, remembering the sweet and uninterrupted Friendship that had been between him and Bucer, did not rashly break out into that Expression; therefore this is nothing at all to the Letter, which you have corrupted too; for Bucer, whose Letter I have in his own Hand-writing, did not write You judge as You love, But We judge

(18) Franciscus Balduinus in Responsione altera ad Jo. Calvinum, pag. 56. Edit. Coloniae apud Jo. Bathenium, 1562.

(19) See Theodore Beza, respons. ad Franciscum Balduinum, pag. 211.

(20) Beza, ubi supra, pag. 212.

'as We love: so that he comprehended himself in the Number, and deplored a common Fault of Mankind.' Beza remarks among other things, that those two great Men soon altered their Style in writing to each other, and that there are Letters of Bucer to Calvin of a later date, and full of Mildness.

[E] He had several Children.] Herman de Wida, Archbishop of Cologne, having a mind to settle the Reformation in his Diocese, sent for Martin Bucer in the Year 1542 (21); most of the Canons opposed the Enterprize, and published a Work wherein they mixed a great many Invectives against Bucer. They taxed him, among other things, with Bigamy. Melancthon, in confuting that Piece, did not forget this Article: He maintained, that the Nun, whom Bucer had married for his first Wife, did well in forsaking the Church of Rome, after she had discovered the Idolatry of it's Worship. He added, that she had led a very exemplary Life, by her Chastity, Modesty, and Piety, that she had been brought to Bed thirteen times, and that she died of the Plague, which he might have escaped if she would have left her Husband. 'In matrimonio tredecies puerpera, pietate, pudicitia, & in omni actione modestia multis bono exemplo fuerit. --- Tandem peste quam, nisi marito ex statione sua non recedenti adesse maluisset, effugerit potuerit, obierit (22).' It would have been pity so fruitful a Girl should have remained in a Nunnery. And as there may be many others, as fit to people the World, who are hindered by Monasteries, one may easily judge what a prejudice these Monastical Vows do to the temporal Good of the State. Bucer married a second time to a Widow, which gave the Canons of Cologne occasion to reproach him with another Irregularity; because, according to St Paul, a Bishop ought to be the Husband of one Wife only, that is, as they pretended, that he ought not to marry a second time, nor to people a Widow. 'Verbum Dei docet adsciscendum Ministerio, oportere esse virum unius uxoris, 1 Tim. iii. & Tit. i. quod Canones Apostolorum, & Apostolici patres in hoc usque tempore sic intellexerunt, ut secundis nuptiis copulatus, aut qui viduam accepit, non possit esse ex numero eorum qui ministerio sacro deserviunt (23).

--- The Word of GOD directs, that who is called to the Ministry should be the Husband of one Wife, 1 Tim. iii. and Titus i. which the Canons of the Apostles, and the Apostolical Fathers have ever to this Day understood in this Sense, that he who enters into a second Marriage, or marries a Widow, cannot be one of those that serve in the holy Ministry. Melancthon confutes this Objection easily. Mr de Meaux says, that Bucer married a third time; he says (24), 'That Bucer was a Man pretty well learned, of a flexible Spirit, and more fertile in Distinctions than the most refined Scholastics, a fine Preacher, somewhat heavy in his Style; but was respected for his Stature, and the sound of his Voice. He had been a Jacobin, and married as others did, and, as one may say, more than others; for, his Wife dying, he married a second and a third time. The holy Fathers did not receive those into the Priesthood, who had been twice married while Laymen. This Man, being a Priest and a Monk, married three times during his new Ministry, without scruple. It was a Recommendation among the Party, and by those bold Examples they affected to confound the superstitious Observances of the ancient Church.' What Mr de Meaux observes, that in those Times Marriage was a Recommendation in the Party, is not altogether false; for it is certain, that if a converted Clergyman did not marry, he caused a Suspicion that he had not renounced the Doctrine of Celibacy. I believe Bucer intimated this Reason to Calvin when he pressed him to marry (25). Sanders reports, that the Visitors, who were appointed in England under Edward VI, exhorted the Clergy to marriage, as a certain Token that they had abjured Popery. 'They made strict enquiry about the Continency of the Pastors; and had the Impudence to ask them publicly, How, being in

(21) See the Remark [C], of the Article WIDA.

(22) Melancthon, Parte II, oper. apud Secundorff. Hist. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag. 440, littera u.

(23) Sententia delectorum per venerabile Capitulum Ecclesie Coloniae de vocatione Martini Bucer, fol. 161.

(24) Histoire des variations, liv. iii. n. 3, pag. 89, 90.

(25) See the Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, Lettre o, pag. 155, of Edit. 3.

firm, that he died a Jew, and what Sanders reports of a certain Conversation, ought to be looked upon as notorious Calumnies [F]. You find in Mr Teissier the Elogies which the learned Historian of the Reformation of England has given this Minister (d). Moreri's Dictionary hath touched upon the chief Actions of his Life, which is the reason why I do not give all the extent that I might have done to this Article. I shall take notice of Mr Moreri's Mistakes [G], which will

give

'Health and Youth, they they could possible live chaste? Whether they had the Gift of Chastity, and what assurance they had that it should be always vouchsafed to them? They advised them therefore to marry rather than burn, or fall into such Sins, the holy thought of which gives a Detestation. Lastly, they told them plainly, that they took all those for Papists, and the King's Enemies, who preferred a dangerous Celibacy before a chaste and honest Marriage; especially, having before their Eyes the holy Examples of two famous Archbishops, who had made no scruple of marrying (26).

[F] It is a Calumny to say, that he died a Jew, and also what Sanders reports of a certain Conversation.] The Jesuit Possévin, speaking of Bucer, made use of the following Parenthesis: 'At vero

Bucerus (quem morientem scribunt esse professum nondum natum esse Messiam) Sedaris latiore viam stravit (27). — But Bucer (of whom it is written, that at the Point of Death he denied that the Messiah was come) opened a broader way for the Sedaris.' In another Part of the same Book, he relates this as certain Fact: 'Bucerus cum animam ageret fassus est verum Messiam adhuc non venisse, venturum tamen (28).

Bucer when he was expiring confessed, that the true Messiah was not come, but that he would come. Observe, that, according to this Jesuit, this was Bucer's Confession of Faith on his Death-Bed. But to refute this Fable, we only need alledge Sanders, who accuses this Divine of no more than a private Inclination towards Judaism, and of making one who had no Religion his Confident in a Point of Libertinism. These are his Words: you will find that Bucer died in the Profession of Lutheranism: 'As for Bucer, he was inclined to Judaism; and he was also defended from a Jewish Family. It is certain, that, some time after his Death, and in the Reign of Queen Mary, the Baron Paget, Counsellor to the Catholic King, did say, that he had served him one Day for an Interpreter to Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; and that that Duke having asked him, What he thought of the Real Presence of the Body of JESUS CHRIST in the Holy Sacrament? He answered, That unless the Truth of the Gospels was questioned, none could doubt of the Real Presence; but, added he, I do not believe all that the New Testament tells us of JESUS CHRIST and of his Actions; although hitherto I have not been permitted to deny it (29). He spoke in this manner before a Man, who he knew had not much Religion. However, in his Discourses and Writings, he always, to his Death, made Profession of Lutheranism, accommodated to the new Opinions of England (30). They, who know this Author, need not to be told, that he may be relied on in things which serve for the Justification of Protestants; but is unworthy of all Credit in matters to their Disadvantage. But let us not forget to note, that Possévin is only the Copier of Lindanus, a very bad Author. This Lindanus, having mentioned several Variations in belief, of which he accuses Bucer, concludes thus: 'Sane ut in Christianismo fuit inconstantissimus, ita in paterno Judaismo constantissimus. Præter usuras enim defensas licitas, etiam Christi adventum sub mortem narrant oculati testes revocasse in dubium (31). — Indeed as he was very unsteady in Christianity, so he was always steady in the Judaism of his Father. For, besides that he defended the Lawfulness of Usury, it is also related by Eye Witnesses, that just before his Death he questioned the coming of CHRIST.' Some Pages after, he repeats the same thing: 'Alii, says he, Christum nostrum negant verum illum promissum fuisse, sed alium cum Judæis expectandum, uti Bucerum moribundum testatum reliquisse narrant fide digni, adeoque quidam clarissimi viri, se ab

ejus discipulis in Anglia accepisse (32). — Others say, that our CHRIST is not the true CHRIST promised, but that we must expect with the Jews another; as some credible Witnesses affirm, that Bucer declared at the Point of Death: and several very eminent Men have heard the same from his Disciples in England.' Prætorius, and divers others, have not failed to copy this (33). But they have not copied what Surius reports, and what he dares not affirm, which is, That that Minister caused his Son to be circumcised. The Reason why Surius does affirm it, is, because the grave and most learned Person, from whom he had it, knew it only by hear-say. 'Audi divi ego, says he, ex quodam gravi longoque doctissimo viro, fuisse eum Judæum, & cum quodam puerum quendam nescio ex qua familia sustulisset, eum circumcidisse. Utrum autem hæc profus certa sint, non possum affirmare, præsertim quod ille quoque, qui hæc referebat, se ab aliis accepisse diceret. (34). — I have heard a grave and very learned Man say, that he was a Jew, and that he circumcised a Son, which he had by I know not what Woman. But whether these things be certain I cannot affirm, because he who told me them said he had only heard them from others.'

It is an ancient Saying, that every Romance has its Foundation in History. I cannot tell whether that Fable, concerning Martin Bucer's pretended Judaism, has not taken its Original from some Discourses, in which he might have declared, that the Messiah is not yet come, but that he will come under the chief Characters which the Prophets attribute to him, and under which the Jews expect him. I mean, in a triumphant State, and as a Conqueror, who shall establish Piety and Peace every where. If Mr Jurieu has been suspected of favouring Judaism, because he published such an Opinion, and if it has been supposed, that the Synagogue of Amsterdam wrote him a very thankful Letter upon it (35), the Controversists might very well, in Bucer's Time, have built that silly Romance on a like Doctrine, in case Bucer had maintained it. It is certain, that in those Times the Spirit of Lying, and the boldness of grossly exaggerating Calumnies, were at the Height. Had Mr Jurieu lived in the XVIth Century, he would have found himself accused of Judaism by many a Writer, and of receiving a yearly Pension from the Synagogue.

[G] I shall take notice of Mr Moreri's Mistakes.] I. Bucer's pretended Apostacy is wrong placed in the Year 1530; for he was thoroughly confirmed in Luther's Opinions after the Conferences he had with him at Worms in the Year 1521, and ever after made open Profession of it. 'Paulo post, anno millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo primo, cum ad comitia Wormatiæ Vangionum Lutherus evocatus esset: Bucerus eodem venit, cumque Lutherocomplures dies familiariter transiit: sententiamque ejus amplexus, apertè eandem postea est professus (36). — A little after, in the Year 1521, when Luther was called before the Diet of Worms: Bucer came thither also, and passed several Days with Luther in familiar Conversation: and, embracing his Opinions, professed it openly from that time.' Two Years after, he was admitted into the Number of the Reformed Preachers in Strasburg, and he subscribed a Book with them, which they published in the Year 1522, setting forth the Reasons which had induced them to renounce Popery. He assisted, in 1529, as Deputy of the Church of Strasburg, in the Conferences of Marbourg, where they endeavoured to pacify the Dissentions between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians (37). II. It is false, that he begun by being a Sacramentarian. He followed Luther as his Converter from the beginning. III. It is

(d) Teissier, Ad-dit. aux Eloges, Tom. I. p. 30.

(32) Id. ibid. pag. 185.

(33) Prætorius in elencho heret. pag. 107.

(34) Surius, Commentar. rerum in orbe gestarum ad Ann. 1551, pag. 583.

(35) See a Pamphlet intitled, Lettre des Rabins des deux Synagogues d'Amsterdam à Mr Jurieu, traduite de l'Espagnol suivant la copie imprimée à Amsterdam chez Joseph Athias, A Bruxelles, 1746.

(36) Melch. Adam in vita Bucer, pag. 212.

(37) Taken from Melchior Adam, ubi supra. See Seckendorff's Hist. Luther. lib. I, pag. 240, n. 6, where he says that Bucer passed for a Lutheran, Ann. 1522.

(26) Sanders de schisme d'Angleterre, liv. II, pag. 253. I follow the Translation of Maucroix.

(27) Ant. Possévinus de Atheismo hereticorum, cap. viii, pag. 23.

(28) Possévin. ibid. cap. ult. pag. 33.

(29) I have not the Latin of Sanders; but I have the French Version, printed in the Year 1587, where this Passage stands thus: 'I could not believe all that is written in the New Testament, concerning the Actions and Life of Jesus Christ, neither would I, on the other hand, openly deny it.'

(30) Sanders Histoire du schisme d'Angleterre, liv. II, pag. 237, according to the Translation of Mr Maucroix. Edit. of Holl.

(31) Lindanus in Dialogo 2. Dubitantii, pag. 146.

give me occasion to speak of some Facts: But I ought not to forget that our Bucer, in some Cases, shewed that he did not disapprove pious Frauds [H].

When

false, that he made a separate Sect. He continued always united with one of the Protestant Communions, though the stricter sort of each Party did not approve his Remissness. IV. There is nothing more absurd, than to impute to him as particular Errors, 'That the Body of Jesus CHRIST is present in the Eucharist, only in the Act of Receiving; That Baptism does not procure Salvation to Children; That there is no Sin by Incredulity; That Priests are not obliged to Celibacy' (38). The first of these four Propositions is the common Doctrine of the Lutherans. The second and the fourth are the common Doctrines of all Protestants. The third is not imputed to Bucer by those who have made the Catalogue of Heresies: On the contrary, Prateolus imputes to him the maintaining, that Incredulity is the only mortal Sin than can be committed (39): A slanderous Accusation, if ever there were any such. Note, that the Jesuit Gaultier, citing Sanders, says, that Bucer taught, that even Children who have received Baptism are not saved. It is perhaps what Moreri would say, but knew not how to express himself. Hereupon I observe, that, seeing the Protestants teach, that the Children of the Faithful are saved, though they die before Baptism; their Opinion is, that they, who are baptized, do not owe their Salvation to that Sacrament; so that the pretended Error, which Moreri imputes to Bucer, is a general Protestant Doctrine. As to Father Gaultier's Proposition, I am sure that it is falsely imputed to our Bucer, unless it be explained in this Sense, which is, that God, not having grounded the Decree of Reprobation upon the actual Sins of the Children of Adam, he may have reprobated Children as well as the Adult; and in this Case it might happen, that some Children, who died after Baptism, would be damned. Let us say, to the Shame of those Makers of Catalogues of Heresies, as Lindanus, Sanders, Prateolus, Gaultier, &c. that, for the particular Heresies of Bucer, they give us the most general Doctrine of the Protestants. Note, that Prateolus imputes to him the Doctrine of the unprofitableness of good Works. Compare this with the Author of the History of Variations, and you will be strangely surprized (40). Note also, that Surius says, that, at the Conference of Ratisbon, Malvenda reduced Bucer to such Extremities, that he forced him to say, I. That all Sins are Sins of Incredulity. II. That there are none of Weakness and Ignorance; that they are all maliciously committed, and against the Dictates of Conscience (41). As to the first Proposition, Mr Seckendorf maintains, either that Bucer did not say so, or that it was only said according to the Orthodox Sense that Luther gives it, which amounts to this, That as the Sins of the Faithful never exclude from Paradise, the Sins of Unbelievers alone are damnable (42). As to the second, he believes, that it is falsely imputed to Martin Bucer (43). Let us add, That this Minister, if we believe Surius (44), found himself obliged to assert, That a Man, who sins mortally, ceases from believing the Trinity, the Birth and Death of Jesus CHRIST, &c. Mr Seckendorf seems to own, that this Doctrine was advanced (45), and by the manner in which he says Bucer defended himself, it seems he was in some Confusion. Indeed can any thing be more monstrous than to maintain, That all those, who fall into the Sin of Fornication, look on every thing that is contained in the Gospel as a Fable?

[H] He did not disapprove pious Frauds.] He had a great Quarrel with Pomeranus for having caused Martin Luther's Commentary on the Psalms to be printed with Alterations (46). He likewise foisted some things into Luther's Postills, which favoured the Zuinglians, and obliged that Reformer to complain severely that the best of his Works was corrupted. Mr Seckendorf observes, that the Reproaches thrown on him by Luther, on that Account, were suppressed in the Edition of Wittenberg, and that Bucer made some Excuses. 'Offenderat etiam Bucerus Lutherum, quod in editam

ejus Postillam, quam vocant, ecclesiasticam, quædam inserisset, quæ pro Helvetica sententia de cæna facerent, ideo in libello illo de verbis institutionis vehementer de Bucero queritur, quod librum suum homiliarum, quem optimum ex omnibus, quos unquam scripserit, vocat, quique etiam Pontificiis placeat, corruerit. Ista exprobratio in editione Tomorum Wittenbergenfis expuncta fuit, indignante & publica apologia culpam à se amoliente Georgio Rorario, ut d. Tom. III. Alt. fol. 740. legi potest. Eandem vero querelam in epistola ad Johannem Secerium Basileensem Typographum prolixè post repetiit; (Id. est. 13.) Sept. hujus anni, vide Epistolæ. Lib. II. pag. 348. b. Non desuit tamen Bucero excusatio (47). -- (47) Id. ibid. Bucer had also offended Luther, by inserting some things in his Ecclesiastical Postill, as they call it, which made for the Helvetic Opinion concerning the Holy Supper, and therefore in his Book, de Verbis Institutionis, he complains vehemently of Bucer, that he had corrupted his Book of Homilies, which he says was the best of all that he had wrote, and which did even please the Popists. This Reproof was suppressed in the Wittenberg Edition of his Works, at which George Rorarius was very angry and made a public Apology to clear himself of that Fault. He afterwards repeated the same Complaint at large, in a Letter to Johannes Secerius, a Printer at Basil. However Bucer was at no loss for an Excuse. I cannot tell whether he alledged the Maxim which Erasmus attributes to him, That a Deceit, which hurts no Body and is useful to many, is an Action of Piety. Erasmus refutes him in this, on Occasion of a Work which Bucer had dedicated to the Dauphin under a false Title. 'Is ficto titulo scripsit librum ad primogenitum Regis Gallie, admixtis aliquot verbis Gallicis, quo videretur à Gallo scriptus ad Gallum: Pius, inquit, dolus est, qui nocet nemini, prodest multis. Primum, nulli nocet hæresis? Hoc protinus audiret ab alio; nam hoc de istis pronunciatum est. Non læduntur tantus Princeps ac natio religiosissima quæ gravatur invidia? Quod autem simile exemplum ab Apostolis, aut probatis Ecclesiæ doctoribus profectum est? Si hic fucus nulli nocet, cur Lutherus tam indigne tulit suos libros per hunc fuisse corruptos? Cur Pomeranus de simili temeritate illius questus est? Quod ab aliis & ab ipsis adeo legibus falsi gravissimo crimine notatur, huic lepido Evangelistæ pius dolus est (48). -- He dedicated a Book, under a feigned Title, to the Dauphin of France, intermixing some French Words, that it might seem to be wrote from a Frenchman to a Frenchman. It is a pious Fraud, says he, which hurts no body, and is profitable to many. First, Does Heresy hurt no body? This would be immediately asked him by another; for these Doctrines are called Heresy. Is not so great a Prince and a most religious Nation hurt, when loaded with Envy? What Example of the like Practice do you find among the Apostles or the approved Doctors of the Church? If this Cheat hurts no body, why did Luther take it so ill that his Books were corrupted by this Author? Why did Pomeranus complain of the like Temerity of his? What is called by others, and even by the Laws, a heinous Crime and Cheat, is, by this fine Evangelist, called a pious Fraud.' I do not mention the false Name he gave himself in the Title Page of one of his Books; for it is a very innocent thing, and was the Cause that his Book was read by Adversaries, who would not have dared to touch it had they known the Author. Read these Words of Naudæus: 'Martinus Bucerus, cum suos in librum Psalmorum Commentarios à Catholicis legi vehementer cuperet, eisdem sub Aretii, quæ Græca vox est Martino respondens, & Felini quod verbum Germanicum Bucer significationem Latine representat, publici juris fieri voluit, ne si proprium suum nomen illis affixisset, quod pridem antea cucullati faceret, dotes diris devoverant, statim eorumdem lectione catholicis

(38) All this is struck out of the Moreri of Holland.

(39) Afferit nullum esse peccatum mortale nisi incredulitatem. Prateol. ubi supra. Father Gaultier copies this from Prateolus.

(40) See above, the Remark [C], where it is shewn, that he taught the Merit of Good Works.

(41) Surius, Comment. Rer. in orbe gestarum, ad Ann. 1546, pag. 527.

(42) Seckendorf. Histor. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag. 626. See the same Seckendorf, ibid. pag. 195.

(43) Ibid. pag. 626.

(44) Surius, Comment. Rer. in Orbe gestarum, pag. 195.

(45) Seckendorf. Histor. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag. 626.

(46) Id. lib. ii. pag. 82. n. 3. ad Ann. 1527.

(47) Id. lib. ii. pag. 82. n. 3. ad Ann. 1527.

(48) Erasmus Epist. lib. xxxi. pag. 2110.

When I said (e), that, in order to procure a good Understanding between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, he chose general and ambiguous Expressions, I might have added, that he acted in the same manner, in order to calm the Disquiet of his Conscience, by a Formulary which did not clearly contain the Opinion either of Luther or Zuinglius; he was embarrassed between these two Opinions; one appeared to him too strong, the other too weak [f]. Probably one might observe the same

(e) See above, after Citat. (e).

(40) Gabr. Nau-
dus in Judicio
de Augustino Ni-
pho, pag. 19.
Compare this with
Remark [D], of
the Article E-
RASMUS, in
the first Para-
graph.

catholicis omnibus interdicere (49). — Martin Bucer, being very desirous to have his Commentaries on the Psalms read by the Catholics, published them under the Name of Aretius, which is the Greek Word answering to Martin, and Felinus, a German Word expressing the Signification of Bucer in Latin, fearing, that if he had put his true Name to them, which was cursed long before by the Monks, the Catholics would immediately be forbid the reading of them. The Inquisition of Spain supposes, that Bucer's Book, *Adversus merita bonorum operum*, was published as a Work of the Bishop of Rochester, *De misericordia Dei*.

[f] He was embarrassed between the Opinions of Luther and Zuinglius concerning the Eucharist; one appeared to him too strong, the other too weak. The Doctrine of the Lutherans seemed to him to attribute too much Reality to the Presence of Jesus CHRIST in the Sacrament of the Eucharist: he could not digest the Consequences of it; but he thought also, that the Opinion of the Zuinglians was too narrow, and did not come up to the Ideas which the Scripture, and ancient Tradition, imprint on our Minds. This gave him a deal of uneasiness. See what a Minister of Breda tells us on this Subject. *Legatur Vita Martyris & quæ ibi de fluctuatione Bucerii dicuntur. Videatur quoque in Centuria prima Epist. select. à Belgis vel ad Belgas Ep. 5. quæ est Bucerii ad Joannem à Lasco, Curatorem Ecclesiarum Frisæ Orientalis, ubi tam sollicitè explorat, an etiam agnoscat à Lasco præter vim obsequandi, vim exhibendi ipsum Christum & Dominum, eamque corporis & sanguinis ejus communionem dari ac percipi, quam sumus membra ejus ex parte, & caro de carne ejus, & os de ossibus ejus, qua manemus in ipso, & ipse in nobis, & dari eam atque percipi dum Dominus ipse est in suo ministerio efficax, verba & symbola uti Domini, & ut ab ipso Domino dispensatione libera per ministrum accipiuntur, quam vocant unionem, non sensualem, non localem, non naturalem, sed sacramentalem & pacti, propter illas scripturæ phrasas, quæ loquuntur de Mylterio incorporationis Ecclesiæ, & de communione & manducatione & potatione carnis & sanguinis Christi. Et paulo post dicit Luthero satisfieri, si tantum non inania signa CHRISTI absentis in Cœna sentiamus & explicetur, etiam hic dari & percipi ipsum Dominum, modo quo ipse novit. Et ibidem, pag. 33, hæc Bucerii conquerentis verba ad animum revocentur: *Cruciat me, inquit, merito, nos quibus Dominus cætera regni sui mysteria tam benigne revelavit, non potuisse jam intra totos 34 annos convenire de hoc sacratissimo, & omnino populari mysterio, quod non minus intelligere quam usurpare omnes debent* (50). — Read the Life of Peter Martyr, and what is said there of Bucer's Fluctuation; see also the first Century of Epistles from Dutchmen or to Dutchmen, Ep. 5, which is from Bucer to John de Lasco, Overseer of the Churches of East Friesland, where he so earnestly enquires, whether de Lasco, besides a Power of signifying, acknowledges a Power of exhibiting CHRIST himself; and that the Lord, and the Communion of his Body and Blood, is given and perceived; whereby we are Members of him in part, and Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone; whereby we abide in him, and he in us, and that it is given and perceived, when the Lord himself operates in his Ministry, and when the Words and Symbols are received as the Lord's, and as it were from the Lord himself, by free Dispensation through his Minister, which they call an Union, not sensual, not local, not natural, but sacramental, and of the Covenant on Account of these Texts of Scripture, which speak of the Mystery of the Incorporation of the Church, and of the Communion, and eating and*

(50) Ludovic. Gerardus à Remiffis, Notis in Apologet. Reform. in Belgio Eccles. Epist. p. 102, 103.

drinking of the Flesh and Blood of CHRIST. And a little after he says, that Luther is satisfied, if we own in the holy Supper any thing more than bare Signs of CHRIST absent, and it be explained that the Lord himself is given and perceived here also, in the manner which he knows; and, ibid. pag. 33, remember these Words of Bucer complaining: I am grieved, says he, and not without Reason, that we, to whom the Lord hath so bountifully revealed the other Mysteries of his Kingdom, have not been able now in Thirty four Years to agree concerning this most sacred and most general Mystery, which all Christians ought to understand, as well as use. You see, in these last Words, the Pangs which Bucer felt, on consideration that the Ministers, Reformers of the Church, had not been able to agree concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, after Thirty four Years Labour. It has been observed, that his irresolution did not continue to his Death, and that he died in the Calvinistical Faith. The Author of this Remark is a Lutheran Doctor, who accuses him of acting with so much Fraud and Inconstancy, that it was impossible to discover his real Sentiments: *Bucerii nomen nunquam reditum fuisset celebrius, nisi instar Protei aliquid in omnes formas sese transmutasset, & jam a nostris, jam a Zuinglianorum partibus stetit, sue qua consilia, dicta, facta, sic insidiosè & veteratorie inflexisset, ut cuinam Parti ex animo faveret, satis perspectum cognitumque esse haud posset. Quamquam in fide Calviniana tandem spiritum exhalasse, ex postremo ipsius scripto, non tamen ad finem perducto, satis evidenter colligitur* (51). — Bucer's Name would never have been famous, had not he, Proteus like, transformed himself into all Shapes, and stood, one while on our side, another on that of the Zuinglians, and so craftily and disingenuously turned all his Counsels, Words, and Actions, that it could never be perfectly discovered which Party he favoured in his Heart, though it is manifest, from the last Piece which he wrote, but did not intirely finish, that he died in the Calvinistical Faith. But, least this Lutheran should be suspected of decrying him in this manner from Party Interest, he cites two Calvinistical Writers, who have painted the Genius of Bucer in the very same Colours: Hoc pulchellum elogium ne à Lutheranis ex præpostero quopiam affectu confictum videri possit, produco Lavaterum Scriptorem aliqui Sacramentarium, Bucerii genium & ingenium his flosculis depingentem: *Bucerus ambiguus & obscurus loquendi formulis sententiam suam proposuit, ut in utram partem magis propenderet, colligi plane non potuerit. Toto certaminis hujus tempore ejusmodi phrasibus ipsum studuisse, Josias Simlerus, Scholæ Tigurinæ Professor, in Oratione de Vita & obitu Petri Martyris testatur, quem & ipsum persuadere aliquando conatus fuit suum ut exemplum secutus, talibus loquendi modis, ex quibus nihil certi concludi posset, ut ita utrique parti inserviens, ambiguus illis & flexilivus loquendi formulis diffidum hoc paulatim sopiret atque tolleret. Hæc insidiosas ac subdolas molitiones Tigurini animadvertentes minime probarunt, & libere atque aperte professi sunt, non velle se concordiam fucatam atque insidiosam, quæ juxta Bucerii declarationem, cothurni instar, utrique parti accommodari posset* (52). — That it may not be thought, that this fine Elogium is feigned by the Lutherans out of Prejudice, I produce Lavaterus, a Calvinist Writer, who paints Bucer's Genius and Temper in these Colours: Bucer offered his Opinion in ambiguous and obscure Phrases, so that it was absolutely impossible to gather from them to which side he inclined most. Josias Simler, Professor at Zurich, in an Oration on the Life and Death of Peter Martyr, testifies that

(51) Leon. Hut-
terus in Irenico
vere Christiano,
five de Synodo
& Unione Evan-
gelicorum non fa-
cata conciliandâ.
Tract. Theolog.
adversus D. Paræ
Irenicum pag.
130. Edit. Wit-
teb. apud Paul.
Helwigium An.
1618, in Folio.

(52) Ib. ibid.

on his Opinion concerning the Merit of good Works [K]. He spoke more strongly of them than the other Ministers, and, if he varied from himself in that Point, it ought to be imputed to the Difficulties he met with in the Matter, or to the Improvement he made as he grew old. He gave this last Reason in excuse of himself, when he found that some People were offended that he was not sufficiently uniform in his Works (f). However learned and solid his Lectures were, three Defects were observed in them. I. The Abundance of his Learning sometimes led him too far from his Subject. II. He did not always remember the Number of Heads into which he had, at first, divided his Matter. III. There was a certain Obscurity in his Style, as he himself owned; so that his Hearers, if they were not very attentive, could not understand him (g).

(f) See above, Addit. to Remark [C].

(g) Josias Simlerus in vita Petri Martyris, apud Melch. Adam. vit. ext. Theologorum, pag. 37.

Bucer studied such Expressions throughout the whole Contest, and once endeavoured to persuade Peter Martyr to follow his Example, and use such Expressions, as nothing certain could be concluded from, that so, pleasing both Parties, by these ambiguous and equivocal ways of speaking, he might by degrees compose and end the Difference. The Zurichians, observing these insidious and crafty Contrivances, disliked them, and freely and openly professed, that they would not have a patched and insinuating Agreement, which, according to Bucer's Declaration, like a Buskin, serve either side. I do not find the last Lines of this Passage in the Life of Peter Martyr, extracted by Melchior Adam, from the Book which this Lutheran Doctor cites (53); but I find there, that Martyr conformed himself for some time to Bucer's Language, and afterwards left it, when he saw the dangerous Consequences of it, which were, that, on the one hand, it did not fully satisfy the Lutherans, and on the other gave Offence to the weak and perplexed, and embarrassed them in such a manner, that they could not tell what to believe on that Point (54). Martyr and Bucer nevertheless were good Friends, and fully persuaded of each other's Orthodoxy (55). Observe, that Bucer, during his Residence in England, was exhorted to speak more fully and clearly concerning the Eucharist (56).

(53) Oratio Josias Simleri de vita & obitu Petri Martyris.

(54) Melch. Adam. in vita Petri Martyris, pag. 38.

(55) Ib. pag. 39.

(56) Id. in vita Calvinii, pag. 82.

(57) Strasburg, Confession, Meiningen, and Lindau.

(58) Hutterus de Synodo Evangelicor. &c. pag. 130, 131.

[K] --- one may apply --- this Observation to his Opinion concerning the Merit of Works.] The Lutheran Doctor, whom I cite, accuses Bucer of having used a Style accommodated to the Romish Opinions, concerning Justification, in the Formulary of Faith, presented by four Imperial Cities (57), to the Diet of the Empire in the Year 1530; these are the Doctor's Words: 'Articulo IV Confessionis Civitatum explicandum erat, Quomodo fidei Justificatio adscribitur; sed Bucerus stylum, ne pontificios offenderet, ad ipsorum forum sic attemperavit: Quod Concionatores nostri Fidei tantum tribuunt, non eo fit sensu, quasi salus & pietas nostra consistat in otiosis cogitationibus, vel in fide quæ sit charitatis expertis, quam fidem informem sive informatam nominare consueverunt; sed ideo hoc fit, quia fateri cogimur, neminem vere pium esse aut salvari posse, qui Deum non summe diligit, & conformis ipsi fieri summo studio annitatur. Et post pauca: Fides, per quam regeneratur, ea est fides quæ per charitatem est efficax. Hæc Bucerus. Quid vero hoc est aliud, quam sensu Pontificio docere nos justificari coram DEO FIDE FORMATA (58)? In the IVth Article of the Confession of the Cities, they were to have explained, how Justification is ascribed to Faith; but Bucer, that he might not offend the Papists, accommodated his Style to their manner of speaking, thus: Whereas our Preachers attribute so much to Faith, it is not done in this Sense, as if our Salvation and Godliness consisted in idle Thoughts, or in Faith, which is void of Love, which they used to call Faith without Form, or unformed; but it is done, because we are obliged to confess, that no Man is truly godly, who does not love God above all things, and endeavour with all his Might to be conformable to him. And a little after: The Faith, by which we are regenerated, is a Faith which worketh by Love. Thus far Bucer. But what is this else than in the Sense of the Papists to say, that we are justified before God by FAITH FORMED.' He had just before said, that Bucer retracted some time after; and confessed that he had granted certain things in Favour of the Catholics, which

he would no longer allow (59). You need not ask whether he was not loaded with many Reproaches on that Account. You will presently be satisfied: 'Quia versipellis iste Bucerus fuit Autor Confessionis Tetrapolitanae, fatente ipso quoque Paræo, facile judicari potest, quo candore & spiritu in ea concinnanda usus fuerit: eo nimis quibuspiam sibi constat, sed tamquam Vertumnus aliquis, nec calidus nec frigidus est. Cuius rei Argumento esse potest, quod ipse Bucer paulo post bene multa Confessionis hujus suæ capita publice tractavit, & falsius est se in gratiam Pontificiorum multa tum concessisse, quæ jam concedere amplius nolit (60). — At that Turncoat, Bucer, was Author of the Confession of the four Cities, as even Paræus himself allows, it is easy to judge what Candour and Spirit he used in composing it; even this, that he is no where consistent with himself, but, Vertumnus like, is neither hot nor cold. A Proof of which is this, that Bucer himself, a little after, publicly retracted several Articles of this his Confession, and owned, that he had then granted several things for the sake of the Papists, which now he would no longer grant.' It is observed, that, in all the fourth Article, which is designed for the Doctrine of the Justification of a Sinner, there is not one Word concerning the Merit of Jesus CHRIST, the chief and sole Foundation of our Salvation (61); and that Bucer, acknowledging his foul Play, retracted the thing some time after: 'Agnovit hanc xucelay & aleatoriam versutiam Bucerus ipse, qui hunc ipsum Articulum retractavit postea, sic scribens: 'Verbum (efficax) tolli debet, aut ita declarari, ut intelligatur de scientia apprehendente misericordiam propter Christum promissam & erigente perterrefactas mentes (62). --- Bucer himself acknowledged this Game and Craft, and retracted that Article afterwards, writing thus: The Word (efficacious) ought to be left out, or explained so that it might be understood of an Assurance expecting Mercy, promised for the sake of CHRIST, and raising desponding Souls.' To convince him of the like unfair Practice on the Article of good Works; these Words of the Confession are urged: Renovatio & restitutio hominis, quæ fit & consistit per fidem, declaratur PERFECTAQUE fit operibus charitatis: --- Tantum vero adest ut bona opera rejiciamus, ut libere fateamur Hominem numquam PERFECTE beatum effici posse, nisi per Christi Spiritum eo perducatur, ut NULLUM penitus ei desit opus bonum omnium eorum ad quæ à DEO est conditus (63). --- The Regeneration and Restoration of Man, which is caused by, and subsists in, Faith, is declared and made PERFECT by Works of Charity --- but we are so far from rejecting good Works, that we freely confess, that a Man can never become perfectly happy, unless he be guided by the Spirit of CHRIST, so that no good Work is wanting in him, for which he was created by God.' I think Reason and Charity require us to believe, that he acted in all this according to his own Persuasion, and not out of Policy. We have seen above (64), what he wrote constantly on the Head of good Works. The Passage, which I have cited from his Commentary on Psalm ii (65), is sufficient, in the Opinion of Grotius, to shew, that the Protestants and Catholics would easily agree on that matter, provided they would but banish scholastic Chicanery and Party Animosity (66). Grotius pretends, that this Passage ought to be read according to that Edition of Strasburg, and not according to that of Robert Stephens, which is wholly corrupted (67). He

(59) Id. ibid. pag. 13.

(60) Id. ibid.

(61) Id. ibid. pag. 131.

* Vid. Librum, Actorum Ratipon. pag. 85.

(62) Hutterus de Synodo Evangelicor. &c. p. 131.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) In the Remark [C].

(65) In the same Remark, Citation (8).

(66) Grotius in Voto pro Pace Eccles. ad Art. iv, apud Rivetum, Operum Tom. III, pag. 1042.

(67) See the Remark [C], Citation (11).

(68) Rivetus in Apologet. pro verâ pice Eccles. Operum, Tom. III, pag. 177.

(69) See above, the Addition to the Remark [C].

He refers us also to the Preface of *Bucer's Commentary on the four Evangelists*, which, says he, was also omitted in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. *Andrew Rivet's Answer to Grotius* is remarkable; he declared to him (68): I. That the Passage in *Bucer's Commentary on the 11d Psalm*, as *Grotius* has related it, contains nothing but what the Calvinists admit, when rightly understood. II. That *Robert Stephens's Edition* wants nothing as to the Sense of those Words, which *Grotius* recites from the Edition of *Strasbourg*. III. That if the Words are not the same in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and in that of *Strasbourg*, *Grotius* ought to remember that this Work of *Bucer's* was first printed under the Name of *Aretius Felinus*, in the Year 1529; a second time under the Name of *Martin Bucer*, in the Year 1532; and a third time, at *Geneva*, by *Robert Stephens*, in the Year 1554: And that the Author owns, that in revising his Works he left out, he added, and even retracted, certain things (69): therefore it cannot be pretended that the last Edi-

tions of his Works were corrupted by the Booksellers. May not the Difference between the latter and the former proceed from the Author's Retractions; besides, *Bucer's Confession* is in his Preface to his Commentary on the Gospels, and *Rivet* assures us that it was not suppressed by *Robert Stephens*, as *Grotius* had given out (70). After this *Rivet* cites several Passages of *Bucer*, which prove his Orthodoxy, as to the Doctrine of Justification. *Grotius* made very little answer; he only says, that if a Man has a Mind to be believed when he affirms, that the Difference of the Editions of *Bucer* comes from the Author, he ought to give some Proof of it, and that there are some Editions of *Geneva*, in which the Preface to the Commentary on the Gospels is not inserted (71). He is condemned by his Silence as to *Robert Stephens's Edition*, from whence it appears that he and *Vossius* had spoken of it without having seen it (72); an inexcusable Fault!

(70) See in the same Addition, Citation (12), the Latin Words of Rivetus.

(71) Grotius in Difficult. Apologetici Rivetiani, pag. 47. See Rivetus's Works, Tom. III, pag. 1140.

(72) See Remark [C], Citation (9), (10), and (11).

BUCHANAN (GEORGE), was a very able Man, and one of the greatest Latin Poets of the XVIth Century. He was born in a Village in Scotland, in the Year 1506. His Family, which was far from rich, had like to have fallen into extreme Poverty by the Death of his Father, and the breaking of his Grandfather. His Mother, who was left a Widow with eight Children, educated them as well as she could; but she had a Brother that took some care of this. Having found him fit enough for Learning, he sent him to Paris. The young Man lived there two Years, and afterwards was obliged to return to Scotland, by reason of his Poverty, and want of Health. When he found himself recovered, he would try his Fortune in the War, among the French Troops which were landed in his Country; but he soon fell sick again. After his recovery he went to St Andrews, where he studied Logic under the good old Man John Major. He followed him into France that same Year, and after he had passed two Years at Paris, struggling with his ill Fortune, he was called to teach Grammar in the College of St Barbara. This he did for three Years. He was brought back into Scotland by a young Count (a), who had kept him five Years with him in Paris. He would have returned into France again, but the King of Scotland stopped his Journey, by making him Preceptor to his Bastard Son. He had wrote a Poem which displeased the Franciscans. These good Fathers, instead of putting on that Spirit of Patience which so well becomes Churchmen, were incensed at it, and to revenge themselves the more artfully, they cried out, that *Buchanan* was an impious Man, and an Heretic. These Clamours were the occasion of his inclining to Lutheranism, a little more than he did before (b). About this time the King returned from France (c), and made the Churchmen uneasy; for they were afraid, that Queen Magdalen, whom he brought along with him, had imbibed the new Opinions from her Aunt, the Queen of Navarre. The Death of Queen Magdalen soon dispelled their Fears. Some time after a Plot was discovered against the King, in which this Prince believed, that the Franciscans had not discharged their Duty to him. He commanded *Buchanan* to write some Verses against them. The Poet obeyed without any Reluctance, but kept within Bounds, and made use of Expressions which might be taken in a double Sense. The King, not thoroughly satisfied with those Verses, commanded him to write sharper, and was obeyed according to his Desire. *Buchanan* presented him the famous *Sylva*, which is called *Franciscanus*. Some time after he was informed, that Cardinal Beton was plotting his Ruin; whereupon he fled into England [A]; but Matters being in such Confusion there, that

(a) Gilbertus Kennedus Castille Comes. — Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Caithel. Buchananus in Vita propria Poematis prefixa.

(b) Dum impotentiae suae indulgentiae illum sponte sua Sacerdotum licentia infensum acris incendunt, & Lutheranae causae minus iniquum reddunt. Id. ibid.

(c) That is to say, in 1537. Buchanan, in his Life, very seldom puts down the Years.

[A] He fled into England.] I cannot tell why he suppresses his being put in Prison: for it is suppressing it, to say only in an indefinite Manner, that he deceived his Guards. 'Brevi post per amicos ex aula certior factus se peti, & Cardinalem Betonum à Rege pecunia vitam ejus mercari ELUSIS CUSTODIBUS in Angliam contendit. — A little after, being informed by his Friends at Court that there was a Design against him, and that Cardinal Beton offered the King Money for his Life, he deceived his Keepers, and fled into England.' He was Preceptor to the King's Bastard: and therefore it may reasonably be supposed, that the Guards whom he deceived were not Jailors of public Prisons, but only certain Men who had orders to observe him, as a suspected Person. So that he has not explained himself clearly enough. The History of the Reformation of England is more particular in the matter: we there find the very time that he was imprisoned, a Circumstance, which *Buchanan* ought at least to have set down in the

Margin, if he was afraid that the Date of the Years would make his Periods less smooth. We have it then from Dr Burnet, that in the Year 1539, 'The Clergy, being incensed by the Satires that *Buchanan* had written against them, caused him to be imprisoned, and as the King left all things to them, that great Man would doubtless have been condemned to death, if he had not had the Ingenuity to make his Escape out of Prison (1).' I have said that *Buchanan* was Preceptor to the King's Natural Son; and I have reason to suppose it: for, as he himself has said that the King bestowed that place upon him, it is to be presumed he would have it believed that he was invested with it, since he neither expressly, nor by any incompatible Fact, notes that he had it not. Now this he has not done: I may therefore suppose that he enjoyed it. But to dissemble nothing in this matter, I must own he makes use of an Expression, from whence it might be concluded that he had not that Employ. He says, that, being by chance at Court,

(1) History of the Reformation of England, Part I, lib. iii, pag. 725. Note, that *Buchanan*, in his History of Scotland, lib. xiv, pag. 509, says, that he escaped by a Window in his Chamber, while the Guards slept.

(d) He was Em-
bassador of Scot-
land in France.

(e) This Cardi-
nal wrote to the
Archbishop of
Bordeaux, to
get Buchanan
taken up, but he
gave the Letter
to some intimate
Friends of Bu-
chanan. Buchan-
an in vita pro-
pria.

(f) Crimini daba-
tur carniū esus
in quadragesima,
à qua nemo in
tota Hispania est
qui abstineat.
Ibid.

(g) A Portuguese
Jesuit, Author of
a Version of the
Psalms in Latin
Verse, in the
Preface to which
he censures Bu-
chanan.

(b) That is to
say, 1552.

(i) Taken from
his Life, written
by himself, in
1580. It is print-
ed before his
Poems.

in one and the same Day Lutherans were burnt on one side, and Papists on the other, he passed again into France: And for fear Cardinal Beton (d) should play him a Trick there, he retired privately from Paris, and went to Bourdeaux, whither Andrew Goveanus, a learned Portuguese, invited him. He taught three Years in this Place [B], but not without some dread of the Franciscans, and of Cardinal Beton (e), whose Threats he was informed of. After this he followed Andrew Goveanus into Portugal, I say Goveanus, who had Orders from the King his Master, to bring him a certain number of Persons fit to teach Philosophy, and Literature, in the University he had newly founded at Coimbra. All went well as long as Goveanus lived, but after his Death, which happened not long after, the learned Men who followed him, and particularly Buchanan, were vexed all manner of ways. They reproached him with his Poem against the Franciscans; they found fault with his eating Meat in Lent, wherein he only conformed to the Custom of the Country (f). It was pretended, that in his Discourse he had discovered some Indifference to the Catholic Church. They teased him for above a Year together, and after all, for fear of discovering, that they had unjustly harassed a Man of Reputation, they condemned him to remain some Months in a Monastery, in order to be better instructed. It was there he undertook his Paraphrase of the Psalms, an excellent Work, notwithstanding all the Criticisms of Lewis de la Croix (g). Having obtained his Liberty, he passed into England, but made no stay there. He chose to return into France. He arrived there at the time of the raising of the Siege of Metz (h). Some Years after he entered into the Service of the Marechal de Bris-
sac, and was made Preceptor to his Son. That Marechal commanded then in Piedmont. Buchanan continued five Years in that Employ, sometimes in Italy, and sometimes in France. He quitted it in 1560. Returning into Scotland, after the Troubles, which Messieurs de Guise caused there, had been suppressed, he went over openly to the Communion of the Reformed Church. He was made Preceptor to James VI, King of Scotland, in the Year 1565. This is all that he has thought fit to inform us of concerning his Life (i). I cannot tell why he hath affected to say nothing of his great Prosperity. That Silence might appear mysterious to those who are inclined to give things a wrong turn. Such Persons might be capable of believing that Buchanan, full of Confusion and Remorse in his old Age, for having given himself up to the Faction which forced Queen Mary out of her Kingdom, from whom he had received so many Benefits, and whom he praised so highly, durst not shew what he had done in those Times, nor awaken

of which (g)
the English
Archbishop
and the
Cardinal

of which (g)
the English
Archbishop
and the
Cardinal

Court, he was sent for by the Prince. Rex Buchananum FORTE tum in aula agentem ad se advocat. Has not the Preceptor of a King's Natural Son his ordinary Residence at Court? Is it ever said of such a one, that he was by chance at Court at such a time? I answer, I. That it is at least very possible that he is not there sometimes; that suffices me. II. That it is not the part of a good Writer to relate matters so, that recourse must be had to conjectures to know that things are altered (2). This is the chief aim of my Criticism. Buchanan wrote his History politely; says much in few words, but skips over things that he ought not to forget. It is more difficult than is commonly thought, not to fall into this Defect. Consider my marginal Note.

[B] He retired — to Bourdeaux, and taught three Years there.] Here I shall place the impertinent Story that I have read in the fiftieth Page of *The Doctrine Curieuse* of Father Garasse. 'It is said, that George Buchanan, Regent of the first Class in the College of Guyenne in Bourdeaux, having taken a little more Wine than he ought, went, when the Class Bell rung, and took a turn as far as England in his Morning-Gown and Slippers, having opportunely found a Ship just weighing Anchor in the Harbour of the Carthusians. A fine walk, continues the same Author, to be taken in a drunken Fit.' This Lie is too ridiculous to be confuted. Buchanan left France at that time to go into Portugal. I shall occasionally examine a place of the *Anti-Baillet* that does not seem to me very exact. Moreri has wrote in his Dictionary, *these are the Words of Mr Menage* (3), that Turnebus, Buchanan, and Muret, taught at the same time in the College of Cardinal le Moine, Turnebus the first, Buchanan the second, and Muret the third Class. I have heard Father Bourbon, who very well knew things of this kind, say the same. — If Buchanan taught in the College of Cardinal le Moine at the same time that Muret taught there, as I am in some manner persuaded he did, because

Father Bourbon says so, it must have been between 1544, (which is the Date of his Elogy to *Tasseus* and *Tevius*) and 1545, for he taught before in the College of Guyenne in Bourdeaux, where he passed three Years as he himself tells us in his Life; and in 1539, the first of December, he made a Speech there to the Emperor Charles V, as he was going from Spain to Flanders. And if Muret had taught before that time in the College of Cardinal le Moine with Buchanan, he must at least have taught there in 1538, and at that time he was but fourteen Years of Age. My Observations on this long Passage are these. I. It does not appear by Buchanan's Life that he taught in any College of Paris after his Return thither upon having escaped out of the Prisons of Scotland in 1539. So that the time when he taught in Paris, if we believe his Life, precedes the Voyage that he made into Scotland with the Scotch Earl. Now after that Voyage he had a Mind to return to Paris: but was hindered by the King his Master, who made him Tutor to his Natural Son. That Prince returned from France with Queen Magdalen, whom he had married in the beginning of 1537. It is plain then that Buchanan must have left Paris to return into Scotland in the Year 1536 at latest, and consequently is is false that he taught at time with Muret in a College of Paris; for in that case Muret must have been a Schoolmaster before ten Years of Age (4). II. Mr Menage ought not to have laid it down as possible, that Muret and Buchanan taught at Paris in the Year 1538, seeing it is certain, that Buchanan was then in Scotland. III. Since he has placed the Birth of Muret in 1526, he ought not, as he does in the same Page, to make him fourteen Years of Age, in the Year 1538. IV. He ought to have said expressly that Buchanan was at Paris in the Year 1544. This is plain from his Elogy to *Tasseus* and *Tevius* mentioned by Mr Menage. V. He ought to have said that Buchanan spake of Gelida in that Elogy as of a Colleague (5), and to have drawn a Proof from thence that Buchanan taught at that time

COLLEGES
where Buchanan
taught, and at
what Time.

(4) Menage,
Anti-Baillet,
chap. lxxxiij,
says, that Muret
was born in 1526.

(5) Ceteraque ut
cessant, Gelidæ
piâ cura sodalis.
Et patris & pa-
trine iustinet ul-
que vicem.
Mr Menage,
pag. 332, rightly
corrects gelidæ for
Gelidæ.

in the Mind of his Readers, the remembrance of some Books he had written to the taste of those who were then in Power [C]. These Books have rendered him so odious to the Roman Catholics, that to this the horrible Slanders, published by them against him, may justly be imputed. He has been defamed as the most prophane and impious Drunkard that ever lived [D], and as a Traitor, a Conspirator,

time in the College of Cardinal le Moine; for it is certain, that *Gelida* taught in that College. VI. If, notwithstanding *Buchanan's* Life, I was to say, that he taught at *Paris* in the Year 1539, I would rather take Mr *Menage's* Year (6), than the time which elapsed between his Return to *Paris* at the raising the Siege of *Metz*, and that of his being made Tutor to *Timoleon de Cossé*, the Marthal de *Brissac's* Son. That Interval comprehends three Years; for he was Preceptor during five Years (7), and he quitted that Employ in the Year 1560 (8).

[C] He wrote Books — to the Taste of those who were then in Power.] We shall speak hereafter of his *Dialogue concerning the Right of Kings*. He wrote two other Books, which were still more agreeable to the Interests of his Faction than that. The one is the *History of Scotland*, in which he says many ill things of the Queen's Manners and Conduct; the other is that which he intitled *Eclaircissement* (9). See how Mr *Varillas* speaks of it. 'I ought to advertise the Curious, says he (10), that *Buchanan's* History of *Scotland* is not the worst of his Works against that Princess, and that there is another to which he durst not set his Name, more satirical, beyond all Comparison, than the other. It was not to be found in the King's Library in my time; but Mr *Clement*, Counsellor in the Court of Aids, lent it me out of his own Study. It is written in *French*, and printed at *Roche* in the Year 1572. For filth and foul Language no Book I ever saw comes near it; and the single Passage of the pretended Lewdness of Queen *Mary Stuart*, countenanced and imitated by her Maid of Honour, *Mademoiselle de Reres*, falls little short of those of the Ancient and Modern Authors, who have taken the greatest Liberty in defiling their Reader's Imagination.' It is needless to say, that nothing could be more agreeable to the Interests of that Queen's Enemies than *Buchanan's* Satires; for one of these two must have been the Cause, either that they who forced her out of her Kingdom were the greatest Villains in Nature, or that she was the most infamous of Women. These are two Scales of a Balance equally poised; you cannot load the one without lightening the other precisely to the same degree: just so whatever serves to acquit the Queen, aggravates her Enemies Guilt in the same Proportion, and whatever serves to load the Queen extenuates their Crimes in a like degree. It is certain then, that *Buchanan's* Satires were an Apology for his Faction, and the bitterer they were, the more they justified those who had turned out *Mary Stuart*. To judge of it from common prejudice, one would be apt to suspect, that a Satire of such important and necessary use, is a Fiction invented for the Interest of the Cause. But as there are real Tyrannies and Infamies which make Subjects revolt, it is not always true that the Manifesto of those who do rebel are meer Calumnies; and therefore, without listening to our prejudices, we ought impartially to examine *Buchanan's* Cause. Note, that in order to make the Comparison of the Scales, in *equilibrium*, just, we must enter into that Writer's Principles, and suppose, like him, that the King of *Scotland*, and they who represent the Nation, are two collateral Powers; for the Comparison would not be just in a Monarch properly so called; the Injustice of the Sovereign does not justify Revolts.

[D] He has been defamed as the most profane and impious Drunkard that ever lived.] I have already cited an Author who reproaches him with a ridiculous Voyage in a drunken Fit (11); but here is a much worse Story; he reproaches him with having had the Glass and Death between his Lips at the same instant, and with scoffing at the Ministers who exhorted him to pray to God. I shan't cut off a tittle of the Story. It is useful to let the Readers see, by sensible examples, how far the Boldness of public lying may go, when once the Impudence grows

so great as to get all the Stories printed that run about the Streets. See then what Father *Garasse* says: 'I will tell our new Atheists the wretched end of a Man of their Belief and Humour, as to eating and drinking. It was *George Buchanan*, a perfect Epicure during his Life, and a perfect Atheist at his Death. This Libertine, having spent his Youth in Debauchery at *Paris*, and at *Bordeaux*, more sollicitous after the Ivy of an Alehouse, and the Bush of a Tavern, than after the Laurels of *Par-nassus*, and being called back to *Scotland* towards the latter part of his Days, to instruct the young Prince, who is at present the Most Serene King of Great Britain, continuing his gluttonous Courses, fell into a Dropsy by drinking, tho' it was said of him by way of banter, that his Distemper was, *vino intercuta*, not *aqua intercuta*. How sick so ever he was, he abstained no more from drinking Bumpers, than when he was in Health, and drank his Wine as pure as he formerly did at *Bordeaux*. The Physicians, who visited him by Order of the King their Master, seeing their Patient's Excess, told him plainly and angrily, that he did what he could to destroy himself, and that, in his way of living, he could not hold out above fourteen Days or three Weeks at longest. He desired them to call a Consultation to know how long he might live, in case he abstained from Wine; they did so, and the result was, that he might live five or six Years longer, if he could command himself so long; upon which he made an Answer agreeable to his humour. *Get you gone*, said he, *with your Prescriptions, and your Course of Diet, and know, that I would rather live three Weeks and be drunk every Day, than six Years without drinking Wine*; and immediately discharging his Physicians, like a desperate Man, he ordered a Hog's head of *Gravy* Wine to be set at his Bed's-head, resolving to see the bottom of it before he died, and behaved himself so valiantly, that he emptied it to the Lees, literally fulfilling the Contents of that pretty Epigram of *Epigonus* concerning a Frog, which, being fallen into a Hog's head of Wine cried out,

οὐ τίς τίνος ὕδωρ
Πίνωσι, μὰνιν σάφονα μαινόμενοι.

Alas! some drink Water, being sober mad.

When he had Death and the Glass between his Lips, the Ministers made him a Visit to settle his Mind, and prepare him to die with some Sentiments of Religion: One of them exhorted him to repeat the Lord's-Prayer; and he opening his Eyes, and looking sternly at the Minister, *What is that*, said he, *that you call the Lord's-Prayer*? The Standers by answered, That it was the *Pater-noster*; and that if he could not say that Prayer, they desired him at least to say some other Christian Prayer, that he might go out of the World like a good Man: As for me, said he, in his undisturbed and perfect Senses, I never knew any other Prayer than this:

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis
Contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.

I who to Love a Stranger e'er had been,
By Cynthia's sparkling Eyes was first enslav'd.

And scarce had he repeated ten or twelve Verses of that Elegy of *Propertius*, when he expired among the Glasses and Pints; so that it may truly be said of him, *purpuream vomit ille animam*; and such is commonly the End of all Epicures (12). We find the same Story in the *Grammaticus profanus* of the Jesuit *Sanders*. (13), who brings (14) no other

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 743.

(13) In the first Tome, pag. 104.

(14) Ibid. pag. 181.

(6) That is, from 1544, to 1545.

(7) And not ten, as *Varillas* affirms, Hist. de l'Herésie, lib. xxviii, pag. 143.

(8) See the Life of Buchanan.

(9) *Varillas*, Histoire de l'Herésie, lib. xxviii, pag. 170.

(10) Preface to the fifth Tome of the Histoire de l'Herésie.

(11) *Garasse*, Doctrine curieuse, pag. 50.

(8) Thuan. lib. lxxvi. pag. 445. Father L'Enfant is out in placing this Death to the 25th of April.

rator, a Slave of Impurity and Satire, and a Falsifier of History [E]. He died at Edinburgh, the eighth of September, 1582 (k). His Dialogue *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, with which the Protestants have so often been reproached, was the reason why some of them mention him as a Man of no Name or Consequence [F]. There is ground to doubt the Repentance, which the Annalist of Queen Elizabeth attributes to him [G]. Be that how it will, we cannot refuse him the Praise of a fine

(15) In the Remark [8], of the Article SCIOPIUS.

other Authority, than a Work, which appeared in the Year 1615, under the Title of *Elixir Calvinisticum*, &c. A Piece attributed to Father Garasse, as we shall see hereafter (15).

[E] And as a Traytor, a Conspirator . . . and a Falsifier of History.] These are the Slanders which his Countryman Barclay made use of to paint him out. 'Ac Buchananum quidem non solum depravatis desperatque moribus ex libero Liberi Venerique mancipium factum sunt omnes, quotquot eum probe noverunt; sed & hæreticum insignem, & mendacem historicum sacra juxta ac profana audaci conatu temerantem ostendit illud ejus opus, cui, *Rerum Scotticarum historia*, titulum dedit. . . . Quod cum ita sit, equi mirum videri possit, in egregium nequitie artificem evasisse eum, qui in primis juventutis annis, sceleris omnium maximo flagitiosæ vitæ rudimentum posuit? Jam vero historiam reliquam ea fide scripsit, quam in meo me pudet populari reperire: probissimos quosque lancinat maledictis, pio sper calumniâ opprimis: quod autem quisque scelerator, & promptior ad malum manu, eo pluribus ille laudibus celebratur. Quid multis? in illa ejus historia, quæ ultra Boethii nobilissimi historiographi epitomen se profert, tot mihi mendacia occurrunt, ut cum vera videam, vix vera esse, nisi cunctanter, credam. Id ipsum & alii mecum queruntur gnari temporum, quæ res gestas postremis ab eo libris mandatas continent. . . . Sed erit spero veri, patriæque amator aliquis, qui venenatum ejus styli mucronem retundet, & fraudem fide solida patefaciens incorruptos eorum temporum annales evulgabit. Hoc igitur homine relicto, qui ut viri adhuc viventes clarissimi norunt, ventri & veneri obediens, multarum in principes conjurationum fautor, quarundum etiam author, hæreseos quæ domi, quæ foris, quæ privatis, quæ publicè pertinax propagator extitit: ad Stephanum Junium Brutum venio (16). — And indeed it is not only notorious to all that knew Buchanan, that, by his depraved and abandoned Life, he was become a mean slave to Wine and Venery; but also his Book, intitled, *The History of the Affairs of Scotland*, shews him to have been both an egregious Heretic, and a lying Historian, audaciously corrupting sacred things as well as profane. — This being the Case, can it seem strange that he became an extraordinary Artist in Mischief, who by his flagitious Life, in his early Youth, laid a Foundation for the most consummate Wickedness? He has writ all the rest of the History with so little Fidelity, as I am ashamed to find in one of my Countrymen: the best Men he wounds with Slanders, and loads the pious with Calumny: and the more wicked and ready to mischief any one is, the more he commends him. In short, in that History of his, which is continued after the Epitome of the noble Historiographer Boethius, I find so many Lies, that when I meet with any thing that is true I am very slow in believing it to be so. The same Complaint is likewise made by others, who remembered the time when the things mentioned in this latter part of the History were transacted. But I hope there will be found some better Friend to Truth and his Country, who will blunt his poisoned Pen, expose his Frauds with solid Truth, and publish impartial Annals of those times. Leaving therefore this Man, who, as is well known to eminent Men still living, was a Slave to his Belly and Lust, an Abettor of several Conspiracies against Princes, and Author of some, an obstinate Defender of Heresy both at home and abroad, both in public and private: I come to Stephen Junius Brutus.

[F] The Protestants — have sometimes spoke of him as a Man of no Name or Consequence.] See here the Words of Mr Daillon; a French Minister, Refugee in England: 'Let them not do us the Injustice to reckon among our Doctors a Scotch Poet without any Character, who diverted himself

with setting forth his Dreams on Politics (17). Another French Minister did not speak of Buchanan with that Disdain; yet he condemned him, and thought it very unjust, that That Author's Republican Maxims should be imputed to those of the Protestant Religion. 'These Maxims of Buchanan,' says he (18), and of Paræus, are not our Maxims; we have renounced them over and over, nor are they to be found in any of our authentic Writings. — They are assuredly false in the extent which these Authors give them (19). For a Man who had set up for a Prophet, he had but a very short Prospect of Futurity, as to his own Fate;

(17) Daillon, Examen de l'oppression des Reformez, pag. 11.

(18) Jorieu, Réponse à l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, Tom. II, pag. 287, Edit in 4to.

(19) Ibid. pag. 288.

Nescia mens hominum fati fortisque futurae,
Et servare modum rebus sublata secundis (20).

(20) Virgil. Æn. lib. X. ver. 501.

Poor mortals, blind to Fate, do never know,
To bear high Fortune, or endure the Low.

Little did he imagine, that five Years should not come about before he himself would write Pastoral Letters, filled with the Maxims of these two Authors. However it be, that Dialogue of Buchanan made a great Noise. One Adam Blackwood, of the same Country with Buchanan, and Counsellor in the Presidial Court of Poitiers, refused his Countryman as well as he could. A German, named *Ninianus Vinzelus* did the same. Barclay, another Scot, and much an abler Man than they, came to the Charge, and had the Malice to say, that Boucher, a Doctor of Sorbonne, had borrowed his Weapons of Buchanan, and some other Heretics (21). The Protestants of Scotland made a much more decisive Answer; for the Parliament of the Kingdom condemned that Dialogue of Buchanan, his History, and his *Detectio*, and forbade the Sale of them. See in the Remark [G], the Citations from Camden.

(21) Guil. Barclaius, adversus Monarchomachos, init.

[G] There is room to doubt the Repentance, which Camden attributes to him.] Let us first set down this famous Historian's Words: 'Quid Georgius Buchananus hac de re cum in historia, tum in bello, cui Detectio titulum fecit, prodidit, ex libris impressis nemo non novit. Cum autem ille partium studio & Moravii munificentia abreptus ita scripsit, ut libri isti falsitatis damnati sint ab ordinibus Regni Scotiae, quorum fidei plus tribuendum: & ipse ingemiscens coram Rege, cui fuit Pædagogus, subinde se reprehenderit (ut accepi) quod tam virulentum calum in Reginam bene meritam strinxisset, moriensque optaverit ut tantisper superscisset, donec maculas, quas maledicentia falso aspererat, revocatâ veritate, vel sanguine elueret; nisi (quod ipse dixit) hoc vanum esset, cum præ ætate delirare videretur (22). — It is well known to every Body, from the Books themselves, what George Buchanan said of this Affair, both in his History, and in his Detectio. But as he was led by Zeal for a Party, and the Munificence of the Earl of Murrays, to write in such a manner that his Books were condemned for Falsity by the Parliament of Scotland, who are more to be credited: and he has often blamed himself with Sighs (as I have heard) in the Presence of the King, whose Preceptor he was, that he had drawn so virulent a Pen against so deserving a Queen, and wished when he was dying, that he might have a little time left to wipe off the Stains which his Slanders had thrown upon her, by witnessing the Truth even with his Blood; but that (as he said) it would be to no purpose, because his Age would make People think that he doled. The same Author, under the Year 1584, speaks thus: 'Probrofa in Regem, ejus matrem, & Consiliarios scripta, nominatim vero Georgii Buchanani Historia, & de jure regni apud Scotos Dialogus, interdita ut quæ multa culpanda & delenda contineant (23). —

(22) Cambr. in Annal. Elizabethæ ad Ann. 1567. init.

(23) Idem. in Li. Ann. 1584, pag. 410.

fine Génius, and a fine Writer [H]. He has succeeded wonderfully in all kinds of *Latin Verse*, and has wrote very well in *Prose*. I cannot tell whether we ought to believe that he had been a Monk [I]. He himself says nothing of it; others affirm it; and his Silence is not a decisive Proof against them. But one may be

(24) Id. lib. ad Ann. 1582, pag. 374.

• *belts on the King, his Mother, and his Counsellors, were prohibited, and particularly George Buchanan's History, and Dialogue de jure Regni apud Scotos, as containing many things which ought to be suppressed.* The same Historian elsewhere assures us, that Buchanan had no regard to the Desires of those who would have had him a little before his Death to write for the Rebels Cause, and that he seemed troubled at having formerly devoted his Pen to them. 'Buchananum tamen inducere non poterant ut hoc eorum factum vel scripto libello, vel persuasione per nuntium approbaret, qui se factionum causam contra principes jam antea suscepisse, dolenter ingemuit, & paulo post obiit (24).' Who would not look upon this Testimony of Camden as solid? Yet great abatements must be made, for two Reasons; one is, that it is reported, his Manuscript was corrected to King James's Mind and Fancy, as we shall say in a proper place. The other is taken from a Marginal Note which Mr Varillas had read. Let us hear him speak: 'There are in the King's Library the five Volumes of the President Thuanus's History, in the Margins whereof the youngest of Messieurs du Puy had written with his own Hand the most curious Facts that his Brother and he had judged fit to be retrenched from it when it was printed. I have read in the Additions to the fourth Volume, that when Buchanan was ready to expire, James VI, King of Scotland, whose Preceptor he had been, made him a Visit, and advised him, for the Discharge of his Conscience, to retract what he had wrote to the Disadvantage of his Mother, Queen Mary Stuart, and that Buchanan plainly refused it (25).' Thus Mr Varillas speaks in his Preface. He touches the same Fact in the Body of the Book, but reports it otherwise: 'In the Original, says he (26), of Thuanus's History, in the place where the Death of Buchanan is spoken of, there is written with that illustrious President's own Hand, that James VI, King of Scotland, whose Preceptor Buchanan had been, honoured him with a Visit when he was at the Extremity, and pressed him to retract what he had said against the Queen his Mother. That Buchanan answered, that his Conscience did not reproach him on that Head, and that he had written the Truth.' Between such contradicting Testimonies, as that of Camden, and that in Thuanus's Margins, can any one have a reasonable Certainty of Buchanan's last Dispositions? Not in the least: Each of these Testimonies weakens the other; but we must allow that the first is without Comparison stronger than the last; that is printed; the other is but a Manuscript: The last, according to the Preface of Mr Varillas, is only in a Copy of Thuanus, but, according to the Body of the Book, it is in the Original of Thuanus: according to the Preface, it is of Mr du Puy the Younger's Hand; according to the Body of the Book, it is of Thuanus's own Hand. These Variations, and these Shufflings, maintain the Preference that Camden deserves. Add to this, that if Thuanus approved that Messieurs du Puy should retrench that Part of his History, it is a Sign that he gave no full Credit to it; for his Zeal for the Memory of Mary Stuart did not hinder his letting a hundred Things be printed which he had copied from Buchanan (27). King James reproached Thuanus's Son so sharply for it, that he threw him into a Fit of Sickness of three Months (28). I have heard a Scotch Lord say, that when Buchanan was asked on his Death-bed, Whether he did not repent of what he had written against the Authority of Kings, and in particular against the Honour of Mary Queen of Scots; he answered, *I am going to a Place where there are not many Kings.*

(25) Varillas's Preface of the 5th Volume of his Histoire de l'Herésie.

(26) Id. liv. xxviii, pag. 171.

(27) See Fother's Orleans's Revolutions d'Angleterre, Tom. II, pag. 490, 491.

(28) Varillas, Réponse à la Critique de Burnet, pag. 77, 78. Edit. Holl. De Hor Burnet, Défense de la Critique, pag. 62, sous le Reproche.

[H] We cannot refuse him the Praise of a fine Génius, and a fine Writer.] The way that Thuanus has taken to praise George Buchanan is admirable; Nothing could better give a great Idea of this Scotchman's Parts. His History of Scotland, says he, does not seem to be the Work of a Man who

taught a School, but that of a Person employed all his Life-time in the most important Affairs of State. The Meanness of his Condition and Fortune did not hinder Buchanan from judging well of the greatest matters, and writing of them with much Prudence. He was one of those extraordinary Men, who have the Happiness not to become Pedants among the Drudgeries of the School. The Latin of Thuanus expresses this more nobly and amply; therefore I set it down. In senili otio patriam Historiam scribere aggressus est. Quam tantâ puritate, prudentia, & acumine scripsit (quamvis interdum libertate genti innatâ contra Regium fastidium acerbior) ut ea scriptio non hominem in pulvere literario versatum, sed in media hominum luce & in tractandis Reipublicæ negotiis totâ vitâ exercitatum redoleat. Adeo ingenii felicitas & animi magnitudo omnia obscuræ & humilis fortunæ impedimenta ab eo removerant, ut propterea non minus rectè de maximis rebus judicare & scribere prudenter posset. Et sanè memini P. Ronfardum virum acerrimi judicii (qui licet in dispari fortunâ constitutus, totâ vitâ scholastico otio oblectatus fuerat) cum de Buchanan, Hadr. Turnebo, Ant. Goveano, M. Ant. Mureto (quibuscum artâ amicitia conjunctus fuerat) verba faceret, dicere solitum, illos Homines nihil Pædagogicæ præter togam & pileum habuisse, & tamen de vulgo Pædagogorum sic censere, nunquam incorrigibilis ineptiæ ex Pædagogicâ contractæ characterem vel longissimi ævi curriculum deleri posse (29). — In his retirement in his old age, he undertook to write the History of his Country, which he wrote with such Purity, Judgment, and Spirit, (tho' sometimes, according to the Freedom natural to his Country, a little too sharp against the Prærogative of the King) that that Piece does not shew a Man conversant in the Dust of Schools, but in full view of mankind, and employed all his Life in transacting Affairs of State. The happiness of his Génius, and greatness of his Mind, had so removed all impediments of his low and mean Fortune, that he was not on that Account less capable of judging and writing skillfully of the greatest matters; and indeed I remember Ronfard, a Man of great Penetration, who, though in different Circumstances, had been delighted all his Life in Scholastic Amusements, when he spoke of George Buchanan, Hadrian Turnebus, Antony Govean, M. Ant. Muret, with whom he was intimately acquainted, used to say, that those Men had nothing of the Pedagogue about them besides the Gown and Cap; and yet, as to the Generality of Pedagogues, he was of Opinion, that the marks of incorrigible Pedantry, contracted from that Profession, could never be abolished in the Course of the longest Life.

[I] I cannot tell whether we ought to believe that he had been a Monk.] Mr le Laboureur affirms it in so positive a manner, that, to question it, a Man must be habituated to follow the Cartesian Maxim: Never to subscribe to any thing without an exact Examination. George Buchanan, says he (30), a Scotchman, first a Franciscan in France, afterwards Preceptor of the Count de Brissac, and a zealous Huguenot, as well known for his Vices, as esteemed for his fine Wit, if he had not devoted it to Libertinism, and for his Learning if he had not abused it, was the most cruel Enemy of the Person and Reputation of that Prince, who had screened him in that Kingdom from the Rigour of the Edicts, and snatched him, as it were, out of the Fire, and the Hands of the Executioner. He was upon the point of being condemned as an Heretic and Renegade Fryar, and she saved him. Brantome says indeed, that she saved his Life (31), but not as a Renegade Fryar. I much question Mr le Laboureur's Relation: For the first piece of Poetry, by which Buchanan provoked the Franciscans, is a Dream, where in he supposes that St Francis appeared to him to

exhort

(29) Thuan. Histor. lib. lxxvi. pag. 445, 446. See also Burnet's History of the Reformation of England, Part I, lib. iii.

(30) Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tome I, pag. 546.

(31) They are Impostors who have said or writ it; and among the rest, Buchanan, in which he but ill requited the kindness the Queen had done him in France, and in Scotland, for the Favour of his Life, and discharge from his Sentence. Brantome, Elog. de Marie Stuart.

be very well assured, that he did not die an Atheist, in the manner that Mr Moreri represents [K]. This is not the only Falsity in his Dictionary concerning Buchanan [L]. Mr Varillas was not altogether so exact as is necessary in speaking of this able Man [M].

Tbuanus

(32) Buchanan, in Vita sua. That Poem is in the Collection of Pices, entitled, Frateres Fratrum.

exhort him to take the Habit of his Order (32). Durst he have feigned that he made Answer, *I will not*, if he had actually been a Franciscan? The Persecutions, which that first Satire drew upon him from the Franciscans, did not blunt his Pen as to them, and chiefly when his Master the King of Scotland ordered him to lash them. How comes it that they did not claim him as a Defector, when they saw him Preceptor to the King's natural Son? How happens it that they accused him only of Lutheranism? How comes it that they could only threaten him, while he taught at Bourdeaux in the Sight, and to the Knowledge of all France? Could a Renegado Fryar, and one suspected of Lutheranism, escape in France in those times from Franciscans stung with Satire. How comes it, if he was a Franciscan in France, that he durst live in Paris, and teach in the College of St Barbara? But lastly, how comes it that Buchanan, in the Hands of Portuguese Inquisitors, who used their utmost Endeavour, for above a Year together, to convict him of Heresy, did not discover that he was charged with having wickedly violated his Vows, and basely deserted the Religion of St Francis? If such a thing had been true, it could not have been kept secret, nor been difficult to prove. How comes it once again, that he came safe and found out of the Hands of these barbarous Inquisitors? When these Demands are satisfied, I may believe he was a Franciscan. Neither can I apprehend how the Queen of Scotland could have preserved him in France from the Rigour of the Edicts. Did he not live with the Marechal de Brisac till the Year 1560? Did he not dissemble his Sentiments on the Head of Religion? Did he not forbear discovering them openly till he came into Scotland? What's most probable is, that That Queen annulled the Sentence that had been passed upon him in the Year 1539, after he had escaped out of Prison. This was certainly the only Favour that Brantome meant.

(33) Histoire de l'Heref, lib. xxviii, pag. 122.

Mr Varillas says (33), that Buchanan was a Franciscan in 1539, when he was imprisoned upon Account of Heresy; that, coming very young into France, he took the Habit of St Francis there; that from thence he went to Portugal, and there discovered the first Signs of his being a Lutheran; that he was eighteen Months in Prison there, and got off by abjuring Lutheranism; that he returned into his own Country; that upon his Relapse he was put into the King's Prison; that he would have been condemned to be burnt, if he had not had the Ingenuity to make his Escape out at a Window, and that he relates the Particulars pleasantly (34). This is a continual Series of Lies. It was almost ten Years, before he escaped out of the Prisons of Scotland, that he went to Portugal. I leave the Care of correcting the other Faults to the Reader.

(34) He says but few Words, upon it, and that without any kind of Merriment.

[K] He did not die an Atheist in the manner that Mr Moreri relates. This is what he says; 'The King sent his Physicians to him, whom he refused to see; and he treated a Minister no better, who found him busy reading Pliny's Natural History. The Minister would have given him the Bible, but Buchanan, rejecting it with great Indignation, *Go*, said he, shewing him Pliny's History, *I find more Truth in this Book than in all your Scriptures*. Thus that Atheist ended his Days, and all Scotland has witnessed this Fact.' Some Lies cannot be read without Indignation; but as for this, it is more fit to excite Laughter than Anger. All Scotland has witnessed this Fact. Can any Man cite so much as one grave Author supported by any tolerable Proofs? I should not think I risked very much, if I defied all Mr Moreri's Friends to do this. And indeed, if that fine Story had the least Ground, Spondanus, who is not himself when he speaks of Buchanan, would not have failed to have adopted it. I find something like it in the Calendar of Father P Enfant, a

Jacobin Fryar (35), who quotes the Chronological Treasure of Peter of St Romuald; but he does not say, *That all Scotland has testified that Fact*, but that *all Scotland can attest it* (36). This last Expression is more tolerable than the former.

[L] It is not the only Falsity in his Dictionary concerning Buchanan. Mr Moreri affirms, I. That Buchanan took the Habit of St Francis: I do not believe any thing of it (37). II. That he was convicted of a Design to eat the Paschal Lamb, after the manner of the Jews, and condemned to be burnt. Spondanus reports the same thing, but in stronger Terms; for he affirms that Buchanan was taken in the Fact, eating the Paschal Lamb, after the manner of the Jews, with some others in the time of Lent: *Quod cum aliis quibusdam agnum Pascalem more & ritu Judaico tempore Quadragesimæ comedere repertus fuisset* (38). If this had been true, they would not have let him live three Years in Bourdeaux, nor come out of the Prisons of the Inquisition in Portugal. III. That, having escaped the Punishment of Fire by Flight, he came into France, where he taught a considerable time at Paris, in the College of Cardinal le Moine, and elsewhere. It is certain, that, when he had escaped out of the Prisons of Scotland, he durst not stay in Paris, for fear of Cardinal Beton, and that he went to Bourdeaux. *Ut Lutetiam venit Cardinale Betonum pessime erga se animatum ibi legatione fungi comperit. Itaque ejus iræ se subtraxit, Burdegalam invitante Andrea Goveano profectus* (39). — *WHEN he came to Paris he found Cardinal Beton, his inveterate Enemy, on an Embassy there. Therefore he withdrew himself from his Anger, and went to Bourdeaux, at the Invitation of Andrew Goveanus*. See the Remark [B]; you will there find, that if he ever taught in the College of Cardinal le Moine, it was not 'till after he had taught three Years at Bourdeaux; and thus Moreri's Narrative is defective.

(35) This I call what the Author entitles, Histoire generale de tous les siecles de la nouvelle loi. This Work is in 6 Tomes in 12mo, printed at Paris, 1683.

(36) Under the 25th of April, pag. 347.

(37) See my Reasons in the Remark [I].

(38) Spondan. Annal. Ecclési. ad Ann. 1539, n. 7. He cites David Cameracensis Scot. lib. iv, cap. ii. Lang. in vit. Calvin. cap. i.

(39) Buchan. in vita sua.

[M] Mr Varillas was not altogether so exact as is necessary in speaking of this able Man (40). If he had been so on such a Subject as this, we should have had great Reason to wonder at it. We had seen Authors before him, says he (41), who wrote Satires against crowned Heads, and caused them to be printed in their Life-time, or gave them to their Friends to publish them after their Death, but we had not 'till then seen any, who, after having declared himself against his Sovereign Lady, so far as to go into England to depose as a Witness against her, in the criminal Process then depending, had continued to persecute her after she was beheaded; yet this is a Crime which they, who are most partial in favour of Buchanan, must own he was guilty of. Mr Varillas finds some Singularities in the most ordinary Conduct. Never was any Prince judicially dethroned or beheaded by a People, who have Authors among them, without their having first published a thousand scurrilous things against him. Reason will have it so; for they, who proceed to such Extremities, ought at least to testify to the World, that they desire it may be thought they had Reason to act so: And how could they do this, if they scrupled to publish that Prince's ill Life? So that Buchanan did no more than go on in the beaten Road. He must not be censured for printing the History of Mary after her Death; for if he was in the right in other Respects, that is, if he advanced nothing but the Truth, he would have been very much to blame in suppressing it. This would have been sacrificing living Innocency to a Crime punished with Death (42); it would have been sparing the Memory of a guilty Queen at the Expence of two Nations. Mr Varillas is deceived, then, both as to the Fact and as to the Right. As to the Fact, since he says, that never any Example of Buchanan's Conduct was seen. As to the Right, seeing he condemns a Conduct which in case of

(40) Preface to the 5th Tome of the Histoire de l'Heref.

(41) Add to this what is said in the Remark [I].

(42) See the Remark [C], at the end.

Thuanus informs us of a Particular, which my Readers will be glad to find in this Place [N].

Fidelity in the Historian, is entirely agreeable to Order and right Reason. But his strangest Mistake of all is, his pretending that *Buchanan*, who died five Years before the Queen of Scotland was beheaded, continued to persecute her after she was beheaded, and that this is a Crime, his greatest Friends dare not deny. No Man in Scotland, says he (43), was more devoted to Queen Mary Stuart than he, till she ceased to be fortunate. To me it seems that Mr *Varillas* stretches a little too much, and yet it is true, that *Buchanan* did at first follow that Queen's Party, and praised her highly at the Head of his Translation of the *Psalms*. Mr *Varillas* says (44), That the Earl of Murray offered him one of the best Places in Scotland, which was that of Keeper of the Privy Seal, on Condition he would assist him to destroy Queen Mary Stuart. This I once thought an Hyperbole, as well as the Primacy which others say was promised *Buchanan* (45); but I now know that he was Keeper of the Privy Seal, a very considerable Place in Scotland. In the Preface of Francis I, Mr *Varillas* observes, That they had horribly calumniated Mary of Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, and that all Authors, who spoke of her, had let themselves loose against her, on the bare Deposition of an ungrateful Person (46), to whom she had given his Life. He adds, that he has vindicated the Reputation of that Princess. Here are at least two Faults; for it is no where said of that Queen, that she saved the Historian *Buchanan's* Life; and a Princess is not justified a-

gainst the Calumnies of an Historian, when it is declared, that nothing shall be said in her Justification which that Historian does not agree to. Now this is what Mr *Varillas* declares with reference to *Buchanan* (47).

[N] *Thuanus* informs us of a Particular, which my Readers will be glad to find in this Place.] *Thuanus* relates, That *Elias Vinetus* received Letters every Year from *Buchanan* by Scotch Merchants, who came to load Wine at Bourdeaux. *Vinetus* shewed these Letters to *Thuanus*, who observed a great deal of Courage in the last, tho' it was wrote with a trembling Hand. *Buchanan* complained there not so much of the Inconveniences of Old-age, as of the Weariness of his long Life: *De senectutis incommodis non tam querebatur, quam de vitæ longioris tædio* (48). He said, that he had left the Court, and was retired to *Sterling*, where he endeavoured only one thing, which was to shake off the Company of those who were not like himself, with as little Noise as possible. He meant the Living, and looked upon himself as dead. *Interea hoc unum satago, ut quam minimo cum strepitu ex inæqualium meorum hoc est mortuorum & vivorum contubernio demigrem* (49). His greatest Enemies cannot deny but that he was in his Life, once, at least, a Philosopher, for such Sentiments as these would not be disowned either by the *Stoics* or by the *Brachmans*, unless perhaps in regard of some small Accessories.

(47) Hist. de François I, liv. xi, pag. 118, 119.

(48) Thuan. de Vita sua, lib. ii, pag. 118. ad Ann. 1582.

(49) Id. ibid.

BUDÆUS (WILLIAM), in French **BUDÉ**, born at Paris, in the Year 1467, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Family [A], was one of the most learned Men of his Time in France. It may be said that he began to study somewhat late; for although he was sent early enough to Schools to learn Latin, and afterwards to the University of Orleans, to study the Law, yet he hardly knew any thing at his return from Orleans, where he had passed three Years. The Barbarousness, which reigned at that time in Colleges, was the cause of his going to Orleans without understanding the Latin Authors, and the want of understanding them hindered his making any Progress in the Civil Law [B]. After he returned to his Father's House he lost much more Time: He spent his Days in hunting, and the Pleasures of Youth, but quitted them after some Years, and had such an Inclination for Learning, that the Ardour, wherewith he applied himself to Study, is not to be expressed. He denied himself all kind of Diversions, and grudged even the necessary Hours for his Meals and Sleep. On the very Day of his Wedding, he withdrew from the Company at least three Hours, to spend them with

[A] Budæus born at Paris in the Year 1467, descended from an ancient and illustrious Family.] *Lewis le Roi*, the only Author whom I have followed, does not set down the Year of his Birth; but as he says, that *Budæus* died the Twenty third of August, 1540, in his Seventy third Year, he gives me a Right to place his Birth in the Year 1467. *Moreri's* Dictionary has a very gross Fault. There *Budæus's* Birth is placed in the Year 1476 (1), and his Death on the 26th of August 1540. Yet he is made to live Seventy three Years.

What we find concerning his Genealogy, in the Work of Mr *Guichenon* is this: 'John Budé, Esq; Lord of Verace, who signalized himself at the Battle of Pontcharra, where he was Lieutenant of a Company of Gendarmes, belonging to the Lord Briquemaut, in the Year 1501 ---- was Issue of that ancient Family of the Budés, Lords of Ierre, Villiers on the Marne, Marly, Troissy, la Motte, St Loup, and other Places, which takes Place among the best Families of the Isle of France, and of Paris; for he was the Son of another John Budé, Esq; Lord of Verace, and of Mary de Jouan, Daughter of Rogerin de Jouan, Esq; Lord of Jonvilliers in Beauce: The said John Budé was Son of William Budé, Knight, Lord of Marly and Villeneuve, Counsellor and Master of the Requests to the great King Francis, and of Roberta le Lyeur, Daughter of Roger le Lyeur Lord of Bois-benard, and Malemain, and Isabella

VOL. II.

de Lailly. ---- This William ---- was Son of John Budé, Lord of Ierre, of Villiers on the Marne, and of Marly, and of Catherine le Picart, Daughter of John le Picart, Lord of Platteville, Sirey, and la Boisselière, and of Catherine de Poncher, Daughter of Francis de Poncher, Knight and Chamberlain to the Kings, John, Charles V, and Charles VI, Bailiff of Touraine, and of Margaret de Dormans: And the said John Budé, Lord of Ierre, was Son of Dreux Budé, Lord of the same Places; and the said Dreux Budé, Son of another Dreux Budé, Lord of Villiers on the Marne, and of Ierre, and this Dreux Budé was Son of John Budé, who lived under Charles V (2).

[B] He went to Orleans without understanding the Latin Authors, and his Ignorance in them hindered him from making any Progress in the Civil Law.] 'Quo in Gymnasio triennium versatus operam pene omnem perdidit. Neque enim ignarus Latine Linguae & ab aliis disciplinis imparatus artem illam reconditam & multiplicem subtilemque cui sese dederat cognitione & scientia poterat comprehendere (3). ---- In which University he spent three Years, and lost most of his time. For as he was ignorant of the Latin Tongue, and unprovided with any other Literature, he could not learn nor comprehend that abstruse, extensive, and subtle Art, to which he had applied himself.'

A a a

[C] He

(2) Guichen. Hist. de Bretagne, Part. III, pag. 251, 252.

(3) Lud. Regius in Vita Budæi initio.

(43) Varillas's Preface to the 5th Tome of the Hist. de l'Herce.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Spe inductus à Moravio si hic regno potiretur, se in Patriarchum assumendum. Strada de bello Belg. Decad. II, lib. viii, ad Ann. 1587, pag. 158. Father Caussin says the same in his Holy Court.

(46) Buchanan.

(1) This Fault is originally a Fault of the Press. The Transposition of a single Figure has changed 1467 into 1476.

with his Books. It was in vain to tell him that he would impair his Health [C], and slip Opportunities of making his Fortune: Nothing was able to abate his Ardour. The vast Learning he acquired by addicting himself so closely to Study, would be less matter of Wonder, had he had good Masters who might at least have served for Guides; or if he had had Companions whose Parts had given him, together with a great Emulation, an instructive Parallel: But he found none whose Disciple he could be [D], nor any one to keep up with him in that Career. So that it may be said, he studied only under himself [E]. One of the things he studied with the greatest Application, was the Greek Tongue, and he begun it when he had a mind to give public Marks of the Progress he had made in Learning: For the first Work he published, is a Translation of some Treatises of *Plutarch*. He afterwards published his *Notes on the Pandects* [F], and then his *Treatise de Affectu*, &c. The Glory of being the first who cleared the nice Matter concerning the Coins and Measures of the Ancients, had been contested with him [G], but he shewed that they should not easily wrest that Crown from him. How great

foever

[C] *He applied himself so closely to study - - - that he was told that he would impair his Health.* Some very ingenious Persons pretend that the Event shewed the Vanity of those Threats, and that he preserved his Health entire (4). But others say, that he fell into a long and tedious Sickness, and that a Head-ach, which returned every Day, obliged the Physicians to order him a kind of Trepanning (5). The Operation was very painful, but very unsuccessful. 'In gravem & diuturnum morbum est prolapsus, quo annos plus viginti ita afflicatus est, ut omnis prope hilaritas e fronte, alacritas ex animo, festivitas in occurfu, urbanitas & comitas in convictu eximeretur, ingravescent quoque indies literarum amor infringeretur, ne vestigium quidem ejus nec simulachrum, sed quedam effigies spirantis mortui appareret (6). - - - He fell into a grievous and lingering Distemper, with which he was afflicted for above twenty Years; so that he lost all his Cheerfulness of Countenance, Alacrity of Mind, Pleasants in Address, Civility and Mildness in Conversation, and even his growing Love of Learning was quite overcome; so that there remained not the least Sign or Likeness of the Man, but a kind of Effigy of a breathing dead Man.' It is no wonder that such long and stubborn Indispositions should make him chagrin, and produce so many Alterations in his Body and Mind.

[D] *He found no Body whose Disciple he could be.* Some Limitation must be given to these general Terms; for it is certain that *George Hermonymus*, a Native of *Lacedemon*, *John Lascaris*, and *James Faber* of *Etaples*, had taught our *William* something. As soon as he heard that *Hermonymus* was arrived at *Paris*, he secured him to himself by a great Salary: 'Quem Budæus nactus magna mercede conductum ad se accersivit, & antequam dimitteret amplius quingentis nummis aureis donavit (7). - - - Whom when Budæus found, he agreed with him for a large Salary, and took him to his House, and before he discharged him gave him above Five hundred Pieces of Gold.' *Hermonymus* read *Homer*, and other principal Authors to him; but as he did not understand them himself, so he was not able to explain them. 'Huic Græco cum aliquot annos operam dedisset, & eo prælegente audivisset *Homerum* authoremque alios insignes, nihilo doctior est factus. Neque enim præceptor ille plura docere quam sciret poterat (8). - - - When he had studied some Years under this Greek, and had heard him read *Homer*, and other noted Authors, he was not a whit the better; for the Master could not teach him more than he knew.' *John Lascaris* came to *Paris* a little after. He conceived a great Esteem for *Budæus*, seeing him inclined to the Greek Tongue; but he gave him only twenty Lessons in all (9). *James Faber* taught him the Mathematics; but the Scholar apprehended with so much Ease all that the Master proposed, that he quickly drained him of all his Knowledge. The latter, though he was largely paid for his Lessons, was sooner weary of teaching, than the other of being taught. 'Mathematicas disciplinas a *Jacobo Fabro* nobili Philosopho didicit: ad quas tantum ingenii & alacritatis initio attulit, ut evolare non excurrere videretur. Itaque dum *Faber* multa proponit, *Budæus* om-

nia assequitur, eò res venit, ut prius ille docendo defatigaretur, eisi magnam mercedem accipiebat, quam hic discendo. Neminem præterea audivit (10).

[E] *It may be said, that he studied only under himself.* He represented the two notable Circumstances of his Studies in Greek Words; the one that he begun them late; the other, that he had no Masters; I say he represented them, by the Terms of *αὐτομαθὴς τὸ καὶ ἐξήμαθὴς*, in a Letter he wrote to *Erasmus*, which was shewed to *Cutbort Tonsal* (11). He afterwards wrote a Letter to the latter, wherein he made him a pretty long Description of his manner of studying. He owns, that after his Return from the University of *Orleans*, he passed some Years in doing nothing, but what young Folks do who know nothing. 'Domum reverfus salutem dixi literis, studiis utique indulgens juventutis illiteratæ, quoad post aliquot annos intra paternos parietes clam studere mecum ipse institui (12). He says in another place, that besides those two Things, there was a third which obliged him to apply himself extraordinarily to study; to wit, that he had not much Penetration. 'Omnia majorem in modum facere atque etiam maximum mihi necesse erat homini nec ingenio felici prædito, & qui in adolescentiæ clausula non dico discipulus, sed tantum tyrunculus hujus studii esse coepissem, & vero gentilis illius *Aristippi* qui *Metrodidactus* adpellatus est: denique qui à memet ipso omnia mutuarer, si quidem nullus erat unde rogare possem (13). - - - I was obliged to labour the harder in every thing, even very hard, not being a Man of a happy Genius; and becoming, I will not say a Scholar, but a Beginner in these kind of Studies, not till my Youth was almost spent, and also a-kin to *Aristippus*, who was called *Metrodidactus*; and in short took every thing from myself, having no body to enquire of.'

[F] *He published Notes on the Pandects.* That is to say, on the Twenty four first Books of the *Pandects*. The Epistle dedicatory to the Chancellor of France, *Joannes Deganauius*, *John de Ganay*, is dated at *Paris*, the fourth of November 1508. *Badius* published an Edition in 1530, corrected and augmented; he had printed the Sequel of that Work in the Year 1528.

[G] *The Glory of being the first who cleared the Coins and Measures of the Ancients was contested with him.* An Italian, called *Leonardus Portius*, pretended to have the only rightful Title to that Glory; as soon as *Budæus* heard of it, he was down-right angry, and declared, he was indebted to no living Person for what he had published on that matter, and that *Portius* had pirated him. 'Quod cum est ad *Budæum* allatum, graviter exarsit, quod nihil tam præter opinionem accidisset, quam ut depelleretur de ejus laudis possessione, quam caducam & vacuum primum bona fide occupasset, & fine cuiusquam injuria quasi usucepisset. Igitur vehementissimè animi, ingenii, virium, contentione jus suum defendit, atque hoc ipsum palam testatus est, à nullo se unquam homine duntaxat qui viveret, his de rebus quas tradidisset, quicquam didicisse vel fando vel legendo: tantumque abesse ne quid à *Portio* acceperit, ut omnia quæ sub nomine *Portii* ad eam prodierant, illa uno eodem continuato perpetuoque

(4) See *Enfans célèbres* par leurs études, Article LXXXVIII, Paragraph 10.

(5) *Lud. Regius* in *Vita Budæi*, pag. 50, 51.

(6) *Id. ibid.*

(7) *Ibid. pag. 38.*

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid. pag. 39.* See also *Budæus's Letter to Tonsal*; it is the 30th of the 2d Book of those of *Erasmus*, pag. 155.

(10) *Lud. Reg.* in *Vita Budæi*, pag. 39.

(11) It is the 11th of the 1st Book, pag. 32.

(12) *Epist. xxx.* lib. ii. *Erasmus*, pag. 155.

(13) *Budæus de Philologia*, lib. i. Operum Tom. I, pag. 35.

soever the Services are that he did the Republic of Letters by his Writings, we may affirm that it is not on that account that it is most obliged to him. He behaved himself in such a manner, that his great Learning did not render him odious to the Inquisitors; so that his Reputation remaining sound and entire, was a powerful Protection to Literature, which many endeavoured to stifle in the Birth, as the Mother and Nurse of Opinions which did not please the Court of Rome [H]. He was

(14) Lud. Regius in vita Budæi, pag. 61.

perpetuoque furto essent ex suo Assé translata. Ac æmulo illi sempiternam notam ac ignominiam inussisset, nisi intercessissent amici (14). — When Budæus heard this he was extremely angry, for nothing could have happened more contrary to his Expectation, than that this Honour should be taken from him, which he fairly took Possession of when it was decayed, and belonged to no body, and had obtained as it were by Prescription without Injury to any body. And therefore he defended his Right with exceeding Warmth and Vigour, and publicly declared, that he had not learnt from any Man living, either by Discourse or Reading, any thing at all relating to what he had writ, and that he was so far from taking any thing from Portius, that all that had been printed under the Name of Portius, on that Subject, was one entire and absolute Transcript from his Book de Assé. And he would have branded his Rival with a Mark of perpetual Infamy, if Friends had not interposed. John Lascaris, who was a Friend to both, hindered that Quarrel from going any further, and, by dint of Intreaty, obtained that Budæus should not insert in the second Edition the sharp Discourse that he had made against Portius. The Author confessed, when the Heat of his Anger was over, that he had been too passionate; and this made him resolve never to be moved more by the Attacks which might be made on him. He let People say what they pleased, and peaceably suffered Agricola to assume what share he pleased in that Honour (15).

(15) Ibid. pag. 64.

At the time that he writ his Book of *The Institution of a Prince*, he had only received some Applause for his Work de Assé. He gloried in it, but without exceeding the Bounds of Modesty. As he expressed himself in a manner that may serve for a Pattern to other great Persons, I shall make no difficulty to recite his own Words, though his Style is somewhat harsh. 'A vostre tresdesiré & tresheureux advenement à la tresnoble Couronne de FRANCE, (he addresses himself to Francis I) qui fut le jour des Calendes de Janvier. — Je parachevay & mis en avant & evidence, le livre des poix & mesures, nombres, monnoyes, & toute la maniere de compter des anciens tant Grecs, que Latins, auquel j'ay monstré & estimé les richesses des grands Royaulmes, Principautés, Dominations, & Empires, dont les Histoires font mention. Et le tout réduit à la monnoye de present. Et en ce faisant, ay esclarcy & interpreté grand nombre de lieux & passages, sans rien obmettre à mon pouvoir & sçavoir tant es histoires, que es autres Auteurs Grecs & Latins. Lesquelz au paravant estoient mal entenduz, combien que plusieurs gens sçavants s'en fussent mis en effect: & pense qu'il me sera permis, d'en dire ce petit mot, sans aucune arrogance, puis que aucuns plus sçavants que moy estrangers, & autres le confessent, ainsi que aucuns de leurs Livres le tesmoignent, qui par cela ont esté depuis publiés par impression. Et en cela seulement je me vouldroye maintenir avoir mieulx sçait, ou par adventure mieulx remonstré en cest endroit, que les autres. Car j'ay esté tout seul opinant de celle matiere contre tous ceulx, qui paravant moy ont escript, & mesmes depuis cent ans, ou au moins tout autrement qu'ilz n'ont fait. Qui a esté la cause & le moyen du grand labeur, & du temps de quinze moye que j'ai occupé à entendre & escrire celle matiere, & la mener jusques à resolution finale, & conclusion du Livre (16). — Nul ne s'est encore depuis apparu, qui en ce m'ayt ouvertement contredit. Mais y en a (comme dict est) qui l'ont expressément approuvé: combien que au reste des choses concernantes le fait des bonnes lettres, je me reputé moindre que les autres, ainsi que la raison le veult, & ma congnoissance le juge: Et mesmement que ceulx mesmes, contre lesquelz j'ay esté d'opinion contraire en ceste matiere. Car

(16) Budæus of *The Institution of a Prince*, chap. 45. pag. 186.

je confesse avoir beaucoup appris d'eulx en autres choses, comme de gens de souveraine science & industrie. Dont la plus part sont allés de vie, à trespas. Mais un homme moyen en intelligence de sçavoir, & moindre que mediocre, comme je suis, peult bien surmonter un grand & excellent homme en une intention, en laquelle il s'est fort addonné, jacoit ce que en autres choses il ne soit egal à luy (17). — At the time of your most desired and happy Accession to the most noble Crown of FRANCE (he addresses himself to Francis I) which was on the first of January. — I finished and published my Book on Weights, Measures, Numbers, Coins, and the several ways of accounting among the Ancients, both Greeks and Latins, in which I have shown, and made an Estimate of, the Riches of the great Kingdoms, Principalities, Dominions, and Empires, mentioned by Historians, and reduced the whole to the Money of the present Time. In the Course of the Work I have cleared up, and interpreted a great many Places and Passages, omitting nothing in my Power, either in the Historians, or the other Greek and Latin Authors; which before were not well understood, though several learned Men had attempted them: and I believe I shall be allowed to say thus much without Arrogance, since both Foreigners and others, more learned than myself, own it, as some of their Books since printed testify. And it is in this only that I would insist that I have done better, or given clearer Explications in this particular, than others. For I was single in my Opinion of this Matter, contrary to, or, at least, widely differing from all who had writ before me, even for a hundred Years. For which reason, it has cost me a great deal of Labour, and fifteen Months time to understand and write these matters, and bring the Work to a Conclusion. — No body has hitherto appeared since, who has openly contradicted me; but there are some (as has been said) who have expressly given their Approbation of it. Notwithstanding, in other things relating to Literature, I think myself inferior to many others, as in reason I ought, and my own Understanding tells me I am, even than some whose Opinions I have contradicted in this Matter. For I confess I have learned a great deal from them in other things, as being Men of superior Learning and Industry. The greatest part of them are dead and gone. But a Man of moderate Understanding and Learning, as I am, and less than ordinary, may easily surmount great and excellent Men in a Design to which he has applied himself very much, though in other respects he be in no wise equal to them.

(17) Id. Ibid. pag. 187.

[H] His Reputation was a powerful Protection to Literature, which many endeavoured to stifle in the Birth, as the Mother and Nurse of Opinions, which did not please the Court of Rome. It is better, for some Reasons, to explain this in *Lectus le Roi's* Words than my own. Cum in maximis, says he (18), opinionum procellis & turbulentissimis tempestatibus ingens Græcæ linguæ conflata esset invidia, quod harum stirps, & semen malorum omnium videretur, cum odii faces undique ab improbis præferrentur, cum in perturbatione veteris disciplinæ spem haberent inimici ad elegantiam literarum non dignitatem modo extinguendam (19), sed etiam gloriam per principes viros infringendam, cum in his alperitatibus rerum eruditii plerique de religione suspecti haberentur, nec satis essent inter imperitorum greges tuti: hic solus non modo integra mente, verum etiam existimatione permansit. Nihil in ejus vita aut in oratione quicquam potuit invenire, quod jure reprehenderet. Quod labenti rei literarum certissimum præsidium attulit. Nisi enim is contigisset orbe politici doctrinæ quasi legitimus tutor, qui eam apud Principem, in senatu, in concionibus exagitata tueretur, ac tantisper dum invidia confideret,

(18) Lud. Regius in Vita Budæi, pag. 83.

(19) Compare with this Erasmus's Letter, cited above in the Remark [I] of the Article BORE (CATHETERINE DE).

was mightily admired by the Court of France [I], as soon as his Learning was known; but he forbore going to Court as much as possible, till he discovered Francis the First's Inclination for Learning. It was when the Court was at Ardes, at the time of the Interview between that Prince and the King of England, that Francis I ordered our William Budæus first to attend him [K]. From that time forward

'deret, domi septem teneret liberali custodia, atque à sceleratorum hominum impetu prohiberet, haud dubiè nostris finibus coacta esset excedere.

— In the greatest Storms, and turbulent Tempests of Opinions, when the Greek Tongue was extremely ill thought of, as seeming to be the Source and Fountain of all these Evils; when wicked Men every where studied to throw an Odium on it; when the Enemies of ancient Learning had hopes in the Confusion, not only to extinguish the Elegance and Dignity of Literature, but also to destroy its Reputation by help of great Men, and in that uneasy State of Affairs, many learned Men were suspected of Heresy, and were scarce safe among the ignorant Multitude: He alone stood untainted either in Mind or Reputation. No Man could find any thing blame worthy in his Life or Discourse, which proved a powerful Protection to the falling State of Literature. For had not he appeared as a lawful Guardian of abandoned polite Literature, to defend it with the King, in the Senate, and public Assemblies, and generously taken it home and kept it a while there, under cover, from malicious Men till Envy was quieted, it would certainly have been driven out of our Country.

[I] He was much admired by the Court of France.] He was known there before the Death of Charles VIII. That Prince, having heard that Budæus was a very learned Man, was desirous to see him, and ordered him to come to Court; but did not live long enough to advance him. He informs us of this himself. 'A Carolo ego commodum in aulam accersitus fueram, cum ille repentino casu sublatus est: exierat jam rumusculus quidam studiorum meorum qui ad eum permanerat nihil minus me agente (20). — I had been called to Court by King Charles, when he was suddenly taken off: Some Report had been spread of my Learning, which reached his Ears, while I thought nothing at all of it.' Guy of Rochefort, Chancellor of France, procured that Honour for our Budæus, as is observed in the eighty ninth Page of his Life. Lewis XII, Successor of Charles VIII, employed Budæus twice on Embassies into Italy, and afterwards made him one of his Secretaries. 'De maximis rebus legatum in Italiam misit cum aliquot proceribus suis: quibus in legationibus sic fidem suam, diligentiam, ingenium regi probavit, ut magnam gratiam ab eo ipso iniret, ac paulo mox in scribarum regiorum numerum adscriberetur (21). — He sent him, with some of the Nobility, Ambassador into Italy on very important Affairs; in which Embassies he gave the King such proofs of his Fidelity, Diligence, and Ability, that he was taken into great Favour, and was soon after made one of the King's Secretaries.' He would have been made Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, had he not chose to husband his time for his Studies, rather than engage in an Office that would have occasioned too great a Diversion.

[K] It was when the Court was at Ardes, — that Francis I ordered him to attend him the first time.] I do not think myself in the wrong, in generally following this Rule, That an Author who, writes the Life of a Man, is more to be relied on, than they who only mention him occasionally. Yet this does not hinder me from believing, that, in certain Cases, we ought to prefer what we read in other Books, before that which we find in a written Life: I give an Example of it in this Remark. Lewis le Roi does not only not say, that Francis I sent William Budæus to Rome to negotiate with Pope Leo X, but expressly remarks that Budæus was not sent for to the Court of Francis I, before that Prince was at Ardes to confer with the King of England: 'PRIMUM evocatus Ardeam, quem in locum rex quoque Britannorum Henricus convenerat, cum tanti conventus splendore excitatus, tum admirabili fama incredibilium

virtutum sui principis incensus, sanè quam libenter regis imperio obtemperavit, atque eo magis quod virtutis, & literarum ergo se intelligebat accersiri

(22). — He was first called by the King to (22) Ibid. pag. Ardes, whither Henry, King of Great Britain, 90.

was also come to a Conference; excited by the Splendor of so great an Appearance, and animated with the extraordinary Fame of the incredible Virtue of his Prince, he very gladly obeyed, and the rather because he understood that he was sent for on Account of his Virtue and Learning.' The Interview of Ardes happened in the Year 1520. It would therefore be false, according to Lewis le Roi, that our William negotiated for Francis I, with Leo X, in the Year 1515. Yet I dare not dispute the Embassy which Mr Varillas mentions: under the Year 1515. 'Budæus was not unskilful in Negotiations, although he had lived at Paris without any other Conversation but that of his Books. The Academy of Rome, which had never been so polite since the Age of Augustus, as it was at that time, gave him an extraordinary Reception, and he quickly acquired the Familiarity of the Pope, because he excelled chiefly in the Knowledge of the Greek Antiquities, which the Pope himself pretended to (23). The same Author adds, that the Objections, which the Pope made, supplied Budæus with a Field large enough to shew his profound Learning, and that the Pope who desired nothing more than to prolong the Negotiation, and conclude nothing, took care not to interrupt him, or make him perceive the Digressions in which he engaged himself intently, but on the contrary, his Holiness created from time to time new Occasions for them.' Add to this, what he says in his Preface; 'Budæus's Example serves admirably to shew that a Person is not the more fit to negotiate nice Affairs, because he is one of the most learned of his Age: And I ought to receive Thanks for having remarked this, if it were only for the Rarity of the Matter.' But how could Mr Varillas say, That Budæus had lived in Paris without any other Conversation than that of his Books, if the two Embassies under Lewis XII be true? Does not he make it plainly appear, that he was not only ignorant of what Lewis le Roi said, but also of what Budæus insinuates? Budæus represents to Cuthbert Tinsal, how he had managed himself in his Studies; he owns he had seen divers learned Persons in Italy, and adds that he had no leisure to be acquainted with them, because he was charged with public Affairs. 'Interim bis Romam ad urbemque infignes Italie, doctos ubi homines per transennam vidi potius quam audivi, & literarum meliorum Professores tanquam à limine salutavi, quantum scilicet homini licuit Italiam raptim peragranti nec libera legatione (24). — In the mean time I went twice to Rome, and the most noted Cities of Italy, where I had a slight Glance of the learned Men rather than heard them, paid my Respects to the Professors of Literature at their Doors, as it were, as much as a Man could do, who passed through Italy in a hurry, and confined by an Embassy.' Lastly, I observe, that he was become a Courtier of Francis the First's Court, before that Prince's Interview with Henry VIII. This appears from a Letter of Erasmus, dated in February 1519 (25), wherein he writes to Budæus; 'Quomodo tibi successerit expeditio quemadmodum vocas aulica partem ex tuis ad Ludovicum Vivem literis intellexi. — How your Court Expedition, as you call it, succeeded, I partly learn from your Letter to Ludovicus Vives.' It appears yet more plainly from a Letter of Budæus, wherein he speaks of a Journey he was to take with Stephen Poncher, newly promoted to the Archbishopric of Sens. 'Episcopus Parisiensis jam Senonensis Archiepiscopus factus est liberalitate regia, est nondum res peracta est. Totus jam est aula, nec nobis licet cum eo loqui.

(23) Varillas, Histoire de François I, lib. 3, pag. 32. He cites in the Margin, in the Negotiation of Budæus, Master of Requests, and Library-Keeper to the King, with Leo X, in 1515. Sammarthianus in his Elagies, pag. 6, speaks thus. Vir tanta animi contentione Musis operatus à civilibus interim negociis & Reipubl. cura non abfuit. Nam & à Francisco primo in aulam sepe accersitus & Romanæ de belli societate cum Leone summo Pontifice adversus Cæsarem & Helvetios contrahenda unâ cum aliquot regni proceribus ab eodem principe legatus est. He says nothing of Embassies under Lewis XII.

(24) Epistol. Erasmi xxx, lib. ii, pag. 156.

(25) The note of the 3d Book, pag. 262.

(20) Budæus de Philologia, lib. 1.

(21) Lud. Regius in Vita Budæi, pag. 88.

forward he took pleasure in hearing him discourse; he committed his Library to him, and gave him a Place of Master of Requests. At the same time the Town-House of the City of Paris, elected him Provost of the Merchants. He was one of the chief Promoters of the Design, which Francis I. afterwards executed, of founding Professorships at Paris for the Languages and Sciences. He had a Difference with Anthony du Prat, Chancellor of France, which was the reason why he appeared no oftener at Court than his Place required; but the time came when he was seldom any where else; for his good Friend Poyet was promoted to the Office of Chancellor, and would have Budæus almost constantly with him. The excessive heats of the Year 1540 obliged Francis I. to make a Progress to the Coasts of Normandy, in hopes of finding a cooler Air. Budæus went that Progress, and fell into a Fever, which made him earnestly with himself at home: He had his Wish, but did not recover; he only had the Satisfaction of dying amidst his own Family, which was numerous (a) [L]. The Date of his Death has been falsified by several Writers [M], which is very strange, considering the Glory that distinguished his Reputation. The manner, in which he desired to be buried, produced some Suspicions about his Religion [N], which were much increased by

(a) Taken from his Life, composed by Lewis le Roi.

(26) Epist. Erasmi lix, lib. iii, pag. 245.

* Quodam tamen die, cum in interiori cubiculo Principis esset, dixit mihi se ad te scribere statuisse. Iturus est propediem in legationem Narbonensem versus cum aulicorum dispensatorum decurione: cum quo etiam ire me Rex iussit, ut numerum sim potius quam aliquam operam certam navem in ea provincia: sic enim interpretor (26). --- The Bishop of Paris is now by the King's Bounty made Archbishop of Sens, though the Business is not quite finished. He is now wholly taken up with the Court, and I cannot speak with him. But one Day, in the King's Bed-chamber, he told me he designed to write to you. He will go shortly on an Embassy to Narbonne with one of the Crown Officers: the King has also ordered me to go with him, to fill up the Number, rather than to do any particular Business, for so I understand it. He does not note the Year in the Date of that Letter; but it is plain, he wrote it while the Court was in a Perment on Occasion of the Death of the Emperor Maximilian. That Emperor died the twelfth of January, 1519.

[L] His Family --- was numerous. He left seven Sons and four Daughters; there is nothing more said of them in his History; but I have read in other Books, that, because he had a great Number of Sons and Grandsons, he desired he might be buried by Night, foreseeing, that if they buried him by Day, there would have been too much crying of little Children, and of those of his Family. The Author, who informs me of this, notes that Budæus's Wife was so far from hindering her Husband from studying, that she served him for a Help-mate as well in the Closet as in the Bed, and looked out the Passages and the necessary Books for him. I do not translate literally, as will soon be perceived, but I think I do not deviate from my Author's Thought. Nec Budæum à literis uxor avocavit, sed magis in iis confirmavit, quam sibi in Musarum sacratio semper assidentem, & aliquid librorum in manibus habentem, non tantum vitæ, sed studiorum quoque sociam & commilitonem nominabat: nec eundem magnus liberorum nepotumque numerus in studiis interpellavit, qui quidem dicitur fuisse tantus, ut antequam moreretur, noctu suum funus efferri, tumularique mandaret, ut aliquo modo compesceret sletum ejulatunque puerorum, quem futurum non obscure providebat (27). --- Nor did Budæus's Wife divert him from Literature, but rather confirmed him in it: as she was continually sitting by him in his Study, with some Book or other in her Hand, he called her his Companion, and Fellow-Soldier, not only in Life but in Study: nor did the great Number of his Children and Grand Children interrupt him in his Studies, though they are said to have been so many, that, before he died, he ordered that his Corps should be buried privately in the Night, to prevent, in some Measure, the weeping and crying of Children, which he foresaw there would be. I have read one of Budæus's Letters

(27) Anonymus in dissertatione de literati matrimonio, pag. 367. It is printed with Baudii Amoris.

(28) It is the 30th of the ad Book, among those of Erasmi.

(28), wherein he only says, that the Careless of his Wife were not able to divorce him from his Books: He does not say, that he found in her a Help as to

his Studies, He represents himself as married to two Wives; one, who brought him Sons and Daughters, the other Philology, which produced him Books. He had been married twelve Years when he wrote that Letter, and he had had six Sons and one Daughter (29) by that time. Philology was not so fruitful; Budæus had produced fewer Books than Children. He had laboured more with the Body than the Soul, but he hoped that at the long-run he should leave more Books than Children. He said the Fertility of the Soul should have its turn, it will raise itself on the Ruins of that of the Body: The prolific Virtue is not given all at once to the natural Organs, and to the Pen. Sic enim statueram mihi esse faciendum, ut conjugem quidem legitimam haberem liberorum parentem, ex Philologia autem libros, id est, nominis mei æternam memoriam, prolemque immortalem gignerem. Liberos jam plures aliquanto quam libros genui, plus corpori fortasse quam animo indulgens. Post hæc (ut spero) marcescente corpore, animus indies vegetior & vividior fiet, utrumque autem simul ex æquo prolificum esse nequit, sed cum emeritæ facultates corporis esse cœperint, tum demum viribus animi stipendia plene procedent (30). --- For I had come to this Resolution in myself, that I would take a lawful Wife by whom I might have Children, and of Philology beget Books, that is, an eternal Memorial of my Name, and an immortal Offspring. Now I have got more Children than I have brought forth Books, perhaps because I indulge my Body more than my Mind. Hereafter (I hope) as my Body declines, my Mind will grow stronger and more lively; both cannot be alike prolific at once; but when the Faculties of the Body begin to wear out, then the Powers of the Mind come to their full Strength. We shall speak below (31) of the Change of Religion of that Family.

[M] The Date of his Death has been falsified by several Writers. La Croix du Maine makes him die the Twenty fifth of August, 1540; Spondanus the twentieth of August (32); and Peter de St Romanus the third of August the same Year (33); Father Garasse in 1539 (34); Mr de Launoi the first of September 1573 (35). The Truth is, that he died the Twenty third of August, 1540. He who thought to correct Reusnerus by Mr de Launoi is deceived: Launoius --- dicit Budæum obiisse A. 1573. Calend. Septembr. ut falli necesse fit Nicolaum Reusnerum qui in Iconibus ejus obitum refert ad A. 1540 (36). --- Launoi --- says, that Budæus died in the Year 1573, on the first of September; therefore Nicolas Reusnerus must be mistaken, who in his Icones places his Death in the Year 1540.

[N] The Manner, in which he desired to be buried, produced some Suspicions about his Religion. He declared by his Will a Year before he died, that he would be buried without any Ceremonies. These are his Words: 'I desire to be carried to the Grave by Night, and without Invitation, only with one Torch, or two at most, nor will I have it proclaimed in the Church, or in the City, that I am to be buried this or that Day. For I never approved mournful Ceremonies and funeral Pumps.

(29) Moreri is therefore mistaken, when he says Budæus had four Sons, and two Daughters.

(30) Epist. xxx, Erasmi, lib. ii, pag. 150.

(31) In the Remark [O].

(32) Spondan. ad Ann. 1540, n. 30.

(33) Pet. de St Rom. Journal Chronolog. Tom. II, pag. 137.

(34) Garasse Docteur Curieuse, pag. 920.

(35) Laun. Hist. Gymn. Navarre, pag. 882.

(36) John Albertus Faber Decade Decad. fol. v, verso.

by his Widow's making open Profession of the Protestant Religion at Geneva, with some of her Children [O]. It is nevertheless certain, that in his Writings he seems very

(37) See Mr de Launoi, Hist. Coll. Navarr. pag. 881.

‘ - - - I forbid any to be made for me, as well for this, as for other things that cannot be done without Scandal: Nor will I have any Funeral Ceremony, or other Representation, about the Place where I shall be buried, for the Year after my Decease, because they seem to me Imitations of the Cenotaphs, which the Gentiles anciently made use of (37).’ A Jesuit, who was in other respects easily provoked, and soon startled at the least Innovations, condemned those who did not put a good Construction upon this Conduct. He will have it, that this learned Man acted thus from a Principle of Humility only, and by an Effect of that studious Humour, which had made him live so much in private. He says (38), ‘That good Soul having lived among the Dead, that he might live for ever among the Living, and having intirely separated himself from all Company, to addict himself to Solitude in his Life-time, retains the same Humour at his Death; for he ordered by his last Will, that his Body should be carried by Night, without Flambeaux, or Funeral Pomp, from *Sainte Avoise Street*, where he died, to the *Celestines* (39), which is a pretty long way: and would be buried without Ceremony, without Attendance, and without Invitation, or ringing of Bells. It is true, that this Novelty gave occasion to different Discourses, the Preachers of those Times taking the matter in the worst sense, because of the Times which began to smell of the Faggot, and were already imbued with certain suspicious Opinions; for it was in the Year M.D.XXXIX (40), when *Luther* had set almost all *Germany* on Fire; but *Budæus*’s former Life, the Integrity and Innocency of his Manners, the public Opinion, and his heroic Actions at *Venice* and *Paris*, for the Honour of Religion, and the Advancement of Learning, were faithful Witnesses of the contrary; inasmuch, that the wisest remained edified by his Humility, whereas others were offended at the Novelty: and indeed it is true, that *Budæus* might do what he did from a Sentiment of Humility, as we have seen divers Saints do, who have desired that their Bodies should be denied Christian Burial, or buried without Honour. A little after, he continues thus: ‘*Melin*, of *Saint Gelais*, knowing that *Budæus*’s Intention was good, and agreeable to his Humour, which had been always solitary, and an Enemy to the hurry of Company, wrote an excellent Epigram in Honour of the deceased, whereby he made it appear, that *Budæus*, in humbling himself, had acquired more Glory than others do by the most pompous Obsequies.’ For he said,

(38) Garasse, Doct. Curieuse, pag. 920.

(39) According to *Lewis le Roi*, it was at *St Nicholas*’s in the Fields, that he was buried.

(40) He mistakes; it was in 1540.

Qui est celui que tout le monde suit?
Las! c’est Budé au cercueil estendu.
Pourquoi n’ont fait les cloches plus grand bruit?
Son non sans cloche est assez espandu.
Que n’at-on plus en torches despendu,
Suivant la mode accoustumée & sainte?
Afin qu’il fust par l’obscur entendu,
Que des François la lumière est esteinte.

Who’s this that ev’ry one attends on here?
Alas! it is Budæus on the Bier.
Why toll not then the Bells? His Name around
Is spread, sufficiently, without their Sound.
But why have no more Torches been procur’d?
To shew the Light of France is now obscur’d.

The Prior Ogier was not so indulgent as Garasse; he blames him for having defended the Conduct of *Budæus*. It may be, he would have blamed his criticizing him, if Garasse had done what one of his own Fraternity did, in speaking of the Chancellor de l’Hospital (41); for they, who turn Critics, commonly espouse the opposite Part. Let us see the Words of the Censurer of the *Doctrine Curieuse*: ‘Pag. 919, He endeavours to justify *William Budæus* against the Accusations of the Doctors and Preachers of his Time, who had conceived some

(41) Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme, pag. 205, upon which see the Critique Generale, Lettre xvi, pag. 274, of the third Edit.

Suspensions of him after his Death, because of the Novelty of his Funeral. They had certainly some Ground to make a sinister Judgment of him. For, besides the bad Impressions which the Novelty of his Funeral made, at a time when all our Forces ought to have been bent against the growing Heresy, and nothing relaxed of the ordinary Ceremonies of the Church; he was of the Opinion of that good Grammarian, of whom Garasse speaks in the seventh Section of the third Book, who thought that disputing on any material Questions of Divinity, was so much time ill employed. See how he speaks in one of his Epistles to Erasmus. *Reddiderat epistolam juvenis, is quem mihi commendasti, Sorbonæ nunc agentem, Mællon dē ēν σερβοντιδὲ λίμνη δια[ρι]βόν[τα], ἔτω γὰρ εἰ- κνὸς ἀποκαλοῦμεν τὴν τῶν σοφιστῶν δια- τελέην. — I had received your Letter from the young Man, that you recommended to me, who now studies in the Sorbonne, or rather, is floundering in the Sorbonnic Mire; for so I may very justly call the Exercises of Sophists.* If Garasse had known of this Passage (42), I believe he esteemed the Sorbonne so much, that he would have sent *Budæus* among the Buffoons of Rome, as merrily as he packs off that good Grammarian to the Country of the Drolls, among the merry Andrews of Athens (43).

[O] His Widow made open Profession of the Protestant Religion at Geneva, with some of her Children. The Passage of Melanchthon’s Letters, which I am going to cite, testifies, that the Example of that Woman was of great weight; because it was believed, that her Husband’s good Discourses had much assisted her to know the Truth. ‘*Venit huc quispiam ex Gallia nobilis vir ac doctus, qui narrat honestissimam matronam viduam Budæi, unacum filiabus, Lutetia migrasse ad Calvinī Ecclesiam, ut ibi & vocem Evangelii audiat, & longius absit à sævitia quæ in regno Gallico adversus Evangelii studiosos exercetur. Hoc exemplo matronæ valde moveri multos homines in Gallia idem affirmat; propterea quod mortui mariti sui doctissimi & gravissimi viri judicio existimatur hanc doctrinam amplecti, de qua ipsum multa piè differuisse ante mortem constat (44).* — There is arrived here from France a noble and learned Man, who says, that the honourable Lady, the Widow of Budæus, with her Daughters, are come over from Paris to Calvin’s Church, both that she might hear the Word of the Gospel, and be farther removed from the Cruelty exercised in the Kingdom of France, against the Professors of the Evangelic Faith. He also affirms, that a great many Persons in France are moved by this Lady’s Example; because she is supposed to have embraced this Doctrine from the Judgment of her deceased Husband, who, it is certain, reasoned, in many things, very piously before his Death.’ In a Letter from Melanchthon to Camerarius, dated the eleventh of September 1549, at pag. 908, of the London Edition, are these Words: ‘*Hæc narratio si vera est, admirationem magnam res pariet. Budæi conjugem anum cum filiabus aiunt migrasse Genavam ad Calvinī Ecclesiam, in qua & alii multi nobiles homines in Gallia exulare dicuntur. — If this Account be true, it will be matter of Admiration. They say, that Budæus’s Widow, and her Daughters, are gone over to Geneva to Calvin’s Church, where they also say many other Noblemen of France are in Exile.*’ The Daughters of the great Budæus were not the only Persons of the Family that retired to Geneva: LEWIS BUDÆUS, their Brother, went thither also, where he was Professor of the Hebrew Tongue. He published a Latin Translation of the Psalms with Notes. See the *Gallia Orientalis* of Colomieu, Pag. fifteen and sixteen. We have spoken before (45) of JOHN BUDÆUS (a), who was one of the three Deputies that were sent into Germany about the Affairs of the Church. MATTHEW BUDÆUS, their Brother, is praised by Henry Stephens as a Man who understood the Hebrew Tongue thoroughly (46). The Posterity of Budæus subsists still in Geneva, and makes a considerable Figure there.

(42) Launoi, pag. 87, shows that this Passage makes nothing against Budæus’s Catholicism.

(43) Ogier Jugement & Censure du livre de la Doct. Curieuse, pag. 190, 191.

(44) Melanchth. Epist. pag. 385, Edit. Basil. 1565, apud Colomieu in Gallia Orient. pag. 16.

(45) In the Remark [G], of the Article BEZ A.

(46) Henr. Stephan. in præf. Dierachi apud Colomieu in Gall. Orient. pag. 257.

[a] The

very opposite to the Reformers [P], though he had sometimes spoken very vehemently against the Court of Rome, and against the Corruptions of the Clergy (b). It is said that he never would suffer his Picture to be drawn [Q], and that, going to make a Speech to Charles V, he was at a stand [R]. His Style both in Latin and French was somewhat harsh [S]. His Father, as I have already said, was of a considerable Family; and yet I have read that it was ennobled on account of our Budæus [T]. This Man, being nettled at something that Erasmus had done or said, resented it highly, and never would do him the Favour to quote him, but criticized him sometimes without naming him [U]. Emulation between two Men of their Rank might easily degenerate into Hatred (c). They who have said, that, notwithstanding their Difference, Budæus brought it so about that Erasmus was sent for to Paris (d), know nothing of the Matter; for the Quarrel between them was not begun, when Budæus, acquitting himself of the Commission that was given him to make Offers to Erasmus, in the Name of Francis I, advised him to accept them (e). An Addition of all his Works were printed at Basil, in the Year 1557, in four Volumes in Folio, with an ample Preface by Celius Secundus Curio.

No

* Page 43.

† Book cii.

† Histoire du Connétable de Lesdiguières. Book iv, chap. iv.

(47) See the History of Lutheranism, by Maimbourg, Tom. I, pag. 217, Edit. de Hollande.

(48) Hist. Gymnastii Navarre, pag. 378, & seq.

(49) St Romuald, Journal Chronologique, under the third of August.

(50) Nicol. Abramius in Cicer. Orat. Tom. I, pag. 409.

[(a) The Citizen of Geneva, which calls him Lord of Verace*, observes, that he was Disciple of Duaren; and this Book, printed in 1609, speaks also of a Sister of John Budæus, a Lady of eighty Years of Age, who was alive at that time; besides one William Budæus, likewise Lord of Verace, and Grandson of the great Budæus; for it is in that sense, the Galleim nepos in Tbuanus† is to be understood, and not in that of Nephew, as Videl has taken it †. This William Budæus, I say, Lieutenant of the Gens d'Arms of Briquemaut, commanded the Scouts at the Battle of Pontbarra. REM. CRIT.]

[(P) In his Writings he appears very opposite to the Reformers.] See his Work entitled, De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum, and which he dedicated to Francis I, in the Year 1535, a little after Calvin had dedicated his Christian Institutions to that Monarch. Budæus recommends the ancient Faith to him, and praises him for the famous Profession that was made to expiate the wicked Attempt of the Heretics (47); (this was the Language of those Times.) Mr de Launoi cites this Passage (48), and adds another to it, which discovers our Budæus's Zeal against those who were called Innovators.

[(Q) It is said that he would never suffer his Picture to be drawn.] I can give you no other Proof of this, than these four Verses:

Nec voluit vivus fingi pingive Budæus,
Nec vatum moriens quæsit elogia.
Hunc qui tanta suæ mentis monumenta reliquit
Externa pudaat vivere velle manu.

Budæus, in his Life, would ne'er consent
To have, or Bust, or Picture, of himself,
Nor dying, sought he Poets' Elogies:
By his own Works, he, to himself, has rais'd
A Monument of everlasting Fame,
Ashamed to owe it to another's Hand.

The Author, whom I quote in the Margin, says, that this is Budæus's Epitaph, composed by Stephen Pasquier (49).

[(R) ----- and that going to make a Speech to Charles V, he was at a stand.] I have read this no where but in the first Volume of Father Atram on Cicer's Orations. * Petrus Messius libro iii. variarum lectionum cap. viii. multa magnorum Oratorum exempla corradit, quos initio dicendi perturbatos repente memoria defecit. Ut Demosthenem coram Philippo, Theophrastum coram Areopagitis, Herodem Atticum coram M. Antonino, Heraclidem Lycium coram Severo Augusto, Bartholomæum Socinum coram Alexandro Sexto, Addi potuisset & magnus ille Budæus, qui Carolus V. Cæsarem Parisios venientem oratione excepturus repente obtulit (50). — Petrus Messius, in the Third Book of his various Readings, chap. VIII, collects a great many examples of great Orators, who have been discomposed in the beginning of their Discourse, and on a sudden their

Memories have failed them: As Demosthenes before Philip, Theophrastus before the Areopagites, Herodes Atticus before M. Antoninus, Heraclides Lycius before the Emperor Severus, Bartholomew Socinus before Alexander the Sixth. He might also have added the great Budæus, who, when he was going to address the Emperor Charles V, on his arrival at Paris, was suddenly stopped, and could not proceed in his Speech.*

[(S) His — French Style was somewhat harsh.] Some have found Fault with his expression in the Book of The Institution of a Prince, addressed to Francis I, where, in his Dedication to the King, he calls his manner of writing, Un Style de haute lice & resplendissant. — A Style of a high strain and glittering: Besides, he was obscure and unpolished; witness these Words of the same Epistle: Je vous requiers de recevoir mon offre avec grand liesse & alacrité, offre d'exigüe estimation compare à vostre bonteur (51). — I desire you to receive my Offering with great joy and alacrity, an Offering of exiguous Esteem compared with your Highness. See what Genebrard and Daniel Augustinus say of him in du Verdier's Bibliothèque.

Having consulted the Epistle Dedicatory of The Institution of a Prince, I find nothing at all in it of what Saint Romuald asserts here. My Edition is that which Messiere John de Luxembourg, Abbot of Irvy, Rivon, and Salmoisy, had printed in his Abbey of Rivon, in the Year 1546, in Folio. Note, by the way, a Fault of Mr Joli, who says, that That Work was not printed till the Reign of Henry II, in 1547, in Folio and in 8vo (52). It is besides very evident, from the Epistle Dedicatory, and from all the rest of the Book, that the Author knew himself when he owns, That he neither could, nor would praise himself. — for knowing the Purity of the French Diction ----- and that he was very little versed in the French Style (53).

[(T) His Family was ennobled on his Account.] His Heirs were declared Noble, by an Arrêt of the Court of Aids, in the Year 1578, on Account of his Personal Merits (54). I believe the Monk, who relates this, had none of the exactest Memoirs. See above, Remark [A]

[(U) He would never — quote Erasmus; and he criticized him without naming him.] They came to defending and proving, which had no very good effect. See the Letters which they wrote to each other, among those of Erasmus. To me it always seemed that Erasmus was more moderate and civil to Budæus, than he was to Erasmus. Was it not very unfociable, not to grant the favour of one Citation? Id parum amicæ voluntatis argumentum crediderunt, quod à Budæo in tot numero libris mentio nusquam facta sit Erasmi, quanquam ut fieret multis precibus ab Erasmo ambiretur. Præterea putant id quoque ad ista quæ dixi accedere, quod Budæus dissimulanter Erasmus in suis libris nonnunquam perstringere videtur, velut in Commentariis, quando ridet illos, qui de singulorum ingenio, & eloquentia sententiam ferre audent, qui Laurentio inferiores præscribunt loquendi formulas, qui leviora quædam scripta in vulgus edunt, quæ nec solem nec ætatem ferant (55).

(b) See in the 20th Book of The Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth, pag. 1934, & seq. several Extracts of the Book de Allé. See also the Remark [D], of the Article JULIUS II.

(c) See the Remark [U], at the end.

(d) Du Verdier, Prologogr. pag. 2404.

(e) Epist. Erasmi xv. lib. i.

(51) St Romuald, Journal Chronol. under August 3.

(52) Joli Codicille d'or, p. 36.

(53) Budæus, ubi supra, in the Epistle Dedicatory.

(54) St Romuald, Journ. Chronol. under August 3. See the Invent. de l'Hist. Journaliere, p. 169.

(55) Lud. Regius in vita Budæi, pag. 77.

(f) Ludov. Vi-
ves in lib. ii.
cap. x. li. Au-
gustini de Civi-
tate Dei.

No Elogy can be finer than that which *Ludovicus Vives* made on our *Budæus* (f) ; for in few Words he represents him as a Prodigy of Learning, and ascribes such moral Virtues to him as deserve the Admiration of all the World. I think it may justly enough be said of this great Man, that he made himself more feared than beloved in the Common-Wealth of Learning, and this does not seem to me a Perfection, but rather a shrewd Sign of Haughtiness and Impatience, and of his arming Cap-apee against those who criticize him. The Concern that a Professor of *Venice* expressed, when some body had taken notice publickly that he did not follow the Opinion of the learned *Budæus*, would alone be a sufficient Demonstration that he had made himself very formidable [X].

(66) In the Re-
mark [E], of the
Article BADI-
US.

(57) Lud. Regi-
us, ibid. pag. 76.

(58) In the Re-
mark [G].

(59) That of Ba-
fil, apud Johan-
nem Frobenium,
1518, in Folio,
in which there are
several other Hi-
storians besides
Suetonius.

— It was looked upon as a mark of a very un-
friendly Disposition, that *Budæus*, in so many Books,
had made no mention of *Erasmus*, notwithstanding
Erasmus had frequently desired him to do it. To
all this may also be added, as it is thought, that
Budæus sometimes seems to reflect underhand on
Erasmus in his Writings, as in his Commentaries,
when he derides those who presume to judge of the
Genius and Eloquence of particular Persons, who,
tho' inferior to *Laurentius*, prescribe Forms of speak-
ing, who publish some trifling Pieces among the
Vulgar, which will neither bear the light nor
time. See above (56) the Clamour that was raised
against *Erasmus* because it was pretended, that he
compared *Budæus* to *Badius*. I shall quote another
Passage which shews what are commonly the Con-
sequences of the Emulation of Great Men. 'Et
difficillimum inter illos nullam intercedere obte-
rationem, inter quos tantæ laudis est æmulatione,
quantum fuit incidere necesse inter *Erasmus*
atque *Budæum*, cum se uterque in literis esse
principem cuperet. Nam quicquid est ejusmodi,
in quo excellere præclarum existimant, in eo
plerumque fit tanta contentio, ut vix possit be-
nevolentia ferveri (57). — It is very hard
to avoid all slander between two Men, where there
is an emulation of so great Honour, as must needs
be between *Erasmus* and *Budæus*, when each of
them studied to be thought chief in Literature,
for whatever is such, that it is thought extraor-
dinary to excel in it, there is generally so great
contention about it, that good Will can hardly be
preserved.'

[X] The Concern that a Professor of *Venice* ex-
pressed, when some body had informed the Public, that
he followed not the Opinion of *Budæus*. We have
seen (58), that there arose a Dispute between
William Budæus and *Leonard Portius* about the
Coins and Measures of the Antients. Now it
happened that *John Baptista Egnatius* followed, in
some part of his Commentary on *Suetonius*, the
Calculations of *Portius*; and that *Erasmus*, adding
a Preface to that same Commentary in a new E-
dition (59), said expressly, that *Egnatius* was
not of *Budæus*'s Opinion. It happened that *Eg-
natius* was much vexed at that Remark of *Erasmus*.
He feared the Consequences of it, immediately
came upon his Justification, and had recourse to
the Intercession of an eminent Man, whom he
conjured to pacify *Budæus*; I say, he conjured
him by the most moving Arguments. This will
appear more plain from his Latin. 'Cum nudius
tertius in Tranquillum Cæsareque meos Basilæ
nuper excusos annotationes, & in his nescio quid
ab *Erasmio* nostro de nummis scriptum legissem,
ubi dissentire me a *Budæo* doctus aliqui vir &
amicissimus assererat, dum *Portium* sequor: ani-
madverti aliquanto altius vulnus descendisse, quam
ego ab initio suspicatus essem, affectique me vis
minime expectata, uti solet, non admiratione so-
lum, verum etiam molestia. Quæ enim mihi
cum *Budæo* studiorum dissensio esse potest, ubi
tanta sit animorum conjunctio? aut quæ testifica-
tio mea honestior aut amplior esse potuit tum be-
nevolentia erga *Budæum* meæ, tum judicii, quam
ea, quæ à me in eis annotationibus adhibita est?
Uti facile declararim me tantum in hoc studiorum
genere *Budæo* tribuere, quantum mihi ipsi vix opo-
raret: ut si aliter vel *Budæus* vel *Erasmus* sentit,
tæ ambo cum summo animi mei mœrore id sen-
tiant. Quare ego te *Grolierie* per eam animi pro-
pensionem, quam in doctos præ te fers, oro; per

humanitatem & divinam istam tuam beneficentiam
obtestor; per eam pietatem, quam tibi reliquæque
genti debeo, adjuro, uti hunc *Budæo* scrupulum
per literas etiam tuas eximas, meque illi ita concil-
lies, ut intelligat vir doctissimus, esse in terris ho-
die neminem, cujus ego doctrinam magis admi-
rer, de cujus ingenio libentius prædicem, quem-
que ego pluris faciam (60). — The other Day,
reading my Notes on *Suetonius*, lately printed at
Basil, and in them something writ by our *Erasmus*,
concerning Coins, wherein this learned and other-
wise friendly Man asserts, that I dissent from *Bu-
dæus*, and follow *Portius*; I observe, that the Wound
goes deeper than I thought at first, and this un-
expected Attack not only raised my Wonder as usual,
but gave me some uneasiness. For what difference
can I have with *Budæus* in studies, where there
is so near a Conjunction of Minds? or what more
honourable or ample Testimony could I have given,
either of my Respect to *Budæus*, or his Judgment,
than I have done in these Commentaries? Where-
in I have freely declared, that I attribute so much
to *Budæus*, in this kind of Learning, as I could
scarce wish for myself: so that if either *Budæus* or
Erasmus be of another Opinion, I am very sorry for
it. Wherefore I beseech you, *Grolierius*, by that res-
pect which you shew to learned Men; I beg of you,
by your Humanity and Divine Beneficence; I con-
jure you, by the Duty which I owe to yourself, and
the rest of your Nation, to satisfy *Budæus* in this
Matter, by your Letter, and reconcile me to him, by
letting that most learned Man know, that there is
no Man this Day upon Earth, whose Learning I more
admire, whose Genius I am more ready to commend,
or that I have a greater Value for.' He says several
other things as strong, which shews his Affection,
Veneration, and Admiration, for *Budæus*, and after-
wards turns all his Anger against *Erasmus*: This
place is very insulting. 'Quare non possum non vehe-
menter admirari, quid tandem *Erasmio* in mentem
venerit, ut etiam aliud agens de studiorum dissen-
sione nostrorum, præsertim falla, publicandum sibi
censuerit, cum *Budæi* vestigia me sequi profite-
ar, cum doctrinam hominis tantopere laudem, &
ejus præsertim libros quinque de *Assæ*. Sed homo
alioqui doctus cum numerorum rationem non pro-
be calleat, & scripture multa sese oblectet, & sibi
plus æquo placeat, dum modo aliquid edat, quid
tandem dicat non satis pensi habuit. Ita fit, ut dum
verborum copiam studet, minus res observet. Quod
si maturare sibi pateretur diutius ea quæ parturit,
pareret ille sæpe eos liberos, qui & vitales essent,
nec vitiosi illi & morbofi sæpe in lucem prodirent (61). — Wherefore I cannot but very

(60) Jo. Baptista
Egnatius Epist.
ad Jo. Grolieri-
um; it is dated
from Venice, the
5th of January,
1518, it is the
35th of the Cen-
tury, published by
Goldast.

(61) Id. ibid. pag.
150, 151.

BULGARUS, one of the most famous Civilians of the XIIth Century, was surnamed *Golden-mouth*, on account of the gracefulness of his Speech (a). He was one of the four Professors (b) whom *Frederic Barbarossa* consulted in the Year 1158, to know how far the Emperor's Rights ought to extend in *Italy* (c), and he shewed himself so able a Lawyer in this Consultation, that the Prince conferred a Judge's Place upon him (d). He behaved himself in it with a great deal of Integrity, inasmuch that his Judgments served for a Rule in all the Tribunals of *Italy*, in Cases that were doubtful. He persuaded the Inhabitants of *Bologna* to submit to that Emperor. He had taught, that, when a married Woman dies before her Father, the Husband is obliged to restore her Dowry. The Case happened to himself, and he conformed generously to his own Doctrine. One of his Scholars did not show himself so disinterested [A]; for being summoned to put that Doctrine in Practice, he said he had altered his Opinion. *Bulgarus* had several Children who all died before him. He was much afflicted at it, and, to repair the Loss as much as possible, he married a second Wife; but instead of marrying a Maid, as he thought, he unhappily made choice of a Wife that passed for a Woman. The Day after his wedding he read a Lecture, and explained that Law which begins, *We undertake a Business that is not new*. His Auditors applied these Words to the Condition in which they supposed he had found his Wife [B], which set them all a laughing. It is not known in what Year he died, nor where he was buried. There is no reason to say, as some have done, that he translated into *Latin* the *Greek* Laws that are in the *Pandects*, for he was absolutely ignorant of the *Greek* Tongue. He published some Glosses on the Civil Law, and an excellent Commentary in

(a) Panzirol. de clar. legum interpret. lib. ii, cap. xv, p. 127.

(b) In Civil Law, in the University of Bologna.

(c) Panzir. lib. ii, cap. xiv.

(d) Ob insignem quam offendit doctrinam pro eo (Fredericus Barbarossa) Bononia ad ius dicendum Vicarius creatus fuerit. Id. ibid. cap. xv, pag. 127.

(e) Taken from Panzirolus, ubi supra.

[A] He conformed generously to his own Doctrine --- One of his Scholars did not shew himself so disinterested. His Colleague, *Martin Gofia*, had maintained the opposite Opinion; and therefore they chose to ask his Advice after the Death of *Bulgarus's* Wife. Her Father would fain know from that Professor, Whether he might legally demand Restitution of his Daughter's Dowry? He was answered, That his Son-in-law was condemned from his own Mouth, and, if he refused Restitution, might be shamefully convicted of being a bad Interpreter of the Law. Hereupon, the Father-in-law brought his Action, but the Son-in-law did not stand it out long. This shews he had some conflict in his Mind between the Desire of keeping the Dowry, and the Fear of being reproached with denying his own Doctrine. It is plain, he did not make too much haste to put in practice what he had taught; for his Father-in-law was forced to commence a Suit against him. It is very likely, he repented that he maintained a Doctrine so contrary to his Interest, and that if he had foreseen the Prejudice it would do him, he would have dogmatized after another manner. However, let us not refuse him his due Praise. At last, he chose rather to part with his Money, than expose himself to the Shame of contradicting his own Theory, and so stopped his Antagonist, who was preparing to insult him. 'Martinus Gofia æquitatis ratione subnixus eam (dotem) velut matris patrimonium †, posteritate acquiri tenebat, qui ex hoc facto à Bulgari Socero consultus: Si mihi, respondit, qui contra te sentio, hic casus contigerit, jure fuisset absolvendus; sed Gener tuus, qui diversam docuit, sua se jam sententia condemnavit, & nisi ut falsus interpret à me turpiter reprehendi maluerit, petitam dotem reddere cogetur. Ita dimissus cum Generum interpellasset, Bulgarius, ne vel fordide avaritiæ, aut falsæ doctrinæ notari posset, ad confirmandam, quam tenebat, opinionem, restituta pecunia, Martinum Antiphilum prudenter elusit †, magnæque cum laude conservata existimatione, patrimonii quam famæ dispendium pati maluit. Sed Albericus ejus discipulus, etsi cum Præceptore sentiret, cum sibi idem accidisset, sententiam se mutasse dixit, nec præclarum Præceptoris exemplum secutus est (1).

† In leg. 3. §. sed utrum ff. de minor.

1 Odofr. in l. dos a patre C. fol. matr. & in l. jur. ff. de jur. dot.

(1) Panzirol. de claris legum interpret. lib. ii, cap. xv, p. 128.

--- Martin Gofia, insisting on the Equity of the thing, held, that it, (the Dowry) as being the Patrimony of the Mother, became the Husband's Property if there were any Issue; he being consulted on this Affair by *Bulgarus's* Father-in-law, answered: If this Case had happened to me, who am of a different Opinion, I might fairly have been excused; but your Son-in-law, who has taught otherwise, has already condemned himself by his own Judgment, and unless he has a mind to be shamefully reproached by me as a bad Interpreter of the Law, he will be obliged to return the Dowry. Dismissed with this Answer he sued his Son-in-law; and *Bulgarus*, for fear he should be accused either of sordid Avarice or false Doctrine, to confirm the Opinion which he had taught, restoring the Money, prudently eluded Martin, the Antipope's, and, by so doing, very honorably preserved his Credit, choosing rather to suffer in his Estate than in his Reputation. But Albericus, his Disciple, though he was of his Master's Mind, when the same Case happened to him, said, he had changed his Opinion, and would not follow the noble Example of his Master. [B] His Auditors applied the first Words of a Law to the Condition wherein they supposed he had found his Wife. They who speak in Public, are exposed to a thousand Inconveniences; for they unwarily say Things that may be applied to their own Adventures, and this sometimes exposes them to Affronts before the whole Audience. They are chiefly to be pitied, when, on the side of Matrimony; their Domestic Affairs give occasion for bad Reports, and unlucky Jest. Be it how it will: Let us shew, that *Panzirolus* has supplied us with the Fact that we have mentioned (2). 'Deficiente sobole, ad procreandam prolem uxorem ætate matura, & quæ vulgo mulier credebatur, pro virgine duxit, postmodum cum interpretaretur legem, cujus initium est, Rem non novam, neque insolitam aggredimur, dum ea verba recitaret, audientibus risum movet, qui hoc ad conjugem, quam corruptam invenerat, retulerunt. Itaque universi libris, quos tum secum gerebant, plaudentes strepitum excitant; --- Having no Issue left, in an advanced Age, he married a Woman for a Maid, who was commonly thought to be otherwise; the next Day he interpreted the Law, which begins: We undertake a Business which is not new nor strange; and when he spoke these Words, he raised a Laugh in the Audience, who applied this to his Wife, whom he had found debauched. And they all made a loud Clap with the Books they had in their Hands. A very good Answer might have been made in favour of *Bulgarus*; But what would it have signified against Scoffers? Nothing could have silenced a Company of Scholars, resolved to divert themselves at the Expence of that great Civilian. They would only have laughed louder at any one, who had represented to them, That the Words of the Law, applied to the Marriage of the Professor, might bear a good Sense, though it were supposed, that he found his Wife such as he had wished her to be; for even in that Case, he might say, that the Business he undertook was no new thing, and that he was used to it. It was his second Marriage, and he had had several Children by his first Wife. But some may say, he spoke in the Plural: We undertake a Business that has

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(2) Panzir. ibid.

† Glo. & Odofr. in l. Rem. non novam. C. de judic.

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VOL. II. No. XXXVII.

(3) Rem. non novam neque insolitam aggredimur.

not the *Charms of Novelty*; we are accustomed to it (3). I reply, That it is permitted in all Languages to speak of one's self in the plural Number; and that therefore it could not be pretended that *Bulgarus* spoke jointly of himself and his Wife. So that he might have been justified by solid Remarks: But once more, This would not have served his turn; the Laughters would still have laughed on. The Fault was committed, and it was irreparable: He had read Lectures to his Wife, which had taught her nothing that was new to her. This is an inexhaustible Source of jesting.

Note, That *Franciscus Duarenus* supposes, that this Professor did not expose himself to Laughter by marrying a Wife, who had lost her Virginity criminally, but for marrying a Wife who had lost it in an honourable way. He supposes, that *Bulgarus* had married a Widow, and upon this, he exclaims against those who marry Widows. It is in

the Chapter where he shews, That they who marry a second time, are excluded from the Priesthood by the Canons; and that he, who marries a Widow, is reputed as one twice married (4). *Lege Moisaica præceptum fuit ut pontifex virginem tantum uxorem ducere posset: Levit. xxi. Adde si lubet quod ridicula vulgo res est, & cavillis hominum obnoxia uxorem viduam ducere, quod vel tritum apud juris civilis doctores didicimus Bulgari Jurisconsulti discipulorum in præceptorem satis ostendit. gl. rem non novam C. de judic. (5) ----- It is commanded in the Moisaic Law, that a Priest should not marry any other than a Virgin, Levit. xxi. Add to this, that it is a ridiculous thing in the Eyes of the World, and obnoxious to Cavils, to marry a Widow, as appears from the Scuffs of the Disciples of Bulgari, the Civilian, against their Master, a trite Story among the Doctors of the Civil Law.*

(4) See above, Citation (23), in the Article BULLINGER.

(5) *Franciscus Duarenus de sacris Ecclesie ministeriis ac beneficiis*, lib. iv, cap. viii, pag. 387, Part II, operum, Edit. Genevæ. 1608.

(a) A small Town on the Frontiers of the Canton of Zurich, which is under the eight Swiss Cantons. Simler in vita Bullingeri.

BULLINGER (HENRY), one of the Reformers of the Church in the XVth Century, was born at *Bremgarten* (a), the eighteenth of July, 1504. At twelve Years of Age he was sent to *Emmerick*, in the Country of *Cleves*, to study Classical Learning. It was a good School at that time; *Mosellanus* was one of those who taught there. *Bullinger* continued there three Years, and maintained himself by what he got in singing from Door to Door. His Father was rich enough to allow him a Pension; but he only gave him a suit of Cloaths when he sent him to *Emmerick*, and some small matter to pay his travelling Charges; for any thing farther he left him to the Charity of his Neighbours: He put his Son to those Streights, that he might make him one Day more sensible of the Prayers of the needy. Our young Scholar bore this Mortification so patiently, and submitted so freely to the Discipline of the School, which was severe enough, that he even desired to try another kind of Life much more rigid. He would have been a *Carthusian* Friar, but his elder Brother dissuaded him from it. At fifteen Years of Age he was sent to *Cologne*. The barbarous manner, in which Philosophy was then taught, served only to make him apply himself the more earnestly to Classical Learning. He even wrote, in the Year 1520, something against the School Divines [A]. He lived at *Cologne* till 1522, and the Nature of his Studies there disposed him to forsake the *Romish* Communion as soon as occasion offered. Having passed some Months at his Father's House, he was invited (b) by the Abbot of *Cappel* (c) to teach in his Convent. He discharged that Duty with much Reputation till 1527. The Reformation of *Zuinglius* was received in the Abbey of *Cappel* in the Year 1526, in which *Bullinger* was the chief Instrument. He heard *Zuinglius's* Lectures at *Zurich*, five Months, in the Year 1527. He took to the Study of the *Greek* Language again, and began that of the *Hebrew*, and preached publicly by a Mission from the Synod. He accompanied *Zuinglius*, in the Year 1528, at the famous Dispute that was held at *Bern*. The Year following he was made Pastor of the Reformed at *Bremgarten*, and married *Anne Adlischwiler*. That Marriage produced six Sons, and five Daughters [B], and continued till the Year 1564. His Wife died of the Plague at that time. He never would marry a second, for which he was blamed [C]. He was scarce settled quietly in his Church with regard to

(b) In the beginning of the Year 1523.

(c) An Abbey of the Cistercian Order, near Zurich.

[A] He wrote ----- something against the School Divines. It consisted of five Dialogues: The two first attack those Divines directly; the two following were an Apology for *Reuchlin* against *Piperi-corne*, a converted Jew; the Title of the fifth was *Promotorum*. They were never printed (1).

(1) *Simlerus* in vita Bullingeri, fol. 6.

[B] He had six Sons, and five Daughters. The two first were Ministers; the third was put into the Service of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and died in France in the Troops of the Prince of *Orange*, in the Year 1569; the three last died Children. Three of his Daughters were married to Ministers of *Zurich*; to *Hulric Zuinglius* (2), to *Lewis Lavator*, and to *Johas Simler*; they died all three of the Plague; the second in the Year 1564, the other two in the Year 1565 (3).

(2) Son of the Reformer *Zuinglius*.

(3) *Simlerus*, ibid. fol. 12.

[C] He never would marry a second time, and was blamed for it. Care has been taken in the History of his Life to refute those captious Spirits, who censured him for not marrying a second Wife. They tell us first of his Orthodoxy; they declare, that he did not doubt, but God permitted the Ministers of the Gospel to marry a second time; and then add, that he answered those who advised him to marry a second Wife, That the first was still living in his Heart, and in the Children she had brought him; and that he had a Daughter

that governed his Family very prudently; and after all, the burthen of sixty Years, which he laboured under, stifled all such Thoughts. The Censurers grounded their Exceptions chiefly on Reasons of Health: They believed, if he had married again, that he would not have been troubled, as he was, with a pain in his Reins. That is confuted by this Reason, That married Men are no less subject to this Inconvenience, than they who lead a single Life. 'And besides, continue they, can it be thought, that a Man of *Bullinger's* Age and Prudence could not tell what agreed best with his Constitution, or that he should neglect any means of Health?' In short, they had recourse to secret Reasons, which might perhaps be the Cause that he continued a Widower, though perhaps to the Prejudice of his Health. As it is probable several Readers may imagine, that what I have said is mostly a Gloss of my own framing, I shall recite the *Latin* of *Simler*. 'Post hujus obitum quamvis annos fere XI. superstes fuerit, nunquam tamen adduci potuit ut aliam uxorem duceret. Non quod secundas nuptias Christiano homini atque etiam ecclesie Ministris non concessas esse crederet, sed primam uxorem in animo suo adhuc vivere dicebat, quæ tot sui charissima pignora reliquisset, & quia filiam haberet quæ familiam optime administraret,

to those of the *Romish* Communion, when he was engaged in Disputes with the *Anabaptists*; he disputed publicly against them, and wrote Books in which he confuted their erroneous Opinions. The victory, obtained by the Catholic Cantons over the Reformed in the Year 1531, obliged *Bullinger* to forsake his Country, together with his Father, Brother, and Colleague. He retired to *Zurich*, and there filled the Place vacant by the Death of *Zuinglius* (d). He edified that Church by his Preaching and Writings. He was obliged in the first place to refute the Impertinencies and Boasts of *John Faber* (e): He shewed him that the Goodness of a Religion was not to be judged of by the good or bad Success of a Battle. From that time he was employed in several Ecclesiastical Negotiations, by which *Bucer* laboured to reconcile the *Zuinglians* and the *Lutherans*. *Bullinger* behaved himself in such a manner, that the Suspicions which had been entertained of him did not last long: he shewed that the Love of Concord should never bring him to promote a Formulary, that was captious and contrary to sound Words. He wrote Books every Year, which I shall not particularly mention, yet will not omit that which he published against *Luther* in the Year 1545. The *Swiss* Churches had kept a long Silence, notwithstanding *Luther* wrote in a very passionate manner against their Doctrine concerning the Sacrament; at last it was thought fit to answer him in his Life-time, least, if it were deferred till after his Death, Occasion might be given to some disadvantageous Surmises. Besides, it was thought that a very vigorous Answer would make *Luther* more moderate for the future (D), and prevent his abusing the Respect that was shewn him. *Bullinger*, who advised Silence, was the Man charged with the Business of answering him, and he acquitted himself worthily. *Luther* dying a little after, there were, doubtless, some rash Spirits (for there are but too many such in all Communions) who said, among other things, that the Vexation of finding himself incapable of answering *Bullinger's* Apology, had broke his Heart. The *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, knowing that People complained of the Church of *Zurich*, on the account of these Insults, advertised our *Bullinger* of it, who wrote an *Apologetic* Letter to him in the Name of his Colleagues: In the Year 1549, He and *Calvin*, who was come to *Zurich* for that purpose, drew up a Formulary of the Conformity of Faith between the Church of *Zurich*, and that of *Geneva*. *Calvin* undertook that Journey, because he was suspected of an Opinion which favoured that of *Luther* on the Eucharist. The same Year *Bullinger* alledged so many Reasons against the renewing the Alliance, to which King *Henry II* courted the *Swiss*, that That Proposition was rejected. One of his Reasons

(d) He had been killed in the Battle which the Protestants lost on the 11th of Oct. ber, 1531.

(e) He had been the principal Antagonist of *Zuinglius*.

administret, se hac ætate (erat autem sexagenarius) nolle de nuptiis & conjugio sollicitum esse. Equidem non defuit qui hoc ejus factum & consilium damnant, hoc maxime nomine quod cum melius consultum fuisse suæ valetudini existant si alteram uxorem duxisset: homines ridiculi; quasi in conjugio viventes non æque nephriticis & dysuriæ doloribus obnoxii sint atque cœlibes. An vero existimant cum nullam suæ valetudinis rationem habuisse, & tantæ ætatis atque prudentiæ hominem ignorasse quidnam suæ naturæ conveniens sit? Atque ut maxime vera sit eorum ratio, eas tamen ille forte habuit consilii sui rationes vulgo incognitas, ut etiam cum damno valetudinis id sibi persequendum statuerit (4). — He outlived her near XI Years, but never could be persuaded to marry another Wife. Not that he believed second Marriages to be unlawful for a Christian, or even a Minister of the Church, but he said his first Wife still lived in his Mind, who had left so many dear Pledges of herself, and as he had a Daughter who managed his Family very well, he would not, at his Years (and he was sixty), think of Marriage. Indeed there are some who blame this Action and Resolution of his, chiefly on this Account, that he would have taken a better Course to preserve his Health, if he had married another Wife; ridiculous! as if married People were not equally subject to nephritic Pains and the Strangury with single Persons. Or do they imagine that he had no regard to his Health, or that a Man of his Age and Prudence did not know what agreed with his Constitution? And suppose their Reasons were true, perhaps he had some private Reasons for his Conduct, which he refused to follow, even at the Expence of his Health. The best of all this, is, the Seriousness wherewith it is set forth.

(D) He was appointed to answer *Luther*, it being thought that a very vigorous Answer would make *Luther* more moderate for the future. I declare beforehand, that I do not apply what I am going to

say to any particular Person, especially, that I by no means glance at *Luther* in it; but it is certain, that one can hardly tell what course to take with certain fiery and impetuous Tempers. Turn which way you please, you find yourself uneasy with them. Answer them, and you raise their Choler an hundred times higher (5). Do not answer them, and they become tenfold more fierce and insolent; they insult you, and attack all others with much greater Boldness. The Experience of Impunity makes them hope that all will give way to them, and that there is nothing better than hectoring and bouncing. So that there are Difficulties on both sides, whether you do, or do not resist them. However, I do believe, that, according to human Prudence, it is better to resist them by answering in their own way and Style, than to keep silence. Those violent Spirits are not all equally untractable, some of them may be kept within bounds, if they are put upon the defensive. What I am going to copy deserves to be weighed; the Ministers of *Zurich* experienced the Importance of it. Alii vero omnino respondendum censebant & quidem acriter, quod nec privatim nec publice læsus tanta petulantia vivis & defunctis insultaret. Etsi enim *Lutherus* bene meritis sit de Ecclesia, non tamen tantum illi tribuendum ut unus plus reliquis omnibus possit, & ut ob unius offensionem cavendam veritas turpi silentio prodatur. Ac fore utilem hujusmodi responsum cum quoad ipsum *Lutherum*, qui dum omnes illi indulgent atque omnia permittunt, magis in illa sua nimia vehementia confirmatur; quod si fortiter se illi viri boni & docti opponant, rem diligentius expensurum, & moderatius acturum; tum ad alios commovendos ne tyrannidem in renascentem ecclesiam inducant. — In hanc sententiam concesserunt *Tigurini* (6). — Others were of Opinion, that he ought, by all means, to be answered, and that sharply; because, without any manner of Provocation, either public or private, he so petulantly insulted both the Living and the Dead. For notwithstanding *Luther* deserved well of the Church,

(5) Bacchæ bacchanti si velis adversariere, ex insana insaniores facies. *Plaut. in Amphitr. Act. 2, Sc. 2, ver. 79.*

(6) *Simlerus*, ubi supra, fol. 20. verso.

(4) *Ibid.* fol. 12. verso.

(f) Docens non esse ius aut fas homini ut se mercede conduci patiatur ad fundendum sanguinem miserorum & plerumque innocentium hominum à quibus nulla ipse unquam injuria affectus sit. *Simler, ibid. fol. 24.*

(g) In 1562.

(h) In the beginning of 1563.

(i) In the beginning of 1564.

(k) Ibid.

(l) Classicum quodammodo canens, & omnes exhortans ut nullum locum nobis in Ecclesia Christi relinquunt. *Simlerus, ibid. fol. 43.*

(m) Taken from his Life, written by *Josiah Simler*.

(n) See Hotting. in Bibl. Tigurin. pag. 751. & seq.

sons was, that it was not lawful for a Man to let himself to hire, to kill those who have done him no wrong (f) [E]. He wrote a Book in the Year 1551, to shew that the Council of Trent had no other Design than to oppress the Truth, and that therefore no regard should be had to the Pope's Behaviour to the Cantons, in inviting them to send Deputies to the Council. That Book never appeared but in Italian: It was translated into that Language, with some Additions, by *Paul Vergerius*. The Dispute between *Bullinger* and *Brentius*, about the Doctrine of Ubiquity, began in the Year 1561. *Bullinger* published a Book, wherein he shewed, that JESUS CHRIST, as to his Human Nature, is no where but in Heaven, at the right Hand of GOD. *Brentius*, a zealous Ubiquitarian, answered that Book. *Bullinger* replied to him (g). *Brentius* published another Work, against which *Bullinger* did not fail to draw his Pen (h). *Brentius* returned to the Charge (i), and so did *Bullinger* (k). He wrote a Book, in 1571, against the last Will and Testament of *Brentius*, which *William Bidenback*, a Divine of *Wittenberg*, had published, by which Testament *Brentius* forewarned all States not to allow the *Zuinglians* a Toleration (l). The National Synod of *Rochel*, having, in 1571, condemned those who rejected the Words *Substance* and *Substantially*, in speaking of the Eucharist: the Ministers of *Zurich* thought, that That Canon condemned them. They wrote to *Beza* about it, who answered, that the Synod did not point at them: However *Bullinger* represented to *Beza*, that the Expressions of the Decree ought to be so altered, that no body might think there was any Difference of Opinion between the Churches [F]. That Letter of *Bullinger* was effectual; for, in the Year 1572, the Synod of *Nismes* gave all the Explications that the Church of *Zurich* could desire. An Answer was to be made, in 1575, to the Apology for the Testament of *Brentius*, composed by *James Andrews*. The Ministers of *Zurich* took upon them what concerned the Fundamentals of Doctrine, and left *Bullinger* only the Trouble of answering what related to himself. This was his last Work, and it is observable, that he never exceeded the Bounds of Modesty as he did at this time: He treated his Adversary hardly, he railed at him, and ridiculed him to some purpose. He died like a good Christian, the seventeenth of September, 1575 (m). He is Author of a great many Books; for besides those which have been printed, and which amount to ten Volumes, he wrote several others that are preserved in Manuscript (n). *John Stuckius* made his Funeral Oration [G]. Most of Mr *Moreri's*

' Church, yet was not so much deference due to him, as that he alone should be of more Weight than all the rest, and the Truth be betrayed by a shameful Silence, for fear of offending one single Person. That such an Answer would be useful both to Luther himself, who, while every body gives him his Way, and bears with all, will grow more confirmed in his Vehemence; but if these good and learned Men withstood him bravely, would weigh things more carefully, and act with more Moderation; and might also prevent others from introducing Tyranny into the newly reviving Church. - - - Those of Zurich came into this Opinion.'

[E] He thought it not lawful for a Man to let himself to hire, to kill those who have done him no wrong.] I do not pretend to set up for a Judge, or a Censurer, of the Swiss Cantons, who sacrifice the Lives of their Subjects in other Peoples Quarrels, and when they can have no doubt but the Quarrel is unjust; for Example: They give at present (7) Troops to France, and likewise to the Enemies of France; and yet one of the two Parties must certainly have an unjust Cause. But be that how it will, I shall not examine whether *Bullinger* was in the wrong or no, as to the Republic of Switzerland: I shall only say, that I do not see what answer can be made him, as to private Persons, who lift themselves voluntarily to kill the Allies of their Country. A private Person may bear Arms against the Enemies of his Country, whether his Sovereign requires him so to do, or whether he leaves every one to his Liberty to lift or not; but when a Person has that Liberty, and hires himself to kill those who are Friends and Allies to his Sovereign, I cannot see but he hires himself to commit Murder, and imitates the Gladiators, who to divert the People of Rome, hired themselves to the first Comer to kill one another. One of our News Writers has made a Remark lately upon this Conduct of the Cantons: I think it is in the Historical Letters of September 1694. You will see in a Work of *Hottinger*, that *Zuinglius*, and the other Reformers of that Country, had the same Scruples as our *Bullinger* (8).

[F] He desired of *Beza* that the Expressions of a Decree of the Synod of Rochelle might be altered, that no body might think there was any Difference of Opinion between the Churches.] It will not be useless to place here the Words that *Josiah Simler* made use of. 'Videri decretum verbis paulo inconsideratius conceptum & pronunciatum esse, Damnamus eos qui non recipiunt substantiæ vocabulum. Quis enim ignorat nos ex eorum numero esse qui hoc non recipimus, neque unquam recipere volumus? Quam obrem consultissimum fore ut cum iterum in Synodum coierint hac de re sermones & decreta sua sic temperent, ut omnibus ubique manifestum sit neque de nobis, neque de nostri similibus ubicunque locorum fuerint canonem locutum esse. - - Atque ita quidem postea contigit (9). - - That the Decree seemed to be conceived and expressed in Terms not well weighed, viz. We damn those who do not receive the word Substance. For who knows not that we are of those who do not receive it, nor ever did? Wherefore, it would be most advisable, that the Synod, when they meet again, temper their Expressions and Decrees, concerning this Matter, so that it may be evident to every body, that the Canon does not concern either us, or any of our Persuasion. - - And so indeed it happened afterwards.' The Answer, which *Beza* made by order of the Synod to the Church of Zurich, is in the Sixty fifth of his Letters, and the Two hundred seventy ninth Pages of the third Tome of his Works.

[G] *John Stuckius* made his Funeral Oration. *Thuanus* is not well translated. They will have him say, that *Josiah Simler* composed the Funeral Oration of *Bullinger* (10). Whereas, he says no more than that *Simler* praised *Bullinger*. 'Senio gravis decessit 13 Kalend. Octob. à *Josiah Simlero* - - - laudatus, & variis variorum carminibus epitaphiis celebratus (11). - - He died at a great Age, on the seventeenth of September, and was commended by *Josiah Simler*, and celebrated in Epitaphs, in different kinds of Verse, by several Hands.' This is very true, though it was *Stuckius*, and not *Simler*, that made the Funeral Oration; for *Simler* wrote *Bullinger's* Life, wherein he praised him highly.

[H] Mr

(9) *Simler*. ubi supra, fol. 44.

(10) *Telfier Elog. taken from Thuanus, Tom. I, pag. 440.*

(11) *Thuan. lib. lxi, pag. 139.*

(3) *Hotting. in Methodo legendi Histor. Helvet. pag. 603. & seq.*

rer's Faults are not material [H]. Those of Mr Teiffier are likewise inconsiderable, and not so numerous [I].

(12) In Latin
Urs.

(13) Simler, ubi
supra, fol. 7.

(14) Spondan.
Annal. Eccles.
ad Ann. 1531,
n. 7.

(15) Simler, ubi
supra, fol. 42,
verso.

(16) Affiduum
heretorem habebat
fratrem ipso 8. annis natu
ma-
joem Joannem
nomine, qui tum
in eadem Schola
(Embrica) literis
operam dabat, &
privatim ejus stu-
dia informabat.
Id. ibid. fol. 6.

(17) Id. fol. 6.
verso, & fol. 42,
verso.

[H] Mr Moreri's Faults are not material. I. The River, which runs by Bremgarten, is not called *Ruffi*, but *Rufi* (12). II. It does not appear from *Bullinger's* Life, though *Simler* has described it amply and exactly, that he was a Clergyman in the Communion of Rome. It is expressly noted, that he performed no manner of Roman Catholic Function in the Abbey of *la Cappel*. 'Religio illi manebat integra, neque quicquam negotii habebat cum votis monasticis, monachatu, cuculla, cantu, choro, ALIISQUE superstitionibus papisticis (13). - - - His Religion was intirely pure, nor had he any share in the Monastic Vows, or Order, Habit, Singing, Choir, or ANY OTHER Popish Superstition.' It is likely, that Mr Moreri was misled by *Spondanus*, who says, that *Henry Bullinger*, an Apostate and a married Priest, succeeded *Zuinglius*. 'Zuinglio porro Tiguri in Cathedra pestilentie successit est Henricus Bullingerus itidem Helvetius ex Presbytero apostata uxoratus (14).' III. It is true, indeed, that *John Bullinger*, the Brother of *Henry*, died in the Year 1570 (15); but it is false that he was eighty Years of Age. He was eight Years older than his Brother (16); therefore he was born in the Year 1496; so that he must have been only Seventy four Years of Age when he died. What was *Melchior Adam* dreaming of, when he made him Eighty fix Years old; when he mentions the eight Years difference between the two Brothers, and places the Death of the Eldest in the Year 1570? This *John Bullinger* had been some time Curate of a Village in the Canton of *Uri*: He loved War and Hunting, and sometimes followed the Inhabitants of his Canton, when they went to fight. He was stripped and very much wounded in a Battle which they lost. From that time, he renounced the War and the Priesthood: He turned Protestant, betook himself again to his Study, and, being made a Minister, he faithfully discharged the Duties of his Ministry, till he died (17). This Phrase of *Moreri*, *He brought him over afterwards to the Party of the Protestants, and he died in 1573, being fourscore Years old*, is so ill put together, that the most knowing Readers may be deceived by it. The first he refers to *Henry Bullinger*, and the second to *John Bullinger*. But, according to the Rules of writing well, they ought both to refer to the same Man, and every Reader will understand them so at the first Reading. They have been taken in that Sense, in the *Amsterdam* Edition, and therefore the Editor thought that the last Member of the Period contained two Falsities. The Period was therefore rectified in this manner: *He brought him over afterwards to the Party of the Protestants, and died in 1575, being Seventy one Years old*. It is certain that *Moreri* does not speak of *Henry Bullinger's* Death in that Place; he only mentions the

Death of *John*. At the end of the Article he mentions that of *Henry*, and places it on the Twenty fourth of May, 1575. IV. *Moreri* should have said, not that *Bullinger wrote two Dialogues, when he was but twenty Years of Age, against a Jew* - - - in favour of *Capnio*; but that he wrote them at sixteen Years of Age (18) against a Jew converted to Christianity. The Reason why he should have added this, is, that the Monks, who persecuted *Capnio*, alledged for a Pretence, that he opposed the destroying of Jewish Books, and favoured Judaism. It is certain, that the Jews are not his Adversaries. V. It is not true that at twenty Years of Age he had a mind to turn *Carthusian* (19). VI. The two Attempts mentioned by *Moreri* would not have been omitted in *Bullinger's* Life, if they were true. *Moreri* says; That the first time That Minister undertook to preach at *Bremgarten*, he met with such Opposition, that he was obliged to retire into the Country. He confounds the Father with the Son: It was *Bullinger's* Father who was expelled from his native Country, when he had declared against the Mass; but the Son went thither only once to perform the Functions of Minister in that Place. VII. It is not true that the Calvinists wrote against him. VIII. His Steadiness, in the Dispute he had with *Brentius*, was not at all an Effect of a Promise he had made to *Zuinglius*; for their Dispute ran upon the Doctrine of Ubiquity, which was not started till after *Zuinglius's* Death. Would any one be so unreasonable as to say, that *Bullinger* made a general Promise to oppose the Lutherans, whatever Doctrine they should invent for the future? I pass by three other small Mistakes which I have rectified in my first Edition.

[I] Those of Mr Teiffier are - - - not so numerous. He says, I. That when *Bullinger* had made an End of his Studies, he resolved to turn *Carthusian*. II. That he established the Reformation at *Cappel*, a Town in Switzerland. III. That he retired to *Zurich*, and, after *Zuinglius's* Death, was chosen - - - to fill his Place. IV. That he exercised the Ministry for the space of Fifty Years (20). *Bullinger* had a Mind to turn *Carthusian*, when he was but twelve Years of Age (21); but he had no more such Thoughts at the Age of seventeen (22). *Cappel* is not a Town, but an Abbey. *Bullinger* did not go to *Zurich* till after *Zuinglius* was killed (23). He was not a Minister for the space of Fifty Years. One may infer from the History of his Life, that he was admitted into the Ministry only in 1527, or 1528. *Tibanus* is in the right to say, that he exercised his Ministry during Forty three Years; but that Historian should not have said, that he served all that Time the Church of *Zurich*; he should have taken off three Years.

(18) Simler, and
Melchior Adam
say these Dia-
logues were writ-
ten in the Year
1520.

(19) See the fol-
lowing Remarks

(20) Teiffier,
ubi supra, pag.
476.

(21) Quamvis
puer adhuc con-
stituerat se Car-
thusianorum in-
stituto addicere.
Simler, ubi supra,
fol. 5, ad Ann.
1516.

(22) Propositum
de Carthusiano-
rum vita ample-
ctenda prorsus
abiecit, Id. fol. 74
ad Ann. 1521.

(23) Tigorum
venit anno 1525,
10 XXI. die 28.
Kalend. Decem-
bris. Id. fol. 13, verso.
Zuinglius was
killed the 11th of
Octob. 1531.

BUNEL (WILLIAM), Professor of Physic in the University of *Toulouse*, towards the Beginning of the XVIIth Century. He wrote a Piece not mentioned by *Gesner*, nor by *Vander Linden*, nor by their Continuators. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* has given us the Title of it, and some Extracts [A].

[A] He wrote a Book — of which *Du Verdier* has given the Title, and some Extracts. This is that Title: 'Euvre excellente & à chacun desirant de peste se préserver tres utile. Contenant les Médecines préservevatives & curatives des maladies pestilencieuses & conservatives de la Santé. Composée par Maître Guillaume Bunel en la faculté de Médecine Docteur Régent de l'Université de Tholose, lesquelles par luy sont ordonnées tant en Latin qu'en François par rime. Avec plusieurs Epistres à certains excellens personnages en la louange de Justice & de la chose publique (1). — An excellent Work, and very useful to those who are desirous to preserve themselves from the Plague, containing Remedies to preserve one's self from, and to cure pestilential Diseases. Written by William Bunel a Physician, Doctor of the University of Toulouse, who has prescribed those Remedies both in Latin and French Verses. With several Letters to some eminent Persons in Com-

mendation of Justice, and in Praise of the Commonwealth.' That Book was printed at *Toulouse* in the Year 1513, in 4to. I shall set down the first Verses of the Extracts that are to be found in *du Verdier*:

En apres il se fault garder
De faire prou ni peu excés.
Dequoy lon se puisse eschauffer,
Car il en vient des maux alés.
Les femmes à part delaissez
Sans toucher aux bas instrumens:
Plusieurs en ont souffert tourmens.
Je ne dis pas qu'en mariage
Afin qu'on puisse avoir du fruit,
Vous ne faciez aucun ouvrage
De tard en tard ainsi que duit:
Mais ce soit apres la minuict

D d d

Parfaict

(1) *Du Verdier*,
Vau-Privas Bi-
blioth. Françoisie,
pag. 472.

Parfaicte la digestion
 Pous faire generation.
 Aussi grands inconveniens
 Vient pour trop manger & boire:
 On a veu de grands accidens
 Desquels devons avoir memoire.
 Et pource, si me voulez croire,
 Mangez peu, net & bon il soit:
 Fol est qui soi-mesmes deçoit (2).

(2) *Id. ibid.*

*The least excess of any kind,
 Whether of Body, or of Mind,
 With studious Care be sure avoid,
 Health by excess is oft destroy'd:
 From Am'rous dalliance abstain,*

*For many thence have suffer'd Pain:
 I do not say, but married Men
 May do the Office, now and then,
 As requisite for Procreation,
 But, let them do't with Moderation,
 And in the Morning, when, for use,
 Digestion has prepar'd the Juices:
 Too many by Experience learn,
 (May their Examples others warn!)
 Distempers, more than one can think,
 Flow from excess, in Meat and Drink.
 Be then content with little Food,
 And chuse that little clean and good:
 This, take my Word, 's the safest Rule:
 He that deceives himself 's a Fool.*

BUNEL (PETER), a Native of *Toulouse*, was one of the politest Latin Writers that lived in the XVIth Century [A]. He studied at *Paris*, in *Coqueret College*, where he gloriously distinguished himself by his noble Genius. Being returned to *Toulouse*, and not knowing how to maintain himself in his Family, he sought his Fortune elsewhere. He went to *Padua*, and was maintained there by *Emilius Perrotus*. Afterwards he had a good place procured him in the House of *Lazarus de Baif*, Embassador of *Francis I*, at *Venice*, where he spent three Years with great Satisfaction and Profit; and was even assisted, in his Study of the *Greek Tongue*, by the Embassador his Master. When he had made a considerable Progress in that Language, he studied the *Hebrew Tongue*. *George de Salve*, Bishop of *Lavaur*, who was made Embassador of *Francis I*, at *Venice*, after *Lazarus de Baif*, took *Bunel* into his Service. They were so pleased with one another, that when the Bishop repassed the *Alpes*, and resolved to reside in his Bishopric, according to the Duty of a good Prelate, he found *Bunel* altogether disposed to retreat to *Lavaur*. That learned Man found there what suited best with his Humour; a great Tranquillity, a great deal of time to study, and the satisfaction of not having before his Eyes the great Examples of the Corruption of the Age. After the Death of his Prelate (a), he returned to *Toulouse*, where he would have been in a poor and miserable Condition [B], if Messieurs du *Faur*, Protectors of Virtue and Learning, had

(a) He died in 1541.

[A] He was one of the politest Latin Writers in the XVIth Century.] He served for a Model to *Paulus Manutius*, which is a great Encomium. *Catel* could not well forget it. 'Stephen (1) Bunel, says he (2), who instructed the said *Sieur de Py-brac* in polite Literature, and whose Latin Epistles are extant, which were printed in *Italy*, and other Places, was the first who, in his Time, taught the Romans and Italians to speak Latin with Purity, and in the Ciceronian Style; whereas before they were misled by the Stile of *Politian*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, and others, as *Paulus Manutius*, a very elegant Latinist, and a very competent Judge, acknowledges as to himself in his Epistles.' *Henry Stephens* had before taken Advantage of *Paul Manutius's* Acknowledgment. Take a short Account of what he did: Discouraging one Day with *Henry III*, he told him that an Italian had made bold to say, in a printed Book, That *Italy* had produced many Ciceronians, and *France* had produced none. The King was very much surprised at it, and desired to know whether it was true: He was answered that it was false. Whereupon he desired that a Parallel should be drawn between the Italian and French Ciceronians (3). In obedience to him, *Henry Stephens* published the Letters of our *Bunel*, and some select ones of *Longolius*, to which he added, in the same Volume, the select Letters of *Paul Manutius* and *Sadolet*, with some of *Peter Bembo*. He named indeed *Peter Bunel* to *Henry III*, but he forgot to tell the King that *That Man* alone was as good as many: 'Mih cum alios tum *Petrum Bunellum* suggestit quidem memoria: sed, vel unum hunc esse instar multorum posse, id vero addere, in mentem non venit (4). — My Memory suggested to me *Peter Bunel* among others: but, I forgot, to add, that he alone was as good as many.' He thinks that those, who do not envy the Glory of *France*, will judge of *Peter Bunel* as he does: 'Quod apud te tacui de *Bunello* publicè ita dico, ut mihi, quicunque *Gallicæ* laudi non invident, assensuros, persuasum propemodum habeam (5). — What I did not mention to you concerning *Bunel*, I say

(1) He should have said *Peter*.(2) *Catel's Memoirs for the History of Language*, pag. 122.(3) Taken from the Epistle Dedicatory of *Henry Stephens*, to *Henry III*, perixed to the Letters of *Peter Bunellus*, &c. 1581.(4) *Henr. Stephanus*, in Epist. Dedicat. Epist. *Bunelli*.(5) *Id. ibid.*

publickly, in which I am almost persuaded, that every one, who does not envy the Honour of *France*, will agree with me.' He not only represents him as a Ciceronian, but even as the Master of the Italian Ciceronians (6), for which he alleges *Manutius's* own Confession. 'Is enim quum summum Ciceronianitatis attigisse gradum existimetur, ad eam tamen se nonnisi ductu & auspiciis hominis Galli pervenisse fatetur. Ita enim hic in quadam ad *Vidum Fabrum* epistola (quæ est libro ejus epistolarum primo) de nostro *Petro Bunello*. Ego ab illo maximum habebam beneficium, quod me cum *Politianis* & *Erasmis* nescio quibus misere errantem, in hanc recte scribendi viam primus induxerat. Sed in posterioribus Editionibus cum *Philelphis* & *Campanis*, pro illis cum *Politianis* & *Erasmis*, scriptum est. Utroque tamen scribitur modo, primum Ciceronianè scribendi nostro *Bunello* laus constat: non parva illa quidem, vel ipsius *Manutii* judicio. Is enim *Politianos* & *Erasmos* (in quorum postea locum *Philelphi* & *Campani* substituti fuerunt) quod eam quam ipsi *Bunellus* ostendit scribendi viam non tenuerint, misere errasse arbitrat (7). — For though he is thought to have attained to the highest Pitch of the Ciceronian Style, yet, he confesses, that he did not attain it, without the Instruction and Assistance of a French Man. For in a Letter to *Guy Faber* (extant in the first Book of his Letters) concerning our *Bunel*, he says thus: I received great Benefit from him, for he first brought me into the way of writing well, from whence I had miserably strayed after *Politian* and *Erasmus*. But in the latter Editions, instead of *Politian* and *Erasmus*, is put *Philelphus* and *Campanus*. Which way ever we read it, the Praise of writing in a Ciceronian Style remains fixed to our *Bunel*: no small Commendation even in *Manutius's* Opinion. For he thought that *Politian* and *Erasmus* (in whose stead *Philelphus* and *Campanus* were afterwards substituted) were very much in the wrong, that they did not follow that Method of writing, which *Bunel* showed him.' [B] He returned to *Toulouse*, and would have been in a poor and miserable Condition.] Here I must

(6) *Id. in Præfati*(7) *Id. ibid.*

had not of their own Accord exerted their Liberality towards him. One of them put his Sons under his Care, to instruct them, and go with them into Italy. Bunel did not make an end of his Journey, for he died of a burning Fever at Turin. He lived but Forty seven Years. He was a Man more commendable still for his regular Life, than for the Beauty of his Stile (b). He was never seen to hunt after Riches and Preferments: being contented with Necessaries, he made it his chief Business to cultivate his Mind [C]: This Conduct is almost as rare in the Commonwealth

(b) Taken from Mr Gravel's the Advocate's, Preface to Bunel's Letters in the Toulouse Edition, 1687.

must observe, that some Persons exasperated the Bishop's Brothers against him. They made them believe he had inspired him with the Desire of leaving the Court, and minding only the Duties of Episcopacy, and even of leading an austere and over contemplative Life. They represented to them, that That Advice had been attended with fatal Consequences; since that Prelate had not only stopped the Course of his Fortune, when in a fair way, but also lost his Life in the Flower of his Age, by being a rigid Follower of a spiritual Life. Bunel being told, that those Gentlemen gave Credit to such Reports, and were angry with him, durst not write to them in his own Justification; but he wrote to Peter Danes and to du Ferrier upon that Subject. He represented to them, that two sorts of Men did him that ill Office. Some had been displeased to see George de Selve confine himself to his Bishopric; others found him too severe against their disorderly Lives: All of them hated Bunel; the former, because they looked on him as the Cause of that Retirement, whereby they had been deprived of the Preferments which they expected; and the latter, because they looked on him as the Instrument of the Penalties which the Prelate had made use of to restrain their ill Lives. Bunel in some measure excuses the Ambition of the former, and despises the Resentment of the latter. He does not think it strange, that Men, insatuated with human Grandeur, who had scarce seen any Example of a noble Contempt of worldly Things, should be displeased with the Bishop's Retreat: But he is so charmed with his Resolution to reside in his Bishopric, that he dares not ascribe to himself the Glory of having advised him to it. Let us see his own Words: 'Duo sunt hominum genera, quos mihi succensere minime miror, & non ita moleste fero: unum est eorum, qui Vaurensem Antistitem Vaurum secedere moleste ferebant: quod perinde est, atque si ducem exercitus in castra venire, in acie versari, cum hoste, si res ferat, conficere nunquam patiare. Verum ii, quoniam rerum humanarum splendore capiti, serpentes humi, neque in coelum suspicere queunt, ferendi sunt, & si incurfabit aliquando in nos eorum dolor, non sunt asperius repellendi. Oppressi sunt opinionibus, magnos sequuntur duces, ut jam quod exemplo multorum faciant, jure quodammodo facere videantur. Sed interim quid mihi vitio vertant, satis intelligere non possum. Georgius Selva Vaurenfis Antistes religionem Christianam suis & suorum commodis, divina humanis, aeterna caducis prætulit. Quid ad me? si hoc mihi tribuunt, rerum pulcherrimarum auctorem me laudant: quod ego neque agnosco, neque sane mihi tribui possum. --- sunt nonnulli --- qui ad secundum distributionis meae genus pertinent, quorum ego rationibus cum una vivebamur optime quidem consultum semper volui: sed quia jussu patroni illorum cupiditatibus adversabar, odisse me pessime nunquam destiterunt: horum ego testimonium, quoniam nullius ponderis est, refellere non constitui, neque scelera & flagitia acerbis infectari. Ergo & illos priores minime miror, & illos facile contemno (8). --- There are two sorts of Men that I do not wonder are angry at me, nor am I so much concerned at it: one sort are they who were grieved that the Bishop of Lavaur retired to his Diocese; which is just as if you should not allow a General to come to the Camp, to continue with the Army, and fight the Enemy if need be. But as they, being taken with the Splendor of human Things, grovel on the Earth, and cannot look up to Heaven; they are to be born with, and if their Displeasure should at any time fall on me, they are not to be repulsed roughly. They are born down by Opinions,

(8) Petrus Bunnellus, Epist. lili, pag. 184, 185.

and follow great Leaders; so that in what they do, after the Example of many, they imagine they are in some measure in the right. But, in the mean time, I cannot see what they can blame me for. George de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur, preferred the Christian Religion to his own and his Family's Interest, divine to human, and eternal to transitory Things. What is that to me? if they attribute this to me, they commend me as Author of a most laudable thing: which I neither acknowledge, nor desire to be ascribed to me. --- there are some --- who belong to my second Division, to whose way of Life I was a thorough Well-wisher, when I lived amongst them; but, because, by order of my Patron, I was an Enemy to their Desires, they have always hated me: the Testimony of these Men being of no weight, I thought not fit to refuse it, nor inveigh too sharply against their Crimes and Wickedness. There's sure the first I do not at all wonder at; the latter I heartily despise. He is so far from owning, that he urged his Master to an over-rigid Life, that, on the contrary, he maintains he often exhorted him to use Moderation, and to consider that a Man, by neglecting his Body, may lose his Health, and even his Life. Simulatque eum ad res divinas accerrime contemplandas evolare, neque solum divitias & honores contemnere, sed parum etiam valetudini parcere animadverti: quid prætermisi, quo eum à nimia illa animi contentione revocarem? Quoties illud usurpavi, curandum esse, ut quæ libenter, ea etiam diutius faceret? Egi interdum liberius, & eam quam nunc video rerum commutationem, & pene genus ipsum mortis prædixi. Cum enim corpus, meo judicio, neque satis ali, neque exerceri, animum autem ad celestium rerum cogitationem continenter convocari animadverterem, non fuit difficile colligere, hoc diuturnum esse non posse (9). --- As soon as I observed that he applied himself so eagerly to the Contemplation of divine things, and not only despised Riches and Honours, but even neglected his Health; what did I omit whereby I might divert him from that over intenseness of Thought? How often did I urge him to take Care that what he did with Pleasure he might do long? I sometimes spoke very freely, and foretold that Change which I now see, and almost the very manner of his Death. For when I saw that his Body was not, in my Judgment, either nourished or exercised sufficiently, and his Mind perpetually taken up with the Contemplation of heavenly Things, it was easy to judge, that That could not last long.

(9) Id. Epist. xlviii, pag. 165, 166. See also Lett. lili, p. 186.

[C] Being contented with Necessaries, he made it his chief Business to cultivate his Mind. He wrote to du Ferrier the following Words (10): 'Quoniam postulare videbatur fortunarum mearum tenuitas, ut longe mihi in posterum prospicerem, tamen ut verum fatear, ego mei dissimilis esse non possum. Post Deum, in studiis Literarum mihi sunt omnia, quæ etiam dabo operam ut ad eum ipsum referantur. Dices hominem egestate oppressum præclari nihil efficere posse: Verum id quidem est: Sed ego, cum parvo contentus sim, nunquam existimavi id mihi deesse posse: quæ spes adhuc me non fessellit (11). --- For tho' the narrowness of my Fortune seemed to require, that I should make Provision for the time to come, yet to tell the Truth, I cannot differ from myself. Next to GOD, my whole Study is in Literature, and that I will endeavour to turn to his Service. You will say, that a Man, oppressed with Poverty, can do nothing considerable: That is true indeed: But I, being content with a little, never thought I could want that, and hitherto my Expectation has not failed.' What he wrote to Reynold Chandon, deserves to be duly considered,

(10) Id. Epist. lili, pag. 187, 188.

(11) It is in the Edition of Toulouse, 1687, me fessellit. It is a Fault of the Press, which spoils the Sense.

Commonwealth of Learning as elsewhere. There are some Latin Letters of this good

(12) Lazarus de Baif.

(13) Bunel, Epist. xxi, pag. 80. See also Letter xxvii, pag. 104.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 76, 77. Compare this with the Remark [G], of the Article ATTICUS.

(15) Id. p. 77, 78.

considered. Cbandon was a Man, who loved him much, and who had procured him a handsome and very necessary Place in the Houle of the French Embassador (12). 'In Italia cum ex magna rerum omnium difficultate laborarem, tu princeps sponte tua ad me amandum & tuendum omnes conatus tuos & impetus contulisti (13). - - - In Italy, when I laboured under great Difficulty in all my Affairs, you, of your own accord, generously employed your utmost Endeavours and Power to give me Favour and Protection.' Some Years after he endeavoured to serve him, and to put him in the way of making his Fortune. But Bunel made Answer, That he had no Ambition, and should not much care to get considerable Preferments, tho' Things were well regulated; and that he would have none, knowing they are the Reward of vicious Practices, and that he had not the ill Qualities that are requisite for a Man to raise himself in the World. 'Si rempublicam recta ratione geri viderem, & ad summos honores acquirendos mihi facillima essent omnia, ascendere tamen altius non magnopere laborarem. Nunc vero cum insignia ista dignitatum, non virtuti, industriaeque, sed improbitati inertiaeque tribui videam, neque hujusmodi praemia, si mei similis esse volo, optare debeo, neque cum ab iis artibus, quibus haec parantur, pessime instructus sim, sperare possum (14). - - - If I saw public Affairs managed aright, and it were ever so easy for me to attain the greatest Honours, yet I should not greatly labour to rise high. But now, when I see Dignities are not given to Virtue and Industry, but to Vice and Idleness; I ought not, if I will be consistent with myself, wish for such Rewards, nor, being ill provided with those Arts by which they are obtained, can I hope for them.' He adds, that, if his Friends will do something for him that suits with his Inclination, they must know, that he is only for a quiet Life, and that he has chosen a Closet Retirement, as a Harbour wherein he may shelter himself from the Storms of Ambition and Envy; that Men want things only in Proportion to their Desires; that as for him, he has confined his Desires within narrow Bounds, and therefore does not think himself poor for not having what he does not wish for; that those, who despise his Resolution, may run as fast as they please, whither their blind Avarice drives them; that he does not care for it, provided they suffer him to live a quiet Life in the Bosom of his Christian Philosophy. 'Ego animi tranquillitatem mihi proposui, ad quam meas actiones & cogitationes omnes referri volo: quicquid ab hac abducti, aversor & abominor. - - - Ego ne maximas ambitionis & invidiae procellas subire cogere in portum hunc literarum me abdididi: tu me egredi, & turbulentissima tempestate vela facere jubes: magnum est id quidem, quod me consecuturum speras, sed non satis ad id quod volo accommodatum. Perexiguum est, mi Reynolde, quod mihi deest, quoniam in rebus humanis tantum cuique opus est, quantum quicquid cupit: cui cupiditati angustos cancellos circumdedit, eisdem terminis inopiam, quibus desiderium rerum definit. Hanc sententiam si quis non laudat, aut si etiam meum hoc consilium contemnit, nihil me movet, modo ne mihi molestus sit: ruat quo caecae cupiditates eum confectum trahunt, me in hac philosophia Christiana liberum acquiescere patiar (15). - - - What I have in view is Tranquillity of Mind; to this I would have all my Actions and Thoughts to tend: whatsoever leads another way I shun and abominate. - - - I have retired into this Haven of Literature, that I might not be obliged to go through the Storms of Ambition and Envy; you desire me to come out, and sail in a most violent Tempest: it is indeed a great thing that you hope I shall obtain, but not well suited to what I desire. It is very little, my Reynold, that I want; for in things of this World every Man wants just as much as he desires: this Desire I have circumscribed in narrow Bounds, and define Want in the same Terms with the Desire of Things. If

any one does not like my Opinion, or even despises this Resolution of mine, that does not affect me, so he be not troublesome to me: let him run where his blind Desires carry him Prisoner, and let me remain free in this Christian Philosophy.' There is no doubt, but he gives a faithful Account of his Heart here; he was a good Man then, and such an one as Diogenes looked for; Thus all Men ought indeed to turn their Mind; especially Christians; and yet this is what they will not do, hardly one in Six hundred thousand. The Reformed have a small Catechism, in which the first Question is, Wherefore has GOD sent us into the World? The Catechumen answers, To know, and to serve Him. This, in general, is the Principle of all Christians; but it is a Principle only in Theory, a meer Speculation: if their Answer were to be suited to their moral Practice, most Christians would answer, That GOD sent them into the World to enrich themselves, and rise to high Offices; for this is actually all they aim at; this is their whole Care. Some indeed think at first on nothing more than obtaining a competent Maintenance; but as soon as they get possessed of this Competency, they immediately aim at aggrandizing themselves, and propose by degrees to mount to the highest Dignities. This Spirit governs a Father, both with regard to himself and to his Children, and he communicates it to them, as soon as their Age will permit. No one is satisfied with the Condition he is born in; but endeavours to make a better Figure than his Father (16). The Son of a mean Artificer uses his utmost Endeavour to become a rich Citizen. If his covetous and insatiable Industry brings him in great Riches, he soon grows prodigal in hopes of attaining to Offices, and getting a share in the Government. No Expences appear too great, provided they are but useful towards procuring him the good Offices of the mediate or immediate Distributors of Magistracy. They, who, by their Character, are most obliged to practise the Precepts of Jesus CHRIST concerning the despising of this World, forget this Obligation but too often; and take Opportunities of getting great Estates, to advance their Families, and to raise their Dependants. This puts me in mind of what a good Man told me one day. He happened to make a Visit to Mr *** where there were nine or ten Persons more, who discoursed on divers Things. At last, the Conversation fell on the Qualities of a certain Minister. One of those Gentlemen blamed him freely enough for some Things: Another answered, and, without justifying the Minister altogether on these Points, alledged other Things in his Favour, and insisted chiefly on the Article of Friendship. 'Never, said he, was a better Friend than this Minister, nor a Person of more Zeal to do good to those who espouse his Interests. He procured Pensions for such and such; by his Recommendation, such and such a one obtained a Place of Two thousand Livres a Year, and are in a way to make their Fortune. Others keep their Coaches, by means of the private Hints he had given them to buy Goods, that would become scarce in a little time. Others, desiring passionately to attain to the Magistracy, have, by his good Offices, overcome the Difficulties which lay in their way.' After he had gone through several Articles, Mr *** took up the Discourse, and said, 'I am much scandalized at the manner of your praising a Successor of the Apostles. I should not think it strange, if you praised a Pagan, or a Layman of our Religion at this rate; but I cannot bear your palming these things upon us, as very fine Qualities in a Minister of Jesus CHRIST. Is it his business to know whether such or such Merchandizes will rise or fall about such a time (17)? Does it become him to give his Friends notice of it, and to smooth them a way to Riches and Honours? Is not this pouring of Oil into the Fire of Covetousness and Ambition, a Fire which he is obliged to quench in the Soul of all his Flock, as much as possible? Does he not know, that the Riches and Honours of this World are the Nourishment of Vanity,

(16) All would act like Horace: Me libertino natum patre & in tenui re Majores penitus nido extendisse loquor. Horat. Epist. xx. lib. 1, vers. 20.

(17) It is with regard to things of this kind, that one may say of an Ecclesiastic, necesse quaedam magna pars est sapientiae. — To be ignorant of this, is as glorious as to understand an obscure Passage of St Paul.

good Man, which are written with the greatest Purity [D], and contain several curious Facts [E]. Some (c) think that he was the Son of William Bunel, whom I have

city, are so many Clogs, and Stumbling-blocks in the way of Salvation; he would be just as much to be praised if he exhorted his Friends to give to the Poor what they expend in endeavouring to advance themselves, as he is to be blamed in favouring their Ambition. If he persuaded a Friend of his to put down his Coach, and walk about on Foot, and sell his Equipage to endow Hospitals, I should look upon this as a true friendly Office in him: And this, Sir, is the Duty of your Hero.

These are doubtless very Christian Thoughts; but in the corrupt State in which we live, they are meer Platonic Ideas. That Contempt of Riches and Dignities, which constituted the Character of our Bunel, is seldom found at present either in the Laity or Clergy; and what shews the height of Corruption, is, that there is hardly any one but despises those who preserve that Indifferency. So true is it, that the Truths of the Gospel, which are daily read and heard among us, make but little Impression on our Hearts! A learned Man is highly praised and admired, who knows how to enrich himself, and to climb from Office to Office, and who, to make his Fortune, divides his whole time into two parts, the one for his Books, and the other to court the Favour of great Persons, and to insinuate himself every where. Such a Person, who is really most depicable, is not despised, Bunel, and such as he, who are, in reality, most worthy of Esteem, are looked upon with Contempt. What an Allotment of Approbation is here! Bunel is according to Rule, and the others not. I say, Bunel, who prefers the quiet of his Studies, before all the Splendor of worldly Honours. Recuperta animi tranquillitate mihi in animo est, in desertissimam solitudinem secedere, ibique cum libris meis, & uno fortasse studiorum socio, annos aliquot soluto & vacuo animo Neptunum procul à terra spectare furentem. Quod meum consilium rei familiaris angustia impedire posse viderentur, nisi Fabri huic malo liberalitate sua mederi se velle confirmarent. Quod si res ex sententia succedent, equidem neque Regibus potentiam & voluptates, neque Ducibus victorias & triumphos, neque faeneratoribus divitias, neque tibi & Montauro nostro Reipub. gerendae laudem invidebo (18). —

When I have recovered my Tranquillity of Mind, I think to retire into some unfrequented Solitude, and there, with my Books, and perhaps, one Companion in Study, for some Years, with a free and easy Mind, from Land to view the Sea rage at a Distance. This Purpose of mine might seem likely to be obstructed, by the Strangeness of my Circumstances, had not the Fabers assured me, that they will remedy this Evil by their Bounty. And if things succeed to my Mind, truly I shall neither envy Kings their Power and Pleasures, nor Generals their Victories and Triumphs, nor Usurers their Wealth, nor you, and Montaur, the Honour of ruling the State. If he had stood fair to attain to the Academical Dignities or Honours, and had not been promoted to them in his Turn, because he was not in the Interests of the prevailing Faction, do you think it would have vexed him, or that, to retrieve this pretended Disgrace, he would have gone over to the more powerful Party? For my part, I do not think he would. He would have been more a Philosopher than a thousand others are: The disappointing these of their Reward troubles them; they sink under the pressure soon or late: I mean, they put themselves into the Road to Favour. Their Inconstancy might be excused, if Exclusion was a sign of want of Merit; but as it only proves, that their party is the weaker, it does no prejudice to a Man's true Honour: it may even contribute to render it more shining, both for the present and the future. What has been said of Martyrs, that it is the Cause, and not the suffering, that makes them (19), is true both in that Sense, and the contrary; for it is not the privation of Dignities that dishonours a Man, but the Cause of that privation; they therefore who do not attain to them, because they stand firm on

VOL. II.

the side of Justice, tho' inferior in Credit, ought to look upon that, not as a Dishonour, but as a Piece of Honour; thus our Bunel would have done (a).

[a] Peter Bunel, when young, had taken some liking to the Doctrine of the Reformed; and a Letter from Paulus Manutius to Guy du Faur, pag. 23 of Manutius Letters, Edition of Morget, gives room to think, that some Catholics believed, that Bunel retained some tincture of Protestantism to his Death. Satis scio, says that Letter, fuisse qui illum (Bunellum) depravatae Religionis nomine in Crimen vocaverunt. — I knew very well, that some Persons accused him of being heretically inclined. But however it was not on the Article of Justification. For according to Beza Hist. Eccles. Tom. 1. pag. 48. ad ann. 1545, Bunel at that time run into the most extravagant Pelagianism. Calvin, who had at first made account of him, in 1550 was very far from regarding him as his Disciple: Paucos — videas (said he in that Year) Sapientiae suae persuasione inflatos, qui non sint oblinati veritatis hostes; Hypocritae verò ulque rabiem infesti. Et quae alia causa Bunello fuit, cur ab Evangelio deficeret; nisi quod homo ad ostentationem natus, & sibi plus nimio placens, in ordinem se cogi aegre sustinebat. — You find few who are puffed up with the Opinion of their own Wisdom, but they are obstinate Enemies to the Truth, and Hypocrites, spiteful even to madness. And what other reason had Bunel to fall away from the Gospel, except that he was a Man naturally inclined to Ostentation, and so over full of himself, that he could hardly bear to be brought into Order. If Paulus Manutius's Letter were dated, we might know very near the time of Bunel's Death. However, as that Letter is addressed to Guy du Faur (Pibrac), yet a Youth, who was born about the Year, 1528, I imagine that in the Year 1551, when Charles Stephens published Bunel's Letters, Bunel was dead but a very little before. REM. CRIT.]

[D] We have some of his Latin Letters, written with the utmost Purity. Charles Stephens collected them into one Body, and published them in the Year 1551 (20). Some of them had appeared before, printed at Toulouse (21): some of them were likewise inserted in the Volume intitled, Epistolae Clarorum Virorum. Charles Stephens's Edition was imitated at Cologne in the Year 1568 (22). Henry Stephens republished Bunel's Letters in the Year 1581: they were reprinted at Toulouse in the Year 1687: this last Edition is preferable to all the rest, on Account of the Notes added to it, by the late Mr Graverol, Advocate of Nimes, but is inferior to that of Henry Stephens, as to the Faults of the Press. Some of these Faults intirely spoil the Sense. I have given one example of it (23), and here follows another. Cum ille in omni genere doctrinae tibi merito tantum tribuat, quantum nemini, nec quem abs te commendari audivit, suis beneficiis dignum judicat (24); thus we read it in the Edition of Toulouse, instead of suis beneficiis indignum judicat, as it is in that of Henry Stephens. Once more: Illud me in eo sine imprimis delectabat, quod instituta eorum vehementer reprehenderet, qui Philosophiae studiis plusquam necesse Christianis esset, dediti, literas aut nunquam, aut sero admodum attingerent (25). Thus the Edition of Toulouse has it: the Word sacras does not follow literas, as it does in that of Henry Stephens; and that Omission makes a very puzzling Difficulty.

[E] — which contained some curious Facts.] I will give an example. We find there, that a Professor of Padua, in his Lectures, censured those who were more attached to the Studies of Philosophy, than is necessary for a Christian, and neglected the Study of the Scriptures all their Lives, or did not begin to examine them till very late (26). This Professor's Reasons were so strong, that they touched some of those who deserved his Censure (27). But a Letter from Sadolet slackened their Resolution: they were beginning to renounce their Concupine,

(c) Graverol, in Pref. Epist. Bunel.
(d) Calvin, pag. 20, of his Treatise De Scandalis, Edit. 1151.

(20) Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri, pag. 668.

(21) Jacobus Graverol, in praefatione Epist. Bunelli.

(22) Epit. Biblioth. Gesneri, pag. 603.

(23) Above, Citation (11).

(24) Bunellus, Epist. lvi, pag. 190.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 197.

(26) Id. ibid.

(27) Nonnulli horum rerum propter insolentiam suam Oratore permoveere visus est. Bunellus, Epist. lvi, pag. 193.

(18) Bunel, Epist. xlvii, pag. 159.

(19) Causa, non pna, facit martyrem.

(d) Catel, Sammarthanus, Hen- Stephens, &c.

(e) Tholœe Normanus patre natum. Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. i, pag. 41.

have spoken of in the foregoing Article; but it is not probable, since we find not the least mention of it, either in his Letters, or in the Authors that speak of him (d). When Sammarthanus observes that the Father of Peter Bunel was a Norman (e), would he have forgot so honourable a Character as that of Regent Doctor, of a famous University? The Capitouls of Toulouse made a Statue of Marble in honour of Peter Bunel, and placed it in the Town-House [F].

(28) Id. Ibid. pag. 199.

Concubine, that is to say, Philosophy, to apply themselves to Theology, as to a chaste Spouse, when Sadolet's Letter engaged them anew in Concubinage. 'Cujus (Sadoleti) autoritate & eloquentia, quoniam nonnullis ita commoveri audio, ut in eo quod facere staterant, non perseverant: magis autem repudiata Theologia, quam paulo ante, veluti castissimam conjugem sibi desponderant, ad veterem pellicem, quam à se dimittere cogitabant, & ejus blandissimas illecebras revolvantur: placet in præsentia, &c. — *As I understand that some are so moved with his (Sadolet's) Authority and Eloquence, that they do not persevere in their Resolution, but have rather put away Theology, which they had just before espoused as a chaste Wife, and are returned to their old Harlot, which they had thought to put away: I have a mind at present, &c.* This Letter was thus occasioned; Reginald Pole, writing to Sadolet, desired him to prevail with Lazarus Bonamicus, to apply himself to the Holy Scriptures, or at least to abandon his Rhetoric, and study Philosophy. Pole was in hopes that That Study would not detain Bonamicus long, and would lead him much further. He thought that Bonamicus would perceive, that the light of Philosophy cannot lead a Man any further, than to make him at last own, that he knows only this, that he knows nothing: That this is the *Ne plus ultra* of Philosophy: from whence it must necessarily be concluded, that the mind of Man has need of some other light to dispel the Darkness of its ignorance. Now where is that Light to be found but in Revelation? 'Petierat Polus, ut, est religionis amplificandæ cupidissimus, à Sadolet per Epistolam, ut Lazarum Bonamicum, suum contubernalem, ad studia literarum sacrarum impelleret: velle id Antistitem non dubitabat: valere plurimum apud Bonamicum auctoritatem ejus sciebat. Quod si id fieri posse desperaret, saltem ab eloquentiæ studiis ad graviora illa Philosophiæ moralis præcepta traduceret: se sperare, ut cum eo pervenisset, non consistendum sibi in ea disciplina putaret, quæ altius evehere hominem certe non potest, quam ut tandem fateatur, se hoc unum scire, quod nihil sciat: Majore quâdam

luce opus esse ad tam crassas ignorantie tenebras discutendas (29). Sadolet answered, that he thought it strange, that Philosophy should be thus despised, since, without it, Theology could not subsist: 'Cui respondet Sadoletus se aliquantum ægre ferre quod videre videatur hæc ornamenta ab eo contemni, quæ tanta sunt, ut sine his illa quæ omnibus præfert, constare non possint (30). And thereupon he sets forth at large the Advantages of Philosophy. Bunel clears this, and shews, that Sadolet's true sentiments are not what they might seem to be at first sight in that Letter. But however that be, I think that Pole's Judgment of Philosophy, is the very best that can be formed, and I am very glad, that such an Author furnishes me with something to confirm what I lay down in several Places, that our Reason serves only to confound every thing, and make us doubt of every thing. That it has no sooner built a System, but it shews you the way to ruin it. It is a true Penelope, which undoes in the Night all her Day's Work. Thus the best use that can be made of the Study of Philosophy, is to know, that it is a Path which leads astray, and that we ought to seek another Guide, which is the light of Revelation.

[F] The Capitouls of Toulouse made a Statue of Marble, in Honour of Peter Bunel, and placed it in the Town House. 'Nec silentio prætereundum est Capitolinos Toloanos, nequid gloriæ tam illustri viri desisset, marmoream ejus statuem in Capitolio aliquot abhinc annis collocasse, accurate clarissimo viro D. Germano La Faille, urbis Syndico, amico multis nominibus venerando, de Republicâ literariâ bene merito, cuique suum posteritas decus vicissim rependet (31). — *Nor must we pass over in silence, that the Capitouls of Toulouse, left any thing should be wanting to the Glory of so illustrious a Man, placed a Marble Statue of him, in their Capitol, a few Years ago, by the care of the eminent Germanus La Faille, Syndic of the City, my Friend, to whom I am obliged on many Accounts, who deserves well of the Republic of Letters, and to whom Posterity shall repay the like Honour.*

(29) Bonellus, Epist. lvi, pag. 199, 200.

(30) Id. Ibid. pag. 200, 201.

(31) Graverole in Præf. Epist. Bunelli.

(a) Plinius, lib. xxxvi, cap. v.

(b) He is called Anthermus in the Edition of Pliny. See the Article ANTHERMUS.

(c) See the Article HIPPONAX, Remarks [C] and [D].

BUPALUS was a famous Sculptor, Native of the Isle of Chio (a), Son, Grandson, and Great Grandson, of a Sculptor. He had a Brother named Athenis (b) [A], of the same Profession with himself; and probably they worked together, since Pliny speaks jointly of them, and their Works. They flourished in the LXth Olympiad, at the same time with Hipponax, who was a Poet of a contemptible Figure, ugly, and of a very weak Constitution. They set their Fancies to work upon him, and represented him in a ridiculous Form; but they met with their Match: he attacked them with so violent a Satire, that, as some Authors say, they hanged themselves for Spite and Vexation (c) [B]. Pliny does not allow this:

DICTIONARIES criticized.

[A] He had a Brother named Athenis.] Mr Moreri has said indeed, that Bupalus lived with Anthermus (it is thus he speaks according to the old Editions of Pliny); but not that they were two Brothers. Now every one sees that this was a Circumstance, which ought not to have been omitted, and without it, it is almost ridiculous to observe, that these two Men lived at the same time. On the other Hand, he forges one Bubalus, different from our Bupalus, which is nothing but a Chimera: it is certain, that he makes two Persons of them; for under the word Bubalus, he refers us to Anthermus, where he says, that Anthermus and Bubalus were Brothers. I say, he refers thither without referring to Bupalus; and in the Article of this last, he does not say, that Bupalus was Brother to Anthermus; this shews, that Bubalus and Bupalus pass with him for two Men. Besides, he varies as to the Profession of those Men; they are two Painters in the Article HIPPONAX (1), and two Sculptors, or

Statuaries, every where else. He is not the first who has thus varied and multiplied. Charles Stephens says in one place (2), that they who made the Representation of Hipponax were Painters: in another (3), that Bubalus was a Painter, who made a Grotesque Picture of Hipponax: And in another (4), that Anthermus and Bubalus were two famous Sculptors, who made a ridiculous Figure of Hipponax. Messieurs Lloyd and Hofman have kept one part of these Variations. See the Remark [C] of the Article HIPPONAX. Bupalus is a great Painter in Calépin. Consult the learned Adrian Junius, in the sixteenth Chapter of the first Book of his Observations.

[B] — — — Hipponax wrote so violent a Satire against them — — — that they hanged themselves for meer Grief and Vexation.] I shall say something on this Subject in the Article HIPPONAX; here I only observe, that our Dictionaries sophisticate Pliny's Account. They (5) relate the thing as if several Painters

(2) In Hipponax.

(3) In Bubalus.

(4) In Anthermus, and in Bubalus.

(5) Calépinus, Carol. Stephanus, Lloyd, Hofman, in Hipponax.

(1) He cites in that Article the 26th Book of Pliny, instead of the 36th.

this: he says, on the contrary, that, when *Hipponax* had taken his Revenge, they made several fine Statues in divers Places. He mentions a *Diana* of theirs, which was at *Jafus*, in *Caria*, that was not so admirable as the other *Diana*, which they made at *Cbio*. This last was placed very high, and appeared with a frowning Countenance to those that came in, and a pleasant one to those that went out. There were several Statues at *Rome* made by them; they wrought only in white Marble of the Isle of *Paros*. *Pausanias* indeed mentions *Bupalus* (d); but he says nothing of *Athenis*; he observes that *Bupalus* was both a good Architect, and a good Sculptor. I think it might be gathered from a Passage in *Aristophanes*, that the Revenge taken on *Bupalus*, was not altogether in Verse [C], but consisted in some Blows also.

(d) Pausan. lib. iv, pag. 140, & lib. ix, pag. 309.

Painters had had a share in the insult offered to *Hipponax*, and as if the Vengeance, taken by that Poet, had thrown some of them into Despair; this supposes that some others of them did not die. Now this is not what *Pliny* says; he speaks only of *Bupalus* and *Athenis*. One of these Authors (6) blunders still worse in another place; for having made no mention of any more than these two Statuaries, he nevertheless says, that the Satires of *Hipponax* had made some of them hang themselves. *Aliquos ex iis ad laqueum compulisse.*

(6) Carol. Stephanus, in *Anthermus*.

[C] It might be gathered from a Passage of *Aristophanes*, that the Revenge --- did not consist wholly in Verses.] Let us recite the Words of *Aristophanes*,

Εἰ νῦν Διὰ τις τὰς γνάβας τῶν δὲ τριῶν ἔκοψεν
Ὅσπερ Βεπάλη, φωνὴν ἐκ ἄν' εἶχον.

By Jove, if any one had given them two or three good Cuffs, as they did to *Bupalus*, they would have held their Tongues.

(7) Adrian. Junius *Animadv.* lib. i, cap. xi.

A learned Critic (7) was of Opinion, that this Poet alludes to a Verse, wherein *Hipponax* desires his Coat may be taken away, that he may pull *Bupalus*'s Eyes out.

Ἀδελφε μὲ φομάτιον, κόψω Βεπάλη τὸν ὀφθαλμόν.

Auferite vestem meam, ut Bupalus excindam oculum.

But perhaps there were some other Verses of *Hipponax*, which made mention of blows given to *Bupalus*, by him, or some body else. The Allusion to these would be much more likely. The same Critic has found a Proverb of *Bupalus*'s Hatred, where it is certain there is no Proverb; it is in an Epigram of the Anthology, which advertises those who pass by, that the Athes of *Hipponax* do still throw out *Iambics* in hatred of *Bupalus*.

Οὐτεχ' ἄ τέρρα ἱαμβίαζει Βεπάλειον εἰς τὸ γῶ.

Cujus cinis etiamnum in odium Bupalii Iambos jacit (8).

(8) Anthol. lib. iii, pag. 566.

This therefore only relates to a personal, and, as I may say, individual Hatred of this Poet, and is no general Epithet for great Hatred. We cannot therefore on the Authority of this Passage compare the *odium Vatini* with the *odium Bupalium*: yet if you consult the Adages of *Junius*, you will find, that *Bupalii odium* is the LIId Adage of the Vth Century, and that because of the Epigram which I have cited (9). You will find another Fault in it; for by *Bupalus*'s Hatred, we understand that, which he bore to *Hipponax*, whereas the Epigram speaks only of that of *Hipponax* to *Bupalus*. The next Adage, *Bupalia Pugna*, is better founded; being taken from a Letter of *Julian* the Apostate (10), where, speaking of some *Iambics*, which he had received from his Brother, he styles them thus: Οὐ μάλ' ἢ ἀνίσταται τὴν Βεπάλην κατὰ τὸν Κυρναίου ποιητὴν, ἀλλ' οἷός ἐστι καλὴ Σαπφῶς ὁμοίαι τοῖς ὑμνοῖς ἀμύδιον. — They do not sing the Quarrel against *Bupalus*, to use the Expression of *Callimachus*; they are such as the fair *Sappho* requires to be proper for Hymns.

(9) *Junius ascribes it to Leontidas. My Anthology says, the Author of it is uncertain.*

(10) *Ad Alypium Caesarem. Vide Junium Animadv. lib. i, cap. xvi.*

BURANA (JOHN FRANCIS), born at *Verona*, flourished in the XVth Century. He was Disciple of *Bagdinus*, who explained *Aristotle*'s Logic in the University of *Bologna*, and shewed a great deal of Subtlety in disputing. This was the reason that the Scholars expressed a great Desire that he would read public Lectures on that part of Philosophy: They had that Satisfaction, and, if they understood their new Master well, they were none of the dullest; for he led them through all the Field of the *Greek* and *Arabian* Interpreters. He had studied the *Hebrew* Tongue with great Success; having quitted his Professors, he applied himself to the Practice of Physic. He also undertook a Translation of some Treatises of *Aristotle*, and *Averroës*, with Commentaries on them. Death prevented his putting the last hand to it. He desired, nevertheless, that it might be printed, and enjoined his Heirs to take care of the Publication, after his Manuscript had been corrected by some learned Men. *Bagolin* had the Manuscript of it (a) [A].

[A] He enjoined his Heirs to take care of the Publication of his Writings. *Bagolin* had the Management of them.] See the Epistle Dedicatory, which he prefixed to the Book, intitled: 'Aristotelis priora resolutoria, Latino sermone donata, & commentariis illustrata à Joanne Francisco Burana, adjecta Averrois Expositione in eisdem li-

bros cum Expositione secundi secti de facultate propositionum, & Averrois in eisdem compendio, eodem Burana interprete, cum annotationibus Hieronymi Bagolini.' This Work was printed at *Paris*, by *Wechel*, in the Year 1539, in Folio. It had been printed at *Venice* before (1).

(a) Taken from the Epistle Dedicatory, which *Jerome Bagolin* prefixed to the Translation of *Aristotle*'s Analytics, &c. composed by *Burana*.

(1) See the Bibliotheca of Gesner, fol. 417.

BURGUNDY (House of). There were two Houses of that Name: I shall say but little of the first. It begun under *Robert*, King of *France*, Son of *Hugh Capet*. The third Son of this *Robert*, and *Constance* of *Provence*, was called *Robert*, and was Duke of *Burgundy*, and died in the Year 1075. His Descendants were in possession of this Dutchy till *Philip I*, of that Name, who died without Issue, the Twenty first of November, 1345. After that, *John*, King of *France*, gave *Burgundy* to *Philip the Bold*, his fourth Son (a). This was the beginning of the second House

(a) Taken from *Father Labbe, Tab. Genealogique*, pag. 121, & seq.

House of Burgundy, which flourished extremely under four successive Princes, of whom I am going to speak.

BURGUNDY (PHILIP, Duke of), fourth Son of John de Valois, King of France, was born at Pontoise, the fifteenth of January, 1341 (a) [A]. He was wounded and taken Prisoner in the Battle of Poitiers, in the Year 1356, after he had given a thousand Proofs of his Courage, in fighting near his Father (b). Some say that it was this Action which obtained him the Surname of *THE BOLD* [B]. He received the Investiture of the Duchy of Burgundy, in the Year 1363 (c), and married Margaret of Flanders, only Daughter of the Earl of Flanders and Artois, in the Year 1369 (d). He came to that fine Succession by the Death of his Brother-in-Law, in the Year 1384. The Year following he put an end to a Civil War, which had lasted seven Years in Flanders (e), in which the People of Ghent, chiefly, had shewn their seditious Spirit. He, and the Duke of Bourbon, were charged with the Education of Charles VI, King of France, by Charles V, who died in the Year 1380 (f). The Regency was left to Lewis, Duke of Anjou, Elder Brother of our Philip the Bold. A Difference soon arose between the two Brothers, thro' Jealousy of State. This Quarrel broke out in a more fatal manner, when Charles VI, having attained the Age of twenty Years, declared he would take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands (g). He kept his Brother, the Duke of Orleans, near him. The Duke of Burgundy, his Uncle, retired dissatisfied; and this was the Source of a mortal Enmity between the House of Burgundy, and the House of Orleans. Margaret of Flanders, Wife of Philip the Bold, and Valentina of Milan, Wife of the Duke of Orleans, fomented this Division by their Vanity [C]. The King's Diftemper, which rendered him incapable of acting without a Guardian, gave room for the Disorders occasioned by this fatal Emulation. The States of

(a) Father Anselme, Histoire Genealog. de la Maison Royale, pag. 205.

(b) See Remark [B].

(c) Gollut, Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 538.

(d) Id. pag. 547.

(e) Pontus Heuterus Rerum Burgund. lib. II, pag. 48.

(f) Mezerai Abregé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 105.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 137.

[A] He was born --- the fifteenth of January 1341. This date seems to me more certain than that of Pontus Heuterus. He places the Birth of Philip the Bold in the Year 1334 (1). It is not a Fault of the Press; for he places his Death on the Twenty sixth of April, 1404, and makes him seventy Years of Age (2). He may be refuted by a very good Reason. King John was born the Twenty sixth of April, 1319 (3), and was married to Bonna of Luxemburg, in the Year 1332 (4). Therefore it is impossible that Philip the Bold, his fourth Son, should be born in the Year 1334; and seeing Charles V, his eldest Son, was born --- the Twenty first of January 1337 (5); judge if Pontus Heuterus was a good Chronologer. His Error was followed by Lewis Gollut (6), and by Mr Fabert (7). This last made a particular Fault, which he copied from Mezerai: he has placed the Death of Philip on the Twenty seventh of April, 1403. This Error is more pardonable than that which he falls into two Pages after, when he says, that the Duchess survived her Husband no more than eleven Months; she dying in the Month of August, 1405. If one did not see such things, one would scarce believe that any body could be so very careless. Observe, that Pontus Heuterus, without being mistaken, has been the Cause of the Error; 'Undecimo post Audacis mortem mensis, says he (8), Margareta apoplexia Atrebatu tacta maritum decimo sexto Cal. Septembris, anno 1405, vita excedens sequitur. --- Eleven Months after the Death of her Husband, she was struck with an Apoplexy, of which she died in the Month of August 1405.' According to Heuterus's Calculation, the Apoplexy must have begun in the Month of March, and so the Lady survived her Husband near sixteen Months.

[B] His Valour --- obtained him the Surname of The Bold. King John, in the Patent of Investiture, gave Testimony of the Valour of his Son; 'Ad memoriam reducentes, says he (9) gra- ta & laude digna servicia quæ Charissimus Philippus filius noster quarto genitus, qui sponte expostus mortis periculo, nobiscum imperterritus & impavidus fletit in Acie prope Pictavos vulneratus, captus & detentus in hostium potestate, ibi & post liberationem nostram hastenus exhibit. --- Calling to mind the grateful and laudable Services of our most dear Philip, our fourth Son, who exposed himself voluntarily to the Danger of his Life, and bravely and undauntedly stood with us in the Battle near Poitiers, and was there wounded, taken and kept Prisoner, per- formed both then and at all times since our Re-

(1) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgundic. lib. II, pag. 18.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 62.

(3) Anselme, Hist. Genealog. de la Maison Royale, pag. 107.

(4) Id. pag. 108.

(5) Ibid. pag. 112.

(6) Gollut, Memoir. de Bourgogne, pag. 616.

(7) Fabert, Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, pag. 27.

(8) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. II, pag. 63.

(9) See Gollut, Memoires de Bourg. pag. 537.

lease.' It is said, that this young Prince, when he was wounded, would not cease 'to defend himself, even after his Father had bid him lay down his Arms. This extraordinary Vigour in a young Prince astonished the English. A certain Person, not willing to pluck so fine a Rose in the Bud, said to him aloud: Hold, yield, Bold Philip. This Expression was applauded by all present, and the young Warrior retained the Name of The Bold (10). Other Reasons are given for that Epithet; for some (11) say, that he gave a Box on the Ear to one of the greatest of the English Lords, who, in serving the Kings of France and England, presented the Service to the latter before the former, adding with the Blow, 'What! darrest thou serve the King of England first, when the King of France is present? which Edward, King of England (who valued generous Actions as much, if not more than any thing in the World), magnified extremely, and said to him cheerfully, and in a pleasant Tone; You are Philip the Bold. Which was the Origin of an extraordinary fine Surname.' Another Reason still has been given for this Title, which is, 'That at the Inauguration of Charles VI he was (as first Peer of France) among the Secular Princes; because of his Duchy of Burgundy. For which Reason, by the Royal Acts, the first and highest Seat belonged to him. But, on the other hand, Lewis, Duke of Anjou, his Brother, insisting on his Seniority, and that he was, as it were, Governor to the King, was minded to prevent him; and, in short, sat himself down next the King. Which Duke Philip perceiving, pushed him back with one hand, and with a jump flung himself in between the King and the Duke of Anjou, taking the highest place, which he insisted was his Right. At this all present were amazed, but did not disesteem him for it, but surnamed him The Bold, for this Action, done in the Presence of the greatest King of France.'

[C] Margaret of Flanders, his Wife --- and Valentina of Milan --- fomented the Division by their Vanity. 'The frequent Puntillo's disputed between their Wives sowed them more than their true Interests; she of Burgundy being the elder, Heiress of great Dominions, and descended of very noble Blood, despised the other, who would really have been inferior to her, had she not been considered as the Wife of the King's only Brother (12). The Partizans of the House of Burgundy reflect very much on Valentina Duchess of Orleans. Here are some Instances: 'In this (13) the Duchess of Burgundy was very active,

(10) Fabert, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, pag. 6. See also Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burg. pag. 19.

(11) Gollut, Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 616.

(12) Mezerai Abregé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 157, ad Ann. 1401.

(13) That is in preventing a Declaration of War against the Duke of Brabant.

of the Kingdom, which met at *Paris*, in the Year 1391, put the Regency in the Hands of the Duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding the Duke of Orleans demanded it, and founded his Pretension on his being Brother to the King (b). These two Rivals thrust one another twice out of that advantageous Post (i). The Duke of Orleans had the upper Hand in the Year 1401. But the Duke of Burgundy would not quit; they both assembled their Friends; but consented to a Reconciliation, at least in Appearance. A little while after the Duke of Orleans prevailed with the King, that, during his Majesty's Indisposition, he should have the Conduct of the State. The Duke of Burgundy, returning to Court, proved strong enough in the Council, to get the Government restored to himself. — The King, in his next Interval, ordered that they should both govern jointly; but the Council, the Queen, and the other Princes, and Lords, prayed him to desist (k). Philip died at Hall, the Twenty sixth of April, 1414 (l); he left so many Debts, that his Wife was obliged to leave the Creditors unpaid [D]. She was an imperious and revengeful Woman, and had given her Husband a great deal of Trouble [E]. She brought him three Sons and four Daughters, and died the seventeenth of August, 1405 (m). He

(b) Ibid. pag. 141.

(i) Ibid. pag. 157.

(k) Taken from Mezerai Abreg. Chron. Tom. III. p. 157, 158.

(l) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. pag. 62.

(m) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. See a Fault of the Sieur Fabert, in the Remark [A], towards the end.

* not only in favour of the Duke of Bretagne her Cousin, and Son of the Sister of Lewis de Malain, her Father; but also out of the great hatred she bore to the Milanese (the Duchesse of Orleans) with whom she had perpetually some Quarrel or other: Seeing that Stranger so presumptuous, that she would not suffer great Princesses (of higher Rank than herself) to walk in their Order, nor to keep the Places belonging to them. For that Italian Lady was provoked that the Duchesse of Burgundy had been nominated, by the King and States, first Lady of Honour to Queen Isabella, and that by that means the Burgundian had the first Post, the Hand and Ear of the Queen. This Disdain of the Duchesse of Orleans was well withstood and contemned by the Duchesse of Burgundy, who was a generous Princess, and very touchy; who knew her own Riches and Estate, who knew the Credit, Valour, and Merit of her Spouse; and who moreover perceiving, that That Stranger had Designs against the Children of France, the King, and even against her Husband, could not restrain herself so far as to dissemble with her: tho' she knew, and had been often warned, that this same Valentina was a dangerous Woman, practising against Peoples Lives by Sorcery and Poison, and that she should take care of herself. But the Duchesse of Burgundy, either through Indignation, or her true French Disposition (which cannot easily dissemble, unless Fear be continually in view), took little notice of it; only she laboured to convince Duke Philip, her Husband, of the Truth of it, that he might take strict care of his Affairs, his Safety, and the Person of the King (14). The same Author says, that the Duchesse of Orleans was suspected of having been the Cause of Charles the Sixth's Distemper, and that she attempted to poison the Dauphin. Let us use his Words: 'Others laid the King's Illness to the Duchesse of Orleans, who desired to open a way for her Husband to come to the Crown. Which gained the more Credit, as the Ambition of that Lady, and her Skill in mixing and tempering Poisons, was manifest to all the World. So that her Husband perceiving it likewise, after the Death of his eldest Son (poisoned by an Apple, which she had prepared, hoping that the Dauphin would take it in his Hand, and bite it, and so die. And with that Intent she gave it to her Son, commanding him to carry it to the Dauphin of France, which the Child did, but, without using Ceremony, had bit into it, and got his Death), had caused her to be shut up in the Castle of Neufbâtel on the Loire, forgetting, for a time, the Love he bore her for her Beauty, and the largeness of her Dowry; for she had brought him the Earl-dom of Vertus, and Five hundred thousand Crowns, which enabled him to buy the County of Blois, in the Year 1392, for Twenty thousand Crowns, that of Soissons, and the Lordship of Couffy (15). Pontus Heuterus says much the same (16). If we had the Detail of all the Discourses and Intrigues of these two Ladies, we should have a secret History not much to the Honour of the Sex, who are commonly the *primum mobile* of all Civil-Wars, and deserve the Epithet

of Author of Shipwrecks much better than Boreas (17).

[D] He left so many Debts, that his Widow was obliged to leave the Creditors unpaid.] The Monk of St Denis, who wrote a History of Charles VI, commends Philip the Bold in several Places, on Account of his Fidelity to his Wife, that he had educated the King his Nephew well, that he had an excellent Musical Voice for Divine Service, that he was so sagacious in Politics, 'that nothing happened but what he foresaw long before;' that he was very eloquent; but, adds he (18), 'one thing tarnished the Glory of his Name, which he had raised so high: That is, he took no Care to pay his Debts, and that his Treasurers and Comptrollers did no Justice to his Creditors, not even for the Ordinary expence of his House, the payment of which could not be refused, without a Crime. So that his Goods, which were of inestimable value, were not sufficient to discharge them, and this made his Widow (do what the meanest Women never do without regret, any more than without injustice, that is) take the Privilege of Renunciation, to ease herself of the vast load of his Debts.' She observed the ordinary Ceremonies in this Renunciation; for she pulled off her Girdle with her Keys, and her Purse, over her Husband's Coffin (19). Pontus Heuterus tells us, that this Act cuts off Interest, and takes away all the Creditor's Right to the real Estate, and obliges them to come to Terms. 'Uxor Margareta liberique cadaver expectantes insigni exequiarum pompâ iusta solvunt; cumque rei familiaris statum magno ære alieno gravatum Margareta reperisset, ne a creditoribus vexaretur, matronales feretro claves, cingulum, marsupiumque secundum regionis leges imposuit. Hoc enim facto creditoribus præterquam in Suppellectilem, ac ea quæ bona vocant mobilia, jus non erat, usurarum cursus sistebatur, ac de forte debitisque in hoc tempus usuris certis solutionis ex pacto conventoque datis terminis convenire cogebatur (20). It is properly a Bankruptcy. The Agreement made with the Creditors, was executed partly by her, and partly by her Children (21).

[E] His Wife was imperious and revengeful, and had given her Husband a great deal of trouble.] The Witnesses I am about to cite is not suspected; for it is Pontus Heuterus. 'Patrem, says he (22), non minus corporis lineamentis ac humorum temperamento, quam animi affectibus referebat (Margareta). Erat enim in eâ animus excelsus, ferrox, ambitiosus, vindictæ in eum a quo se læsam existimabat percupidus, ac qui numquam sincerè cum inimico in gratiam redire poterat, nullaque ratione ferens quos dignitatis æmulatione secum certare existimabat: quas animi affectiones Audax in ordinem coactus, non parum summâ adhibitâ prudentiâ simulationeque per omnem vitam laborarat, coactus nonnumquam aliquid de jure suo cedere, quod præter amplissimarum provinciarum dotem, eum patrem septem præstantissimorum liberorum effecisset. — Margaret resembled her Father as well in the Lineaments, and Temperament of her Body, as in the Disposition of her Mind. For she had a haughty, Proud

(17) See Citation (b), of the Article BOREAS.

(18) Hist. de Charles VI, translated by Le Laboureur, lib. xxiv. cap. ii, pag. 484.

(19) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. ii, p. 159. ad Ann. 1404.

(20) Pontus Heuterus, Rer. Burgund. p. 62, 63.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Id. ibid.

(14) Gollut, Memoirs de Bourgogne, pag. 600.

VALENTINA of Milan suspected of poisoning.

(15) Id. pag. 601.

(16) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. ii, pag. 60.

He was not addicted either to Wine, or Gaming, or Amours [F]: We do not find that he had either Mistresses or Bastards; but he was very ingenious in squeezing the People, and fomented the Schism of the Anti-Popes.

'proud, ambitious Spirit, was eager to be revenged on any Body she thought had injured her, and never could be sincerely reconciled to an Enemy; she could by no means endure any Body whom she thought to be her Rival in Dignity: Philip found it, all his Life-time, no small Difficulty, with the utmost Prudence and Disimulation, to keep these Dispositions of her Mind in Order, and was obliged sometimes to recede a little from his Right, in consideration, that, besides a Dowry of large Provinces, she had made him Father of seven fine Children.' See here a Prince, who found scarce any thing in the Kingdom not subject to his Law, not even the only Brother of his Sovereign, and yet he is not Master at home: He is obliged to submit to his proud spirited Wife, both for her Fecundity, and for her fine Patrimony. To receive a Benefit is to lose one's Liberty, said the Ancients (23). This is peculiarly true in respect to Dowries (24).

(23) Beneficium accipere libertatem vendere est. Publius Syrus.

(24) See above, Citat. (15), in the Article AVEN-TIN.

[F] He was not addicted either to Wine, or Gaming, or Amours — but — ingenious in squeezing the People.] His Chastity is justly admired by Historians; for he was of a robust Constitution, and the affluence of all things, and convenient Opportunities, have a great effect on the Senses. 'Nec aleator, nec mulierosus, nec etriosus fuit, unde rarissime ejus in Aula comitatuque, contentiones, jurgia, rixæ, pugnae, commensationes, intemperatæ vigiliæ, nec somnus cernebatur: animus vero in eo perturbatus iracundusque perraro. De concubinis, illegitimis liberis, aut ullo incontinentiæ libidinisque genere nil plane reperio, quæ tamen virtus inter principes valenti corpore præditos perrara esse consuevit, quod libertas, rerumque omnium affluentia, facile sensus vehementissimi voluptatis illecebris ac titillatione deceptos inficiant, animum emolliant effeminentque. — Duas ob causas a scriptoribus aliquot proscinditur. Primo quod immensis continuisque pecuniarum exactionibus populum exhaurierit, ac in excogitandis novis tributis ingeniosus fuit, inexorabilisque in exigendo. — Altera proscin-

dendi causa est, quod universo vitæ tempore diffidum in Christianâ Republicâ duorum summorum pontificum creatione ortum omnibus artibus aluerit, fovens partes Antipapæ (25). — He was neither given to Gaming, to Women, nor to Drunkenness; so there was very seldom any quarrelling, noise, brawling, fighting, revelling, unseasonable sitting up, or sleeping, in his Palace, or Retinue: he was very seldom disturbed or angry. I find no mention at all of any Concubines, illegitimate Children, or any kind of Lust, or Incontinence, tho' this is a Virtue very rare among Princes of robust Constitutions: because liberty and affluence easily deceive and draw in the Senses, with the Allurements, and Titillation of that ungovernable Pleasure; and enervate and effeminate the Mind. — He is blamed by some Writers for two Things. First, that he drained the People with immense and continual exactions of Money, and was ingenious in contriving new Impositions, and inexorable in exacting them. — The other thing he is blamed for, is, that all his Life he fomented the Division begun in the Christian World, by the election of two Popes, with all the Art he was Master of, favouring the party of the Anti-Pope.' As to his exactions, Heuterus excuses him on Account of the extraordinary expence he was obliged to be at, in maintaining Troops, and fortifying Towns. But why did not he pay his Debts at least? 'Tis strange that Princes make no Conscience of ruining their Creditors, while they are enriching other Persons. Read this Passage of Mezerai: 'Twas there that Queen Margaret kept her little Court the rest of her Days, very oddly jumbling together, Pleasure and Devotion, the Love of Learning and Vanity, Christian Charity and Injustice; for as she took a pride in being seen often at Church, and in entertaining learned Men, and giving the tenth of her revenues to the Monks; so she gloried also in having always some intrigue, in inventing new Diversions, and in never paying her Debts (26).'

(25) Pontus Heuterus, Rer. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 64.

(26) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. VI, pag. 116, ad Ann. 1425.

BURGUNDY (JOHN, Duke of), Son of the former, was born at Dijon, the Twenty ninth of May, 1371 (a). He was first called Count de Nevers, and gave very early Proofs of his being a warlike Prince, and worthy of the Surname of THE FEARLESS, which was given him. At twelve Years of Age, he followed his Father in the Expedition into Flanders, against the rebellious Subjects of his Grandfather, by the Mother (b). He was married two Years after to Margaret of Bavaria, Daughter of Albert, Count of Holland. He was very earnest to go into Hungary, in the Year 1396, with the Troops sent by the King of France to the Emperor Sigismund, against Bajazet. He was not only Chief of the Volunteers, but also commanded the Body of the Army (d). This Expedition was unsuccessful [A]: All these Troops were cut in Pieces in the Action at Nicopolis. He

was

[A] The Expedition to Hungary was unsuccessful.] Mezerai's Account of it will furnish me with a good Comment. 'They performed at first several Acts of incredible Valour: But their Follies and Debauchery rendered them ridiculous to the Turks themselves. Besides it was the presumption of their Troops, elevated with a little success, that engaged the Hungarians in the Siege of Nicopolis, and afterwards in the Battle of the twenty eighth of September; in which, the Hungarians not taking Care to second them, they were all killed, or taken Prisoners. Bajazet caused above Six hundred of them to be hacked in Pieces, in Presence of the Count de Nevers; and having put him to as many Deaths, with Terror and Grief, he reserved him and fifteen more of the greatest Lords, for whom he obliged himself to pay two Hundred thousand Ducats ransom. This Sum being furnished five Months after, they were all set at Liberty. The Count de Nevers arrived in France about the end of the Month of March following. It is said that Bajazet was so far from taking an Oath of him, that he would never make War against the Turks, that he exhorted

him to take his Revenge, and assured him, he should always find him in the Field ready to give him Satisfaction (1). You will find, in Pontus Heuterus, the proud Discourse the Sultan is supposed to have had with this Count (2). He relates also the Discourse of a Physiognomist: 'Sunt qui scripsere Joanni Intrepido vitam concessam, quod Turca quidam, qui se ex hominum vultu, corporisque lineamentis, prosperam adversamque fortunam, ac fatum prædicere posse profiteretur, Bajazetho dixisset: Vivat nobilis ille, ejus enim operâ causâque plus Christiani sanguinis profunderetur, crudelioraque inter se bella gerent, quam credi aut sperari posset (3). — Some have wrote that John the Fearless had his Life given him, because a certain Turk, who pretended to foretel good and ill Fortune, and the Decrees of Fate, from Peoples Countenances, and the Lineaments of their Bodies, said to Bajazet: Let that Nobleman live; for by his means, and on his Account, more Christian Blood will be shed, and more cruel Wars waged among themselves, than could be believed or hoped for.' Bajazet would have done an inestimable Piece of Service to France, if

(1) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 151.

(2) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 72.

(3) Id. ibid.

was taken Prisoner there, and some say he would have been killed, had not a Turkish Physiognomist assured *Bajazet*, that the Life of this Prisoner would be fatal to Christendom (e). The young Prince, having paid his Ransom, returned into France, in the Year 1397. He took Possession, in Form, of the Duchy and Earldom of Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders, in the Month of April, 1405 (f); and from that time bent his chief Study to the Quarrel between his deceased Father, and the Duke of Orleans. He resolved to carry it to the utmost Extremity, and strengthened himself by the Marriage of his Son with *Michelle de Valois*, Daughter of King *Charles VI.*, and that of *Margaret* his Daughter with the Dauphin (g). He gained the Affection of the City of *Paris*, by opposing a Tax which was designed to be laid on them; and improved the Scandal every where raised by the too close Union of the Queen and the Duke of Orleans (h); and the Complaints of the People oppressed, by repeated and violent Extortions, of which they said the Queen sent part into Germany, and spent the rest in all manner of profuseness, while the King and his Children were in poor Equipage. He retired from Court with the Duke of *Bretagne*. The King, in a lucid Interval, having learnt the Cause of their Retreat, called a Grand Assembly, and summoned the Duke of Burgundy to it, who came so well escorted with armed Men, that the Queen, and the Duke of Orleans, retired to *Melun*, having left order to have the Dauphin brought after them. The Duke of Burgundy pursued, and took, this young Prince, and brought him back to *Paris*, by his own Consent. This Rupture, which put *Paris* in a continual Alarm, was followed by a seeming Reconciliation; after which it was resolved to attack the Towns belonging to the English. The Duke of Burgundy undertook the Conquest of *Calais*, but had so ill Success in the Enterprize, that he durst not so much as come near the Place (i). He imputed this Disgrace to the Duke of Orleans, and resolved to have him assassinated. The Business was executed in the Night, between the Twenty third and Twenty fourth of November, 1407. At first he put on a good Face, and even assisted at the Funeral of the deceased, but at last he confessed to the Duke of Bourbon, that he had caused this Murder to be committed, and retired into Flanders with the Assassins. It has been thought that it was not merely Ambition which prompted him to that extreme, but that there was some matrimonial Interest concerned [B]. The Duchess of Orleans, accompanied with her three Sons, demanded Justice of the King: He durst not promise her any thing; he stood too much in awe of the Duke of Burgundy, who promised to come and vindicate himself, provided the Gates of *Paris* were not guarded (k). He returned to *Paris* in the Month of February, 1408, and avowed openly that he was Author of the Murder, and got a *Franciscan* (l) to maintain, that the Action was just. A Pardon was granted him, and he was reconciled, in Appearance, with the Queen (m). He retired into Artois. During his Absence, the Widow renewed her Prosecution: He was declared an Enemy to the State, and Orders given to send for Troops from all Parts to fall upon him (n). But when it was known that he had obtained a signal Victory over the Inhabitants of *Liege* (o), and was preparing to return to *Paris*, the Orleans Party did not think themselves safe: The Queen herself fled to *Tours* with her Husband. He entered *Paris* with Six thousand Men: They talked of a new Reconciliation, which made the Widow of the Duke of Orleans, a haughty and revengeful Princess, die of Grief and Vexation (p). Her Children were obliged to be reconciled to the Murderer of their Father. This was done with great Solemnity in *Chartres*, about the end of March, 1409. The King returned to *Paris*, and the Duke into the Low Countries, from whence he returned into France in July, and got entire Possession of the Government. The Duke of Berry and Bourbon, and several others, joined with the House of Orleans (q) against him, and levied Troops, and posted themselves near *Paris*. He summoned the Militia: They made War on each other; and afterwards found themselves obliged to come to an Accommodation. He quitted the Capital according to agreement; but the other Party would not be quiet: The Duke of Orleans, with Sword in Hand,

if he had not spared the Life of the Count de Nevers. It was for the sins of France, that this barbarous Sultan hearkened to the Counsels of Avarice, rather than those of Cruelty. But if it was true, that a Fortune-teller had determined him to let this Prisoner be ransomed, he acted rather as a cruel, than as a covetous Man. In a Word, the Death of this Count would have been the Life of a prodigious number of Frenchmen: it would have prevented the most horrible Defolation a Kingdom can be reduced to.

[B] It has been thought, that it was not merely Ambition, which prompted him to cause the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated, but that some Matrimonial Interest was concerned. I mean, that he did it to be revenged of the Dishonour that had

been done to him, by an Intrigue with his Wife. Let *Brantome* tell the Story. 'Duke Lewis of Orleans — one time boasted publicly at a Banquet, where his Cousin John, Duke of Burgundy, was present, that he had in his Closet the Pictures of the finest Ladies whom he had enjoyed. By chance, one day, Duke John went into that Closet, and the first Picture he saw, which struck his Eye at first glance, was the noble Lady his Spouse, who was at that time reckoned very handsome: her Name was Margaret, Daughter of Albert of Bavaria, Count of Haynalt, Holland, and Zealand. The good Husband was astonished; and we may imagine, he concluded with himself, that his Business had been done; but taking no further Notice of the Flea that stung him, he dissembled the

(e) See the end of the Remark [A].

(f) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 72.

(g) Lewis, Duke of Guienne, who died before his Father.

(h) Mezerai Abregé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 163.

(i) Id. pag. 165.

(k) Id. pag. 168.

(l) Named John Petit. See his Article.

(m) Mezerai Abregé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 169.

(n) Id. pag. 170.

(o) They had expelled their Bishop, Brother to the Duke of Burgundy's Wife.

(p) The 4th of Decemb. 1408.

(q) The Year 1410.

(r) Mezerai A-brége Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 178, of the Year 1411.

(s) Because the Earl of Armagnac was one of the principal Leaders.

Hand, demanded Justice for the Murder of his Father, and sent a very outrageous Challenge to the Duke of Burgundy, who answered it with the like (r) [C]. Thus was the Kingdom divided into two Factions, one of the Burgundians, and the other of the Orleans Party, commonly called Armagnacs (s). Hence proceeded an infinite Number of Murders, Plundering, and Proscriptions [D]. The Orleans Party blockaded

(4) Brantome is mistaken; this Duke of Burgundy had but one Wife, and he died before her. See Father Anselm, pag. 209. Pontus Heuterus, Rer. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 93, refutes those who say he had two Wives.

(5) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 352.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 354.

(7) Louis Gollut, Memoirs de Bourgogne, liv. x, chap. iii, pag. 626.

(8) Id. ibid.

the Matter, and in order to be revenged, quarrelled with him about the Regency and Administration of the Kingdom, and making This, not The Affair that of his Wife, his Pretence, he caused him to be assassinated at the Gate Baudet at Paris, his Wife being already dead, as was supposed, of Poison. Being thus rid of one Wife, he took for his second the Daughter of Lewis III, Duke of Bourbon (4); it is doubtful whether he mended his Market; for to such People as are subject to Horns, let them change Beds and Haunts, as oft as they will, Horns will come. The Duke did very wisely in that; he revenged himself on the Adulterer, without scandalizing himself, or his Wife; which was very wise Disimulation on his Part (5). — For these Reasons, Duke John was very wise in dissembling and hiding his Horns, and revenging himself besides on his Cousin who had dishonoured him: He even laughed at him, and let him know it; which Derision and Scandal, without doubt, went as much to his Heart as his Ambition, and made him do this Action like a worldly-wise and able Politician (6). Do not imagine that this is one of those Tales that are only learned by Tradition: it has been inserted in Historians; you will find it in the Memoirs of Lewis Gollut (7). It is true, this Author supposes, that Duke John of Burgundy did not believe that his Wife had been unfaithful, but that the Duke of Orleans had boasted of Favours from her wrongfully. This boasting was nevertheless an Offence, for which he would have Satisfaction. Gollut goes on to tell us, that the Dukes of Burgundy had complained that the Duke of Orleans attempted to debauch her. Let us see his own Words, which will shew that this delicate Affair was debated in the Council of Burgundy, and that it was there resolved to use some other pretence to be revenged on the Duke of Orleans. * Meyerus says truly, from the writings of some good Author (whose words he cites in Latin) that the Dukes had previously complained to the Duke her Husband, that the Duke of Orleans had watched to find her alone, and had solicited her, and attempted force upon her Honour, of which she prayed him to take notice, which the Duke had received in such manner, as matters of that kind usually are taken and interpreted, by Husbands who have any Spirit, or any regard for their Reputation. Nevertheless, he would not immediately proceed to Vengeance; but only resolved on the Execution in time, and to punish the Offence, by the Murder of the Duke of Orleans, whatever came of it. He adds, that the Duke had called his Council, and demanded of the great Men, to whom he communicated this Affair, under an Oath, how he should proceed to be revenged for so great Injury, whether he should chastize or murder him: letting them understand that he asked not whether he should do it, but only how and in what manner he might execute it with Safety. Whereupon the Counsellors, after divers excuses, and three Days Deliberation, answered: That it was necessary to take measures that the Duke of Orleans's Actions might be censured as they deserved: and to gain the Opinion of the Vulgar, and even of the Parisians: and that, for that end, it would be good to set some People at Work every where, to rail against the Conduct of the Duke of Orleans, and stir up the People against him (8). These last Words of Gollut are very remarkable.

[C] The Duke of Orleans sent him a very outrageous Challenge, which he answered with the like.] My Readers will not be displeased to find here the Tenor of these Challenges. That of the Orleans Party was conceived in these Terms: * Charles, Duke of Orleans and Valois, Earl of Blois and Beaumont, Lord of Conchy; Philip, Earl of Vertus; and John, Earl of Angoulême, Brothers: to thee, John, who callest thyself Duke of Burgun-

dy, for the most horrible Murder, by thee treacherously, maliciously, by professed Murderers, committed on the Person of our dear and dread Lord and Father, Louis Duke of Orleans, only Brother of Monseigneur, the King, our Sovereign Lord, and thine, notwithstanding the several Oaths, Alliances, and Engagements, between you subsisting, and for the great Treasons, Acts of Disloyalty, Infamy, and Wickedness by thee, against our said Sovereign Lord the King, and against us, in diverse manners, perpetrated: We give thee to understand that from this Day forward we will annoy thee with all our Power, and by all ways we can; and against thee, of thy Treason, and Disloyalty, we call God, and all good Men in the World to judge, and assist us: in witness of the Truth whereof, we have caused these present Letters to be sealed with the Seal of me, Charles, abovenamed. Given at Jarjeau, the eighteenth Day of July, in the Year of Grace 1411 (9). The following is the Burgundian's Answer. * John Duke of Burgundy, Earl of Artois, Flanders, and Burgundy, Palatin, Lord of Salines and Malines: To thee Charles, who callest thyself Duke of Orleans; and to thee Philip, who callest thyself Earl of Vertus; and to thee John, who callest thyself Earl of Angoulême; who have lately sent us your Letters of Defiance; we give to understand, and be it known to all Men, that in order to defeat the most horrible Treasons, manifold Wickedness, and most malicious Plots, conspired, contrived, and acted feloniously, against the King, our most dread and sovereign Lord, and yours, and against his most noble Generation, by the late Lewis, your Father, a false and disloyal Traytor, to attain to the final detestable Execution of his Purposes, which he had contrived against our said most dread Lord and his, and also against his said Generation, and notoriously, that no good Man ought to suffer him to live: and especially we who are Cousin-German of our said Lord, Dean of the Peers, and twice Peer, and more closely allied to him, and to his said Generation, than any other Person of the said Generation, could not have suffered such a false, disloyal, cruel, and felonious Traytor on the Face of the Earth any longer, without a great Crime on our Part; we have, in order to acquit ourselves loyally, and do our Duty towards our high and sovereign Lord, and his said Generation, killed, as he deserved, the said false and disloyal Traytor, and in so doing have pleased God, and rightly performed loyal Service to our said most dread and sovereign Lord. And forasmuch as thou and thy Brothers follow the false, disloyal, and felonious Steps of your said Father, and do contrive to accomplish those damnable and disloyal Facts attempted by him, we are not at all concerned at your said Defiance; but as to the Contents thereof, thou and thy Brothers have lied, and do maliciously, falsely, and disloyally lie like Traytors, as you are; for which by the Help of our Lord, who knows, and is a Witness of the most entire and perfect Loyalty, Love and good Will, which we always have, and always so long as we live shall have, towards our said, and his said Generation, to the good of his People, and of all his Kingdom, we will bring you to such an End and Punishment, as such false and disloyal Traytors, Rebels, and disobedient Felons, as thou, and thy Brothers are, deserve to come to: In witness whereof we have caused these Letters to be sealed with our Seal: Given in our City of Douay, the fourteenth Day of August, in the Year of Grace, 1411 (10).

[D] — From thence proceeded endless Murders and Proscriptions.] This Division may be compared to that of Marius and Sylla, and to the unhappy Triumvirate of Marc Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus. See how a Historian, a Favourer of the Burgundian Party, expresses himself. * While these things were negotiating

(9) Enguerrand de Monstrelet. Vol. I, cap. lxxii.

(10) Id. cap. lxxiii.

blockaded Paris, and were resolved to sack it. The Duke of Burgundy, with some Succours from the English, obliged them to retire, and was received into the City as the Deliverer of France (t). He made them suffer all the Disgrace that can befall a routed Party: He had them excommunicated, set their Goods to sale, and pursued them every where. This constrained them to make an Alliance with the English, on Conditions very pernicious to France. The King hearing it, vowed their Destruction, and went in Person and besieged Bourges, and attacked them, by his Generals, in other Places: But important Reasons compelled him to make a Peace with them. After a thousand Broils in the City of Paris, the Duke of Burgundy, not finding himself the stronger, retired into the Low Countries, in the Year 1413. His Creatures were deprived of their Offices, and he abhorred as an execrable Murderer (u). He returned with an Army, and appeared before Paris, notwithstanding the King had forbid him to come near it, on pain of High Treason (x). Nothing stirred in his Favour, so he retired in Confusion, after a thundering Declaration against him by Charles VI. That Prince pursued him as an Enemy to the State (y), and would not grant him Peace (z), but on very hard Conditions. The other Party was superior, till, in the Year 1418, the Friends of the Burgundian Faction introduced into Paris, Philip de Villiers l'Isle-Adam (aa). Then it was that Tanneui du Chatel saved the Dauphin, as I have said elsewhere (bb). The Cruelties exercised on the Armagnacs were terrible. The Queen, whom the King had exiled, joined the Duke of Burgundy, and made her Entry into Paris with him. They got the King in their Power, made an ill use of his Name, while the Dauphin was doing all he could against the Duke. Some Persons endeavoured to pacify these Troubles; and the Dauphin and the Duke had a Conference in the open Field, and agreed upon another Rendezvous at Montreuil-faut-yonne, to regulate all the Articles of their Treaty. The Duke went to the Place appointed, the tenth of September, 1419, and was there massacred by the Dauphin's Friends (cc). He had one Son, and six Daughters legitimate, and some Bastards [E]. His Death was revenged after another manner than that of the Duke of Orleans, such is the Inequality and Caprice of Men.

(t) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 180, of the Year 1412.

(u) Id. pag. 186.

(x) Id. pag. 187.

(y) Id. pag. 188.

(z) In September, 1414.

(aa) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 201.

(bb) In the Article DU CHATEL.

(cc) Taken from Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 201, &c.

'negotiating, Mr Peter des Essards entered privately into Paris, and found means to gain the Butchers Flayers, and such like Mob, whom he knew to be Friends to the Duke of Burgundy, and persuaded them to make a search for the Orleans. In consequence of which the poor unfortunate Orleans were beat, turned out of Doors, massacred, prosecuted, and, in short, treated worse than Enemies. This gave the first rise to the dislike, which the King, the Dauphin, the Queen, and all good Men, took to the Duke of Burgundy, considering his strange Ways, more worthy of some Sylla, Marius, Triumvir, or other barbarous Heathens, than of Christian Princes, bred up in the Church of JESUS CHRIST, the Father of Peace and Meekness: and foreseeing that the Orleans (in their Turn) would be obliged to do the like in the City of Paris itself, and other Places, where they might find, or catch, any Subject, Servant, or Partizan, of the Faction of Burgundy; where would follow an unheard of, and unparalleled, Butchery, in all the Towns in France, with the Loss and Death of good and innocent People. This is precisely the Condition to which that Discord and unhappy Civil War reduced the unfortunate People of France, and the Inhabitants of every City in it. Thus, the Follies, the Passions, the Dissentions, and the Revenge, of Princes, break out to the Ruin of the poor innocent People (11).'

[E] He had ---- some Bastards.] We will use the Expressions of the same Author. He was only once married; but was not satisfied, nor could he contain himself when he was married: for he gave himself a Liberty in other Amours, favouring some Mistresses, of whom the last and greatest Favourite, was the Lady de Giac, who had a Share in the Plot contrived against him; yet he had no Children by her; for the two Bastards, John, Bishop of Cambray, and Guy (who was a valiant Captain), were by another (12). I wonder Gallat says nothing of a natural Daughter of the same Duke. She was called Philippa, and was married to Anthony de Rochebaron, Sieur de Breze-le-Chastel (13). A modern Historian of the Dukes of Burgundy is also silent as to this Daughter (14): but he observes, that People spoke ill of Duke John, and the Queen of France, who since her deliverance from Tours, had been strongly attached to him, though before she breathed nothing but the Duke

of Orleans (15). He takes notice likewise of the Treachery of a second Dalilah, the Lady de Giac (16), ---- who, seeing all at the taking of Montreuil, the Capitulation excluding the Domestic of the Duke of Burgundy, met with due Punishment for her Lewdness and Unfaithfulness (17). Pontus Heuterus had said the same thing, and particularly what relates to the ill Reports concerning the Queen (18). This Princess was not esteemed for her Chastity: it was believed that she behaved ill with the Duke of Orleans, and afterwards that the Murderer of that Duke behaved ill with her (19). Add to this these Words of Mezerai: 'As they lived with a great deal of Liberty in that Princess's Family, it was easy for the Constable d'Armagnac to raise a Jealousy in the King: so that he caused one Bourdon, who was in that Intrigue, to be seized and drowned; and afterwards put away his Queen, and sent her as Prisoner to Tours. She could never resolve to forgive him this Injury; nor even the Dauphin, her Son, because it was done with his Consent, though he was then but sixteen Years of Age (20). After the Duke of Burgundy, had set her at Liberty, it was no difficult matter to incline her to Proceedings prejudicial to the Armagnacs, by whom she had been injured so many ways, and so basely, because they had been so passionate and outrageous as to charge her to the King, and the Dauphin, her Son, of Unfaithfulness to the Marriage-bed, and using a more familiar Conversation, and Privacy, with a certain Gentleman, than was consistent with the Honour and Faith of a married Lady, and the Grandeur of so illustrious a Princess as the Queen and Wife of the King of France. To which they had added another Injury, which was to strip her of all the Wealth she had scraped together and deposited in some Churches; to serve as a last Resort in such times of Civil-War (21). The English, to whom she was so much obliged, were not silent on the Head of her Lewdness. See what one of our most grave Historians says. The last of September, 1435, died the Queen Mother, Isabella of Bavaria, in the Hostel de St Pol, at Paris, where she lived in poor Condition, after the Death of her Husband, justly hated by the French, and ingratly despised by the English. Some have wrote that to spare the Charges of her Funeral, they carried the Body to St Dennis in a little Boat accompanied only by four Persons. Some attribute her

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Id. pag. 64.

(17) Id. pag. 68.

(18) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burg. lib. iii, pag. 92.

THE III Reputation of the Queen, the Mother of Charles VII.

(19) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, page 163.

(20) Id. ibid. pag. 158 a l'Ann. 1417.

(21) Gallat, Memoires de Bourgogne, cap. xlii, pag. 690.

(11) Gallat, Memoires de Bourgogne, lib. x, cap. xxii, pag. 657, 658.

(12) Idem. cap. xlix, pag. 701.

(13) See Father Labbe, Tabl. Geneal. p. 257; and Father Anselme, Hist. Geneal. pag. 210.

(14) Fabert, Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne, pag. 68.

Death to Vexation at the outrageous Railleries she suffered; for they took a Pleasure in telling her to her Face, that King *Charles* was not the Son of her Husband (22).

BURGUNDY (PHILIP Duke of, surnamed *THE GOOD*,) only Son of the foregoing, was born at *Dijon*, the thirtieth of *June*, 1396, and was brought up there with his Mother, till the Death of his Grandfather, by the Father's side: then he was brought to *Ghent*, and passed several Years there; for it was not thought proper to let him engage in the Combustions of the Court of *France*, where his Father, and the House of *Orleans*, were disputing the Ground with the utmost Fury (a). He married *Michele*, Daughter of *Charles VI*, in the Year 1409, and lost her in the Year 1422, without having had any Children by her (b). He had the Government of *Artois* and *Flanders*, in the Year 1415, but under the Direction of some Lords, which his Father placed about him. They would not suffer him to go to the Wars, whom vexed him to that degree, that he cried and lost his Appetite; he was appeased, at last, when he heard the ill success of the Battle of *Agincourt*, and owned that his Father was in the right to hinder him from being there (c). He continued at *Ghent*, with his Mother and his Wife, waiting the Issue of the Quarrel between his Father, and the House of *Orleans*, and to see what Party the Dauphin *Charles* would take; but as soon as he heard of the tragic-Action on the Bridge of *Montreuil-saut-yonne*, he prepared to obtain Satisfaction, and to use all his Power to procure a signal Vengeance (d). He found all the Assistance he could desire. Vast numbers of the *French* offered him their Service: the Queen, who governed the weak King, was entirely for him, and he engaged the King of *England* in his Interest. He accompanied him to the Court of *France* (e), where a Treaty was made, importing that *Charles VI* should give his Daughter *Catharine* in Marriage to the King of *England*, and acknowledge him as Heir to his Crown (f). When the two Kings had made their Entry into *Paris*, the Duke of *Burgundy* laid his Complaint before them and their Councils: *The Dauphin* was summoned to the *Marble Table*, with the ordinary Formalities; and afterwards, he was declared unworthy of any Inheritance, and particularly that of the Crown of *France*, and banished the Kingdom for ever [A]. The Dauphin appealed to God and his Sword (g), and caused himself to be proclaimed King after his Father's Death, in

(a) Ex Ponto Heutero Rer. Burgund. lib. iv, init. pag. 97.

(b) Anselme Hist. Genealogique de la Maison Royale, pag. 211.

(c) Pontus Heutero Rer. Burgund. lib. iv, pag. 97.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 98.

(e) It was then at *Troies*.

(f) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 209, ad Ann. 1420.

(g) Id. ibid. Tom. III, pag. 210.

[A] He caused the Dauphin to be declared unworthy --- of the Crown of *France*, and banished the Kingdom for ever.] The King of *France*, and his Son-in-law, the King of *England*, made their Entry into *Paris*, in the beginning of *December*, 1420. A few days after, they heard the Complaint of the Duke of *Burgundy*, touching the Murder of his Father. The two Kings sat on the same Bench. The Chancellor of *France*, the first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, and a great many other Lords and Privy-Counsellors, were present at the Assembly. The Duke appeared, accompanied with several Persons of Quality: 'And then Mr *Nicolas Raulin*, appearing on the Behalf of the future Complainants, demanded Audience of the two Kings, which being obtained, he set forth the cruel Murder committed on the Person of the late *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, against *Charles*, called Dauphin of *Picquie*, the Viscount of *Narbonne*, the Lord of *Barbasan*, *Tanneguy du Castel*, --- concluding, that they should be taken, put in Carts, and carried through all the public Places of *Paris*, bare-headed, for three Saturdays, or Holidays: and that every one should hold a lighted Torch in his Hand, saying aloud, that they had wickedly, treacherously, damnably, and out of Envy, killed the Duke of *Burgundy*, without any reasonable Cause whatever. That afterwards they should be brought to the Place where they committed the said Murder, and there say and repeat the same Words. And further, that, in the Place where they killed him, should be erected a Church, with twelve Canons, --- to be maintained at the Expence of the said Dauphin, and his Accomplices: and that the Cause of building that Church should be cut in large Letters, in a Stone over the Door of the same, and likewise in each of the Towns following, viz. *Paris*, *Rome*, *Ghent*, *St James of Compostella*, and *Jerusalem*. This Speech ended, Mr *Peter de Marigny*, the King's Advocate in Parliament, likewise declared the abovesaid Persons Criminals; and then Mr *John l'Archer*, Doctor of Divinity, deputed for that purpose by the Rector of the University of *Paris*, exhorted the two Kings to do Justice, and punish such Criminals, lend-

ing a gracious Ear to the Petition of the Complainants, and to their Conclusions (1). Whereupon Answer was made in Behalf of the King of *France*, by the Mouth of his Chancellor, that by the Grace of God, and the good Help and Advice of the King of *England*, Regent and Heir of *France*, he would do so exemplary Justice on the Authors of such a Murder, that they should have Reason to be satisfied. According to this Answer, *Charles*, Duke of *Tou- raine*, Dauphin, was called to the *Marble Table* at *Paris*: where, after all --- Solemnities had been observed against him and his --- Accomplices, in relation to the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was by Sentence removed, banished, and exiled from the Kingdom of *France*, and declared unworthy to succeed to any Lordships now or hereafter, and especially the Succession and Expectation he had of the Crown of *France* (2).

I shall say nothing of the Nullity of this Arrêt (3); but only make a Reflexion on the uneven Conduct of Courts and People. *John* Duke of *Burgundy* caused the only Brother of the King to be assassinated in the Streets of *Paris*. The Widow and Children of the deceased demanded Justice, but could obtain none. The Murderer boasted publicly of his Action, and would not, even at the Request of the King, disown it. He compelled the Complainants to consent to a Reconciliation; and was so far from incurring the hatred of the Public, that he became the Idol of the *Parisians*: he lorded it throughout the Kingdom, and destroyed a vast number of People in *Paris*, and other Places: he endeavoured to carry off the Dauphin: he joined with the capital Enemies of the Nation. He was at last served in the same manner as he had served the King's only Brother: He was massacred on the Bridge of *Montreuil*. His Son and Widow complained to the King's Council, and obtained all they desired against the Dauphin: they got him condemned to perpetual Exile: their Cause was supported by the People, and particularly by the University of *Paris*. Can one conceive an Indignation great enough for such Caprice? If you except the Circumstance of the Promise given, and the

(22) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 253, ad Ann. 1435.

(1) *John l'Archer*, Lord of *St Remy*, observes, in chap. cv, of his History of *Charles VI*, that *John l'Archer* spoke also very strenuously before the two Kings, exhorting them, by all means, to do Justice, and to punish the guilty for their Crimes; and said a great deal of the Condition and Dignity of Justice, and that they should hear and attend favourably to the Requests and Prayers of the Duke, to the end that the Requests might be granted.

(2) Continuation de la Chronique de *Flandres*, extracted from several Authors, by *Denis Sauvage*, chap. xcvi, pag. 304.

(3) See *Du Tillot*, in his Collection of Treaties between *France* and *England*, in the Chapter of King *Charles VI*.

in the Year 1422, by the Name of *Charles VII.* The Duke of *Bretagne* joined with the *English* and *Burgundians*; so that there is more reason to wonder that *Charles VII* did not lose all his Kingdom, than that he lost a good part of it. He was obliged to send away all those who had a hand in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy* (b). The Son of this last found some Employment in the *Low Countries*, in opposing *Jaqueline of Bavaria* [B]; which gave some respite to the King

(b) Id. pag. 295.
ad Ann. 1425.

of

the Faith of a Treaty going to be concluded, every thing else was more odious and wicked in the Murder of the Duke of *Orleans*, than in that of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke of *Orleans* was superior in Dignity to the Duke of *Burgundy*; he was the King's Brother. The Dauphin was superior to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Sovereign Authority being in some measure devolved to him during the Distraction of *Charles VI*; he had more right to exercise the Sword than any other, and it is certain that the Murderer of the Duke of *Orleans* deserved Death, not only for that infamous Assassination, but also for numberless other Acts of Violence, Murders, Plunderings, and Proscriptions. Nevertheless the Widow of the Duke of *Orleans*, and her three Sons, obtained no Justice: the Assassin was brought under no Penalty, but on the contrary insulted and triumphed for twelve Years: at last he was massacred. The Widow and her Son demand Justice, and obtain the most thundering Arrêt imaginable against the Parties concerned. The same *Frenchmen*, who had so patiently suffered the Complaints against a Murder committed by *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, to be rejected, offer their Service to avenge the Death of the Murderer. The Sons of the Duke of *Orleans*, instead of revenging themselves, fell under Oppression, which ended not but by the Interposition of the Son of him who murdered their Father. By right he ought to have been obliged to recur to their Clemency; but they had need of his Compassion. The Fate of the Murderer of this Murderer was very different; he was disinherited of the Crown, and banished for Life. This unequal Sentence wanted but little of being actually executed; he was beat in a hundred Places, and several Provinces taken from him. The Son of the Person, he had caused to be massacred, was the principal Cause of these Misfortunes; and after he had satiated his Revenge, constrained by his own King to make him a Satisfaction so unbecoming Royal Majesty, as shall be seen hereafter, that never Fault was expiated in such a manner. What Violence! What Tyranny is it with all Rigour to exact Vengeance for the Death of a Man, who laughed at the Prosecutions of the Widow and Children of the Person he had killed! But what Disorder to see, that they should succeed so well in requiring such a thing! Here we may well cry out:

----- multi

Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato:

Ille cruce sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema (4).

(4) Juvenal. Sat. xiii, ver. 103.

----- every Age relates

That equal Crimes have met unequal Fates;
That Sins alike, unlike Rewards have found,
And whilst This Villain's crucifix'd, the Other's crown'd.

DRYDEN.

The weak side of Monarchical Government.

We may make one Reflexion more. The Reign of *Charles VI* shews the weak side of monarchical Government. Other Forms of Government have every one their weak-side; but are not subject to Infancy or Madneſs, as Kings are. The monarchical Law, in Hereditary Countries, requires that he, who is in order of Succession, possess the Throne, though he be an Infant, or by reason of his old Age, or some Distemper, is become a Child a second time. By this means the most furious and fatal Divisions are introduced, as *France* experienced under *Charles VI*. It is in vain to say, that a mixed Monarchy helps these Disorders; for there never were in *France* so many Assemblies of the Great Men, as in this Reign. And to say the Truth, it has seldom been seen, that General Assemblies of the States ended Troubles: but that on the contrary they have contribu'd to foment and in-

crease them. This appeared in the Reign of the Children of *Henry II*. Such then is the Condition of Mankind; there is no choice between good and bad, but between bad and worse; and it often happens that we chuse the worst, when we think we chuse the less ill. The Dauphin, for Example, and those who governed him, relolved on the Death of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, as a necessary Remedy, which at least would be a means to avoid the greater Evil; but it appeared that they made matters worse. *John's* Son caused more Confusion and Mischief than *John* had caused.

[B] He was employed in the *Low-Countries*, in opposing *Jaqueline of Bavaria*. That Lady was only Daughter and Heiress of *William of Bavaria*, fourth of that Name, Count of *Hainault*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friesland*, and had been married to *John of France*, Dauphin of *Vienne*, the Son of *Charles VI* (5). This Dauphin dying in the Year 1416, She was remarried to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, Cousin German to *Philip the Good*. But the young *Coquette* not being pleased with her second Husband, a Man of little Virtue, used means to be divorced, and got herself carried off by some Officers, who took her to *England*, where she married *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester*, Brother to King *Henry*. That enterprize tended much to the dishonour of *Philip* (6). Wherefore he vigorously opposed the Duke of *Gloucester*: they provoked one another by Letters, and proceeded even to a Challenge to a personal Combat, and to appoint the Day, the Place, and the Weapons. The Duke of *Bedford* having assembled the most considerable Lords, both *French* and *English*, annulled the Challenge, and declared that there was no just Cause of Combat. Yet there continued a hot War in *Holland*, where the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Duke of *Gloucester*, tried their Strength: But after two Years, the Pope having declared the Marriage of *Jaqueline* with the Duke of *Gloucester* to be of no Force, that Prince desisted from his pursuit, and married a Lady whom he kept (7). During the whole Year 1428, the Duke of *Burgundy* was busy in the *Low-Countries*, in pursuit of *Jaqueline of Bavaria*. He hemmed her in so close, that, having besieged her in *Ghent*, he constrained her to declare him her Heir to all her Lands, so that he joined to *Flanders* and *Artois*, *HAYNAULT*, *HOLLAND*, *ZELAND*, and *FRIESLAND* (8). Historians represent this *Jaqueline* as a light and amorous Woman, who left her Husband only, because she did not believe him capable of getting her with Child (9). This was Occasion enough for her to satisfy her Inclination and Desires, at the expence of her Honour and Reputation. She would not be content to remain in the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, waiting the Pope's Decision on the Point of her Marriage: and yet her Mother and her Husband had made that Agreement. The Inhabitants of *Mons* forced her to agree to it, and delivered her to the Duke, who conducted her to *Ghent*: But she staid not long there: For, having gained some Domesticks, she disguised herself in Mens Cloaths, and escaped into *Holland* (10). There she found some Adherents, and, by that means, gave the Duke of *Burgundy* a great deal of trouble; for she was not discouraged by the ill success of her Arms: 'The Spirit of a Woman, who gives her self a loose in Love, is not to be conquered, but with the utmost constraint; for Reason and Argument avail nothing with passionate Heads (11).' She would not yield, neither when she heard that her Marriage with the Duke of *Gloucester* had been declared null by the Pope, and that the Duke had married his Concubine (12), nor when she heard of the Death of the Duke of *Brabant*, her true Husband. Most of her Friends forsook her, when they saw the

(5) Anselme, Hist. General. pag. 117.

(6) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 212, ad Ann. 1422.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 237.

(8) Id. pag. 239.

(9) See Gossus, Mémoires de Bourgogne, pag. 714.

(10) Id. pag. 718.

(11) Id. pag. 720.

(12) Who was not thought so constant, but that she had granted several Favours to others besides the Duke. Gossus, Mémoires, Bourgogne, p. 721.

of France's Party. He had the honour to be intreated earnestly by the Pope, and the Council of *Basil*, to moderate his just Resentment, and to pity the Misfortunes of his Country. Besides, he had the Glory to see *Charles VII* submit to Terms of Accommodation so rigorous, that he may, without Hyperbole, be said to have made him *Amende Honorable* [C]. By means of these Submissions, shameful indeed,

(13) *Id. ibid.*

(14) *Otherwise* Gouda. Gollut *falsely calls that* Town Gonde, or Gond. Mezerau, *Abrégé Chronol.* Tom. III, pag. 239, *calls it* Gande. See above, *Citat.* (8).

(15) Gollut, *Mémoires de Bourgogne*, pag. 725. See also Pontus Heuterus *Rec. Burg.* lib. iii, pag. 110.

(16) In the Remark [C], of the Article LEWIS XI.

(17) Honorat. Meynier *demande* curieuse & *Reponses* libres, pag. 590, 591.

(18) Olivier de la Marche *Mémoires*, liv. i, cap. iii, pag. 84, 85.

the Superiority of the Burgundians, and that they beheaded all the Chiefs of the other Party, who fell into their Hands (13). Yet she would not treat with the Duke of Burgundy, till he had besieged her in Tergou (14). After the Treaty he gave the Government of Holland to Francis de Borjelle, who took it in his Head to make Love to Jaqueline, and married her without the Duke's knowledge in the Year 1432. She was made Prisoner, but as she made a new Cession of all her Rights, she was permitted to satiate herself in the enjoyment of her new Amour. She died at the Hague without Children the fourth of October 1436 (15).

All this shews that our Philip the Good was an able Prince, and that he made no scruple to aggradize himself at the expence of the involuntary Chastity of a Woman: For he opposed the Amours of Jaqueline, for no other reason, but to hinder her from having Children; and as soon as he knew that those she had would not inherit, he permitted her to satisfy Nature.

[C] It may be said without Hyperbole; that he made Charles VII, make him Amende honorable.]

I have cited in another Place (16), a long Passage, in which I have left Chafin, which contains this: 'Before Lewis XI, King Charles VII, his Father, did a thing yet more strange: For in order to make Peace with Philip Duke of Burgundy, his Vassal, nay, even his natural Subject, he sent the Constable of France, the Chancellor, a Marechal of France, and several other great Lords, to treat of Peace, who, in full Assembly, in the Name of the King their Master, asked Pardon for the Death of John Duke of Burgundy, confessing, aloud and distinctly, that the King has done amiss, being young, of little Judgment, and ill advised, praying the Duke to lay aside his just resentment for that fact, which could not now be helped: Whereupon the Duke declared, that he forgave the King for the Honour of God, and out of Compassion to the People of France, and in Obedience to the Council, the Pope, and other Christian Princes, who had desired him to do it. A Slave could not have paid more Honorable Amende to his Lord, than the King did then to his Subject, in order to restore the Kingdom to its former Splendor, and to drive out the English, as he did soon after, and in process of time reduced to Obedience, the Man to whom the Necessity of his Affairs had obliged him thus to submit. The Romans would sooner have lost all their State than thought of doing so (17).' As in the Case of Satisfaction for Injuries, the least alteration of Terms, is oftentimes of Consequence, my Readers might not be fully satisfied, if I left them to the Authority of This Author. Therefore it is necessary to recite the Words of the Treaty Arras itself, which relate to the humble Submission of Charles VII. The first Article runs thus, 'That the King shall say, or, by notable Persons sufficiently authorized, shall cause to be said, to Monsieur of Burgundy, that the Death of the late Monsieur the Duke John of Burgundy, his Father, (whom God absolve) was unjustly and wickedly caused by them, who perpetrated the said Action, and by ill Counsel, and has always displeased him, and does now displease him from his Heart; and that if he had known the said Case, and been of such Age and Understanding as he is of at present, he would have prevented it to the utmost of his Power: but he was very young, and had at that time but little Knowledge, and was not so well advised as to prevent it. And shall pray my said Lord of Burgundy, that all Malice or Hatred which he may have against him on that Account, he will lay aside from his Heart, and that good Peace and Love shall be between them; and express mention shall be made of this in the Instrument of the Agreement, and Treaty made between them (18).' Let us see also the three following Articles. 'Item, That all those

who perpetrated this wicked Fact, or were consenting thereto, the King shall abandon, and shall do all possible Diligence to cause them to be taken and apprehended, (wherever they shall be found) to be punished in Body and Goods: and if they cannot be taken, shall banish, and cause them to be banished for ever, without Grace or Revocation, out of the Kingdom, and the Dauphiné, with Confiscation of all their Goods, and they shall be out of all Treaties. Item, The King shall not suffer them to be received, or favoured, in any place under his Obedience and Power: and shall cause it to be proclaimed and published in all Places of the said Kingdom and Dauphiné, where Proclamations and Publications are wont to be made, that no Person do receive or favour them on Pain of Confiscation of Body and Goods. Item, That Monsieur of Burgundy, so soon as he can conveniently, after the said Agreement passed, shall nominate those Persons, of whom he is, or shall then be, informed, that they perpetrated the said wicked Fact, or were consenting thereto, to the end that they may be immediately and diligently proceeded against on the part of the King as aforesaid. And further, because the said Lord of Burgundy may not yet have true Knowledge, nor true Information, of all who perpetrated the said wicked Fact, or were consenting thereto, whensoever he shall be duly informed of any others, he may name them, and by his Letters Patent, or otherwise sufficiently signify them, to the King, who shall in that Case be bound immediately and diligently to cause them to be proceeded against in manner aforesaid.'

Charles VII was not quit for this Amende honorable: he was moreover condemned in Charges, Damages, and Interest. Take the Pains to read, in *Olivier de la Marche*, the rest of the Treaty of Arras: you will there see in every Article (19), that it cost France a considerable Sum to the Benefit of the Duke of Burgundy. Further, the mortifying Conditions he imposed on Charles VII were not expressed in secret Articles: they were both settled and published by the Mediation of two Cardinals; one on the part of the Council, the other on the part of the Pope; and there never appeared such a Guard as that of the Embassadors, who managed this Treaty. They had in their Trains above ten thousand Horse (20).

The Historians of the House of Burgundy could not find sufficient Cause of Vanity in the Pacification of Arras: therefore they sought for more magnificent ones in the Preliminaries. They say, that the Embassadors of Charles VII cast themselves on their Knees before the Duke of Burgundy, and, melting in tears, besought him to pardon their Master: but he rejected their Tears and Supplications, and did not yield till a Miracle put him in fear of the Excommunication which the Cardinal Legate threatened him with. Let us recite this fine Story, as Lewis Gollut gives it. 'The Belgic and Holland Annals — say — that the Embassadors of France (understanding that the Duke of Burgundy heard Mass at St Wast) came to him, and (casting themselves on both Knees, accompanied by the Dukes herself, who on her Knees, with the rest, joined in the Petition) begged of him Peace, and that he would be content with the Revenge he had taken for several Years, for the Death of his Father, and pardon the King his Offence, committed by the ill Advice of those about him, while he was yet young, and not above sixteen Years of Age. Adding, that the King, since he came to Years of Discretion, had a thousand times repented of this Murder, and with sighs (which he could not forbear whenever he remembered it) he had complained no less affectionately than the Duke of Burgundy himself; and that he was ready by all honourable Means (agreeable to the Royal Dignity of a King of France) to make satisfaction and amends

† The Copy has these Words in the Margin. Note, that the Duke has named Tanneguy de Chastel, Jehan Louvet, President de Provence, Chevaliers; Pierre Froitier, Ecuier, Maître Jehan Cadart, Phisicien.

(19) The Treaty contains Forty one Articles.

(20) Gollut, *Mémoires de Bourgogne*, pag. 722.

indeed, but excusable from the Necessity of the Time [D]. Charles VII detached him from his Alliance with the English. The English, from that time, became great Enemies to the Duke, and committed all manner of Hostilities in his Territories (i). He attempted to revenge himself on them, by taking Calais ——— and besieged it with a numerous Army (k). The Flemings forsook him, and made him miscarry in that Enterprize. He did a very generous Action in the Year 1440; for he procured the Release of the Duke of Orleans, who had been Prisoner in Eng-

(i) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* Tom. III. pag. 245.

(k) Id. p. 255, & Ann. 1436.

to the Duke. Which they spoke with so much Affection, that they shed Tears in abundance. This caused the Duke (thus taken and attacked un-awares) to weep likewise: being moved to see the Countenances of these great Lords, and his dear Consort among them, and compassionating the Miseries of his Country: and also because he foresaw that by this Agreement his Vengeance for the Death of his Father would be prevented, and the Murderers suffered to go unpunished. He then, touched with Affection (and more inclined to the Preservation of his House, than to the Aggrandizement of the English), humanly raised all these Lords and Ladies, and answered them, that for his Part he would not refuse Peace, if he could accept of it: but that by his Oath, given to the English, he could not treat without their Consent. The same Annals say, that the Duke appeared resolute, and positively refused to come to any Agreement with the French, and that the Cardinal de Sainte Croix, being vexed at it, threatened to exercise the Power of the Church, against both him and the English. And, continue the same Annals, the Cardinal, in order to shew the Duke the Power of the Church, called for some white Bread, which (with great Assurance) he cursed in the Presence of them all: and instantly the Bread became black; and then the Cardinal, leaving his Imprecations, gave it the Benediction, by which means the Bread recovered its former whiteness. At which the Duke was exceedingly terrified, and promised to be reconciled to the King, contenting himself with the Revenge he had taken for the Death of his Father (21).

[D] — *Shameful Submissions* — which the Necessity of the time renders excusable.] It is to no purpose to say, that the Romans would rather have lost their States than have thought of that (22). They were a People, of Courage too singular to be drawn into an Example. Neither is it to the purpose to say, that private Gentlemen would rather die, than, in a Quarrel of Honour, offer their Enemy any thing that came near to the Submissions of Charles VII. Sovereigns cannot govern themselves by the strict Laws of Chivalry (23). They are obliged, in favour of their Subjects, and to draw themselves out of an embarrassing War, to do a hundred things which would be base and ignominious, if done by a Gentleman in a private Quarrel. It is not their Business to stand nicely on the Point of Honour. The Interest of the Public requires, that, without Prejudice to their Glory, they may offer Peace to their Enemy, and ask it pressing several Years running, and not be discouraged by his Haughtiness and Disdain. To shun the greater Evil, they ought to sacrifice their Reputation, and their Frontiers, to the good of Peace. Let a private Person, who goes to Law for an Estate, be as obstinate as he will not to be baffled in his Cause, let him spend every Rag rather than voluntarily quit Possession; that is of no Consequence to the Public: but if a Prince were to stand on such Bravadoes, he would expose his State, and sin against the Maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. And since the Obligation even of an Oath, the most sacred and most inviolable thing in the World, is subject to that Law, ought not the worldly Glory of a Prince be likewise subject to it? A Roman General affirms, that, for the Preservation of the State, we may suffer even what is ignominious: *Ac sceda atque ignominiosa deditio est; sed ea Chæritas patriæ est ut tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra si opus sit servemus.* Subeat ergo illa quantacunque est indignitas, & pareatur necessitati quam ne Diu quidem superant. (24). — That Surrender is base and ignominious: but the Love of our Country is such, that we would save it as well by our Ignominy as by our Death, if

need be. Let therefore this Indignity, how great soever, be undergone, and let us submit to Necessity, which even the Gods cannot overcome. Olivier de la Marche imagines, that the Peace of Arras was a Work rather Divine than Natural; for the Affairs of Charles VII were in a good Posture, and those of the Duke of Burgundy still better: and yet, notwithstanding, they were both Great, and upon their Mettle, Nature (which cannot lye in her Judgment) felt herself grieved and wounded by both Parties. Wherefore the two noble Princes condescended to the Peace above-mentioned: and after a close Enquiry, and Calculation of the Reasons which moved each Party to seek Peace, I find that, on the Part of the King of France, he made Conscience of the Case of the Death of Duke John. Secondly, He saw no possibility of withstanding both the English and Burgundians at once, without great Hazard and Damage to his State. Thirdly, By reason of the War he found himself ruled, and under the Hands of so many kinds of *Gens d'Armes*, Foreigners and Natives, that there was not so much as a petty Captain in France, to whom they durst deny Admittance to the King at any time, whatever Business he had. Fourthly, He was so wise and reasonable a King, that he chose rather the Good and Benefit of his Kingdom, than obstinately to persevere in a wrong Notion, without Safety or Repose. As for the good Duke Philip, what made him so readily condescend seems to have been a Regard to the Preservation of the Kingdom of France, to the noble Blood from whence he was descended (working in his Breast, and nearest to his Heart) and to the great Benefits he had received, in the Persons of his Predecessors, from the Royal Family, as well of natural Right as Benevolence. These three things, working together, made him forget the Offence, ill Adventure, Mischief, and Misfortune. Secondly, The small Affinity and Love he had to the English; and, thirdly, His own Honour and Virtue, who, always during his whole Life, (however offended and provoked he may have been at several times, one while by Words, another while by Deeds) lent his Hand with all his Might and Power, to support, maintain, and guard, the Royal Majesty of France (25). Here you see plainly the Language of a Domestic of the Dukes of Burgundy, entirely partial to his Masters; Amplification on one Side, and Diminution on the other. He does but just hint the small Affection of Duke Philip to the English, and conceals the deadly Affronts which had caused a total Rupture, if Charles VII had been wise enough to improve the Opportunity. Besides, he talks with Emphasis of his Master's Affection for the Kingdom of France. Meer Chimera! A Turk would not have been more cruel to Charles VII than Philip was, nor have exacted more disgraceful Satisfaction. If the Duke of Burgundy had felt in his Veins the least Drop of the Royal Blood from which he descended, he never would have made the King of France submit to a Penalty so unworthy of a Monarch. I say again, Charles VII was excusable: He was neither Warrior nor Politician enough to extricate himself out of trouble; if he had had as great Resource of Courage and Genius as some others have had, he would never have prostituted his Honour, as he did by the Peace of Arras: and perhaps if he had let things go on a few Years, he might have seen himself in a Condition to maintain, that he did, no more than his Duty in killing Duke John; that, as he could not put him to Death by way of Law, he was necessitated to have recourse to that means, and thereby to remove the greatest Shame of the Reign of Charles VI; for nothing shews so evidently,

(25) Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*, pag. 99.

(31) Gollot. *Mémoires de Bourgogne*, liv. x, cap. lxvii, pag. 785.

(22) Meynier, *Demandes curieuses & responses libres*, pag. 591.

(23) See the Article GON-TAUT (CHARLES), Remark [D]; and the Article POLITIERS, Rem. [I].

(24) T. Livius, lib. ix, pag. 241.

(25) Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*, pag. 99.

(26) T. Livius, lib. ix, pag. 241.

(27) T. Livius, lib. ix, pag. 241.

(28) T. Livius, lib. ix, pag. 241.

(1) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* Tom. III, pag. 359; ad Ann. 1446.

(m) *Id. ibid.* *Father Anselme*, pag. 211, says June 15. Pontus Heuterus *Rer. Burgund.* pag. 149, says the 16th of July.

(26) Compare what Gollut says *Mémoires Burgund.* pag. 716.

(27) *Id. ibid.* pag. 723.

(28) Brother of Henry V, King of England, and Regent of France.

land for Twenty five Years; and thus *these two Princes, by a sincere and cordial Reconciliation, extinguished the mortal Enmity raised by their Fathers* (1). The Duke of Burgundy concerned himself but little with the Affairs of the *English*, after the raising of the Siege of Calais. He had Work enough at Home: His Subjects in the *Low Countries*, and chiefly the *Gantois*, found him Employ; but he reduced them to Reason [E]. He gave a retreat to the Dauphin for several Years successively, and accompanied him into France with Four thousand Horse, on News of the Death of Charles VII, in the Year 1461. He lived till the fifteenth of July, 1467 (m). He was a Prince of great Merit, and very much enlarged his Dominions [F]; he gained the Love of his Subjects, and the Esteem of all the Princes in *Christendom*. He married thrice, and was excessively incontinent [G]: It was he,

dently the Misery and Disorder of France under That Prince, as to see the Assassin of the King's only Brother, not only refuse to conceal himself, but continue, for ten Years successively, to disturb the State, and turn every thing topsy-turvy, according to his Fancy. A little Patience might, perhaps, have shewn Charles VII the Rupture between the *English*, and Duke of Burgundy. This last had more reason to fear the Success of the *English* than that of France: for if the *English* had overthrown Charles VII, it would have been easier for them to conquer all the Dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, than it would for France to do it after the Expulsion of the *English* (26). From this Principle, and out of Repentment for some Affronts, the Duke of Burgundy found it his Interest to forsake them, and he would have done it sooner or later. 'The old Men of our Country say, *these are the Words of Lewis Gollut of Franche Comté* (27), that the Duke of Bedford (28) once came to so high Words with Duke Philip, that he reproached him with the Treaty of Peace above-mentioned, and upbraided him with his Levity, for his bearkening to the Promises and Oaths of the French. --- The same old Men say further, that the Duke of Bedford added, in a Passion, that it was in his Power easily to prevent it; and that the Duke of Burgundy would be much surprized if he were sent to drink Beer and Ale in England, more perhaps than for his fill. Whereupon the Duke, as they say, (being then but ill attended) made answer: *Good Cousin, I have done nothing amiss, do not put yourself in pain about it.* A few Days after, having taken care to have his People about him, he gave charge to the Marshal de Vergy to do what I am about to mention. That the Sieur de Vergy should observe when the Duke went in to the Duke of Bedford, and that then he should draw out three or four hundred Gentlemen of the boldest, who (being well armed privately with their Battle-Axes in readines) should enter suddenly, and with furious Mien and Aspect, into the Room where the Dukes were: which they did: then addressing themselves to their Prince, and having saluted him on the Knee (without so much as looking at the Duke of Bedford) the Sieur de Vergy said to him, *Sir, Here and elsewhere it goes well, but elsewhere much better than here; for there you will be served, honoured, and obeyed. And therefore we beseech you to depart, and leave these haughty People here to reap the Fruit of their Bravadoes and Presumptions.* Whereupon the Duke asked: *Is that your Resolution?* and they all answered, *Yes, yes, let us go, let us go, we have no Occasion for these People who stand in need of us.* With that the Duke, addressing himself to the Duke of Bedford, said, *Good Cousin; You see what my Gentlemen advise me to, I am resolved to believe them. Fare you well; and forthwith departed, no body daring to stir, for Orders had been given every where to fight stoutly if it had been necessary.*

[E] His Subjects, and chiefly the *Gantois*, found him Employ, but he reduced them to Reason. The Inhabitants of Bruges, rising in the Year 1437, let him enter their Town, as it were to give him Satisfaction, and fell upon his People, and killed above a hundred of them, and among the rest, the Lord de l'Isle-Adam. He himself was in great Danger, and escaped very narrowly, by breaking open the Gate of the City with Hammers. --- Their Fury abated when they

learnt, — that the Duke was coming to besiege them with a great Army. They petitioned for a Pardon, which they obtained, but on very hard Terms. It cost them two Hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, the loss of a great many of their Privileges, and the Lives of a dozen, or fifteen, of the most factious. The *Gantois* gave him a great deal more trouble by their frequent Commotions: the most dangerous was that in the Year 1452, occasioned by the Gabel. He had a mind to establish it in Flanders, and render it certain, imposing Twenty four Gros current on every Sack of Salt. They resolved upon all manner of Extremities, rather than suffer an Imposition on Water and the Sun, which are the universal and free Gifts of Nature. They confided in the King's Protection: And indeed he wrote strongly in their Favour to the Duke of Burgundy: But having received a stronger Answer, he did not think proper to engage in a Civil-War, not being yet clear of the Foreign one against the *English*. The loss which the *Gantois* suffered in five, or six, great Battles, heated their fierce Courage the more: But the Battle of Riplemonde, and afterwards that of Gavres, wherein they lost Twenty thousand Men, brought them so low, that they were obliged to come to a Composition. Two thousand Men, bare headed, and bare-foot, and all the Counsellors, Sheriffs, and Officers, in their Shirts, went a League to meet the Duke and his Son, to beg for mercy. The Gate, at which they went out to fight him at Riplemonde, was stooped up for ever. They were condemned to pay Four hundred thousand Rix-Dollars, to deliver him their Banners, to do with them as he should think fit, and suffer a Change of their Customs and Privileges (29).

All this shews the Happiness, the Valour, and the Ability, of our Philip.

[F] He very much enlarged his Dominions. Let us observe here, in what manner the House of Burgundy united so many Provinces under it's Dominion. Philip the Bold added to the Provinces, given him by his Father, the Earldoms of Flanders and Artois, by his Marriage with Margaret, Daughter of the Count of Flanders. He left all these States to his eldest Son, and obtained for his second Brabant, and Limbourg, by Will of his Aunt (30). This Duke of Brabant was Father of him who married Jaqueline of Bavaria: We have seen above (31), how this Jaqueline yielded Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, to Duke Philip the Good, in 1428. This Duke, the same Year, took Possession of the Counties of Namur and Zutphen, which he had bought of Earl Theodorice (32). He inherited, in 1430, the Duchies of Lothier, Brabant, and Limbourg, the Marquisate of the Holy Empire, and the Lordship of Antwerp, by the Death of Philip of Burgundy his Cousin (33), who succeeded his Brother, the Husband of Jaqueline. He made himself Master of the Country of Luxemburg in the Year 1443 (34).

[G] He married thrice, and was excessively incontinent. Michelle of France, Daughter of Charles VI, whom he married in the Year 1409, and Bona of Artois, whom he married in the Year 1424, and who died the Year following, were his two first Wives. He had no Children by them. He married afterwards Isabella of Portugal, Daughter of John I, King of Portugal, the tenth of January, 1430. He had three Sons by her, of which the two eldest lived not long. As to his natural Children, they were fifteen in Number (35). The following

(29) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* Tom. III, pag. 277.

(30) Pontus Heuterus *Rer. Burg.* lib. ii. pag. 62.

(31) In the Remark [B].

(32) Mezerai, *Abrégé Chronol.* Tom. III, pag. 239.

(33) *Id. ibid.* pag. 240.

(34) See Gollut. *Mémoires de Bourgogne*, pag. 794, 795.

(35) See Father Labbe, *Tabl. Général*, pag. 257, &c. and Father Anselme, *Hist. Général*, p. 211, &c.

he, likewise, who instituted the Order of the *Golden Fleece* [H], the University and the Parliament of *Dole* (n). It is a very strong Proof of his Merit, that he could keep in Obedience his only Son, who was a little discontented, and the most proud and rash Man living [I]

(n) About the Year 1423. See Gollut. *Memoirs de Bourgogne*, pag. 155.

following Passage is worth reading. I take it from the *Memoirs of Olivier de la Marche*, in the Chapter where he gives an Account of the Journey, which the Dukes of *Burgundy* took into *France*, in the Year 1444. 'The King of *France*, I say (36) received the said Dukes very honourably, and the Queen did her much Honour, and was often in private with her. For both these Princesses were grown old, and now but little talked of: And I believe they both had the same Pain and Distemper, called Jealousy: and that at those times they discovered their Passions secretly to each other, which was the Cause of their privacy: and indeed there was some Appearance of Reason for their Suspicions. For the King had newly raised a poor Gentlewoman, one *Agnes du Soret*, and placed her in such Splendor and Power, that her State was equal to that of the greatest Princesses of the Kingdom. — On the other Hand, the Duke of *Burgundy* was the most sparkish and frolicsome Prince of his time, and had Bastards both Sons and Daughters, a very fine Company. Thus the Queen and the Dukes often met together, to console one another on their Sorrows.'

(36) Olivier de la Marche, liv. i, cap. xiii. p. 159.

I mention, elsewhere (37), *Anthony* one of his natural Sons. *James of Burgundy*, Lord of *Fal-lainx*, Grandson, I think, of *Baldwin*, another natural Son of Duke *Philip*, became a Protestant; but taking Offence at the Disputes raised at *Geneva*, between *Bolsec* and *Calvin*, in the Year 1551, he fell off, and his Wife also, from the *Doctrine* of the Reformed. He had carried a good Face in their Church several Years (38). *Calvin* had dedicated to him his Commentary on the first Epistle of *Paul* to the *Corinthians*; but he afterwards took out that Epistle Dedictory, and inserted another to the *Marquis de Vie* (39).

(37) In the Remark [A], of the Article BERSALA.

(38) Beze, Pref. du Comment. de Calvin. sur Jo-han, p. 20.

(39) Id. pag. 25.

[H] He instituted the Order of the *Golden Fleece*. He instituted it in *Bruges*, the tenth of *January* 1430, which was the Day of his Marriage with *Isabella* of *Portugal*. He designed it to consist of Thirty one Knights. The following Fact, more curious than modest, is found in the Collections of Mr *Colomies*. 'I have heard Mr *Vossius* say, that he remembered he had read in the *Flemish Chronicle*, that *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, surnamed

the Good, had instituted the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, on Occasion of his finding a Hair of his Mistress, which was of a yellow Colour. This I have found confirmed by *Andrew Favon*, in the beginning of the second Volume of his *Theater of Honour*. Others, says he, say, that *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, conversing, with a great deal of intimacy, with a Lady of *Bruges* of exquisite Beauty, and entering one Morning into her Chamber, found, on her Toilette, some of the Fleece of her lower REGION. By which this careless Lady occasioned Laughter to the Gentlemen who followed the Duke, who, to cover the Mystery, made an Oath, that the Man, who had made a jest of that Fleece, should never have the Honour to wear a Collar of the Order of the Fleece, which he designed to erect for Love of his Lady (40).

[I] He kept in Obedience his only Son, who was a little discontented, and the proudest, and rashest Man living.] That a Son, so ambitious and bold as he was, at a distance from Court, arrived at an Age for commanding, beloved by a People, prone to Insurrections, spared his Father's old Age, is a Token, that the Father was a great Man. The Son I speak of undertook nothing, 'till he was about Twenty two Years of Age, — then he began to quarrel with his Father's Governours; the Father took their Part: Wherefore he withdrew from his Presence, and went and lived in *Holland*, where he was well received, and held intelligence with the People of *Ghent*, and sometimes went thither. He had nothing from his Father: But the Country of *Holland* was very rich, and made him large Presents, as did several great Towns in other Provinces, in hopes to win his Favour for the time to come, according to general Custom, that we always study more to please those People, whose Power and Authority is expected to increase hereafter, than him who is already in such a Station, as that he can mount no higher: And they are more beloved, especially by the Populace. Wherefore when Duke *Philip* was told, how much the *Gantois* loved his Son, and that he could manage them so well, made Answer, that they always loved well their Lord to come: But as soon as he was their Lord, they hated him (41).

(40) Colomies. Recueil de Particularitez, p. 126, 127.

(41) Comines liv. vi, cap. xlii, p. 409.

BURGUNDY (*CHARLES Duke of*), Son of the former, was born at *Dijon*, the tenth of *November*, 1433. He was one of the most Warlike Princes in the World. He was known by the Name of Count of *Charolois*, during the Life of his Father. There was a prodigious Antipathy between him and *Lewis XI*, which begun during that Monarch's Residence, while he was but Dauphin, at the Court of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy* (a). This reciprocal Hatred was a perpetual Source of Enterprizes, which occasioned great Mischief: These Princes studied nothing but to thwart each other. They went to War several times; and when they made Peace, it was with no other View than to ensnare one another [A], and each of them continually kept Intelligence with the Enemies of the other. If the Court of *Vienna* had been as active, as it has been since, to take Advantage of favourable Opportunities, it had been a great Happiness for *Lewis XI*; but he found them insensible [B], and could not persuade them to do any great matter

(a) See Matthieu, Histoire de Louis XI, liv. i, pag. 56, & seq.

[A] He, and *Lewis XI*, had no other View than to ensnare one another.] *Philip Camerarius* shall be my Commentator. 'How often, as Historians relate, did King *Lewis X*, and *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, confirm their Treaties by solemn Oaths? And how often did they depart from them, when either of them thought that the Advantage of his Affairs required it? so that one may say, they gave their Faith, and swore to each other, on purpose that they might break more easily what they had reciprocally promised to observe. Accordingly *Philip de Comines* said, that all their Counsels tended only to deceive one another, and that the Inclinations of these two Princes were opposite, and directly contrary, all their Lives, except

once, when they conspired to take off the Countable (1).

[B] *Lewis XI* found the Court of *Vienna* insensible.] While the Duke of *Burgundy* was making War in the County of *Cologne*, *Lewis XI* dispatched *John Tiercelin* to the Emperor, to advise him not to come to any Agreement with the Duke. — And besides, to make him a new Proposal: which was, that they should give assurance each to the other, that neither should make Peace or Truce without consent of the other; and that the Emperor should take all the Dominions which the said Duke held of the Empire, and which, of right, ought to be held of it, and declare them confiscated to himself, and that the King should take

(1) Camerarius Mediat. Historiques Vol. II, liv. iv, cap. xviii, pag. 330, 331.

(b) See the Ro-
ma & [B].

(c) Taken from
Mezerai, Abrégé
Chronol. Tom.
III. pag. 294,
& seq.

(d) Id. ibid.
pag. 302.

(e) He died in
July, 1467.

(f) Mezerai,
ibid. pag. 306.

(g) Id. ibid.
pag. 309, &c.

(a) Philip de
Comines, liv. iv,
cap. iii, p. 205,
206.

(2) Id. ibid. p.
207.

(3) Id. ibid. p.
195.

(4) See Lewis
Gollut, Mémoires
de Bourgogne,
cap. xciii, p. 839.

(6) Id. ibid. cap.
cl, p. 870, 871.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Comines,
liv. iv, cap. xi,
p. 203, 204, ad
Ann. 1474.

(9) Id. ibid. p.
203.

(10) See Gollut,
Mémoires de
Bourgogne, p. 203.

matter against Duke Charles, who was formidable to several States of the Empire. He found more Vivacity in the Court of the Archduke Sigismund, and among the Swiss, in the Affair of Ferrette (b). He found himself greatly embarrassed, the first time he had to do with this terrible Enemy. It was in the Year 1465. The Count of Charolois entered France with a fine Army, to support the Grandes of the Kingdom, in a League they had made against the King, which they called the League of the public good. The Battle of Montleber, between the King's Troops, and the Burgundians, decided nothing; both Parties pretended to have the Advantage. The Earl gave signal Proofs of his Bravery, and was wounded there. The Heads of the League joined him some time after, and they wanted but little of making themselves Masters of Paris. They would, in all appearance, have dismembered the Monarchy, if they had had as much Prudence as Strength; but, as none of them were capable of conducting the Business well, and every one might obtain great Advantages by a Treaty, they consented to a Peace, which was concluded the Twenty ninth of October, 1465 (c). The Count returned very well satisfied, and found Employment at home, in the War against the People of Liege. He commanded the Duke his Father's Army, before Dinant, in 1466. The Town was taken, and treated with the utmost Rigour, as they had on their part acted with excessive Insolence (d) [C]. He continued that War after the Death of his Father (e), and gained a Battle against the People of Liege, near St Tron, in the Month of November, 1467 (f). He was Master of Peronne, when he received a Visit there from Lewis XI, in the Year 1468. That Interview had an Issue quite different from the King's Expectation; for he found himself the Duke of Burgundy's Prisoner, and was constrained to follow him to the Siege of Liege, to be Witness of the Chastisement to be inflicted on a Town which he had stirred up to take Arms a second time (g). It was taken by Assault, the thirtieth of October 1468, and treated cruelly [D]. The King was suffered to retire four Days

'take all that were held of France: as Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, and several others. Though that Emperor had been all his Life a Man of very little Courage, yet he was a Man of good Understanding, and, having lived to a great Age, had a great deal of Experience (2). He recited an Apologue — and with that Fable put the King off, without returning any other Answer (3). Philip de Comines had said before, that the Emperor had a very narrow mean Spirit, and would put up any thing to save Expenses (4). To give a better Light into what I have hinted of the Business of Ferrette, it must be observed, that Duke Charles, having lent large Sums to Sigismund of Austria, Count of Tirol, received from him Possession of the County of Ferrette, the Landgraviate of Alsace, and four Frontier Towns, in the Year 1469 (5). Five Years after, the King of France, having routed Duke Sigismund, by giving him 80000 Crowns, for which Sum his Countries of Alsace, Sanguen, and Ferrette, were engaged, this being paid him at Basle, the Duke summoned Duke Charles to take it, and to surrender the Possession of the Countries engaged to him. The Duke returned answer, that he was content to receive it, provided the Money were paid him at Bezançon in Franche Comté, otherwise he said he would not quit (6). Whereupon there was a general Insurrection: the Troops of the Duke of Burgundy were driven out: Hagembac, who had been Governor of the County of Ferrette for him, and had been guilty of a great many Oppressions, was beheaded, and the whole Country of Ferrette was put in the Hands of the said Duke Sigismund of Austria; and the Swiss begun the War in Burgundy, and took Blasmond, which belonged to the Marechal of Burgundy, who was of the House of Neufbastele: and besieged the Castle of Herycourt, which belonged to the same House, whither the Burgundians came to it's Relief, but were defeated before it, though numerous. The Swiss did abundance of Mischief to the Country (7). All this was contrived by Lewis XI, as Philip de Comines owns (8). The Troops, sent by the Duke of Burgundy into that Country, had sometimes the Advantage (9).

[C] He treated the Town of Dinant with the utmost Rigour: as they on their Part had acted with excessive Insolence. The People of Liege and Dinant declared War against the Count of Charolois, when he was on his March, to come to Paris (10). The Duke his Father, compelled them in a few Days to buy a Peace. But quickly after,

on a Report which was spread that Charolois was killed at Montleber, they took Arms again with greater Fury. — The Inhabitants of Dinant, a rich Town, and famous for it's Manufacture of Copper, run out into all manner of Outrages against Charolois, such as to call him Bastard, and hang him in Effigy. The Chastisement followed speedily after their outrageous Insolence: the Duke laid siege to Dinant, and his Son commanded the Army. The Town was taken by assault and burnt; Eight hundred of the Inhabitants were drowned in the Meuse, and the rest drove to extremity (11). Lewis Gollut says, that the Town was demolished, and entirely razed, so that no signs of it appeared. Thus fare they ordinarily, who dare affront or vilify Princes (12). These last Words are but too often true, and yet I do not think it possible to cure the Insolence, with which the People, in free States, are apt to attack the Honour of a Prince, who is their Enemy, by Libels, Prints, and other such ways. The wise Heads would never be able to restrain the Fury of the Populace, if they should attempt it; and perhaps they may not think it proper to use their Authority in the Case: they are in hopes that this kind of railing will nourish Hatred, and raise their Courage, and make them open their Purse: all things very proper to facilitate the means of resisting. But when they miscarry, what would they not give that they had followed other Conduct? Observe, that a Piece of false News, believed for three Days, is as capable of destroying a State as of saving it. The People of Dinant perished only by believing too hastily the false News of the Death of the Count of Charolois.

[D] The Town of Liege was taken by assault — and treated cruelly. Great Part of the People fled over the Meuse into the Ardennes, where above half of them perished with hunger and cold: the rest took refuge in Churches, or hid themselves in Houses (13). The Duke caused a Thousand, or Twelve hundred of the poor Wretches, who were taken in the Houses of Liege, to be drowned, and the whole City to be burnt, except the Churches, and Three hundred Houses about them, which were reserved to lodge the Ecclesiastics (14). The Cosmographer Munster affirms, that the Duke caused all the Inhabitants of Liege, that could be found, to be put to Death, without regard to Age or Sex: that the Priests had their Throats cut in the Churches, and even during the Celebration of the Mass: that Twelve thousand

(11) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, p. 202, ad Ann. 1465.

(12) Gollut, Mémoires de Bourgogne, cap. lxxxviii, p. 832.

(13) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, p. 311, ad Ann. 1468.

(14) Id. ibid.

Days after (b). He soon broke the Treaty he had made at *Perronne*, and, in 1470, seized some Towns in *Picardy*, belonging to the Duke (i). This War, interrupted by a Truce, became very bloody, after the Death of the Duke of *Guichne*, Brother to the King (k). The Duke of *Burgundy* put all to Fire and Sword in *Picardy*, and the Territories of *Caux* (l) [E]. He undertook two Sieges, which he was obliged to raise, that of *Beauvais*, and that of *Rouen*. It is reported that the Women of *Beauvais* signalized themselves in the Defence of their Town, for which they were recompensed, by a Privilege very agreeable to the Sex [F]; for they had leave to adorn themselves as they thought fit. Some time after, a Truce was made, during which the Duke went to conquer the Province of *Guelders*. This Addition inspired him with the Thought of having his States erected into a Kingdom by the Emperor [G]; but he could not compass his Design. It was infinitely more easy for him to engage the King of *England* in a League against *France*: I have said in another place (m), that *Lewis XI* laid that Storm with great Sums of Money. He made a separate Peace with the *English*, in the Year 1475; the

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 311.

(i) Philip de Comines, liv. ii, cap. i, & seq.

(k) In the Month of May, 1472. Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 319.

(l) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 320, ad Ann. 1472.

(m) In the Article of E.D. WARD IV.

thousand Women were thrown into the River, and Forty thousand Men killed in the Town. 'Dux obtenta civitate fecit proditores omnes decollari una cum aliis promiscuis ex hominibus quos omnes interfecit, nullo habito delectu inter feminas & viros, pueros & senes. Confodiebantur etiam sacerdotibus & monachi in templis & in Missarum solemnibus. Colligebant mulieres a tergo & projiciebant in subiectum Mosæ fluvium. Ultimo exuerant civitatem & diruebant murum. Numerantur quadraginta millia hominum in civitate trucidati, & duodecim millia mulierum quæ in aquas projectæ fuerant atque submersæ (15).' A certain Historian observes, that the Soldiers ravished the young Women, before they killed them: 'Neque etiam a virginum sacerdotum cæde satis temperatum est, quas bene stupratas prius, effusus miles jugulare, &c (16).'

(15) Munster, Cosmograph. lib. ii, p. 134.

(16) Renerus Snotius Rerum Batavicar. lib. 25, p. 159.

(17) That is to say, the Duke of *Guichne*, Brother of *Lewis XI*.

(18) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. p. 320, ad Ann. 1472.

(19) Jean de Serres Invent. de l'Hist. de France. Vie de Louis XI, pag. 327. See that more at large in Pierre Mathieu Hist. de Louis XI, p. 280.

(20) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. pag. 321, ad Ann. 1472.

for their Women in the Observation of their foolish Traditions. For they forbade a great many little innocent Works, even in the most pressing Necessity, on solemn Days: but they excepted the Habits and Jewels of their Wives, which they thought they might buy on those Days †: It was likewise a privilege granted by Letters Patent of King *Lewis XI*, in the Year 1473, to the Women and Maids of the Town of *Beauvais*, that they might dress themselves on their Wedding Days, and when they thought fit, in such Vestments, Attire, Ornaments, and Jewels, as they pleased, in consideration of the Courage they had shewn in defending the City against the Duke of *Burgundy*. ‡ This Privilege is joined to another, which is very particular, that is, they may walk in Procession, and to the Offering, before the Men, on the Day of the Feast of St *Agadréma*, Patroness of the Town of *Beauvais* (21). *Andrew du Chesne* mentions these Privileges granted to the Women of *Beauvais* by King *Lewis XI* (22).

† V. Seb. Munsærum in notia ad Evangelium Hebraic. Matthæi, cap. xiv, pag. 97.

‡ Vid. Histoire de Beauvais par Ant. Loisel, p. 234, 351.

(21) Joli Avis Chrétiens & Moraux pour l'Institution des Enfants, liv. ii, cap. iv, pag. 260.

(22) Du Chesne Antiquité des Villes de France, p. 411.

(23) Plutarch. in vita Coriolani, pag. 231.

(24) Id. ibid.

(25) Valerius Maximus, lib. v, cap. ii, n. 1, p. 436.

(26) See the Article PERIANDER, Remark [B]; the Article PRETEXTAT, Remark [B]; and the Article BOS-SUS, Remark [D].

(27) Gollut, Mémoire de Bourgogne, pag. 242.

(28) Id. ib. pag. 243.

(29) Utrecht, Liege, Cambrai, the Low Countries (29), and that he demanded & Tournai.

[E] He put all to the Sword in *Picardy*, and the Territories of *Caux*.] His Inclination to cruelty is apparent from the foregoing Remarks, to which I add this: 'He entered *Picardy* with a Torch in one Hand, and a Sword in the other. Till then burning of Towns had not been practised between the two Parties: but nevertheless he made a Bonfire of all the plain Country, and sacrificed to the Manes of his Friend (17) all that fell in his Power. *Nesle*, taken by assault, suffered all manner of Cruelties, because the Inhabitants had killed a Herald, who went to summon them, and two Men more, during the Cessation granted them to treat. Respect to the Altars did not save the innocent People, who took refuge in the Church; and they who escaped the Sword were all hanged, or had their Hands cut off (18).' These are the words of another Historian: The Duke 'marches to *Nesle* in *Vermandois* — besieges, beats, and takes it. Of five hundred Archers, commanded by one, called the *Little Picard*, he killed the greatest part: hanged federal, among the rest the Captain: cut off the Hands of the rest. Several, both Soldiers and Inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the Churches, were inhumanely massacred on the very Altars, and embracing the Images. The Duke himself went into the Church on Horseback, and seeing the dead Bodies. *This*, says he, *looks well, I have good Butchers*. Then he burnt and razed the Place (19).'

[F] The Women of *Beauvais* signalized themselves, and were recompensed with a Privilege very agreeable to the Sex. It is a memorable thing, that in a general Assault made on Thursday the ninth of July, the Men being on the Point of being routed, the Women, conducted by one *Jane Hachete*, did wonders in repulsing the Enemy with Stones, wild Fire, and Lead melted in boiling Rossin. There is still an Effigy of that Woman in the Town-House with a Sword in her Hand; and a Procession is made on the tenth of July (the Day the Siege was raised) in which the Women walk first, and the Men after (20). Mezerai forgets the chief Circumstance: therefore I shall cite another Author, who, in a Chapter, where he lays it down, that the Women think *Finery* a Privilege of Right belonging to them, brings two Proofs, one drawn from the Practice of the *Jews*, and the other from a Decree of *Lewis XI*. These are his Words: 'The *Jews* had this Consideration

VOL II.

I i i

the

the Duke of *Burgundy* was very angry, and remonstrated to the King of *England* very haughtily on that Subject [H]. The ill Success of the Siege he had laid to *Nuitz*, in the Country of *Cologne*, contributed not a little to the Breach of the League he had made with that Prince, and with the Duke of *Bretagne*. After some Bravadoes, he also agreed with *Lewis XI* on a Truce for nine Years, not without great Spite, which he discharged on *Lorraine*. He subdued it entirely: in consequence of that he built Project upon Project, even so far as to think of the Conquest of *Italy*; but he had a mind first to oblige the *Swiss* to submit to his Laws: He miscarried in this Design. They beat him at *Granson*, June 5, 1476, and at *Morat* the 20th of June the same Year. At last, he was killed before *Nancy*, January 5, 1477 [I]. He was a Prince who might have made great Conquests, if he had had as much Prudence as Courage, and if he had not had, in *Lewis XI*, an Adversary, who, by his Intrigues and his Money, raised him abundance of Enemies. His Military Ordinances are admirable (n). He was the first who revived the Method of the Romans, of enclosing his Troops in an intrenched Camp (o). The first Cause of his Wars against the *Swiss* was a meer trifle [K]: The Booty, which

(n) See them in *Lewis Gollut*, *Memoires de Bourg.* liv. x, cap. xcvi, xcvi, xcvi.

(o) Mezerai, *Abregé Chronol.* Tom. III, pag. 308.

(30) See Philip de Comines, liv. ii, cap. viii, p. 105.

(31) Pontus Heuterus *Rer. Burg.* lib. iv, pag. 172, 173.

(32) Matthieu *Hist. de Louis XI*, liv. vii, cap. xxx, p. 321. See also Comines, lib. iv, cap. viii, p. 227.

(33) Comines, liv. v, cap. viii, p. 288.

(34) Gollut, *Memoires de Bourgogne*, pag. 82.

(35) Matthieu, *Hist. de Louis XI*, liv. vii, cap. xxiii, p. 390.

(36) Id. *ibid.* p. 391.

the Vicarship of the Empire, with a tacit desire to succeed the Emperor *Frederic*; that the Pomp with which he shewed his Riches, and the Finery of his Furniture, which foiled that of the Emperor (30), strengthened the Suspicions raised by the King of *France*; and that thus all the Preparations for the Coronation were over-set, in such a manner, that *Frederic* retired to *Cologne*, without taking leave of the Duke (31).

[H] *Lewis XI* having made Peace with the English — he complained haughtily of it to the King of *England*.] He departed from *Luxemburg* with sixteen Horses to go to speak to him; *Edward* — seeming to be astonished at so speedy and sudden an Arrival, asked him what brought him there. I come, says the Duke, to speak with you. Would you do it, said *Edward*, in private or in public? With that, the Duke, who could no longer keep in his Anger, and who came to say what he had a mind, without considering that he might also hear what he would not like, asks the King of *England* if he had made Peace? No, says *Edward*, but a Truce for nine Years, in which you are included, and also the Duke of *Bretagne*, and I desire you to agree to it. The Duke replied in the English Language, which he understood and spoke, that the Army needed not to have passed the Sea for that; that this Treaty ruined the Reputation of the Kings of *England*, and that it wanted that Lion's Heart again which was buried at *Roan*. Then he added: I had procured you an Opportunity of doing your Business, and recovering what belongs to you, which you will never have again. It was not for my Interest, for I could have done without you; and to shew you that I will have nothing to do with your Truce, by St George I will not treat with the King till you are returned into *England*, and have been there above three Months. *Edward* not liking these Brunts made no Reply (32).

[I] He was killed before *Nancy*, the fifth of January, 1477.] He laid Siege to that Place with a few Troops; he was basely betrayed by *Campobasso*, one of his Generals; he was attacked by a very numerous Army. It is therefore no wonder, that he perished in the Enterprize, but he was very much to blame not to follow the wise Counsel which was given him (33). He fought like a Lion (34). (a) After the Battle was over they were in pain to know what was become of him. He was fought among the living, and afterwards among the dead. — He was found in a Ditch, with his Face all bedawbed with Dirt and Blood, and the hard Winter having frozen it, he could not be known (35). His Domestic knew the Body by several Marks, by the want of Teeth in his upper Jaw, which he lost in his Youth, by a Fall; by the Scar of the Wound he received in the Throat in the Battle of *Montleberi*; by the shrivelling of the Skin in his Shoulder occasioned by a Carbuncle; by a Fistula he had under his Navel; and by his Nails, which he wore longer than any Person in his Court (36). There were three Wounds in the Body; one with a Halbert, which cleft his Head, from above the Ear to

the Teeth; a Wound with a Pike in the Thigh, and another in the Fundament (37). He was carried to *Nancy*, and after they had washed the Body, and dressed it in a plain linnen Cloth, they laid it on a Table, with a Canopy of black Velvet over it, in a Room hung with the same

(38) The Duke of *Lorraine* went in a mourning Habit, and with a golden Beard, after the manner of Champions, to give him holy Water (39); and, and taking him by the Hand, said to him, GOD receive your Soul, you have done me much harm, and given me a deal of Trouble.

He caused him to be interred with all manner of funeral Honours (40). He erected a very handsome Monument for him in the Church of St George at *Nancy*, with the Effigy as big as the Life (41). Charles V caused the Body to be removed to *Luxembourg*, from whence it was again removed to *Bruges*, where, by command of Queen *Eleanor*, it was interred in the Choir of the Church of our Lady, before the Steps of the great Altar, in the same Vault with Lady Mary his Daughter (42). Observe, that the People imagined he had escaped, and went and hid himself in a Hermitage, from whence he was to return after seven Years. This Report prevailed so, that several People lent Money to be paid at his return. His cholerick Humour, and some Person or other who had been seen in *Suabia*, that resembled him very much in Size, Hair, Voice, and Countenance, occasioned this Opinion (43).

[§ (a) Mezerai, Tom. II. pag. 171, of his Great History Ed. 1646, observes, that this Prince was surnamed the Lion; 'tis to this Surname that That Expression of Gollut alludes; the same Surname likewise appears in the following Verses, which are taken out of a Ballad on the tragical Death of this Prince, and extant in the *Verger d'Honneur*, &c. fol. 137.

(42) Id. *ibid.*

(43) Fabert *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 312. See also *Renerus Snotus, Rerum Batavicar. lib. xi. p. 168.*

Or est le parc orgueilleux deffendu
Le fier Lyon ne l'a pas bien gardé,
Il a tres-mal son Latin entendu,
Et a son cas simplement regardé,
Il a trouvé avoir ung peu tardé
An desloger du pays de Lorraine;
Car a la fin il y est demouré
Et les moutons, la toison & la layne.

The stately Park is now protected.
The Lion has it's Guard neglected.
His Business ill be understood,
And ill consulted his own Good:
He found too long a time he bad
Retreating from Lorraine delay'd;
For there he lost, as it fell out,
His Life, Sheep, Skins, and Wool to boot.

REM. CRIT.]

[K] The

which they took at the Battle of *Granson* was inestimable, and some singular Adventures are related concerning it [L]. His Grief at this Defeat had almost cost him his Life, and did weaken his Understanding [M]. I must not forget that, in the

[K] *The first Source of his Wars against the Swiss was a very small matter.* I speak so in compliance with the common Opinion; for I am persuaded that the great Mischief they had done him, both in *Alsace* and *Burgundy*, were a powerful Motive for attacking them. These Words of *Philip de Comines*: 'And for what Quarrel was this War begun? it was for a Cart-load of Sheep Skins, which the Count de *Romont* took from a *Swiss* that was passing thro' his Lands. If God had not forsaken the Duke, it is not likely he would have thrown himself into Danger for such a Trifle (44).' This Passage, I say, has made an hundred Authors say, that a Cart-load of Skins was the Cause of a bloody War between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Swiss*. That Example is scarce ever forgot, in treating the Common-Place that *very small matters are the Cause of great Events* (45). But if it had been carefully observed, that *Philip de Comines* contradicts himself, so much regard would not have been paid to his Observation. He had said very clearly, that *Charles* was resolved to 'make War on the *Swiss*, as well for what they had done to him, when he was before *Naz*, because they assisted in the taking the Earl-*dom of Ferrette* from him - - - - and because they had taken from the said Count de *Romont* part of his Territories (46). However, they were afraid of him, and made him all manner of Submissions. *Comines* is my Author. 'The *Swiss*, says he (47), perceiving him so near them, sent an Embassy to him; and offered to restore what they had taken from the said Lord of *Romont*.

----- The Duke entered *Burgundy*, where the Embassadors of the Old Leagues of *Germany*, called *Swiss*, returned to him, making larger Offers than before; and, besides Restitution, they offered to quit all Alliances which were contrary to his liking (and especially that with the King) and to become his Allies, and serve him with Six thousand Men at Arms for small Pay against the King, when he should require them.' The Duke would hearken to nothing. They remonstrated to him likewise; 'in order to dissuade him from that War, that he could get nothing from them; for their Country was barren and poor, and they had no good Prisoners for him; and that they did not believe but that the Spurs and the Bits of the Horses Briddles in his Army were worth more Money than they could pay him Taxes, were they taken (48).' This Reason was of no weight with a Prince like him, who had the Ambition of the *Romans*. 'Raptore (Romani) orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, & mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est avari, si pauper ambitiosi. - - - Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt (49). - - - These Ravagers of the World (the Romans), when Land failed these universal Destroyers, search the Sea too; if the Enemy be rich they are covetous, if poor ambitious. - - - They alone do equally covet the Wealth and Poverty of all the World.' If he had had their Prudence and Fortune, he might have carried his Conquests far; but he was too prone to follow his own Opinion, and by that means ruined the greatest Power then in *Europe* (50). Never did Man better than he verify the Maxim 'Vis Confilii expers mole ruit sua (51). - - - Strength without Counsel destroys itself.'

[L] *The Booty they took - - - was inestimable, and some singular Adventures are related concerning it.* The Duke of *Burgundy* was in great Pomp - - - and had all his best Jewels, and Plate, and a great many other Ornaments (52). He disposed every thing for the Battle, with the greatest imprudence; and the Army was so suddenly put in Confusion, that 'they all fled; and the *Swiss* got his Camp, and his Artillery, and all the Tents and Pavillions belonging to him, and his People (of which there were a great Number), and other things without end: for nothing was saved but their Persons: All the Duke's great Jewels were lost; but as to Men, he lost only

seven Men at Arms, at this time; all the rest fled and himself too. It may be better said of him, that he lost both his Honour, and his Riches that Day, than it was said of *John of France*, who was taken fighting valiantly at the Battle of *Poitiers* (53). - - - The Spoils of his Army enriched these poor *Swiss*: Who, at first, knew not the value of the Goods, they had in their Hands, especially the most ignorant of them. One of the finest and richest Pavillions in the World was parted into several pieces: Some of them sold a great Quantity of Silver Dishes and Porringers, for two great Blancs a-piece, thinking they were Pewter. His great Diamond, (which was one of the largest in *Christendom*) to which hung a great Pearl, was taken up by a *Swiss*, and afterwards put in the Cafe again, and thrown under a Cart; he came back afterwards to seek it, and offered it to a Priest for a Florin. The Priest sent it to their Lords, who gave him three Francs for it. They got three great Rubies, called the three Brothers, one other called *La Hotte*, another called *La balle de Flandres*, (which were the largest and best Stones that could be found) and other things without Number, which taught them to know the value of Money ever since (54). I have read somewhere, that a *Bernois*, named *Bartholomew Mey*, bought the Duke of *Burgundy's* Diamond for 5000 Florins; some Merchants of *Genoa* afterwards bought it for seven Thousand Florins of the *Rhine*. The Duke of *Milan* gave eleven Thousand Crowns for it. At last Pope *Julius II* gave Twenty thousand, and placed it for an Ornament in his Crown (55). Observe, that the Duke had treated the Garrison of *Granson* cruelly, which consisted of seven or eight Hundred choice Men, at the beginning of the Siege. They surrendered at Discretion, and he put them all to death (56).

[M] *His Grief - - - had almost cost him his Life, and did impair his Understanding.* I shall use still the Words of *Comines*: 'He was thrown into a great illness, by Grief and Vexation, at the disgrace he had received. And to say the truth, I think his Understanding was never so good afterwards, as it had been before this Battle (57).' The Author resumes the same Discourse in another Place, and says thus, 'His Grief at the Loss of the first Battle of *Granson* was so great, and disturbed his Spirits so much, that he fell into a great Sickness, of such a Nature, that, tho' his Choler and the Heat of his Body naturally was so great, that he could drink no Wine, but commonly in the Morning drank Barley Water, and eat Conserve of Roses, to cool himself, this Vexation caused such a Change in his Constitution, that he was obliged to drink strong Wines without Water, and to have Cupping-Glasses applied to the Region of the Heart, in order to draw the Blood from thence. But of this you, *Monseigneur de Vienne*, know more than I, as you attended him in that Illness, and caused him to have his Beard shaved, which he let grow: And in my Opinion, he was never after this Illness so wise as he had been before, but his Understanding was very much weakened (58). I cannot nish this Remark, without enriching it with a fine Reflexion of this wise Historian, it will confirm what I have so often said of the unhappiness of great Men, and this true Maxim, That there is no Body less happy, than those who seem to be most so. After the War of the public Good, 'What Quiet had he? He had perpetual Toil, both of Body and Mind, without any Pleasure: For Ambition fired his Heart, and stirred him up to conquer whatever he thought convenient. All Summer long he was ever in the Field, in great hazard of his Person, and took upon himself the Care and Inspection of his Army; and yet never had all things done according to his Mind. He rose first, and went to Bed last, as if he had been the poorest Man in the Army. When he rested in Winter, he was using all diligence to get Money. He applied

(44) *Comines*, liv. v. cap. i. p. 260.

(45) See the *Coups d'etat* de *Gabriel Nauclé*.

(46) *Comines*, liv. v. cap. i. p. 257.

(47) *Id. ibid.*

(48) *Id. ibid.*

(49) *Tacit.* in *vita Agric.* cap. xxx.

(50) *Comines*, liv. v. cap. viii. p. 288.

(51) *Horat.* Od. iv. lib. iii.

(52) *Comines*, liv. v. cap. i. p. 259.

(53) *Id. ibid.* p. 260.

(54) *Id. ibid.* cap. ii. pag. 266.

(55) *Mich. Stetlerus* Hist. Helvet. lib. iv. ad Ann. 1476. apud *Hotting.* in *Meth. legendi* Hist. Helveticæ, p. 432.

(56) *Comines*, liv. v. cap. i. p. 259.

(57) *Comines*, cap. iii, pag. 267.

(58) *Id. cap. v.* p. 274, 275.

(p) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. liv. iv. pag. 165.

(g) Comines, liv. v. cap. vi. pag. 283.

(r) Id. cap. ix. pag. 291.

(t) Gollut, Mémoires de Bourgogne. pag. 885.

the Year 1469, he employed himself in Acts of Justice (p). He visited several Provinces in the Low Countries, and chastised the Malefactors severely. What he did to a Lord who had seduced a very modest Woman, is too remarkable not to be mentioned [N]. He suspected Lewis XI so much that he slighted the sincere Advice which he gave him of Campobasso's Treachery; if that were true, says he, the King would not have given me notice of it (q). One of his greatest Faults was, that he thought that all the Favours and Honours he had received in the World, were owing to his own good Sense and Virtue, without attributing them to God, as he ought to have done (r). He was much more regular in his bodily Pleasures, than any of his three Predecessors (s). So we do not find his House filled with Bastards, nor that he was too fond of his Wives. He married thrice, and left only one Daughter [O].

applied himself every Day from six o'Clock in the Morning, and took a great deal of Pains, in receiving and hearing a great number of Embassadors: and in this Labour and Misery ended his Days: He was killed by the Swiss before Nancy, as has been seen before; and may it not be said, that he never had one good day, from the time he began to endeavour to aggrandize himself, to the day of his Death. What advantage did he gain by this Labour? What need had he of it? He who was so rich, and had so many fine Cities and Principalities under his command, where he might have been easy if he would (59). I make no excuse for copying this Passage: My Readers, who are Judges of what's fine, will admire it, and it were to be wished, that every Prince had it by heart, and would make good use of it. They would act better than they do, both for their own Happiness, and that of their Neighbours. But what, this which we look upon as unhappiness, is only a less evil. They would be yet more miserable, if they were constrained not to torment themselves, Body and Soul, to embroil themselves in Intrigues and Projects of Revolution. They are desirous to act great parts on the Stage of this World, and to draw the Eyes of all mankind; and for that end, rise earlier than an Artisan, write more than an Attorney, and tire more Clerks than a Register in Chief. To debar them from this trouble, would make them more miserable.

[N] What he did to a Lord, who had seduced a very modest Woman, is worth the mentioning.] This Story is related in an ample manner, not without some flourishes of Rhetoric, by Pontus Heuterus. The Substance of it is this: A very brave Captain of Duke Philip the Good had obtained, for a Remuneration of his Services, the Government of a Place. There he fell in Love with his Landlady, a Woman of singular Beauty and Modesty. He talked to her of Love, and swore to be secret and constant to her. She answered, that her Conscience would not suffer her to violate her conjugal Faith, and that he ought to remember the sacred Laws of Hospitality, and place his Inclinations on some other, where he might do it lawfully. 'Esse variis locis virgines opulentas complures formæ se multo præstantiores, eligat unam quæ genio respondeat è qua liberos sancto matrimonio procreatos suscipere possit (60). — There were a great many rich Maids to be found, much preferable to herself for Beauty; he might abuse one suitable to his Temper, and marry her, and get Children in a legitimate way.' This Answer serving only to augment his Passion; he attacks her on another side: He offers her a large Sum of Money, and promises to make her go finer than any of her Neighbours and Relations, and to procure her Husband a beneficial and honourable Post. 'Auri acervum offert, ac in quem velit usum auferre jubet, promittit mundum muliebrem, qui cum vicinarum ac cognatarum ornamentis comparari non possit, addens se marito apud Principem impetraturum, in patriâ ejus dignitatem, non minus honori quam compendio servituti (61).' His promises making no impression, he raises another Battery: He imprisons the Husband on pretence of Rebellion; and when the Wife applied to him, as to the only means of saving the Prisoner's Life, he answered that the Crime was manifest, and that he could not avoid putting him to death, unless the Mercy of the Sovereign interposed: I promise to obtain it, continues he, provided you will immediately grant me

the Favour I have asked of you so often. Promitto me apud Principem gratiam marito tuo obtenturum, si voluntati meæ obsequi nunc cum soli sumus volueris (62). This Proposal made her blush, weep, sigh, raised a combat between conjugal Love and Virtue, and struck her dumb. He takes Advantage of her Irresolution and satisfies his Lust. Obticentem lacrymantem & alta suspiria ducentem, nec tamen reluctantem, in iborum collocat (63). She from time to time presses him to perform his Promise: He puts her off with a thousand lies; and at last, caused the Prisoner's Head to be cut off privately, and made the Wife believe, she would have him delivered out of Prison, on presenting to the Goaler a Paper which he gave her. She runs to the prison, and there finds that her Husband had lost his Life, by the Hands of the Executioner. The sight of such an Object struck her speechless, but soon after she returned to the Governour, and loaded him with all the reproaches, that a just indignation could suggest. He makes a hundred excuses, and offers to marry her, and promises her a magnificent Fortune. She rejects these offers, and relates the whole Adventure to some Relations, who advise her to wait the Arrival of Duke Charles, and to demand Justice of him. That Prince, having had proof of the Governour's Crimes, ordered him to marry the Widow; she had an Aversion to it, which could not be surmounted, without a great deal of Solicitation. Vita multorum ac magnorum virorum matronarumque auctoritate mulier in Nuptias fere coacta consentit (64). The Marriage Contract was drawn, and the Wife was to inherit all the Estate of her Husband, if he died before her without Children: the Ceremony of the Marriage was performed in due form; and then the Duke asked the Woman if she was content? Yes, says she. But I, replies he, am not so. He sends the Governour to Prison: two Hours after, he causes him to be beheaded in the same Room, where the first Husband had lost his Head. A Copy of the Sentence of Death was delivered to the Woman, and she was sent to the Prison to see, that the double Crime of the Seducer did not go unpunished. She fell into a Melancholy, which ended her days a little while after. Non diu post, animi mœore confecta supervixit, ingentibus præfati bonis liberis e priore marito susceptis ditans (65). Lippius, who relates the same Story with all its Circumstances, observes, that the Scene was in a Town in Zealand (66). See also Peter Mattheieu in his History of Lewis XI (67). Mr Varillas has just mentioned it, and has made a blunder; for he pretends, that the Governour was forced to marry that Woman (68). He wanted not to be forced to it, he desired nothing better. Observe, that Snouus tells this Story quite differently: He says, that a Burgomaster of Zealand ravished a poor Girl in a Garden; that the Duke ordered him, either to marry her, or give her half his Estate; and that he refusing to do it, the Duke caused his Head to be cut off, tho' in that Extremity the Burgomaster offered to marry the young Woman (69). [O] He married three Wives, and left only one Daughter.] I. Catharine of France, Daughter of Charles VII, in the Year 1439. She died in the Year 1446 without Issue. II. Isabella of Bourbon, Daughter of Charles Duke of Bourbon in the Year 1454. She died the thirteenth of September 1465, leaving a Daughter whom I speak of in the following Article. III. Margaret, Sister of Edward IV, King of England, in the Year 1468: She had no Children, and died in the Year 1503 (70).

(62) Id. ibid.

(63) Id. ibid.

(59) Id. liv. vi. cap. xiii. p. 409.

(64) Id. ibid. pag. 366.

(60) Pontus Heuterus, Rer. Burgundicar. lib. v. pag. 165.

(65) Id. ibid. pag. 167.

(66) Lippius Mon. & Exempts. Polit. lib. xi, cap. ix, n. 6.

(67) In liv. vii, cap. xxiii, p. 395.

(68) Varillas Hist. de Louis XI, liv. i, p. 34.

(69) Snouus Rer. Batav. lib. xi, p. 159.

(61) Id. ibid.

(70) Taken from Father Anselm, Hist. General de la Maison Royale pag. 214.

BURGUNDY

BURGUNDY (MARY of), only Daughter and Heiress of the former, was born at *Brussels* (a), the thirteenth of February, 1457. As she was the greatest Match then in Europe, several Princes sought her in Marriage: but her Father had the Art to promise her sometimes to one, and sometimes to another, and give her to none [A]. It is very probable she never would have been married while he was alive. As soon as he was killed, they begun to talk of marrying her in earnest; and there were a great many Intrigues about it, which you may see in *Varillas* (b). I have spoken elsewhere (c) of the irreparable Fault committed by Lewis XI. It consisted in this one thing, that he would not marry his Son to the Heiress of Burgundy; for he was not to blame, as some pretend, in that he would not allow any other Prince of his Blood to marry her [B]. He sent his Barber

(a) Anselme Hist. Genealogique de la Maison Royale, pag. 214; others, as Lewis Gollut, says in his Memoirs of Burgundy, pag. 892, at Valenciennes.

(b) Varillas Hist. de Louis XI, liv. viii.

(c) In the Article of LEWIS XI, Remark [R].

[A] Her Father had the Art to promise her, sometimes to one, and sometimes to another, and not to give her to any one. A great Prince, who has but one Daughter, and engages himself in great Enterprises at a Distance from his Country, has no great need of a Son-in-law: such an Ally it is to be feared might grow weary of a private Life, and be in too much haste to command. The Affairs which employ the Father-in-law abroad will not give him leave to prevent domestic Cabals. In a word, the presumptive Heiress of a State is less to be feared when she is to marry, than when she has a Husband. Besides, while she is single, she may serve for a Bait to several Pretenders; which furnishes the Father with opportunities of forming and unravelling several Intrigues. However, the Duke of Burgundy treated concerning the Marriage of his Daughter with every Man that asked her: and I believe, says Philip de Comines (1), 'that he never desired to have a Son, nor would have married his Daughter as long as he had lived: but would always have kept her to engage People to serve and assist him.' He says this on occasion of a Negotiation, which was set on foot in the Year 1470, for a Marriage of that Princess to the Duke of Guienne, Brother of Lewis XI. This Marriage was so far advanced, that some verbal Promises of it were made, and also some mention of it in Letters: but I have seen the like done to Nicolas, Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, Son of John Duke of Calabria, whom I mentioned before. The like was also done to Philibert, the late Duke of Savoy, and afterwards to Duke Maximilian of Austria, now King of the Romans, only Son of the Emperor Frederic. This last received Letters, writ with the young Lady's own Hand, by command of her Father, and a Diamond. All these Promises were made in the compass of three Years, and yet I am well assured that no body would have accomplished it as long as he had lived, at least with his Consent (2).

[B] Lewis XI was not to blame — in that he would not allow any other Prince of his Blood to marry her. If he had permitted his Brother to marry her, he would have brought himself in danger of an entire Revolution; and there is no probability that the Crown would have descended to his Son. He ought not therefore to be blamed for the Care he took to prevent that Marriage. Mr Varillas sets forth Lewis XI's Motives very well. 'The King who, in another Conjunction, should have desired the Marriage of his Brother with the Heiress of Burgundy, abhorred it in this; for allowing, on one hand, to this proposed Alliance all the Consideration it deserved, and making, on the other hand, all the Reflexions with which subtle Minds are wont to perplex themselves in regard to futurity; he looked upon himself to be too far advanced in Years to out-live the Minority of the Son, which the Midwives gave out that the Queen was big with: and that consequently it would be in his Brother's Power to deprive him, if he added, to the Riches of the House of Burgundy, the valiant Soldiers which he might raise in Guienne. Whereas, if the Princess of Burgundy had any other Husband than the Duke of Berry (3), the Minor, which his Majesty was like to leave, would be the better fixed on the Throne: since if he married a foreign Prince, he would not have it in his Power so easily to re-kindle the Civil-War in France; and if one were chosen for her in France, he would want at least the Authority and Dignities which render the Sons of France so dangerous, when they are weak enough

to suffer themselves to be drawn into a Revolt (4). Besides, England was very much alarmed at the Proposals of the Marriage of Mary of Burgundy with the Brother of Lewis XI. Comines will shew it us. Edward, King of England, who really thought that this Marriage was likely to be concluded on, and was deceived in that, as well as the King, laboured hard with the said Duke of Burgundy to break it; alledging, that the King had no Son, and that, if he died, the said Duke of Guienne was in Expectation of the Crown; and consequently, if the Marriage were made, all England would be in great danger of being overrun, when so many large Dominions were added to the Kingdom; and he took this matter wonderfully to heart, though there was no need for it, and so did all the Council of England: nor would the English believe any excuse the Duke could make (5). The following Passage will require some Reflexion. 'All would have come in a little time under the Power of the Crown, if he would have taken the Method proposed to him to marry that Princess to his Son, or some other Prince of the Blood. And certainly, if he had given that rich Heiress to Charles of Orleans, Earl of Angoulême, whom she passionately desired, all the Low-Countries would at this Day have been united to France. For that Prince had a Son who came to the Crown, that is Francis I. But he hated the House of Burgundy to that Degree, that he endeavoured entirely to destroy it, intending to take all his Lands which he held of the Crown, and to put the rest into the Hands of some German Prince his Ally (6). We see plainly, that Mezerai censures Lewis XI for two things: I. That he rejected the Marriage of the Dauphin with the Heiress of Burgundy. II. That he would not suffer the Earl of Angoulême to marry her. The Historian is in the right as to the first Point, but not as to the second; for it was not at all probable that the Earl would become Father of a King of France, and there were several reasons to fear that his Marriage with so rich an Heiress might have been fatal to the Crown. So, after the first false Step, the King acted by the Rules of Prudence, in not permitting a Prince of his Blood to obtain the Succession of Duke Charles. The Answer, which he gave to the Ministers of the Princess, on the Proposition of a Marriage with the Earl of Angoulême, was plain, but at the same time shewed the able Politician. He told them, 'That nine Years experience had taught him but too well, what a Misfortune it was for him to have, for a Neighbour, a Prince of his Blood, Master of the Low-Countries: that as God had delivered him from him, he did not care to expose his old Age again to such fatigues of Body and Mind as had once been on the Point of overcoming him, in a more vigorous Age: and, in short, that it would be less prejudicial to him, if Mary of Burgundy married a Prince of any other Sovereign House, which she might chuse among the Christians, than that of France, unless she and her Subjects chose to wait till the Dauphin was fit to marry (7). Lewis XI had but two good ways to take, one was, to marry the Heiress of Burgundy to the Dauphin; the other, to deprive her of all her Dominions by right of Arms. He rejected the first, and would have chose the latter; but he wanted either the Skill or Power to execute it; whether it was the fear of opposition from England, or the ill State of his Health, that restrained him; or that he wanted the Qualifications of a Conqueror. He was very ill fitted for one; he

(4) Varillas Hist. de Louis XI, liv. v, p. 348.

(5) Comines, liv. iii. cap. viii. pag. 171, 172. ad Ann. 1471.

(6) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 332, ad Ann. 1477.

(7) Varillas Hist. de Louis XI, liv. viii. pag. 169.

(1) Comines, liv. iii. Chap. iii. pag. 145.

(2) Id. ibid. cap. viii. pag. 163, 170. Matthieu Hist. Louis XI, liv. v. pag. 246, 252.

(3) That was the King's Brother, and the same with the Duke of Guienne.

Barber to her, with Orders to speak with her in private, but this was not permitted [C]. She married a Prince, as to Age, such as her Governess could with [D]. It was Maximilian of Austria, Son of the Emperor Frederic III. The Nuptials were celebrated the twentieth of August, 1477. She died of a Fall from a Horse, in the Month of March, 1483 [E], and left two Children, to wit, Philip of Austria, who was Father of Charles V, and Margaret of Austria, who was contracted to the Dauphin the same Year. This Marriage was never consummated.

(8) The Duke of Burgundy had Courage enough to undertake any thing. His Constitution was able to bear the fatigue that was necessary for his Purpose. He was strong enough in Men and Money, but had not Understanding and Malice enough to conduct his Enterprises. Could he but have taken some of the Qualities of the King our Master, and kept some of his own, he had made a perfect Prince. Comines lib. iii, cap. iii, pag. 145.

was much more capable of embroiling the Affairs of his Neighbours, and preserving his Interest by Intrigues, than of making Conquests. He wanted as much of the Duke of Burgundy's Courage, as the Duke did of his Policy (8). Most certainly the Marriage of Maximilian of Austria with the Heiress of Burgundy, was, with respect to France, a less Evil, than the Marriage of a French Prince with the same Heiress; for Maximilian could not cabal with the Male-Contents, as a Prince of the Blood in his Station might have done; and in all Appearance the Flemings, had they been governed by the Earl of Angoulême, would have disturbed France a hundred times more under Charles VIII, and Lewis XII, than they did when governed by the Austrians. I own, that, under Charles V, the Patrimony of the Dukes of Burgundy was fatal to France; but could Lewis XI foresee that? Could the most acute of Angels have conjectured, that the only Son of Maximilian would inherit Spain, and that the Germans would be weak enough to chafe themselves an Emperor so powerful as was the Grandson of Mary of Burgundy?

To conclude, the Ill, which this Branch of the Royal House did to France, will probably serve for a Lesson for several Ages, not to suffer the great Provinces of the Kingdom to fall to the Discretion of Princes of the Blood. It was an ill Custom, That of giving them such Fiefs: by that the Kingdom of France became not so much a Monarchy, as a State like the Empire of Germany, Burgundy, Normandy, Bretagne, Guienne, Languedoc, Champagne, Provence, Dauphiné, &c. had once their several Lords, over whom the King had little more Authority, than the Emperor has over the Princes of Germany; and as to some of them, he had much less. It is no wonder therefore that he was worsted sometimes in foreign Wars, and that the Civil Wars found him so hard Work. The Reservation of Homage, Right of Investiture, Reversion, and Dependence upon the Crown, signify little: they will not prevent the Multitude of Masters in a Kingdom, the Erection of a State within a State, *imperium in imperio*, nor that Confusion, which made the Prince of Poets say,

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίην· εἴς κοίρανος ἕως,
εἰς βασιλεύς (9).

(9) Homer. Iliad. lib. ii, ver. 205.

The Dominion of many is not good, let there be one Prince, one King

[C] He sent his Barber to her, to speak with her alone; but he was not permitted.] Mr Olivier, being admitted to an Audience of the Princess Mary, was ordered to declare his Business. 'He answered

that he had nothing in charge but to speak to her a-part. He was told it was not customary, and especially to that young Lady, who was unmarried: he insisted still that he would say nothing but to herself: then he was told he should be made to speak, and he was afraid - - - and withdrew for that time (10).

[D] She married a Prince, such an one for Age as her Governess desired.] You will understand this if you read this curious Passage of Philip de Comines: 'First a Council was held on that Affair, where came Madam de Halluin, first Lady to the said Princess: who, as I have been told, said, that they wanted a Man and not a Child, adding that her Mistress was Woman enough to bear a Child, and that the Country had need of it. This Opinion prevailed. Some blamed the said Lady for having spoke so freely: others commended her, and said that she spoke only of Marriage, and of what was very necessary for the Country. So there was no more talk but of finding the Man (11).' See the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres* (12).

[E] She died of a Fall from a Horse - - - in 1483.] As she loved hunting very much, she took a Fancy one day to see a Heron hunted. She went out of Bruges mounted on a sprightly Horse, - - - and leaning herself on champion Ground, she put the Horse forward - - - the Girts of her Saddle breaking, the Duchess was violently thrown to the Ground - - -; but her natural Modesty, and the fear of grieving her Husband, - - - made her conceal her Hurt too long (13). Her Ribs were very much hurt, and a continual Fever followed - - - she was obliged to take to her Bed, where she did not continue long (14). It is not easy to understand how natural Modesty could oblige her not to tell that she had hurt her Ribs. Leaving therefore this Author, who joins two things that have not much to do with each other, let us consult Mr Varillas, who has expressed himself more clearly. 'Mary, says he (15), was a hunting on the most gentle Nag, that could be found, and yet the Creature, growing unruly of a sudden, flung her on the Root of a Tree, which run into a place, which Modesty requires should be nameless. The Wound would not have been incurable if she would have suffered a Surgeon to take it in hand, but shame restrained her so long, that a Gangrene followed, and put an end to her Life, in 1481 (16).' Say as oft as you will, that this is carrying Modesty to excess (17), that Fault is of such a Nature, that they who commit it deserve our Admiration more than they who do not. It is a kind of Heroism: it is dying a Martyr to Modesty.

(10) Comines, liv. v. cap. xiv. pag. 307.

(11) The fourth Book, chap. iii, pag. 537.

(12) Month of July, 1687, Art. II, pag. 799.

(13) For three Weeks. Fabert, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, pag. 348.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 347, 348.

(15) Varillas, Hist. de Louis XI, liv. ix, pag. 249.

(16) He ought to have said 1483, beginning the Year at the Month of January.

(17) Stultorum incurata Pectora malus ulcera celat. Horat. Epist. xvi, lib. i. 'Tis foolish Shame to hide a festering Sore.

BURGUNDY, one of the Circles of the Empire, was first raised to that Rank in 1548. It comprehended *Franche Comté*, and the seventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries. Charles V, who was Master of them, caused them to be received as Members of the Empire, that Year, at the Diet of Aulburg, independent indeed on the Imperial Chamber of Spire, as to their Laws, but subject to the Charges, and to pay Monthly as much as two Electors: viz. 3656 Florins for the common Necessities, and as much as three Electors in case of War against the Turk (a). Some Authors observe, that the Transaction, which he passed, left the Seventeen Provinces only a Shadow of Dependence on the Emperor, and the Empire [A], and that he had a Design even to

(a) Heiss, Hist. de l'Empire, Tom. II, pag. 125, Edit. of the Hague, 1685.

[A] It is pretended, that Charles V left the seventeen Provinces only a Shadow of Dependence on the Emperor and the Empire.] A Proof of this is, that, during the Troubles, which harassed them under the Reign of Philip II, and made part of these Provinces shake off the Spanish Yoke, the Emperor

and the Empire never interposed their Sovereign Authority, either to oblige the King of Spain to lay down his Arms, or to oblige the States, which formed themselves into a Republic, to remain subjects or Vassals to Germany. If such a Civil-War had risen in any of the other Circles, the

to erect them into a Kingdom, and give it the Name of Regnum Leoninum, because of the Lions which are in almost all the Arms of these Provinces (b). They add, that he re-united the Low-Countries to the Empire, only on account of the other States of Germany, being apprehensive of the Wars which might happen there, and to prevent its being objected to his Son Philip II, (who aspired to the Imperial Crown), that he possessed nothing which belonged to the Empire, without which he could not easily obtain it (c). It is pretended, that, by the Treaty of Munster, the Empire was discharged from taking part in what concerns the Defence of the Circle of Burgundy [B]. Baron Lifola was not of this Opinion [C].

There

the Emperor and the Empire would have acted quite otherwise, and would have put a stop to it by force of Arms. It is remarkable, that there was a Congress at Cologne, in the Year 1579, to make Peace in the Low-Countries, and that the Emperor acted only as Mediator, between the King of Spain, and the revolted Provinces. There passed a thing on that Occasion, which deserves a place here. A Courier of the Emperor, passing thro' the Territories of Limbourg, without a Pass-port, was stopped: the Emperor complained of it, and alledged that, 'there was no need for a Pass-port for a Courier, who carried the Arms of the Empire, and passed thro' the Provinces where the Emperor had any Right (1).' The Prince of Parma reading this in a Memorial, which had been delivered to the Deputy of Philip the second, at the Imperial Court, 'immediately returned the Memorial, and said, that he could not accept a thing contrary to the Authority of his King, who owned no other Lord than himself, especially in Limbourg, where the Courier had been detained.' That this Right consisted in Fiefs, which the King might hold of the Empire, and principally the Circle of Burgundy, added by the Emperor Charles V to the nine other Circles of Germany, by which the Flemish Provinces are excepted from the Jurisdiction of the Emperor, in precise Terms several times repeated (2). These are the Words of the Original. 'Scriptum illico resituit, negans posse ab se id accipi, quod adversetur auctoritate Regis sui, Dominum non agnoscens in ea praesentim Limburgensi provincia, in qua tabellarius detentus est: idque constare ex dominiis, quae ab Imperio beneficiaria Rex haberet; atque imprimis ex Burgundico circulo, postremum a Carolo Quinto ad alios novem Germaniae orbis adjecto, in quo disertè, iteratisque verbis, ab imperii jurisdictione Belgarum provinciae excipiuntur (3).'

(1) Strada de la Guerre de Flandres ad Ann. 1579. I use the Translation of Da Ryer.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Strada de Bello Belgico, Decad ii, lib. ii, ad Ann. 1572, pag. 111, Antwerp Edit. 1643, in 8vo.

(4) The Manifesto of the Elector of Bavaria, in the Addition, pag. 79.

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 80.

[C] Baron Lifola was not of this Opinion. I prove this by his famous Work, entitled the *Buckler of State and Justice*. The last Chapter, treats of the Interest of the Princes of Christendom, in the War of 1667, and of the absolute Obligation the States of the Empire were under, to defend the Circle of Burgundy. He says, he will lightly pass over this last matter, because it is already decided, by a solemn Act of the Chancery of the Empire, and that he, who wrote on that Point at Ratisbon, has in a few Words gone thoroughly to the Bottom of this Affair, and quite exhausted the Subject, so that there is no room left to add any thing to it more, than to reply to it (6). In effect, adds he (7), I never read any thing more cold and weak, than the Answer, lately published on the part of France, against this solid Piece: It is stuffed with a heap of Words to no purpose, it shuns every where the Combat, it rambles from the Question, omits the principal Objections, and takes for granted the very Point in Question. Having afterwards alledged some Reasons, he affirms, that the French have nothing to offer against it, but an Article of the Treaty of Munster, ill understood and worse interpreted, *De mutuis hostibus non juvandis*, by which the Empire and France oblige themselves, reciprocally, not to give Assistance to the Enemies of each other (8). He answers several things, and ends with saying, that 'this shews clearly, that the Obligation not to assist the Enemies of France cannot derogate from that, which all the Circles of the Empire are under mutually to assist one another. All that the French Writer alledges against this in his Answer is nothing but whipt Cream; and is so effectually refuted in the Reply which appeared soon after, that it would be lost Labour to attempt to add any further Light to the Affair (9).'

As I have not read the Pieces mentioned by Monsieur de Lifola, I shall by no means say, that the Contempt, which he expresses for the French Author's Reasons, which he calls *whipt Cream*, is only a Rhetorical Artifice, and that he has followed the Custom of the Generality of Controversitists, who, after they have used all their Strength against some weak Part of the opposite Cause, leave the strongest unanswered, under pretence that it is not worth notice. They are never more haughty than in these Cases, and imagine that a disdainful Arrogance will be the best Defence of their Cause. However, I dare venture to say, that, if Germany pretended that the Article of the Peace of Munster, *de mutuis hostibus non juvandis*, left them in full Liberty to assist the King of Spain in the Low-Countries, they played upon the French, and had no intention to finish the War; for it is evident, that, if they had made the War of the Low-Countries their own Affair, and had assisted the Circle of Burgundy as one of their Members, France would still have been at War against the Empire, and might very justly have attacked any other Circle she thought fit, since they must all have sent Succours to that of Burgundy. So that one of the two must be true, either that Germany had no design to make Peace for themselves by the Treaty of Westphalia, or else that they did not intend to have any share in the War of the Low-Countries. Now it is ridiculous to suppose, that they had no design to make Peace at that time but to dupe France, and deceive them safely. We have no way therefore but to conclude, that they designed the French and Spaniards should decide their Wars among themselves, and not to concern themselves with them

(b) See the Manifesto of the Elector of Bavaria, in the Addition, pag. 115, Edit. 1704.

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 153, 154.

(6) Lifola Bouclier, d'Etat de de Justice, Art. vi, p. 348, 349.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 349.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 352.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 353, 454.

There was a great Clamour against the Elector of Cologne, in 1701, for introducing some French Troops into his Garrisons, under the Name of Troops of the Circle of Burgundy [D].

them any more. Their Conduct shewed that this was their Intention; for we do not find, that the Diets of the Empire ever took any measures for the Assistance of the Circle of Burgundy, from the time of the Peace of Munster, to the Peace of the Pyrenies: and consequently Germany would have deceived the Spaniards if she had pretended to be engaged to assist the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, notwithstanding the Article *de mutuis hostibus non juvandi*.

[D] The Elector of Cologne introduced Troops into his Garrisons, under the Name of Troops of the Circle of Burgundy.] This was one of the Heads of the Accusation, for which his Imperial Majesty laid him under the Ban of the Empire. He endeavoured to justify himself, by alledging that foreign Troops environed his Electorate on every side; and that therefore he thought he could not give his Subjects a more sensible Mark of his paternal Vigilance for their Repose and Safety, than to call to assistance some Troops of the Circle of Burgundy; with this Precaution, nevertheless, that he had made them take an Oath, before he introduced them into his Dominions, that they should commit no Act of Hostility, either against the Emperor, or against the Empire; that they would follow no other orders but his; and that, whenever his Electoral Highness should desire it, they would go out of his Towns and his Country, without opposition or delay (10). He added, that the Empire was not at that time at War either with France, or with the King of Spain, Sovereign of the Circle of Burgundy (11); and that in the last Century Ferdinand the Second called to his Assistance the Italians and Spaniards, under the Name of this same Circle of Burgundy, and that the Chapter of Cologne, at the time of the Apostacy of Gebhard Truchses, likewise made use of Spaniards, under the same Name (12). This last Argument is *ad hominem*, and has doubtless a great deal of Force. The Elector of Bavaria repeated it in his Manifesto, in the Year 1704. The House of Austria, says he (13), has given several Examples of the same Conduct, which my Brother the Elector of Cologne has kept to. They caused the Troops of the Spanish Netherlands, or of the Circle of Burgundy, under the Command of the Prince of Parma, to enter the Territories of the Electorate of Cologne, to dispossess Gebhard Truchses: and during the Wars of the Palatinate, the Emperor Ferdinand II brought some of the same Troops into the Empire. If there were some French, who are not Subjects of the Empire, among the Troops which my Brother received into his Garrisons, were there not Spaniards and Italians, who are likewise strangers to the Empire, among the Troops which Gonsalvo of Corduba brought into the Palatinate in 1622? Was not the Prince

of Parma's Army composed of Bodies of these Nations? These two Armies entered the Empire in an hostile Manner, and the Troops called by my Brother came only to garrison a few places.

It will not be improper to touch here upon the Answer, which was made by the Count d'Arenberg, Commandant of the Troops, which the King of Spain sent into the Country of Cologne, at the Request of the Chapter, in the time of the War with Gebhard Truchses. That Archbishop scattered murmurs every where, that his Chapter had violated the Constitutions of the Empire by calling in strangers. The Princes of his Party strenuously represented to the Emperor, that he ought to send order to these foreign Troops to depart immediately out of the Confines of Germany: the Emperor dispatched a Messenger to the Duke of Parma, to warn him to take care that the Succours, sent to the Chapter of Cologne, committed no Hostilities in the Empire; for that would be attended with very ill consequences. Prince Casimir, Administrator of the Palatinate, and one of the principal Favourers of Gebhard Truchses, sent an Express to the Count d'Arenberg, to signify to him that he must withdraw his Troops out of the Territories of the Empire; but the Count answered, that his Catholic Majesty's Troops were not included in the Statutes which prohibit the Entrance of foreign Troops into Germany: that the King of Spain was not a foreign Prince; but one of the principal Members of the Empire: that it was lawful for the Chapter of Cologne to desire Assistance of the House of Burgundy, as their Neighbours, and Allies for a long time: that the Archbishop was rather to blame, who had introduced into the Empire French, English, Scotch, and other Strangers (14).

This is undeniably a grievous Alternative for a great many Persons; for if the present Elector of Cologne is an Offender against the Laws of the Empire, it must be owned, that King Philip II, and the Emperor Rodolphus II, were guilty of the same Fault: the one in sending Troops into the Electorate of Cologne, and the other in not condemning the Chapter that had asked and introduced them: but if these two Princes did nothing contrary to their Duty, as the Court of Vienna must allow they did not, for fear of blemishing their Memory, how can they condemn in an Elector of Cologne what they approve in the Canons? And if the same neighbouring States, who condemned the Chapter of Cologne at that time, do now approve that the Elector be put under the Ban of the Empire, for having followed the Example of Gebhard Truchses, do they not expose themselves to the Reproach of judging Actions only by their own Interest, and making their Advantage the Rule of Justice and Praise? This Disorder is unavoidable in Politics; it is in vain to seek any Remedy.

(10) Manifest. de Baviere, in the Addit. p. 60.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 64.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 67, 68.

(13) Id. ibid. pag. 28.

(a) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 471.

(b) Dullardus in prefat. ad Logica Buridani apud Valer. Andream, ibid.

BURIDAN (JOHN), born at Bethune in Artois (a), was one of the most renowned Philosophers of the XIVth Century. He discharged a Professor's Place in the University of Paris with great Reputation, and wrote Commentaries on Aristotle's Logic, Ethics, and Metaphysics, which were much esteemed. Some say that he was Rector of the University of Paris, in 1320 (b). They add, that he was deputed to the Court of Rome. Robert Gaguin makes him flourish under the Reign of Philip de Valois, in the Year 1348, and by that refutes a Story very injurious to the Founders of the College of Navarre [A]. It is a Story very like that

[A] Gaguin makes him flourish in 1348, and by that refutes a Story very injurious to the Founders of the College of Navarre.] That Founders was Jane, Queen of Navarre, Wife of Philip the Fair King of France. The Act of the Foundation is of the Year 1304. Very impertinent Reports have been spread against the Honour of this Queen; to wit, That she caused young Scholars to be brought to her, to lie with them, and after she had got as much out of them as she desired, had them thrown out of her Chamber Window into the River Seine, to hide the Disorders of her Life; that only Buridan was spared, and

that, in acknowledgment of that Favour, he invented a certain Sophism (1). Mr de Launoi confutes this Story by a Passage of Robert Gaguin, which contains these two Reasons; first, That Buridan lived after that Queen; and next, That this illustrious Prince had shewn too much Charity towards the Poor, by founding the College of Navarre, to deserve a Charge of this Nature. Gaguin proves his first Reason only by saying, that That Philosopher flourished in the Reign of Philip de Valois, when Fouls was Bishop of Paris, in the Year 1367 (2). The Thing was worth the trouble of being much better cleared; for if Robert

(14) Taken from Michaelis ab Iffelt Histor. sui Temporis, ad Ann. 1583, pag. 788.

(1) Authors speak but of one Sophism invented by Buridan, to wit, that of the Ass. Now what Relation can there be between this Sophism, and the Favours of a Queen? See below, Citation (5). (2) This Place of Gaguin is not exact, for Philip of Valois was not living in 1357. He died in the Year 1350. But note, that my Edition has 1348. See below, Citat. (6).

that which went current of a certain Queen Dowager, whose Palace was not in being

Gaguin were answered, That it is true Buridan did read Lectures, and wrote Books in the Year 1357, but that he was then very old, there would scarce remain any Strength in the Apology. They, who framed the Story, did not suppose the Queen in the Flower of her Youth, or that she made choice of Scholars advanced in Years. It is likely they supposed, that she was in her declining Years, and that she required very young Scholars. Suppose her to die then (if you please) in the Year 1304, Buridan might have sired her, though he was still living in the Year 1357. It is only supposing that he was then Seventy five Years of Age: Robert Gaguin says nothing that confutes such a Supposition; therefore he has not defended that Princess's Honour well; the Matter would be much worse, if Credit were to be given to those who say, that Buridan was Rector of the University of Paris, in the Year 1320 (3). Gaguin ought to have proved solidly, that That Professor was but of such or of such an Age, in the Year 1357. His second Reason is of no weight, because it is no rare thing for lascivious Princesses to have otherwise a thousand good Qualities, and make very useful Foundations for the Church, and for the Public. The best way to justify the Queen of Navarre, is by saying, first, That the Story is not supported by any good Proofs, and that therefore it ought to be reckoned a Calumny: since, to avoid the Name of a Calumniator, it is not sufficient that what a Man reports against his Neighbour's Honour be true, but it must moreover be thought so on convincing Reasons. In the second place, That it is against all common Sense, that a Queen of France, desiring to divert herself with the Sports of Venus, should be obliged to send for very young Scholars, or such-like indiscreet Persons, who must be put to death if she would hide her Crime. Are there not Men enough nearer at hand in the Louvre, and more easy to come at than Students can be? However, let us see Robert Gaguin's Words, as quoted by Mr de Launoi (4). "Fuerunt quoque insignibus foeminis sua fata, nam uxores filiorum Philippi tres adulterii insimulatae sunt. --- Ob hanc impudicentiam infignium mulierum natam fabulam reor, quae de Joanna Philippi Pulchri uxore à rerum imperitis memorari solet, eam videlicet aliquot Scholasticorum concubitu usam, eoque, ne pateret scelus, protinus extinxisse, & in Sequanam amnem de cubiculi sui fenestra abjecisse: sed unum tantum Joannem Buridanum eo periculo forte liberatum, & propterea sophismam (5) ab eo editum esse: Regnam interficere nolite timere bonum est. Fuit quidem Buridanus Joanna posterior, quippe qui Philippo Valensio regnum moderante, cum liberalium Artium nominatissimus Professor esset, multa & in rationali & morali Philosophia scriptis, dum Parisinae Ecclesiae Fulco praesidebat anno Christianae resurrectionis MCCCXVII. (6). Nec commuerit praecleara mulier huiusmodi vitio taxari cujus liberalitate & misericordia erga pauperes, &c. --- Great Women have also had their Fate; for the three Wives of the Sons of Philip were accused of Adultery. --- From the Immodesty of those Great Women, as I suppose, arose the Story, which is commonly related, by People unacquainted with those things, of Joan, Wife of Philip the Fair; to wit, that she used to lie with some Scholars, and, least her Crime should be discovered, immediately murdered them, and threw them out at her Chamber-window into the Seine, but that John Buridan alone by chance escaped from that Danger; and therefore be formed this Maxim; Regnam interficere nolite timere bonum est. --- Do not kill the Queen, to fear I hold it good: for Buridan, who lived after Joan, under the Reign of Philip de Valois, was a Professor of Liberal Arts, of very great Note, and published a great many things, both in Metaphysics and Ethics, while Fouques was Bishop of Paris, in the Year of our Lord 1357. Nor did that eminent Lady deserve to be taxed with such a Vice, by whose Bounty and Compassion to the Poor, &c."

three Princesses, who married the three Sons of Philip the Fair, gave Occasion to the Story we speak of. There are Historians, who attribute to of these three Princes the Infamy, from which Gaguin has endeavoured to justify the Wife of this Monarch. Margaret Queen of Navarre, Joan Countess of Poitiers, and Blanche Countess of Marche, who married the three Sons of France, --- were accused of Adultery, and committed Prisoners to the Castle of Gaillard. --- The first died, it is not known in what manner (7). --- It is this Queen of Navarre, who was of such an unbridled Temper, that, when she saw a Man of a good Mien and Air, she had him brought to her Apartment, from whence he never retired till he was thrown headlong into the Seine, that he might not publish her disorderly Life. A Scholar, whom they had not bound fast, saved himself, by swimming, and discovered the whole Matter (8). Some Authors ascribe this loose Life to Joan the Mother of Lewis Hutin (9). This last was the Foundress of the College of Navarre. The Passage, which we have just now cited, is (in a Gaulish Style) in the History of Spain, wrote by Mayerne (10). He expresses himself very wrong, when he calls the Wife of Lewis Hutin, Margaret Queen of Navarre. This signifies, that she was of the House of Navarre; now it is not true that she was so; for she was Daughter of Robert II Duke of Burgundy (11). There is no Error in calling her Queen of Navarre, since her Husband (Lewis Hutin) was King of it.

[§ (2) It is a general Tradition, that, in John Buridan's Youth, he, who afterwards acquired so great a Reputation, was in the Case of a great many Scholars of the University of Paris, whom a certain Queen of France, after she had them brought to her Bed, caused to be thrown out of her Chamber into the Seine, to hide the Disorders of her Life. The Business is only to know, I. What Queen that was; II. Whether it be true, as so many believe, that young Buridan, more happy than his Companions, escaped the Fate of the other Minions of that Woman, in memory of which, as it is pretended, he invented the Sophism, called in the Schools Buridan's Ass; and, lastly, what that Sophism can be.

As to the first; according to Gaguin, they who take that lascivious Queen for Joan, Queen of Navarre, who founded the College of Navarre, in the Year 1304, seem to contradict the Epoch, in which Buridan shined, fixed by him to the Year 1348. They agree much less with Marfilus ab Inghen (of Ingenheim) who, though he died not till the Year 1396, nevertheless spoke of Buridan as of one who had been his Cotemporary. There is, in my Opinion, a great deal more probability, that, as the Wives of the three Sons of Philip the Fair, Husband of the illustrious Joan of Navarre, were equally noted for their lasciviousness, that it is Mary of Burgundy, Wife of Lewis Hutin, the eldest of the three Brothers that the Accusation relates to, which some would unjustly throw upon her Mother-in-law.

As to the second point, it is so far from being true, that Buridan, while a Scholar was preserved from the Fate of the other Scholars, who were received into the Bed of the Queen in Question, whoever she be, that That terrible Woman commanded him to be thrown into the River: this we learn from the Poet Villon of Paris, in these Verses of his Ballad of the Ladies of old time, wrote in 1461.

Semblablement où est la Roync,
Qui commanda que Buridan
Fut jeté en ung sac en Seine?

Likewise where is the Queen,
Who ordered that Buridan,
Should be thrown, in a Sack, into the Seine.

Now such a command is so far from inclining one to believe that Buridan had lain with the Queen, who gave it, that, on the contrary, the Wife enna.

(7) Hist. Chronolog. d'Espagne, by Madam ***. Tom. II, pag. 177, 178, ad Ann. 1312.

(8) Ibid.

(9) He was the eldest Son of Philip the Fair; and note, that Mayerne is mistaken when he says that Philip the Tall was the eldest Son of Philip the Fair. Abr. Chronolog. Tom. II, pag. 176, ad Ann. 1201.

(10) Mayerne's History of Spain, Tom. I, pag. 559, 560, ad Ann. 1312. Mayerne places this in the Year 1313.

(11) Anselm. Hist. General. p. 95.

+ Bucholz. Index Chron. under the Year 1387.

+ Nolite arbitrari Guilhelum Occam, Buridanum contemporaneum nostrum (quo vix accuratius quilibet in Ethicis scriptis) Gregorium de Arimino: Adam: (Dorp) Henricum Oyta: Henricum de Haffia: Matheum de Cracovia: Nicolaum Oram: Robertum HOLCOT. Albertum Saxonem: Petrum de Elia: ca: (Alia) Joannem Gerlon: Nicolaum de Cusa: Stephanum Prolixerium: Gabrielem Bihel Spirensem: & ceteros innumeros (qui in Vienneensi * Erfordensi: Leuonensi) ceterisque Germaniae Gymnasiis ab eorum in hunc usque diem exordis (exortis) floruerunt omnium bonarum artium ignaros vacuosque fuisse, propterea quod Nominalium viam & modernorum doctrinam (veluti vos appellatis) enixe ac peculiariter affectu sunt. Marfil. de Inghen Oratio dictiones, clausulas & elegantias

* Aventin, cited by Mr Bayle, makes Buridan the Founder of the University of Vienna.

(3) Dullardus apud Valer. Andream Biblioth. Belg. pag. 471.

(4) Launoius Hist. Navar. Gymnasii, Parte I, lib. I, cap. II, pag. 15, he cites the French Book of Gaguin's History of France.

(5) This Word does not signify here, as it usually does, a capacious or fallacious Reasoning; but rather an Axiom or Maxim, which, perhaps, he couched in an Enigma, that he proposed to be solved.

(6) My Edition of Gaguin, which is of Paris, Apud Petrum Vidovatum 1528, in 8vo, fol. 129, verso, says, anno Christianae Resurrectionis MCCCXVII. This weakens the Apology.

(f) Lib. vii, fol. 637, apud Jacobum Thomasi-um, Orat. xii, pag. 274.

being in the Days of Francis I [B]. *Aventinus* relates, that *Buridan* was a Disciple of *Occam*, and that, being expelled *Paris*, by the Power of the Faction of the Realists, which was superior to that of the Nominalists, of which he was, he went into *Germany*, where he founded the University of *Vienna* (c). *Buridan's Ass* has been

gantias oratorias distinctis caracte- rum notis signa- tas complectens. *Heidelsb.* in 4to, 1499. — Do not you think that *W. Occam*, *Buridan* our Contem- porary (than whom scarce any one but wrote more accurately in Ethics) Gregory of Rimini, &c. and nume- rable others who flourished in the Schools of *Vien- na*, *Erford*, and other Places in *Germany*, from their first Founda- tion, to this time, were igno- rant of all good Arts, because they laboriously and closely followed the way of the No- minalists, and the Doctrines of the Moderns, as you call it. At the end of that Piece we find that *Marfilus ab In- ghen* died on *St Bernard's Day*, in 1396.

Wife *Buridan*, at that time Professor of Philosophy at *Paris*, had laboured, with success, to prevent his Scholars from accepting the invitations of that Siren. That fact was publicly known, at least in Foreign Countries, since in *Saxony*, where *Buridan*, when he was banished his Country, on Ac- count of his Opinions, probably made a little stop on his way from *France* to *Vienna* in *Austria*, a Master of Arts, in the University of *Leipsic*, wrote a little Book in 1471, with the Title of *Commentariolus Historicus de Adolescentulis Parisiensibus per Buridanum natione Picardum ab illicitis cujusdam Reginae Francicae amoribus retrahitis*. — A small historical Commentary of the Youths of *Paris*, drawn off from the unlawful Love of a certain Queen of *France*, by *Buridan* a *Picard*. Mr *Krause*, who, pag. 186, in his *German Literary Journal*, printed in 8vo at *Leipsic*, in 1715, speaks of that Piece, as a Manuscript, in the Library of the Monastery of *Seitenstadt*, in upper *Austria*, ought by the way to get it printed.

As to the Sophism, called *Buridan's Ass*, That may very well be nothing else, but the *Pons Asinorum* of the Logicians, mentioned by *Rabelais*, Book the second, Chap. XXVIII, where, being in doubt whether he ought to describe the Battle between *Pantagruel* and the Giants, or omit the recital of it, he invokes *Tbalia* and *Calliope*, and beseeches them to draw him out of this difficulty. In the third Chapter of the same Book, *Garagantua*, being now old, is represented in the like embarrass- ment, not knowing whether he should cry for the loss of his Wife *Badebec*, who died in Child-bed, or laugh for joy of his new born Son; the good Man, says *Rabelais*, had Sophistical Arguments on one side and the other, which choaked him, but he could not solve them, and so he remained entangled like a Mouse in a Trap, or a Kite in a snare.

Some will have it, that *Buridan's Ass* is properly the Condition of an *Ass*, situated between two Measures of Oats, in such manner, that nothing shall determine him to fall upon one rather than the other; but perhaps they have not observed the equivocation of *Assie* with the adverb *an*, synoni- mous with the famous *utrum* of the Philosophers, represented, after the Symbol of the Logician, *Mar- c Anthony de Passeribus*, a *Genoese* †, by *Merlin Coccaius* in these Verses of his twenty fifth *Macarenea*:

† *Elogia Toma- sini*, Part. I, pag. 104.

* The Logicians which the Au- thor had just being speaking of.

Inter cos * sibat vir quidam corpore duplex,
Qui sustentatur binis tantummodo gambis.
Dicitur hic UTRUM, dubiosis sensibus implens,
Hæreticosque facit, negat hanc, probat hunc, tenet
illam,
Et sibimet duris semper dat verbera pugnis.

Among them stood a double bodied Man,
Who was supported only by two Legs.
Call'd UTRUM, who with doubtful Senses fills:
Makes Heretics, proves this, and that denies,
Holds this, and on himself lays cruel Blows.

Pons Asinorum signifies also sometimes a Sea of these *An's* or *Utrum's*, out of which one cannot extricate one's self; or sometimes a store of these *An's* or *Utrum's*, with Solutions, or ways to get over them, trembling like an *Ass* upon a Bridge, where the Boards are not well joined, but let the Water be seen underneath them (::), and it is to this last signification of the Word, that *Nicolas Clemenard* alludes in these Words of one of his Letters, dated from *Ebora* the twenty fifth of April 1534. — 'Sum totus in Dialectica (the Topics, qui docent invenire argumenta:) faxis Deus, ut hic feliciter inveniamus medium, non in ponte asinorum sed in the-auris Lusitanicis (sunt enim loci Dialectici, tanquam thesauri, in quibus latent argumenta) quo possimus iustic apud vos tandem bonos facere Syllogismos. — I am altogether taken up with

(::) Pliny, lib. viii, chap. 43.

'Logic (the Topics, which teach how to find Argu-ments); GOD grant that here I may happily find a Medium, not on the Asses Bridge, but in the Treasures of Portugal (for the Logical common Places are like Treasures, in which Arguments are hid) that I may hereafter make good Syllogisms among you.' REM. CRIT.]
[B] — This Story is like that of a Queen, whose Palace was not in Being in the time of Francis the First.] Read this Epigram of *Johannes Secundus* a Dutch Poet, who died in the Year 1536.

In Arcem reginae Albæ, Parisiis.

Cernite, flaventeis ubi volvit Sequana lymphas,
Semirutam, fertur quam coluisse prius
Efferat funestæ regina libidinis, arcem,
Nunc ultore mali ut tempore sola jacet!
Et, quassata undis, ventis habitatur & imbrî,
Multa ubi fœrales nocte querantur aves:
Cypris ubi mitis, flammæ exosa cruentas,
Chaonias sedem ponere nolit aveis:
Quâ strix, quâ Furia volitent, quâ plurima fatum
Exululet raucis questibus umbra suum.
Sic domus æternum numerosæ conscia cœdis
Impia lascivæ facta luit Dominæ.
Labuntur, lentis & condemnata ruinis
Implorant hominum pendula faxa manus.
Implorant frustra: stant hæc rata lege severâ,
Inflauratricem ne ferat ullus opem,
Aut subeat gladios, pretium pietatis iniquæ:
Et quis adhuc ausit facta nefanda sequi?
En, etiam saxis mortem censura minatur;
Longaque post cineres stant monumenta mali (12).

See, where the Seine his troubled Waters rolls,
A ruin'd Castle, once, as Fame reports,
Seat of a cruel Queen, of Lust enormous,
But now by vengeful time laid desolate!
Beat by the Waves, Receptacle of Rains,
And Winds, and baleful dire night-screaming Birds,
Where gentle Venus, such unnatural Flame
Detesting, suffers not a Dove to dwell;
Where Elves and Furies haunt, and many a Ghost
In Cries and Murmurs hoarse laments his Fate.
The House, of numerous Murders conscious,
Thus falls for it's lascivious Lady's Crime;
The falling Stones, condemn'd to ling'ring ruin,
Toter aloft, and call for human Aid,
But call in vain: The Law is fix'd as Fate,
That whoever shall lend resporing Hand,
Shall suffer Death, the just and due reward
Of Piety iniquous: who then will dare,
Henceforth, the Fate nefarious to attempt?
See Justice threatens e'en the Stones with Death,
And Monuments of Crimes out live their Authors long.

[C] *Buridan's Ass* is a kind of Proverb. — I cannot tell whether I have guessed right what it is.] I thought a long time, that it was only an Example, that *Buridan* had given, of the Dependency where- in Beasts live, as to the Objects of the Senses. They who hold Free-will, properly so called, admit a Power in Man of determining himself, either to the right or to the left, at the same time when the Motives are exactly equal from the two opposite Objects; for they pretend that our Soul can say, without having any other Reason than to make use of it's Liberty, I chuse this rather than that, tho' I see nothing more worthy of my Choice in this than in that. But they do not give that Power to Beasts: they suppose then, that they could not determine themselves, if two Objects were present, which drew them with equal Force, one one Way, and

(12) Jo. Secun- dus Epigramma- tum, pag. 140. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1619.

been a kind of Proverb, or Example, which subsisted a very long time in the Schools. I cannot tell whether I guess right what it was [C]; for I could never yet meet with any one who could explain it to me, or with any Book particular enough on that matter. *Gabriel Naudé*, who was acquainted with so many Books and Authors, did not well know the Time that our *John Buridan* lived in [D]. There was an Author in the XVIIth Century, whose Name was *John Baptiste de Buridan*, who wrote some Commentaries on the Customs of the Vermandois of Ribemont, St Quintin, Noion, Couci, and Reims. It is mentioned in the *Journal des Savans*, of the eighth of February, 1666.

It

and the other another: That, for Example, an hungry Ass would starve between two Bushels of Oats, which acted equally on his Faculties; for, having no Reason to prefer the one before the other, he would remain unmoveable, like a piece of Iron between two Loadstones of the same Force. The same thing would happen if he were equally pressed with Hunger and Thirst, and had a Bushel of Oats, and a pail of Water before him, which acted with equal Force on his Organs. He would not know where to begin; and if he eat before he drank, his Hunger must be greater than his Thirst, or the Action of the Water weaker than that of the Oats, which is against the Supposition. *Buridan* made use of this Example to shew, that, if an external Motive does not determine Beasts, their Soul has not the Power to chuse between two equal Objects. There was Reason enough to laugh and break Jest upon the Supposition of such an Ass, and a Field for subtilizing the Cavils of Logic according to the Mode of those Times. It is no wonder then that *Buridan's* Ass became famous in the Schools. I find that the *Sieur Naudé* places this Ass among the Fictions of the Human Mind (13); and I shall occasionally say, that the Schoolmen plagued themselves in such a manner to assign a Cause for every effect; that they demanded a Reason why one individual of *Heat*, for example, is, sooner produced than another. *Heat* is, according to them, a kind of Quality that comprehends, under its Genus, a vast number of possible Individuals. The Fire produces one of these Individuals every time it heats the Water: But why one rather than the other? Turn yourself which way you please, you will find no manner of Reason for this any where but in the pure Will of God; here we must transgress the Law of the Schools, *non est Philosophi recurrere ad Deum*, and teach, That as the second Cause determines the first, as to the Species, the first Cause determines the second as to the Individual. If you go higher; if you ask why God made choice of one Individual of Heat rather than another? You are answered, That his Supreme Independency gives him the Right of chusing, without being determined by the Pre-eminence of the Object.

This is not without its Difficulty: there is more Depth in it than People imagine. Here follows the Passage of *Naudé*, hinted at before. 'The hasty Opinion of these illuminated Brethren the Rosicrucians - - - is entirely vain, false, and impossible, having no other existence than that of the Abbey of *Theleme* in *Rabelais*, the *Lesine* among the *Italians*, the Voices of *Rucelin*, the Universals of *Occham*, the Ass of *Buridan*, the Angels of the *Saducees*, the *Utopia* of *More*, second Intentions, *Vacuum*, Infinity, Equinity, Golden Mountain, *Chimera*, and *Ens rationis* of the Philosophers (14).' This agrees with my supposition: For an Ass, extremely hungry, and drawn equally by two Measures of Oats, and kept immovable by that equal Attraction, seems to be a Case physically impossible.

Another Thought came lately into my Head; which is, That *Buridan's* Ass might be a Sophism, which that Philosopher proposed as a kind of Dilemma, that, whatever answer were given him, he might draw some puzzling Conclusions from it. He supposed either an Ass much famished between two Measures of Oats of an equal Force, or an Ass equally pressed with Thirst and Hunger between a Measure of Oats and a Pail of Water, which acted equally on his Organs. Having made this Supposition, he asked, *What will this Ass do* (15)? If any body answered, *He must remain immovable*;

then, concluded he, *He must die of Hunger between two Measures of Oats, he must die of Thirst and Hunger within reach of Meat and Drink*. This seemed absurd, and he must have the Laughers on his side, against whoever should make him that Answer. If he were answered, *That the Ass has more Sense than to die of Hunger and Thirst in such a Situation*; then, concludes he, *He must turn on the one side rather than on the other, though nothing moves him more strongly towards that Place than towards this: then he is endowed with a Free-will; or, which is all one, it may happen, that, of two Weights poised in equilibrio, one may move and raise the other*. These two Consequences are absurd: there remained then only one Answer, That the Ass must ever find himself more strongly moved by one of the Objects than by the other: but this was overthrowing the Supposition; and thus *Buridan* gained his Cause, in what manner soever his Question was answered. This Sophism puts me in mind of the Crocodile of the Stoics (16), of the Electra of *Eubulides* (17), and of such-like captious Questions of the ancient Logicians, to which they gave the Name of the Thing which they took for an Example. *Spinoza* does not speak of *Buridan's* Ass, but of his *She-Ass* (18); and he confesses plainly, that if a Man should be in that *She-Ass's* Condition, he would die of Hunger and Thirst (19). The *Ass-Buridan* is a Proverb in *Burgundy*, whereof *Paradin* has given a false Etymology (20); for it is plain, that *Buridan* is only a Corruption of *Buridan*. By the way, *Spinoza's* Concession is very ill grounded; for there are at least two ways whereby a Man may disengage himself from the Snare of the Equilibrium. One is That which I have already mentioned, viz. That to flatter himself with the pleasing Imagination that he is Master at Home, and that he does not depend on outward Objects, he might resolve thus: *I will prefer this before that, because I will have it so*; and in this Case, that which determines results not from the Object; the Motive is only taken from the Ideas that Men have of their own Perfections, or of their natural Faculties. The other Way is that of the Lot or Chance. A Man is to decide the Precedency between two Ladies; he finds nothing in them that determines him: but if he were of necessity obliged to prefer one to the other, he would not be at a stand but make them draw Lots. He would do the like in regard of two Courtizans with whom he had a mind to divert himself, but without shewing the least shadow of Preference: Chance would decide with whom he should begin; the Equilibrium would not keep him in a State of Inaction, as *Spinoza* pretends; a Remedy would be found.

[D] *Gabriel Naudé* - - - did not well know the Time of our *Buridan*.] He believed that *Nicolas Oresme* (21), Preceptor of *Charles V*, King of France, preceded *Buridan*; for, after having observed that That Preceptor of *Charles V* published *Aristotle's* Politics and Morals in French, he adds, that *Buridan* published some Questions on *Aristotle's* Politics a little after. 'Paulo post etiam Johannes quidam Buridanus celeberrimi nominis Sophista suas in libros politicorum quaestiones evulgavit, sed nugaces ac ineptas, ut ejusmodi Scholasticorum sermo omnia (22). - - - A little after, one John Buridan, a Sophist of very great Note, published his Questions on the Books of Politics, but silly and trifling, as every thing of such like scholastic Persons commonly is.' We must know that this Work of *Nicolas Oresme* was written between the Years 1370, and 1377 (23). Now according to *Gaguin*, *Buridan's* Works on Logic and Ethics be-

(16) See Lucian in Hermotimo, & in Auctione vitarum, apud Gassendum in Logica, cap. vi. pag. 51.

(17) Laërtius, lib. ii. apud Gassendum, ibid. cap. iii. pag. 40.

(18) Spinoza, Ethics parte II, pag. 89.

(19) Id. ibid. pag. 91.

(20) Annales de Bourgogne, lib. ii, pag. 174.

(21) He makes him Archbishop of Bayeux: he should have said Bp of Lisieux; and at most Bishopric.

(22) Naudéus, Bibliogr. politica, pag. 26.

(23) See Mr de Launoi, Histor. Colleg. Navar. pag. 457.

(13) See his Words at the end of this Paragraph.

(14) Naudé, Instruction for les Freres de la Rois-Croix, pag. 10. See also Dialogue De Mafcurat. pag. 25.

(15) I do not affirm this; I only suppose it. I say the same as to the foregoing Explanation.

It is to be observed, that *John Buridan* was placed, by *Illyricus*, in the Catalogue of the Witnesses of Truth [E].

(24) See above, Citat. (6).

long to the Year 1348 (24). Without doubt he comprehends the Writings on Politics under those of Ethics.

[E] *Buridan was placed — in the Catalogue of the Witnesses of Truth.* He is there said to have been an orthodox Author in Point of Free-Will. Andreas de Calro & Joannes Buridanus disputant de libero arbitrio contra alios sententiariorum, & veram tuentur sententiam. Vide Andr. in 1 sent. dist. 45. & Buridanum in 3 Ethic. (25). — Andrew de Calro and John Buridan dispute on Free-Will, against others of different Opinions, and defend the true Opinion. A Dutch Minister has paraphrased those Words thus. Joannes Buridanus Rector Scholæ Parisiensis ejusque nomine Romam Legatus, professione quoque Philosophus, scriptis clarus, stylo quidem Barbarus, verum sententiâ orthodoxus, adeoque ut inter Theologos referendus, pro studiorum communione, ita & inter telles veritatis. Nullo enim modo placuit ipsi quod Romæ ex Pelagii sententiâ de Peccatoris coram Deo iusti-

ficatione tum temporis audiverat, & passim receptum erat. Atque adeo renascenti de gratuita perfidiam in Christo, juxta Scripturæ doctrinam, justificatione, renascenti inquam sententiæ adimpleretur Buridanus noster — sententiam suam orthodoxam — in 3 Ethicorum Aristotelis proposuit (26). — John Buridan, Rector of the University of Paris, and deputed by the same to Rome, by Profession a Philosopher, famous for his Writings, somewhat barbarous in his Style, but orthodox in his Opinions; and as he deserves a place among the Divines, so is he to be numbered among the witnesses of Truth. For he was by no means pleased with the Pelagian Doctrines, then taught at Rome, and received every where, concerning the Justification of Sinners. So that our Buridan was a Defender of the newly revived Opinion, concerning free Justification, by Faith in Christ, agreeable to the Doctrine of Scripture — he lays down his orthodox Opinion in his Commentary on the third Book of Aristotle's Ethics.

(26) Jacobus Bafchius in vulgato Belgico, five Historia Religionis illustrata, corrupte, & reformatæ in Belgio & a Belgis, pag. 146.

BURNETTUS, or BRUNETTUS (LATINUS), was a Florentine. He wrote a Book entituled, *A Treasure of the Origin and Nature of all Things*. He composed it first in French, and then he translated it into Italian (a). His Answer to those who asked him why he had writ his Book in French, and not in Italian, which was his Mother Tongue, shews that our Tongue has been a long time in Vogue in foreign Countries [A]. He composed several other Books, and died at Florence, in the Year 1295 (b). See the Article DANTE.

(a) Mabillon, Musæ Ital. Tom. I, pag. 169.

(b) Michael Poccianus de Scriptore. Florent. pag. 34.

[A] His Answer — shews that our Tongue has been a long time in vogue amongst Foreigners. He gave two Reasons for his Conduct; I. That he lived in France, when he writ that Treatise; II. That the French Tongue was more pleasant and more

common than others: Percio che la parlatura Franceseba e piu dilettevole & piu commune che tutti li altri linguaggi (1). This we find in the first Chapter of his Book, which was published only in Italian.

(1) Mabill. Musæ Ital. Tom. I, pag. 169.

BURRUS (AFRANIUS), was a Man of great Merit, and worthy of a better Age than that of Nero. Agrippina, that Prince's Mother, designing to engage Burrus in her Interest, who had got a great Reputation in the Armies, persuaded the Emperor Claudius, her Husband, to remove the two Commanders of the Pretorian Cohorts (a), and to bestow that Post upon Burrus alone (b). He was made afterwards Governor of young Nero, and had Seneca for his Assistant. The good Understanding between those two Governors (c) shews they were Men of great Probity, and that they aimed chiefly at the public Good in their Instruction of that young Prince, who would have proved an accomplished Emperor under such Masters, had not his natural Wickedness prevailed, and made all their Care useless. Nero, being resolved to get rid of his Mother, was about to take from Burrus his Employ of Colonel of the Guards (d), remembering that he got it by Agrippina's Favour, and fearing that such a Benefit would engage him more in his Mother's Interest than in his; but whether it be that Seneca diverted the Thing, or for some other Reason, Burrus kept his Place, and approved of Agrippina's Death, provided she was convicted of what was charged upon her. He represented to Nero, that the least thing he could do for his Mother, was, to permit her to answer for herself (e). That Expedient diverted the Storm for the Time. Burrus himself was accused some time after, and justified himself (f). At last Nero resolved to put off no longer the Death of Agrippina, and Burrus, being not able to prevent it, refused however to give his Order about it to any of the Pretorian Soldiers (g). He was more than once obliged, to his great Grief, to seem to approve Nero's infamous Actions, for which he could find no Remedy (h). He died in the Sixty second Year of the Ist Century, three Years after Agrippina, not without some Suspicion of having been poisoned (i).

(a) That is, of the Regiment of Guards.

(b) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii, cap. xlii. ad Ann. 804.

(c) Id. lib. xiii, cap. ii.

(d) Id. ibid. cap. xx, ad Ann. 808.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Id. cap. xxiii.

(g) Id. lib. xiv, cap. vii, ad Ann. 812.

(h) Ibid. cap. xv.

(i) Ibid. cap. li, ad Ann. 815.

BUSBEQUIUS (AUGERIUS GISLENIUS Lord of), an illustrious Man, on account of his Embassies, was born at Comines (a), in the Year 1522, of a Mother of a mean Extraction, but of a Father who was of a good Family, and Lord of Busbec, upon the River Lis, and who did not marry below himself, to beget this Child. The Reader may easily perceive, without a Commentary on these last Words, that Augerius Busbequius was a Bastard. He confirmed the common Opinion, which the World entertains of the Wit of those, who, like himself, are unlawfully begotten. He made very early a wonderful Progress, which moved his Father, who had him brought up in the House, to spare neither Pains nor Cost for his Instruction, and to get him legitimated by a Rescript of the Emperor Charles V. He sent him to the most celebrated Universities; to Louvain, Paris, Venice,

(a) A Village of Flanders, upon the River Lis. La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 475, makes him a Native of Bruges.

Venice, Bologna, and Padua (b). He improved very much under the learned Masters he heard in those Places. He was for some time at London with the Embassador of Ferdinand, King of the Romans (c) [A], from whence, being returned into Flanders, he received there a Letter from that Prince, who informed him, that he designed to send him Embassador to Constantinople. Busbequius quickly repaired to Vienna, from whence he soon set out on that Embassy [B]. Not finding

(b) Ex Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 93.

(c) Called Peter Lasso.

(1) Pag. 9.

(2) He should have said Ferdinand I.

(3) Busbeq. Ep. 1.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Melch. Adam. in vit. Juris. pag. 316. Bullart, Academiæ Scienc. Tom. I, pag. 80, who calls him Peter Vanderan.

(6) The Life of Busbequius, prefixed to his Works, Melchior Adam, pag. 366. Bullart, pag. 80. Swertius Athen. Belg. Telfier Elog. de Mont. de Thon, Tom. II, pag. 100, speaks only of Maximilian's Sons.

(7) See his first Letter at the beginning.

[A] He was some time at London with the Embassador of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. The anonymous Author, who published, in 1693, the History of the Archduke Albert, says (1), *That the Emperor Ferdinand II (2) placed our Busbequius in the Family of his Embassador in England, and made him Preceptor to his own Sons.* I believe neither of these Facts is true. I find by Busbequius's first Account that he was not known to Ferdinand till after he had been at London in the House of the Embassador of that Prince. 'Non te fugit cum effem ex Anglia domum reversus à Regis Philippi & Reginae Mariæ nuptiis, ubi fueram inter comites Don Petri Lassi, quem honoris causa cō Romanorum Rex Ferdinandus dominus meus clementissimus legaverat, quemadmodum idem Ferdinandus me per literas ad hoc iter evocavit (3). — You know, when I was returned from England, after the Marriage of King Philip and Queen Mary, where I had been in the Retinue of Don Peter Lasso, whom my most gracious Lord Ferdinand, King of the Romans, had honorarily sent thither, how I was called by Letter of the same Ferdinand to this Journey.' He tells us a little after, how he was introduced by John Vander Aa, Secretary to Ferdinand, and how graciously he was received by that Prince. 'Ut Viennam veni, per J. Vander Aa ad Ferdinandum, cui is erat à secretis, introductus cum ea benevolentiae significatione excipior, qua is rex uti solet erga eos quorum de fide & probitate opinionem aliquam concepit (4). — When I came to Vienna, I was introduced to the King by John Vander Aa, who was his Secretary, and received with such Expressions of Kindness, as he uses to those, of whose Fidelity and Probity he has conceived an Opinion.' All this looks like a first Acquaintance, especially considering that the Writers of Busbequius's Life observe, that he was sent for to Vienna by the good Offices of that Vander Aa his Countryman (5). But though this were not a Proof of a first Acquaintance, what I say could not be reasonably denied; since Busbequius says nothing whereby it appears that Ferdinand contributed to his Journey into England. Would it not have been a great Honour for Busbequius to have been placed by Ferdinand himself in the House of his Embassador, who was sent to London at the Time of the Prince of Spain's Marriage? Why should such an honourable Circumstance have been suppressed? To which I may add the Silence of all the Authors I have consulted, and the express Observation of Valerius Andreas, that it was the Embassador himself who called Busbequius to London. We may therefore reckon this for one of the Mistakes of that anonymous Author. Here is another: It is certain from Busbequius's Account, that, from the Time he was introduced to the Court of Ferdinand, to the Year 1562, he was wholly employed in his Embassies to Constantinople; and therefore if he had been Preceptor to Ferdinand's Children, it must have been after the Year 1562. But the Sons of that Prince were not then of an Age that required it. It was the Sons of Maximilian, King of the Romans, that wanted a Governour and a Preceptor, and Busbequius was intrusted with their Education (6). I do not question but the anonymous Author was misled by Moreri. See the following Remark.

[B] That Prince — appointed him Embassador to Constantinople — he soon set out for that Embassy. He received Ferdinand's Letter at Lisle the third of November, and he was to be at Buda in the beginning of December (7). You may judge whether he had much Time to make himself ready: The Departure of an Embassador was never so much hastened; and yet, if we believe Moreri, the Thing happened thus: *The Emperor Ferdinand I sent for him to Vienna, where some time after he chose him to be Preceptor to his Children, and afterwards sent him Embassador to the Porte.* Thus Time and Mat-

ters of Fact are confounded by those who do not consult original Pieces. If Moreri had consulted them, he might have seen that Ferdinand was only King of the Romans, when he sent for Busbequius to Vienna, and that the first Employment he gave him was the Embassy to the Porte. The Historian, whom I have consulted in the foregoing Remark, had without doubt consulted Moreri; there he found that *Augerius made two Journeys into Turkey, after the Emperor Ferdinand I had made him Preceptor to his Sons* (8). I am less surprized at these Faults, than at those which I am going to observe. The Words of Busbequius, which I have quoted, shew that he did not leave England, where he had been in the House of King Ferdinand's Embassador, till after the Marriage of Philip and Queen Mary, that is, after the Twenty fifth of July 1554; and that he made his first Voyage to Constantinople after his Return from England. Valerius Andreas does therefore confound the Times, when he says, that Busbequius, having been some Months in the House of the Embassador at London, whither he went at Twenty three Years of Age, returned into his own Country, where he staid till he was called to the Court of Ferdinand (9); which supposes that his Journey into England, and his Journey to Vienna, did soon follow one another: It is not therefore true, that he went into England at Twenty three Years of Age, as he affirms. Valerius Andreas cannot be acquitted of a gross Mistake; for, on one Hand, he says Busbequius was seventy Years old in 1592, and, on the other, that, when he was Twenty three Years of Age, he was some Months at London, in the House of Ferdinand's Embassador; he must therefore have been there in 1545: but he himself says that he went to Constantinople after he had been with the same Embassador, and after the Marriage of Philip and Mary Queen of England, which was the Twenty fifth of July 1554; he was therefore older than Valerius Andreas makes him to be, when he went to London. That Author has committed another Fault: He says, that Busbequius did not go to the Embassador till after his Father's Death. 'Patre e vivis sublato juvenis ætatis anno tertio ac vicésimo in Angliam à Ferdinand Imp. Oratore evocatur, ejus contubernio per menses aliquot familiariter usus in patriam revertitur (10). — After his Father's Death, he, being but young, was taken to England by the Embassador of the Emperor Ferdinand, in whose House he lived some Months, and then returned into his own Country.' But Busbequius declares, that, having received Ferdinand's Letter after his Return from London, he put off his Journey to Vienna no longer than was necessary to take leave of his Father and of his Friends. 'Quas literas cum insulis 3. Novembris accepissem tantum moræ interposui dum ad Busbequium desceſcerem, patrique & amicis valedicerem (11).' Besides, is it not a Piece of Inaccuracy to give Ferdinand the Title of Emperor in 1545? There is a Difficulty in these Words of Busbequius: 'Non te fugit cum effem ex Anglia domum reversus à Regis Philippi & Reginae Mariæ nuptiis, ubi fueram inter comites Don Petri Lassi — quemadmodum Ferdinandus me per literas ad hoc iter evocavit. Quas cum insulis 3. Novembris accepissem.' They signify that he did not return into Flanders, till after the Marriage of Mary Queen of England; from whence it follows, that the Letter he received at Lisle, November 3d, was not received before November 3, 1554, at the soonest: And yet his Account of the first Journey he made to Constantinople, after he received that Letter, is dated from Vienna, Sept. 1. 1554; and the Account of his second Journey is dated from Constantinople the fourteenth of July 1555. To remove that Difficulty, we need only mend those two false Dates, by putting 1555 in the first, and 1556 in the second: For, since Busbequius declares, that his

(8) Histor de l'Arch. Albert, pag. 9.

(9) Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 93.

(10) Id. Ibid.

(11) Busbeq. Epist. I, init.

M m

Embassies

ing Soliman at Constantinople, he was obliged to go to him at Amasia [C]. He was sent to the Porte to reside there, in the Quality of Ambassador in Ordinary; nevertheless, he made but a short stay. He only obtained from Soliman a Truce of six Months [D], and it was thought expedient he should quickly return to Ferdinand, to bring him the Letter of the Turkish Emperor. He did it, and was presently sent back again with other Orders to that proud Monarch, who would not hearken to Reason on the Affairs of Transylvania. The second Embassy was much longer, and more successful than the first; for it lasted seven Years, and ended in a good Treaty (d). Let us not forget, that, though he neglected nothing of what concerned the Affairs of the Embassy, yet he did not cease to labour for the Republic of Letters, as well with regard to the critical Part, as to Natural Philosophy.

(d) Ex Epistolis
Busbequii de Le-
gatione Turcica.

(12) Bonis avi-
bus sub finem
mensis Augusti
ortatum iter in-
gressus sum, me-
cum referens an-
norum octo fru-
ctum octennales
inducias. — A-
bout the end of
August I happily
set forward on
my desired Jour-
ney, bringing with
me a Truce of
eight Years, for
my eight Years
time. Id. Epist.
iv, pag. 360.

(13) Epist. iv,
pag. 371.

Embassies lasted eight Years (12), and that he returned from the last, a little before the Coronation of Maximilian, King of the Romans, which happened the thirtieth of November 1562. It is manifest that the Month of November, in which he prepared himself for his first Voyage, is that of the Year 1554, and that the Month of November, in which he began the second, is that of the Year 1555. When he mentions his Arrival at Frankfurt, a little before Maximilian's Coronation, he says, it was then seven Years wanting one Day, since he set out from Vienna on his second Journey (13). Seeing therefore his second Letter is the Account of his second Journey to Constantinople, it is plain it must be dated, not the fourteenth of July 1555, but the fourteenth of July 1556. Here is another Mistake of Moreri; he says, that Busbequius procured, in 1560, the Liberty of Alvarez de Sande, Sanchez de Leve, and Berenguel de Requens, taken by the Bassa Piali in the Isle of Gerbes, and that he returned with the first about the End of the same Year to Vienna. There is but a Misreckoning of two Years. Melchior Adam has misled Moreri.

[C] He was obliged to go to Soliman at Amasia.] This plainly appears from his first Letter, which makes me believe that of a hundred Authors, who speak of Busbequius, there are scarce six that consult the Originals. It is certain, that Moreri did not give himself that Trouble. Soliman, says he, was then at Constantinople: Busbequius made a second Journey to him at Amasia in Asia. Moreri is not the only Writer, who divides the two Embassies in that manner; I mean, who pretends, that Busbequius went the first time to Constantinople, and the second time to Amasia: Valerius Andreas has committed the same Mistake: hæc prima illius in Asiam legatio; he means the Embassy to Constantinople; altera Amasiana fuit. Melchior Adam (14) and Swertius (15) express themselves in the same manner. The Expression is more faulty still in the Life of Busbequius prefixed to his Works: The Embassy into Asia is there distinguished from his Embassy to Amasia. Legationibus claruit quarum prima Amasiana fuit — altera Amasiana fuit (16). The best of all is, that some believe the Embassy to Amasia was not designed for the Turkish Emperor, but for some other Eastern Prince. He likewise, they are the Words of a French Author (17), made himself known in the Courts of Asia. His Embassies to Amasia and Constantinople raised the Admiration of those Eastern Nations. This Mistake proceeds in all likelihood from his being cited as the Author of an Account of a Journey to Constantinople, and as the Author of an Account of a Journey to Amasia. Indeed his first Letter contains those two Accounts; but, besides that those two Journeys belong to one and the same Embassy, which is the first, it would be a very improper Way of speaking to denominate the second by Amasia, tho' he had gone the second time to Amasia without passing through Constantinople. The Denomination of an Embassy is not taken from the Town, where the Ambassador has his Audience, but from the Court to which he is sent. It would be a pleasant Story, if an Ambassador of the Emperor to the King of England, who, not finding that Prince at London, had gone to him into Ireland, in 1690, should boast of two Embassies, the one into England, and the other into Ireland; but it might very well be said, if he published a Relation, that it contains his Journey to London, and his Voyage to Dublin. I must mend another Fault. When Melchior Adam mentions Busbequius's Curiosity in Drugs and Plants, he says, he undertook a Journey to Amasia to make a Collection of Plants,

and such like Rarities. He adds, that Amasia is situate on the River Halys, which divides Galatia from Capadocia. What I have already said is sufficient to shew, that his Journey to Amasia was a matter of Necessity, and not of Curiosity. Besides, that Town does not stand upon the Halys, but upon the Iris.

[D] He only obtained a Truce of six Months.] We have here an egregious Instance of what I said before, that few Writers have consulted the Originals with respect to Busbequius. The Author of his Life, prefixed to his Works, says, that he had such Success, that he softened the fierce Humour of Soliman so, that he obtained from him a Truce for eight Years, Prout, as he goes on, latius de legationis Turcica Epistolis patet. — As appears from his Letters on his Turkish Embassy. This is what he ascribes to him with respect to his first Embassy; as to the second, he is contented to call it Amasiana. What Confusion is this! The first produced only a Truce of six Months; — Tantum de semestribus induciis dum deferri responsum referrique posset inter nos convenit (18). — We only agreed on a Truce for six Months, whilst Answers could go and come. Feci Regem Romanorum de meo reditu semeltribusque induciis & summa rerum gestarum certiores (19). — I informed the King of the Romans of my Return, and of the Truce for six Months, and the chief of my Negotiations. The second produced a Treaty, which the Emperor Ferdinand ratified, and contained a Truce for eight Years (20). Valerius Andreas commits yet more Faults than the Author of Busbequius's Life. He pretends, that the Grand Signor breathed nothing but Threats and War, because of the Treaty of Exchange, which Ferdinand had concluded concerning Transylvania; and that there being a necessity of sending an Ambassador to pacify the Sultan, Malvezzi was pitched upon, who was first put in Prison, and some time after released, and returned without concluding any thing; but that Busbequius, who was appointed to succeed him, did not return into Germany until he had concluded a Truce of eight Years. 'Sufficiens Busbequius qua erat animi modestia atque constantia mitigato Solimanni animo, & impetratis octennii induciis, in Germaniam revertitur. Hæc prima illius in Asiam legatio, altera Amasiana fuit (21). — Busbequius, who succeeded, having, by his Modesty and Constancy of Mind, mitigated the Anger of Soliman, and obtained a Truce of eight Years, returned into Germany. This was his first Embassy into Asia, the other was to Amasia.' Let us not repeat the Confutation of this last Fault, but only say, that John Maria Malvezzi was sent to the Porte before the Exchange of Transylvania was spoken of (22), and that he was imprisoned for having deceived the Grand Vizier, by assuring him that all the Reports, which ran of Ferdinand's Enterprizes upon the Principality of Transylvania, were false. 'Cum jam potito totius Transilvaniæ Ferdinando certa res esset neque dissimulationi locus relinqueretur, vehementer Turcarum Imperator in Rustanum (be was the Grand Vizier) quod affirmationi Malvezzi tantum fidei habuisset, multo etiam magis in Malvezium Rustanus, cuius se fraude circumventum clamabat, exanderunt (23). — When Ferdinand, by seizing all Transylvania, had put the thing beyond doubt, and no more room was left for Dissimulation, the Turkish Emperor was very much enraged with Rustan (the Grand Vizier) that he had given so much Credit to Malvezzi's Affirmations; and Rustan much more with Malvezzi, by whose Fraud he complained he was circumvented.'

(18) Busbeq. Epist. I, pag. 109.

(19) Id. p. 119.

(20) Id. Epist. iv, pag. 372.

(21) Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 93.

(22) Busbequii Epist. I, pag. 15.

(23) Ibid. pag. 16.

[E] He

Philosophy. He collected Inscriptions [E], he bought up Manuscripts [F]; he sought for rare Plants, and informed himself of the Nature of Animals. There are Proofs of all this to be found, either in the Inscriptions of Gruter, or in the Imperial Library, or in the Books of Matbiol; and it is well known, that, in his second Journey to Constantinople, he took a Painter along with him, that he might be able to communicate to the Curious, at least Figures of the Plants and Animals, which are not well known in the western Parts of Europe (e). He dived perfectly into the State of the Ottoman Empire, and the true means of attacking it with Success, upon which he composed a very judicious Discourse (f). The Account which he composed of his two Journeys into Turkey is also a good Work, and deserves the Approbation of those who are able to judge of such Writings [G]. He had a Mind to pass the Remainder of his Days in a private Life (g), but was obliged to re-imbark more than ever in the Affairs of the Court. He was intrusted with the Government of the young Princes, Sons of Maximilian II (h). And when the Princess Elizabeth, Daughter of that Emperor, was married to Charles IX, King of France (i), he had the Commission to conduct her to Paris. That Queen gave him the whole Administration of her House and Affairs; and when he quitted France, after the Death of her Husband, she left him there as her Ambassador (k). He had also that Character from the Emperor Rodolphus, till 1592 (l): At which time, having obtained leave to take a Journey into Flanders,

[E] He collected Inscriptions. Moreri says, that he sent them to Scaliger, Lipsius, and Gruterus. I do not ask him why he varies from his Guide, Melchior Adam, who says, that Busbequius sent his Inscriptions to Clavius, who sent them to Gruterus, and that the latter inserted them in his great Collection, with the Corrections of Scaliger; I do not insist on this, since I find in Busbequius's Life, that he communicated several Inscriptions to Lipsius, by whose Means they were published in the Collections of Smetius, and Gruterus. This helps Mr Moreri, but not so far as to discharge him of all the Burden. It must not be forgot, that the Public is indebted to our Busbequius for the Monumentum Ancyranum, which would be one of the most curious and most instructive Inscriptions of Antiquity, if it were intire; for in it we should have a List of all the Actions of Augustus. Busbequius, passing through Ancyra, a City of Galatia, caused a Copy to be made of all that remained legible of that Inscription on the Marble of a ruined Palace (24), and sent it to the Jesuit Sebastian (25). You may see in the Suetonius of Mr Grævius what it is; Lipsius and Casaubon have had a Dispute about it.

Note, That Mr Gronovius published this Monumentum Ancyranum, with Notes, at Leyden, in the Year 1695, with a more ample and correct Copy than that of Busbequius.

[F] He bought up Manuscripts. The anonymous Panegyrist of the Archduke Albert says (26), that Busbequius enriched the Imperial Library with an infinite Number of rare and excellent Manuscripts. Why does he stray from his Guide? Why does he not limit himself to the Number of an hundred as others do? Quin & centum amplius antiqua cum Græca tum Latina in membranis calamo exarata volumina media in Græcia studiose collecta in Cæsaream Viennæ Austriæ Bibliothecam intulit (27). Besides, he presented to the Imperial Library, at Vienna, a hundred Manuscripts on Vellum, both Greek and Latin, which he had collected with great care in Greece. I do not deny that Busbequius bought more. Reporto, says he (28), magnam farraginem veterum numismatum, quorum præcipuum donabo Dominum meum. Adhæc librorum Græcorum manuscriptorum tota plaustra, totas naves; sunt, credo, libri haud multo infra 240, quos mari misi Venetias, ut inde Viennam deportentur. Converte omnes angulos ut quicquid restabat hujusmodi mercis, tanquam novissimo spicilegio, cogerem. I bring with me, says he, a great Collection of old Coins, the chief of which I will present to my Master. Besides Cart-loads, nay Ship-loads, of Manuscript Greek Books. I believe there are not much less than Two hundred and forty Books, which I have sent by Sea to Venice, thence to be brought to Vienna. I rummaged every Corner, to gather, as it were, the last Gleanings that remained of this kind of Ware.

[G] The Account of his Journeys deserves the Approbation of those who are able to judge of Writings of that kind. Thuanus says this of it: Vir eruditione, rerum agendarum peritia, candore & probitate insignis, qui unam atque alteram legationem ad Portam Othomanicam sub Ferdinando Cæsare magna sua cum laude gessit, & elegantissimis ac lectu jucundissimis epistolis explicavit, ex quibus quam plurima in hos Annales me transcripsisse ingenue profiteor (29). A Man eminent for his Learning, Skill in transacting Affairs, Candour and Probity, who discharged two Embassies to the Ottoman Port, under the Emperor Ferdinand, with great Honour, and gave an Account of them in very elegant and entertaining Letters, from whence I ingeniously own I have transcribed many things into these Annals. Mr Teissier reduces the Letters of Augustus Busbequius to two (30). It may be he made use of an Edition, wherein Thuanus acknowledged but two; for it is true, that there were no more published at first. Lewis Carriën published these two at Antwerp, by Plantin, in the Year 1581, without knowing whether the Author would be pleased with it or not; he only hoped it would not displease him too highly. The Title of these two first was, Itinera Constantinopolitanum & Amasianum. Some time after appeared four, under the Title of Angerii Gisleii Busbequii legationis Turcicæ epistolæ quatuor. They have been printed several times: Scaliger has praised them highly, and Francis (31) Hofman cites them in his Treatise of the Office of an Ambassador, as a Book worthy of that Character, and which contains ample Lessons for such as are employed in those high Functions (32). It is wrong to consider these four Letters as a different Work from that which bears the Title of Itinera Constantinopolitanum & Amasianum (33). They do not otherwise differ from it than as the whole differs from some of its Parts. As to Busbequius's Letters to Rodolphus concerning the Embassy of France, they relate chiefly to the Expedition of the Duke of Alençon into the Netherlands, and were not published till 1632, curante Jo. Baptista Houwaert J. C. & Patricio Bruxelensi. The Year following they were reprinted at Leyden with all the Works of Busbequius. By the way, Thuanus, in the Words I have quoted, places these two Embassies in the Reign of Ferdinand I. He is in the right; but Mr Teissier does not agree with him, since he will have it, that Busbequius's Embassies were posterior to the Office of Governor to the Emperor Maximilian's Children (34). Carriën was not very exact, when he said, that the Embassies of Turkey belong to the Reign of Ferdinand, and to that of Maximilian (35). They who would know the Encomiums, which have been given to our Busbequius, need only consult Sir Thomas Pope Blount, at the Five hundred fifty fourth Page, and Lewis Guicciardin, in the Place where he speaks of Commynes, in the Description of the Netherlands.

(e) Melchior Adam. vit. Juris. pag. 318.

(f) Intituled, De re militari contra Turcam instituta consilium.

(g) Busbeq. Epist. iv, pag. 372, 3 3.

(h) See Rem. [A].

(i) In 1570.

(k) Thuan. lib. civ, pag. 485.

(l) Melch. Adam. pag. 316.

(29) Thuan. lib. civ, pag. 484.

(30) Teissier Elog. taken from Thuan. Tom II, pag. 189.

(31) He ought to have said Julius.

(32) Bullart, Académ. des sciences. Tom. I, pag. 80.

(33) This is what Melchior Adam, Swert, Valerius Andreas, Teissier, Moreri, Pope Blount do, as well as those who make the Number of his Epistolæ Turcicæ six, as Melch. Adam, and Konig.

(34) Teissier Additions aux Elog. Tom. II, p. 190.

(35) Cum Busbequius nomine Imp. Ferdinandi & Maximiliani apud Turcom. Ora oris partem ageret. Epist. decretat. ad Niclaum Mœntium, which he believes to be the same to whom Busbequius wrote his Relations.

(24) Epist. I, pag. 87.

(25) Melch. Adam. Vita Juris. pag. 316.

(26) Pag. 9.

(27) Melch. Adam. vit. Juris. pag. 316. See also Bullart, Acad. des Sciences. Tom. I, pag. 80.

(28) Busbequius, Epist. iv, sub fin.

(m) Thom. lib.
civ, pag. 316.

(n) Bullart's
Academy of
Sciences, Tom.
I, pag. 81.

Flanders, to set his own private Affairs in order, he took the Way of Normandy. But notwithstanding he had furnished himself with the King's Passes (m), and with those of the League, he was robbed and abused by a Party of Leaguers (H), in the Village of Cailli, three Leagues from Rouen (n). These Robbers durst not detain him Prisoner, nor take away his Baggage, when they reflected on what he represented to them concerning the inviolable Privileges of his Character; but though they restored him his Liberty and his Trunks, yet it interrupted his Journey. He caused himself to be brought to the Lady of Maillot's House at St Germain, near Rouen, where he was taken with a Fever, which carried him off, after some Days, on the Twenty eighth of October, 1592. His Body was honourably interred in the Church at that Place, and his Heart carried to the Netherlands,

(15) Sweet. A-
thenae Belgicae.

therlands. He says, that Busbequius spoke seven Languages perfectly well; viz. Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, and Slavonian. The Letters Patents of the Emperor Ferdinand on the Promotion to the Order of Knighthood, with which Maximilian, King of the Romans, honoured Busbequius, are as good as a Panegyric; they are dated the third of April, 1564 (36). See also Camerarius, in the fourteenth Chapter of the last Book of his historical Meditations.

The Author of the Miscellanies of History and Literature has given so fine a Judgment of one of Busbequius's Works, that I cannot forbear copying it. 'Busbeque's (37) Letters to the Emperor Rodolphus II, says he (38), contain more Matter, and are much more useful than those of Bongars.' They are a natural Representation of the Affairs of France, in the Reign of Henry III. He relates Matters with so much Plainness, that they seem to be transacted before our Eyes. We do not find any where so many historical Facts in so small a Discourse. The Grand Affairs, such as the Conspiracy of Anwerp, and the petty Intrigues of the Court, are equally well described there. The Attitudes (as one may say) in which he places Henry III, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, Queen Margerita, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Epemon, and the other Courtiers and Favourites of those times, shew them to us in such a manner as discovers their strong and their weak side, the good and the bad in them. In a word, Busbeque's Letters are a Model of writing well for Embassadors, who are to give their Masters an Account of what passes in the Courts where they reside.

[H] He was robbed and abused by a Party of Leaguers. Before I give an Account of the Variations and Fallacies concerning Busbequius's Death, I shall say, that Tivannus ought not to have forgot, that That good Man was Ambassador from the Emperor to the Court of France. He did what he could to make his Readers believe, that Busbequius had no other Character there than that of Agent of the Widow of Charles IX (39). As for what he adds, that the Leaguers, who stopped and plundered him, joined to this the most cruel Treatment, which broke his Heart, while they waited for Letters from the Duke de Maienne, I find it no ways conformable to the Narrative of other Authors. Melchior Adam, Swartius, Valerius Andreas, the Life which is at the Head of his Works, Bullart, &c. agree that all his Baggage was returned to him, that he was left at full Liberty to go where he pleased, that the Governor of Rouen promised him to punish those Villains, and that he got himself carried to the House where he died, only because he had some Prefaces of the Sickness which seized him a little after. This we must stick by as the most probable Account; for as to the Rumour which went about, and was asserted by some Authors, viz. that he was killed in a Wood, the Fallacy of it is long since known. The good Philip Camerarius was not undeceived in it, when he published his historical Meditations; for here is a Passage of it (40) from the French Translation: 'It is every way a lamentable Case that so excellent a Man, who had done so much good to the Public, and had been twice Ambassador at Constantinople from the Emperors (41), whence he came safe, after having happily overcome many Dangers, should at last, in a Journey to Diepe, to Henry IV (42), be robbed and murdered in a Forest by a Gang of Highwaymen; a Person worthy of

(39) See the following Remark, Citat. (50).

(40) Lib. v, cap.
xiv, of Vol. III.

(41) He was only so from Ferdinand I.

(42) It is not true that he was going to Henry IV.

'a longer Life, and a milder Death!' Neither was Scaliger undeceived; he says that Busbequius was killed near Paris (43). I should not wonder that Lippius, who was one of Busbequius's good Friends, should, in a heat, mention the pretended Murder in an Epitaph, on the Credit of common Fame: but it is somewhat strange, that at nine Years end he should consecrate that Error; and, being advertized of it, should not take care to correct that Epitaph. It is still to be seen in all the Editions of his Works, with that original Fault: *Ecce sustulit viam per ipsam miles incertum an latro, sed sustulit* (44). — So he was taken off in his Journey, whether by Soldiers or Robbers, is not certain, but he was taken off. You find it also uncorrected in divers Authors, who speak of Augustus Busbequius; Lippius cannot be excused on the Score of the Affection Poets have for their Works, nor on the Examples of divers Poets, who, having composed Verses in honour of some Friend, whom they falsely thought to be dead, have, nevertheless, published them while that Friend was alive (45). The Author, of whom I speak, did the same in Prose; you may see it still in his Letters: 'In Busbequii morte & tali morte in animo meo dolui, servatum hunc virum per tot discrimina apud exteros, apud barbaros, ut in limine fere patriæ latronum manibus (ita audimus) periret (46). — I was very much grieved at the Death of Busbequius, and the manner of it. That this Man, who escaped so many Dangers among Foreigners and Barbarians, should perish (as we hear) in the very Borders of his Country, by the Hands of Robbers.' He had been advertized of that Falshood (47), and yet did not correct it. As for what remains, since his Letter is dated the eleventh of January 1592, it should from thence be concluded, that Busbequius's Death has not been well placed on the Twenty eighth of October, 1592. I say, this Conclusion must be drawn from it, if it were not more reasonable to suspect the Omission of an I, there. For I see no kind of likelihood that Lippius should date his Letter according to the Style of those who do not begin the Year from January.

I cannot end this without giving an Example of the little Care Authors take to verify what they take at a Distance from the Fountain-head. Quenstedt (48) assures us, That Busbequius was not only an excellent Politician, grave and prudent, but also that he was a great Lover of polite Literature, and above all, that he was very curious in Natural Philosophy. For this, he cites a Letter of Justus Lippius, where only these Words are to be found: *Suavem famam reliquit doctrinæ suæ, prudentiæ, probitatis* (49). — He left a good Reputation on Account of his Learning, Prudence, and Probity. Quenstedt's Error was owing to his copying Melchior Adam, without giving himself any farther Trouble than barely copying; for if he had ever so little considered what Melchior Adam had grounded his Citation on, he would have thought himself obliged to keep within the same Bounds. I shall set down the Passage entire, that it may serve for a Warning to Transcribers. This is the Judgment that ought to be made of divers Things which I mention: It is not for the sake of the things themselves that I do it, but that they may serve for a Looking-Glass, in which Compilers may see what they ought to avoid. *Fuit hic, this is the Passage of Melchior Adam, non solum politicus excellens gravis ac prudens: sed mansuetior etiam Mularum amantissimus: ac imprimis rerum naturalium cognoscendarum*

(43) See the Scaligerana.

(44) Lippius Epitaph. lxxviii, ad Belgæ Cent. II, It is dated Jan. 31, 1601.

(45) Goin reproached Mr Menage with an Epitaph upon Corneille, who was supposed to have been dead of an Inflammation of the Lungs.

(46) Lipp. Epitaph. lxxix, Cent. II, Miscell.

(47) De Busbequii morte, scito errorem: sed adnotabitur & tamen sumam epistolæ non historiam vii inferunt. — I know the Mistake concerning Busbequius's Death, but it is to be observed, that I proposed to insert what was reported, not the real History, in my Letter. Id. Epitaph. lxxxii, Cent. iv, Miscell.

(48) De Patriis virorum illust. pag. 109.

(49) The xxixth of the 11d Century Selectorum: Or, as the other Editions have it, Miscellaneum.

* Justus Lippius Cent. II, Epitaph. select. lxxix, Epitaph.

(e) Melch. Adam vit. Jurific. pag. 316. Valer. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. pag. 97. Histoire de l'Archiduc Albert, printed at Co. legn, 1693, p. 9.

to be placed in the Tomb of his Ancestors (e). He was so well pleased with France, that he bought some Lands there, and seemed as if he designed to settle in that Country [f]. The Speeches which he had made to the Kings of France, in French, are much praised (p). The Lordship of Busbec was erected into a Barony by the Archduke Albert, Governor, and afterwards Sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands (g). That Prince designed thereby to honour the Memory of his Governor, and express his Acknowledgment to him.

(f) La Croix du Maine Bibl. François, pag. 475.

(g) Histoire de l'Archid. Albert, pag. 9. & 372.

'scendamus cupidissimus. - - - He was not only 'an excellent Politician, grave and prudent; but 'also a great Lover of polite Literature, and extremely fond of Natural Philosophy.' Lippius is called in as a Witness only to the Elogy of prudent: the rest is all of the other's own coining.

[f] He purchased some Lands in France, and seemed inclined to settle there.] Thuanus informs me of this: I shall give the whole Passage from him, because it confirms what I have said before (viz.) That it is not owing to Thuanus, that we are not absolutely ignorant of the Character that Busbequius had, in France, from his Imperial Majesty. There is, besides, something in this Passage, which might surprize the Readers. 'Elizabetha Caroli uxor vidua - - - in Germaniam ad Maximilianum patrem se contulit, relicto in Gallia, qui res suas procuraret, Augurio Gilsenio Busbequo - - - qui toto vitæ Elizabethæ tempore in Gallia mansit, & post mortem ejus five loci commoditate, five ingeniorum amcenitate captus, comparatis apud nos prediis larem fixit, donec his calamitatis ultimi temporibus cum novam patriam deferere cogeretur, eum ægrè se itineri accingentem mors oppressit. (50) - - - Elizabeth, Widow of Charles, went into Germany to her Father Maximilian, leaving Augerius Gilsenius Busbequius to take Care of her Affairs in France - - - who remained in France as long as Elizabeth lived, and after her Death, invited either by the Convenience of the

'Place, or the Agreeableness of the Inhabitants, he 'purchased Lands, and settled among us, till the last 'calamitous Times, when, being obliged to leave his 'new Country, while he was unwillingly preparing 'for his Journey, he was taken off by Death.' One would naturally conclude from hence, I. That nothing detained the Sieur Busbequius in France, after the Death of the Widow of Charles IX, but the Pleasants of the Country. II. That there passed much Time between the Death of that Queen, and the Departure of her Resident; for to buy Lands in a Country, and to fix one's Abode there, until the last of seven or eight Civil Wars drives you from thence, are things which import more than seven or eight Months. Yet this is all the Time of that good Man's Abode there, after the Death of the Queen his Mistress. I desire no other Witness to this, than Thuanus himself. He tells us, That this Queen died about the latter End of January 1592, and that Busbequius died towards the End of October of the same Year (51). In this Place the Historian gives no other Reason for his Departure than the Death of Elizabeth. 'Cum vero ille (Busbequius) post principis bene de se meritis obitum in Belgium, hoc est in patriam, cum tota familia remeaturus ad iter se accinxisset. - - - But when he (Busbequius) after the Death of the Princess, his Benefactress, had made preparation to return with all his Family, into the Netherlands, where he was born. - - -

(51) Id. lib. 104.

(co) Thuan. Hist. lib. 60. pag. 122.

BUSIRIS. If we believe Diodorus Siculus, there have been divers Busiris's in Egypt: For he relates that Osiris, having resolved upon a great Expedition, declared the Queen, his Wife, (a) Regent of Egypt, and left her two Lieutenants; the one for Counsel, the other to command the Forces; and that he gave the Government of Phœnicia, and the maritime Places, to BUSIRIS (b). In another Place (c) he says, that, after Fifty two Princes had successively possessed the Throne of Menas, from whom they were descended, BUSIRIS became King of Egypt. Eight of his Descendants, continues he, succeeded him, the last of which was called BUSIRIS, and built the magnificent and powerful City, which the Greeks called Thebes: The same which the Egyptians called the City of the Sun (d). He declares elsewhere, that what was said of the Barbarity of one Busiris, was a Fable of the Greeks, but a Fable which had for it's Foundation a Custom practised in Egypt. They sacrificed all the red-haired People that they could find to the Ghost of King Osiris (e); and as the Natives of the Country were hardly ever of that Complexion, there were few, except Strangers, who served for Victims. Now, in the Egyptian Language, Busiris signified the Sepulchre of Osiris: This is the Original of the Story, which passed current among the Greeks, That BUSIRIS King of Egypt was so barbarous, as to order the Throats of all Strangers to be cut (f). They supposed that he himself was sacrificed by Hercules [A], whom he would

(a) She was called Isis.

(b) Diod. Sicul. lib. i, cap. 17.

(c) Id. ibid. cap. xlv.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) This was out of hatred to Typhon, whose Hair was of this colour, and had killed Osiris. Diod. Sicul. lib. i, cap. lxxxviii.

(f) Id. ibid.

(A) Apollod. Biblioth. lib. ii, p. 129.

[A] He himself was sacrificed by Hercules.] This is what we find upon this Head in Apollodorus (1). After Hercules had killed Antæus, he went into Egypt, where Busiris, the Son of Neptune, and of Lysianassa, the Daughter of Epaphus, was King. This Busiris sacrificed Strangers to Jupiter; this he did in Obedience to an Oracle. The Harvests had been very bad for nine Years successively in Egypt. Upon this, there comes a Soothsayer from Cyprus, whose Name was Thrasius, who declared that this Misfortune would cease, if they every Year sacrificed a Stranger to Jupiter. Busiris, giving Credit to this prophetic Declaration, began to execute it on the Soothsayer himself, and commanded that Thrasius should be sacrificed first; and from that Time treated Strangers in the same manner. Hercules was also designed to be made a Victim; they had seized him, and led him bound to the Altar; but he broke his Chains, and killed Busiris, and Iphidamus and Chabes. The first was the Son of Busiris, the last was his Herald of Arms. Isocrates

refutes this Story thus. They, who say that Busiris sacrificed Strangers, say also that Hercules killed him. Now all Historians agree that Hercules lived four Generations after Perseus and Danaë, and above two hundred Years after Busiris (2). The latter was the Son of Neptune, and of Libya the Daughter of Epaphus, who was the first that reigned in the Country which bore her Name (3). Note, that an old Commentator on Virgil differs a little from Apollodorus as to Circumstances: 'Busiris, says he (4), Egypti rex omnibus annis Jovi hospites immolabat. Nam per octo annos sterilitate Ægypto laborante, Pygmalion Cyprius finem futurum non ait, nisi sanguine hostis litatum fuisset. Primus autem Thyestes alienigena immolatus originem sacrificio dedit. - - - Busiris, King of Egypt, sacrificed Strangers every Year to Jupiter. For when Egypt laboured under a Famine of eight Years, Pygmalion of Cyprus said, it would not end, unless they sacrificed the Blood of a Stranger. And Thyestes, a Stranger, being first offered, laid

(2) Isocrates in Busiridis laudatione, pag. 333. Edit. Basil, 1579, in Folio.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 328.

(4) Philargyrius in Georg. Virgil. lib. iii, ver. 5.

would have had the Boldness to have served like the rest. There is a Passage in *Virgil* concerning *Busiris*, which has exercised the Interpreters [B]. It seems to me,

(5) Ovidius de arte amandi, l. i. 'laid the Foundation of the Sacrifice.' Ovid reports the Fact just as *Apollodorus* does (5).

[B] A Passage in *Virgil* concerning *Busiris* — has exercised Interpreters. *Virgil* places the Cruelties of that Tyrant among the Stories, which the Poets had sung a thousand and a thousand Times over, and which he could not make choice of for the Subject of his Poems, so very trite a Subject it was.

Cætera, quæ vacuas tenuissent carmina mentes,
Omnia jam vulgata. Quis aut Eurythea durum,
Aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras (6) ?

(6) Virg. Georgic. lib. iii, v. 3.

All other Themes, that careless Minds invite,
Are worn with use, unworthy me to write.
Busiris' Altars, and the dire Decrees
Of hard Euristheus, ev'ry Reader sees :
DRYDEN.

GRAMMATICAL Remarks on the Word *inlaudatus*.

The Word *inlaudatus* strikes every Reader; it has been found altogether improper: Is it enough to say of so inhuman a Monster that he was not praised, or that he deserves no Praise? Ought he not to have made use of a Term, which should inspire his Readers with all the Horror that so much Cruelty deserves? This Censure is not new, nor invented by those, who are on Mr *Perrault's* Side; the Grammarians who lived a little after *Virgil* entered that Process against him. 'Nonnulli Grammatici ætatis superioris, in quibus est *Cornutus Annæus*, haud sane indocti neque ignobiles, qui commentaria in *Virgilium* composuerunt - - - *inlaudati* parum idoneum esse verbum dicunt, neque id satis esse ad faciendum scelerati hominis detestationem, qui quod hospites omnium gentium immolare solitus fuit, non laude indignus, sed detestatione execrationeque totius generis humani dignus esset (7). — Some Grammarians of the last Age, among whom is *Cornutus Annæus*, neither unlearned nor obscure, who have wrote Commentaries on *Virgil* - - - say, that the Term *inlaudatus* is not proper, nor sufficient to raise a due Detestation of that wicked Man, who, in that he used to sacrifice Strangers of all Nations, was not only unworthy of Praise, but deserved the Detestation and Curse of all Mankind.' He did not want Apologists at that Time any more than now, and we shall see the two Reasons that one of his Advocates in the second Century alledged in his Defence. I. In the first place he maintains, that the Word *inlaudatus* or *inlaudatus*, signifying a Person who never did any thing Praise-worthy, is very proper to give the Idea of a very wicked Man; for we rarely see any so profligate and wicked, as never to have spoke some Word, or done some Action, that deserved to be approved. He adds, that, seeing the Term *inlaudatus* signifies the utmost Limits of moral Good, that of *inlaudatus* ought to signify the utmost extent of Wickedness; and he proves, by Passages out of *Homer*, that the most sublime Praises are contained in Terms exclusive of Imperfection, and that therefore a Term, which excludes Praise, is the most proper in the World for Blame. He alledges the Term *inamabilis*, which *Virgil* is content to use to express the most detestable Thing in the World. 'Nemo quicquam tam afflictis est moribus, quin faciat aut dicat nonnunquam aliquid quod laudari queat. Unde hic antiquissimus versus vicem proverbi celebratus est, Πολλὰκι γὰρ καὶ μωρὸς ἀνὴρ μὲν καὶ καίριον εἶπεν. Sed enim qui omni in re atque omni tempore laude omni vacat, is *inlaudatus* est, idque omnium pessimum deterrimusque est; sicuti omnis culpæ privatio inculpatum facit, inculpatum autem instar est absolutæ virtutis, illaudatus igitur quoque finis est extremæ malitiæ. Itaque *Homerus* non virtutibus appellandis sed vitii detrahendis laudare amplius solet - - - Eadem ratione idem *Virgilius* *inamabilem* dixit *stygiam* paludem, nam sicut *inlaudatus* καλὰ laudis ἐστίν, ita *inamabilem* καλὰ amoris ἐστίν delectatus est (8). — There is no Man of so aban-

(7) Anulus Gellii, lib. ii, cap. 6.

doned Behaviour, but he sometimes says, or does, something or other which may be commended. Hence this ancient Verse is grown into a Proverb. Πολλὰκι γὰρ καὶ μωρὸς ἀνὴρ μὲν καὶ καίριον εἶπεν. A Fool oft speaks to the purpose. Certainly, he who in every thing, and at all times, misses of Praise, is *inlaudatus*, and is the worst and basest of Mankind: as the privation of all blame, makes a Man blameless, and blameless signifies absolute Virtue; so praiseless denotes the extremity of consummate Wickedness. Therefore *Homer*, when he commends highly, does it not by naming Virtues, but denying Vices. — In the same manner *Virgil* himself calls the *Stygian Lake* *inamabilis*; for as *inlaudatus* imports the privation of all Praise, so *inamabilis* signifies Detestation or Deprivation of all Love. The second Manner of justifying *Virgil* is this. In old Latin, *laudare* signified to name; so that *inlaudatus* is the same as *inlaudabilis*; 'tis supposed, that the Poet meant that *Busiris* did not deserve so much as to have his Name mentioned. Now this is expressing the Cruelty of that Tyrant very strongly; it is representing it as the most execrable thing in the World. Altero modo *inlaudatus* ita defenditur. *Laudare* significat priscæ lingua nominare appellareque. Sic in actionibus civilibus auctor laudari dicitur, quod est nominari. *Inlaudatus* enim est quasi *inlaudabilis*, qui neque mentione aut memoria ulla dignus, neque unquam nominandus est. Sicuti quondam à communi concilio Asiæ decretum est, uti nomen ejus, qui templum Dianæ Ephesiæ incenderat, ne quis ullo in tempore nominaret (9). — The Term *inlaudatus* is defended another way thus. *Laudare* in ancient Language signifies, to name or call; so in civil Actions the Plaintiff is said laudari, that is, to be named; for *inlaudatus* is as much as to say *inlaudabilis*, which is not worthy of any mention or remembrance, nor ought ever to be named: as once it was decreed by a general Council of Asia, that no Body should ever name him, who burnt the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Macrobius has copied all this Passage of *A. Gellius* without citing any one. See the seventh Chapter of the sixth Book of his *Saturnalia*.

(9) Id. ibid.

It would be very difficult, at present, to judge which are most in the right, the Critics of *Virgil*, or his Advocate *A. Gellius*; for to perceive the whole Strength of the Objection, and of the Answer, we ought to know what Idea such and such Words presented to the Mind in *Virgil's* Time. Argument serves but little in this Matter, because the Force of Words depend altogether on Use. Now to know the Use right, we must either live with those who made Use of such a Language, or consult Authors, who have clearly and precisely noted the Ideas, which answered to such and such Words. It is very certain, that, if one of our modern Poets should make use of the Epithet *not praised*, or *not worthy of Praise*, in speaking of *Caligula*, he would not only expose himself, without Reply, to the Censure that *Gellius* endeavoured to refute, but would even be turned into ridicule. Always supposing, that the Piece, wherein he should speak so was of a grave Style, and not of the burlesque or comic Kind. It would be in vain to offer *Gellius's* first Reason, and philosophize on the exclusive Terms of Perfection or Imperfection. 'Sir, might any one answer him, we are used to apply the Idea of a very small Evil to the Word *not worthy of Praise*; so that, when you tell us that *Caligula* is not worthy of Praise, it is so far from making us conceive a wicked Person and a Monster, that you incline us to think that he was but moderately wicked.' So that it would be impossible to save *Virgil's* Honour, if, in *Augustus's* Time, *inlaudatus* had been of no greater Force than our English Expression *unextolled*, or unworthy of Praise. *Gellius's* second Reason does not remove the Difficulty; for if a celebrated Author is permitted to make use of old Expressions, it is only on Condition that the Word has not altered its Nature by the Acquisition of a new Sense. This Rule *Virgil* had violated, if his Expression were to be judged

(8) Id. ibid.

me, that they do not take *Isoerates* right, who say that he made a Panegyric on that infamous Tyrant *Busiris* [C]. It is not certain that there ever was a King of that Name in *Egypt* [D]; but we must own, there was a City in *Egypt* of that Name [E]. *Melanchthon* thought it very probable that *Busiris* was the same

Pharaoh

judged by the second Answer of his Advocate. In *Augustus's* Time, the chief, governing, common Signification of the Words *laudare*, *laudatus*, *inlaudatus*, were not to name, named, not named, not worthy to be named, but to praise, praised, not praised, or if you will, not worthy of Praise. It would then have been very wrong to make use of the Word *inlaudatus* in a Signification derived from a Signification of *laudare*, which had scarce any more Place, but had yielded it to another Signification. Besides that it is a Licence somewhat vicious to make use of a Word, in which no reasonable Sense is to be found, but by supposing, that a Participle was put in the Place of a Noun: and yet what Participle? A Participle which denies the Fact; a Noun that denies the Right; a Participle wherein the Event is found; a Noun in which we find what does not deserve to happen. What shall we say then? I should not for my part think it amiss, to suppose, that That Place of *Virgil* is one of those Verses, wherein the Necessity of the short and long Syllables engages Poets to make use of a Word less proper, or even prejudicial to the Sense. The Quantity of Syllables requires many Sacrifices from Poets, in the dead Languages, as Rhime requires many in the Living.

I distinguished before between the comic and the grave Style, because I remembered some popular Ways of speaking, not unlike the unpraised *Cafulgula*. 'The Robbers stripped this good old Man to his Shirt, in a Wood covered with Snow; this was not over pleasant. Such a one received a Musket Shot through the Body before *Philipp's* burgh; this was not wholesome.' These are popular Phrases, or, as one may say, Jests: They are composed of Terms exclusive of some good Quality. *A. Gellius* admires *Homer*, who by such like Words raised Commendation to a superlative Degree. These are doubtless Privileges of the *Greek* Tongue, on which *Latin* Authors ought not to have made the Reflexion, which *Martial* made in another Case (10), if the learned *Casaubon's* justification of *Livy* be a good one. It has been thought a little strange that this *Roman* only called *Polybius* no despicable Author (11). According to our Ideas, it is a very mean encomium; an Author cannot be more moderately praised; nevertheless *Casaubon* shows, by I know not how many Examples, that That Expression of *Livy* is of an extensive Signification to the Honour and Praise of *Polybius* (12). I allow it; it is a strong Proof of the Capriciousness of Custom in Languages.

[C] They seem not to have entered into the Sense of *Isoerates*, who say, that he made a Panegyric on *Busiris*.] Almost all those who give the List of Writers, who have let loose their Pens in praising Evil; as for Example, Fever, Gout, Folly, *Nero* (13), place *Isoerates* in the first Rank, as the Panegyrist of *Busiris*. If they had read the Speech, which they have taken for a Panegyric on that Tyrant, with any kind of Attention, I am certain they would have made these two Reflexions: First, That *Isoerates's* chief Aim is to criticize an Orator (14), who had composed an Elogy on *Busiris*, and the Accusation of *Socrates*. He criticizes that Elogy on this Account, That the Author had owned the Evil that was said of *Busiris*, and had not made the most of the Good which might have been said of him. These are the grossest Defects of a Panegyrist. On this Head *Isoerates* assumes the Air of a Master, and shews that Orator what might be said to the Honour of *Busiris*. The second Reflexion is, that *Isoerates*, in pointing out, to this bad Panegyrist, the common Places which he ought to have chosen, and the manner how he ought to have treated them, to make an Elogy on *Busiris*, sets forth none but very good and very laudable Actions, which he pretends ought to have been attributed to him. He does not allow of the Cruelty that is attributed to that Prince towards Strangers, neither does he invent Reasons to justify so barbarous a Conduct; on the contrary, he blames

the Panegyrist, who had owned that Cruelty in his Hero, and had also amplified it; and for his own Part, he shews him the way to refute it (15). To (15) See above, Citation (a).
σέσω δέ τις κεχρησθαι τοῖς λόγοις, ὥς ἐπεὶ μὲν Βουσιρὶς ἀπολογησάσθαι φάσκει, ἢ, ὅπως τις ὑπαρχέας αὐτὸν διαβολῆς ἀπὸλλας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τυραννικὴν αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος παρενομίαν προσήλκε, ἢ ἐκ ἐσθ' ὅπως ἂν τις δεινότερον ἐξεύρειν δύνησθαι. Τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων ἐκείνῳ λοιδόρειν, τοσούτῳ μόνον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἑλασφημῶντων, οἷς ἔθνε τῶν ξένων τὰς ἀφικνημένους· σὺ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸς ἀνθρώπους ἠτιάσῃ. 'Tantum abest ut eam in dicendo rationem tu secutus sis, ut Busiridis defensionem professus, non modò crimina, quæ illi obijciuntur, non refutaveris, sed & tam infamem ei notam immanitatis inuuleris, ut nihil contumeliosius excogitari queat. Nam cum alii quibus illi maledicere vitum est, unam in eo mactationem hospitum execrentur: tu etiam devorare homines solitum, es criminatus (16). — You have been so far from following this Method, that, when you undertake to defend Busiris, you not only do not refute the Crimes which are charged on him, but have branded him with such cruelty, that nothing more infamous can be imagined. For where-as others, who have thought fit to speak ill of him, detest in him the bare killing of Strangers: you have accused him of being accustomed to eat Men too.' So that it is evident he ought not to be placed among those, who wrote Panegyrics on wicked Things; since, besides that his Oration is rather a Criticism on the Elogy that was made on *Busiris*, than an Elogy on *Busiris*; he does not undertake the Defence of the Crimes which are imputed to that Tyrant; He supposes, that one might set forth divers fine Actions of that Prince, though he confesses he has no good Author to warrant them; but he says, that the Orator, whom he criticizes, cannot quarrel with him on that Head, since he advances much more incredible Things without any Proof. He does not deny but the Objection would be good in the Mouth of another. Is not this declaring, that he had very little Regard for the Honour of *Busiris*, and that he meant nothing more than to censure an impertinent Panegyrist? Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἄλλος τις μοι τὸν τρόπον τούτον ἐπέκλυεν, ἠγόμεν ἂν αὐτὸν παπαιδευμένως ἐπιτίμειν σοὶ δ' ἐπεσχέκη ταύτην προείσθαι τὴν ὑπολήψιν. Ego vero, si quis alius hoc mihi opponeret, erudite me ab eo reprehendi putarem. Sed tibi sic argumentari nefas est (17). — If any body else should object this to me, I should think he blamed me judiciously. But you cannot be allowed to argue thus. Therefore to me it seems that *Servius* was not exact, when he said that *inlaudatus* in *Virgil* ought to be taken for *illaudabilis* (18). His Reason is, that, since *Isoerates* praised that Prince, it could not be said that *Busiris* was a Man who had never been praised. *Servius* would have done better if he had cited the Orator criticized by *Isoerates* (19); for that Orator praised *Busiris*, considered in the same Light in which *Virgil* considers him.

[D] It is not certain that there ever was a *Busiris* King of *Egypt*.] *Strabo* cites *Eratosthenes*, who affirms, that there had been no King, nor Tyrant, whose Name was *Busiris*; but that the Story, which was told of him, was founded on the Cruelty which the Inhabitants of the City and Province of *Busiris* exercised on Strangers. Οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς μὰ Δία, ἐδὲ τυραννὴ γενομένη τινὸς τῶ Βουσιρίδος. Cum medius fidius nullus neque rex fuerit *Busiris* nec tyrannus (20). — When indeed there was no King nor Tyrant named *Busiris*.

[E] — but there was a City of that Name.] Divers Authors mention it. It was built about the middle of *Egypt*, in the *Delta*: There was a very fine Temple of *Isis*, and the Tomb of *Osiris*, to be seen there. Some said, that *Isis*, having caused the Body of *Osiris* (21) to be put into an Ox of Wood, had built that Tomb for him. This might have

(10) Dicunt *Erinon* tamen Poetæ. Sed *Græci* quibus est nihil negatum, Et quos *Ætæ* *Ætæ* docet *Ionæ*. Nobis non licet esse tam differtis. Qui *Mosis* collimus severiores. *Martial*. *Epig.* xii, lib. ix.

(11) Haud quæquam spernendus author. *Livius*, lib. xxx, in fin.

(12) *Casaubon* Prefat. in *Polyb.*

(13) Infames materias, five quis mavult dicere inopinabiles quas *Græci* *ἀδόξαι* *ὑποβόλαι* appellant. — Infamous, or if you please, unthought of Subjects, which the *Greeks* call *ἀδόξαι* *ὑποβόλαι*. *Aul. Gellius*, lib. xvii, cap. xii.

(14) He was called *Polycrates*, and taught *Orestes* in *Cyprus*.

(16) *Isoerates*. in *Busir.* circa init.

(17) *Isoerates*. in *Busir.* p. 333.

(18) *Servius* in *Georg.* lib. iii, ver. 5.

(19) *Quintilian*, lib. ii, cap. xvii, does not cite *Isoerates*, but this Orator.

(20) *Strabo*, lib. xvii, pag. 552.

(21) It must be read in *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀσίων* and not *ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀσίων*. This is *Bochart's* Correction. See *Berkeley's* *Stephanus* de *urbibus*.

(g) Melanct.
in Chron. lib. ii.

Pharaoh, who caused the Children of the Israelites to be destroyed (g). Orosius places him Seven hundred and Seventy five Years before the Foundation of Rome [F].

(22) Stephanus
de urbis Voe
Bdēpū: he does
hardly any more
than copy Herodotus, lib. ii, cap.
59.

(23) Citat. (b).

(24) In Busfidis
laudatione, pag.
328.

(25) Strabo, lib.
xvii. pag. 552.

have been the Etymology of that City's Name. Others pretend, that it was so called because *Osiris* gave the Government of it to *Busiris* (22). We have said in the Body of the Article (23), that, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, there was a *Busiris*, whom *Osiris* left Governour of *Phœnicia*, and the maritime Cities, at his setting out on a great Expedition. *Isocrates* relates, that *Busiris*, leaving *Lybia* where he was born, and where his Mother reigned, went into *Egypt*, and founded a Kingdom there (24). Without doubt, it was in the Country that bore his Name; for there was not only a City in *Egypt* called *Busiris*, but also a Government, or a *Nomos*, of that Name (25). That City

was entirely razed in the Reign of *Disclefian* on account of Rebellion (26).

[F] Orosius places him 775 Years before the Foundation of Rome. Eusebius makes him live in *Joshua's* Time, about 700 Years before *Romulus* built *Rome*. These are the Words of Orosius. 'Busiris in *Ægypto* cruentissimi tyranni crudelis hospitalitas & crudelior religio tunc fuit, qui innocentium hospitem sanguinem diis scelerum suorum participibus propinabat (27). — The cruel Hospitality, and more cruel Religion of *Busiris*, a most bloody Tyrant in *Egypt*, was at that time, who offered the Blood of innocent Strangers to the Gods, Partakers of his Crimes.' St *Augustin* spoke almost in the same Strain (28).

(26) Eusebius in Chron.

(27) Oros. lib. i, cap. xii.

(28) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii, cap. xii.

BUSLEIDEN (JEROM), in *Latin* *Buslidius*, illustrious by his Embassies, and by the Love he shewed for Learning, in founding the College of three Languages in the University of *Louvain* [A]. I shall add very little to what has been said of him in *Moreri's* Dictionary. I do not believe that he was the Maker of his own Fortune [B], as is affirmed in that Dictionary. He was much regretted by *Erasmus* (a). Some Verses, Speeches, and Epistles of his, were found at *Bruges*, a long time after his Death (b). I do not know that the Public has seen any thing of his, except a Letter that was printed with the *Utopia* of Sir *Thomas More*. It is a great Mistake to say that Cardinal *Ximenes* founded Colleges by his Example [C].

(a) See the Greek and Latin Verses which he made in his Praise. Epist. vi, lib. iii.

(b) Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 337.

[A] He founded a College of three Languages in the University of *Louvain*. By his Will, made at *Mechlin*, the Twenty second of June 1517, a few Months before his Death, he left an Endowment for the Maintenance of three Professors, one in *Latin*, one in *Greek*, and one in *Hebrew* (1).

[B] I do not believe that he was the Maker of his own Fortune. He had a Brother named *Francis*, who was Preceptor to Prince *Philip*, the Father of the Emperor *Charles V.* That Preceptor always preserved a great Power over the Mind of his Disciple, and was made Archbishop of *Bezançon*. Having seconded the Solicitations of the Embassadors of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, he overcame *Philip's* Reluctance for the Voyage to *Spain* (2). He was given him for his Counsellor (3), and died in the Year 1500. He was much lamented by that Prince, whose Affection he had gained by his Integrity and Prudence. This is what I borrowed from the Life of Cardinal *Ximenes*, composed by the Eloquent Mr *Flecher*, Bishop of *Nismes*. There is all the Probability in the World to believe, that the Archbishop of *Bezançon*, with the Credit he had in the *Netherlands*, made his Brother *Jerom's* Fortune. They had a Brother, named *Giles*, who had a Place in the King of *Spain's* Treasury (4). He was Executor of *Jerom's* Will, as to what related to the College of the three Languages. *Erasmus*

(1) Miræus, de Script. feci xvi. pag. 10.

(2) Flecher, Vie du Card. Ximenes liv. i, pag. 172, Edit. Holl.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 192.

(4) Thus I translate the Words *Catholicus Regis a rationibus*, used by *Erasmus*, Epist. vi, Book iii.

exhorts him in a Letter not to suffer himself to be diverted from so laudable an Undertaking (5). In another Letter (6) he recommends a converted *Jew* to him, as a very fit Person to teach the *Hebrew* Tongue in that new College. He was a *Spanish* Physician, whose name was *Matthew Adrian*; he was admitted to the Professorship, for which *Erasmus* judged him fit, and for which he caused him to come from *Germany*. That Professor read his first Lecture the first of December 1518 (7).

[C] It is a great Mistake to say, that by his Example Cardinal *Ximenes* founded Colleges. There was not three Months between the Death of *Busleiden*, and that of the Cardinal, and he had completed his University of *Alcala*, some Years before his Death. *Albertus Miræus* committed the Error of which I speak. 'Ea certe laus, says he, *Buslidio* nostro debetur quod primus in orbe Christiano collegium trilingue instituit: Cujus deinde exemplum secuti sunt alii; in his *Franciscus I*, Rex, *Lutetiae* in *Gallia*, & *Franciscus Ximenes* — Compluti in *Hispania* (8). — This Honour is certainly due to our *Busleiden*, that he was the first that founded a College of three Languages in *Christendom*: whose example others afterwards followed; among the rest King *Francis I*, at *Paris* in *France*, and *Francis Ximenes* — at *Alcala* in *Spain*.'

(5) *Erasmus*, ibid.

(6) The xliii of Book iii.

(7) Miræus de Script. seculi xvii, pag. 10, 29.

(8) Ibid. pag. 10.

BUSTAMANTINUS (JOHN), Professor of Philosophy and Physic in the University of *Alcala*, the Place of his Birth, writ a Book that is admirable, if we judge of it by the Title [A]. It was printed at *Alcala*, in the Year 1595, in two Volumes in Quarto; and at *Lyons*, in the Year 1602, in two Volumes in Octavo.

[A] He wrote an admirable Book, if we judge of it by the Title. This is it: 'Joannis Bustamantini Camærensis (1), apud Complutenses Philosophiae & Medicinae primariae Moderatoris publici, de reptilibus vere animantibus S. Scripturae libri sex. Opus eximiae eruditionis & utilitatis, cum Theologis tam Scholasticis, quam concionatoribus sacris, scripturaeque interpretibus, tum Medicis, Philosophis, & iis qui de bella literarum supellectile bene sentiunt (2). — Six Books of *Johannes Bustamantini* of *Camæren*, Chief President of Philosophy and Physic at *Alcala*, on the Reptiles which are real Animals in the Holy Scripture. A Work of extraordinary Learning and Use, both to Divines, as well as Scholastics as public Preachers, and Interpreters of Scripture, and to Physicians, Philosophers, and all the Well-wishers to good Literature.' Mr *Bochart* quotes this Book, sometimes, in his *Hieroicoicon*, which is on the same Subject.

(1) Nicolas Antonio Bibl. Hisp. Tom. I, p. 905, calls him *Joannes de Bustamante de la Camara*, and says he was a Native of *Alcala*.

(2) This, from *Opus*, is in the Title of the second Volume.

tinus Camærensis, Chief President of Philosophy and Physic at *Alcala*, on the Reptiles which are real Animals in the Holy Scripture. A Work of extraordinary Learning and Use, both to Divines, as well as Scholastics as public Preachers, and Interpreters of Scripture, and to Physicians, Philosophers, and all the Well-wishers to good Literature.' Mr *Bochart* quotes this Book, sometimes, in his *Hieroicoicon*, which is on the same Subject.

BUTAS

BUTAS, a Greek Poet, Author of the Work in elegiac Verse, wherein he gave the Reasons of the Pagan Ceremonies. *Plutarch* cites him in the Life of *Romulus* [A]. In my Opinion, they, who doubt whether *Arnobius* quotes him, are in the wrong [B].

(1) Pag. 31, C.

(2) Plut. in Romulo, pag. 31.

[A] *Plutarch* cites him in the Life of *Romulus* (1). It is in the Place where he speaks of the *Lupercalia*. Βάτας δὲ τις αἰτίας μυθολογίας ἐν ἑλεγεῖοις περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνὰ γένος, φησὶ. *Causas fabulosas Butas quidam in Elegiis rerum Romanarum prodit* (2). — One Butas has given an Explanation of the religious Fables, in his Elegiac Verses on the Roman Affairs. He was perhaps but a poor Author, yet he might be very useful if we had him at present: Our Critics would find Gold in that Dunghil, I mean the Explication of divers things, which are not well understood concerning the Religion of the Pagans.

[B] They who doubt whether *Arnobius* quotes him are in the wrong. After he has said that *Fauna*, or the good Goddess, having drunk a full Barrel of Wine unknown to her Husband, was whipt with Rods of Myrtle, he adds, for which reason Myrtle is forbid when the Woman celebrate the Feast of

the good Goddess, and he cites Butas: 'Nec myrtas fas sit inferre verbenas, sicut suis scribit in Causis Butas (3). — Nor is it lawful to adorn the Altar with Myrtle, as Butas writes in his Causa.' They, who were ignorant that there ever had been such an Author in the World, corrected that word so often till at last they made *Plutarch* of it. First they put *Butas* instead of *Butas*, and then *Plutar* instead of *Butas*, and last of all, they said that *Plutar* was the Abbreviation of *Plutarch* (4). That Conjecture seemed the happier to them, as it is certain, that *Plutarch* (5) had said what *Arnobius* alleges. However, let us be assured that *Arnobius* cited Butas; for nothing hinders but that what is read in *Plutarch*, concerning the Interdiction of the Myrtle, may be found yet more clearly in the Work of this same Butas, who was quoted by *Plutarch*.

(3) *Arnobius* adversus gentes, lib. v, pag. 168. Vossius de Hist. Græc. pag. 337. cited in *Sextio*.

(4) *Heraldus*, in his Notes on this place of *Arnobius*, adopts all this.

(5) In the Questions on the Roman Affairs. He calls that Book αἰτίας μυθολογίας, in *Romulo* & *Camillo* apud *Vossium* de *Histor. Græc.* pag. 337.

BUTEO (JOHN), a famous Mathematician of the XVIth Century, was born at *Charpei*, near *Valencia*, in *Dauphiné* (a). He was a Friar of the Order of *St Anthony*, and yet studied the Mathematics with the utmost Application. He invented divers Instruments and Machines, and composed several Books [A]. He published one among the rest, on the Dimensions of *Noah's Ark*, wherein he shewed, that it might easily contain all the Animals that were shut up in it, and the necessary Provisions for their Subsistence, during the Flood. He disputed against his Master *Oroncius Finæus*, about the squaring of the Circle (b). The Civil-War, on the account of Religion, which laid the Kingdom waste, especially *Dauphiné*, in the first Year of the Reign of *Charles IX*, took him from his Books; for he was forced to quit his Residence, and go to *Romans*, where he died of Melancholy in 1564, aged Seventy five Years. *Thuanus* gives this Account (c); but another Historian, more credible in this Point than he, affirms, that *Buteo* died in the Year 1560, in the Abbey of *St Anthony* [B]; and so those of the Protestant Religion are absolved of the Crime of having caused the Death of that learned Person. Besides the Mathematics, he understood Greek and the Law very well. He wrote some good Books of Civil-Law. See Mr *Moreri* at the Word *BOTEON* [C].

(a) Allard. Bibliothèque de Dauphiné, pag. 41.

(b) *Thuanus*, lib. xxxvi, pag. 727.

(c) *Ibid.*

(1) *Thuanus*, lib. xxxvi, pag. 727.

(2) Additions aux éloges tirez de Mr de Thou, Tom. I, p. 266.

(3) *Bibliot.* de Dauphiné, p. 42.

(4) Abrégé de l'Histoire de Dauphiné, cité par *Teissier*, Elog. Tom. II, p. 403.

[A] He composed several Books (1). Here are the Titles of some of them: *De libra & statera. Cujus formæ & capacitatis fuerit arca Noë. De publico ponte Cæsaris. Explanatio ad Quintilianum locum Geometricum. Emendatio figuræ organæ à Columella descriptæ. De fluviaticis insulis, secundum jus civile dividendis. De quadraturis circularum tam antiquis quam novis. De fluentis aquæ mensura. Ad problema cubi duplicandi. Geometria cognitio Jurisconsulti necessaria. Ad legem Julianam Si ita scriptum. Ad legem Africanam Qui quadraginta. Ad locum Vitruvii de proportionibus lapidum corruptum restitutum.* You will find some other Titles in Mr *Teissier*

(2). The *Sieur Allard* says, that *Buteo* translated the *Menologe*, and the *Horloge* of the Greeks (3). [B] Another Historian, more to be credited in this Point than *Thuanus*, affirms, that *Buteo* died in the Abbey of *St Anthony*. This Historian is Mr *Chorier* (4). The Preference which I give him is founded on this, that his Work is confined to the Province of *Dauphiné*. Consequently it is to be presumed that he drew his Accounts from more

exact Memoirs than *Thuanus*, in what relates to the illustrious Men of that Province; for *Thuanus* collected Memoirs, indifferently, concerning illustrious Men of all Countries, and he treated that Part as a small Accessory. His principal Design was to give the History of France, and even that of all Europe.

[C] See Mr *Moreri*, at the Word *BOTEON*. This is the French Name, which he makes to answer to the Latin Name *Buteo*, by which our Mathematician was known. He notes, that the Translator of *Thuanus's History* turns *Buteo* wrong into *Bourel* (a). The Editions of *Holland* have changed *Bourel* into *Boutel*. Indeed *Boutel* agrees better with *Buteo* than *Bourel*: so that it is probable that *du Rier* said *Boutel*, and not *Bourel*. Yet I find *Bourel* in his Translation (5), and Mr *Teissier* repeats the same Word in his Additions. Besides, I find in the *Bibliothèque* of *Dauphiné* (6), composed by a Man of that Country (7), that *Buteo* is *Borel* or *Boteon* in French.

[a] *John Buteo* is called *Bourel*, in the *Index* *Thuanus*. REM. CRIT.]

(5) Apud *Teissier*, Elog. Tom. I, pag. 264.

(6) Pag. 41.

(7) *Guy Allard* Conseiller du Roi, Président en l'Election de Grenoble.

BZOVIVS (a) (ABRAHAM), was one of the most famous Writers of the XVIIth Century, by the astonishing Fecundity of his Pen. Some maintain, that it is no Hyperbole to say, that he composed more Books than others have read. Two Pages would hardly contain the Titles only of his Writings (b). The chief of his Books is the Continuation of *Baronius*. He began at the Year 1198, where that Cardinal had ended, and composed twelve Volumes of Annals of the Church, which are not all printed as yet. They were not much valued at first [A]. He

(a) Thus they latinise his Polish Name *Bzovius*.

(b) Qui (tituli) si referendi sint vix binæ eos pagine caperent. *Janus Nicius Erythraeus Pinacote 1*, pag. 198.

[A] He composed twelve Volumes of Annals — which are not all printed as yet. They were not much valued at first. There are nine printed: the first was printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1616; the seven following were printed at the same place

one after another; the eighth in the Year 1641; the ninth was printed at *Rome* in the Year 1672; the eighth begins with the Year 1534, and ends with the Death of *Pius IV*, in 1565; the ninth comprehends the Pontificate of *Pius V*. The Author

VOL. II.

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was a Pole by Birth, and a Dominican. When he went to Rome, he was received there with open Arms by the Pope, and lodged in the Vatican. He deserved that Reception; for he imitated Baronius wonderfully, in his manner of turning all things to favour the plenary Power, and raise the Glory of the Papal See. His inconsiderate and violent Zeal drove him into Proceedings, whereof he had reason to repent. He had very much abused the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, and razed him ignominiously out of the Catalogue of Emperors. The Duke of Bavaria was so incensed at this Audaciousness, that, not satisfied with causing an Apology to be wrote for that Emperor, he brought an Action in Form against the Annalist, and got him condemned to make a public Retraction [B]. Bzovius did not get off for this Disgrace; he was treated like a Dog in the Apology of Lewis of Bavaria, published by George Herwart [C], and which made great Breaches in the Reputation of the Dominican. It is pretended, that Simon Starovolsius repaired them the best he could [D]. Bzovius would have continued till his Death in the Vatican, if the Murder of one of his menial Servants had not struck him with a Terror, which obliged him to retire into the Convent of Minerva (e). The Murderer was capable of undertaking any thing, after the Life he had led [E]. Bzovius died in that

(e) It is of the Order of the Dominicans.

thor whom I quote observes, that the ill Success of those, who undertook the same thing, gave this Man's Labours some Reputation, which but for that had been a bad Commodity for the Book-sellers. These are his Words: 'Præsertim cum non parum multi ab excessu Baronii assiduo opere eandem incudem dies noctesque tutiderint, neque adhuc quidquam in hoc genere quod magnopere probares attulerint. Quamobrem Bzovii Annales quorum præcia in æstimatione hominum diu jaecerunt, cum nondum quidquam quod sit vendibilis appareat, ceperunt caput attollere, seque altius efferre. Itaque merci quæ prope inven-

(1) Nicus Erythreus Pinacoth. I, pag. 198.

(2) Erythreus had just said, pag. 197, that Jerome Vecchiatus had

spoke ill of Lewis of Bavaria. Scripserat etiam in eo (libro) de Ludovico Imperatore nonnulla que Ducis Bavarie animum offendere.

Legi ego datam ad Hieronymum à Ludovico Cardinali Ludovico, cum quo fortasse Dux ille quæstus fuerat, quique tum rerum potiebatur, epistolam, in qua ejus vicem dolet qui ea ætate que esset oculi in primis cupida tantum in se negotii molem attraxisset.

For he had wrote some things in that Book concerning the Emperor Lewis, that offended the Duke of Bavaria. I have read a Letter to Jerome from Cardinal Lewis Ludovici, to whom probably the Duke had made Complaint, and who was then in Power, in which he pities his Case, that at such an Age, when Quiet is most desirable, he had involved himself in so troublesome an Affair.

(3) Nicus Erythreus, pag. 199.

(4) Maimbourg, Decad. de l'Emp. lib. vi, pag. 620.

(5) It should have been Starovolsius.

(6) Nic Erythreus Pinacoth. I, pag. 200.

(7) It should have been Starovolsius.

(8) It should have been Starovolsius.

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(38) It should have been Starovolsius.

(39) It should have been Starovolsius.

(40) It should have been Starovolsius.

his Censure to other things, and therefore his Work incurred the Indignation of that Tribunal. 'Invectus est in eum, it is Nicus Erythreus speaks again, acriter vehementerque Georgius Hervartus qui Ludovici defensionem arripuerat, adeo ut quantum in ipso fuerit omnem ab eo ingenii, memorie, solertia, acuminis, diligentie, fidei & integritatis commendationem averterit: qui Hervartus liber Ludovici defensi titulo inscriptus superiorum decreto vetitus, statim depulsus est ab hominum manibus propterea quod ille cum Ludovici defensione conjunxerat multorum præterea dedecus.'

[D] Starovolsius repaired them the best he could.] That is to say, he gave Bzovius all the Praises due to an excellent Writer. But this was not answering the Proofs of his Adversary. However it be, let us hear what Nicus Erythreus says. 'Quod Hervartus Bzovio ingenii, judicii, memorie, eruditionis, eloquentieque patrimonium est conatus eripere, id illi Simon Starovolsius (5) in scriptorum Polonicorum Hecatontade tanquam tutor fidelis ac fortis summa ope studuit conservare, ac præter alias laudes quibus eum exornat, virum vocat ad laudem, ad gloriam, ad immortalitatem nominis, ad sæculi sui miraculum, ad posteritatis utilitatem divinitus datum atque concessum. --- Abat Stock of Wit, Judgment, Memory, Learning, and Eloquence, which Herwart endeavoured to take from Bzovius, Simon Starovolsius, in his Century of Polish Writers, has, like a faithful and brave Guardian, endeavoured to preserve to him, and besides other Encomiums which he bestows on him, he calls him a Man granted and sent by Heaven, for Praise, Honour, and an immortal Name, for the Miracle of his Age, and the Benefit of Posterity. A meer Rhetorical Declaration!'

[E] He retired to the Convent of Minerva for fear of an Assassin, capable of undertaking any thing, after the Life he had led.] Take his Character in few Words. His first Profession was that of a Benedictine Monk: He forsook his Order, and turned Protestant. He followed Marc Anthony de Dominis into England; he returned again with him into Italy; he entered with him again into the Profession of the Catholic Religion, and was his Steward at Rome. He fell in Love with a Woman in the Neighbourhood, and enjoyed her a pretty while, without her Husband's perceiving it; but at last the good Man discovered the Matter; for, coming home unexpected, he found, in his Bed, the Marks still fresh of the Place that another had lain in; 'Captus amore vicinæ mulieris honesto viro nuptæ, multos menses continuos ejus usuram corporis ceperat priusquam id viro suboleret; sed cum palam facta res esset, quod ex improvviso domum rediens in lecto recens impressa adulteri vestigia deprehendisset (6).' The Gallant foresaw that for the future it would be impossible for him to continue his Commerce; wherefore he resolved to make away with the Husband, and, having taken his Measures with the Wife, he killed him one Morning in the Streets. This happened during the Sede vacante, which followed upon the Death of Gregory XV. A thousand Disorders are committed in Rome, from the time of the Death of one Pope, to the Election of his

(5) It should have been Starovolsius.

(6) It should have been Starovolsius.

(7) It should have been Starovolsius.

(8) It should have been Starovolsius.

(9) It should have been Starovolsius.

(10) It should have been Starovolsius.

(11) It should have been Starovolsius.

(12) It should have been Starovolsius.

(13) It should have been Starovolsius.

(d) Taken from
Janus Nicius
Erythraeus, Pina-
coth I, pag. 198.
& seq.

that Convent a few Years after he came into it (d). It was in the Year 1637. He had brought himself into much Trouble with the *Franciscans* [F]; not only for the Reason that Mr *Moreri* mentions (e), but also on other Accounts. The *Jesuits* are no better satisfied with his *Annals* than the *Franciscans* [G]. Besides what

(e) That is, for his talking disadvantageously of the subtle Doctor *Johannes Scotus*.

his Successor, and most of the Crimes that are committed in that time go unpunished. The Wife was present at the Murder, and unconcerned at it: No search was made after the Murderer. So that he had Leisure to marry his Mistress to the *Valet de Chambre* of *Marc Anthony de Dominis*, and to share the Enjoyment of her peaceably with the new Husband; for he was a Man who freely connived at the Adultery, as long as his Wife could get by it wherewith to keep House; the Charge of it was considerable, and the Adulterer, not having any longer wherewith to supply them, took to robbing and murdering. 'Cum domestici omnes sumptus in ipsum incumberent, nec esset unde faceret, ad rapinas caedeq; confugerat (7).' He understood that *Bzovius's* Coffers were well furnished with Money, which put him upon the Design of robbing him: knowing therefore one Day that this good Monk was not at home, he broke open his Chamber, after he had killed the Servant, and carried away all that he found to his Whore. This was soon spent; and as there came no fresh Supply, the Husband grew weary of his voluntary Cuckoldom, conceived an Averfion to his Partner, and informed against him. The Consequence was, that this wicked Murderer was hanged. I do not wonder that the Annalist, frightened at the Murder of his Servant, and sorry for the Loss of his Money, should have a Mind to seek a securer Retreat in the Convent of *Minerva*.

[F] He brought himself into much Trouble with the *Franciscans*. Every one knows the Jealousy, that has reigned so long, and which is not yet extinguished, between the Order of *St Francis*, and that of *St Dominicus*: There are continual Signs of it throughout the *Annals* of *Bzovius*, in his affecting to revile the *Franciscans* whenever Occasion offers. He had blackened the Memory of their great Hero, the subtle *Scotus*; they could not remain silent, but caused an Apology to be printed; to which one of *Bzovius's* Brother Friars replied (8). Besides that particular Apology for *Scotus*, the *Franciscans* published a general one at *Lyons*, in the Year 1627; the Name of the Author of that Piece was *Dermicus Thadæus*. His Book is intitled, *Nitela Franciscanæ Religionis, & absteris sordium quibus eam conspurcare tentavit Abr. Bzovius*. We shall see that *Wading*, the Annalist, of the Order of *St Francis*, was a perpetual Antagonist of *Bzovius*, as to all Points relating to the *Franciscans*: We shall see it, I say, in these Words of Father *Maimbourg*: 'I know, says he (9), that *Bzovius*, the Dominican, an implacable Enemy of the *Manes* of that great Doctor, has wounded his Memory in a strange manner, calling him Arch-Heretic, Corrupter of Philosophy and Divinity, and accusing him of having been the Author of all the Evil that *Lewis of Bavaria* did to the Church and the Pope; but I know also very well, that *Wading*, a very learned *Franciscan*, who refutes him very solidly, in all that he says without Foundation, against the *Franciscans*, whom he never spares on occasion, made *Ohm's* Apology against him, in his *Annals* of the Friars Minors.'

[G] The *Jesuits* are little better satisfied with his *Annals* than the *Franciscans*. An Apologist of the *Jacobins* observes, that some Persons are of Opinion, that a small marginal Note of *Bzovius* was the Cause of the Indignation of the *Jesuits*. In his third Volume he inserted the Prophecy of *St Hildegard*, and noted in the Margin, that it might be applied to the present Times. It is said, that this was the Original of the Hatred that the *Jesuits* had for him, and of the Contempt they expressed of his *Annals*. 'Hostili animo in *Bzovium* feruntur ferè omnes Societatis scriptores: causam haud scivi; pretextam autem suggestit mihi verè eruditus; quod scilicet *Bzovius* in suis *Annalibus* tomo 15, ad annum 1415, parag. 39, inferuerit Propheciam quandam Sanctæ *Hildegardis*; & ad marginem *Bzovius* apposuerit hæc verba, *Proph-*

tia quædam S. Hildegardis, quæ ad hæc tempora referri potest; quasi Bzovius eam Propheciam Societati addiderit. Hanc dicunt irarum & odii in Bzovium originem fuisse: cum tamen Bzovius Societatis non meminerit, sed tantum Propheciam ad hæc tempora retulerit (11). --- Almost all the Writers of the Society fall foul on *Bzovius*; I do not know the Reason; but a learned Man suggested to me their Pretence, that *Bzovius*, in the fifteenth Volume of his *Annals*, under the Year 1415. Parag. 39, inserted a certain Prophecy of *St Hildegard*, and put in the Margin these Words: A certain Prophecy of *St Hildegard*, which may be referred to the present time; as if *Bzovius* had applied it to the Society. This they say was the Original of their Rage and Hatred of *Bzovius*; notwithstanding that *Bzovius* never mentioned the Society, but only referred the Prophecy to the present time. *Lewis Carthier*, one of them, calls that Continuation of *Baronius's* *Annals* an addition of Straw.

Another *Jesuit* affirms, that they are rather the *Annals* of the *Dominicans*, than the *Annals* of the Church; that *Bzovius*, a Man of little Judgment, is only a Foil to *Baronius*; that he only relates at large what concerns his own Order, except in Matters to their Disadvantage, which could not be refused; that he turns off from those Places as dumb as a Fish, but shews an extraordinary Diligence, when Occasion offers to censure and ridicule the *Franciscans*; 'Perexigui judicii scriptor, nec tam autor quam consanator; emisit multa volumina continuationis Ecclesiasticæ historiæ post *Baronium*, cui succedaneam in eo argumento operam navavit; ut objectu contrarii, magis elucesceret *Baronii* accurate, juxta *Philonis* observationem lib. quis rer. divinar. hæref. Tomi *Bzoviani* sunt potius *Annales* *Dominicanorum*, quam *Annales* Ecclesiasticis: Est enim totus in rebus domesticis effundis, ac dilandis; nisi cum aliquid ordinis probrosum, quod convellere non posset, malis avibus in historiæ feriem incidit. Tunc enim supra piscem tacitus ablit. At cum agitur de mordendis & risu omnium exponendis *Fratribus Minoribus*, probat exquisitè diligentiam. Arripit omnia, five aperte falsa, ut quod de *rabie Scoti* morientis exaravit; five de solis rumoribus inanibus hausta, ut cum *F. Berthodum* infamat ob inventas bombardas, & aliis sexcentis locis consimilibus (13). --- A Writer of

very little Judgment, and rather a botching Compiler than an Author; he published a great many Volumes of the Continuation of the History of the Church after *Baronius*, designed as a Supplement to his Work; that the Accuracy of *Baronius* might shine the more, by being compared with the contrary, according to the Observation of *Philo*, in his Book quis rer. divinar. hæref. *Bzovius's* Volumes are rather *Annals* of the *Dominicans*, than *Annals* of the Church: For he is wholly taken up in setting forth and enlarging upon their private Affairs; except when any thing to the Dishonour of the Order, which he cannot confute, falls unluckily in the Course of his History. For then he goes off as mute as a Fish. But when he has an Opportunity of laughing and ridiculing the *Friars Minors*, he shews the utmost Diligence. He lays hold of every thing whether manifestly false, as what he has writ about *Scotus's* Madness a little before his Death, or taken from meer empty Reports; as when he reproaches *F. Berthodus* for the Invention of Guns, and Five hundred such like Places. The same Writer affirms, that *Bzovius* had inserted the History of the Council of *Trent*, composed by Father *Paul*, into one of his Volumes, and that it was not his Fault that That Volume was not printed with that poisoned Piece; but after he had got that Volume examined, and obtained leave of the Master of the sacred Palace to print it, a *Fanery* took him to desire a new Examiner of *Urban VIII*. That Pope shewed a little Difficulty at first; but at last committed the new revising of it to the Vicar-General of the *Cistercians*, who had no sooner

(11) Vincentius
Baronius, Apologet.
lib. iv, sect.
3, art. 2, p. 106.

(12) Ludovicus
Carthierus in ex-
positione
apud Vincent.
Baronius. Ibid.

(13) Theoph.
Raynaudus de
immunit. Cyri-
acorum dist. 7,
pag. 132. Apo-
compai.

(8) Nicolaus Jan-
senius, cujus ani-
madversiones &
scholia in apolo-
giam super edi-
tam contra *Bzovi-
um* de vita &
morte *Joh. Duns
Scoti*, extant in
eisco Tom. XV.
Annal. *Bzovii*.
This is the third
Volume of *Bzovi-
us*, for the first is
recounted, the thir-
teenth with re-
gards to *Baronius's*
XIIth.

(9) Decaden de
l'Empire, lib.
vi, pag. 606. E-
dit. Holl.

(10) That is to
say, of *Ohm*.

what he composed on the Popes in general, he wrote particularly the Life of *Silvester II*, and that of *Paul V*. A Judgment may be made of this Author's Discernment, by the Fables he has vented about the Genealogy of this *Silvester* [H]. Since

run over some Pages, but he was struck with the Stench of the mortal Poison of *Fra-Paolo*. The Pope was informed of it, and named other Commissioners to examine that Book. These condemned the Manuscript with one Consent, and passed all the Leaves of it together: 'Subiit Abrahamum cupido, novæ recognitionis querendæ, quam aliquis nominatim à summo Pontifice delectus præstaret. Interpellavit ea de re Urbanum VIII. initio morosum ad concedendam novam recognitionem. D. Hilarion Rancatus Vicarius Generalis Cismon-tanus Cisterciensium, denique ad id delectus est à Pontifice. Is vix paucis foliis evolutis, putorem operis, & pro suavi odore, auctoris exscripti fœtorem illico odoratus, de morte in illa Pontificem admonuit, à quo alii insuper recognitores sunt adhibiti, de tanta obestitate ad veritatem pronuntiaturi. De omnium sententia, factum est codici Bzoviano, Pauli Suavis pestifera scriptioe faginato, ita ut Paulus Suavis sub nomine Bzovii edendus esset, si codex Bzovii prodiret; factum inquam eo est, quod à S. Ephremo olim esse præstitum circa librum hæreticum, retulit Gregorius Nyssenus. Mutuo namque per sanctum sumpto impio volumine, omnia folia interposito glutine simul sunt compacta; ita ut deinceps explicari ac evolvi paginas, ut ad legendum necesse fuisset, impossibile fuerit (14). — Bzovius took a Fancy to desire a new Examination, by somebody nominated by the Pope for that special Purpose. He applied for a new Revision to Urban VIII, who at first made some Difficulty; but at last chose Don Hilarion Rancato, Vicar-General of the Cistercians in Italy, for that Work. He, when he had just turned over a few Leaves, instead of a sweet Savour, smelt the ill Scent of the Work, and of the Author whom he had copied, and informed the Pope of the Poison lurking there. The Pope appointed other Examiners to give a true Report of such a gross Piece of Work. They with one Consent served Bzovius's Book, which was so stuffed with the pestiferous Work of Father Paul, that Father Paul was to have been published under the Name of Bzovius, if Bzovius's Book had come out; they served it (I say) as Gregory of Nyssa tells us St Ephrem served a heretical Book. For the Saint, borrowing the impious Piece, stuck all the Leaves together with Glue, in such a manner that it was impossible for them ever after to be opened and read.'

Father Baronius answered, as well as he could, for his Brother the Annalist, to the Censures of *Theophilus Raynaud*; and in some Respects it may be said that his Apology is not bad; but here are two Points wherein it seems to me defective. The first relates to the Prophecy of St *Hildegard*: The second is concerning the incorporating Father *Paul*'s History. The Apologist answers, I. That *Bzovius*, without making any Mention of the Jesuits, said only that the Prophecy of St *Hildegard* might be applied to these Times (15). II. That he cannot believe, that That Annalist would insert the Works of Father *Paul* into his Annals: And these are the Reasons he gives for not believing it: *Bzovius* was not ignorant that *Marc Antony de Dominis*, the Apostate Archbishop, had published that Work, whose Infamy could not be unknown to him. It was a condemned Work; it is not probable therefore that *Bzovius* would insert it in his Annals. That History offends the Church of *Rome* and the Popes so often, that *Bzovius* could not be so blind as not to see the Poison which flows every where from it. 'Tot ac tanta sunt in ea historia contra summos Pontifices, contra Romanam Ecclesiam, ut non potuerit Bzovius ita cæcutire quin venenum quod undequaque erumpit non annotaret (16). He concludes with saying, that, at worst, the Precaution of the Annalist ought to be praised. He desired a new Revision of his Writing, that the Evil, which might have slipped into it thro' his Neglect, should not remain without Remedy. All this is very weak; for, in the first place, it is no excuse in the least, that the marginal Note names no Body; for the Malice of *Bzovius* does not appear a Jot

the less; he knew well enough that the Enemies of the Jesuits applied the Prediction of St *Hildegard* to them. So that he explained himself sufficiently; and he could not have specified the Jesuits without exposing himself to vexatious Troubles, and to formal Processes before the Pope's Tribunals. II. I say in the second Place, that *Theophilus Raynaud* having advanced an Accusation, accompanied with Circumstances of Fact, it is almost in vain to oppose it by probable Reasons. A Man might be satisfied, and take up with them, against Accusers, who alleged only Proofs of the same kind; but when they alleged Witnesses, and specify Circumstances of Time, and the Qualities of the Persons, it is necessary to have Recourse to some Proofs of Fact, and thereby destroy the Evidence, which they allege. The Accuser had maintained, that *Urban VIII* had commissioned *Don Hilarion Rancato* to revise *Bzovius*'s Book; he had, in some manner, marked the very Dwelling of that Commissary. It lay then on the *Jacobins* to prove that That Monk had never had that Employ, or had never made the Report in question to the Pope. There were many Persons then alive in *Italy*, who had known *Don Hilarion Rancato*, who had spoke with him, who could shew some of his Papers, &c. It is a strong Presumption in Favour of Father *Theophilus*, that the Defender of *Bzovius* alleges none of their Testimony; for this shews that the *Jacobins* durst not make any Enquiry, or publish what their Informations had cleared up to them. A negative Deposition might be of some Use; as for Example, That a Friend of *Don Hilarion* deposes, That having heard him relate divers curious Facts concerning the Examination of Books, their Approbation, Prohibition, or Permission to print them, and this in Conversations of Intimacy, wherein certain Particulars relating to *Bzovius* were mixed, he remembered very well that he had never heard him speak of the pretended Insertion of Father *Paul*; I say, if a Friend of this *Don Hilarion* should depose this, it would be more conclusive against the Accuser, than repeating over and over, it is not probable, it is not to be believed, &c. I own it is hard to believe, that *Bzovius* was ignorant, that the History of the Council of *Trent* displeased the Court of *Rome*; but after all, it is not impossible; and they allege Facts to us, which prove that he was ignorant of that Truth. A Writer, like him, had need to have many Things shewed to him, and had not time to read them all; if he had well examined all that he gave to the Printers, he could not have produced Folios with so much Dispatch. It is certain, that he has inserted some Treatises in his Annals, which others had published before him. He did this with regard to the *Amedeus Pacificus* of Father *Monod*. 'Hunc Commentarium pene ad verbum descripsit, & ad calcem voluminis sui 17 Annalium Ecclesiasticorum adjecit Abrahamus Bzovius, ut quæ de Felice parum rei consentanea scripserat, castigaret (17). — Abraham Bzovius has copied this Commentary almost verbatim, and annexed it to the End of the seventeenth Volume of his Ecclesiastical Annals, to correct what he had writ amiss concerning Felix.'

[H] One may judge of his Discernment by the Fables he has vented about the Genealogy of *Silvester II*. I believe it will be acceptable to a great many of my Readers, if I shew them a Sample whereby they may judge of the whole Piece; for a World of People would rather have the Character of a Writer's Genius, than the whole Story of his Life. *Bzovius* had given himself the Trouble, and not without Reason, to refute a thousand impertinent Fables, which have been set forth concerning the Birth of *Gilbert Casius*, Native of *Guienne*, Archbishop of *Reims*, afterwards of *Ravenna*, and lastly Pope, under the Name of *Silvester II*. But he ought not to have given, in the room of these Fables, a romantic Genealogy, and vouched the Truth of it. He will have it, that this Pope *Silvester* was descended from a King of *Argos*, whose Name was *Temenus*, and that there are some of that Te-

(14) Id. ibid. diatr. 5. p. 294. Apopompæi.

(15) Vinc. Baronius Apologet. Sect. 1. Art. II. Paragr. II. pag. 24. 106.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Samuel Billoth. Script. Societ. Jesu. pag. 684.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, I have found the following Facts in an Elogy of *Bzovius*. His Grandmother, by the Father's side, was of the Family *Szozepanowski*, which had produced *St Stanislaus*, Bishop of *Cracow*. Neither *Thomas Ostola*, that Lady's Son, nor his Wife *Magdalen Viscia*, lived to educate their Son, our *Bzovius*; for he was but eighteen Months old when his Mother died, and he lost his Father soon after. He was educated by his Grandmother on the Mother's Side, in the City of *Prosovit*, and he made so good use of the Instructions of one of his Uncles (f), that, at ten Years of Age, he could write *Latin*, and compose Music, and make Verses (g). One of his Aunts sent for him afterwards to *Secemin*, where some *Frenchmen*, good Philosophers and good Philologists, whom *Stanislaus Szafraniec* had drawn thither, taught the Youth of *Poland*. They were indeed Heretics; but *Bzovius*, though he was but fifteen Years of Age, preserved himself from their Poison, and brought also some of his Comrades into the right way again. After this he went to continue his Studies at *Cracow*, and made great Progress. He took the Habit of a *Dominican* in the same City, in the Convent of the *Trinity*, and, being sent into *Italy*, read some Lectures of Philosophy at *Milan*, and of Divinity at *Bologna*. After he returned into his own Country, he preached in *Poznan*, and in *Cracow*, with the Applause of all his Hearers; he taught Philosophy and Divinity; he was Principal of a College of his own Order: He settled a Fraternity of the *Rosary*; he consecrated a Chapel to the Image of *St Mary the Great*, which he had brought from *Rome* to *Cracow*; he furnished the Library of the Convent of the *Dominicans* with a great Number of Books; he pacified *Poland*; he inspired the necessary Moderation into the Malecontents; he built the Church of *St Hyacinthus* in *Warsaw*, which was the first that was built to that Saint in *Poland*; he founded a Convent of *Dominicans* in the same City, under the Name of *St Hyacinthus*; he procured all manner of Conveniences for that new Monastery, and got that Saint inserted in the Missal and Breviary (h); he recovered the Monasteries of *Silesia*, which had been twenty Years separated from the Province of *Poland*; he took care to have the Relics of *St Cestlaus Odrovasius* laid up in a secure Place; he was commissioned by his Superiors to digest the Constitutions of the *Dominicans* into better Form; and he published a great Number of Sermons, and other Writings (i). One of his Works prepared his Way to the Continuation of *Baronius*: it was the *Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical History*, which he had extracted chiefly out of the Annals of that Cardinal. He shewed the Manuscripts of it to some Persons, who not only exhorted him to publish it, but also to undertake his Continuation of that History to his own Time: He was then at *Rome* with *Virginio Ursini*, Duke of *Bracciano*, who had made him his Library-Keeper (k). The Deference, which he had for the Exhortations which I have mentioned, brought the great Work of the Continuation of *Baronius* afterwards to light. The Letter, which the King of *Poland* wrote to the Pope in the Year 1633, does our *Dominican* a great deal of Honour [I].

(f) Ab Laurentio avunculo didicit. *Starovolski de Scriptor. Poloniae. See Citat. (f).*

(g) Musica modulos componere, versus patrios & Latinos pangere. *Id. ibid.*

(h) Ejusdem Divi Hyacinthi memoriam & cultum in sacros Ecclesiae (Breviarium & Missale vocant) reponi a pnd Urbanum VIII Pont. Max. procuravit. *Id. ibid.*

(i) Taken from Simon Starovolski, in *Scriptorum Poloniae illustrium centuria*, before the 8th Volume of the *Annals of Bzovius*, printed at *Cologne*, in 1641, which I observe, because in my Edition of this Treatise of *Starovolski*, which is of *Frankfort*, in 1625, there is scarce any thing relating to the Life of this Jacobin.

(k) Taken from the Preface to the first Tome of the *Annals of Bzovius*.

(18) See the *Journal des Savants*, for the 8th of *August*, 1678, pag. 332, where they give the Extract of this Work of *Bzovius*, without advertising that this is not the first edition. It had been printed at *Rome* in 1629, and afterwards at the end of the 8th Vol. of the *Annals* in 1641.

menus's Descendants still in being, in *France* and *Italy* (18). You must know that this King of *Italy* was descended from *Hercules*, and that he was one of the Chiefs of the *Heraclidae* in the Expedition, in which they retook the *Peloponnesus*. Now that Expedition is so ancient, that it precedes the historical Time, and belongs to the fabulous. The Chronologists place it in the Time of the Prophet *Samuel*. Judge then, if it be possible, that at present such and such a Family, which is still subsisting, can be known to have descended from that *Temenus*. Judge then, whether a judicious Historian, and a Lover of Exactness, will ever say, that a Pope, who lived an hundred Years after *Jesus Christ*, was descended from *Hercules*.

[I] The Letter, which the King of *Poland* writ to the Pope in the Year 1633, does our *Dominican* much Honour.] It was printed in the Elogy

which *Starovolski* consecrated to the Honour of *Bzovius* (19). The King supplicates *Urban VIII*, most humbly to suffer that good old Man to return into *Poland*, whom he desired to employ in composing the History of the late Transactions there. He declares, that he shall esteem himself very much indebted to his Holiness, if he will be pleased to grant him that Favour, which he so instantly requests of him. 'Certus sum, says he, id Sanctitatem Vestram enixe petitioni meae daturam, ut vir mihi cumprimis charus, ad natale solum — redeat — quod ego inter infinita Sanctit. Vestrae erga me benevolentiae argumenta, non postremo loco reponam, quando virum tam paternae quam meae gloriae studiosum propinquius complecti, & consuetudine illius atque lubricatione frui licebit.'

(19) I saw it before the eighth Tome of the *Annals of Bzovius*.

C.

(a) See the Remark [A].



CÆSARIUS (JOHN), Physician and Philosopher, born at Juliers, flourished in the XVIth Century. He taught at Cologne (a), and published Editions of several Authors. His Zeal for the Advancement of Learning was very great, and he spared no pains in it, but was so far from advancing his Fortune by that means, that he was reduced in his old Age to the want of Subsistence, and had it not been for the Assistance of his Friends, he must have starved [A]. Being suspected of Lutheranism, he was banished from Cologne in the Year 1543 (b), and retired to the Count of Nuevenar and Meurs, and died there in the Year 1550, upwards of ninety Years of Age. Some say that he returned at last to the Romish Religion, and that, dying at Cologne, in the Year 1551, he was buried in the Convent of the Hermits of St. Jerom, near the High-Altar (c), with a long Epitaph (d), wherein, among other things, it is observed, that he was never married. Alexander Hegius, whose Scholar he had been at Deventer, having, (on account of his great Age), declined the Direction of the School, which they were founding at Munster, about the end of the XVth Century (e), proposed him for that Employ (f). He recommended also some other learned Men, and particularly Timan Camener, who was the Person chosen.

(b) Chytraeus in Saxonia, lib. xvi, init.

(c) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 479.

(d) It is to be seen in Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 479.

(e) Chytraeus in Saxonia, pag. 80.

(f) Id. ibid.

[A] Had it not been for the Assistance of his Friends, he must have starved. Thus doubtless I may understand this Latin Passage of John Sturm: Floruerunt aliquando in hac civitate (Coloniae) literæ, cum in ea Sobius, & Cæsius, & Phrysemius, docerent. Simul cum Magistris atque Doctoribus vetus frequentia discipulorum sublatæ est. Sobium vis morbi nobis abstulit: Phrysemius quoniam nullum refugium in nostris studiis esse videbat ad Jurisprudentiæ portum confugit: & juris quam sapientiæ consultus esse maluit. Senex adhuc ibi est, atque omnium nostrum tanquam parens Cæsius: qui in hac affectâ ætate, post tot tantorumque laborum defunctionem, nisi ab amicis

sustentaretur, viderent eum literæ egentem quas ipse semper ornavit, semperque maximi fecit (1). Learning once flourished in this City (Cologne), when Sobius, Cæsius, and Phrysemius taught here. With the Masters and Doctors the old Number of Scholars declined: Death has deprived us of Sobius: Phrysemius, seeing no Encouragement in our Studies, retired to the Study of the Law, chusing rather to be a Lawyer than a Philosopher. Old Cæsius, the Father, as it were, of us all, is here still: whom, after so many and so great Performances in this dull Age, Learning, which he always adorned, and always highly valued, would see in want, were he not supported by his Friends.

(1) Joannes Sturm, Epist. Dedicat. Tom. II, Orat. Ciceronis. It is without Date, but must be supposed to have been wrote about the Year 1540.

(a) In Latin Cæsius, or Cæjetanus.

CAYET (a) (PETER VICTOR PALMA (§ a), at first Minister of the Reformed Church [A], and afterwards Doctor of Divinity in the Faculty of Paris, is to be reckoned in the Number of learned Men: But there run several strange Reports to the Prejudice of his Reputation; for he was accused, not only of writing an Apology for Stews [B], but also of selling himself to the Devil.

* Mem. de la Ligue, Tom. VI, pag. 350, Edit. 1599.

(1) It is in the 6th Vol. of the Mem. de la Ligue, pag. 343, &c.

(2) Observe, therefore, that the Surname Næwarrus, given him in the Gallia Orientalis, pag. 144, and in the Bibliothèque of König, pag. 151, signifies only that he was Doctor in Divinity of the College of Næwarrus.

[§ a. As it does not appear to me that Cayet ever took the Latin Surname of Palma before his Return to the Romish Church, and that the name Victor was given him at his Confirmation *, probably as a Prognostic of his future Victories over the Heretics, whom he had then left, I should have thought that the Surname of Palma might have been given him on the same occasion, since the Palm is the Symbol of Victory. But Palma is the Latin Name of I know not what Lordship; and Cayet is styled Sieur de la Palme in the Privilege, which he obtained on the Twenty seventh of June 1596, for the Impression of one of his Tracts of Controversy, intitled, *Le Vrai Orthodoxe*, &c. REM. CRIT.]

[A] At first Minister of the Reformed Church. I learned from a Letter (1), which I shall mention in the last Remark, that he was born at Montrichard in Touraine (2), of a very poor Family, and that in his Youth he went through Classical Learning, at the Expence of a Person of Honour: and having made some Proficiency, they of the Reformed Religion, entertaining some hopes of him, furnished him with the means to study Theology, and made him a Minister: that about the Year 1582 he was presented to the Church of Poitiers at Montreuil-Bonnin; that, finding an Opportunity to enter into the King's Household, he quitted his Church, and followed the

Court, and was recommended to Lady Catherine, Sister of Henry IV, to instruct and confirm her in her Religion.

Add to this the Account we have in pag. 268 of the Remarks on the Catholic Confession of Sancy, in the Edition of 1699. 'Peter Cayet of Montreuil-Bonnin, born of very poor Parents, who, with their Son, had embraced the Reformation †, had in his Youth studied at Geneva, from which time Calvin, whose Domestic he was, foretold his Father that his Son would one Day be a Plague to the Church, and would make War against GOD ‡: However, having acquired great Knowledge, especially in the Oriental Tongues, he was made Minister, first at Poitiers, then in the Houle of Mr de la Nouë † at Montreuil-Bonnin, in which places he began to discover his Ambition and Levity of Mind: he was afterwards made Minister to Madam, the Sister of Henry the Great.'

[B] He was accused of writing an Apology for Stews. D'Aubigné asserts this in several places of his Works; he puts these Words in the Mouth of Sancy: 'We ought not to account simple Fornication, or Adultery for Love, to be Sins, according to the Opinion of Caber, in his learned Book on the re-establishment of Stews, and his learned Dissertation on the seventh Commandment. . . . This

† See an Epigram of Beza, on the Revolt of Cayet, in Beza's Latin Poems, Edit. of Geneva, 1597, in 4^{to}, pag. 210.

‡ Advice to the Faithful, on the Apology of P. Cayet, Edit. 1596, pag. 7.

† Life of Mr de la Nouë, p. 203, ad Ann. 1576.

Devil [C]. Having been deprived of the Ministry by a Synod, he turned Catholic in

'This seventh Commandment, which is *non mor-
chaberis*, forbids only the Sin of *Onan*, for *μω-
χέειν* is derived, according to this Modern
Theology, from *τὸ μωχέειν* and *χέειν*, quod est
humidum fundere (3). The Verses at the end of
the same Book (4) are yet more severe.

Cahier voulut loger les Putains en franchise,

Canoniser pour saints les véroléz perçus:

Nôtre Eglise le, prit quand vous n'en vouliez
plus,

Catholique il poursuit encor son entreprise:

La paillard le voit martir pour les Bordeaux.

L'Advocat des putains, Sindic des Maquereaux.

Elle ouvre ses genoux, l'acole tres-humaine,

Honteux, banni, puant, vérolé, ladre vert.

Huguenots, confessez que l'Eglise Romaine

Tient son giron paillard à tous venans ouvert.

Cahier demanded Privilege for Whores,

And even the Pocky to be canonized.

Exil'd from yours, Our Church receiv'd him in:

A Convert, He the same Design pursues,

Martyr of Brothels, Advocate for Whores.

Yet Mother Church with open Arms receives

The Shameful, banish'd, sinking, pocky, Wretch.

Own, ye Reformers, that the Church of Rome

Receives all Comers in her whorish Lap.

What follows ought to be of greater Weight, be-
cause it occurs, not in a Satire, but in a History.
'It happened also some time after, that Cayer was
degraded for studying Magic, being also accused
of having written two Books, one to prove that
by the seventh Commandment, neither Fornica-
tion nor Adultery were forbidden, but only the
Sin of *Onan*, the other to prove the necessity
of re-establishing Stews every where. Being there-
upon rejected, he turned to the Catholic Religion,
where he was well received by the *Sorbonne*,
but very indifferently by the Jesuits (5).'

The Author of the Notes on the Confession of
Sancy observes, that *D'Aubigné* is mistaken, and
that all these fine Maxims, attributed to Cayer, were
couched in one single Piece intitled, A Discourse
containing a remedy against public Debauchery pre-
sented to the Parliament (6).

[C] But also of selling himself to the Devil. The-
odore Tronchin, Professor of Divinity at Geneva, and
one of the Fathers of the Synod of Dort, in one of
his Books says thus (7). 'Peter Cayer, among other
Facts, for which he was degraded from the Mini-
stry, was accused by credible Witnesses of having
had communication with Devils. After he was
degraded, instead of repenting, he grew worse
and worse, and revolted from the true Religion:
After which he became such a Reprobate, that he
made a Contract with Satan, under the Name
of *Terrier*, Prince of the Subterranean Spirits,
giving himself to him Body and Soul, now and
for ever, on Condition that the said Spirit would
make him successful in Disputes against the Re-
formed Religion, and compleat in the Know-
ledge of Languages. This Contract, signed with
Blood, was found after his Death, and has been seen
by several of the King's Council.' Mr *Colomieu*,
who cites these Words (8), furnishes me with ano-
ther Passage; which is: 'The Complaints against
the *Sieur Cayer* were, that he had left the Church
of *Poitiers*, to which he had been appointed, to in-
trude himself by indirect means, first into that of the
King, and then into That of his Sister: that he gave
himself up so much to curious Sciences, that he
was commonly called *Petrus Magus*, and that he
had behaved otherwise than became him towards
a young Woman (9). I wonder that *Montigny*
says nothing of the two Books, which, according
to *D'Aubigné*, were one of the first Causes of

Cayer's Disgrace. 'Did you expel him for Sorcery?

'In the Question of Fanelle, to which it is answer-

'red. The first Charge against him was only for

'two Books, in one of which he maintained, that

'the Sin, forbidden by the seventh Commandment,

'was neither Fornication nor Adultery, but that it

'forbids only *τὸ μωχέειν*, meaning the Sin

'of *Onan*; by which he had made the sacred Or-

'der his Enemies; the other Book was for the re-

'establishment of Stews: but on his Trial the Ac-

'cusation of Sorcery was brought in, and Books,

'wrote by him on that Subject at *Tiel Chavain*,

'were produced (10). In the same Work, *D'Au-*

'bigné gives us a pleasant relation of an Adventure

'of his Baron as follows. 'Cayer shewed me Books

'of Magic, written by himself, two Foot thick;

'he let me see an Eggshell, in which he made a little

'Man with Sperms, Mandrakes, and crimson Silk,

'and a slow Fire, to obtain things, I do not care

'to mention. He showed me Images of Wax, which

'he melted gently, to warm the Heart of a fair

'one; and others that he wounded with a little

'Arrow, to kill a Prince an hundred Leagues off

'(11). This may pass for a Piece of Raillery; but

'what follows is related seriously with all its Cir-

'cumstances as a certain Fact. 'The Scripture in-

'forms us, that there are Enchanters and Sorcerers;

'The first are rare; Witness a Duke of Savoy,

'who spent a hundred thousand Crowns to find

'one; the other too frequent; among which I

'reckon Cayer, who sold himself to the Devil,

'by a Writing signed with his own Hand, and

'stipulated with the Hand of the Purchaser: You

'have heard of his horrible Death; But I have seen

'the original Piece in the Hands of Mr *Gilt*,

'when the Court was deliberating whether they

'should burn his Body, or hang it Heels upper-

'most at *Montfaucon*. But there were Lords and

'Ladies of so high Rank Partakers of his horrible

'Practices, that this Piece of Wickedness was

'smothered up like many others at this Day,

'which it is thought much safer to stifle in our

'Bosoms, than expose to the World; and here to

'shew it is not *à propos* (12). It is somewhat sur-

'prising that *D'Aubigné*, who was so well acquaint-

'ed with this Affair, did not know the best of the

'Story. He did not know that the Devil took Cayer

'Body and Soul, and that, in order to deceive the

'Bearers at his Funeral, Stones were put into the

'Coffin, instead of the Corps, which the Devil had

'carried off: *Marcellus tom. 2. contra Titinum pag.*

434. ait, Vixit. Cabierum qui superiori sæculo vixit,

ex Ministro Reformatæ Ecclesiæ Sorbonicæ, Kaba-

listam, & Magum factum, ejusque corpus a Diabolo

ablutum esse, ut lapides vice illius ejus loculo con-

dendi fuerint. Thus much we find in the Bibli-

'othèque of the *Sieur König* under the Word CA-

'HIERUS (13).

I think myself obliged to observe, that I have

not found any thing relating to these strange and

abominable Accusations in the Catholic Writers,

except these Words of *Leo Allatius*: *Hi quam si-*

millima inter quotidianos congressus quibus uter fami-

liarissimis, ab omni beneficiis eruditionis Mystra Ga-

briele Naudero de Unicorn. Palma (14) Cajetanus &

Constantino Chymista frequenter audiui (15). He

had just been relating some Stories about the Invo-

cation of Demons; and adds, that his good Friend

Gabriel Naudé had often told him such things of

Victor Palma Cayet. But there are two things to be

observed. First, it does not appear, that *Naudé* ever

believed the Tales of Sorcerers and Magicians;

next, that having had occasion in his Works to

speak of *Victor Cayet*, with respect to these Matters,

he never charged him with Sorcery. Read his Dia-

logue de *Mascurat*, where you will find (16): *Patria Homer,*

S. Oh the Devil take him of us two, who

ever heard of such a thing. M. He must take us

both then, if that be the Condition. S. I hope,

not as he did Dr Faustus and his Man, however;

for I should not care to hang you by the Feet. S. The Letter

M. You tell me of an imaginary Person, a Chi-

mera of the Germans, which the great Doctor Petrus

Victor Palma Cajetanus, or rather that foolish cre-

duleus Animal Caillette, translated into French, as it

it

(3) Catholic Confession of *Sancy*, Book ii, cap 2, pag. 392, Edit. of Amsterdam, 1693. See also *Baron de Fanelle*, Book ii, cap. xii.

(4) Pag. 445.

(5) *D'Aubigné's Universal History*, Tom. III, Book iv, cap xi, pag. 502, ad Ann. 1595.

(6) Notes on the Confession of *Sancy*, pag. 53, Edit. 1699.

(7) Preface to the Defence of our Versions of the Bible, 1620.

(8) *Colomieu*, in *Gallia Orientali*, pag. 145.

(9) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(10) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(11) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(12) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(13) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(14) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(15) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(16) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 144, from a Pamphlet entituled, *Advertisement for la Deposition du Sieur Cayer, du St Ministère, & sur sa Revolté*, by Fr. Loberanus, Lord of Montigny, *Inte Ministre* at Paris, pag. 5.

(10) *Baron de Fanelle*, Book ii, cap. xii, pag. 81.

(11) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 79.

(12) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 80.

(13) Observe, that *König*, not knowing the true Name of Cayer, believed that *Petrus Cajetanus*, and *Petrus Victor Palma Cayetanus*, were three different Men. In the *Oxford Catalogue*, *Victor* is given for the true name of Cayer, whereas it was only his Name of Confirmation.

(14) Read *Naudé* de *Victore Palma*.

(15) *Allatius* de *Patria Homer*, S. Oh the Devil take him of us two, who

ever heard of such a thing. M. He must take us both then, if that be the Condition. S. I hope,

not as he did Dr *Faustus* and his Man, however; for I should not care to hang you by the Feet. S. The Letter

M. You tell me of an imaginary Person, a Chimerica of the Germans, which the great Doctor *Petrus Victor Palma Cajetanus*, or rather that foolish cre-

duleus Animal *Caillette*, translated into French, as it

it

(b) Launoi Hist. Gymnas. Navarre, pag. 791.

in the Year 1593, and, being known to Henry IV [D], he was afterwards preferred to the Place of Royal Reader in the Oriental Tongues [E]. He was promoted to the Degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1600 (b). He wrote several Books against those he had quitted [F], wherein, among other things, he complains of their Satires [G]. He entered into a Personal Conference with the famous *Du Moulin*. This Conference lasted several Days [H]; and, according to

* Sarisberienfis in Euthetico.

'it had been already into English, *Adeo omnia* * si nescis loca sunt plenissima nugis, Quorum tota corpora est inimica mihi. — Thus, whether you know it or no, all the World is quite filled with trifles, the whole tribe whereof are odious to me.' Add to this a thing which I shall mention in the Remark [H].

Observe, that, by the Epistle Dedicatory of the Book, which *Gabriel Naudé* has here ridiculed, which is signed V. P. C. one would judge, that our *Cayet's* Zeal against Magic was extraordinary. See also the whole Title of his Version. 'The wonderful and lamentable History of Doctor *Faustus*, with his horrible Death, wherein are shewn, the miserable Consequences of Curiosity, in the illusions and impostures of the evil Spirit, and also Satan overthrown by himself, when constrained to speak the Truth.' I use the third Edition, printed at *Rouen*, Anno 1604, in 12mo.

[D] — being known to Henry IV.] He had almost constantly followed him from the time he was first introduced to him by the *Sieur de la Gauderie*, who was Tutor to this Prince. These are the Words of *M. Maimbourg*, in his Preface to the History of the League.

[E] He was soon after preferred to the place of Royal Reader in the Oriental Tongues.] He has this Title in a Privilege, granted him, for his Controversial Works, the fifteenth of June 1596; and we find these Words in the sixty second Page of a Book (17) he published Anno 1597. 'I do not blame the Study of the Hebrew, Caldee, and other Languages: so far from it, that, thanks be to God, I myself am Professor of them, in the Service of God and his Church, by the good Pleasure of the Most Christian King our Sovereign.' There is therefore a Mistake in that Passage of *M. De Launoi*, where he assures us, that *Cayet* obtained this Post Anno 1599 (18). I am indebted for this Discovery to the Author of the Notes on the Confession of *Sanci*. But I ought to mention, that *James de Breul* observes, that our *Cayet* succeeded *Francis Jourdain*, Royal Reader and Professor in the Hebrew Tongue, who died in September 1599 (19). We may reconcile these Matters, by supposing he had that Title in 1596, and that he even read Lectures, but that, the place not being yet vacant, he was not, properly speaking, promoted to it, and installed till after the Death of *Jourdain* in 1599.

[F] He wrote several Books against those he had quitted.] You will find the Catalogue of them in the History of the College of Navarre (20). I mention here only the Title of the first that appears in that List. *A Christian and Useful Remonstrance to the Nobility of France, who are not of the Catholic Religion*. Paris 1596. *M. de Launoi* observes, that the Letter to the Author from *Clement VIII*, and several things relating to the Original and Progress of the Huguenots, are found in that Piece (21). When *Cayet* published this Book, he was lodged in the Place, where *Possel* died; for he dates his Admonition to those of the third Estate, who are not of the Catholic Religion, from the Abbey of *St Martin des Champs*. This Admonition was printed Anno 1596, as you will find in the Remarks on the Confession of *Sanci* (22), in the Place where these Words of the Preface are commented on; *They ought at least to have retained Sponde in an honourable Imprisonment, in the Abbey of St Mathurin, as formerly Possel, and now Cayet, two learned mad Men*. This gives great ground to suspect *M. de Launoi* of another Mistake; for he asserts, that *Cayet* lived in the College of Navarre, at the time when Pope *Clement VIII* wrote him a Letter, dated the twentieth of March 1596. 'Quo tempore datae sunt hae literae jam Cajetus' — in Navarre Collegium secesserat (23). — At the time this Letter was wrote, *Cayet* was already retired to the College of Navarre. I know not

in which of his controversial Books this Profelyte mentions Seventy four Propositions of *John Hus*, which are contrary to the Doctrine of *John Calvin* (24). I do not find in *Launoi's* List *Cayet's* Book containing the Reasons of his Conversion, to which the Minister *Rotan* made a fine Answer, in 1596 (25).

[G] — — — Where among other things he complains of their Satires.] He renewed his Complaint in his nine Years Chronology. He says, that several Answers had been published to his Account of the Causes of his Conversion; and that he, who collected the Memoirs of the League, had inserted one of those Answers, but not his Reply to it; he calls the Report of his Amours with a Lady of *Bearn* (26) a Calumny: he observes, that none of those who spread these Slanders ever published their Names, so that he never knew to whom in particular to address himself. He adds, that no Answer was ever made to his Justification of himself, touching the Book *On the Establishment of Stears*. He maintains, that he was not the Author of it, and that *Robert Stephens* had owned, that he had promised never to shew the Manuscript to any body. He says farther, that it was not this Book that grieved the Ministers, but his *Consilium pium de componendo religionis dissidio* — — — *Pious Advice for composing the Differences of Religion*, of which they knew he had distributed several Copies. 'Afterwards, continues he, they gave out that I intended to turn Catholic; and that the King had given me, for so doing, an Abbey near *Rochelle*; and it will appear, that to this time (which is the Year 1607). — — — I have neither Abbey nor Benefice (27). There is a great deal of Moderation in this Part of his History. Mr *Maimbourg* is much more warm in his Favour (28). 'That, says he, viz. the Conversion of *Cayet*, supported by Reasons, and imitated by many Persons', put his old Brethren, the Ministers, in so ill Humour, that they inveighed against him most furiously, loaded him with numberless Reproaches, and endeavoured to blacken him with a thousand horrid Calumnies, with which they have filled, among many other Libels, that which they published in the Memoirs of the League, most basely concealing the solid and convincing Answers he had made to them; which is sufficient to discover the Falseness of all that they (according to the Genius of their Heresy) have wrote to defame him. For of all Heretics whatever, none have been more cruel and abusive than the Calvinists, or have avenged themselves with more Barbarity on their pretended Enemies, by Arms and violent Means, when they had the Power, or more shamelessly by the Pen and Libels, when they could do nothing else, baspattering those that have declared against their Party with all kind of Reproaches and Calumnies.' This is too violent: there was a more modest way of complaining, that the same Invectives had been repeated without any Answer made to the Apologies of the Accused. See Remark [O]. The Author of the Notes on the Confession of *Sanci* (29) gives the Titles of several Pieces published against *Cayet*, soon after his Revolt.

[H] His Conference with *du Moulin* lasted several Days.] We see in the Life of *du Moulin* (30), that he was challenged to this Dispute by *Cayet*; that he went without any Second, notwithstanding that *Cayet* had two Carmelites along with him; that they disputed fifteen Days successively: that, at the end of eight Days, the *Sorbonne* gave *Cayet* a sharp Reprimand for defending the Cause no better, and suffering his Adversary to go deeper into Questions, than it was for the Interest of the Catholics he should; that the Bishop of *Paris* forbade *Cayet* to sign the Acts of the Conference; that from that time *Cayet* disputed timorously, and often declared

(24) See the *Theomachia Calvinistica* of *Fenardent*, Tom. II, Book XIII, cap. viii, pag. 178, Edit. of Cologne, 1629, in 4to.

(25) Remarques sur la Confession de *Sanci*, p. 323.

(26) The *Baroness d'Acos*.

(27) Chronologie Novenaire, Book vii, ad Ann. 1595, fol. 545, verso.

(28) *Maimbourg*, Preface to the History of the League.

† A Letter from a Catholic Gentleman to his Friend, 1595.

‡ Memoirs of the League, Tom. VI, pag. 243, *Cayet* 33, fol. 545.

(30) It is in the Volume published by *Dr Baur*, at London, 1681, under the Title of *Vita Schottorum aliquot circum qui doctrina dignitate aut pietate inclaruerunt*. See pag. 703.

(17) Entitled, An Exhortation to the Re union with the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome.

(18) *Launoi* Hist. Gymnas. Navarre, pag. 791.

(19) *Du Breul*, Antiq. de Paris, pag. 567.

(20) Pag. 792.

(21) *Launoi*, Hist. Gymnas. Navarre, pag. 792.

(22) Printed at Amsterdam 1693, pag. 458.

(23) *Launoi*, Hist. Gymnas. Navarre, pag. 790.

to Custom, there appeared very different Accounts of it. Cayet was also esteemed a Chronologer, and wrote some *Histories* [I]. After he had embraced the *Romish* Religion, he resided mostly (c) in the College of *Navarre* at *Paris* (d), and died there the Twenty second of *July*, 1610, and was interred at *St Victor* (e). He took some pains about the *Philosopher's Stone* [K]. If that be true which is said of him, concerning the Design the Count de *Soissons* had to marry the Lady *Catherine*, Sister of *Henry IV*, we may be assured that his Conduct sometimes was very good [L]. It is a very odd thing, that, while one side say that the Devil failed him (f), and that the Parliament of *Paris* would hardly allow him Burial; the other asserts, that he continued a very good Man from the time of his Abjuration [M]. *Scaliger* has not said a Word against his Morals; which I wonder at: Would he have forgot the Crimes imputed to *Cayet*? Or did he doubt the Truth

(d) *Launoi Hist. Gymnas. Navarre*, pag. 790.

(e) *Id. ibid. pag. 792. Du Breul, pag. 567, of the Antiquities of Paris*, says, he died the second of *July*, being the Feast of *St Victor*.

(f) See the Remarks [C] and [H].

of

declared that he disputed without any public Authority; that the *Sorbonne* went, in a Body, to the Advocate-General, and told him, that, if a stop was not put to this Dispute by Authority, it was to be feared, it would raise a Sedition; that it is not known what Order the Magistrates gave, but that *du Moulin*, going to the Place of Conference, found the Door shut; that it was soon after opened to *Cayet*; that, on *du Moulin's* coming in, a Letter was given to the Master of the House, informing him, that he would do well not to admit the Disputants to his House any more, for if he did he would be sent to Prison; whereupon they despaired of finding another House; that *Cayet*, being called upon to sign the Acts, refused to do it, and withdrew, saying to *du Moulin*, *You shall hear of me some other time* (31); that he talked no more of renewing the Conference; that some Years after the too true and infamous Story of his Death (32) came to be known, viz. that the Devil had killed him, and that his Contract with the Devil, *Terrier*, was found; and that *Archibald Adair*, a Scotch Bishop, and witness of all that passed on both sides in this Dispute, published an exact Narrative of it. *Matthias Zimmerman* is guilty of an Error about the Conclusion of this Recital. It is in pag. 320 of his *Florilegium Philologico-Historicum*, printed at *Miffen*, in the Year 1687. His Words are these: 'Cayerus --- tergum obvertens dixit, Tu de me alias audies, sed nihil de iteranda disputatione auditum, verum enim Diabolo necatus, & membranae inventae quibus cum Demone Terrier foedus percussit. --- Cayer --- turning his Back, said, You shall hear of me another time; but not a Word more was ever heard of renewing the Conference, for indeed he was killed by the Devil, and a Contract was found, wherein he had made a Compact with the Spirit Terrier.' This for is a Falsification of *du Moulin's* History; for the Author of that History has not said, nor intended, nor ought he to say, that *Cayer* spoke no more of the Dispute, because the Devil killed him. *Cayet* published three Pieces upon that Dispute. I. A true Summary of the Questions proposed at the Interview between Doctor Peter Victor Cayet, and the Minister *du Moulin*. Together with an Answer to a scurrilous Pamphlet published by *du Moulin*. II. The Acts of the Interview, or Conference, with the Minister *du Moulin*. III. The Defence and Decision of Truth against *Archibald Adair*, a Scotch-

(c) We say, in Remark [E], that he lived some time at *St Martin*.

(31) Tu de me alias audies.

(32) This Conference was held in the Year 1602, and Cayet died in the Year 1610.

(33) *Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navar.* pag. 792.

(34) Notes on the Confession of *Sancy*, pag. 98, Edit. 1699.

of *Henry IV*, — from the beginning of his Reign in 1589, to the Peace made at *Vervins* in June 1598 (35). The four Letters *P. V. P. C.* (35) *Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navar.* pag. 791. subscribed to his Dedications, signify *Peter Victor Palma Cayet*. Mr de *Launoi* did not know that this Author published, in the Year 1600, *An Appendix to the Chronology of Genebrard*. *Anthony de Lovat* mentions this Work with Praise: For a compleat Body of History, says he (36), I would recommend the Chronology of the learned *Genebrard*, continued and enlarged by that Oracle of all Languages Dr *Cayet*.

[K] He took some Pains about the *Philosopher's Stone*. The Author of the *Mercure François* relates this Particular, and some others, which may be worth the Reader's Notice; therefore we will copy the whole Passage. 'Dr *Peter Victor Cayet* — had never any Enemies, but those to whom he had done good Offices: he was born under that Planet, and it has continued even after his Death. He died in the College of *Navarre*, and is buried at *St Victor*; his Dress, his Manner of living, and his Curiosity in searching after the *Philosopher's Stone*, brought him as much under contempt, as his Learning gained him Honour, and made him regretted by those who knew him particularly. As for myself, I knew him to be a very Frenchman, not at all trans-alpin, and have heard him mention several signal and meritorious Services he had done to the late King (37).'

[L] If that be true which is said of him, relating to — the Count de *Soissons* — his Conduct was sometimes very good. Some body has writ Notes on the History of the Amours of the great *Alexander*, printed with the Journal of *Henry III*. As by the name *Alexander* is meant *Henry IV*, so likewise other Persons are designed by names forged at pleasure. The Sister of this Prince is called *Grassinda*, and the Count de *Soissons*, *Palamede*. Let us now see one of the Notes. 'The Marriage of *Palamede* and *Alexander's* Sister was so far advanced, that *Peter Cayet*, *Grassinda's* Chaplain, was commanded to solemnize it immediately: he desired to be excused, whereupon *Palamede* threatened to kill him: he replied that he had rather die by the Hand of a Prince, than that of an Executioner (38).'

[M] Some assert, that he continued a very good Man from the Time of his Abjuration. 'All that the Huguenots have writ with so much, I will not say heat, but fury against Mr *Cayet*, immediately after his Conversion, cannot do him any prejudice, any more than their ridiculous Prediction, affirming that he would soon be neither Huguenot nor Catholic, but would make a third Party between both: For he always behaved himself so well among the Catholics, that, after having given on all occasions proofs of his Virtue and Learning, he was thought worthy to receive the Order of Priesthood, and a Doctor's Cap, and was Reader, and Professor Royal of the Oriental Tongues (39). The Testimony of Mr de *Launoi* will be of more weight with the Protestants, which I therefore give: 'Multis modis clarus evasit (Cajetus) imprimis quod Hæresim pura sinceræque mente depulerit, deinde quod Jacobus Perronius Ebroicensium Episcopus eum judicaverit dignum, qui ea super re literas a Clemente VIII acciperet, tum quod Clemens ei per literas conversionem gratulatus fuerit — postremo quod sui temporis historias memoriæ prodiderit, & vitam insuper virtutis

(36) *Deffins des Professions Nobles*, pag. 322, Edit. of 1613, cited by *Colomies Gal. Orient.* pag. 145.

(37) *Mercure François*, Tom. I, pag. 530, Année 1610.

(38) See the Journal of *Henry III*, pag. 295, Edit. *Amsterdam*, 1693.

(39) *Maimbourg*, Preface to the History of the League.

(f) Scaligerana, pag. 40.

(b) Under the Word *Cabier*; a little lower the same Person is mentioned again under the Word *Cayet*, as if he were another Man. This is an easy and cheap way of multiplying Ministers.

(i) Doujat Prae-not. Canonic. pag. 642.

(40) Hist. Gym-nas. Navarr. pag. 791.

of them? However that be, he says no more of him than this: *Cabier, when he was a Minister, made the best Sermons when he was least prepared, and when he took much Pains he did nothing well* (g). Observe, he calls him *Cabier*; there are but few Authors clear of this Mistake [N].

I never could meet with any of the Answers, published by *Cayet*, to the Accusations, which caused him to be degraded from the Ministry; but what he owns about the Book on Stews, is a Circumstance in favour of the Synod that degraded him [O]. It is owned in the Supplement to *Moreri* (b), that he wrote the Remedy for public Debauchery, which is the Book on the Re-establishment of Stews. I forgot to mention, that, in the Year 1597, he stood for a Professorship of Canon-Law, but miscarried. This Particular I learn from Mr *Doujat* (i).

‘ti conjunctam traduxerit, postquam effectus est Catholicæ communionis particeps (40). — Cayet became famous on several Accounts; first, for that he forsook his Heresy with a pure and sincere Heart; then that *Jacobus Perronius*, Bishop of Ambrun, thought him worthy to receive a Letter from *Clement VIII* on that Subject, and that *Clement* congratulated him on his Conversion by a Letter — lastly that he writ Histories of his own Times, and also lead a strictly virtuous Life, ever after he became Member of the Catholic Community.’

[N] There are few Authors clear of the Mistake of calling him *Cahier*.] This Fault were pardonable, if the Man had not put his Name to several Books; for, as the Pronunciation of Words has often but little conformity with the Orthography, especially in France, where we do not usually pronounce the last Letter, they, who had only heard his Name, and not seen it printed, might easily imagine it to be *Cahier* or *Cabier*. But were not they who writ against him inexcusable in this Error? Had they not the true Orthography in the very Books they undertook to refute? It may be said in their Behalf, that he is called *Cayer* in his Advertisement on the disputed Points of Religion, in order to reconcile Differences, which he published at Paris, in the Year 1596; that he is so called, I say there, both in the Title, in the Epistle to the King, in the Epistle to the Bishop of *Eureux*, in the Approbation of the Doctors, and in the Privilege (41); but this will not excuse them. They ought to have considered, that, as the name *Cayet* had appeared to a great number of his Books both before and after, there must needs be an Error of the Press in those Places of the Advertisement, where we find *Cayer*. There are so many Authors, whose hand writing is bad, that it may reasonably be supposed, that the Printers of that Book could not distinguish whether *Cayet* had put an *r* or a *t* at the End of his Name, and, having once mistaken the *t* for an *r*, they repeated the Error in the Privilege, the Approbation of the Doctors, &c.

[O] What he owns about the Book on Stews, is a Circumstance in favour of the Synod that degraded him.] He has thought fit to insert an Episode on this Subject, in his History of *Henry the Great* (42); but, if he has not supported his Cause better else where, than he has done there, I fear it is very bad. He owns he lent the Book on the Re-establishment of Stews to *Robert Stephens*, and says nothing against the Deposition of his Man against him, which imports that the Manuscript, which was in the Possession of the Synod, was copied from a rough Original of *Cayet*'s own Hand writing. The Letter, inserted in the Memoirs of the League, gives us so frightful an Idea of this Book, that it is not sufferable for a Clergyman to keep such an Abomination even in his Closet; much less can he be ex-

cused for putting it into the Hands of a Printer. The Letter I speak of is a very good Piece: the Author acts the Part of a good Catholic, and gives his Matter a handsome Turn; he seems well versed in Ecclesiastical History; he accuses *Cayet* of having converted to his own use the Alms the Princess *Catherine* gave him to distribute (43); and of having said his Manuscript was a Translation of an Italian Book, printed at Venice forty Years before, writ by one *Nicolas Perrot* (44); of having taken Lodgings in a Tavern, in the Street de la *Huchette*, which was a notorious Brothel; of having continued for above three Months, ordinarily eating with the Judge de *Coudon*, one of the greatest Sorcerers and Magicians under Heaven, having an intimate Friendship and Acquaintance with the Empiric *l'Esfoille*, who never believed in any thing less than in God; of having some time applied himself to Magic, and the occult Sciences, to which he was much addicted, witness his frequent Calculations of Nativities, and his celebrated Predictions given to the late *Sieur de la Rochebonne*, concerning the Issue of the Siege of *Rochebelle*, and the Voyage of the *Sieur de Strosse* into Africa. See Remarks on the Confession of *Sancy*, pag. 53. Edit. 1699.

One thing more I have to observe, before I conclude this Remark, which shews, that a false Zeal for Religion finishes, what the Sin of *Adam* had but too much begun: The Disorders of Civil Societies are very great, it cannot be denied; yet we never see that a Man, banished from one State by a judicial Sentence, which declares him guilty of a great many filthy and villainous Actions, meets with so favourable a Reception in another, as to be received to Honours and Dignities, without ever clearing himself of those Charges. The Remains of Reason and Equity forbid such Practice; but this Remainder of Reason and Equity does not appear in Ecclesiastical Bodies: Here is *Cayet*, degraded with Ignominy by a Synodal Sentence, founded on infamous Accusations; he leaves the Reformed Religion, and joins the Catholics; there he is received with open Arms, they value themselves upon him as a glorious Conquest; he is admitted to Honours and Ecclesiastical Dignities, without any Enquiry whether the Synod had degraded him justly or no.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!

Religion so much Mischief could persuade!

The same Men, who act thus in a religious Affair, would not have done the like in a matter wholly Civil. One cannot too much press the Reader's Observation of this Remark (45).

(41) Memoirs of the League, Tom. VI, pag. 347.

(42) They produced Copies printed with this Title; *Dissertation del Remedio della publica Dissolutioni di Nicolo Perrotto*.

REFLEXION on the ill Effects of false Zeal.

(45) See above, the end of Remark [B], in the Article BEZANITES.

EXAMINATION of some Difficulties of the Pre-Adamites.

[A] ----- made him fear, that whoever found him would kill him.] This Expression seems to suppose, that *Cain* believed, that all the Earth was

inhabited; for a Man, who believed that the whole Race of Mankind was comprised in the Family of *Adam*, could not have found a better way to avoid being

GOD was pleased to set a Mark on him, to prevent his being killed by any one that met him [B]. Cain retired into the Land of Nod, on the East of Eden, and built a City, which he called Enoch, after the Name of his Son. This is all that can be affirmed with certainty concerning him, being all that relates to him in the Book of Genesis (a). All the rest that is said of him, (which is a great deal), is nothing but Conjectures, Réveries, or very uncertain Traditions. I elsewhere (b)

(a) Chap. iv.
(b) In the Articles ABEL, ADAM, and EVE.

(1) Gen. v, 14.

being killed, than to absent himself from that Family; and here, on the contrary, Cain seems not to have feared any Murderer, provided he did not leave it: He fears he shall be killed, only in case he become a Vagabond and Fugitive on the Earth (1). This, I own, is no very great Difficulty; but we ought not to take it amiss that Libertines urge it, since it is certain there is no Christian Sect that would not be very ready to object it to the rest, if they differed from them in that Point. I find scarce one, who has undertaken to refute this Objection of the Præadamites, otherwise than by recurring to the Fecundity of Eve, and computing how many Children might be born of her and her Daughters in the space of One hundred Years. But this, in my Opinion, does not come up to the Point; it supposes, that Cain feared his Brothers and Nephews. Now it was not them he feared; for, as I said before, if they had been the Occasion of this Fear, he could not have desired any thing better than to be banished, nor would he have esteemed the Exile, to which God had condemned him, a Punishment too great for him to bear (2). It must therefore be the Inhabitants of remote Countries that he feared, People unknown, and no ways tied to him by any Relation. For this Reason, I am apt to think, that the Trouble of his Conscience, and the frightful Idea he had formed to himself of Banishment, made him forget what his Father, without doubt, had often told him, relating to the Origin of Mankind. And perhaps he only pretended he was afraid of finding Assassins every where in distant Countries; perhaps, I say, he only pretended it, in order to get the Punishment God had inflicted on him revoked, or commuted. It is a daily Practice of Criminals with their Judges; they endeavour to obtain Favour by exaggerating the Rigour of their Sentence beyond what themselves think of it. Let me not be told, that Cain was not so ignorant as to pretend to hide the bottom of his Thoughts from God; for why should we not think him capable of imitating his Father, who thought to cover himself from the Eyes of God by hiding among the Trees of the Garden? Besides, what means this Answer of Cain to God? *I know not, am I my Brother's Keeper?* Is not this the Language of a Man, who thinks that he speaks to another Man, and that he conceals from him what he does not confess? Is it not a palpable Lie? God at that time acted after the manner of Men, in order to accommodate himself to our Frailty; and this his Behaviour was answered in such a manner, as seems to show that he was really taken for a meer Man. There is a stronger Objection to be made, viz. That God is so far from undeceiving Cain about his false Supposition, that there were Men every where, that he seems to have confirmed it. He does not answer him; *Thou hast no need to fear Murderers in remote Countries; for there is not one Man there:* But he encourages him, by giving him a Mark, which would prevent any one that found him from killing him; which manifestly supposes, that Cain might find People in every Place where his vagabond and fugitive Steps might carry him. I answer, God contented himself to remedy what was most pressing, that is the Fear, which this Fratricide expressed of being killed by the first that met him. Now the readiest way to hearten a trembling Soul, who thinks his Life will be a Prey to the first that finds him, is not tell him, that his Kindred are the only Men that are in the World; but to tell him in general that none of those that find him shall kill him. I would join to these Answers the other Consideration. Men lived then several Centuries, and multiplied extremely. Cain doubtless had seen Proofs of this Fecundity. There was like therefore to be a great Number of People on the Earth before he died. So that the Mark, which God gave him, when he sent him into the Coun-

try not before inhabited, was not superfluous. I shall say nothing as to the Age he might be of when he murdered his Brother. I have spoke to it elsewhere; those who make him but about the Age of thirty or forty (3), and say, that neither he nor Abel were then married (4), perhaps are not much in the wrong: but, according to this Supposition, it would be more surprising, that Cain's Fears should be of People that he knew; it was not likely that Adam should kill one of his Sons, to revenge the Death of another; nor was it to be presumed that the other Sons of Adam would kill a Brother, to avenge the Death of another Brother. There is no reasonable Family, where any such Proceeding takes place. This, in all appearance, is the reason why God took upon himself the immediate Cognizance of this Matter, and was contented to banish the Criminal. Thus he accommodated himself to our Nature: in like Cases, the Families concerned decline being either Judges or Parties, and are contented not to see the Murderer any more. There were only Abel's Children, if he had any, that could give him any Apprehensions; but again, I say, it was not his Relations Cain dreaded; he feared the first Man he should meet in a foreign Country, where he must of necessity be destitute of all Protection, without Relations, without Friends, ignorant of his Way, and of the Country: This Condition, he thought, would encourage any one to attack him, especially since his Death was like to go unpunished. He had no grounds for these Apprehensions in a Country, where he was known, and among his Relations: There lies the Strefs of the Matter.

[B] GOD set a Mark on him, to prevent his being killed by any one that met him. It is not agreed what this Mark was. There are some, who imagine God imprinted a Letter on Cain's Forehead, and that this brand was the safe Conduct, by virtue of which this Vagabond might pass to and fro upon the Earth, without fear of being slain; and that this Letter was taken either from the Name of Abel (5), or the ineffable Name of God (6), the Tetragrammaton, which was of so much Efficacy: but others think it taken from the Word Repentance, that every one might see Cain repented. Others say, that this Mark consisted of the three Letters, which compose the Name of the Sabbath, or that it was the Sign of the Cross (7); whilst others tell us, that the Dog, which guarded Abel's Flock, was given to Cain for a perpetual travelling Companion (8), either that Men might perceive by this Sign, that they were not to attack Cain, or that, being conducted by such a Guide, he might avoid all dangerous Roads (9). Others imagine, that all his Forehead and Face were covered with the Leprosy (10); others, that his Mark was only a wild Aspect, with bloody Eyes, rolling in a horrid manner (11). Others say he became subject to such a trembling, that he could hardly lift his Food to his Mouth (12). The Septuagint favour this Sentiment; for they have not translated it: *Thou shalt be a Vagabond and a Fugitive*, but, *Thou shalt be doleful and trembling, σένων και τρέμων*. Some say, that, in whatever place he rested, the Earth shook round about him (13). What Visions! In short, some of them tell us, he had a Horn grew on his Forehead (14), not one of those metaphorical Horns, which later Ages have attributed to those Husbands, who have been dishonoured by the Infidelity of their Wives; but a Horn, properly so speaking, which served as a Signal for all Men to avoid him; *Fenum habet in cornu, longe fuge* (15). Metaphorical Horns would have served only to aggravate his Punishment; it was what the Ancients prayed might light upon Evil doers, as appears from a Passage in Job (16); but Cain's Mark was intended him for his Benefit: it was to be his Safeguard.

[C] What

(1) Cuneus de Regub. Hebræor. lib. 1, cap. i. puts an hundred Years between the Death of Abel, and the Birth of Seth, which was in the 13th Year of Adam's Life.

(4) See Remark [F], in the Article ABEL.

(5) Veteres Hebræi, apud Genebrardum.

(6) Vide Salden. Ot. Theol. pag. 345.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Cornel. à Lapide in Genes. cap. iv.

(10) Salden. ibid. pag. 345.

(11) Apud Sallanum, Tom. I, pag. 192.

(12) Procopius in Genes. cap. iv. See likewise St. Jerom's 125th Epist. ad Damas.

(13) Apud Salden. ubi supra.

(14) Apud Sallan. ibid.

(15) Horat. Sat. iv, lib. i, ver. 34.

(16) Cap. xxxi, ver. 10. Vide Drusum, Quest. Ebraic. 38, lib. ii. See the Note [B], under the Article EGIALEUS.

(e) Joseph. Antiq. lib. i, cap. ii.

(d) See Remark (C).

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. lib. iii, cap. i.

touch upon a great many things of this Nature, relating to him: but if I were to mention all the rest, I should never have done. What a deal has been said about the Reasons, for which it is pretended his Offering was rejected by God [C]? Who would ever have thought *Josephus* capable of giving this Reason for it, viz. that *Cain* did not, like his Brother *Abel*, offer things of a natural Production, meaning Animals, but those things, which the Labour and Avarice of Man force out of the Earth, that is, Grain and Fruits (c)? Would not one say, that a Jew, who reasons at this rate, has forgot the Elements of his Religion. Were not the Offerings of the first Ears ordained by the Law of *Moses*? If the Reasons alledged by *Philo* (d) were attested Facts, they would be much better than this of *Josephus*. This last Author says one thing, which is very probable, viz. that *Cain* grew never the better in his Exile, but, on the contrary, much worse (e): He gratified his Passions at the Expence of others, and enriched himself, by all manner of Violence, with the Spoils of his Neighbours. *Josephus* attributes to him the Invention of Weights, Measures, and Boundaries of Land. These things were needful amongst a People, whom *Cain's* Example had accustomed to all sorts of Injustice [D]. One cannot precisely say how many Brothers and Sisters he had when he killed *Abel*; but they are certainly in the wrong, who affirm there were then but four Persons in the World [E]: For supposing it true, as some will have it (f), that *Cain* was

[C] What a deal has been said about the Reasons, for which it is pretended his Offering was rejected by GOD? It is guess-work, 'tis beating the Air, to trouble ourselves about the external Defects that might be in *Cain's* Offering. Perhaps nothing was wanting in that Respect (17); perhaps he had forgot nothing but a good Disposition of Heart, to which principally God has regard. We see St Paul attributes *Abel's* Superiority over his Brother (18) only to his Faith. However, three grand Faults are found in *Cain's* Offering. I. That he was too tardy in making it: II. That he did not offer the First-fruits: III. That he did not make choice of the best. It was *Philo*, who first made this Censure. The ancient Fathers have mostly fallen in with it; for to say nothing of St Ambrose, who, in this Point, was a great Follower of *Philo*, St Cyril (19) accuses *Cain* of having reserved for the gratification of his own Appetite, and for his Pleasures, the choicest Fruits the Earth yielded him, allotting to God the very worst, such as the slenderest Ears of Corn, and worm-eaten Apples (20); for they have defended to these Particulars. How often have they, who make choice of the ugliest and most stupid of their Daughters for the Convent, reserving the sprightly and beautiful for the World, been compared to *Cain*, both from the Press and the Pulpit? And yet is there any thing less certain than St Cyril's Assertion? Is it not evident that *Philo* is mistaken as to his first Defect: since the Scripture observes, that *Abel* did not offer the Firflings of his Flock, till *Cain* brought the Fruits of the Ground. I shall observe, by the by, that this retrograde Verse, *Sacrum pingue dabo, nec macrum sacrificabo*, is *Politian's*. These Words are in a Picture representing the Sacrifice of these two Brothers, which is to be seen in the first Cloyster of *Madonna Nova at Florence*: The two Brothers are placed, in regard to the Inscription, in a Position proper for each of them to make out his own Sense from it (21).

(17) See Fagius, in Gen. cap. iv.

(18) Heb. xi, 4.

(19) Apud Sallian. pag. 186.

(20) Bissellius, Illustr. Ruin. Dec. i, pag. 220.

(21) Mabil. Musee Ital. Tom. I, pag. 162.

(22) The Book, which goes under his Name touching these Matters, is supposititious.

[D] Whom *Cain's* Example had accustomed to all sorts of Injustice. *Josephus* affirms, that *Cain* was a voluptuous Man, and a Robber, and that his Descendants grew worse and worse. Add to what he hath said the Description (22) that *Methodius* has given us of the Manners of that Race, and you will find there is very good Reason to compare the City of *Enochia*, built by *Cain*, to that, which a certain *Macedonian* King built for a receptacle of all sorts of wicked and dissolute People; whence it was called *Poneropolis*. Impiety so horribly prevailed among the Descendants of *Cain*, that, not content to defile one another's Marriage-Beds, and enjoy their Mistresses in public, and in the Sight of all who had a mind to see them, they broke through the Laws of Nature, and abandoned themselves, Men and Women, to the Sin of Non-conformity. 'Furere mortales ac ruerer lymphatis si miles in quidquid dictu scriptuque sœdum est, ac non sufficientibus ad probra nocturnum tenebris aut eubiculorum solitudinibus, connectere turpitudini

dierum spatia, populique præsentiam & oculos infanda consuetudine sœdare. . . . Sed illius temporis longius adhuc multo sunt abrepta dedecora, quam quæ finibus limitibusque naturæ continerentur. Superaret fidem, nisi Methodius affirmaret, auctor sane gravis ac sanctus, copiosè jam tum quod postea divinus Paulus deploravit in idolotaris, ut in masculos masculi turpitudinem exercebant, & in feminas feminae, Lesbii flammis exardescerent (23). . . . Men like mad Creatures ran headlong into all manner of abominable Uncleanness; and the Darknes of the Night, and Privacy of a Chamber, not sufficing for their scandalous Actions, would oft their Filthiness in open Day, and, in the Presence and View of the People, practise odious Familiarities not to be named. — But the shameful Practises of that time were carried to such a length, as far exceeds the Bounds and Limits of Nature. It would be incredible, were it not asserted by Methodius, a grave and holy Author, that even then was introduced the Practise, which St Paul bewails in *Idolaters*, that Men with Men acted that which is unseemly, and Women burnt with Lust to Women. All these things were done before the World had continued more than Six hundred Years. The Author, I just now cited (24), recites the very Words of *Methodius*, as he found them in his Brother *Raderus's* Notes upon the Chronicle of *Alexandria*. I shall here take notice of a thing, which is but too usual; when once a Man is grown scandalous for his ill Actions, the very Good he does shall be condemned: of this *Cain* is an Example. Nothing could be more useful in a City, so irregular as his, than Weights and Measures; and yet *Josephus* has very inconsiderately condemned him for introducing the use of them. He has confounded things very easy to be distinguished. Because Weights and Measures have not the Air of Honesty and Simplicity, therefore he thought, that they, who first invented them, destroyed the ancient Candour of Mankind, and taught them Tricks and new Ways of deceiving: and yet who sees not that, on the contrary, the Corruption preceded the use of Weights and Measures, and that they were introduced of necessity, as a Remedy against Cheating. *Cain* did in this as other Tyrants are used to do; who, after they have opened the way to a thousand Disorders, make however wholesome Laws to stop the Progress of them. In short, *Josephus* had something else in his Head when he wrote this.

[E] That there were then but four Persons in the World. This Error is very ancient. St *Augustin* refutes it in his eighth Chapter of the fifteenth Book *De Civit. Dei*, and in his first Question upon *Genesis*. And yet St *Ambrose*, far from refusing it, has run headlong into it, in this Apostrophe he makes to *Cain*; 'Cur nescis ubi est frater tuus? Soli eratis cum duobus parentibus, inter paucos frater te latere non debuit (25). — Why dost thou not know where thy Brother is? You were only two, and your two Parents; among so few thou shouldst know where thy

(23) Bissellius, Illustr. Ruin. Dec. i, pag. 258.

(24) Ibid. p. 277.

(25) Ambros. lib. ii, de Abels cap. ix.

was but thirty Years old when he committed this Murther, this does not hinder but *Eve* might have had many Children in that time. I will conclude with an old Tradition concerning *Cain's* Death. Being very decrepit and blind, say they, he was sitting one Day in a close Thicket (g). *Lamech* (b), who was then a hunting, being advised that something stirred in the Bush, ran thither, and, fancying some Beast was lodged there, let fly an Arrow, and killed *Cain*. Some (i) place this Event about the Year of the World 701. Others refer it to 875. Father *Salian* (k) is of this last Opinion, and faith he agrees therein with *Pererius* and *Torniel*: From whence we may conclude, by the way, that Mr *Moreri* had no Reason to say, that, according to *Torniel* and *Salian*, the Murther of *Cain*, by *Lamech*, happened in the Year of the World 688. *Tostatus* (l) makes *Cain* to have lived near 800 Years. Some pretend he was killed by the fall of a House (m), and place his Death under the Year 931. *Paulus Burgenfis* (n), who will have it that he died in the Universal Deluge, did not confider that that was to make him almost 1656 Years old. Some there are, who say he killed himself (o), and have the Impertinence to conclude from thence, that GOD did not keep his Word with him, because, say they, he promised him that no Man should kill him. It is not true that GOD's Promise was so exprest; it only regarded those, whom *Cain* seemed so much afraid of, that is, those who should find him in his Exile.

(b) We shall speak more amply of this when we come to the word LAMECH.

(i) Apud Salian. pag. 214.

(k) Pag. 216.

(l) Apud Salian. pag. 214.

(m) St Romuald. Abrig. Chron. citing Cedrenus.

(n) Apud Pererium in Genes. chap. iv. ver. 23, 24.

(o) Armeni apud Guidonem Carmelitan citante Prateolo in Elencho Hæref. pag. 63.

'thy Brother is.' A Rhetorical Figure void of Reality. Many of the Moderns have fallen into the same Error; amongst whom are *Burman* and *Cunæus*. 'Ecclesiæ primæ incunabula mundus vidit recens natus, cum in quatuor capitibus flaret humanum genus. Confestim enim impurus genius, cui ex malis nostris jucunda voluptas est, Cænum à recta pietatis semita transversum egit in omne nefas. — Gregem oppido exiguum, hoc est, quatuor oves in tanta mundi vastitate agebat magnus ille pastor: unam ex his lupus hic abstulit (26). — The new created World saw the Infancy of the first Church, when the Race of Mankind consisted of four Souls. For presently the unclean Spirit, who delights in our Ills, turned *Cain* aside out of the direct Path of Piety, into all manner of Wickedness. — The great Shepherd fed a very small Flock, of only four Sheep, in the wide World, and one of them this Wolf carried off.'

It is true, *Burman* seems to have left himself a hole to creep out at: '*Cain*, faith he (27), in killing *Abel*, destroyed a fourth part of the People that are recorded to have been then in the World.' If one should press him, he will say he has by no means excluded those, whom the Scripture thought

not fit to mention. It is a weak Subterfuge, far less worthy of a Man of Sense than this Reflexion of the same Author; 'As wide as the World was, said he, it was too narrow for these two Brothers. One might quote here that Verse of *Juvenal*, Sat. x. ver. 168.

Unus Pellææ juveni non sufficit orbis.

One World sufficed not the Pellæan Youth.

and many Thoughts of that kind; but they are more proper to be placed under the Article of ALEXANDER. Our Poet *Malherbe* ought to be brought in here, as guilty of the Error which I have confuted: 'He had, faith his Historian, a great Contempt for Mankind in general: and after having given an Account of *Cain's* Sin, and the Death of his Brother *Abel*, he said, A very fine Beginning! There were but three or four Persons in the World, and one of them must needs kill his Brother. What, after this, could GOD expect from Mankind? Had it not been better at that Instant to have put a final End to the whole Race?'

CAINITES [A], a Sect of Heretics who appeared in the IId Century, and were so called because of their great Respect for *Cain* (a) [B]. These People took their abominable Doctrines from the filth of the *Gnostics* (b), and were the Spawn of *Valentinus*, *Nicolas*, and *Carpocrates*. They supposed a great Number of *Genii*, which they called *Virtues* or *Powers*, and who they said were stronger one than another. They pretended, that the Virtue, which produced *Abel*, was of an Order much inferiour to that which produced *Cain* (c), and that was the reason that *Cain* prevailed over *Abel*, and killed him [C]. They professed an Honour for those, whom

[A] CAINITES.] They may likewise be called *Cainians*. *Tertullian* calls them *Cainæus* (1), and *Caianam hæresim* (2). They were called *Cainians* by many of the Fathers (3), before St *Epiphanius* made use of the Word *Kaiavoi*. *Danæus* (4) therefore had no reason to imagine, that St *Austin*, in calling them *Caianos*, had been misled by an Error of the Copists of St *Epiphanius*. *Danæus*, unable to find any Analogy in the Formation of *Kaiavoi*, believed that St *Epiphanius* termed them *Kaiavoi*, or *Kaiyoi*, and that the Copists, by mistake, made it *Kaiavoi*. But all this will come to nothing, if we consider that *Caiani* was in use before St *Austin* and St *Epiphanius*. The Reader may take notice, that these Heretics are also called *Caians* in French.

[B] A Sect. — so called for their great Respect for *Cain*.] These People were so senseless as to affirm, That the Divinity, which commands in the Heavens and upon the Earth, being resolved to punish *Cain* for the Murther of *Abel*, could never catch him, having neither strength nor swiftness sufficient for that purpose. At last, some *Æthereal Powers* protected him from the Pursuit and Vengeance of that God, transported him to the Firmament, and hid him in a Place of Surety, in

Superno seculo (5), in the Regions above, as they expressed it. The Author, I have cited, quotes no Body.

[C] They pretend that the Genius of *Abel* was inferiour to that of *Cain*, and that was the Reason why *Cain* prevailed over *Abel*, and killed him.] This is very conformable to the Doctrine of the Heathens, touching a particular Genius that attends every Man. This sort of *Genii* were principally called *Demons* (6). They pretended that every Man's Fortune depended on his Tutelary Genius; the Man was happy whose Genius was very powerful; on the contrary, he was unhappy when his Genius was weak, and could not make head against the Genius of other Men. Every Genius laboured for the Interest of his Client; and whenever a Man was beaten, it was a certain Mark that the Conqueror's Genius had been too hard for his. One of these *Genii* happened to be of an Order inferior to the other; which was the Effect of Chance: for as the Souls that were sent into this World were drawn by Lot, so was likewise the Tutelary Genius of every Person (7). There were some *Genii*, whose ascendancy over some others was such, that their very Presence confounded them.

(a) August. de Hæref. cap. xviii.

(b) Epiph. Hæres. 38.

(c) Tertull. de Præscript. cap. xvii.

(5) Bissl. Ruin. Illustr. Dec. i, pag. 269.

THE Pagan Doctrine concerning Tutelary Angels.

(6) Vide Dodwell, Prælect. 2, ad Spartani Hadrianum, p. 175.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 176.

R r r

This

(g) Rabbi Gedaliah in Schalfsch. pag. 92, apud Heidegg. Tom. I, pag. 211.

(26) Cuneus de Republ. Hebr. lib. iii, cap. i.

(27) In Comment. Belgico ad Genes. cap. iv, pag. 65, apud Salzenum Ot. Theol. pag. 333.

(1) De Præscript. cap. xvii.

(2) Ibid. cap. xxxiii.

(3) Vid. Vossium, Harmon. Evang. pag. 218.

(4) In August. de Hæres. c. xviii.

(5) Bissl. Ruin. Illustr. Dec. i, pag. 269.

(6) Vide Dodwell, Prælect. 2, ad Spartani Hadrianum, p. 175.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 176.

(d) *Id. ibid.*

whom the Scriptures brand with the most visible Marks of Reprobation, such as the Inhabitants of *Sodom*, *Esau*, *Corab*, *Dabban*, and *Abiram*. They had in particular an extraordinary Veneration for the Traytor *Judas*, under Pretence, that the Death of *JESUS CHRIST* was the Salvation of Mankind: For they imagined, I know not what Powers, Enemies to our Salvation, which would have hindered *JESUS CHRIST* from suffering, had not *Judas* prevented the Effects of their Malice, by delivering his Master up to the Jews, who condemned him to Death, from whence sprung the Salvation of Mankind (d). They carried their Presumption to such a Height as to condemn the Law of *Moses*, and look upon the God of the Old Testament, as a Being who had sown Discord in the World, and subjected our Nature to a thousand Calamities; so that, in order to be revenged on him, they, in every thing, acted contrary to his Commandments. There was no bodily Uncleaness which they did not plunge themselves into, no Sin they did not think they had a Right to partake of; for, according to their abominable Principles, the way to Salvation was diametrically opposite to the Precepts of Holy Scripture; they imagined every sensual Pleasure had some Genius presiding over it, and therefore they never failed, while they were preparing themselves for any unseemly Action, to invoke, by Name, the Genius presiding over the Pleasures they were going to taste. When we read these things in the Fathers of the Church, one can scarce forbear thinking that the Case was the same with them in respect to Heretics, as with the Heathens in respect to Christianity. The Heathens imputed to Christianity an hundred Extravagances, and Abominations, that had no Foundation. The first who forged these Calumnies, were undoubtedly guilty of the blackest Malice; but the greatest part of those who vented them abroad, after they had been so maliciously sown, were only guilty of too much Credulity, they believed common Fame, and never troubled themselves to dive into the bottom of it. Is it more reasonable to believe, that the Fathers did, with all the Patience requisite, thoroughly inform themselves of the real Principles of a Sect, than it is to believe, that those very Men, who held, that *JESUS CHRIST*, by his Death, was the Saviour of Mankind, should at the same time hold, that the beastliest Pleasures are the ready way to Paradise? Let who will decide it: I am here no other than a bare Relater. But it must be remembered, that there is no Absurdity of which the Mind of Man is not susceptible; and that, in particular, the Doctrine of many *Genii*, and those good and bad, superior one to the other, and appointed to divers Offices, is agreeable enough to Reason [D]. The *Cainites* forged a pretended Holy

(8) *Astrologus*
Egyptius ad M.
Antonium apud
Plutarch. in An-
tonio, pag. 930.

(9) *Dodwell*,
ibid. pag. 175, &
seq.

(10) *Ibid.* pag.
180.

(11) *Ad lib. i.*
Itinerarii, ver.
28, pag. 238,
& seq.

REFLECTIONS
upon the Hea-
then System of
a multitude of
Gods.

This effect had that of *Augustus* on *Marc Antony's*:
Ὁ σὸς δαίμων τὴν τέταρτον αἰτίαν, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν
ὄν καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὅταν ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν, ὅπ' ἐκείνου
γίνεται ταπεινότερον ἐγγίσαντα καὶ ἀγε-
νέστερα (8). *Thy Genius stands in awe of his; it is*
bold and lofty when alone; but at his approach becomes
humble and fearful. And thus we see certain Persons,
who, in the Absence of some others, are witty, speak
well, and rally finely; but when they are to enter the
Lists with them seem much embarrassed. It was with-
out doubt believed, that they who became Emperors
were attended by a Genius of an eminent Order,
from whence proceeded those great Honours which
were paid to such *Genii* (9). Nations and Cities
had likewise their particular *Genii* (10). Now as
they held that these Tutelar Demons presided over
the Birth of those who were to be under their Di-
rection, there wanted but a small Remove to pass
from this Opinion into that of the *Cainites*. The
latter only added, that every Genius formed the
Body of him he was protect. The *Platonists*, I
believe, would have been easily reconciled to them,
that the Formation of a human Body requires the
Direction of a very excellent Intelligence. See *Bar-*
tholus's Notes upon *Rutilius Numatianus* (11), con-
cerning these Tutelar *Genii*. If this Hypothesis is
not absolutely necessary, for assigning the Reason of
an infinite Number of Historical Phenomena (if I
may so term human Events), 'tis at least the most
commodious and comprehensible. The Reader will
be less surprized at this Observation, which seems
foreign, and too much like a Digression, I say he
will be less surprized, if he examines diligently the
Scope of the following Remark.

[D] *The Doctrine of many Genii, — is agree-*
able enough to Reason. We turn into ridicule the
System of the ancient Heathens, their *Niades*,
their *Oreades*, their *Hamadryads*, &c. and we are
much in the right, when we condemn the Worship
they paid to those Beings; for we know, from the
Scripture, that God forbid all sort of Religious

Worship, which was not addressed directly and en-
tirely to himself. But if we represent to ourselves
human Reason left entirely to itself, and destitute
of the Assistance of Holy Writ, I think it very easy
to apprehend, that it must conceive this vast Uni-
verse as penetrated throughout by a Power exceed-
ingly active, and conscious of it's own Actions. Now,
in order to give some Account of so many Effects in
Nature different from, nay even contrary, to one ano-
ther, it was necessary to imagine, either one single
Being diversifying his Operations according to the
diversity of the Subjects, or else an infinite Number
of Souls and Intelligences provided each with a
certain Employment; some having charge of the
Sources of Rivers, others of Mountains, others of
Woods, &c. There were some among the Hea-
thens, who, in the Worship of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*,
intended no more than to honour the supreme Being,
as the Producer of Corn and Wine. Others of them
pretended to worship that particular Intelligence,
who, in the Distribution of the Intendencies of the
Universe, had the care of the Corn Fields and Vine-
yards assigned him. This Foundation being once laid
there is no knowing where to stop, the Number
of Gods is constantly multiplying in infinitum: Sac-
rifices are offered to Fear, to Fevers, to fair
Winds, to Tempells:

Taurum Neptuno, Taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo,
Nigram hiemi pœudem, Zephyris felicibus al-
bam (12).

A Bull to Neptune, an Oblation due;
Another Bull to bright Apollo stew;
A Milk white Eve, the Western Winds to please;
And one Coal black, to calm the stormy Seas.

There rises a Hierarchy of innumerable Degrees.
The Combinations of Interests are infinitely diver-
sified among these Intelligences, which tho' invisi-
ble are allowed to be very active Causes. If it be

(12) *Virgil Æn.*
lib. iii, ver. 119.

Holy Scripture (e). They had, among other Books, a *Gospel of Judas*, and an *Ascension of St Paul*. In this last, they pretended to have those unspeakable Things which that great Apostle saw and heard, when he was taken up into the third Heaven.

(e) Vide Baronium ad Ann. 145, n. 16, & Dancum in August. de Hæresib. cap. xviii.

asked me what I mean by this Reflexion so far fetched, I shall answer, I am opening the way for those, who will undertake to defend the Fathers, who stand accused of having imputed to the Heretics an hundred Absurdities which no Body held. 'Tis not so unlikely as one would imagine, that Men, who thought they reasoned well, should admit of many Principles, some good, the others bad, and a perpetual Contrast between Beings of an unequal Power, and different Inclinations. 'Tis a great Error, I must confess, but it presents itself several ways, and it is an easy Matter to fall into it. I am apt to believe, that the *Gnostics*, and such like People, expressed themselves so confusedly, that it is very possible some things may have been honestly charged on them, which they never allowed as Part of their Belief; and yet I am persuaded, that they owned, in the main, those Powers and Principles, which it is said they did. Then, by consequence of Reasoning, after having established this Variety of Powers, they might suppose the *Jewish* Nation governed by a mischievous Being, and pass from thence into all those abominable Impieties ascribed to them, concerning the God of *Abraham*, *Ishac*, and *Jacob*. But further, (since we have gone so far) the Belief of Intelligences, charged with different Employments throughout the Universe, is of as large Extent, as the Belief of a Deity; for I believe there never was a People who had any Religion, but thought there were mediate Intelligences. The most subtle Philosophers, he who is called the *Genius of Nature* (13), the most sagacious *Cartesians*, have all acknowledged some. The *Aristotelians* do even at this Day, unawares, imply them in every thing; for they place in each Body a substantial Form, to which belong a certain Number of Qualities, whereby it accomplishes it's Desires (14), repels the Enemy, and preserves itself the best it can in it's Natural State. Is not this to admit in Plants, an Intelligence appointed to make a Part of the Universe vegetate, and operating for that end, under the Direction of the Supreme Being? They who deny a Creation, the *Spinozists*, are so far from being able to get clear of these Intelligences, that there is no System whatever, which more necessarily and unavoidably implies them than theirs. This might easily be proved upon them, but that it is not proper in a Book of this Nature. In the System of a Creation, 'tis very difficult to admit of Intelligences prone to Evil, and who, according to the Whimfies of the *Cainites*, preside over sensual Pleasures, like the *Venus* of the Heathens, who, by the Confession even of the *Epicurean* Poet, presided over the Pleasures of Love (15). But from a System that denies any Creation, it necessarily follows, that Evil may exist as well as Good, and that there may be mischievous *Genies* as well as beneficent ones.

Left I should be thought to have advanced without Grounds, what I just now mentioned of the most able *Cartesians*, I desire the Reader to observe, that he among them who is the greatest Stickler for the simple and general Wills of God (16), insinuates evidently, in several Passages throughout his Works, that there is an infinite Number of Occasional Causes which we are unacquainted withal. Now these Occasional Causes are no other than the Wills and Desires of certain Intelligences: They must necessarily be admitted, where the Laws of the Communication of Motion are not capable of producing such or such Effects. This will carry us

a great way; 'tis impossible to conceive how those Laws should be sufficient for the Building of a Ship. Every Body will allow that Motion alone, without the Direction of some particular Intelligences, could never produce a Clock: Consequently those Laws are unable to produce the least Plant, or smallest Fruit; for there is more Art in the Construction of a Tree, or a Pomegranate, than in that of a Ship. We must therefore have recourse to the particular Direction of some Intelligence for the Formation of Vegetables, and with much more reason surely for that of Animals. Talk of the Laws of Motion, of Figure, Rest, the Situation of the Particles, as much as you please: This is good, whilst a Man is under Forty Years of Age; but after that, you see the most excellent *Cartesians* confess ingenuously, that they begin to doubt of the Sufficiency of these Principles. They understand then their Categories as they ought (17). 'Tis true, say they, this will serve to make a Tree or a Clock to be what it is: but as Motion alone, by it's general Laws, has not, nor could cause the Parts of the Clock, to acquire the Figure and Position they now have; let it not be thought, that the Parts of a Tree have obtained their Situation and Figure by the meer Laws of Motion. Once more this goes very far, and leads us to a Genius presiding over animated Machines. But are Minerals, and Meteors easily made? Is there not a great Artifice in their Construction? Greater than can be imagined. The School-Men, instead of a Genius, or Intelligence, make use of these Words, *Forma substantialis*, & *Virtus plastica*, &c. But Words alter nothing.

Badin has a Passage which shows he allowed of these *Genies*, whose Business was not only to preserve, but even to produce all Sublunary Beings. There is some Consistency in this Supposition; for the best way to engage an Intelligence to protect a corporeal Creature, is to entrust it with the Care of it's Make; I mean, of applying Motion, according to the Ideas it has of the Form of that Creature, as Clock-makers and Architects do. These are *Badin's* Words. 'Quemadmodum in Republicâ bene constitutâ non minus sunt necessarij carniſices, lictores, vespillones, quàm Magistratus, ac Judices, & Curatores: sic in hac Republicâ mundanâ Deus ipse ad rerum generationem, procuracionem, ac tutelam Angelos locis omnibus cœlestibus, elementaribus, animantibus, stirpibus, fossilibus civitatibus, provinciis, familiis, singulis hominibus Principes, ac Moderatores collocavit; neque hoc tantum, sed etiam ministros, lictores, vindices, ultores locis omnibus disposuit, qui nihil injussi faciunt, nec pœnas ullas de hominibus consceleratis sumunt, nisi rebus judicatis, & plenè cognitis (18).

— As in a well constituted Commonwealth, Executioners, Lictors, and Barriers of the Dead, Beadles, and Sextons, are no less necessary, than Magistrates, Judges, and Guardians; so in this Commonwealth of the World, GOD himself, for the Generation, Preservation, and safe Guard of all Things, hath every where appointed Angels over all Beings, Heavenly and Elementary, over Animals, Vegetables, Fossils, Cities, Provinces, Families, and every single Man, for Princes and Governours; and not only so, but likewise has placed every where, Ministers, Beadles, Punishers, Avengers, who do nothing without Order, nor inflict any Punishment on wicked Men, without judging and fully knowing their Actions.

(17) They are contained in these two Verses: Mens, mensura, quies, motus, positura, figura, Sunt cum materiâ cunctarum exordia rerum. i. e. Mind, Measure, Rest, Motion, Position, Figure, are the beginnings of all things. Observe the Spiritual Nature, Mens, at the Head of all. It ought to be considered here as a transcendental Nature, que vagatur per omnes categorias. — Which runs thro' all the Categories

(18) *Badin* in Univ. Naturæ Theatro, lib. v, pag. 631, 632.

CALCHAS, Son of *Thestor* (a), attended the *Grecian* Army to *Troy*, in quality of Chief Soothsayer; for in those Days such an Officer was as necessary to an Army as a General. All the World knows he foretold that the Siege of *Troy* would last ten Years, and that the Fleet, detained by contrary Winds in the Port of *Aulis*, would not set sail 'till *Agamemnon* had sacrificed his Daughter to *Diana*. *Homer* makes frequent mention of him, especially in the Quarrel betwixt *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*. It is said, that *Calchas*, after the taking of *Troy*, retired to *Colophon*, where he died of Grief, for that he could not foretel what

(a) See the History of *Thestor*, in Hygin. cap. exc.

another of his Profession, called *Mopsus*, had foretold. We shall speak more fully of this Dispute in the Article of *Mopsus*. Then was that Prediction, mentioned by *Sophocles* (b), accomplished, which imported, that, whenever *Calchas* met with an abler Man in Divination than himself, he would lose his Life. If *Mopsus* had been as little skilled in his Art as that other Soothsayer, who, upon seeing *Calchas* planting a Vine, would needs instruct him, he had not been the Cause of the fulfilling of the Oracle: he would only have made *Calchas* laugh a little too much (c). The Scene of this Adventure lay in the same Place with the Dispute with *Mopsus* [A]. If one may trust *Suidas*, one of the Sibyls was *Calchas's* Daughter, viz. she who was called *Lampusa* [B], to whom he ascribes several Oracles in Verse. He also calls her *Colophonian*.

(b) Apud Strab. lib. xiii, p. 442.

(c) Servius in Eccl. vi, ver. 72.

[A] The Scene of his Adventure, with the Soothsayer — lay in the same Place with the Dispute with *Mopsus*. [Viz. In a Grove consecrated to *Apollo* of *Claros*, near the City of *Colophon*. I cannot conceive why *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, should say it was at *Samos*, apud *Samum* (1). I shall in another Place (2) take notice of their Error in making *Mopsus* the Affiant, whereas the two Authors they quote, *Hesiod* and *Pherecydes*, say, 'twas *Calchas* (3). *Calpin* committed the same Mistake.

[B] *Suidas* says, one of the Sibyls was *Calchas's* Daughter, viz. she who was called *Lampusa*. [The ingenious Mr *Musard* (4) has given us the Portrait of this Daughter of *Calchas*, in the Two hundred and twenty fifth Page of his *Historia Deorum fatidicorum*.

The Inscription under it makes her *Calchas's* Daughter, and Priestess of *Apollo*. The Discourse, which accompanies the Figure, tells us there were many Prophecies of the Sibyl *Lampusa*. *Strabo* is quoted for it; but it ought to have been *Suidas*. Mr *Blondel* (5) has criticized upon *Suidas*, under pretence, that *Calchas* being an European, there is no reason to think his Daughter should be of *Colophon*. This is an Objection of no force; for the Sibyls did not always prefer the Name of the Place, where they were born, to that where they established themselves to deliver Oracles. Besides, why might not *Calchas* probably fix himself in some Asian City, after the Siege of *Troy*?

(c) Blondel's Treatise of the Sibyls, pag. 37.

CALDERINUS (JOHN), Professor of the Civil-Law at *Bologna*, where he was born, and where he died about the middle of the XVIth Century. See, above, the Article **ANDREAS (JOHN)** (a).

(a) Remark [E].

CALDERINUS (DOMITIUS) taught polite Learning, with great Reputation, in *Rome*, towards the latter end of the XVth Century. He was born at *Calderia*, near *Verona* (a). He was a self-conceited Critic, and treated his Adversaries too rudely (b) [A]: Besides, he was a Man of no Religion [B]. He thought Impudence and Cunning the only way to preserve the Reputation he had in the World for his Learning [C]. He died very young [D]; in the Year 1477 (e): The

(a) Jovius Elog. cap. xxi.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Trithem. apud Gesn. in Biblioth.

(1) Jov. Elog. cap. xxi.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Trithem. apud Gesn. in Biblioth.

(2) Volat. lib. xxi, pag. 777.

(3) Latomus apud Jovium, ibid.

[A] He treated his Adversaries too rudely. [This we have from *Paulus Jovius*. 'Peraceras, scilicet be (1), sed juvenuti maxime utiles cum æmulis similitudines exerceat. Ambitioso quidem, & nimis aculeato dicendi genere, ex alienâ inficitâ (dum intemperanter perstringit atque remordet) nomen querens. — He kept up very sharp Feuds of Emulation, which are of great Benefit to young People. Indeed, by lashing and reflecting too severely, he sought to build his Reputation on the Ignorance of others, in too conceited and satirical a Manner.' His Friend *Volateranus* could not but own him guilty of this Fault. 'Hujus ego quamquam eram familiaris vitium unicum livoris atque obsecrationis in omnes pene doctos non præteribo, dignus præterea, ut de Cælio Quintilianus ait, vitâ longiore, ac ingenio meliore (2). — Though he was my Friend, I must not conceal his only Fault of ill Nature, and Conjurioseness, towards Men of Learning in general; so that, as Quintilian said of Cælius, he deserved a longer Life, and sweeter Temper.' *Latomus* plays upon him for it in an Epitaph of *Calderinus*. See *Jovius*.

----- caput languet

Adhuc misello tinniens, ob illas quas Convictorum propè muliebrium pugnas Pro literis plusquam viriliter gessit: Humanitatis haud ferentibus Musis Decus tam inepte turpiterque prociendi (3).

----- The Head-Ach,

And ringing of the Ears, are the Effects Of his almost effeminate Scandal and Quarrels, Which be intermixed with more than manly Learning: To the Displeasure of the Muses, who did not take it well To be so rudely stript of the Ornament of Humanity.

[B] He was a Man of no Religion. [He went as seldom to Mass as he could possibly, and whenever he went, for Company sake, at the Solicitation of his Friends, Come, said he, let us go see the Public Error. *Domitius Calderinus* ne missam quidem volebat audire, & quam ab amicis eo duceretur dixisse fertur, eam ad communem errorem (4). Which gave *Politian* an occasion for this Epigram.

Audit *Marsilius* Missam: missam facis illam

Tu, Domiti, magis est religiosus uter;

Quis dubitet? tanto es tu religiosior illo

Quanto audire minus est bona quam facere.

I have seen some Books of Controversy composed by Protestants, wherein *Calderinus* has his Place among the Witnesses of the Truth, viz. among those enlightened Persons, who, in the midst of Popery, could discern the Abuses of the Roman Communion. A very worthy Witness indeed!

[C] He thought Impudence and Cunning the only way to preserve the Reputation he had — for Learning. [See what *Politian* tells us. 'Auctoritas tam magnæ fuit, ut Romæ inter Professores juvenis adhuc primam sibi celebritatem vindicaverit: cujus tuendæ ac retinendæ gratia factum compluries putamus, ut in suis operibus frontem perficeret, & per æqua per iniqua famam captans parum ex fide quæpiam retulerit; nonnulla etiam male fœlers, & præstigiis, speciem quidem primorem veri habentia magno credentium dispendio sententis ignorabilibus implicuerit, & pulverem, quod aiunt, oculis offuderit: aut sicubi major difficultas nec absistens nec congregiens spem lectoris eluserit. Ita dum nescire se nihil probare contendit, etiam Parthis aliquoties & Cretensibus mendacior invenitur (5). — He was in so great Esteem, that, while he was but a young Man, he held the first Rank among the Professors at Rome: In order to support which, we often find him, in his Works, making use of the highest Assurance, and greatest Unfaithfulness, like one who pursues Fame by

(4) Lud. Vives de Veritate Fidei, lib. ii, pag. 264, 265.

(5) Virgil. Æn. lib. vi, v. 209.

(5) Polit. Miscellan. cap. ix.

(d) Jovius, Elog.
cap. xxi.

Roman Academy buried him magnificently, all his Scholars assisting at the Funeral in Mourning (d). There are extant several of his Comments upon the Ancients, he being the first who attempted the difficult Poets [E]. He died rich, and was Apostolic Secretary, as Volaterranus says (e).

(e) Volater.
Comm. Urban.
lib. xxi, p. 777.

by all Methods right or wrong: Some things also, which had an Appearance of Truth at first sight, he with great Art and Cunning would disguise with his obscure Interpretations, so as to mislead the credulous; and, as they say, throw dust in their Eyes: or in more difficult Subjects, by neither giving them up, nor engaging about them, he would disappoint the Expectations of the Reader. So that while he endeavoured to prove he knew every thing, he would advance Falsities far beyond those of the Cretes and Parthians. There can be no better Description given of an impudent Boaster. Whenever this Man saw himself embarrassed in any great Difficulty, he would neither fight nor yield. This puts me in mind of the Knavery of some Informers, who will neither retract nor make good their Accusation.

(6) Leand. Albert. in descriptione Italica, pag. 722.

(7) Volat. lib. xxi, pag. 777.

(8) Boiss. in I. him, pag. 2.

(9) Gesner says that Calderinus's Notes upon Juvenal came out in 1474.

(10) Volat. lib. xxi.

(11) Jovius, Elog. cap. xxi.

[D] He died very young. At Thirty Years of Age, if Leander Albertus (6), and Volaterranus (7) may be credited. Boissieu saith at Thirty four (8): but since he observes that Domitius writ a Comment upon Ovid's Ibis, in 1495, he should not have said that this Critic died so young: for it is impossible that a Man, who published a Commentary in 1474 (9), should write another upon Ovid's Ibis in 1495, and yet be but Thirty four Years old when he died. He died of the Plague, as some say (10); but, as others, of a continual Fever, after having ruined his Constitution by too much Study. 'Ætate laudeque florentem, sed imbecilli stomachi temperaturam nimis lubricationibus extenterem, quum digna multis seculis opera conciperet, rapida febris eripuit' (11).

I have often wondered at the ill Custom of Writers of Elegies: They frequently forget the Year the deceased was born in, and that in which he died, with many other such Chronological Points. I have searched into the Cause of it, and find it cannot be the Love of Brevity, which occasions this Omission (for one Sheet of Paper would contain five or six hundred Dates of this Nature), but downright Idleness; they cannot call to mind these Circumstances, and will not take the Pains to inform themselves about them.

[E] He was the first who attempted to comment on the difficult Poets. Volaterranus asserts it: 'Ac vir ingenio, saith he (12), PRIMUS qui hoc tempore Poetas durissimos diligentius cepit enarrare, & in eos commentarios edere admodum juvenis. — A Man of a penetrating Judgment, the FIRST who at that time undertook to explain more carefully the obscure Poets, and publish Commentaries upon them, while he was yet a young Man.' Calderinus himself, in his Preface to Statius, says, 'Incidi in libros 5. Silvarum Papinii Statii, opus granditate heroica sublime, argumento varium, doctrinâ remotissimum, quod nemo ante nos aut ausus est aut potuit attingere. — I happened upon Papinius Statius's Silvæ, in five Books, a very sublime heroic Work, of great Variety of Subject, and Difficulty of Doctrine, which no body before me durst or could attempt.' This Work came out in the Year 1475 (13): See Barthius's Commendation of it (14).

(12) Volat. ubi supra.

(13) Barthius in Statium, Tom. I, pag. 483.

(14) Id. ibid.

CALENUS (OLENUS), the greatest Soothsayer of his Time, in all Etruria. He had like to have put a Trick upon the Roman Embassadors in an Affair of the greatest Importance, if his Son had not taught them the necessary Precautions. Tarquin the Proud ordered him to be consulted upon a Prodigy: In digging the Foundations of a Temple he was going to build to Jupiter, on the Tarpeian Mount, a human Head was found. He thought he ought to proceed no farther without consulting what this might presage. He sent for the Soothsayers of his own Kingdom; but they told him it was beyond their Art to explain, and that he must address himself to the Prophets of Etruria. They named to him the most famous, to whom Tarquin immediately sent his Deputies. Calenus, understanding that this Prodigy betokened an extraordinary good Fortune, endeavoured to deprive the Romans of this glorious Advantage, and to secure it in favour of Etruria. He had gained his Ends, had not the Deputies, forewarned of his Intentions, carefully avoided being misled in their Answers to his Interrogations (a) [A]. I shall explain this curious Particular in a Remark.

(a) Taken out of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. iv, cap. lxvi, lxvii; and Pliny, lib. xxviii, cap. ii, pag. 558.

[A] He had gained his Ends in deceiving the Romans, had not their Deputies — avoided being misled in their Answers to his Interrogations. Pliny mentions this, to prove that one Word is sufficient to change Fate. Here is the whole Passage: 'Multi vero (Auctores sunt) magnarum rerum fata & ostenta verbis permutari. Cum in Tarpeio fodientes delubro fundamenta, caput humanum invenissent, missi ob id a se legatis, Etruriæ celeberrimus vates Olenus Calenus præclarum id fortunatumque cernens, interrogatione in suam gentem transferre tentavit, scipione prius de terminata templi imagine in solo ante se: HOC ERGO DICITIS ROMANI? HIC TEMPLUM JOVIS OPTIMI MAXIMI FUTURUM EST: HIC CAPUT INVENIMUS: constantissima Annalium affirmatione, transiit fuisse fatum in Etruriam, ni præmoniti a filio vatis legati Romani respondissent: NON PLANE HIC, SED ROMÆ INVENTUM CAPUT DICIMUS (1). The Example is very home. Here is a Man's Head discovered in the Foundation of the Capitol. They had dug a great Depth before they met with this Prodigy, the Head of a Man, just killed, still warm and bloody (2). Men, less superstitious than the Heathens, would have found a Mystery in this. It was really an Omen, that the Place, where that Head had been dug up, would, in time, become the Head of all Italy (3); but, by a sophistical Juggle, the Privilege, allotted by the Destinies to that Place, might be transferred to another; and

(1) Plin. lib. xxviii, cap. ii, pag. 558.

(2) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv, cap. lxvi, p. 247.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. lxviii, pag. 243.

if Tarquin's Messengers had forgot to name Rome, and the Tarpeian Mount, when the Soothsayer asked them, *Is it not here the Prodigy was found?* they had lost the Command of Italy, and the Omen had been turned to the Advantage of the Etrurians. Calenus endeavoured to put a Trick upon them; for after they had informed him of the Nature of the Question, he drew with his Staff a Circle upon the Ground, and drawing a right Line towards the East, Here, said he to the Messengers, stands Mount Tarpeius; here is the East, there the South, there the North, and here the West; Is it here, or is it there, the Head of a Man was found? If they had answered, it is here, the Advantages, promised by Fate, had passed over to the Etrurians, and the Place where Calenus stood would have been the Seat of the Italian Monarchy. But the Deputies were upon their Guard, and constantly answered, *It is not here this Head was found, but in the Tarpeian Mount in Rome.* Calenus's Son had before given them this Caution: My Father, said he, will tell you the Meaning of this Prodigy without any Falshood; for a Lie is not allowable in his Profession; but take particular care how you answer his Questions. Behold a fine Piece of Morality: Here is a Prophet who made Conscience of telling a Lie, in the Interpretation of a Prodigy; but never found the least remorse in laying Snare for those, who came to consult him, and deceiving them by Equivocations and captious Questions.

S s s

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It is no wonder the Heathens believed a Fatality attending certain inanimate Things; for since the Idea they had of God did not exclude any Imperfection, they were not confined from attributing to their Deities any Caprice whatever. They might therefore believe them capable of setting their Affection upon an Image, a Shield, &c. i. e. of granting certain Favours to any Nation, which should be successively possessed of that Image or Shield, &c. But this Combination of the Destinies is incompatible with the Grandeur of a Sovereign Being acting immediately. The Occasional Causes of the *Cartesians* might afford some sort of Solution in case of Necessity. But however this may hold with the *Palladium* of *Troy*, or *Numa's Amulet*, we have in this Affair of the Capitol a particular Absurdity; for is it possible to imagine that a Benefactor, how capricious soever he be, should change his Resolutions

through the frivolous Subtleties of a Soothsayer? He is pleased to give the Empire of *Italy* to that City, where a Man's Head should be found under the Earth: You are of that City, and ingenuously tell the Soothsayers in another Place, who show you the Figure of your Country, *Here is the Place where the Head was found*; from this Moment, you have lost your Prerogative, and the *Italian* Empire is translated from you to that Place. What can be more monstrous? I make no doubt but *Pliny*, at the bottom of his Heart, laughed at these Fopperies; yet he reports them in a very serious Manner: *Hæc fati sint, faith he* (4), *exemplis ut appareat, ostentorum vires & in nostra potestate esse, ac prout quæque accepta sint, ita valere. — Let this be sufficient to shew, by Example, that the Effects of Prodigies are in our own Power, and take place just as they are understood.*

(4) *Plin. lib. xxviii, cap. ii, pag. 558.*

CALIGULA (**CAIUS CÆSAR**), Emperor of *Rome*, succeeded *Tiberius*, *Anno Christi 37*. He was the Son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and degenerated in so abominable a manner, that he made even the Reign of his Predecessor lamented (a): This is saying every thing. They who have affirmed that Nature made choice of him, in order to convince the World how far it could extend it's Power on the wrong Side [A], have judged very right. There is great Reason to believe, that a superiour Force, I mean a Physical Cause, encreased the moral Depravity of this Emperor [B]. The Philtre they gave him, deprived him in a manner

(a) *Scleratifissimus ac funestissimus & qui citam Tiberii decora purgaverit. Eutropius, lib. vii.*

(1) *Seneca de Consolat. ad Helviam, cap. ix, pag. 779.*

(2) *The very reverse of Scipio Africanus, of whom Val. Maximus, lib. vi, cap. ix, n. 2, thus speaks: Quem Dii immortales nasci voluerunt ut esset in quo se virtus per omnes numeros hominibus efficaciter ostenderet. — Whom the Gods produced as a perfect Pattern of Virtues.*

(3) *Seneca de Consolat. ad Polybium, cap. xxxvi, pag. 732.*

[A] *Nature made choice of him, in order to convince the World how far it could extend it's Power on the wrong side.* So have I taken the Liberty to translate these Words of *Seneca* (1). 'C. Cæsar quem mihi videtur rerum natura (2) edidisse ut ostenderet quid summa vitia in fortuna possent. What he faith in another Place, is altogether as emphatical; Nature, faith he, produced him to the Disgrace and Ruin of Mankind: 'Non possum — hunc præterire ex omni Cæsarum numero excerpendum, quem rerum natura in exitium opprobriumque humani generis edidit (3).'

[B] *A Physical Cause encreased the moral Depravity of this Emperor.* Fools and Madmen have a Privilege to sin with Impunity, at least in regard to human Laws. For they do not hang up a distracted Wretch, who breaks his Chains, and murders the first Man he meets with? The most violent Enemies to all Revolutions of States in general, in which lawful Sovereigns are deposed, allow it to be necessary, when the Wickedness of the Prince is incorrigible; or, which amounts to the same thing, when it proceeds from a Disorder of the Organs, from some Bodily Distemper, or, in one Word, from some Physical Cause. The Question is, whether *Caligula's* Fury was of this Nature. It is very likely that the Philtre, they gave him, added to his natural Perverseness, and raised it to a Fierceness mechanical and irresistible, if I may be allowed, upon this Occasion, to make use of a Term consecrated to the Efficacy of Grace. *Juvenal* attributes *Caligula's* bloody Phrenesies to the Malignity of this Philtre:

tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille *Neronis*,
Cui totam tremuli frontem *Cæsonia* pulli
Infudit. Quæ non faciet, quod principis uxor?
Ardebant cuncta, & fracta compage ruebant,
Non aliter, quam si fecisset *Juno* maritum
Insanum. Minus ergo nocens erit *Agrippinæ*
Boletus: siquidem unius præcordia preffit
Ille senis, tremulumque caput descendere jussit
In cælum, & longâ manantia labra salivâ.
Hæc poscit ferrum, atque ignes, hæc potio torquet,
Hæc lacerat mixtos equitum cum sanguine patres (4).

(4) *Juven. Sat. vi, ver. 614.*

*Some nimble Juice would make him foam and rave,
Like that Cæsonia to her Caius gave,
Who, plucking from the Forehead of the Foal
His Mother's Love, infused it in the Bowl.
The boiling Blood ran hissing in his Veins,
Till the mad Vapour mounted to his Brains:*

*The Thunderer was not half so much on Fire,
When Juno's Girdle kindled his Desire.
What Women wou'd not use the poi'ning Trade,
When Cæsar's Wife the Precedent has made?
Let Agrippina's Mufrooms be forgot,
Giv'n to a slaving old unuseful Sot,
That only clos'd the drizzling Dotard's Eyes,
And sent his Godhead downward to the Skies.
But this fierce Potion calls for Fire and Sword,
Nor spares the Commons, when it strikes the Lord.*

DRYDEN.

Suetonius not only says, that this Philtre made him mad, but attributes the contrary Passions, with which he was distracted, to a Distemper of the Mind. He observes, that this Prince rested but little, and that a thousand extravagant Visions persecuted him in his Sleep. 'Mentis valetudinem & ipse senferat: ac subinde de secessu deque purgando cerebro cogitavit. Creditur potionatus à *Cæsonia* uxore, amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit. Incitabatur in somnia maxime: neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat: ac ne his quidem placida quiete, sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus: ut qui inter cæteras, pelagi quondam speciem colloquentem secum videre visus sit. Ideoque magna parte noctis vigiliæ cubandique tædio, nunc toro residens, nunc per longissimas porticus vagus, invocare identidem atque expectare lucem consueverat. Non immerito mentis valetudini attribuerim diversissima in eodem vitia, summam confidentiam, & contra nimium metum (5). — He himself observed his Head was out of Order, and had now and then some Thoughts of keeping within, and purging his Brain. It was believed his Wife *Cæsonia* had given him a Love Potion, which had distracted him. He was much troubled with Dreams; and never slept above three Hours in a Night: nor then quietly, but terrified with strange Representations; having once, among other instances of that Kind, fancied himself conversing with the Sea. So that being tired with lying awake great Part of the Night, he used sometimes to sit right up in his Bed, and sometimes to get up and walk about his Galleries, impatiently wishing for and expelling the Light. I think it but just to ascribe to a distempered Brain, his contrary Excesses of Boldness and Cowardice.' I confess that *Tiberius*, who, being a very wicked Man himself, but withal as great a Hypocrite, was very capable of judging of the wicked Inclinations of another, foretold that *Caligula* would prove a Plague to Mankind (6). I do not deny therefore, but that *Caligula* was naturally of a very pernicious Disposition; but he might have been able to conceal and correct

(5) *Suetonius in Calig. cap. i.*

(6) *Quod sagacissimus senex ita prorsus peripexerat ut aliquoties prædicaret, exitio suo omniumque Cælum vivere & se natricem (serpentis id genus) populo Romano, Phæntem orbis terrarum educare. Id. cap. xi.*

manner of his Free-Will : So that, if the Romans had even deposed him in Form, I do not know what Advantage the Enemies to Monarchy could have drawn from such a Proceeding. The Corruption of his Soul appeared very early ; for he was but yet a Boy, when he was surprized in the Act of Incest with one of his Sisters (b) [C]. He debauched them all, and kept one of them publicly, as his Wife [D]. But as we ought to do Justice to all the World, I must needs say, I think they do him wrong, who accuse him of Incest with his own Daughter [E]. He was as great a Blasphemer as ever lived. Like the Devil, he believed there was a God, and trembled ; and yet vented most abominable Blasphemies against the Deity [F]. He arrogantly usurped all Divine Honours,

(b) See the Remark [B], of the Article DRUSILLA (JULIA).

correct it, had it not been for *Cæsonia's* Drug. The beginning of his Reign was wonderful, and no Man ever acted a Part better than he did under *Tiberius*. * Omnibus infidiis tentatus elicientium cogentium- que se ad querelas, nullam unquam occasionem dedit, perinde obliterato suorum casu ac si nihil cui- quam accidisset: quæ vero ipse pateretur, incredi- bili dissimulatione transmittens. Tantique in avum, & qui juxta erant, obsequii, ut non immerito sit dictum: nec servum meliorem ullum, nec deterio- rem dominum fuisse. Naturam tamen sævam at- que probrosam, &c. (7). — He disappointed all the Stratagems which were used, in all kinds, to pro- voke his Repentment, by taking no more notice of the Injuries done to his Friends, than if nothing had happened to them, and putting up those com- mitted against himself with incredible Dissimula- tion. He was so exactly obsequious to his Grand- father, and those about him, that it has been justly said of him, There never was a better Servant, nor worse Master. Yet his natural Temper was cruel and abusive, &c. Which shows, that though, on certain occasions, he discovered the Fierceness of his Tem- per, yet he could be Master of himself, and govern his Passions by his Reason, whenever he had a Mind to it. If we enquire into his Conduct after this, we shall find in it the Symptoms of a Distemper, and the Marks of a Madman.

(7) Ib. ibid. cap. x.

[C] He was yet but a Boy, when he was surprized in the Act of Incest with one of his Sisters.] See, above (8), the Article of ANTONIA: You will there find in the Margin (9). *Suetonius's* Words which prove this Fact; as you will likewise in the following Remark.

(8) Page. 250.

(9) Citation (9).

[D] He kept one of his Sisters publicly as his Wife.] He had three Sisters, who all passed thro' his Hands: but *Drusilla* was always his Favourite: it was with her his Grandmother *Antonia* sur- prized him in the Fact, and it is she we mean in the Text of this Remark. The Sorrow he ex- pressed at her Death, and the Divine Honours he ordered to be paid her (10), are not the least Extravagancies of his Life. As for his other Sisters, he prostituted them to his *Catamites*; and afterwards punished them under the Pretence of Treason and Adultery: * Cum omnibus fororibus suis stupri con- suetudinem fecit, pleneque convivio singulari- fra se vicissim collocabat uxore supra cubante. Ex his *Drusillam* vitasse virginem prætextatus ad- huc creditur, atque etiam in concubitu ejus quon- dam deprehensus ab avia *Antonia* apud quam simul educabantur. Mox *Lucio Cassio Longino* consu- lari collocatam abduxit, & in modum justæ ux- oris propalam habuit. Hæredem quoque bonorum atque imperii æger instituit. — Reliquas forores nec cupiditate tanta nec dignatione dilexit, ut quas sæpe exoletis suis poltraverit. Quo facilius eas in causâ *Æmilii Lepidi* condemnavit quasi adulteras, & infidiarum adversus se conficias (11).

(10) See *Sueton.* in *Calig.* cap. x. *Senec. Conso- lat.* ad *Polyb.* c. xviii, lib. lix, pag. 744; *Dion.* ad *Ann. Urb.* 791.

(11) *Suet.* in *Ca- lig.* cap. xxiv.

[E] I think they do him wrong, who accuse him of Incest with his Daughter.] He satisfied his Lewdness with his own Sisters; and to ap- pear yet more prodigiously incestuous, he de- bauched a Daughter he had by one of them. This is what we find in the *Abbot de Marolles's* Translation of *Eutropius*; but I fear he did not rightly understand the Original. These are *Eutro- pius's* own Words: *Stupra fororibus intulit, ex una etiam natam filiam cognovit* (12). I am very much mistaken if the true Sense of those Words be not this; He conversed incestuously with his Sisters, and even owned himself Father of a Daugh- ter which one of them was delivered of. I am very sensible that the Latin Phrase *cognoscere fœminam*,

(12) *Eutr.* lib. vii, in *Caligula*.

may be proved, by Examples, to signify sometimes the enjoying a Woman; but, besides that these In- stances are rare, I cannot see any appearance why *Eutropius*, on such an Occasion, should use it in that Sense. That was not a proper Place for such decent and ambiguous Expressions: he had used the Word *stuprum*, speaking of a Brother with his Sister, and would surely, in the same Sentence, never have mentioned a Father with his Daughter in more palliating Terms. With *Casaubon's* (13) leave, I find no grounds for it. I add, that the usual Signification of *cognoscere* gives a good Sense to *Eutropius's* Words; for it was a new Degree of Impudence, to own, for his Daughter, a Child he had by his own Sister. To conceal an incestuous Commerce is paying some Regard to the Public; which is proportionably greater or less, according as that Commerce is made more or less a Secret: but to own, and father, the Children which are the Fruit of such Commerce, is defying the whole World. I do not object to *Mr de Marolles*, that *Caligula* was never reproached with the de- bauching his own Daughter; for my Construction of *Eutropius* is no more founded upon other Histo- rians, than his Translation. *Eutropius* is the only one I know, who takes notice of this Acknowledg- ment or Incest; which makes me very much suspect the Truth of his Observation. An Emper- or, who died before he was Twenty nine Years old, had a Daughter by his own Sister, grown up to Years of Maturity, and she also debauched by him, or boldly, and without reserve, owned by him for his Daughter from her Cradle, is a thing too extraordinary to be taken notice of only by *Eutropius*.

(13) He takes the Word in the same Sense with *Mr de Marolles*. See his Notes on *Sueton.* in *Calig.* cap. xxiv. *Con- rad. Dieterici* in *Vita Calig.* pag. 29, does so too.

Observe that, according to all Appearance, his first Commerce with his Sisters did not begin 'till after he went into his Grandmother's Family; and being at that time eighteen Years old (14), it is impossible he could have a Daughter from that In- cest grown to Years of Maturity before his Death. If it be urged, that *cognoscere* is not so proper a Word for the Sense I understand it in, as *agnos- cere* (15); I answer, *Eutropius* is not an Author of so very great Exactness of Style.

(14) See Remark [B], of the Ar- ticle DRUSILLA (JULIA).

(15) See *Plinif- cius*, in *Suet.* in *Jul.* cap. lii, n. 9.

[F] He believed there was a GOD, and trembled; and yet vented Blasphemies - - - against the Deity.] Here is a Passage of *Calvin*, which it will not be amiss to cite. * *Nemo in audaciorem, aut effrænatio- rem numinis contemptum prorupisse legitur quam C. Caligula: nemo tamen miserius trepavit cum aliquod iræ divinæ indicium se proferebat: ita Deum quem studebat ex professo contemnere in- vitus exhorrescebat* (16). — We no where read of a more presumptuous and daring Contemner of the Deity than C. Caligula: and yet no Body betrayed more wretched Instances of Fear on the least Appearance of divine Vengeance: So that he could not avoid dreading the very GOD he took such Pains to defy. This is founded upon *Suetonius*: He tells us, that the same *Caligula*, who pretended so great a Contempt of the Gods, crept under his Bed whenever he heard a loud Clap of Thunder. *Qui Deos tantopere contemneret ad mi- nima tonitrua & fulgura convivere, caput obvol- vere, ad vero majora proripere se à strato sub lectum- que condere solebat* (17). But we must observe, he was not always so timorous: sometimes he affected to be even with *Jupiter*, both as to his Thunder and Bolt: with the Noise of his Machines he would answer that of his Thunder, and when the Bolt was discharged from the Clouds, he would throw up Stones towards Heaven, and cry out to the Thunderer, *Eiſter thou shalt take me out of the World,*

(16) *Calv. Instit.* lib. i, cap. i.

(17) *Suet.* in *Ca- ligula*, cap. 51.

Honours [G], nor, was there any one Crime which he made a Conscience of committing (c). The last of his four Wives was called *Cæsonia*; she was neither young nor handsome, and yet he loved her passionately; though sometimes, in the midst of his Cares, he gave her some Proofs of his cruel, barbarous Temper [H]. He had, by her, one Daughter, who perished with her Father and Mother, in *Cassius Chærea's* Conspiracy (d), Anno Christi 41. *Lollia Paulina*, another of his Wives, was never married to *Caius Cæsar*, the Son of *Agrippa*, as the learned *Usher* has imagined (e) [I]. *Pbilo* mentions a Thought of *Caligula*, well worth considering [K]. *Seneca* wonders how this Emperor could insult others, by his Railleries, while

World, or I thee. Ταῖς τε θρονιαῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς
 τινὲς ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ταῖς ἀσπραῖς ἀνίστασθαι.
 καὶ οὕτως κερανύει καλὰ τινος λόγον ἀν-
 τικρίβειν, ἐπικρύβων ἐκαστὸ τῶ Ὀμίρῃ, ἢ ὡς
 ἀνείπει ἢ ὅς ποί. *Macchinam babetur ca tonitru-
 bus obftrictæ, ac contra fulgura fulguraret, ac quoties
 fulmen decidisset lapidem ejaculabatur, semper Ho-
 mericum illud addens, Tollite me, vel ego Te (18).
 Torrentius will have it, that these are rather the Words
 of a fearful than of a daring Person; and immediately
 cites Suetonius's Account of Caligula's Fear of
 Thunder: *Non tam comminantis quam timentis effe
 etiam, aut me occide, aut ego te. Exporfice autem
 Caium fulmina auctor est Suetonius (19).* But this
 seems forced and unnatural. The Terms in question
 can never be supposed to come from a Coward;
 they contain a bloody Challenge, from one
 resolved to fight it out to the last drop, and nei-
 ther give nor receive quarter. *Seneca* has ver-
 clearly explained it (20); 'Ad pugnam vocavit
 ' Jovem, & quidem sine missione, Homericum il-
 ' lum exclamans verum (21). --- He challenged
 ' Jupiter, very madly, repeating that Verse of
 ' Homer (21).' Another of his Impieties was, that
 at high Noon-Day he would approach *Jupiter's*
 Statue in the Capitol, that he might seem to con-
 verse with that Deity. Sometimes he would speak
 to him aloud, sometimes softly whisper into his
 Ear; and then, in his turn, he would put his Ear
 to *Jupiter's* Mouth. This Conversation never
 passed without high Words. One day he was heard
 to threaten *Jupiter* to send him back into Greece,
 εἰς γαίαν δαδανῶν πύθων ὅς. He boasted that
Jupiter, by submissive Prayers, had prevented the
 Effects of this Menace, and obtained the Favour
 of being lodged with him; for which Reason,
 said he, I have built a Bridge between my Pa-
 lace and the Capitol (22).*

[G] *He arrogantly usurped all divine Honours.* He would very often get in between the Statues of *Cæstor* and *Pollux*, where he would receive the Adoration of all Comers. He built himself a Temple, where were daily sacrificed to him the choicest Animals (23). Once he said he was *Jupiter*, and added, that for this Reason he had lain with so many Women, and with his own Sisters. Another time he was *Juno*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Bacchus*, and clothed himself in the Habits of every one of those Divinities (24). He caused a College of Priests to be founded for himself, of which his Wife *Cænonia* and his Uncle *Claudius* were Members: None but the wealthier sort were admitted into it, and who paid a great Price for that Dignity. He had a mind to be his own Priest, and for that Reason became one of that College; and he admitted also his Horse (25).

[H] He loved Cælonia passionately; tho' sometimes, in the midst of his Careless, he gave some Proofs of his cruel Temper.] This Passage of Balzac will serve as a Commentary upon these Words.

' Those Beauties, *says he* (26), who are beloved
 ' by Tyrants, are not late. - - - *Poppæa* was first
 ' Nero's Mistress, then his Wife, and always his
 ' Governess: she had subdued, and tamed this
 ' Monster, and yet he broke loose from her in the
 ' end; and in one passionate Moment killed her
 ' by a Kick on the Belly. His Uncle *Caius* was
 ' not so rough with *Cælonia*; however, in the
 ' very height of his Love, these were, amorous Ex-
 ' pressions: *This fine Head of your's shall be chopt*
 ' *off, as soon as I give the Word:* And sometimes
 ' he would tell her he had a mind to put her upon
 ' the Rack, that he might confess what it was
 ' made him love her so passionately.' This is taken
 ' from *Suetonius*. ' *Quoties uxoris vel amiculae col-*

‘Ium exosculetur, addebat, *tam bona cervix simul jacere demetur.* Quin & subinde jactabat exquiritur se vel fiducialis de Cæsonia sua curam tantopere diligeret (27).’ It is very strange that this Woman, who was neither young nor beautiful, and had had three Children by her Husband, should inspire such a Brute with so vehement and constant a Passion. But let Youth value itself as it will, we shall find, if we observe it, that the Address and Arts of a Woman between thirty and forty will secure her Empire, when once she is Mistress of a Prince’s Heart, far better than the artless Beauty of a Girl of fifteen. Besides, *Calpurnia*’s Mistress, and so very probably have a great many others of the same Stamp, found out several Secrets which would amply repair the fading Charms of Youth. However it be, *Suetonius* seems to be of opinion, that *Cæsonia* was so very much admired for the warmth of her Constitution. He was so extravagantly fond of her that he would needs shew her naked to his Friends. ‘Cæsoniam neque facie insigni neque ætate integra, matremque jam ex alio viro trium filiarum, sed luxuriæ ac lasciviæ perditæ, & ardentius amavit, & constantius, ut sæpe clamyde peltea & galea ornatum & juxta adequitamentum militibus ostenderet, amicis vero etiam nudam (28).’ He never owned her for his Wife till after she had a Child by him: It happened to be a Girl, and was much beloved by him, and he knew her to be his own Daughter chiefly by this Mark, that she would be constantly scratching the Faces of her little Play-Fellows. ‘Nec ullo firmiore indicio ipsi feminis esse credebatur, quam seritatis, quæ illi quocunque tanta jam tunc erat, ut infestis digitis ora & oculos simul ludentium infantum incesceret (29).’ Sure he, who put her to that Death, the *Plautius* might have befal the Children of *Babylon* (30), might very well say, he was crushing a Serpent just hatched. *Malis corvi malum ovis.*

[1] Lollia Paulina, one of his Wives, was never married to Caius Cæsar as _____ Uther has imagined.] That which mislead Uther was, that he thought those Words of Suetonius, in the Twenty sixth Chapter of the Life of Claudius, *Deque Lollia Paulina, quæ C. Cæsari nupta fuerat*, ought to be understood of the Grandson of Augustus: but if he had observed two things, he had not fallen into this small Mistake. He should first have considered, that Suetonius, in the twenty fifth Chapter of the Life of Caligula, informs us, that this Emperor married *Lollia Paulina*, and a little time after divorced her. Secondly, That Tacitus, in the fortieth Chapter of the fourth Book of his Annals, tells us, that *Caius Cæsar, Augustus's* Grandson, married *Livia*, the Daughter of *Druſus*, and Sister of *Germanicus*, and died before her; for we know she was married afterwards to *Druſus*, the Son of *Tiberius*. I am obliged for this Observation to the learned Father *Noris* (31).

[K] Philo mentions a Thought of Caligula well worth considering. Let us see what one of our modern Authors has made of it. 'So far, says he (32), 'am I from wondering that every Prince is not so deserving as he ought to be, that I am rather surprized that they do not reason with themselves as Caligula did, and that our blind Submission to their Wills, how unjust soever, does not always excite in them an extravagant Presumption. As they, whose Buyness it is to look after Herds of Cattel, falsify this Madman *, are not Brutes like them, but are of a more excellent Nature; so they, who have an absolute Command over Men, and are obeyed by all, ought not to be esteemed meer Men like their Subjects, but Gods. This is the natural

(27) Suet. in Calig. cap. xxxiii.

(28) Ibid. cap.
XXV.

(29) Ib. *ibid.*

(30) Periit una & uxor Caesonia gladio à Centurione confossa & filia parieti illisa. *Ib.* cap. lix, Psa. cxxxvii, ver. 9. *Happy shall be he that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the Stones.*

(31) Cenotaph.
Pisan. pag. 189.

(32) *The Abbot*
de St Real, Ce-
sarion, pag. 202.

• Philo Judæus,
in his Embassy.

while his own Person was the most ridiculous Object in his Empire [L]. It must be because he thought no one durst take that Freedom with him, which he did with others. Or perhaps because he was ignorant of his own Imperfections. One of his most extravagant Follies was to call out upon the Moon, when she was at the Full, to come and lie with him (f). Nay, he bragged he had enjoyed her (g). What shall we say of the Order of Priesthood he conferred upon his Horse (h)? See the last Remark [M]. He was so fit to be the Original of that Man of Sin, that Antichrist, the Apostle has given us a Description of, that I do not wonder some ingenious Men have applied that part of the Prophecies of the New Testament to him (i): Though I cannot say they have been right in their Guesses.

We shall see in the Article MACRON, that the Intrigues of a certain Woman were very serviceable to Caligula, in his Advancement to the Empire. A Professor of Utrecht, has, in one of his Orations (k), given us a lively Description of the wicked Qualities and monstrous Actions of this Emperor.

'natural Effect our Flattery must have upon the Minds of Princes; and this is what generally happened in the time of Paganism.' That we may judge of the Difference between one Author and another, I shall shew how St. Remond has confounded all this. 'About this time, says he (33), flourished Caius, that eminent Philosopher, to whom is attributed this ingenious Apophthegm. *He who is to command others, ought to be not only a Man, but more than Man; that is, much more virtuous and perfect than the rest; for as a Sheep is not intrusted with the Care of the Flock, so to govern Men, requires not a Man, but a GOD.* Pastor Ovium, says he, non est ovium, sed capra sed homo, ergo hominum Pastor aliud quam homo esse debet, Quid ergo? Deus. Other wife he runs the hazard of destroying both them, and himself.' The Reader may take the Pains, if he please, to count how many Blunders there are in the Words of this honest Monk.

[L] He insolently ridiculed others by his Raileries, while his own Person was the most ridiculous Object in his Empire.] He was the most foul-mouthed Man breathing, and of the worst Figure. Pale, with hollow rolling Eyes, hairy necked, bald-pated, enormous Feet, and spindle-shanked. And yet, as monstrous as he was in his Make, he ridiculed all Mankind, and said the most shocking things imaginable: as when he openly told Valerius Asiaticus, at a full Table, the Faults he found with his Wife whilst he was enjoying her (34). Let us hear what Seneca saith upon it: 'C. Cæsar inter cætera vitia quibus abundabat, contumeliosus mirabiliter ferebatur omnibus aliqua nota feriendis, ipse materia rursus benignissima. Tanta illi palloris insaniam testantis fœditas erat, tanta oculorum sub fronte anili latentium torvitas (35), tanta capitis destituti, & emendicatis capillis asperis deformitas. Adjice obseffam fetis cervicem, & exilitatem crurum, & enormitatem pedum. Immensum est, si velim singula referre, per quæ in patres avosque suos contumeliosus fuit, per quæ in universos ordines: ea referam, quæ illum exitio dederunt. Asiaticum Valerium in primis

amicis habebat, ferocem virum, & vix æquo animo alienas contumelias laturum. Huic in convivio, item in concione, voce clarissima, qualis in concubitu esset uxor ejus, objecti. Dii boni, hoc virum audire, Principem scire, & usque eo licentiam pervenisse, ut non dico consulari, non dico amico, sed tantum marito Princeps & adulterium suum narret, & fastidium (36)?' The Passage in Suetonius, which I have above quoted, shews that Valerius Asiaticus's Lady had a great many Companions in her Disgrace, and that there were many others who had their secret Imperfections betrayed by Caligula's Indiscretion. They who are acquainted with the Injury Henry III did himself by such an Indiscretion, will wonder the Roman Ladies had so small a share in the Plots against Caligula: for I believe they, in those Days, were as sensible, when provoked, in such Cases, as the Ladies in the Court of France were in the XIth Century. Now let us hear Mezerai. 'The King was told the League intended no less than to make him a Monk, and that the Dukes of Montpensier shewed the Scissars with which the intended to clip him. What provoked this Widow was the King's discovering some of her secret Imperfections; an Affront Women resent as much more unpardonable than an Attempt upon their Honour (37).'

[M] See the last Remark.] His Conversation with Jupiter's Statue, the pretended Secrets he whispered into his Ear, his Reprimands and Menaces during this worthy Conversation (38), his lying with the Moon, the Consulship appointed for his Horse, the Whim to make him dine at his Table, with an hundred other Passages, are incontestable Marks of Lunacy. He was wicked enough in Conscience, but yet he was at least some small matter more mad than wicked. One thing is certain, that he was no Atheist: All his Impieties are Instances that he believed there were Gods; and therefore the Author of the *Thoughts upon Comets* had Reason to produce him for an Example, that the most profligate Wretches, mentioned in History, have acknowledged a Deity.

CALLIRHOË, Daughter of the River Achelous, and Wife of that Alcmeon who killed his own Mother Eriphyle. She was married to him whilst he had another Wife living: He had made a Present to his other Wife of that famous Necklace which had been given to Eriphyle [A], to oblige her Husband Amphiarus to engage

[A] That famous Necklace, which had been given to Eriphyle.] The Necklace was of Gold, and had been made a present off by Venus, to her Daughter Hermione, the Wife of Cadmus (1). She gave her at the same time a Peplum, which is a sort of Robe. Both these Presents came into Eriphyle's Possession. The Necklace was given her by Polynece, and the Peplum by his Son Thersander. For the Necklace she betrayed her Husband, and her Son betrayed her for the Peplum. But to satisfy the Curious more particularly, I must add, that there are various Accounts concerning this Necklace of Hermione. Some have said (2), it came originally from Jupiter, that Jupiter gave it to Europa, Europa to Cadmus, and Cadmus to Hermione. Others say (3), Vulcan made it, and presented it to Cadmus. They

add (4), that he presented it out of Malice, on purpose to revenge on Hermione, who was the Fruit of the adulterous Commerce of Venus with Mars, the Injury his Wife had done him. He contrived it so, that it should be always fatal to those who had it in possession: for he made it of ominous Materials and Figures; and among other things, used the Ashes left behind upon the Anvil after the Forging of Thunderbolts (5). In a Word, he seemed resolved to make it a fatal Talisman; and hence it was, that Hermione, Semele, Jocasta, Eriphyle, &c. who were successively in the Possession of it, came all to unfortunate ends. It may be compared to the Gold of Toulouse, and the Horse of Sejanus. When Polynece being banished Thebes, fled to Argos, he took this Necklace, and the Peplum with him (6), Statius (7),

(33) That is, in the Reign of Perseus the last of the Macedonian Kings, Ann. Mund. 3826. See his Chronological Abridg. Tom. I, p. 697.

(34) Suetonius, c. xxxvi, tells us, that Caligula used to invite the most eminent Men of Rome, with their Wives, to dine with him, and, as the Fancy took him, retired with the Woman he liked best; and returning some time after, discovered the Lady's most secret Perfections and Imperfections. Recentibus adhibe læstiva notis reversus, vel laudabat palam, vel vituperabat, singula enumerans bona malave corporis atque concubitus.

(35) See Suetonius in Calig. cap. i. who gives us a Portrait of this Emperor, very like this, with some Touches not to be met with in Seneca.

(1) See Diod. Sic. lib. v, c. vi.

(2) Pherecydes, apud Apollod. lib. iii, pag. 171.

(3) Apollodorus, pag. 169.

(f) Sueton. in Calig. cap. xxii.

(g) Dio. lib. lix, pag. 761.

(h) Id. ibid.

(i) Vile Grot. in Tractatu de Antichristo.

(k) See the 13th Oration of Antonius Æmylius.

(36) Seneca. de Constantia, cap. xviii, pag. 693.

(37) Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment, Tom. V, ad Ann. 1583, pag. 315.

(38) See, above, Remark [G].

(4) Statius Theb. lib. ii, ver. 272, & seq.

(5) Siculaque include relicto Fulminis extremi cineres. Stat. Theb. lib. ii, ver. 279.

(6) Apollod. lib. iii, pag. 185.

(7) Theb. lib. ii, ver. 279.

(a) He lived at Psophis in Arcadia.

(b) He was persecuted by the Furies from the time he had killed his Mother.

(c) Καλλιρρόη τῇν Ἀλκμήανος ἀπέλευσε παρὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῷ Διὶ αἰτῆσαι. Callirhoë audito Alcmeonis interitum dum secum rem habet Jupiter ab ipso flagitat. *Apollod. lib. iii. pag. 199.*

(d) Gaudia post Veneris quæ pect munus amantem, Ipsa suas nolet pondus habere preces. *Ovid. de Art. Amand. lib. iii. ver. 805.*

(e) That of Acarnania.

gaged himself in the Theban Expedition. Callirhoë, having heard of this beautiful Necklace, told Alcmeon absolutely, and in plain Terms, that unless he would make a Present of it to her, she would lie with him no more [B]. The unfortunate Husband repaired to Phegeus (a), his other Wife's Father, and made him believe, that he was told by the Oracle, he should never be cured of his Madness (b), 'till he had offered up that Necklace to the Temple of Delphos. Phegeus delivered it to him; but being informed he designed it for Callirhoë, he gave order to his two Sons to murder Alcmeon, which they executed. Callirhoë was much concerned at his Death, but it was in such a manner, as much more inclined her to meditate Revenge, than to pine away with Sorrow. She passionately desired her Husband's Murder might be revenged; but at the same time could not forbear tasting the soft Delights of Love. It was in one of these amorous Engagements (c), she begged of Jupiter that the Children she had by Alcmeon, who were then very little, might, in a Moment, become Men [C]. This was taking him at a time when he could refuse her nothing (d). She frankly confessed, that the reason of her desiring that Favour, was, that her Sons might soon be in a Capacity to revenge their Father's Death. Her Request was granted, and her two Sons, Amphoterus and Acarnan, set out immediately to seek their Revenge. They found the Murderers of Alcmeon on the Road [D], as they were going to make an Offering of Eriphyle's Necklace and Robe to Apollo at Delphos. They killed them, and then went to Psophis, where they massacred Phegeus and his Wife. At their Return they were pursued as far as Tegea; where, meeting with timely Succour, they put the Enemy to flight. After having given Callirhoë an Account of their Proceedings, they departed for Delphos, there to consecrate the Necklace and Robe, as they were ordered by Achelous. After that they retired into Epirus, where they founded a Colony (e). As for the two Children, Euripides supposes Alcmeon had by the Prophetess Manto, we must understand their Father sent them to be brought up by Creon, King of Corinth. One of these was a Boy, called Amphilocbus; the other a Girl, and a perfect Beauty, named Tisiphone. Creon's Wife being apprehensive her Husband would marry her, got her to be sold, and Alcmeon bought her without knowing her. *Apollodorus*, from whom I have borrowed this Article,

(8) Dionys. l. v. and Nonnus (8) have given us a full Description of this Necklace; but particularly Nonnus is excessively lavish in his Expressions. *Statius's* Scholiast says (9), this Necklace was consecrated to Apollo, and thrown into a Fountain where it was still to be seen; but that whenever, they attempted to touch it, the Sun appeared angry, for Tempests arose immediately. The Tradition of *Pausanias* is not so chimerical. This Author (10) is of Opinion, that when the Temple of Delphos was pillaged by the Phœceans, *Hermione's* Necklace was part of their prey; and he shews, that the Necklace, said to be *Hermione's* and *Eriphyle's*, which was carried to the Temple of *Venus* and *Adonis* at *Amatonte*, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, was a counterfeit.

Diodorus Siculus assures us, that a Phœcean Lady, who, after the sacking of the Temple of Delphos, presumed to dress her self in *Eriphyle's* Ornaments, was burnt in her House, her eldest Son, animated by the Furies, setting Fire to it (11). See the Remark [S] of the Article *HELENA*. Note, that *Athenæus* (12) quotes an Author, who says the Necklace of *Eriphyle*, was actually consecrated by Alcmeon to the Temple of Delphos; and that *Apollo* demanded it as a reward for the Cure of his Madness. The Heathen Gods would do nothing gratis: That which you ask of me, saith the Oracle, is of great value; You desire to be restored to your Senses; You must therefore make me some rich Present, bring me your Mother's Necklace (13). *Apollo* acted the Merchant, and used the Conditions of a Contract *do ut des*: he was not contented with the voluntary Offerings of his Votaries, but liked to drive Bargains, and receive the Consideration.

[B] She told her Husband, that she would lie with him no more. I express it so, because she had already two Sons by him, when she demanded this Necklace. Correct therefore in *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, the mis-timing of Facts. They affirm Alcmeon made Callirhoë this Present, on Condition she would promise to be his Wife. *Apollodorus* and *Philostratus* take no notice of it: The last says expressly (14), that Alcmeon had two Sons by her, when she obliged him, against his Will, to fetch her the desired Necklace.

[C] She begged of Jupiter, that the Children she had by Alcmeon, might, in a moment, become Men. *Ovid* has given an Account of it, very well worth

our repeating. His Description of Alcmeon's part, as well as the rest, is very fine.

----- ultusque parente parentem
Natus, erit factio pius & sceleratus eodem:
Attonitusque malis, exul mentisque domusque,
Vultibus Eumenidum, matrisq; agitantur umbris:
Donec eum conjux fatale poposcit aurum,
Cognatumque latus Phegeius hauserit ensis.
Tum demum magno petet hos Achelœia supplex
Ab Jove Callirhoë, natis infantibus annos.
Addat: neve necem finat esse ultoris inultam.
Jupiter his motus privignæ vota (15) nurusque
Præcipiet: facietque viros impubibus annis (16).

A Son, possess'd with just yet impious Ire,
Shall kill his Mother to revenge his Sire.
Banish'd his home and sense in wild affright,
Furies shall haunt him, and his Mother's Spright:
Till his new Wife, the fatal Gold demands,
Then shall he perish by Phœgeian Hands.
Then shall Callirhoë of great Jove obtain,
Her infant Sons, a sudden Youth may gain:
Jove shall consent, thy Pow'rs exert; and then
Precipitate th' unrippen'd Boys to Men.

SEWELL.

Mr *Moreri* says (17), it was Achelous who obtained from Jupiter: that the Children of Alcmeon, should suddenly pass from Infancy to Manhood: Which takes away the Beauty of the Story, and falsifies it at the same time. He cites these Verses of *Ovid*, and therein condemns himself by that Testimony. *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, will have it, that Jupiter turned Alcmeon's Sons into Gods as soon as they were born. I believe they found nothing of this among the Ancients.

[D] They found the Murderers of Alcmeon on the Road. How then came *Charles Stephens* to pass such an Error upon us, to be bandied so long from one Dictionary to another? It is, that Phegeus's Sons died upon the spot with Alcmeon, *Qui tamen & ipsi ab eodem (Alcmeone) mutuis vulneribus petiti perierunt.*

(15) He means *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth, the Daughter of *Juno*, and Wife of *Hercules*.

(16) *Ovid. Met. lib. ix. ver. 408.*

(17) In the Article *CALLIRHOË*.

CALLIRHOË. CALLISTRATUS.

259

ticle (f), does not tell us how *Tisiphone* came to be known! It was, without doubt, the Catastrophe of one of *Euripides's* Tragedies.

We read in *Pausanias*, that *Clytius*, *Alcmeon's* Son by *Phegeus's* Daughter, withdrew himself from his Uncles by his Mother's Side, as not doubting but they were guilty of his Father's Death. He retired into *Elis*, where he left his Children. The Diviner *Eperastes*, who gained the Prize in the Olympic Games, was descended from him (g).

(f) Biblioth. lib. iii, pag. 199, de seq.

(g) Taken from Pausan. lib. vi, pag. 195.

CALLISTRATUS, an *Athenian* Orator, acquired a great Reputation and Credit in his Country. It was he, who induced *Demosthenes*, yet a School-Boy, to dedicate himself entirely to the Study of Eloquence; for, having pleaded with extraordinary Success, and in a set Speech, a Cause relating to the City of *Oropus*, it excited an ardent Desire, in the Mind of this Child, to raise himself by the Profession of an Orator. *Demosthenes*, admiring the Force of Eloquence, and the Glory which it procured to *Callistratus*, thought now of nothing else but distinguishing himself the same way (a). Some pretend, that he was already a Disciple of *Plato*, and that he quitted Philosophy, to apply himself to Rhetoric [A]. *Callistratus* was banished; the common Fate of those, who had the greatest Share in the Government of the Common-Wealth of *Athens*. He said a thing, during this Disgrace, which deserves to be praised, and which gave *Seneca* an occasion of laying down some good Maxims [B]. He, one Day, reproached the *Thebans* with the Parricide of *Oedipus*, and the *Argians* with that of *Orestes*; but *Epaminondas* gravely and subtly replied to him; *We banished them from our Cities, and you received them in yours* (b). *Melanopus*, the Rival of *Callistratus*, in the Management of public Affairs, suffered himself constantly to be gained over to him by Money; after which he would mount the *Rostrum*, and say to the People; 'It is

(a) Taken from Plutarch, in Vita Demosth. pag. 847, 848.

(b) Plutarch, de gerenda Republica, pag. 810.

[A] Some say, that, when *Demosthenes* attacked himself to *Callistratus* — he quitted Philosophy, to study Rhetoric. *Hermippus* reported it so, and even said, that it was by accident, that *Demosthenes* heard that fine Oration of *Callistratus*: for, going to the Academy, where *Plato* read his Lectures, he perceived an extreme Concourse of People, and enquired the reason of it; and, being informed, that they were going to hear a great Orator, he was desirous to see, whether the Eloquence of This Man deserved such great Eagerness. He was so charmed with the Harangue, that, from that time, he followed *Callistratus*, and renounced *Plato*, and his Academy (1). *Ita motus & demulctus & captus est, ut Callistratum jam inde sectari cœperit, Academicum cum Platone reliquerit* (2). *Henry Stephens* has corrected some Words in the Chapter, in which *Aulus Gellius* relates this. He even believed, that the *Callistrato Rhetore*, in the Title of the Chapter, is a Mistake, since *Callistratus*, who is styled an Orator, and a Demagogue, in the Chapter, ought not to have been called a Rhetorician in the Summary (3). I am of Opinion, however, that *Aulus Gellius* considered him as one, who taught Rhetoric, and who actually instructed *Demosthenes* in it; but I believe likewise that he is mistaken. However I would make no alteration in the Summary, because it ought to answer to the Contents of the Chapter.

(1) Taken from A. Gellius, lib. iii, cap. 13.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Henr. Steph. Specim. Emend. in A. Gell. pag. 193, 194.

[B] He said — a thing — which gave *Seneca* an occasion of laying down some good Maxims. These are that Philosopher's Words. *Callistratus* aiant, 'ita certe Hecaton auctor est, cum in exilium iret, in quod multos simul cum illo seditiosa civitas & intemperantur libera expulerat, optante quodam ut Atheniensibus necessitas restituendi exules esset, abominatum talem reditum. *Rutilius* noster animosus: cum quidam illum consolaretur, & diceret infatigare arma civilia; brevi futurum ut omnes exules reverterentur: Quid tibi, inquit, mali feci, ut mihi pejorem reditum quam exitum optares? Malo, ut patria exilio meo erubescat, quam reditu mereat. Non est istud exilium, cujus neminem non magis, quam damnatum, pudet. Quemadmodum illi servaverunt bonorum civium officium, qui reddi sibi penates suos noluerunt clade communi, quia fatius erat duos iniquo malo affici, quam omnes publico: ita non servat grati Homini affectum, qui bene de se merentem difficultatibus vult opprimere, quas ipse submoveat: qui etiam si bene cogitat, male precatur. Ne in patrocinium quidem, nedom in gloriam est, incendium extinxisse quod feceris (4). — *Hecaton informs us, that*

(4) *Seneca*, de Beneficiis, lib. vi, cap. xxxvii, pag. 134.

Callistratus, going into Banishment with several other Exiles, whom the City of Athens (at that time full of Sedition, and making an intemperate use of its Liberty) had driven out, and one of them wishing that necessity might oblige the Athenians to recal them, expressed great Horror at such a Wish. Our *Rutilius* spoke more like a Man of true Greatness of Mind. For a certain Person endeavoring to comfort him, and saying, that a Civil War was at hand, and that the Exiles would soon return to Rome; what Injury, said he, have I done you, that you wish me a Return worse than Exile itself? I had rather my Country should blush for my Banishment, than weep for my Return. It is not Banishment, when every one else has more reason to be ashamed of it, than the condemned himself. As therefore *Callistratus* and *Rutilius* behaved like good Citizens, in not wishing to return to their Houses on Condition of public Calamity, it being better that two Persons should suffer unjustly, than a whole People be involved in Misfortunes; so He, who wishes to see oppressed with difficulties a Person, who deserves well of him, on purpose that he may extricate him from them, does not preserve the sentiments of a grateful Man: for, let his Intention be never so good, his Wish is not so. It is very little to your Credit, to extinguish a Fire, you have your self lighted up.' *Seneca* had already expressed very nobly the same Thought by other Examples; and this, in order to prove, that it is ingratitude to wish, that One's Benefactor may stand in need of One's Assistance (5). 'Quis pius diceret Aeneam, si patriam capi voluerit, ut captivitate patrem eripiat? Quis Siculos Juvenes, ut bona liberis exempla monstrarent, si optaverunt, ut Aetna immensa ignium vi supra solitum ardens & incensa præcipit, datura ipsis occasionem exhibendæ pietatis, ex medio parentibus incendio rapta? Nihil debet Scipioni Roma, si Punicum Bellum ut finiret, aluit: nihil Decii, quod morte patriam servaverunt, si prius optaverant, ut devotionis fortissimæ locum ultima rerum necessitas faceret. Gravissima infamia est medicis, opus quaerere. Multi quos auxerant morbos, & incitaverant, ut majore gloria sanarent, non potuerunt discutere, aut cum magna miserorum vexatione vicerunt (6). — Who will call Aeneas pious, if he wished the City of Troy might be taken, that he might rescue his Father out of Captivity? Or the young Sicilians, if, in order to set their Children a good example, they wished, that Aetna, would throw out an uncommon Torrent of Fire, to give them an Opportunity of shewing their filial Duty, by snatching their Parents

(5) Qui optat amicaliquam necessitatem, quam adjutorio filiorum discutiat, quod est ingrati, se illi præferat, & tanti æstimat illum miserum esse, ut ipse gratus sit, ob hoc ipsum ingratus. — He, who wishes his Friend under any Difficulty, which he may help him out of, (which is ungrateful), prefers himself to him, and, by wishing his Friend miserable, that he may save his Gratitude, discovers by that very Wish his Ingratitude. *Seneca*, de Beneficiis, lib. vi, cap. xxxiv, pag. 132.

(6) Id. ibid. cap. xxxvi, pag. 134.

(c) Id. in Vita
Demosth. pag.
851, 852.

is true, *Callistratus*, who maintains the contrary Opinion, is my Enemy; but, in Cases of this Nature, I always submit to him; the Public Good ought to carry it (c).

Parents out of the Fire? Rome owes nothing to Scipio, if he prolonged the Carthaginian War, to have the honour of putting an end to it; nor to the Decii, for dying to save their Country, if they first had wished that an extreme necessity of Affairs might give them an Opportunity of bravely devoting themselves. Nothing can be more infamous in a Physician, them to make himself Work. Many have not been able to dispel, or have conquered with

great Vexation to their poor Patients; Diseases, which they themselves had increased (7).

We find in *Demosthenes*, a *Callistratus*, who was banished to *Metbona* in *Macedonia*, and whom the Athenians had twice condemned to Death, and who had a Daughter married to *Timomachus*, an Inhabitant of the Isle of *Thasus* (8). He is probably the same with the *Callistratus* of This Article: *Justus Lipsius* does not doubt it (9).

(7) This may confirm the Objections of the Manichees, which I speak of in the Remark [E] of the Article *ORIGEN*, N. IV; and in Remark [E] of the Article *PAULICIANS*.

(8) See *Demosth. Orat. adv. Polyclem.* pag. 712.

(9) *Lipsius* in *Senec. de Benefic.* lib. vi. cap. 37.

CALVIN (JOHN), one of the principal Reformers of the Church in the XVIth Century, born at *Noion* in *Picardy*, the tenth of July, 1509. Being designed for the Church, a Benefice in the Cathedral of *Noion*, was obtained for him early, and after that the Cure of *Pont l'Evêque* (a) [A]. But this first Design proved ineffectual; as well because *Calvin*, being engaged by *Robert Olivetan* to study Religion in it's Source, resolved to renounce all Superstitions: as that his Father, having altered his Mind, chose rather to make him an Advocate than a Divine. So that after he had finished his Humanity Studies at *Paris*, he was sent to *Orleans*, there to study the Civil-Law under the Direction of *Peter de l'Etoile* (b), and from thence to *Bourges*, to continue that Study under *Andreas Alciatus*. He made great Progress in this Science; and pursued his private Studies in the Holy Scriptures with no less Success. He learned Greek at *Bourges* under *Wolmar*, who was Professor there in that Language. Being recalled to *Noion*, upon his Father's Death, he staid there but a very short time; and went from thence to *Paris*, where he wrote a Commentary upon *Seneca's* Treatise *De Clementia* [B]. He was quickly

(a) A Village near *Noion*, where *Calvin's* Father was born.

(b) He was President in the Parliament of *Paris*, and called in Latin *Parvus Stella*.

[A] A Benefice in the Cathedral of *Noion* was obtained for him early, and after that the Cure of *Pont l'Evêque*. They who report *Calvin* was Canon of *Noion* are mistaken. The Benefice which was given him was not a Canonicate, but a Chapel called *de la Gessine*. He was preferred to this the Twenty first of May, 1521. As for *Pont l'Evêque*, he was made Curate there the fifth of July, 1529, by Exchange for the Cure of *Marteville*, to which he was presented the Twenty seventh of September, 1527. Whoever has a mind to see the Exchanges, Resignations, Sales, &c. of these Benefices, will find them in a Book of Mr *Drelincourt* (1). We there find, that in 1534, Monday, the fourth of May, *Calvin* resigned the Chapel of *la Gessine* to Mr *Anthony de la Marliere*, and the Cure of *Pont l'Evêque* to *Caim*. Mr *Maimbourg* therefore must be in the wrong, when he places this before *Calvin's* Journey to *Paris*, in 1532 (2). We must observe, that *Calvin* was never in Priests Orders; nor any farther an Ecclesiastic than by simple Tonsure.

[B] He wrote a Commentary upon *Seneca's* Treatise *de Clementia*. He dedicated it to *Claude Hangeest*, Abbot of *St Eloi* in *Noion*: The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Paris*, the fourth of April, 1532. This Book therefore must be writ in his Twenty third, and not in his Twenty fourth, Year, as *Beza* will have it (3). Mr *Varillas's* Faults, in relation to this Piece, are so enormous, that they are enough to make one renounce the Study of History: for so many Historians, of former Ages, having laboured under as strong Prejudices, as he has done, how shall one be assured that what they have related is any more to be credited, than his Falsities? If *Calvin's* Treatise had been lost, no body would dare to call in question what Mr *Varillas* has related with so many Circumstances. There is but too much reason to believe, there are a great many Historians of his Class. However it be, here follow his Falsities on the Subject now in hand.

I. *Calvin*, says he (4), presently gained their Esteem by a Book he wrote on Constancy, with an Intent to encourage them to suffer for the new Doctrine. This was neither the Title nor Design of that Book. II. It is surprizing to think this little Book should make that Noise it did in the World, and that *Calvin's* Panegyrist should prefer it to all the Pieces of Eloquence and Learning wrote either by the Ancients or Moderns upon the same Subject. We deny any body ever gave it that Character, and challenge Mr *Varillas* to produce any such Panegy-

rists. III. There are Faults in that Book unpardonable, were it not in respect to *Calvin's* Age, he being then but eighteen. He was then in his Twenty third Year. IV. There appeared nothing extraordinary in the Book on Constancy but continual Passion, and extravagant Figures. There is nothing like it in the whole Book, which is only an Explication of *Seneca's* Thoughts, confirmed by Authorities and Examples; the whole being composed in the Style of a Commentator. *Varillas* never saw this Piece; he took it for an Oration. V. The Sacramentarians burnt for their Heresies are extolled in it to the Skies, and preferred to the most illustrious Martyrs of the Primitive Church — and Francis I — is painted in the blackest Colours. There is not a Word mentioned, either in commendation of those who suffered Death for their Religion under Francis I, or against that Prince. How durst *Calvin* have published such a Piece as Mr *Varillas* would have this to be, at *Paris*, with his Name to it in Latin (5), and with that of the Abbot of *St Eloi*, who was the Patron? VI. The rest of this Piece contains nothing but Fragments taken out of *Seneca* the Philosopher, and patched very negligently together. The whole Piece is a continued Commentary upon *Seneca's* Treatise *de Clementia*. *Seneca's* Text is there entire, and, at the end of every Chapter, *Calvin* comments upon it after the manner I have already mentioned. VII. The most ridiculous thing of all is, that *Calvin* had not at that time found out that there were two *Seneca's* born at *Corduba* in Spain; one called the Rhetorician, by reason of his Eloquence, which he taught all his Life-time; the other, Son to the Rhetorician, and the most famous of the two, called the Philosopher, who was Nero's Tutor. Now as both lived to a good old Age, though the Philosopher obeyed *Crevo's* (6) Order for his Death, *Calvin*, who could not make the Distinction, attributed to one the Age of both, and made his imaginary *Seneca* live One hundred and forty Years. If Mr *Varillas* really believed *Calvin* to be then but eighteen Years old, it was not so ridiculous a thing for him to be ignorant at that Age, that there were two *Seneca's*. Nor is it true, that *Calvin* allowed his *Seneca* One hundred and forty Years, but about One hundred and fifteen. Observe, by the way, that this Author has given a much more just Account of this Piece in his History of Francis I. He composed, says he (7), a Commentary upon *Seneca's* Book *de Clementia*, to acquire a Reputation, by couching his Design under the Appearance of a Piece of Heathen Morality. He intended to insinuate into

(5) Having put his Latin Name in the Title-page of his Book, he changed his Surname of *Calvin* for that of *Calvin*. Maimb. Hist. du *Calvin*. pag. 57. Papyrus Maffio in Vita *Calvini*, pag. 412, says, that the Commentary upon *Seneca* de *Clementia*, appeared under the Name of *Lucius Calvinius Civis Romanus*.

(6) Read it Nero's.

(7) Varil's. Hist. of Francis I. Tom. II. lib. vii. pag. 251, Edit. of Holl. 1690.

ERRORS of *Varillas*.

(4) *Varillas's* History of Heresy, book x.

quickly known to those who had secretly embraced the Reformation. The Harangue he suggested to *Nicolas Copus*, Rector of the University of *Paris*, having very much displeased the *Sorbonne*, and Parliament, occasioned the beginning of a Persecution of the Protestants; inasmuch that *Calvin*, who had like to have been taken in the College of *Porteret* [C], retired into *Xaintonge* [D], after having had the Honour to confer with the Queen of *Navarre*, who appealed this first Storm. That Princess likewise delivered the learned *Faber Stapulenſis* out of the Hands of the Inquisitors, and sent him to *Nerac*. *Calvin* paid him a Viſit; after which he returned to *Paris*; in 1534. *Servetus* was there at that Time, and failed meeting him at a Conference agreed to be held between them. This Year proved very troublesome to the Reformers, for which reason *Calvin* resolved to quit *France*, after having published, at *Orleans*, a Treatise against those who believed that the Soul sleeps after leaving the Body [E]. He chose *Baſil* for the Place of his Retreat, where he studied *Hebrew*. There he contracted a particular Friendship with *Grynæus* and *Capito*; and though he was not greedy of Praise, he was obliged to publish a Work which contributed greatly to his Reputation. This was his *Chriſtian Inſtitution*, dedicated to *Francis I* [F]. After the Publication of this Book he went

to

* *Francis I*, who was a great Admirer of such Treatises, a Dislike of those Fires he had kindled throughout *France*, against those who were convicted of speaking against the Religion of their Fathers.

[C] He had like to have been taken in the College of *Porteret*. *Beza's* Silence makes me doubt what follows: 'The Lieutenant *Morin* — went well accompanied to Cardinal *le Moine's* College, where *Calvin* lodged, to seize him: but coming into his Chamber, they found he had escaped out at the Window by the Help of his Sheets, which were left tied to it (8). If this account were true (9) *Beza* would be a very ill Historian; for he says only, that *Calvin* happened to be then abroad, *quo forte domi non reperto* (10). *Varillas's* Account is the same with *Maimbourg's*, and he accompanies it with abundance of Circumstances (11).

[D] He retired into *Xaintonge*. He there met with a good Friend, at whose request he composed some short Christian Exhortations, which were read as Homilies in some Parishes, to accustom the People, by degrees, to search after the Truth. *Beza* (12) takes no notice of this Friend's Name, for what reason I cannot imagine: for a Man, in whom the good Seed had taken so deep Root, who retired with *Calvin* into *Switzerland* for the Sake of the Gospel, as this Historian informs us (13), very well deserved to have his Name remembered in the Life of this Great Reformer. It will not be amiss therefore to observe here, that his Name was *Lewis du Tillet* (14), and that he was Brother to *John du Tillet*, Register of the Parliament of *Paris*, and to another *du Tillet*, Bishop of *Meaux*. *Maimbourg* says (15), that this *Lewis du Tillet* was Canon of *Angoulême*, and Curate of *Claix*, and that 'he returned from his Error by the Remonstrances of his Brother *John du Tillet* — who went after him into *Germany*, to bring him back again to the Catholic Church.' This Author adds, that '*Calvin*, being abandoned by his Patron, and not daring after that to shew himself at *Angoulême*, went in search of others to *Poitiers*;' that he found some there, and got new Disciples, 'to whom he administered the Sacrament, after his new Way, in Caves and Grottoes.' I very much doubt the Truth, to say no worse, of this last Account; for if it had been true, *Beza* could not have been ignorant of it, and consequently would not have omitted it in *Calvin's* Life. Add to this, that if the Register, *John du Tillet*, went as far as *Germany* in search of the strayed Sheep, I mean his Brother the Canon of *Angoulême*, it must be after *Calvin* and this Canon were retired to *Baſil*, and during their stay there. Now *Calvin* not being then at *Angoulême*, *Maimbourg* ought not to have told us, that he durst no longer shew his Head there. In short, *Beza* assures us, that after this Journey to *Baſil*, *Calvin* returned only into *France* to settle his Affairs; and that afterwards he went thro' *Savoy* in his Way to *Baſil*, and stopt at *Geneva* in the Year 1536. 'Ex Italia — in Galliam regressus rebus suis omnibus ibi compositis, abduetoque, quem unicuique superstitum habebat, Ant. Calvino fratre, Basileam vel Argentinam reverti cogitantem, interclusis aliis itineribus per Allobrogum fines iter in-

stitutum prosequi bella cogerunt. Ita factum ut Genevam veniret (16). See the Remark [G].

[E] He quitted *France*, after having published, at *Orleans*, a Treatise against those who believed that the Soul sleeps after leaving the Body. 'Postquam Aureliæ insignem illum Libellum edidisset, quem Pſycopanaychian inscripſit, adversus illorum errorem qui dormire seſundas à corporibus animas, errore à vetustissimis usque sæculis repetito, docebant (17).'

[F] He was obliged to publish — his Christian Institution, dedicated to *Francis I*. Some say he composed the greatest Part of his Institution at *Lewis du Tillet's* House at *Claix* (18). This may be; but *Beza* takes no notice of it, nor of the Year in which it was published; although he observes the occasion of it. He says (19), That *Francis I*, to curry favour with the German Protestants, who he knew were highly incensed at the Cruelties their persecuted Brethren suffered in *France*, made use of an Evasion suggested to him by *du Bellai* (20); which was, to persuade them that he only punished a Company of Enthusiasts, who under the Name of Anabaptists substituted their pretended Inspirations to the Scriptures, and despised the Magistracy. *Calvin* thought himself obliged to make an Apology for the Reformed, who were burnt in *France*: It was this engaged him to publish his Institution, with a Dedicatory Epistle to *Francis I*, which is one of those three or four Prefatory Pieces so much admired (21). It is dated from *Baſil*, the first of *August*, 1536. This Date agrees perfectly with *Beza's* Account; for it was in 1535 that *William du Bellai* made use of that miserable Subterfuge, verifying exactly that old *Proverb*, *You take us for Germans*. Here is what we find of it in *Calvin's* Life. 'Eedere coactus est Christianæ Religionis Institutionem, quam vocavit, operis longè maximi rudimentum. Quum enim illam *Francisci Regis* carnificinam agere ferrent Germani Principes, qui Evangelio nomen derant, & quorum ille tum amicitiam ambebat, hoc unum ille *propter carum*, auctore *Gulielmo Bellai*o Langæo repererat, ut sese non nisi in Anabaptistas pro verbo divino suum tantum spiritum jactantes, & omnium Magistratum contemptores animadvertisse diceret. Hoc verò dedecus veræ Religionis inſultum non ferens *Calvinus*, ejus edendi libri occasionem arripuit, meo quidem judicio incomparabilis: addita excellenti ad Regem ipsum præfatione, quam si forte legisset ille, aut ego vehementer fallor, aut magnum esset illi meretrici Babylonice jam tum vulnus illatum (22). — He was obliged to publish his Institution of the Christian Religion, which he gave as the Specimen of a very large Work. For *Francis I*, having, by his cruel Executions, greatly disgusted the German Princes, who had espoused the Gospel, and whose Friendship he courted, contrived this only cunning Expedient, by the Advice of *William du Bellai*, Lord of *Langai*, to declare to them, That he had only proceeded against Anabaptists, who set up their Eutheusiasm against the Word of GOD, and contemned all Magistracy. *Calvin*, not being able to bear this Reflexion cast upon the true Religion, took occasion to print that Book, in my Opinion an incomparable

(16) *Beza* in Vita *Calvini*, pag. 368.

(17) *Id. ibid.*

(18) *Maimbourg's* History of *Calvinism*, pag. 59. *Varillas's* Hist. of *France* I, lib. vii, pag. 251; History of Heresy, lib. x, pag. 376.

(19) *Beza*, in Vita *Calvini*, pag. 367. See also *Calvin*. Pref. in Psalm cited below in Remark [U].

(20) See, above, Remark [B], of the Article *BELLAI* (*WILLIAM* da).

(21) *Thuanus's* Epistle Dedicatory, and *Caſaubon's* Preface to *Polybius*, are of that Number. See *Alexander Morus*, in the Panegyric upon *Calvin*, pag. 22, and *le Fevre's* Notes in I. *Scaligerana*, pag. 40. We must join to these the Preface of *Mr Pelisson*, on the Works of *Sarrasin*.

(22) *Beza* in Vita *Calv.* p. 367.

(8) *Maimb. Hist. of Calvinism*, pag. 53.

(9) This Account is founded on *Papyrus Masſo* in Vita *Calv.* pag. 414.

(10) *Beza*, ubi supra, pag. 367.

(11) Hist. de *Franc.* I, lib. vii, pag. 251, Hist. de l'Heresie, lib. x, pag. 336.

(12) In Vita *Calv.* Oper. Tom. III, pag. 367.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) See The Defence of *Calvin*, by *Mr Drelincourt*, pag. 40.

(15) History of *Calvinism*, p. 59.

VOL. II.

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to wait on the Dukes of Ferrara, a Princess of exemplary Piety, who received him very graciously. He returned from thence into France; where having settled his

'one: and added an excellent Prefatory Epistle to the King himself, which if he had chanced to have read, I am much mistaken, but it would have given a fatal Wound to that Whore of Babylon.' Beza pretends, that Calvin, after the Publication of this Book, went into Italy, to pay a Visit to the Dukes of Ferrara: from whence being returned into France, and having settled his Affairs, he had a mind to return to Basil, or Strasburg, through the Territories of the Duke of Savoy, but was obliged to stop at Geneva, where he was declared Minister, and Professor of Divinity in the Month of August, 1536. This is so inconsistent with the Date of the Preface, that it is needless to prove the Inconsistency. See, below, the Remark [U]. I do not oppose Mr Spon to Beza: Spon says (23), that in September 1536, Farel persuaded Calvin to settle at Geneva, not to preach but teach Divinity (24). We should never have done, were we to quote all the chronological Differences we meet with in the Relations of different Authors. For Example, Mr Leti says (25), that Calvin arrived at Geneva the fourteenth of September. This carries us a great way from Beza's Month of August; for according to Mr Spon, whom Leti does not at all contradict, Calvin a long time resisted Farel's Importunities. Mr Leti supposes, that Calvin, as a Man of Wit, expected to be intreated, and made a great many Excuses, till the Syndics joined with the Ministers in their Solicitations. But let us return to his Christian Institution.

The first time it appeared it was only like the rough Draught of a great Work (26). The Author retouched it afterwards more than once, and rendered it so excellent, that Scaliger himself could not but admire it (27). Thurius's famous Distich is known almost to every Body:

Præter Apostolicas post Christi tempora chartas
Huic peperere libro sæcula nulla parem.

No Christian Work has been so much admir'd,
Except those only, Heaven itself inspir'd.

(26) Operis longè maximi rudimentum, Beza in Vita Calv. pag. 367. Neque enim densum hoc, & laboriosum opus, quale nunc extat, sed breve duntaxat Enchiridion tunc in lucem prodit. Calv. Pref. in Psalmos.

(27) See I. Scaligeriana, p. 40. & II. Scal. p. 14.

(28) See Remark [M], of the Article STURMIUS (JOHN).

(29) Gefn. Biblioth. fol. 395 verso.

(30) Beza in Vita Calvini, ad Ann. 1538, says so. But note, that Calvin's Preface to his last Latin Edition is dated August 1, 1559; and that this Edition in Folio, printed by Robert Stephens at Geneva, is dated 1559.

The first Edition was printed at Basil in 1535, in 8vo; The second at Strasburg 1536, in Folio, where Calvin was then Divinity Professor and Minister: It was larger, and more correct, than the former. And the same may be said of the third in regard to the second. This third Edition was printed at Strasburg in 1543. It is to this Edition (28) John Sturm's Words relate, which are usually printed at the Head of the Work. 'Johannes Calvinus homo acutissimo ingenio summaque doctrina, & egregia memoria præditus est, & Scriptor est varius, copiosus, purus, cujus rei testimonium est Institutio Christianæ Religionis, quam primo inchoatam, deinde locupletatam, hoc vero anno absolutam edidit. — John Calvin is a Man of great Parts and Learning, and excellent Memory; he is, in general, a copious and clear Writer, as appears from his Institution of the Christian Religion, which he printed first as a Specimen, afterwards much enlarged, and now this Year absolutely completed.' Gefner (29) had been told, in the Year 1554, that they were preparing a fourth Edition of it in the same Place, with new Additions. That therefore of Geneva in 1550, by John Gerard, in 4to, must be the fifth at least. The Title informs us that it was corrected in a great many Places, and enriched with two Indexes. 'Nunc ex postremâ Autoris recognitione quibusdam locis auditor, infinitis vero castigatio — additi sunt Indices duo locupletissimi; unus rerum insignium, alter verò locorum omnium, quos partim ex sacris Bibliis, partim ex aliis Theologiæ Doctoribus, Author tanquam ex divite penu in suum usum vel apte transtulit, vel docte interpretatus est.' The Author's last Revision, both of the Latin and French Editions, was in 1558 (30). It was then the Work was divided into four Books, and each Book into several Chapters, which amounted in all to eighty, having eighteen in the first Book, seventeen in the second, Twenty five in the third, and twenty in the fourth. The Edition of 1550 is divided only

into Twenty one. Varillas therefore falsely asserted, that, about the Year 1535, Calvin's Institution was printed in four Books, and One hundred and four Chapters (31). But he was led into that Error by Papyrius Masso, whose Words are these: 'Basilæ anno 1536, publicavit de Institutione Christianæ Religionis libros quatuor — illa Institutione sæpe acta & millies excusa capitibus centum & quatuor — rejicit, &c. (32). — At Basil, in the Year 1536, he published the Institution of the Christian Religion, in four Books — that Institution being often enlarged, and a thousand times printed with One hundred and four Chapters — he rejects, &c.' I have elsewhere observed (33), that Beza was blamed for his altering and correcting every new Edition of his Notes upon the New Testament. Bosset presses Calvin with the same Complaints, or rather with gross Insults, for the frequent Corrections of his Institution. 'I cannot, says he (34), pass by one thing mentioned by Beza, to the great Honour, as he thinks, of his Master, Father, and Friend, Calvin; which is, that being detained at Home by Sickness, and hindered from his public Function, reading and preaching, yet he lost no time; for he studied so hard at Home, that he began and finished, during that Confinement, his last Christian Institution; both in Latin and French. It would be proper to ask Beza what he means by this last Institution, for I never saw any more than the first which he wrote, and published a great while before. If the first was so well written, and so intirely compleat, what need was there of mending it so often? Here is the Discovery of a Falshood advanced by Beza, in saying his Master, Father, and Friend, Calvin was so compleatly learned, that he never retracted any Sentence or Proposition he once delivered, either in speaking or writing. For being censured and accused of Heresy, for several false Propositions in the first and second Edition of his Institution, he adjusted and corrected them, and then, suppressing the first, he reprinted the same Book thus corrected. After this he bid Defiance to all those who censured and reproved his Errors, and called them Liars, Impostors, and Slanderers, referring himself to this last Edition of his Institution, in which he had corrected those Errors; and, by this Device, passed himself upon the World for a perfect and infallible Doctor, who never retracted what he had once advanced.' If Maimbourg may be credited (35), Calvin's Christian Institution appeared first in French.

Spondanus (36) says the same thing, and adds, that it was printed at Basil the first of August, 1535, and that it had in the Title Page a flaming Sword with this Motto, Non veni mittere Pacem sed Gladium, — I came not to send Peace but a Sword. I cannot tell whether they are in the right; but this I know, that, before the Year 1544 (37), there were French Editions of it, and that Calvin himself had translated it into French. It has appeared likewise in Italian (38), High-Dutch, Low-Dutch, Spanish (39), and English. But Mr Teissier should not have taken Papyrius Masso's Millies Excusa in the literal Sense. He affirms, saith Mr Teissier (40), that it was so well received by the Public, as to pass thro' above a thousand Editions in a little time. Papyrius Masso could never mean so. You will find, in the Remark [BB] of this Article, and in the Remark [B] of the Article SCHULTINGIUS, a Supplement to this.

Here is the Extract from a Letter. 'The oldest Edition there is of Calvin's Institution, in the Library of Geneva, is an Octavo of Five hundred and fourteen Pages, printed at Basil, by Thomas Platterus and Balthazar Latius, in March, 1536. At the end of the Book is the Figure of Minerva, with this Motto, Tu nihil invita facies, dicebat Minerva. The first Forty two Pages are wanting. So that it cannot be known by this Copy, whether the flaming Sword was in this Edition: It is in several others both Latin and French, as in a French one of the Year 1545, and another of the Year 1561 (41). I have observed

(31) Varill. Hist. de François I, lib. vii, pag. 249.

(32) Papyr. Masso, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 414, 415.

(33) Above, Remark [E] of the Article BEZA.

(34) Hist. de Calv. cap. xxii, pag. 107.

(35) Histoire du Calvin. pag. 60.

(36) Ad Ann. 1535, n. 6.

(37) Gefn. Biblioth. fol. 396, verso.

(38) See the Article PASCHALI (JULIUS CAESAR).

(39) This was done by Cyprian de Valera, and printed in the Year 1597, in 4to.

(40) Eloges des Hommes Savans, Tom. I, pag. 246.

(41) Taken from a Letter of Mr Turretin, wrote the seventh of June, 1700.

his Affairs, he prepared to set out for *Strasbourg*, or *Basil* [G], accompanied by *Anthony Calvin*, the only Brother he had living: But the War having left no other Passage open, but through the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominions, he took that Course. This seemed a particular Direction of Providence, which had designed him for *Geneva*; for, intending only to take that place in his Way, he found himself detained there, as it were, by an Order from above [H]; for *William Farel* solemnly denounced

served, that *John Girard*, the Bookseller, who printed this Institution in *Latin*, in the Year 1550, in 4to, did not put this Motto, *Non veni pacem mittere sed gladium*, round the flaming Sword, as he did in the Title Page of *Calvin's* Treatise against the phantastic and furious Sect of the Libertines, in the Year 1545; but I have also observed, that he has used this Motto in the *French* Edition of the Institution, of the Year 1553, in 4to. To conclude, I do not take this Edition of *Basil*, by *Thomas Platterus* and *Balthazar Latius*, in *March*, 1536, to have been the first: I shall give my Reasons in the Remark [B] of the Article SCULTINGIUS.

THE Order of Calvin's Travels.

[G] He prepared to set out for *Strasbourg* or *Basil*. Every rational Person will agree with me, that as to the Historical Order of *Calvin's* Travels, no Author deserves more Credit than *Beza*, in such things as neither contribute to, nor diminish, *Calvin's* Reputation. Since therefore he has told us, that *Calvin* left *Paris* in order to go to *Xaintonge*, that from *Xaintonge* he returned to *Paris*, from whence he retired to *Basil*; that from *Basil* he went to *Ferrara*, from *Ferrara* came back into *France*, and from *France* went to *Geneva* with an Intent to proceed farther, either to *Basil* or *Strasbourg*, we ought to receive this Account as more authentic than those of *Maimbourg* and *Varillas*: For whether or no *Calvin* went from *Ferrara* directly to *Geneva*, or returned first into *France*, and thence to *Geneva*, is on neither side material to his Reputation. I believe therefore, all sensible Men will reject what *Maimbourg* has reported (42), that *Calvin*, having travelled into *Germany* with *Lewis du Tillet*, returned into *France*, preached secretly at *Poitiers*, where he converted some of the Magistrates and Professors, with a great many other Disciples, to whom he administered the Sacrament, after his Mode, in Caves; that he returned to *Paris*; that, finding the Persecution more violent than ever, he forsook *France* quite, and sheltered himself at *Basil*; that from *Basil* he went to *Ferrara*, from whence, being constrained to fly, he went to *Geneva*, with a Resolution of returning to *Basil*. The Adventures at *Poitiers* are so much to *Calvin's* Honour, that it is very strange *Beza* should be ignorant of them, and more strange still that, if he knew them, he should take no notice of them in *Calvin's* Life. As for Mr *Varillas*, he tells us (43), that *Calvin* and *Lewis du Tillet*, designing for *Germany*, parted at *Geneva*, *Tillet* the Register, who over-took them here, having persuaded his Brother to return; that *Calvin* continued his Journey as far as *Strasbourg*; that he conferred there with *Bucer*; that he returned into *France*; that he fixed at *Poitiers*, where he gained a great many Profelytes; that he sent some of them into the Provinces, as his Apostles, to preach the Gospel; that he returned to *Paris*; that he left it soon after to go to *Strasbourg*, where he founded a Church of French Refugees, and taught Divinity; that, having spent two full Years in this painful Occupation, he went from thence to *Ferrara*; that, not daring to stay there any longer (44), nor knowing where to dispose of himself, he bent his Course to *Geneva*, where *Farel* detained him in the Year 1536. This Account is full of Falsities and Anachronisms: For, I. When *Calvin* and *Lewis du Tillet* went into *Germany*, they did not pass through *Geneva*, but through *Lorraine*, and arrived together at *Basil*. 'Secedere ex Galliâ statuit, eoq. consilio una cum illo quicum eum apud Santonas aliquandiu vixisse diximus iter Basileam versus per Lotharingiam ingressus, non procul urbe Metensi in in maximam difficultatem incidit - - - adeo ut vix Argentinam indeque Basileam provenerint' (45).

(42) Hist. de l'Herésie, lib. x. pag. 337, & seq.

(44) Ibid. lib. xi. pag. 3, 30.

(45) Beza in Vita Calvin. pag. 367, ad Ann. 1534

'in Xaintonge, I have mentioned his having resided for some time, he met with so much Difficulty near the City of Metz, - - - that - - - he had much ado to get safe to Strasbourg, and from thence to Basil.' II. *Calvin* at that time only passed through *Strasbourg*, and returned not into *France* till after he had seen the Court of *Ferrara*. III. He was not Minister and Professor at *Strasbourg*, till after he was driven from *Geneva* in 1538. IV. Lastly, this Account suffers more than Mr *Maimbourg's*, from *Beza's* Silence. You may please to observe, that the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches, wrote by this last Author, does not give the least hint, that *Calvin* had any hand in beginning the Reformation at *Poitiers* (46). Such a Silence in that History would be very unaccountable, if all the Relations of other Authors contained any thing of Truth in them. The Author of the *Historia Genevina* (47) supposes, that *Calvin*, having left *Paris*, on account of the Edict of Banishment published against the Lutherans by Queen *Catherine* (48), who then had the whole Administration, retired to *Angoulême*, where, not being able to live any longer than three Years, he was after that constrained to pass into *Italy*, from whence escaping almost by a Miracle (49), he went to *Geneva* in 1536. One must be very cunning to find at that time a Queen *Catherine* in *France*. Besides, *Beza*, in the fourteenth Page of the first Book of his Ecclesiastical History, tells us, that *Calvin*, being retired into *Xaintonge*, returned the Year following to *Paris*.

Observe, that *Varillas's* Account is copied from *Florimond de Remond*: See, below, the Remark [A]. The Principle, laid down in the beginning of this Remark, will serve very well to refute those who say (50), that *Calvin*, being a Student at *Orleans*, revolved from the Romish Church, and went into Italy, residing principally at Rome, Venice, and Padua; that he returned from thence to *Paris*; that he had like to have been seized by the Lieutenant-Criminal; that he retired to *Noion*, where he disposed of his Benefices; after which he went into *Gascony* and *Bern*, in the Year 1533, where he was not well received, because he was a Sacramentarian; that he went from thence to *Geneva*, where he was very near being thrown headlong from the Bridge (a Punishment in use there), for spreading his Doctrines; that escaping from thence he fled to *Lausanne*, but returned a little while after to *Geneva*, where several being already infected in the Article of Religion, he from that time enjoyed his full Liberty. This is the Substance of an Information, communicated by a Notary of *Noion* to *Cornelius Vander Myle*, which Mr *Drelincourt* has inserted in his Defence of *Calvin*, where he observes (51), that *Andrew Rivetus* had before published it in his *Jesuita Papalans*. *James Desmay*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, published at *Roan*, 1657 (52), a little Book, intitled, *Remarks upon the Life of that Arch-Heretic*, John Calvin, extracted from the Registers of *Noion*, the Place of his Nativity. He says (53), pag. 39, that *Calvin* ran through the Universities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Toulouse*, and *Padua*, that he travelled to Rome, Venice, *Bern*, and to several other Places; that he staid but a little while at Rome and at Venice; and that he was much longer at Padua. Reject, without scruple, out of the Catalogue of his Travels, all those which are not mentioned by *Beza*. Had they been real, he could not but have known them; and had he known them, he would infallibly have recorded them, since they would have done honour to *Calvin's* Reputation. I am surprized to see so many unprofitable Forgeries.

[H] He found himself detained at *Geneva* - - - as it were by an Order from above. 'Farellus ut erat plane vir ille spiritu quodam heroico afflatus, multis cum verbis frustra obtestatus, ut secum potius

(36) See that History, lib. i. pag. 63.

(47) Tom. III. pag. 152.

(48) He means, without doubt, Catherine de Medicis.

(49) Hist. Genev. Tom. III. pag. 40.

(50) See Mr Drelincourt's Defence of Calvin, pag. 35, & seq.

(51) Ibid. p. 37.

(52) Ibid. p. 155.

(53) Ibid. pag. 166, 167.

denounced the Curse of GOD upon him, if he refused to be his Fellow-Labourer in that Part of the Vineyard. Calvin, therefore, found himself obliged to accept of the Office, which the Consistory and Magistracy, with the Consent of the People, had offered him, as well that of their Preacher, as Divinity Professor [I]. The latter he complied with, and would have declined the former; but he was at last forced to undertake both Functions, in the Month of August 1536. The Year following he made all the People solemnly swear to a Form of Faith, and abjure Popery: And because the Reformation of Doctrines had not removed that Corruption of Manners, which had prevailed in Geneva, nor that factious Spirit, which had so much divided the principal Families, Calvin, assisted by his Colleagues, declared, that, as all their Remonstrances had proved ineffectual, they could not celebrate the Holy Sacrament whilst those Disorders continued. He declared likewise, that they could not submit to the Regulations lately made by the Synod of Bern [K], and that they desired to be heard in the Synod, which was held at Zurich. Upon this the Syndics, having summoned the People, Calvin (c), Farel, and another Minister, were ordered to depart the City in two Days time, for refusing to administer the Sacrament. Calvin retired to Strasburg, where Bucer and Capito gave him a thousand Marks of their Friendship and Esteem. He founded a French Church at Strasburg, where he himself was the first Minister, being likewise appointed Divinity Professor. However he continued his Affection for the Church of Geneva, which appeared, among other Things, in the Answer, he composed in 1539, to the fine artful Letter of Cardinal Sadolet (d) [L], Bishop of Carpentras. Two Years after, The Divines of Strasburg desired he might assist at the Diet the Emperor had called at Worms and Ratibonne, to see if it were possible to reconcile the Differences in Religion. He therefore appeared there along with Bucer, and conferred with Melancthon. They of Geneva made such pressing Instances to have him again, that at last he agreed to continue their Minister for a certain Term (e): but they were to wait for his Return from the Diet of Ratibonne. He re-entered Geneva the thirteenth of September, 1541, to the infinite Satisfaction of the People and Magistracy. The first thing he did, was to establish a Form of Discipline, and a Consistorial Jurisdiction, with Power to exercise Canonical Censures and Punishments, even to Excommunication exclusive. This displeased a great many, who urged, that it was restoring the Roman Tyranny; however the thing was executed: And this new Canon passed into a Law, in a general Assembly of the People, the twentieth of November, 1541. Both the Clergy and Laity engaged themselves to a perpetual observance of it. The inflexible Severity, with which Calvin, on all Occasions, maintained the Rights of his Consistory, raised him a great many Enemies (f), and occasioned some Disorders in the Town. He was frightened at nothing; and it would be difficult to believe, if there were not incon-

testable

(c) In 1538.

(d) He wrote it to the Senate, Council, and People of Geneva, to exhort them to return into the Bosom of the Church.

(e) This Clause was afterwards released, by the Magistrates of Strasburg.

(f) See the Article BERTHELIER.

tus Genevæ laboraret, quàm longius excurreret, nec ei facile Calvinus assentiretur. At ego tibi, inquit, studia tua prætexenti denuntio omnipotentis Dei nomine, futurum ut nisi in opus istud Domini nobiscum incumbas, tibi non tam Christum quam teipsum querenti Dominus maledicat (54). — Farel being a Man of a truly heroic Spirit, after having used a great many Arguments to no purpose, to prevail with Calvin to stay and assist him at Geneva, rather than proceed any further, said to him, Behold I declare to you, in the name of Almighty GOD, that unless you will here become Fellow-Labourer in the Work of the LORD, his Curse will be upon you for seeking yourself rather than CHRIST.

[I] He accepted the Office — as well of Preacher, as Divinity Professor. This is so plain from Beza, that Mr Moreri could not possibly be deceived. Calvinus sese Presbyterii, & Magistratus voluntati permittit, quorum Suffragiis accedente plebis consensu delectus non Concionator tantum (hoc autem primum recusavit) sed etiam sacrarum literarum Doctor, quod unum admittebat, est designatus Anno Dom. 1536. mense Augusto (55). — Calvin complied with the desires of the Ministers and Magistrates, by whose Election, together with the consent of the People, he was not only appointed to the Office of Preacher (which he at first refused) but also to that of Professor of Divinity, (which was the only one he liked) in August 1536. What can be more particular? And yet neither Mr Spon nor Mr Leti among the Protestants, nor Maimbourg among the Papists, have understood this Fact. Farel, willing to detain Calvin at Geneva, says Spon (56), 'was refused by him a long time; but Farel, persisting more vehemently in his Importunities, prevailed with him at last, not to preach, but to teach Divinity. Mr Leti says as much. Calvinus

si lascio persuadere di fermarsi non già con la condicione di predicare, di che ne lasciava a gli altri la cura, ma d'insegnare la Theologia (57). — Calvin was persuaded to stay, not in the Capacity of Preacher, which he chose to leave to others, but of Professor of Divinity. And here are Maimbourg's Words: 'They divided between them the Employments of the Ministry. Farel, who used to thunder from the Pulpit, continued his Sermons, and Calvin, who had not the Faculty of speaking in public, undertook to teach Divinity, as he understood it, without having studied it (58).

[K] He declared — that they could not submit to the Regulations, lately made by the Synod of Bern. The Church of Geneva made use of leavened Bread in the Communion: They had likewise removed out of their Churches the Baptismal Fonts; and abolished all Festivals except Sundays. Now the Churches of the Canton of Bern disapproved of these three Things; and, by an Act made in a Synod held at Lausanne, required that the use of unleavened Bread, the Baptismal Fonts, and the Festivals should be established again in Geneva. These were the Regulations, with which Calvin refused to comply (59).

[L] The Answer, he composed in the Year 1539, to the — Letter of Cardinal Sadolet. This Answer is in Calvin's Volume of Opuscula; it was dated at Strasburg the first of September 1539, and it is certain Calvin did not return to Geneva till 1541. This has not been sufficiently attended to, in the Historia Genevina (60). Questa Lettera fu ancora comunicata a Calvino in Strasburg; che pure rispose ma dopo ritornato in Geneva. — This Letter was communicated to Calvin at Strasburg; which he answered indeed, but not till after he returned to Geneva.

(57) Historia Genev. Tom. III. pag. 41.

(58) Hist. de Calv. pag. 64.

(59) Beza in Vita Calvini pag. 369, ad Ann. 1538.

(60) Tom. III, pag. 59.

[M] It

(56) Hist. de Genev. lib. III, pag. 243.

testable Proofs of it, that, in the midst of so many Agitations at home, he could shew so much Care, as he did, of the Churches abroad, in France (g), in Germany, in England, and in Poland, and write so many Books [M], and Letters. He did more by his Pen than by his Prefence; nor did he fail to appear sometimes in Person upon Occasion; as particularly at Frankfort, in 1556, to compose the Differences which divided the French Church. He had been sick a little before, and the Report, which was spread abroad of his Death, was received with no small Joy among the Catholics [N]. He lived in continual Action, and almost constantly with his Pen in his Hand, even when Sickneſs confined him to his Bed: He lived, I say, in perpetual Labours, arising from his Zeal for the general Good of the Churches, till the Twenty seventh of May, 1564 (b). He was a Man on whom God had conferred extraordinary Talents, a great deal of Wit, an exquisite Judgment, a faithful Memory [O], an able, indefatigable, and elegant, Pen, an extensive Knowledge, and a great Zeal for the Truth. Joseph Scaliger, who scarce thought any Man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring him (i). He praises him, among other things, for not commenting on the Revelations [P]. The Catholics have at last been forced to acknowledge the Falsity of those infamous Calumnies published against Calvin's Morals: Their best Pens are now content [Q] to say, that, though he was free from corporeal Vices, he was not so from spiritual

(g) See Pasquier, Recherches de la France, lib. viii, cap. iv.

(b) Taken from his Life written by Beza.

(i) See the Scaligerana.

[M] It would be difficult to believe - - - that he could - - - write so many Books. The Geneva Edition of his Works comprehends twelve Volumes in Folio. That of Amsterdam, 1667, has reduced them to Nine. His Commentaries on the Bible are the most considerable Part of the Works of Calvin. See the Judgment Father Simon has made of these Commentaries (61); it is part good, and part bad, but, taken all together, it distinguishes and honours Calvin's Merit, to a very great degree. There is a Jesuit who falsely supposes, that Calvin, after Servetus's Punishment, published a Book *De non castigandis Hæreticis*. He alleges it as a Proof that the Spirit of Heresy is for uniting Contradictions: 'A thing, says he (62), never so notoriously remarkable as in the Person of John Calvin - - - for, as soon as Calvin had got Servetus condemned to die for the Innovations and Atheism he introduced into Geneva, immediately after that cursed Heretic was burnt, and his Ashes dispersed by the Winds, Calvin wrote a Book *De non castigandis Hæreticis*, contradicting his Action by his Doctrine. Thus wicked Men fight against themselves, like Ari-
'*stotle's* Antiphero.' All this is ridiculous; for Calvin, on the contrary, after Servetus's Execution, published a Book intitled, *Fidelis Expositio errorum Michaelis Serveti*, & brevis eorundem refutatio, ubi docetur jure gladii coercendos esse Hæreticos: a Book which makes the Author still terribly exclaimed against. This Falshood, vented against Calvin, could no where appear better than in the Remark which concerns his Writings.

[N] The Report, which was spread abroad of his Death, was received with no small Joy among the Catholics. In the Year 1556, he was seized in his Sermon with a fit of a Tertan Ague, and being thereby obliged to quit the Pulpit, there were a thousand Lies spread about it. Beza adds, that the Canons of Noion made a solemn Procession to thank Heaven for the Death of the Arch-Heretic born in their City. Multis inde falsis secutis Rumoribus, usque adeo Pontificiis gratis, ut de Calvini morte solenni supplicatione Novioduni, Calvini patria, Canonici suis idolis gratias egerint (63). I am afraid the Author's Memory gave him the slip here. I doubt he has confounded the Year 1551 with 1556. I have elsewhere (64) cited a Passage of Calvin, which shews that this Procession of the Canons, his Townsmen, by way of Thanksgiving for his supposed Death, was in 1551. Would they have repeated it Five Years after upon the like false Report? I can scarce conceive this; but think it much more likely, that Beza, writing several Years after, might be mistaken as to the Time. The best of Memories make such slips oftner than we imagine.

[O] He had a faithful Memory. His Historian gives us these Instances of it. He remembered People he had seen but once, several Years after; whenever he was dictating any thing, and happened to be interrupted for some Hours, he renewed the Thread of the Discourse without having occasion to be reminded where it was he left off; he never forgot any thing he had once intrusted to his Memo-

ry, I speak of such things as it was his Duty to remember. 'Memorie incredibilis, ut quos semel aspexisset, multis post annis statim agnosceret, & inter dictandum sæpe aliquot horas inturbatus, statim ad dictata nullo commonefaciente rediret, & eorum quæ ipsam nosse munis sui causa interesset, quantumvis multiplicibus & infinitis negotiis oppressus, nunquam tamen oblivisceretur (65).'

[P] Scaliger, among other things, commended him for not commenting on the Revelations. He owned him however for the happiest of all the Commentators, in apprehending the Sense of the Prophets. O quam Calvinus bene assiquitur mentem Prophetarum! nemo melius (66). Since then he adds, Sapit quod in Apocalypsim non scripsit, that is to say, He was in the right not to attempt the Revelations; he must be of Opinion, that there was nothing to be done on that Book. I have read in Bodin what I am going to relate: 'In oraculis interpretandis, malui judiciorum illam formulam, NON LIQUET, usurpare, quam temere ex aliorum opinione non intellecta cuiquam assentiri. Ac valde mihi probatur Calvini non minus urbana quam prudens oratio: qui de libro Apocalypseos sententiam rogatus, ingenue respondit, se penitus ignorare quid velit tam obscurus scriptor: qui qualisque fuerit nondum constat inter eruditos (67). — In interpreting the Scriptures, I had rather use that Judicial Form, IT DOES NOT APPEAR, than rashly subscribe to the Opinion of another which I do not understand. And I am very much pleased with that Saying of Calvin's, which was no less candid than discreet: who, being asked his Opinion of the Book of the Revelations, replied ingenuously, that he was not able to understand any thing in so obscure a Writer, whose Name and History were not yet settled among the learned.' I should be glad to know whether Calvin said this in any of his Writings, or only in Conversation: I am more apt to believe the latter; for it would not have become a Man of his Character to declare, that the learned were not yet agreed who was the Author of the Revelations.

[Q] The Catholics have been forced to acknowledge the Falsity of those - - - Calumnies published against his Morals: their choicest Pens are now content, &c. I would not be here interpreted in a more general Sense, than these sort of Propositions are able to bear. I know Cardinal Richelieu, or that excellent Pen, which has published, under his Eminency's Name, *La methode pour convertir*, has adopted Bossuet's Impertinencies. It is therefore very possible, that even now-a-days some famous Author may be of the same Opinion: I do not pretend to deny it. I only say, that, in general, the best Authors talk no more in that strain. As for the vulgar Writers, who, as Papyrius Masso remarks (68), first spread these scandalous, they will never renounce them. They are a sort of People who let no News whatever be lost, if it does but please them; so that, Thanks to their Diligence, one may say, there is not so much as a scurvy Gazetteer but may promise to himself Immortality.

(65) Beza in Vita Calvini, pag. 386.

(66) In Scaligeranis, pag. 471.

(67) Bodin Method. Histor. cap. vii, pag. 416.

(68) Pisei scriptores libidines et scortationesque obijciunt, nemo tamen adulteria acriter odisse videbatur. Papyrius Masso in Eleg. Tem. II, p. 429.

(61) Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, lib. iii, cap. xiv, pag. 434, & seq.

(62) Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 230.

(63) Beza in Vita Calvini, pag. 379, ad Ann. 1556.

(64) In Citat. (8), of the Article BERTOLIER.

ritual ones, such as Pride, Passion, Slander, &c. There goes a pleasant Story of his Devotion for St Hubert [R]. They, who esteem it a Fable, on the Supposition that Calvin had no Children, are mistaken; for it is not true that his Marriage was fruitless [S]. Nothing shews more apparently the ill Effects Zeal has upon the

mortality, for the grofs lies he invents with his Pipe in his Mouth. They will be copied, in a few Months after, by one or other of these worthy Authors, and repeated from time to time by others, as occasion shall happen; and if they may be serviceable either to any private or public Interests, some two or three hundred Years afterwards, they will be found in some Library among satirical Collections, and quoted in some new Libel (69). As long as there are any Calvinists in the World, and they have any Enemies, *Bosset's* Book will have this Fate (70). But it will suffice for an eternal Conviction of his Calumnies, that there are among the Catholics several grave Authors, who will not in the least countenance his Stories; which is a demonstrative Proof, that they are without Foundation. Had they carried the least appearance of Truth, they would not so readily have been relinquished with all their Advantages. This Observation is very material. One of the most dignified Authors we can meet with (71), has lately copied after *Bosset*.

[R] There goes a pleasant Story of his Devotion for St Hubert. It says, that Calvin, after having, in vain, applied all proper Remedies for the Recovery of his Son, who was bit by a mad Dog, had at last Recourse to the Intercession of St Hubert: And adds, that the Son of this Arch-Heretic, having performed all the necessary Devotions at the Shrine of this Saint, was cured of his double Frenzy, one communicated by the Dog, the other by his Father; and a copy of Verses is quoted, which was composed on that Subject. 'Notabile illud fuit, filium Calvini frustra expertum alia quævis amuleta, misum Genèvâ Andainum ab impio & sacrilego parente, ut ibi ope sancti Huberti à rabidi canis morfu curaretur. Quemadmodum ille reipsa ibidem, abjuratâ simul hæresi, ab utraque, hoc est, caninâ & Calvinianâ, rabie convalluit. Exstant verò de eâ re carmina Bartholomæi Honorii, Poetæ illius ætatis (72).' These are the Verses (73).

Scis quid Calvinus Sanctorum fecerit osor,
A cane cum rabido filius iclus erat?
Tentavit medicis illum sanare venenis,
Quæ Pedemontanus iussit Alexis emi.
Sed Deus hunc non est medicinâ passus abuti,
Ne quis ob hoc Divos temneret Hæreticus.
Namque opus invalidum Calvinus reddidit, ut se
Per cunctos cuivis ferre probaret opem.
Ille itaque incautum sudans, est nocte coactus
Pignus in Ardennam mittere languidulum.
Immortalis ubi Numen se pandit Huberti,
Talia qui CHRISTI vulnera curat ope.
Venit eò proles scelerati manca parentis,
Et supplex aras procidit ante sacras,
Quodque precabatur superos erat, ut sibi vellent
E membris morbum pellere tabificum.
Neve sibi objicerent male sani dogmata patris,
Quæ modo per Mundi climata nota forent.
Nam se cum stolido non consentire parente,
Velle sed in veteri Religione mori.
Hæc ubi fatas erat, sacra cum veste Sacerdos
Prodiit, illius vulnera dira fovens.
Nec multos mansisse dies narratur ibidem,
Quin fuerit dono sanus, Huberte, tuo.
Sparserat interea Calvinus in urbe Geneva,
Saxonicas natum nuper adisse plagas;
Ille quidem dignus, non qui luat à canetali
Vindictam, sed quem Cerberus ipse voret.

While furious, Calvin did the Saints detest,
A mad Dog's Bite his darling Son distress.
To pow'rful Medicine strait for Aid he flies;
But pow'rful Medicine all its Aid denies.
The Father's Heresy does Heav'n displease,
And thus is punish'd in the Son's Disease.

All human means still crossing his Design,
By Night he sends him to St Hubert's Shrine:
Where Crowds of Sick attend the healing Pow'r,
And Divine Miracles perform the Cure.
Here prostrate, he the holy Place adores,
Recants his Father's Creed, and Health implores.
The solemn Priest his sacred Talent shews,
Washes the Wound, and Hubert's Boon bestows.
Calvin, ashamed the Miracle to own,
Pretends in foreign Parts the Cure was done:
Worthy himself the worst of Bites to feel
By making Cerberus one hungry Meal.

This deserves no Confutation, no more than what we meet with in *Varillas*; I. That Calvin, being exhorted by a Canon to return into the Bosom of the Catholic Church, answered, *That since he had engaged himself in these novel Doctrines, he would persist in them to the end; but that if he was to begin again, he would never forsake the Faith of his Fathers.* II. That Calvin's Nephew — asked him one Day, if it was possible for a Man to be saved in the Romish Communion? To which he replied, it was. III. That a Catholic exhorting him once to recant, he answered, with a sigh, it is too late (74). These are things an Author, who rightly understands his Duty, would never venture to publish; because, if they be denied, he must be reduced to a shameful Silence.

[S] It is not true, that his Marriage was fruitless. Calvin was not so eager for Marriage, as some others. He was full thirty Years old when he married *Idelette de Bure* (75), the Widow of an Anabaptist, whom he had converted. He married her at *Strasbourg* by the Advice of his Patron *Martin Bucer* (76). She had Children by her former Husband *Johann Stordeur*, a Native of *Liege* (77), and died in the beginning of 1549, to the great Grief of Calvin (78), who continued a Widower all the rest of his Life. See what he says for himself, in his Answer to the Reproach cast upon the Reformers, as if they warred against *Rome* for the same Reasons the *Grecians* did against *Troy*, for the Sake of a Woman. 'Fingunt adversarii nos mulierum causa quasi Trojanum bellum movisse. Ut alios in præsentia omittam: me saltem ab hoc probro immunitatem esse concedant necesse est. Quo mihi ad refellendam eorum putidam garrulitatem major suppetit libertas. Cum semper ad ducendam uxorem sub Papæ tyrannide liber fuero, ex quo me inde eripuit Dominus, per annos complures sponte cælebs vixi. Mortua uxore, singularis exempli scemina, jam sesquiannus est, ex quo non invitum cœlibatum rursus colo (79). — Our Adversaries pretend we wage a sort of Trojan War for a Woman. To say nothing of others at present; they must allow myself at least to be free from this Charge. Since I am more particularly able in my own Case to refute this scurrilous Reflexion. For notwithstanding I was at liberty under the Tyranny of the Pope to have married, from the time of the Lords releasing me from thence, for many Years, I voluntarily led a single Life. It is now a Year and half since I buried my Wife, a Woman of singular Virtue, from which time I have again preferred a single Life.' His Wife brought him a Son, who died before his Father. This is a particular he has delivered to the Public, in answer to those who reproached him for being childless (80). Crimen *asopias* sibi obiectum diluere volens (Balduinus) orbitatem mihi exprobrat. Dederat mihi Deus filiolum: abstulit: hoc quoque recenset inter probra liberis me carere. Atqui mihi filiorum sunt myriades in toto orbe Christiano (81). — To wipe off the Charge of want of natural Affection, which had been objected to him, (Balduin), he accuses me of being childless. GOD was pleased to give me a Son, and to take him away again: and this he makes a Reflexion upon me to be without Children. But I have Children innumerable

(69) See, below, Remark [A], of the Article CALVIN.

(70) You may find his Calumnies in the *Système Dogmatique*, published at Avignon, in 1693, by Francis Portier, Hibernus Medicus, Ordinarius Fratrum Minorum Provincie Hibernie, olim in Romano Sancti Ihsidori Collegio Sacre Theologie Professor Primarius, & nunc Lector his jobilatus, ac Sereniss. Majestatis Britannicæ Theologus & Historicus.

(71) See the foregoing Quotation.

(72) Silvester à Petra-fancto, Notis in Epistol. Molinæ ad Balzacum, cap. xvii, pag. 171.

(73) John Chappeville, Canon and Great Vicar of Liege, published them, and after him Le Vasseur, quoted in Drelincourt's Defence of Calvin, pag. 198.

(74) Varill. Histoire de l'Herésie, lib. 2, pag. 336.

(75) Papp. Maff. 60. Elog. p. 418.

(76) Beza in Vita Calvin. pag. 370.

(77) Papp. Maff. pag. 418.

(78) See his 101st and 102d Letters.

(79) Calvin. in Tractatu de Scandalis, pag. 100. This Tract is dated July 10, 1550. See the Critique Generale du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, pag. 155, of the third Edition.

(80) Tractat. Theol. pag. 363.

(81) See what use the Bishop of Meaux, in his *Hist. des Variations*, lib. ix, n. 78, has made of these Words, to accuse Calvin of Pride; and Drelincourt's Answer in his *Defence de Calvin*, pag. 313, to those who had reproached him before with the same thing.

the Judgment, than to see Authors of Reputation affirm, with all the Seriousness imaginable, that Calvin had a mind to make the World believe he could raise the dead [7]. It is not long since a young Abbot accused him of a Thought altogether brutal; but being called upon to produce the Passage, which he pretended to have met with, and not doing it (k), we may place this Accusation in the Number of convicted Calumnies. Mr Moreri has not been so much out in this Article, as might have been expected [U]. He doth not deny, but Calvin was

Master

'numerable through the whole Christian World.' Had Papyrus Masso known this Passage, he would never have said, that Calvin could get no Children. *Eam sibi matrimonio junxit irrita spe proliis & liberorum, nullis enim suscipere potuit.* Spondanus has repeated the same thing, and added this Observation, that Calvin's Wife had brought Children to a former Husband. *Ideletam Buriam matrimonio sibi junxit & multis annis cum ea vixit, nullis tamen susceptis liberis, quamvis illa ex priori marito nonnullos haberet* (82). Florimond de Remond had observed before, that it was a Marriage doomed to a perpetual Barrenness, though Idelette was young and handsome (83). But why should we wonder at the Mistake of these three Authors, when even Rivetus, a Minister of great Reading, did not know Calvin had been a Father. Amongst other things he has urged against the Fable of Calvin's Son being cured by the Intercession of St Hubert, he says, he thinks it impossible to prove Calvin ever had a Son. 'Vamus ego sim si ille vel quisquam alius unquam probet Calvinum fuisse filii parentem, nedum ut filium suum miserit Huberto sanandum, quod nemo etiam crediturus esset mente sanus, vel si decem liberos habuisset Calvinus. Ergo Bartholomæus ille non Honorius, sed inglorius & infamis manebit, qui secum miserum Loyolitam in participationem infamiae pertraxit' (84). And in another place, he says positively, that Calvin never had a Son: *Claudius miraculorum Huberti specimen in filio Calvini, qui nunquam fuit in rerum natura* (85).

[7] Authors of Reputation affirm, with all the Seriousness imaginable, that he had a Mind to make the World believe he could raise the Dead. Claudius Episcopus was, without doubt, a very learned Man, and one of the most illustrious Divines of the XVIth Century; and yet was so weak as to take upon himself the publishing this silly Story. 'Alii etiam illum nescio quem vivum pro mortuo cadavere excitando universo etiam teste populo supposuisse fabulantur, quod non minus putidum mendacium quam si Romæ Papa fuisse diceretur, ausus est rapidus ille Sorbonicus Claudius Spensia' maledicentissimo quodam libro inculcare (86). Had there been at that time any Missionaries, Cutlers, or Cobblers, by Trade, it would have been no wonder if they had diverted the Mob in the Market-Place, on a Holy-Day, with a burlesque Recital of such a Story; but for Men of Gravity to publish such a thing, is very extraordinary. They, who have been guilty of this Folly, are not at all to be pitied, whenever we find them under Beza's Correction (87): though upon another Subject his Censures might appear too violent. If Calvin had met with the Adventure Bolfec speaks of in his thirteenth Chapter, if he had undertaken to raise one who pretended to be really dead, and who proved really to be so, Balduin would not have spared him (88), but made him suffer all the Mortifications so monstrous an Imposture must have deserved. He has not one word of it, directly nor indirectly; from whence we may conclude the Story to be nothing but a ridiculous Romance. Bolfec produces no other evidence for it than a Woman banished from Geneva. 'It was, says he, the Widow of the very Man, who was to pretend himself dead, and to revive when Calvin should give the Word.' A very worthy Witness! Out of her own Mouth she might have been judged and condemned. She confessed, that, for the Sake of a share in the Church Alms, she engaged to serve Calvin in so abominable a Cheat, and that she carried on the Farce, till the Loss of her Husband obliged her to make a Discovery. Was not this owning herself wicked enough to traduce Calvin, at the Pleasure of those who would reward her for her Pains (89)? Surely he must be as foolish as she was wicked, or rather

as wicked as herself, who can encourage her Story. There are several Writers of this Class; and amongst the rest, Baronius's Continuator (90). Father Labbe has set down the very Year in which this wonderful Prodigy happened; nay, if one had a mind to be nicely critical, we might affirm that he has marked even the Day: for see how he expresses himself under the Year 1553. 'Calvin caesit Seroetus to be burned at Geneva, on the Twenty seventh of October, and, pretending by his Prayers to raise a poor Fellow, whom he had suborned to feign himself dead, he made the Man play his part so long till he was dead indeed' (91). Varillas was cleared enough to see the Absurdity of this Story, but too cautious to publish his own Sentiments of it. He left out of his History of Francis I what he had writ upon that Subject; but as there were Copies of his Manuscript abroad, it was easy to know his Thoughts, and to publish them to the World in the Holland Edition. Here are his Words, which he durst not publish: 'Calvin was very far from pretending to raise the Dead, having maintained that all real Miracles became useless after the first Establishment of the Christian Religion: and as far from putting Money out to Usury, being contented with a Pension of an hundred Crowns a Year for the Maintenance of his Family' (92). This is all taken from Masso, pag. 431, 432.

[U] Mr Moreri has not been so much out in this Article as might have been expected. I insist only upon Errors of Fact, and among them too, upon those only which I can refute otherwise, than by a bare Comparison of the Encomiums Calvin has received from his Friends, with the Calumnies he has met with from his Enemies. I say then, I Mr Moreri is liable to the Censure mentioned above, concerning Calvin's Return into France, after his Rupture with the Canon du Tillet. Nay, he seems to have given himself a greater Latitude than others: for he supposes that Calvin, after his Return, spread his Doctrines not only at Poitiers and Bourdeaux, but also at Angoulême, where, according to Maimbourg, he durst not shew his Head after Lewis du Tillet's Conversion (93). II. Moreri saith, Calvin fell in Love with a very fine Woman called Idelette de Bure, married to an Anabaptist of Leige, and that she being left a Widow some time after, he married her. I never met with any Author (94), who says, this Woman was handsome, or that Calvin fell in Love with her before she was a Widow. Bucer was the Cause of his marrying her; so that it was not a Match of his own seeking. III. Bolfec — reports several things, upon the Subject of this Match of Calvin's, very particular, though perhaps not altogether true; he gives however a pretty good Account of the Persons and Places he knew. So says Moreri; Now it is certain, Bolfec has not mentioned Calvin's Match, nor said one Word good or bad of Idelette. IV. Calvin had no Children by this Wife. I have shewn before (95), that this is false. V. He published his Institution, at Basil, in 1534, under the Name of Alcuin, which is the Anagram of his own Name. I have already said, that the Epistle Dedicatory of this Book is dated from Basil the first of August, 1536; though I owned at the same time, that it was impossible to make this Date agree with Beza's Account of Calvin's Travels from the Publication of this Book to his Establishment at Geneva in August 1536. The most proper Expedient to obviate this Difficulty, in my Opinion, is, to alter the Date of that Dedication, from 1536 to 1535 (96); for Calvin's Institution must of necessity have appeared in 1535. The Shifts, made use of in Germany to palliate the Executions of the Lutherans by Francis I, made Calvin resolve to publish this Piece (97); as he himself tells us. 'Quum incognitus Basileæ laterem, quia multis piis hominibus in Gallia exultis grave passim apud Germanos odium ignes illi excitaverant, sparsi sunt

(8) See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, June 1685, pag. 688, of the second Edition.

(90) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1553, n. 15.

(91) Chronologie François, Tom. V, p. 766.

(92) You will find this Passage between two Crochets, in the History of Francis I. Tom. II, lib. vii, pag. 255. Edit. of the Hague, 1690.

(93) See Remark [D].

(94) Except Florimond de Remond, above, Citat. (83).

(95) In Remark [S].

(96) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1535, n. 6, says, that this Year, August 1, Calvin first published his Institution. Beza in his History of the Reformed Churches, lib. i, pag. 22, places the first Publication of this Book in 1535; and notes, that the Epistle Dedicatory has at the bottom of it 1535, in some Editions, as in the French ones of Geneva, in folio, 1566.

(97) Beza in vita Calv. p. 307.

(82) Spondanus, Annal. 1558, n. 12.

(83) Flor. de Remond. Hist. de la Nuis. de l'Herésie, lib. vii, cap. xvii, pag. 926.

(84) Rivet. Catalog. Notarum Silvestri Petrasancti, cap. 1. Oper. Tom. iii, pag. 495.

(85) Ibid. cap. xix, n. 5, pag. 558.

(86) Beza in Vita Calvini, sub fin.

(87) See the preceding Citation.

(88) See Papyrus Masso, in Vita Calvini, p. 432.

(89) They do not enough attend to this Thought in those Countries where Witnesses recant so often, and impeach the Suborner.

Master of a great many extraordinary Qualities. There are a great many among the Roman Catholics, who would do Calvin Justice if they durst speak their Thoughts. Guy Patin has taught us to make this Judgment [X]. It was he who was the Cause of the Life of this Reformer, wrote by Papyrius Masso, being made public [Y]. This Life has done a great deal of Mischief to the Copiers of

Baleſc;

(98) Calv. Pref. in Psalmos.

‘ ejus reſtinguendi cauſa improbi & mendaces libelli, non alios tam crudeliter tractari quam Anabaptiſtas, ac turbulentos homines qui perverſis deliriis non religionem modo, ſed totum ordinem politicum convellerent. Ego hoc ab aulicis artiſtibus agi videns, non modo ut indigna ſanguinis innoxii effuſio falſa ſanctorum martyrum infamia ſepeliretur, ſed ut poſthac per cædes quaſlibet abſque ullius miſericordia graſſari liceret, ſilentium meum non poſſe à perfidia excuſari cenſui, niſi me pro virili opponerem. Hæc mihi edendæ Inſtitutionis cauſa fuit (98). — While I remained concealed at Baſil, becauſe the burning of ſo many pious Men in France had raiſed every where, among the Germans, the utmoſt Abhorrence, ſeveral wicked and ſcandalous Libels were bandied about to palliate it, under pretence that theſe Cruelties were only exerciſed againſt Anabaptiſts, and other Incendiaries, who by their enthuſiaſtical Doctrines not only attempted the Ruin of Religion, but alſo of Government itſelf. Upon my obſerving this Piece of Court Policy, contrived not only to bury the moſt barbarous Effuſion of ſo much innocent Blood in the forged Infamy of the pious Martyrs, but alſo to give a free Scope to future Executions without the Pity of any one, I thought my Silence would be perfidious, if I did not do my endeavour to defeat it. This was the Occaſion of my publiſhing my Inſtitution.’ Now the Martyrdom of theſe Lutherans fell in Jan. 1535. This Piece therefore muſt have been ſent to the Preſs after January, 1535, and by conſequence the Year 1534, ſet down by Moreri for the Edition of it, muſt be a Miſtake. The Edition could not be in 1536, becauſe it is certain, that, preſently after this Book appeared abroad, Calvin went into Italy to the Ducheſs of Ferrara; from whence coming into France, and deſigning to return towards the Rhine, he paſſed by Geneva, where he ſettled in Auguſt 1536. Beza is not the only Man, who tells us Calvin retired from Baſil after this Book was printed: We have it from Calvin himſelf, and with this Circumſtance, that no body knew he was the Author of it (99). Read the Preface, wherein he ſays ſo, and likewiſe informs us, that his natural Baſhfulneſs made him decline appearing publickly, and forced him to conceal himſelf without minding his Reputation: Read, I ſay, his Preface to the Palms. As for the name Alcuin, ſee the Remark [BB].

There is, in Moreri's Supplement, an Article of Calvin, taken word for word out of Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Calviniſm: I ſhould therefore be guilty of needleſs Repetitions, if I undertook to cenſure it here. You will find it done in the foregoing Remarks.

[X] A great many — Catholics — would do him Juſtice — if they durſt. Guy Patin has taught us to make this Judgment.} ‘ As for Calvin, I am very well informed of his Merit. Mr Varin gave me an extraordinary Encomium on him, a long time ago; when I was not above twenty Years old. Joſeph Scaliger ſaid, Calvin was the greateſt Wit the World had ſeen ſince the Apoſtles (100). — No Man ever underſtood Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory like him. At the Age of Twenty two, he was the moſt learned Man in Europe. I was once at an Entertainment given by one who commenced Doctör, where an old Doctör, named Baſin, ſaid, that Calvin had perverted all the Scriptures: but I took up this good Man, and made him ſo ridiculous, that Mr Guenaut the younger, who ſat near me, told me I was too hard upon him, and that I ought to take pity on his Age and Weakneſs. John de Monluc, Biſhop of Valence, uſed to ſay, that Calvin was the greateſt Divine in the World. Never fear that any one will venture to ſay as much at Rome (101). [Y] Patin was the Cauſe of the Life of Calvin, writ by Papyrius Maſſo, being made public.} This Particular we have from Patin, in the Letter I have juſt now cited. ‘ Papyrius Maſſo, ſays he,

writ his Life ſeparately, which his Brother, who was a Canon, preſented me with in 1616. But ſince that, as they were printing here a Collection of his Elogies, I obtained, with much ado, that this Life ſhould be added: the Bookſeller conſulted the Jeſuits about it, who enjoined him the contrary; but however I prevailed, by aſſuring him, that this Addition would make his Book ſell the better.’ The Text of this Remark proves plainly I have not been over complaiſant to Mr Varillas. I have diligently conſidered all he ſays of the Life of Calvin, printed with Papyrius Maſſo's Encomiums, and I find nothing there able to invalidate Guy Patin's Teſtimony. The Reader, if he pleaſe, may judge of my Conduct, after comparing Mr Varillas's Words with my Notes which follow them.

‘ Baleſdens got Papyrius Maſſo's Encomiums printed, among which was inſerted a Life of Calvin; becauſe having found it amongſt this Author's Papers, he took it to be written by him. This Miſtake is the more inſupportable, becauſe it is writ in ſo different a manner from all Maſſo's other Works, that it needs but an ordinary Knowledge of the Latin Tongue to perceive it at firſt fight. But I cannot help being ſurpriſed, that the famous Spondanus, Biſhop of Pamiers, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by Baleſdens, in believing Maſſo to have been the Author of this Piece, and paying a greater Deference to another's Judgment, than to his own. I have been informed by Meſſieurs Dupuy, that it was compoſed by the illuſtrious James Gillot, Counſellor in the Parliament of Paris, who had ſo great a ſhare in the Works of the Learned of his Time, without ever publiſhing his Name: and indeed, that Life ſeems to me altogether worthy the Pen of ſo great a Man. It is a Maſter-piece in it's kind: and though we have ſome of the ſame nature much larger, we have none better performed, nor more correſtly finiſhed. However, it has been of no great ſervice to me; becauſe it ſeems rather deſigned to clear Calvin from the Reproaches of Balduin the Civilian, and Weſſalius the Divine, than to give a particular account of his Actions (102). Theſe are the Words of Varillas: Upon which I obſerve, I. That Baleſdens was not the Perſon who found this Life among Maſſo's Papers: We have been told by Patin, it was he who furniſhed the Bookſeller with it, and perſuaded him to join it to the Elogies of Papyrius Maſſo. But this is not all; Maſſo's Brother made a Prefent of it to Patin, not doubting but it was his Brother's; to which he himſelf added ſeveral things he had received by Tradition, whiſt he was Canon at Angoulême II. The Manner, in which this Life is written, does no otherwiſe differ from the reſt of Maſſo's Works, than as Lives ought to differ from Elogies. If Mr Varillas had compared this Life with thoſe of Charles IX, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace, all compoſed by the ſame Author, I am certain he would have found it of a Piece with the reſt. You find, in all theſe five Lives, the ſame Division of the Contents and Chapters, the ſame Style, the ſame Genius and Manner of Writing. This, added to Patin's particular and expreſs Teſtimony, makes me believe, either that Meſſieurs Dupuy were miſtaken, or that Varillas did not well remember what they had told him. But I have ſtill a ſtronger Argument. The Author of this Life of John Calvin had ſtudied the Civil-Law under Balduin (103). This exactly agrees with our Papyrius Maſſo (104), but I think not at all with the illuſtrious Gillot. We read in this Life, that Balduin put Calvin to ſilence, to his very great Mortification (105). What Papyrius Maſſo remarks, in his Elogy upon Balduin (106), is perfectly conformable to this. III. Therefore Baleſdens and Spondanus were not to blame for aſcribing this Life to Maſſo's Pen. IV. It does not deſerve thoſe extraordinary Commendations Varillas

AN Examination of a Paſſage in Varillas concerning the Life of Calvin, written by Papyrius Maſſo.

(102) Varillas's Preface to the firſt Tome of his Hiſtory of Heretics.

(103) Sic enim Balduinus præceptor meus in Jure Civili, pag. 418.

(104) See the Elcgy upon Balduin, among thoſe of Papyrius Maſſo, pag. 263.

(105) Ipſi ſilentium Balduinum Juriconſultus impoſuit ſenti, magno dolore Calvin, p. 422.

(106) Ferunt Calvinum nullius linguam, ſtylum, eruditionem magis horruiffe, quam hujus Atributis, p. 262.

(99) An propoſitum eſſet mihi ſamam aucupari patuit ex brevi diſceſſu, præſertim quum nemo illic ſciverit me authorem eſſe. Calv. Pref. in Psalmos.

(100) I cannot think Scaliger ever uſed ſo improper an Expreſſion, which falſely ſuppoſes that the Apoſtles were great Wits.

(101) Patin, Lett. 24, of the firſt Edit. and 39th of the ſecond.

Bolsec; for who can read it without laughing at those who accuse this Minister of loving good Wine, good Chear, Money, &c. Some cunning Satirists would have said, that he was naturally sober, and not at all sollicitous to heap up Riches [Z]. They,

has bestowed upon it: which I submit to the Judgment of those who are judges of these sort of Productions. V. It is not at all designed to vindicate Calvin from the Aspersions of Balduin the Civilian, and Westphalius the Divine. That Civilian is very often quoted, but without being contradicted; so far from it, that the Description of Calvin's morose, passionate, haughty Temper, is founded upon Balduin's Testimony (107). Varillas's manner therefore of reading of Books must be very unaccountable. He was the only Man in the World, who, upon reading this Life of Calvin, could affirm, that it's principal Design was to refute that Civilian.

If Mr de Vigneul-Marville would but take the pains to consider these things, and, above all, to compare, according to the Rules of Criticism, this Life of Calvin with Massé's other Pieces, I am persuaded he would no longer think 'that the Latin Elogy of Calvin, which is very improperly added at the end of Papyrius Massé's Illustrations Men, is a Piece of Mr Gillot's (108).'

I was mistaken in my Conjecture; he saw this, and yet persisted in his first Opinion. He says, that 'what I alledge, that this Elogy was found among the Papers of Papyrius Massé after his Death, as his Brother declared to the late Dr Patin, proves nothing. Writings of Authors pass every Day from one Study to another, without giving room to draw any such Consequence. As to the Style, it is not at all like that of Papyrius Massé, who wrote neither so politely, nor so exactly, nor with so much brevity, as Mr Gillot: Besides, there is something at the end of the Work not at all agreeable to Papyrius Massé's Character, but very much so to Gillot's, who did not lay the Affairs of those Times so much to heart (109).'

I have examined this with all possible Attention, and yet persist in my Opinion: and to shew that it is not without reason, I shall remark, I. That whoever reads the Words of Mr de Vigneul-Marville, and not my Dictionary, must judge that my only, or at least my principal Reason, was, that this Life of Calvin was among Massé's Papers. The truth is, that I have not at all made use of that Argument. I know very well, that I rejected as false what Mr Varillas says, that Baleiden had found this Elogy among Papyrius Massé's Papers; and I confess that, in order to shew the Falsity of that, I maintained that this Manuscript was communicated to the Bookeller by Guy Patin, who had it from Papyrius Massé's Brother: but none of my Proofs is grounded upon this Work being found among the Papers of the Person I take to be the Author of it. To represent my Argument right, it should have been said, that Papyrius Massé's Brother gave this Manuscript to Guy Patin as his Brother's Work. The Reflection of Mr de Vigneul-Marville doth not affect this Proof; for it is easily apprehended, that Men of Letters know very well how to distinguish, among a Brother's Papers (110), those, which were wrote by him, from those composed by other hands. I forbear to add, that it is probable Papyrius Massé might tell his Brother which among his Papers were the Manuscripts of his own composing. As for the Style, I appeal to those who are judges, and will take the pains to compare this Life of Calvin with some other Lives composed by Massé. This is my second Remark. The third and last is, that the Character of Mr Gillot, who did not lay the Affairs of those times so much to heart, is so far from being against me, that, on the contrary, nothing can be a greater confirmation of my Opinion. For at the end of the Work, we meet with this Passage. 'Hæc de vita Calvini scribimus neque amici neque inimici, quem si labem & perniciem Gallia dixerit, nihil mentiar, atque utinam aut nunquam natus esset, aut in pueritia mortuus. Tantum enim malorum intulit in patriam ut Cunabula ejus merito detestare atque odire debeas. (111). — I write these Things of the Life of Calvin, without considering him either as a Friend or Foe, tho' if I should call him the Pest and Destruction of France, I should not be

in the wrong. And I heartily wish he had either never been born, or had died in his Infancy. For he brought such Misfortunes upon his Country, that it has reason to detest and abhor the Hour of his Birth.' This is the Language of a furious Roman Catholic, and not of such a Catholic, as Mr Gillot, who hated the Leaguers and all the Monks, and who had a great deal of Kindness for Scaliger and other Protestants.

[Z] He was not sollicitous to heap up riches.] For a Man, who had acquired so great a Reputation and Authority, to content himself with an hundred Crowns a-year Salary, and, after having lived till near fifty five Years of Age with the greatest Frugality, to leave behind him no more than three hundred Crowns, his Library included; is something so heroic, that it must be stupidity itself not to admire it. 'Accumulandis scilicet opibus studuit, cujus bona omnia, caræ etiam divendita ipsius Bibliotheca, vix trecentos aureos æquant, ut non minus scire quam verè calumniam istam longè impudentissimam refellens hæc verba usurpat (in Præfat. in Comment. in Psalm.) Me non esse pecuniosum si quibusdam vivis non persuadeo, mors tamen ostendet. Testari certè potest Senatus, quum perexigua essent ejus stipendia, tantum abuisse ut in iis non acquiesceret, ut ampliora etiam oblata pertinaciter recusat (112). — It is a strong proof of his having studied to heap up riches, that all his Effects, notwithstanding his Library was sold very dear, scarce amounted to Three hundred Crowns; so that he might very justly, as well as elegantly, in order to wipe off this monstrous Calumny, use these Words, (in the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms,) If I cannot in my Lifetime persuade some People that I am no hoarder of Money, I shall convince them at my Death. The Senate certainly can witness for him, that, tho' his stipend was but very small, yet he was so far from being unsatisfied with it, that he positively refused the offer of encreasing it.' This is one of the most extraordinary Victories, Virtue and Magnanimity can obtain over Nature, even in those who are Ministers of the Gospel. Calvin has left behind him many, who imitate him in his active Life, his Zeal and Affection for the Cause; they employ their Voices, their Pens, their Steps and sollicitations, for the Advancement of the Kingdom of God: but then they take care not to forget themselves, and are, generally speaking, a Demonstration that the Church is a bountiful Mother, and that nothing is lost in her Service: They verify St Paul's Doctrine, that Godliness has the Promises of the present Life as well as of that which is to come. In a word, God is pleased to give so great a Blessing to their domestic Cares, that we see them enjoy considerable Pensions, and leave large Estates and Settlements to their Heirs. They distribute Alms, they bestow great Charities: which they may easily do, when appointed Trustees for the disposal of all Sums given by others, without being liable to any Account. To conclude, such a Will as this of Calvin, and such a Disinterestedness, is a thing so very extraordinary, as might make even those, who cast their Eyes on the Philosophers of ancient Greece, say of him, Non inveni tantam fidem in Israël. — I have not found so great Faith, no not in Israel. When Calvin was taking his leave of those of Strasburg, in order to return to Geneva, they offered to continue his Freedom, and the Revenue of a Prebend they had assigned him: He accepted the first, but rejected the latter. 'Id tandem Argentinenses concesserunt, ea tamen conditione, ut jus civitatis honorarium, quod in Calvinum contulerant, salvum esset, & præbendæ, quam vocant, annuos redditus retineret; quorum illud probavit Calvinus, istud vero ut acciperet nunquam ab eo extorqueri potuit, ut qui nihil minus quam opes curaret (113).'

He carried one of his Brothers with him to Geneva, 370, ad Ann. 1541, without ever thinking of advancing him to any Honours, as others would have done with his great Credit. He took care indeed of the Honour of his Family;

(107) See pag. 428, 430, 455.

(108) Mélanges d'Histoire & de Littérature recueillis par Mr de Vigneul-Marville pag. 201.

(109) Ib. Tom. II, pag. 36, Edit. Hæll.

(110) Papyrius Massé's Brother was a Canon.

(111) Papyrius Massé, Elog. pag. 455.

(112) Beza in Vita Calvini, pag. 387, sub fin.

(113) Ibid. pag. 370, ad Ann. 1541.

They, who are desirous of seeing a full and curious Justification of this great Man, need only read what Mr *Drelincourt* published at *Geneva*, in 1667, upon that Subject.

I shall here consider a Passage of Mr *Moreri*, which I let pass in my first Edition, and which relates to the Judgment *Erasmus* is said to have made on *Calvin*, after a Conference they had together concerning the Controversies of those times. The Author of this Particular is guilty of so many Mistakes, that his Credit may well be called in question [A A]. The Reflexions, which have been cast on

Calvin

(114) Id. ibid. pag. 387. See Remark [C C].

(115) Varill. Hist. de l'Herésie, lib. x, pag. 337.

(116) I have taken no notice of several gross Calumnies concerning *Calvin*, which have been refuted by Mr *Drelincourt*.

(117) Spondan. ad Ann. 1534, n. 11, p. 424.

(118) Flor. de Remond, Hist. de la Naissance de l'Herésie, lib. vii, cap. x, pag. 889, 890.

(119) Id. ibid. cap. xvii, p. 921.

(120) Ibid. pag. 922.

Family; for he found means to disengage him from a Wife, who was an Adulteress (114), and obtained leave for him to marry another: but even his Enemies say he had him taught the Trade of a Book-binder, which he exercised all his Life (115). See the Margin (116).

[A A] I shall consider a Passage on — the Judgment *Erasmus* is said to have given of *Calvin* — The Author of this Particular — is guilty of so many Mistakes, that his Credit may well be called in question. * *Calvin* staid some time at *Basil*; where * *Bucer* presenting him to *Erasmus*, that great Person, who was a good Judge of Men, having discoursed him about Religion, declared openly, that the Church had bred up, in the Person of that young Man, a Plague which would one Day prove fatal to her. These are *Moreri*'s Words: I dare swear he never consulted the Original, I mean *Florimond de Remond*; and I imagine he has examined no farther than *Spondanus*'s Annals (117). However it be, we shall cite the Original Author (118): * The Register of the Parliament at *Paris*, concerned at his Brother's Misfortune, pursued him immediately, and brought him back into *France*, leaving his Friend *Calvin* behind in *Germany*, who accompanied *Roussel*, whom I mentioned before, as his Servant. There he met with most of those who made it their Business to disturb the Consciences of the People, and among them *Bucer*, by whom he was presented to *Erasmus*, who was looking about him without suffering himself to be hurried away by the Crowd. When *Bucer* had given him an Account of this excellent Genius, and *Erasmus* had conferred some time with him upon the most crabbed Points of Religion; surprized at what he had discovered in this Soul, he said to *Bucer*, pointing to *Calvin*, *Video magnam pestem oriri in Ecclesia contra Ecclesiam*, I see a great Plague born in the Church against the Church. Observe *Florimond de Remond*'s Note in the Margin of his Book in these Words, *Beza in his Preface to Joshua places this Journey in 1534*: Observe this, I say, as a proof that he admits this small point of Chronology. We shall see presently he has done it to his prejudice; for, thirty Pages after, he tells us, that * *Calvin*, fearing he should be apprehended at *Poitiers*, went to visit *Roussel* and *Le Fevre* at *Nerac*, and observes afresh, that *Calvin* had been *Roussel*'s Servant in his Journey into *Germany* (119). *Calvin*, continues he (120), having taken his leave of them, returned to *Paris*, which he quitted for fear of Faggot, with Torch in Hand, and a Mind incensed with Repentment, and a Resolution of setting Fire to his Country, which he never saw afterwards, and which, ungrateful as she was, refused him, as he said, an Abode. He retired to *Strasbourg*, becoming for two whole Years *Bucer*'s Auditor and Disciple, who received him as a Person he immediately found proper to trouble the Repose of the Church. — He communicated to him his *Christian Institution*, which he finished here and at *Basil*, dedicating it to *Francis I.* In the first Plate, which he caused to be put at the head of his *Institution*, he took, for his Device, a flaming Sword, with this Motto, *Non veni mittere pacem sed gladium*, — I came not to send peace but a sword. — During his stay at *Strasbourg*, he comforted and assisted his Countrymen, who fled from the Fires kindled up in *France*, and began from thence to be in great Credit and Reputation every where. — But, upon hearing the News that the Dukes of *Ferrara* — — began to embrace the Truth, he went to wait on her; and, after a sufficient Ramble, returned by the way of *Geneva*, where he had made himself

known, in his Passage with *du Tillet*, and, at *Farel*'s Instigation, he there took upon him (121) the Charge of reading Divinity, and making some exhortations to the Refugees. We must take notice, that in the Margin he observes, that the first Impression of *Calvin*'s *Institution* was in the Year 1534. Here then is the Original of *Varilla*'s sad Anachronisms, which I have already censured (122). But they are yet much grosser in *Florimond de Remond*'s Account: as I will now undertake to convince the least reasonable Persons, observing, in the first place, that *Roussel*'s Journey into *Germany* followed immediately upon the first Dispersion of the Preachers of the Reformation in *France*, which happened in 1523 (123). *Farel*, one of them, fled into *Switzerland*; * *Le Fevre* of *Etaples* bent his Course through *Guienne*. — — — As for *Roussel*, he got to *Germany*, being desirous to see *Luther*, that great Man, who had made so great a Noise in the World (124). This I have from *Remond*, who adds, that *Roussel*, being returned from his Travels (125), was received in *Bern* by the Queen of *Navarre*, and attended her to *Paris*, where he preached (126), was imprisoned, and after his Release retired to *Nerac*, and passed the rest of his Life in *France*. It was at *Nerac*, *Calvin* saw him, as this Author told us before (127). The Result of this must be, That, if *Calvin* attended *Roussel* as his Servant into *Germany*, it must of necessity be in 1523. Now it is certain *Calvin* was then a Student at *Paris*, where he continued his Studies some Years after, being preferred to a Chapel at *Neion* (128). Observe here, that the Historian follows *Beza*'s Chronology, who makes *Calvin* and *du Tillet* leave *France* in 1534. Since then he assures us, that *Tillet*, prevailed upon by his Brother, who had followed him a great way, left his Friend *Calvin* in *Germany*, who upon that attended *Roussel* — as his Servant (129), he must allow this to be in 1534. A great blunder this! for he himself had placed *Roussel*'s Journey in the Year 1523. Besides observe, I. That he says *Calvin*'s *Institution* was first printed in the Year 1534 (130), and that the Author had drawn the Scheme of it at *Angoulême* (131), and communicated it to *le Fevre* at *Nerac*. II. That, after this communication, he makes him go to *Paris*, and from thence to *Strasbourg*, in order to be *Bucer*'s Disciple. How is it possible, upon this Foot, that *Calvin*, in 1534, should accompany *Roussel* as his Servant into *Germany*? And again, how is it possible, that, being gone into *Germany* this Year, and having been two Years *Bucer*'s Scholar at *Strasbourg*, he should finish his *Christian Institution* at *Basil*, which was printed in 1534? Once more, how is it possible, that, after he had been two Years under *Bucer* at *Strasbourg*, he should take a Journey into *Italy*, finish his Ramble, take the Road to *Geneva*, and settle in that City in 1536 (132). This is not all; for the same Author, still following *Beza*'s Chronology, says, that *Calvin* at twenty three Years of Age vented his Opinions at *Paris*, where he staid not long; * because the Place grew too hot for those who dissented from the Faith — he retired thence privately — to *Angoulême*, for his greater Security, where he was entertained three Years at *Lewis du Tillet*'s Charge (133). — who, having his Head full of the Opinions *Calvin* had instilled into him (134), went with him into *Germany*, but left him on the way. The other pursued his Journey, made a Visit to *Bucer*, conferred with *Erasmus*, and, at his Return into *France*, retired to *Poitiers* (135), where he gained some Disciples, held his first Council (136), and celebrated his first Lord's Supper, and took his Measures for spreading his Opinions throughout the Kingdom: but, fearing a Surprise at *Poitiers*, where his Mine

(121) Ibid. pag. 924.

(122) In Remark [G].

(123) Flor. de Remond. lib. x, cap. iii, p. 846.

(124) Id. ibid. pag. 847.

(125) Ibid. pag. 849.

(126) Ibid. pag. 850.

(127) See the Citation (119).

(128) See *Drelincourt*, pag. 160, & seq.

(129) Flor. de Remond. lib. vii, cap. x, pag. 889.

(130) Ibid. pag. 922.

(131) Ibid. pag. 921.

(132) Id. ibid. pag. 923.

(133) Ibid. cap. x, pag. 883.

(134) Ibid. cap. x, pag. 889.

(135) Ibid. cap. xi, pag. 890.

(136) Ibid. pag. 892.

Calvin for changing his Name, will give room for a Remark, which will illustrate some Points of his History, and serve for a Supplement to some of the foregoing Observations, particularly to the Passage where I have treated of that famous Work, the *Christian Institution* [BB]. They have been so zealous in heaping up Scanda,

(137) Ibid. cap. xvii, pag. 920. *had taken Air, (137) he stole away, and conveyed himself to Nerac, to visit Roussel and Le Fevre; and, having taken his Leave of them, he returned to Paris (138), from whence, for fear of the Faggot, — he retired to Strasburg. — It was here, and at Basil, he put the last Hand to his Institution, which was printed in 1538. This Account is full of so many Mistakes, that, if it be no surprising thing that so many Catholic Writers should copy from it, yet it is very strange that none of the Protestant Authors, I have met with, should expose it's Contradictions. It was very easy to be done: consider but this Touchstone of Chronology. Calvin was born the tenth of July, 1509 (139), and retired from Paris to Angoulême at the Age of Twenty three (140). Florimond de Remond agrees in these two Facts; this Retreat therefore must be placed in 1532. Now he supposes, that the first Edition of Calvin's Institution was in 1534: Between these two Terms therefore he thrusts in his three Years stay at Angoulême, a Journey into Germany, a Return into France, a Residence at Poitiers, sufficient for the Establishment of a clandestine Church, the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, the holding of a Synod, &c. a Journey to Nerac, another to Paris, and an Abode of two whole Years at the City of Strasburg. Can any thing be more monstrous? We must not forget, that he supposes Charles le Sage, Doctor Regent at Poitiers, and Native of Noion, was one of Calvin's Converts, after his Journey into Germany, three or four Years after his Flight from Paris, which happened in the Year 1532. Since then he pretends, that this Doctor le Sage was a Man in great Esteem, especially with the Queen Regent, the King's Mother, who was very near being staggered and seduced (141), he would make us believe, that this Doctor, who was perverted himself in 1536, had staggered the Queen Regent, who died notwithstanding in 1531.*

(138) Ibid. pag. 922.

(139) Ibid. cap. viii, pag. 880.

(140) Ibid. cap. ix, pag. 883.

(141) Ibid. cap. xi, pag. 891.

(142) See the Book printed at Coligny, Ann. 1681, under the Title of *Sentimens d'Erasme de Rotterdam confirmés à ceux de l'Eglise Catholique*, pag. 308, 309.

This is the Author, who affirms, that Erasmus passed, upon Calvin, the Judgment mentioned in the Text of this Remark. My Readers must judge whether the Authority of such a Man be of any weight, a Man who contradicts himself most grossly, who forgets in one place what he asserted in another, who confounds and misplaces Circumstances, and cannot see in his Work the Blunders, Absurdities, and Impossibilities, which stare full in his Eyes. Such an Historian ought to be treated like a Bankrupt Merchant, who has lost all Credit: no body will trust him without sufficient Pledges; it is expected he should give Security, and find Bondsmen. We should be very weak therefore, to give any Credit to Florimond de Remond, when he brings neither Witnesses, nor any other sort of Proof. We should be very imprudent to trust him, and highly deserve to be deceived, if we made so bad an Use of our Sincerity. I thought therefore that a Censure of this Author's Falsities would serve me as a Preliminary, and that after this my Readers might judge with greater certainty of the matter in question. Undoubtedly this is the only witness in the Cause; for he who has taken so much pains to make Erasmus pass for a good Catholic, and could draw so many Advantages from the Truth of this Story, could cite no other than Florimond de Remond (142). However, all things rightly considered, this Judgment of the great Erasmus must be very much to Calvin's Glory, according to the Protestant Hypothesis. It proves that he acknowledged the eminent Qualities of this young Man.

To conclude; I should not have been so busy in exposing the Falsities of Florimond de Remond, if I had not observed, that they spread from Book to Book, and that the most celebrated Authors procure them a sort of Perpetuity by adopting them. I have met with them in the last Volume of Father Alexander's Ecclesiastical History in Folio, which is an Edition corrected and enlarged. I persuaded myself this famous Author had not copied Spondanus, Remond's Copier, had he seen the latter

criticized as above. If the Protestants complain that he has revived Remond's confused Narration, and put it in a way to make a better Fortune than under the Auspices of it's first Parent, he may complain of them in his Turn for neglecting to discover his Impertinencies. It is very difficult, even by a substantial Confutation, to hinder some Errors from being perpetuated. What must it be therefore, if they are let alone?

[BB] The Reflexions ----- cast on Calvin for changing his Name will give room for a Remark ----- which will serve for a Supplement ----- to the Passage, where I have treated of his Christian Institution.] It has been taken very ill, that, instead of *Cauvin*, which was the Name of his Family, he took that of *Calvin*. Mr Drelincourt has justified him very well, not only by some Examples (143), but also from solid Reasons. 'In Reality, says he (144), the Change of a Letter in Calvin's Name, is very inconsiderable, or we may even say it is none at all. And indeed, in turning *Cauvin* into *Latin*, to give it an Air and Termination suitable to the Genius of that Language, it cannot be translated otherwise than by *Calvinus*. For as the Picard Word *Cauve*, and the French *Chauve*, is by all good Authors expressed in *Latin* by *Calvus*; so *Cauvin* in *Picard*, and *Chauvin* in *French*, must in *Latin* be *Calvinus*. Now the first Works of this godly Man being wrote in *Latin*, and having made him universally known by the Name *Calvinus*; if afterwards, when he wrote in *French*, he had used any other Name than that of *Calvin*, the Work might have been ascribed to some different Author, to the great Damage both of the Public and Printers.' But here follow some other Changes of his Name. 'The most notorious Cheat of all the Heretics, in matter of Disguises, was John Calvin, who, when first he revolted, being hurried by a restless Spirit, and afraid of his own Shadow, changed his Name oftener than his Lodging: For, I. In 1559, having licked his little Cub, his first Institutions, into some sort of Shape, he presented them to Francis I, under the Name of JOHANNES ALCUINUS, which was his Anagram, and under which they were printed at Strasburg per Vendelinum Ribellium mense Augusto, Anno MDXXXIX. II. In 1543, he called himself JOHANNES CALIDOENIUS, a Name half Greek and half Latin, as if he would say *Johannes de Calido vino*. This is his Name at the end of Pacianus's Works, in his Epistle to his Friend Boygard, Boycardo Johannes CALIDOENIUS. S. This Name seems exactly to answer that of his Family: for *Calidænius* is *Chauvin* in *French*, which is believed in reality to be the true Name of his Father. III. In 1548, he would be called JOHANNES CARVINUS, as much as to say *Cherwin*, and it is thus he subscribed himself at the end of Orus Apollo's *Ænigma's*, printed at Paris, Anno 1548, for Christian Wechel, per Joannem Mercetrum, who first translated them; for at the end of this Translation is an Epigram under the Title of JOANNIS CARVINI ad Mercetrum. Epigramma. IV. After 1550, he made his Friends call him CHARLES DE HAPPEVILLE, which was a fatal Omen, faith Matthew Launois, in his Reply, that *Cavin*, and his Followers, would one day, *bapper les villes*, seize and take our Towns by Treachery and Surprize, and sculk within our Walls, as the Experience of fifty Years has sufficiently convinced us, at the Expence of so much Noble Blood shed to expel those Traitors out of the Places they have been hitherto in Possession of. V. To put an end to this Extravagance, he at last called himself JOHN CALVIN, which Name has been continued to him to this Day (145). These Words of Garasse are very apt to mislead all the Critics who have not the Opportunity of consulting great Libraries:

(143) Drelin. Defensio de Calvin, pag. 202, &c.

(144) Ibid. pag. 204, 205.

(145) Garasse Doctrina Curieuse, pag. 1023, 1024.

Scandal against this Reformer, that they have even reproached him with the
 lewd

baries: And for myself, who am of that Number, I confess I am very unable to refute this Passage in the manner it deserves. I am persuaded it is full of Falsities; but, not having those Books by me which are requisite to furnish literal and demonstrative Proofs against this Author, I can only oppose him with Probabilities. His first Article shall be considered hereafter. His second I can say nothing to; but I will venture to maintain he is mistaken in the third: For what likelihood is there, that Calvin, in 1548, should amuse himself with writing a Latin Epigram upon such a Work as this of *Orus Apollo*? It is infinitely more probable, that the *Joannes Carvinus*, under which this Epigram appeared, was the true Name of its Author. *Florimond de Remond* tells us, that one of the Calvinist Apostles was called *John Carvin*, that he came from Artois, and taught School at *Ville Neuve in Agnois*, and acted the Part of a Minister, under the Gown of a Master (146); and he was very probably the same with *Joannes Carvinus*, a Physician of *Montaubon*, who caused seven Dialogues, *de Sanguine*, to be printed at *Lyons*, by *Sebastian Gryphius*, in 1562 (147). I am sure we can prove *Garasse* a Liar in the fourth Article: For how ridiculous is it to suppose, that Calvin, after the Year 1550, should desire to take the Name of *Charles Happeville*? What reason had he now for a Disguise? He lived in great Security at *Geneva*; he was universally known by his true Name; he placed it at the Head of his Works; and had rendered it venerable among all the Reformed. *Garasse* confounds Times very ignorantly: He ought to have pitched upon another Epoch, as *Papyrius Masso* has done, who says, that Calvin, going into *Italy* to visit the Dukes of *Ferrara*, called himself *Hepeville* (148). *Garasse's* fifth Article is the most absurd of all: it must be a monstrous Degree of Stupidity to venture to publish, that the last Name, this Minister took upon him, was that of *John Calvin*, after having been called *Charles Happeville* from the Year 1550. *Spondanus* charges him only with having taken the Name of *Carolus Hepeville*, in his Journey to *Italy* in 1535 (149). Observe that he accuses him likewise for giving himself the Name of *Depercan* at *Angoulême* in 1534 (150). *Papyrius Masso's* Brother says the same thing (151).

We have already seen (152), that Mr *Moreri* pretends Calvin put the Name of *Alcuinus* in the Title of his Books of *Institution*, printed at *Basil* 1534 (153). I cannot determine whether he is in the right or wrong: I have not been able any where to find a Copy of the first Edition of this Work of Calvin; but what makes me doubtful, is, that, according to *Spondanus*, the Anagram of *Alcuinus* was not made use of till the *Strasbourg* Edition, in 1539. 'Ipse ex paterno cognomine in Latinam formam mutato, ex Calvino aliquando transpositis literis Alcuinum sese nominavit, uti in Institutionis suae editione Argentorati 1539, nomen æmulatus magni illius Alcuini qui Caroli Magni præceptor fuit, & Parisensem Academiam instituit. Qui potius alia transpositione Lucianum se dicere debuisset (154). — Having turned his Family Name into Latin, from Calvinus, by a Transposition of the Letters, he called himself sometimes Alcuinus, as in the *Strasbourg* Edition of his Institution, in 1539, being ambitious of passing under the Name of the great Alcuinus, who was Preceptor to Charlemagne, and Founder of the University of Paris. But it had been much more just for him, by another Transposition, to have taken that of Lucianus.' This Latin is only a sort of Paraphrase on a Passage in *Florimond de Remond*: 'His Name was *John Chauvin* — but as *Luther* thought fit to alter his Name, so he was pleased to take that of Calvin. And, as if this Name was not glorious enough, or rather unlucky to him, since *Lucian* is an Anagram of Calvin, he gave himself the Name of Alcuin, the learned Tutor of the Emperor *Charlemain*, under which he published his first Institution at *Strasbourg* in 1539, (155). *Garasse*, as we observed before, is more precise in this Point;

for he set down the very Printer's Name. I dare not undertake the Negative, because I never could meet with a Copy of this *Strasbourg* Edition, 1539, any more than with that of *Basil*, 1535. But I dare say, if ever this Work was published under the Name of *Alcuin*, it is more probable that it was in the first Edition than in that of *Strasbourg* 1539; for being than Professor and Minister at *Strasbourg*, he had not the same Reasons for a Disguise as in 1535. Observe, that he is accused of having fathered a Book upon *Alcuin*, Preceptor to *Charlemain*, that is, of writing it himself, and publishing it in *Alcuin's* Name. The Inquisition at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, condemned this Piece, as being Calvin's Work, falsely ascribed to *Alcuin*. *Alcuinus seu potius, Calvinus. Ejus Commentarii in libros, de Trinitate, omnino prohibentur* (156). They neither take notice of the Time nor the Place in which it was printed. *Theophilus Raynaud* (157) mentions this Matter in such general Terms, as to give room to believe there was no Foundation for this Proceeding of the Inquisition.

It has not been thought sufficient to criticize Calvin's Institution, as a pseudonymous Piece, but the very Cut, they pretend he ordered to be engraved for the Title-Page, has been commented on, and the Work itself affirmed to be nothing else but a Collection of Plagiarisms. This Cut, say they, was a Sword in the midst of Flames, with this Motto, *Non veni mittere pacem, sed gladium* (158). — I came not to send Peace, but a Sword. Many Authors have maintained, that this was his own Device. Mr *Drelincourt* says it is false, and that 'their Proofs are impertinent. For 'it is, continues he (159), as if any one should 'object to me the symbolical Figures, which are 'placed without my Knowledge on the Frontispiece of some of my Works, and pretend them to be my proper Device. We are not at all responsible for the Printers Actions, who on these Occasions think they have an equal Liberty with Painters or Poets. — But if we consider this Device more nearly, we shall find it neither Calvin's nor the Printer's, but JESUS CHRIST's himself, who says expressly, *He was not come to send Peace into the World, but War, the Sword, and Fire*. So that all the Strokes and Subtilties of the Jesuit (160) wound CHRIST himself, and arm the Atheists against his holy Doctrines (161). I believe, in Calvin's Life-time, they made a great Out-cry against this pretended Device: For I have observed, that *Girard*, who printed the Institution at *Geneva*, in 4to, left out the above-mentioned Motto about the flaming Sword, though it is on the Title-Page of his Tract against the fantastical and furious Sect of the Libertines, Anno 1545. As to his being a Plagiary, of which this great Author is accused, you need only read these Words of *Spondanus*: 'Secedens Angolismam ibi triennium — commoratus, pestilentem suam Institutionem fabricare cepit, ex locis communibus Melancthonis, Hyperii Sacerii, (162) & id genus quicquid illis magna parte confarcinatam: quamquam Westphalus Lutheranus scribens postea adversus eum, meram Oecolampadii doctrinam, sed immutatam paululum atque amplificatam, in ea contineri ait (163). This Annalist is here only the Translator of a Passage of another Writer: *It was at Angoulême, where Calvin, to surprise Christianity, first contrived the Snare of his Institution, which may be called the Alcoran, or rather the Talmud, of Heresy, being a Collection of all the Errors which have been, or, I believe, ever will be, patched up in great Measure from the Common-Places of Melancthon, Hyperius, and Sarcier. The Lutheran Westphalus says, it is only Oecolampadius's Doctrine, a little disguised and augmented* (164). It is certain the second Edition of this Work of Calvin was finished whilst Hyperius remained in Obscurity, and before he had made himself known by his Theological Writings. I do not say altogether so much of Erasmus Sarcier. I am not ignorant that he was Author of some Books before the Year 1539; but all, who are capable of judging, must readily own, upon comparing them with the *Christian Institution*, that Calvin

(156) Index Libr. prohibiti. & expurgandi. juxta exemplar Madriti, pag. 36. See likewise pag. 3, of the 2d Part of the same Volume, containing the Index published at *Rome*, by Order of *Alexander VII*.

(157) Theophilus Raynaud, de malis ac bonis Libris, n. 267. pag. 163.

(158) See Remark [F], Citation (36); and Remark [AA], Citat. (120).

(159) Drelincourt Triomphe de l'Eglise, Part II, pag. 428.

(160) Meaning, Father Caussin.

(161) Drelincourt Triomphe de l'Eglise, Part II, pag. 428.

(162) In my Edition of *Spondanus* there is no Comma betwixt Hyperii and Sacerii; which is a considerable Fault.

(163) Spondanus ad Ann. 1534. n. 11. pag. 424.

(164) Flor. de Remond, Hist. de l'Heresie, pag. 883.

(146) Flor. de Remond, Hist. de l'Heresie, cap. xi, pag. 894.

(147) Mercklin in Lindenio renovato, pag. 549.

(148) Dimittique Calvini verbo Hepevillum se appellabat. Papyrius Masso, Eleg. Tom. II, pag. 416.

(149) Spond. ad Ann. 1535. n. 7. pag. 430.

(150) Idem. ad Ann. 1534. n. 1. pag. 424.

(151) In Addit. ad cap. iv. vitæ Calvini. p. 456. Eleg. Papyrius Masso. Tom. II.

(152) In Remark [U], n. 5.

(153) It ought to be 1535.

(154) Spond. ad Ann. 1534. n. 9. pag. 423.

(155) Flor. de Remond, Hist. de l'Heresie, l. 7. c. viii. pag. 830.

lewd Behaviour of his Brother's Wife [CC]. They have made a mighty Noise of one of his Nephews returning into the Bosom of the Catholic Church [DD]. The Report spread at *Augsburg*, during the Imperial Diet, about the Year 1559, of Calvin's being reconciled to the *Romish* Communion (1), was too readily credited, even by some Protestant Princes. He complains of it as a piece of Ingratitude, from which his Constancy, so often experienced, ought to have protected him (m). *Thuanus* has observed, that Calvin, in some part of his Works, appears extremely displeased, that they had conferred upon the King of *England*, the Quality of the Head of the Church (n). Mr *Ancillon* has related this Passage, and does not disapprove of their Opinion, who think this was the Cause of publishing a defamatory Libel against Calvin [EE].

(1) See the Preface to the Christian Institution, Edit. Ann. 1559.

(m) Hæc est felicitas eorum gratitudo quos certe non latent plurima constantiæ mex experimenta, &c. *Ibid.*

(n) Thuan. lib. i. pag. 52, Edit. of Paris, 1604, in 8vo.

I shall

Calvin could never have occasion to steal from him, or think of turning Plagiary on such Terms as these. There appears such a masterly Hand, and Superiority of Genius, throughout the whole Work, that the Accusation of Plagiarism must be esteemed ridiculous by all good Judges. Time has not lessened the Esteem of Calvin's Institution: Many, who are not learned enough to read it in the Language of the Learned, lament the Barbarousness of the old French Translation. It is for their sake a Refugee Minister has undertaken a new Version: He has already translated the first and second Books into modern French (165), and is going on with the rest. Under favour, they shew themselves either over squeamish, or over ignorant. Calvin's French Style, which was very pure for that Age, is not yet unintelligible. I know several Men of a nice Taste, who read, with Pleasure, his own Translation of that Work, of which *Conrad Badius*'s Edition at Geneva, in Folio, 1560, or rather that published in the same Place two Years after (166), seems to me to be the best. I shall make good one of the Things I have asserted, from a Passage of *Paquier*. Calvin was a good Writer both in Latin and French, and our French Tongue is highly obliged to him for enriching it with so great a Number of fine Expressions (167).

(165) The first Book was printed in 4^{to}, at Brema, in 1666. The second, with a large Dedication to the Elector of Brandenburg, was printed the Year following in 4^{to}, at the same place.

(166) The marginal Quotations were corrected by *Augustin Marlot*, who also added two new Indexes.

(167) *Paquier* Recherch. lib. viii, cap. iv, pag. 768.

(168) *Beza* in vita Calvin, sub fin. pag. 387.

(169) *Florimond de Remond*. Hist. de l'Heref. lib. vii, cap. xvii, pag. 926.

(170) It was *Cornelius Bertram*, of whom I have given an Article. I have before observed, he married *Beza's* first Wife's Niece: But *Remond* is the only Man I have met with, who taxes her Conduct.

from *Chamberi* to Geneva to visit an Uncle of his, who was there become an Huguenot, embraced the Protestant Religion at Geneva, and married *Rachel de St André*, *Anthony Calvin's* Niece. From this Marriage came *Stephen de la Faverge*, 'who, after his Parents Death, was brought up in the Family of the Calvin, and sent to Heidelberg by *Anthony Calvin*, his Guardian --- his Studies being accomplished, he returned to Geneva, where, at thirty Years of Age, he was installed in the Council --- of Two hundred. Being to pay a Visit to a Relation in Savoy, he went to hear *Francis de Sales* preach, with whom he had even some Conferences touching some Points in Religion. He disputed likewise with two Capuchin Fathers.' He made a Journey to Rome in the Year 1600, to see the Ceremonies of the Jubilee. 'He was robbed upon the Road by his Companion, and seized with a continual Fever as soon as he set foot in Rome. He was visited by a Physician, who would not come to him any more, till, according to the Custom at Rome, it should be certified in writing, that he had been confessed.' The Patient sent to the Convent of Capuchins, and desired a Religious of Savoy would come and visit a Savoyard Gentleman. *Faiber Cherubim*, whom he had seen in Savoy --- came to him, and recommended him to Father *Peter of the Mother of God*, Commissary-General of the Barefooted Carmelites of the Italian Congregation. This Carmelite visited him, and got him some Alms from the Pope. This charitable Act softened the Patient's Heart. He proposed his Doubts to the Capuchins, and to the Carmelite, and resolved to turn Catholic. The Pope promised him a Pension of Eight hundred Crowns, and put him into the Hands of Cardinal *Baronius* to be instructed. The Father Carmelite gave him the Life of St Teresa to read. In short, though the Pope dissuaded him all he could, this Profelyte had a mind to be a Barefooted Carmelite, and, his Novitiate being expired, he was professed the fourteenth of July, 1602. He was called *Clement of St Mary*, and executed a great many Offices in the Order. He died in the Convent of Avignon, Anno 1643 (171).

[EE] Mr *Ancillon* has related this Passage, and does not disapprove their Opinion, who think this was the cause of publishing a defamatory Libel against Calvin.] For my Reader's Instruction, I must hear make some short Observations. 'The Place where Calvin complains of the Flatterers of Henry VIII, calling him The Supreme Head of the Church, is his Commentary upon the thirteenth Verse of the seventh Chapter of the Book of the Prophet Amos. These are his Words. 'Qui initio tantopere extulerunt Henricum Regem Angliæ, certe fuerunt inconsiderati homines, dederunt illi summam rerum omnium potestatem; & hoc me semper graviter vulneravit; Erant enim Blasphemi cum vocarent summum Caput Ecclesiæ sub Christo, hoc certe fuit nimium. --- They who at first so greatly extolled Henry, King of England, were certainly very inconsiderate; they complemented him with the Supreme Power over all Things: This has always given me a great deal of concern. For it was Blasphemy in them to call him Supreme Head of the Church under CHRIST, and certainly more than they could justify.' I do not know whether this might not be what vexed a certain Englishman, and, as some imagine, occasioned that Defamatory Libel against Calvin, in which this Englishman, who was John Brerely a Priest, charges Calvin with saying, in his Commentaries upon Daniel, that we ought sooner to spit in the Face

(171) Taken from a Book printed at Antwerp, 1670, called Les Fleurs de Carniel, cueillies du Parterre des Carmes dechaussés de France --- par le R. P. Pierre de la Mere de Dieu Religieux Carme dechaussé, pag. 81, & seq.

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VOL. II.

I shall begin my Supplements with observing, that *Theodore Beza* has written the *Life of Calvin* in *Latin* and in *French*. That in *French* serves by way of Preface to the *Commentary of Calvin* on *Job*, and is also printed separately. The first Edition is less ample, and less exact, than the following. I have compared it with the Edition (o) of the Year 1565; and I have found in the latter many new Facts, and some others better unfolded, with the Circumstances of Time better distinguished. I shall give some Examples of all This [FF]. This Edition has almost all these same Advantages over the *Life* written in *Latin*; but, on the other side, there are some things in the *Latin*, which are not in the *French* (p). As for what relates to the Supplement which I have to give, concerning the Editions of the *Institution*, you will find it in the Remark [D], of the Article SCHULTINGIUS. I have already said (q), that *Calvin* was greatly exclaimed against, for accusing the Popes and Cardinals of making a Jest of the Christian Religion [GG]. I shall retouch this.

(o) Of *Geneva*, for *Francis Perren*, with the *Commentary on Job*, in *Folio*.

(p) For Example, what concerns the Prostitution of the Wife of *Isaac*. See Remark [F], of the Article BOL-SEC.

(q) In Remark [H], of the Article CASTEL-LAN.

of a Catholic King than obey him: In answer to which Libel, a Letter was published, inserted in the first Collection of the most memorable Things which happened under the League, &c. intitled, *A Letter from a French Gentleman, containing a brief Answer to the Calumnies of a pretended Englishman*. By this Letter it appears, that *Calvin's* Commentary only concerns *Nebuchadnezzar*, who commanded his Golden Image to be worshipped, &c. (172). I affirm, in the first place, That the Libel, which was answered by the Letter from a *French Gentleman*, inserted in the first Volume of the *Memoirs of the League*, was not at all designed against *Calvin*: It was wrote against the *Huguenot* Party in general, and with a View to prevent *Henry of Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, from succeeding to the Crown of *France*. It mentions *Calvin* only by accident, and in few Words. I say, II. The Author of it was no *Englishman*: No body doubts but it was writ by *Lewis of Orleans*. The Turn he gave it was, to give it as the Advice of the *English* Catholic to the *French*, not to permit a Heretic Prince to succeed to *Henry III.* Neither *Brerely*, nor any other *English* Papist, could be angry with *Calvin*, on account of his Remark on *Henry VIII.* Every *Roman* Catholic must have approved this Thought of *Calvin*, and might make advantage of it against *Queen Elizabeth*. Undoubtedly if all he writ had been of this Stamp, he had been less exposed to the Malice of the Papists, and still much less to the Libels of the *English* Priests, than of any other Nation. IV. I observe lastly, That the Answer, inserted in the first Tome of the *Memoirs of the League*, is that which *Mr du Pleffis Mornai* wrote to *Lewis of Orleans's* Libel (173), which I cited before (174).

[FF] His *Life* — in *French* — of the Edition of 1565 — contains new Facts — others better laid open, with the Circumstances of Time better mer'ed. I will give some examples of all this.] We do not find in the *French* Edition of 1564, in 12mo, what I have taken out of the Edition of 1565, in *Folio*, when I related, that a Grandson of a Bastard of the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip the Good*, forsook the Reformed Church (175). We do not find there, that, in the Month of *March*, 1599, *Peter Viretus*, for good reasons, with certain others, left the Place in which they were, (that is to say, *Lausanne*) and retired to *Geneva*: where he was intreated, as well by the Magistrates, as by *Calvin*, and the other Ministers, to discharge the Office of Pastor of the Church (176), and that 'the Magistrates and Governor of the City, by the Advice of *Calvin*, ventured at that time to establish something of a School, and a public Profession of the principal Languages, having recovered some excellent Persons, among those, who were retired to *Geneva* with *Peter Viretus* (177). This confirms my Conjectures, that *Viretus* retired from *Lausanne* for certain reasons, which it was not thought proper to declare (178). Hence also I partly discover the reason why *Theodore Beza* left *Lausanne*; for it cannot be doubted, that he was one of those, who retired from thence with *Viretus*, for good Reasons. The Circumstance of Time convinces me of it. It was in 1559, that he began to teach in the Academy of *Geneva*, and he informs us, that they made choice of Professors among those, who had taken refuge at *Geneva*, with *Viretus*. Now from his retiring with such a Person, and for the

same Reasons, I conclude, it was not on account of some scandalous Action, as his Adversaries pretend (179); and I conjecture, that it was owing solely to Confissorial or Academic Factions. Observe, that the Passage, from whence I draw these Consequences, is not to be found in the *Latin* Life of *John Calvin*.

Neither do we find there, no more than in the *French* of 1564, in 12mo, what I am going to relate. *Calvin*, in 1546, composed a little Book in *French*, by way of Advertisement, that it would be greatly worth the while to make an Inventory of all the Relics, which the Papists value, in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and other Countries. There he discovers not only the Abuse and Idolatry, committed in those Places, but also the manifest Lies of the Priests, when, in different Churches, Towns, and Countries, the one and the other pretend to have the same thing. Now, he has not comprised the whole, but only produced some examples, which however are pretty numerous, and such as cannot be denied. Nevertheless his Design was to enlarge the said Book, if he could get Information of the like matters in the said Countries, of which there are prodigious numbers, besides those he mentions. And indeed he often jestingly reproved his particular Friends, for not recovering more ample Memoirs of such things. As for *France*, we have nothing farther to fear, on that account, thank God. For War has had such opportunity of sweeping away, and destroying, so much of this Rubbish, that we have only to beg of God, that he would please, by some means more gentle for the People of the Earth, to take away the Remains of it both in *France* and other Countries (180).

There is, in this Edition of 1565, a more particular Account of the differences *Calvin* had with *Bolsec*, *Capitio*, and *Gentilis*, &c. than either in the *Latin* Life, or the first Edition of the *French*.

The Author had let fall some Mistakes, which he corrected afterwards. He had said, that *Calvin* published his *Institution* at *Basil*, in 1534 (181). This is not to be found in the Edition of 1565. He had said, that *Calvin* married the Widow of *John Stordeur*, called *Idelette de Bure*, with whom he lived peaceably, till our Lord called him to himself in 1548, without having had any Children (182); but, in the Edition of 1565, he says; 'and with this Woman he continued to live peaceably, till our Lord took her to himself, leaving behind her no Children; for she had brought him one Son (183), he died presently (184).' Some Pages after (185), he observes, that she died in the Month of *March* 1549.

He did not correct all that wanted correction; for, in the Edition of 1565, as well as in the preceding Edition, and in the *Latin* Life, he says, that *Calvin*, at Twenty four Years of Age, dedicated his Commentary on the Book of *Seneca*, de *Clementia*, to one of the Lords *Mommor*, in whose Company he had been entertained at *Paris*, in the Schools, though not always at their Expence (186). Now it is certain, that this Book was dedicated, the fourth of *April*, 1532, to *Claudius de Hangeft*, Abbot of *St Eloi* of *Naien*. *Calvin* was not then quite Twenty three Years of Age. See the Remark [B].

[GG] *Calvin* was greatly exclaimed against for accusing the Popes, and the Cardinals, of making a Jest of the Christian Religion.] We have seen (187) how

(179) See Remark [D], of the Article BEZA.

(172) Ancill. Melange Critique, Tom. II, pag. 51, 52.

(173) It is in the first Volume of *De Mornai's Memoirs*, pag. 619, & seq.

(174) Citation (17), of the Article B R O - C A R D.

(175) In the Addition to the Remark [G], of the Article of this Duke of *Burgundy*; and note, that this is not found in the *Latin* Life of *John Calvin*.

(176) Beza, Pref. on *Job*, Edit. of *Geneva*, 1565, pag. 30.

(177) Ibid. pag. 31.

(178) See the Remark [A], of the Article V I - R E T U S.

(180) Beza, Pref. of *Calvin's* Commentary on *Job*, pag. 15.

(181) Beza's History of the Life and Death of *Calvin*, fol. 103, verso, Edit. of 1564, in 12mo.

(182) Last Leaf of Sheet C.

(183) See, above, Remark [S].

(184) Beza's Pref. on *Job*, pag. 11.

(185) Pag. 17.

(186) Ib. pag. 6.

(187) In Remark [H], of the Article C A - S T E L L A N.

how the Jesuit *John Hay* reports the Terms of This Accusation. *Spandanus* reports them in the same manner; but he observes, that *Calvin* adds, 'that, though all are not of this Opinion, and that there are few, who talk in this manner, yet it is long since this Religion began to be the common Religion of the Popes, and that this is notorious to those, who are acquainted with *Rome* (188).'

[188] *Spand. Declarat. des principes Motifs.* pag. 203, Ed. t. of Antwerp, 1595.

'Did he not blush, pray, continues *Spandanus*, when he wrote these Blasphemies? Or rather did he at all grow pale, through fear that God should cause the Hand to wither, with which he wrote them? If it be true, and he really believed so, why has he not given us proofs of the thing? The Crimes were such, that it was worth while doing this good Office to Christianity, especially as he was so very zealous for our Salvation. The Minister *Coladon*, who published his *Institution at Louanne*, in 1576, being sensible that This Passage was difficult to be maintained, endeavoured to fortify it with the Authority of *Erasmus*, in an Epistle to one *Steuchus* †, in which he says: *There may be, in Germany, Persons, who refrain not from blaspheming GOD; but such Persons are sure to be most severely punished: whereas I myself have heard, at Rome, Persons, who have thrown out abominable Blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles, and that in the Presence of many, who were Ear-witnesses with me, without being punished for it. I have not Erasmus's Book at present by me; but it is easy to judge, by what Coladon cites from it, that the Author speaks of common, dissolute, People, such as abound every where with regard to Blasphemy; and our Reformers know what numbers of such there are, among themselves, who know how to put it in practice. This may be the Case at Rome, and perhaps worse; but, that it is a Point of private Doctrine, Calvin will never be able to prove; and I desire no other Passage of all his Writings, to make it appear, that he was actuated by a Spirit of Indignation and Revenge.'*

† *Erasmi. Epist. ad Steuchum.*

It is certain, that *Erasmus* does not speak of what

the dissolute Vulgar might say: he mentions some Priests of the Pope's Palace. Let us produce his Words at full length, and let us observe, that he opposes them to the Accusation of Impiety, which *Steuchus* had brought against the Protestants of Germany. 'Interdum stilum odiosius stringis mea sententia, quam par est, in Germanos, veluti Deuteronomii capite sexto, quum is locus non porrigat ansam incandescendi: Neque enim, inquis, hoc dicimus, quorundam Germanorum imitati procacitatem, qui sibi omnibus & Diis & hominibus, & humanis & divinis rebus, maledicendi licentiam usurpant. Ita tu quidem. Fieri potest, ut in Germania sint, qui non temperent a blasphemis in Deum, sed in hos horrendis suppliciis animadvertitur. At ego Romæ his auribus audivi quosdam abominandis Blasphemis debacchantes in Christum & in illius Apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, & quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant, se dicta horrenda audisse a quibusdam sacerdotibus Aulæ Pontificiæ ministris, idque in ipsa Missa, tam clare, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit (189). — Sometimes you draw your Pen, with more venom, I think, than you ought, against the Germans; as, in the sixth Chapter of Deuteronomy, though that Place affords no handle for growing enraged. Nor do I say This (They are your own Words) in Imitation of the Sauciness of some Germans, who assume to themselves the Liberty of calumniating every thing, both God and Man, divine and humane Things. Thus you speak. It is true, there may be, in Germany, Persons, who refrain not from Blasphemies against GOD; but such Persons suffer the cruelest Punishments. Whereas, at Rome, I myself have heard Persons uttering abominable Blasphemies against CHRIST, and his Apostles, and that in the hearing of many besides myself, and yet have never been punished for it. I knew many there, who told me, they had heard shocking Expressions from certain Priests, belonging to the Pope's Palace, and that during the very Mass, and so loud, that many heard what they said.'

(189) *Erasmi. Epist. xxxiv. lib. xxvi. pag. 1456.*

CAMALDOLI (*AMBROSE de*), *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, so called because he was Abbot-General of the Order of *Camaldoli*, was a learned Man in the XVth Century. He was born near *Florence*, at *Portico*, a little Town of *Romandiola* (a), and learned Greek under *Emanuel Chrysoloras*, who taught at *Venice* (b). He entered into the Order of *Camaldoli* at fourteen Years of Age, and was made General in 1431 (c). He had already enjoyed some of their other Employments, and had lived among them for the space of thirty Years (d). Pope *Eugenius IV*, who had a great Value for him, sent him to the Council of *Basil*, and had great Reason to commend his Zeal, in maintaining the Authority of the Papal Chair. This General continued to testify the same Zeal in the Council of *Ferrara*, and that of *Florence*: where he disputed strongly against the *Greeks*. He harangued, in Greek at *Ferrara*, *John* (e) *Paleologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, in the Year 1437, and made the *Greeks* confess that he understood their Language the best of any of the *Latins* (f). It was he whom Pope *Eugenius* dispatched to the *Florentines*, to engage their Consent that the Council of *Ferrara* might be removed to their City. He obtained what the Pope desired, and was made choice of to draw up the Form of Union between the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches (g). He is accused by *Sguropulus*, not only of an extream Partiality for the Pope, but also of Hypocrisy and Knavery (b) [A].

(a) *Volater. lib. xxi.*

(b) *Wharton, Appendix ad Cave Hist. Literar. Script. Eccles.*

(c) *Id. ibid.*

(d) *Hodæporicon Ambrosii Camaldul. p. 1.*

(e) *Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 555, miscell. bim Emanuel.*

(f) *Sguropulus, Hist. Concil. Flor. sect. x, cap. ii.*

(g) *Wharton, Appendix ad Cave Hist. Script. Eccles.*

(b) 'Ανὴρ πολὺ λόγος καὶ καλὸς πνεῦμα δὲ καὶ καλὸν ἦτορ. Vir veteratorius & callidus, & pietatis simulator. *Sgurop. Hist. Conc. Flor. Sect. vii, cap. i.*

[A] He is accused by *Sguropulus* — of Hypocrisy and Knavery.] There are not a few Writers, who have given us quite another Account of this Author: we find in his Works certain Characters, which confute this Calumny of *Sguropulus*. However it be, it is certain, that one of the most satirical Writers of his Time has given us an authentic Testimony of our *Ambrose's* Integrity. I mean *Poggius Florentinus*, who, in one of his Dialogues against Hypocrites, where he lashes, on all sides, a multitude of famous Men, has these Words: 'Quid, Carolus inquit, de nostro *Ambrosio* judicatis? rectane an tortuosa philosophabatur via? Nunquid vobis hypocrisis redolebat? Nequaquam, Hieronymus inquit; fuit enim vir optimus meo judicio ac probatissimus, qui in suo cœnobio literis deditus multa scripsit magna cum laude & doctrina. Summa certe fuit prædix humanitate ac virtute. Laudo vitam illius, Carolus inquit,

& existimo extra hypocrisis fuisse, &c. — What, says Charles, do you think of our *Ambrose*? Is his Reasoning just or not? Does he appear a Hypocrite? By no means, says *Jerom*; for in my Opinion he was a most excellent and worthy Man, who gave himself up to Letters in his Convent, and wrote many Things with great Reputation and Learning. He was certainly endued with the greatest Virtue and Humanity. I admire his Life, says Charles, and believe it intirely free from Hypocrisy, &c.' Father *Nicolas Bartolini* quotes this Passage at the end of the *Hodæporicon*, and tells us this Dialogue of *Poggius* was to be sent to the Press at the Instance of some Frenchmen, whose Importunities Mr. *Magliabacchi* could not resist. *Paul Jovius*, who is sometimes more apt to commend than condemn, confesses that the General of *Camaldoli* was a Man, who, by an uncommon Piece of good Fortune, had joined Sanctity

Ambrose was the Distributer of the petty Sums assigned by the Pope for the Relief of the indigent *Grecians*. He collected a large Library in the Convent of St Mary of the Angels, where he resided (i), and translated, out of the Greek into Latin, several Books, as those of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, *De Cælesti Hierarchia*, those of *Manuel Calecas*, against the Errors of the *Grecian Church*, *Palladius's Life of St Chrysostome*, *Aeneas Gazæus's Theophrastus* [B], *The Spiritual Meadow of John Moschus*, *St John Climacus*, several of *St Ephrem's Sermons*, &c. *Gerard Vossius*, Provost of *Tongres*, is accused of a remarkable Plagiarism, in regard to this last Translation (k). *Ambrose* was not content to translate the Works of several Fathers of the Church, but had a mind to try his Strength on the Heathen Authors; he made choice of one who was not the most easy, I mean *Diogenes Laërtius*, and met with no extraordinary Success (l). As to his own Works they consist of a Chronicle of Mount *Cassin*, a History of his own Transactions while he was General of *Camaldoli*, some Lives of the Saints, some Orations, and a Treatise *De Sacramento admirabili Corporis Christi*, &c. To which some add a Treatise of the Procession of the Holy Ghost [C]. As he writ a great Number of Letters, *Cosmo de Medicis*, who had a very particular Esteem for him (m), ordered them to be collected into one Volume, by a Monk of *Camaldoli*. This Volume has never yet been published; but is in the Library of *Florence*: The World has been promised it, with the Notes of *Nicolas Bartolini*, who has already obliged us with *Ambrose's Hodæporicon*; a Work which equally proves the Author to have been a very honest Man, and to have lived in a very corrupt Age [D]. Those, who say he died in the Year 1490 (n),

are

Sanctity and Gayety together; and that he had a Soul so free from Envy, and the Spirit of Contradiction, that, in endeavouring to reconcile *Poggius* and *Laurentius Valla*, he told them they behaved themselves neither like Men of Learning, nor Christians, whilst they debated the Dignity of the Sciences by their satirical Writings. 'Fuit hic vir, quod raro evenit, sine oris tristitia sanctus, semper utique suavis atque serenus; ita procul à livore contentioneque, ut cum Vallæ Poggium reconciliare conaretur, eos neque planè literatos, neque item Christianos videri diceret, qui inducta simulate sacrosanctum literarum decus probro libellis importune defecderant (1).'

(1) Jovius Elog. cap. xi.

[B] He translated — *Aeneas Gazæus's Theophrastus*. My Remark on this Version is only to have an Opportunity of observing, that our *Ambrose* made a Voyage which very few have mentioned. He went to *Constantinople* with *Guarin* and *Philippus*, to perfect himself in the *Greek Tongue*; and returning from thence, passed by the Isle of *Chios*, where *Andreas Justiniani*, a Lover of Learning, and learned Men, received this little Troop of Travellers with all possible Friendship. *Ambrose*, to testify his Gratitude, dedicated to him his Translation of *Aeneas Gazæus* (2).

(2) See *Augustin Justiniani*, *Andreas's* Grandson's, Dedication, prefixed to this Translation, in the *Venice Edition*, 1513. See also the Dedication of the Translator.

[C] Some add to his Works, a Treatise of the Procession of the Holy Ghost [Vossius (3), after having observed, that *Possavin*, *Tritheimius*, and some others (4), attribute a Book concerning the Holy Ghost, to the General of *Camaldoli*, adds, that they seem to mistake that for a Work of this General, which was no other than a Translation. Mr *Wharton*, who writ a long time after *Vossius*, yet ascribes this Piece to *Ambrose* as an Original. He also attributes to him, in the same Nature, the Work contra Vituperatores Monastica vitæ, which is, says he (5), among the Manuscripts of St *Juana's* Library at *Padua*, of which neither *Bellarmino* nor *Pocciandus* have made any mention. However, I make no doubt but this Work was only a Translation of St *Chrysostom's* three Books, adversus vitæ monasticæ vituperatores, which *Volaterranus* has taken notice of in speaking of our Author. See also Father *Labbe* (6), in his Catalogue of the fourth Tome of St *Chrysostom's* Works, according to the *Paris Edition* 1614, and *Gesner's Bibliotheca* in the Catalogue of the Works of the same Father, printed at *Basel*, in the Year 1530. This Work, translated by our *Ambrose*, is quoted in both these Editions.

(6) Labbe de Script. Ecclæs. Tom. I, pag. 534.

[D] His *Hodæporicon* — — — — — equally proves the Author to have been a very honest Man, and to have lived in a very corrupt Age.] This Book is a Relation of a Journey *Ambrose* made thro' several Places of *Italy* in 1431 and 1432. He set out from his Convent the eleventh of October, 1431, to be present at a general Chapter of the Order. This Chapter deposed their General, and

advanced our *Ambrose* in his Place, who, after that, visited several Houses of his Order. He found a monstrous Degeneracy among them, and some Nunneries which were perfect Brothels. The Author ventured to relate it in *Greek* rather than *Latin*, deprehendi etævis in Monasterio commorari non Santimoniales (7). — I found the Convent consisted of Whores instead of Nuns. He thundered against this Disorder; and the Abbess at last confessed, that there was not a due Government in the House, but that neither she, nor some of the more aged, followed the Torrent. He was not so weak as to be satisfied with such an imperfect Confession; he discovered the whole Extent of the Mischief, forbade them to admit any Monks or Laymen for the future, and threatened to raze and burn their Cloyster, if those scandalous Reports continued. He seems not to have been so successful or industrious in his Visitation of another Convent. He had an ill Opinion of it, but believed, upon his Inquiries, that Things were better than he expected. But, after his Departure, he was informed that he had made but a very imperfect Scrutiny, that he had not discovered the Truth, and that almost all the Nuns in the House were Ladies of Pleasure, omnes ferme æbrias divas (8). He was very much concerned at it, tho' he did not believe he had been so deceived in his Informations; and, returning thither, he discovered that a Prior had debauched a Nun, who thereupon had made her Escape. The Abbess confessed her having had a Child, Ejus confessione simplici rixoræ coniugas eam comperimus (9): And then he says, in general, that he had found several Things worthy of Correction, Plurima ibi quæ correctione digna essent invenimus. He met with no less Disorders among the Monks. There was one Convent where they fought with Swords and Staves, and where the Prior was accused of so many foul Things, that it was not thought proper to bring him to a formal Trial. The Management of the Process and Conviction of the Criminal were carried on with all possible Secrecy, and after a gentle Sentence, and some Regulations in writing for the Future, he was, by Word of Mouth, and in the Presence of a few Witnesses, censured for his greatest Vice. He had too great a Regard to the Honour of the Society, to leave any thing in writing upon that Subject (11). Sometimes he ventures to speak out freely, without any Recourse to the *Greek Language*. 'Et ex matre Domini et ex plerisque aliis perceptor mus Prostitutum illud esse. Deprehendimus rem opinione etiam deterioiorem (12). — And I found that the Convent of our Lady, as well as most others, were direct Brothels. The Thing appeared even worse than I imagined.' On another Occasion, where he was to declare that the Prior of a Monastery had a Bastard, he chose rather to

(7) Hodæporicon. Ambr. pag. 4.

(8) Pag. 26.

(9) Pag. 29.

(10) Pag. 30, 31.

(11) Precepta secretiora tradidimus quæ scriptis ligare ob illius & nostrum ipsiusque Monasterii honorem nolueramus præp. τῆς τῶν νύκτων συνουσίας, & aliis huiusmodi quibusdam. — I gave Orders privately, not being willing, either on his account, or my own, or the Monastery's, to commit them to writing, concerning the Proterity, and some other Crimes of that Kind.

(12) Hodæporicon. Ambr. pag. 48. make

are mistaken [E]; and so, in all probability, are they who say he ended his Days at Constance. His Body is deposited in the Oratory of Camaldoli, without Epitaph or Ornament [F]. His Life, wrote at large by Augustin of Florence, may be met with at the end of the History of the Order of Camaldoli, composed in three Books

(13) Visitavimus. Priorem ipsius Monasterii, & que de illo fama vulgaverat vera esse deprehendimus, namque vobis habuit juvenem ingenii non mali, à quo scriptam orationem accepimus. — I visited the Prior of that Monastery, and found what Fame had reported of him to be true; for he had a Son, a Youth of good Parts, from whom I received an Oration in writing. Hodepor. Ambros. pag. 35.

(14) Journal des Scavans 2 Mar. 1682.

(15) Hodepor. Ambros. pag. 64.

(16) Wharton, Appendix ad Cave Hist. Script. Ecclesiast.

(17) Varill. Anecd. de Flor. pag. 164.

(18) See Remark [A], of the Article CONRADUS.

(19) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 556.

make use of the Greek Word *σὺς* than the Latin Word *filius* (13). The Abbot de la Roque commends our Ambrose's Prudence for expressing these grand Disorders in a Language less known than the Latin, to prevent making them so public (14). But the making this Reflexion must defeat Ambrose's Intention; for they, who are acquainted with this Precaution, will be more readily directed, than otherwise they would have been, to these ticklish Places; they need only cast their Eyes upon these Greek Words, to discover, in a Moment, where the Game lies. There are very few, who can read a Latin Book, but will make shift to find out a Word in a Greek Dictionary. The Example this General relates (15) of the Force of Jealousy, is very singular. An old Priest, who for a long time had been in love with an Abbess, seeing himself excluded, and supplanted by his Rival, was so far exasperated, that he became an Informer against her, and exposed several obscene Letters he had sent her. It did not appear by these Letters, that the Abbess had granted him the Favour; however Ambrose retained them, and produced them against her as a convincing Proof. She absolutely denied that she had forfeited her Honour, but confessed the Receipt of the lewd old Man's Letters. To conclude, this Hodeporicon was printed at Florence from a Manuscript, which the Famous Mr Magliabecchi communicated to Father Nicolas Bartholini, Clerk-Regular of the Congregation of the Mother of God. The Copy I make use of does not shew the Year in which it was printed, though it must be either 1680, 1681, or 1682. Mr Wharton, in all probability, had a Copy, whose Title was different from that of mine; for he quotes it thus (16): *Hodeporicon, seu Descriptio itineris Eugenii Papæ auctoritate anno 1431 à se per Italiam suscepti, ut corruptos Monachorum & Virginum claustralium mores emendaret.* There is nothing like this in mine. I do not know what Grounds the Abbot de la Roque has to believe that there was a former Edition of this Work, and that the *Stile* of it was fine. It must be confessed, Ambrose wrote very well for a Man of his Profession in those Times; but let us not say, with Mr Varillas, that he translated the Hierarchy, attributed to St Denis, with so much Eloquence and Elegancy, that no Body ever since could come near his *Stile* (17).

[E] Those, who say he died in the Year 1490, are mistaken.] In the 1st place, if he had lived to the Year 1490, he must have died One hundred and three Years old. Now, if he had attained to so extraordinary an Age, it must certainly have been taken notice of in some part of those many Books, which speak either of him, or those learned Men who lived to be very old. Since therefore no body has mentioned it, we may conclude it to be an Age he never arrived at (18). The Proof that he must have been One hundred and three Years old, is taken from his entering into the Order at fourteen, and having continued in it thirty Years, when, in 1431, he was deputed to the Chapter-General of his Order. This he informs us himself at the beginning of his Hodeporicon. In the 11d place, the Epistle dedicatory to his Letters speaks of him as not then living; and acquaints us, that Cosmo de Medicis had employed a Monk to make a Collection of these Letters: This Monk, having discharged his Commission, dedicated the Work to Cosmo de Medicis. All this supposes some Years to have passed betwixt the Author's Death, and the time of the Dedication of his Letters. Now this must have been before the Year 1464, in which Cosmo died. In the 111d place, it was Poggius Florentinus, according to Vossius (19), who made the General of Camaldoli's Funeral Oration. Now Poggius died in 1459; so that this General is far from having lived till 1490. What Vossius tells us of Poggius being Ambrose's Scholar seems to me a little suspicious; for Poggius must have made a Figure in the World before Ambrose was taken notice of, and was his Senior. He

VOL. II.

was made Secretary of the Briefs about the Year 1407. He was a Man of Note at the time of holding the Council of Constance, when he gave an Account of John Hus's Punishment in 1416; and since he died in 1459, and in the eightieth Year of his Age, it follows that he was born in 1379. Now Ambrose was a private Monk when the Council of Constance was held, and he was born about the Year 1386 or 1387. Sandius had reason to believe, that Poggius was rather Ambrose's Fellow-Student, when he learned Greek, than his Scholar (20); but he is wrong in refuting Vossius, as to the Funeral Oration, since he builds, tho' with an *If*, on the false Supposition of Ambrose's living till the Year 1490. I shall remark, by the by, a Fault of Moreri, who says, in a retrograde Order, that Ambrose was at the Councils of Basil, and of Constance. How will he prove this, in regard to the last Head? In the IVth place, Bartholini (21) tells us, that Eugenius IV, having heard of Ambrose's Death, was sensibly touched with it. 'Dum ejus primum inaudita morte subita videris abreptus in lacrymas & aliquandiu quoque ingemiscens, cum ex nomine vocare non cessaret, in has voces identidem erumpens, Ambrose, Fili, quis te mihi eripuit, quis Ecclesie lumen adeo intempestive extinxit? — Being surprized with the News of his Death, he burst into Tears with the suddenness of his Grief, and bewailing him also for some time, continued calling him by his Name, and broke out into this Expostulation, O Ambrose, my Son, who has taken you away from me, who has so unseasonably extinguished the Light of the Church?' This Pope departed this Life in 1447: and, if Ambrose died before him, what do so many Authors mean, who agree in remarking that he lived to a very great Age (22)? And what was Paulus Jovius dreaming of, when he said that Ambrose was admired by Eugenius IV, and Nicolas V (23)? Some will have it that both these Popes had Thoughts of making him Cardinal (24). However it be, they must be mistaken who suppose a strict Friendship betwixt him and Politian (25); for this last was not born 'till the Year 1454.

The Printer had proceeded thus far, when one of my Friends (26), whom I had desired to consult Augustinus Florentinus, informed me, I. That he found there, that our Ambrose died the twenty first of October 1439, at his return from the Council of Florence, to which he had subscribed (27), and that he entered into the Order, at the Age of fourteen Years and twenty two Days, in the Year 1400 (28). II. That Dom Thomas de Minis, a Florentine, who published at Florence, in 1606, a Catalogue of the Saints of the Order of Camaldoli, says, in his forty fifth Page, that Ambrose, the thirty fifth General, died in 1439. I am surprized that Mr Wharton, who had in his Hands Augustinus Florentinus, should make Ambrose flourish in 1440, and suppose him living a long time after. Vossius, who makes him flourish in the Year 1450, did not see clearly into this matter: nor has he justly quoted James de Bergamo, who makes mention of our Ambrose under the Year 1431, and not, as Vossius affirms, under 1449.

[F] His Body is deposited in the Oratory of Camaldoli, without Epitaph or Ornament.] Father Mabillon, out of indignation at such a sight, makes the following Reflexion, in his Voyage to Italy. 'In Oratorio, says he (29), sepultus est sine lapide & titulo magnus ille Ambrosius, Camaldulensium quondam summus Præpositus, tum cœnobitarum tum eremitarum qui sub Petro Delphino discessio- nem à cœnobitiis fecerunt. Subit indignatio, ut cum Plinio juniore loquamur, tanti viri post tot annos reliquias neglectumque cinerem sine titulo, sine nomine jacere, cujus memoria orbem terrarum gloria pervagata est. Sed potior Ambrosii apud Deum gloria est ac memoria. — In the Oratory, lies buried, without Stone or Inscription, the great Ambrosius, formerly General of the Order of Camaldoli, as well of Monks as Hermits, who, under

(20) Sandius Not. in Voss. de Hist. Lat. p. 212.

(21) Hodeporicon, Ambros. pag. ult.

(22) Excessit à vita planè senex Jovius.

Obiit valde grævus non sine sanctitatis opinione. Wharton.

(23) He succeeded Eugenius IV.

(24) Varill. Anecd. de Florence. Wharton. Append. ad Cave de Script. Ecclesiast.

(25) Val. Curio, Pref. in Diogen. Laert. apud Gell. Bibl. fol. 32.

(26) Monsieur de Larroque.

(27) Aug. Florentinus in Vite Ambros. c. xxix.

(28) Id. cap. iv.

(29) Museum. Ital. Tom. I, pag. 180.

* Plin. lib. vi, Epist. x.

(o) Labbe de
Scriptor. Ecclef.
Tom. I. p. 45.

Books by the same Author. Father *Labbe* was mistaken when he said, that this Author writ three Books upon *Ambrose's* Life (o). Mr *Wharton* has observed that Mistake.

'under Peter Delphius quitted the Monasteries. It
'is matter of Indignation, as Pliny, the Younger, said
'on a like occasion, that the Ashes and Remains of so
'great a Man should lie so many Years neglected,
'without Monument or Epitaph, whose Memory is
'recorded with Glory in all parts of the World:
'But the Memory and Glory of Ambrose is most
'highly esteemed in Heaven.'

(a) Gabriel.

(b) Regie Scholæ
in isthoc illustri
Collegio à fere-
nissimâ Regina
Elizabetha beate
memoriæ funda-
tæ — Hypodi-
dascalum —
constituti. Tho.
Smith, in *Vita*
Camdeni, pag. 8.

CAMDEN (WILLIAM), one of the most learned and illustrious Men of his Time, born at *London*, the second of May, 1551, of a Family not very considerable [A]. At the Age of fifteen he was sent to *Oxford*, where he studied five Years without taking any Degree [B], and from thence returned to *London*; where, among other Patrons, he met with *Gabriel* and *Jeffrey Goodman*. They were two Brothers; who, being acquainted with *Camden's* great Parts, took a pleasure in supplying him with the means to improve them. One of them (a), being Dean of *Westminster*, made him, in the Year 1575, Usher of the School, which Queen *Elizabeth* had founded in that Church (b). *Camden*, who had Classical Learning enough to acquit himself worthily of that Employ, compleatly discharged all the Duties of it, and continued, in the mean time, to apply himself to more exalted Studies. His natural Inclination led him principally to a search after the Antiquities of his own Country: and as the Excellency of his Genius, and Profoundness of his Judgment, quickly discovered to him the full Extent of his Design, and all the Assistance requisite for his Success therein; his Thoughts and Studies were entirely bent on preparing Materials for the Work he was meditating. It was a History of the ancient *Britons*: He proposed to trace to the Bottom their Original, their Manners, and their Laws. To which end it was necessary for him, not only to understand whatever the *Romans* or the *Grecians* have left us concerning *Great Britain*, but also the ancient Language of the Island, both *British* and *Saxon*. He was obliged to examine the old Itineraries, search into the Archives, and consult an infinite Number of old Papers. He omitted nothing of all this: his Diligence and Pains were extraordinary, and so likewise was his Success. And as his Reputation had reached even into foreign Parts, all who were Judges, found him particularly capable of executing so vast a Design, and encouraged and assisted him in it, every one according to his Abilities. He resolved to view, himself, the Situation of the Country, and there was not a Corner in all *England* which he did not carefully inspect. From all these Labours, at the end of ten Years, came out his *Britannia*, printed at *London*, in 1586 [C]. This Work answered the Expectation

[A] He was of a Family not very considerable.] His Father was born at *Lichfield* in *Staffordshire*, and came to settle in *London*, where he followed the business of a Painter. He left but little at his Death, so that his Son, who was young, was brought up in the Orphans Hospital. *Camden*, in the height of his Fortune, was so far from concealing the Obscurity of his Family, that he left by his Will, to the Company of Painters, a Vermilion Cup (1), with this Inscription, *Gul. Camdenus Clarencius, filius Samsonis, Picloris Londinensis, dono dedit*. It is one of the Cups the Company makes use of at their public Feasts. *Camden*, by his Mother's side, was related to an ancient (2) Family (3).

[B] He studied at *Oxford*, without taking any Degree.] I observe this, that I may have an opportunity of informing my Reader, that, in 1588, when his Reputation had raised him above the Title of Master of Arts, which the University of *Oxford* usually confers on those who have run through a Course of seven Years; he petitioned for that Degree. He was answered that he might have it, provided he would present himself at the next Congregation of the University, according to Custom. He had not then time to attend; but, in 1613, he appeared in the University, in order to assist at the Obsequies of Sir *Thomas Bodley*, and then went out Master of Arts. It was a great Honour for that famous University, to have a Man of his Years and Reputation ambitious of that Title (4).

Note, There are some Writers who affirm, the University made him an Offer of this Degree, which he then thought unnecessary; and that it is very probable he never accepted it. This is Dr *Gibson's* Opinion (5), which he founds upon the Authority of Mr *Wood*.

[C] His *Britannia* was printed at *London* in 1586.] The date of this Impression will serve for an Answer to those, who affirm that *Camden* was

commanded by King *James* to write a Description of *England*. This Description was printed at *London* five times one after another, before Queen *Elizabeth's* Death. It does not where appear, that That Prince was any ways concerned in the Author's Undertaking: He was led on in these Studies by his own Taste or Genius, and employed all his Care and Pains in the execution of his Design, without any appearance, as I said before, that the Court gave him any Commission for it, or promised him any Reward (6). There must therefore be a Mistake in the Passage I am going to cite. I shall set it down somewhat at large, because it contains an Elogy not at all to be suspected. We cannot but remember the just Complaints which *Sorbiere's* Account has occasioned (7). 'England is a Country the best known of any in the World; for *Camden*, by Order of King *James*, wrote a Description of it, in order to which he spent several Years in travelling. He followed the Course of the Rivers, and described on each side whatever he met with. He coursed the Champains, penetrated the Forests, and traversed the Mountains. So that he discovered every thing remarkable, gave the exact Situation of the smallest Castles, and recounted, as he went along, the History, Genealogy, and Alliances of all the considerable Families. His Work makes one of the most curious parts of *Blaeu's* Atlas (8). Dr *Smith* observes, that *Camden's* *Britannia* makes the fourth part of *Janfonius's* Atlas, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1659; but, that it was very much altered: No regard is had to the Author's Method; the Quotations from him are imperfect; many things are here and there ascribed to him, which are the Observations of others; and no care is taken to distinguish what is borrowed from him, and what from other Writers. Nitidissimis quidem Characteribus, sed ordine planè diverso: multis omissis, multis quoque à *Johannis Speedi* auctoribusque

(1) It cost 16
Pounds Sterling.

(2) That of the
Curwens, de-
scended from
Gospatrick, Earl
of *Northumber-*
land.

(3) Ex *Vita*
Camdeni Autore
Tho. Smith,
pag. 2.

(4) Ex eodem
Tho. Smith,
ibid. pag. 6, 7.

(5) *Gibson's* Life
of *Camden*. See
below, Citation
(35).

(6) Dr *Smith*,
pag. 10. inti-
mates only that
Sir *Philip Sid-*
ney encouraged
the Author, and
made him an
Offer of his
Friendship.

(7) Dr *Sprat*
published in *Eng-*
lish, an Answer
to *Sorbiere's*
Voyage; which,
translated into
French, and en-
larged by the
Translator, was
printed at *Am-*
sterdam, 1675.

(8) *Sorbiere's*
Voyage into *Eng-*
land, pag. 10.
Edit. of *Holland*,
1666.

tion the Learned had conceived of it; and sold so well, that it was reprinted the Year following (c), and besides the German Editions, we may count those of England in the Years 1590, 1594, 1600, and 1607 (d). They, who are acquainted with the Nature of this sort of Writings, need not be informed that every new Edition excelled the former [D]. The great Success of this Book, and the Commendations it drew from all Parts on it's Author, abated nothing of Camden's innate Modesty, nor put any Notions into his Head of quitting the Fatigues of the School, where he had been a long time Usher. If his Friends had taken no greater Care of his Fortune than he himself, the Nation and Age he lived in might to this Day have lain under the Scandal of having neglected to great a Subject (e). But this was prevented; for the Bishop of Salisbury (f) conferred on him, in the Year 1588, the Prebend of Ilfarcombe. Camden enjoyed it all his Life without Residence, or entering into Orders. In 1593, he succeeded Edward Grant, who was Head-Master of Westminster School, and compiled a new Greek Grammar, which appeared in 1597; and has been received not only in that School, but throughout all England. He was removed the same Year from his Mastership, to succeed Richard Liege, who was Clarencieux King at Arms. This Dignity exposed him to the Fury of a Man, who, thinking he himself had deserved it, and not doubting but it would have been conferred on him, took it as an Affront that it was disposed of in Favour of another. To divert his Spleen, and revenge himself for the Wrong he pretended to have received, he attacked Camden's Work, and published (g) some Criticisms upon it, full of Passion and Bitterness [E]. Camden answered him with much Moderation, justified himself very learnedly, and proved his

(c) See the Remark [E], at the end.

(d) Smith, in Vita Camdeni, pag. 78.

(e) Nullo aut ambitionis aut avaritiae affectu percitus, sui plus aequo negligentior. Amici non item, ut seculum apud poetas abolerent, quasi optime meritis, inter quos Camdenus jure recensendus, neglexisset. Smith, in Vita Camdeni p. 17.

(f) Dr John Pierce.

(g) In the Year 1599.

(9) Smith, in Vita Camdeni, pag. 78.

(10) Id. ibid.

liorumque scriptis interpositis adjectisque ut quid ipse Camdenus, quidve illi scripserint, meritis ambigatur (9). If any one would undertake the reprinting this Work, he might be furnished with many Corrections and Additions from the Author (10). See the Remark [E] towards the end.

[D] — It was reprinted several times — every new Edition excelled the former.] There are some Subjects inexhaustible; one may be always making Additions to them, because there is no end of finding something or other not thought of before. This is the Fate of Dictionaries. There are other Subjects so difficult, so obscure, and embarrassed with so many Circumstances, that all we can do is to avoid being often mistaken in them. In a word, there are a great many Reasons why a Book should grow more perfect from several Impressions. Very often a Piece becomes good at last, which at first was very bad. This is always a Disadvantage to the Author; for it may be objected that he was a little too hasty, and that his first Production was no better than an untimely Birth. This was not Camden's Case. The last Edition of his *Britannia* is incomparably better than the first; but yet the first was very good. I quote Dr Smith's Words, and I am confident, the learned Reader will not condemn this Remark; it is very proper to point out the manner, in which we ought to judge of some sort of Writings. Now what can be more necessary than to inform the Judgment of the Reader, by setting before him certain Thoughts abstracted and collected out of other Books? This was the Motive, which induced me to insert such sort of Quotations in this Dictionary: which I desire to mention here once for all. This is my Quotation. 'Cum enim opus ejusmodi ex argumentorum, quae in illo tractantur, varietate continui incrementi capax sit, & tam ingenti rerum haecenus incognitarum, quarum origo aut obscura aut incerta, copia & apparatu referciatur, nemo, qui de hisce studiis recte, & prout par est, judicandi facultate pollet, errores, si qui in primis editionibus reperirentur, non ex levitate & inconstantia mentis, non ex praecipiti insulas & nulli fundamento innixas conjecturas venditandi audacia aut inani pruritu, sed ex defectu debita autoritatis aut mentis non semper attentae variisque cogitationibus distractae lassitudine admissos, qui vel vigilantissimo obrepere possint, exprobrare, aut illud omnibus numeris nondum fuisse absolutum mistis querelis mirari debet. In hoc secundi ingenii partu pulchra quidem lineamenta apparere, & nullo vitio distorta compages, quibus novos colores integrumque vigorem inducenda esset maturior aetas. Hoc nempe erat plurimum annorum & cumulatoris experientiae negotium, ut lucubrationes istae, saepe repetitis curis recognitae, limaque accuratiori perpolitae, novis auctariis in justam decoramque molem demum crescerent (11). — For as

a Work of this Nature is capable of continual improvement, from the variety of the Subjects it treats of, and is filled with so great a number of Things, hitherto unknown, whose Origin is very uncertain, and difficult to trace, no good Judges of these Studies will upbraid the Author with it's Faults, if there should be any in the first Editions, occasioned not from a levity and inconstancy of Judgment, not from a rash Assurance, or vain itch of publishing absurd and groundless Conjectures, but from a want of good Authorities, and a natural Inattention of the Mind, when wearied, or distracted with various Objects; nor complain and wonder that it should not yet be absolutely complete. This ingenious Work discovered indeed, at it's Birth, beautiful Lineaments, and Parts unexceptionably proportioned; but it was to receive it's full Charms, and compleat Vigour, from maturer Years. For it required a long time, and continued Observations, to revise and new polish with repeated Pains, and still greater Exactness, these Lucubrations, that they might at last, by gradual Additions, reach their just and becoming Stature.' All this Quotation deserves to be considered.

[E] — An angry Man — attacked his Britannia, and published some Criticisms upon it, — full of Passion.] This was Ralph Brook York Herald at Arms. He having spent two Years in examining Camden's *Britannia*, published a Book in English called *A discovery of certaine Errours, published in Print in the much commended Britannia, 1595; Injurious to the Families and Successions of the ancient Nobility of this Realm*. He published it without Licence, and without naming either Book-seller or Printer. He was not content to attack Camden in Genealogical Points only, but accused him of Plagiarism, with respect to other Matters, as if he had pillaged the learned Leland's Works. Dr Smith complains that the Author of the English Ecclesiastical History has revived Brook's Accusation. 'Cujus solius autoritate sultus scriptor quidam ex nostratibus, utinam ob mentis solertiam & judicium pariter ac ob ingenium & industriam commendandus, eandem calumniam credule reque penitus inexplorata arripit (12). — Upon whose sole Authority, a certain Writer of our own Nation, whose Accuracy and Judgment I wish were as remarkable as his Wit and Industry, has credulously, and without any farther Examination, made use of the same Calumny.' And he tells us, that Camden's Answer served for an Appendix to the fifth Edition of his *Britannia* printed in 1600, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth (13). Our Author at first treated only superficially on Genealogical Points; but, after he was made King at Arms, he studied them thoroughly (14). His Office required it, and by this means he was able, in his Answer, to clear judiciously a thousand Obscurities

(12) Smith, in Vita Camdeni, pag. 24. He adds in the Margin in Historia Ecclesiastica Britanniae (hoc enim magnifico titulo istum Rhapsodiam insignire placuit). — In the Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, (by which grand Title he was pleased to dignify this Rhapsody.) lib. v, pag. 198.

(13) The first Edition was dedicated to William Cecil.

(14) Smith, pag. 25.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 15.

his Adversary guilty of many gross Errors. When this was done, he thought he could not employ his time better, than in an Enquiry after the ancient Historians of his own Nation: He collected a great many of them, and had them printed in Germany, in 1603. It is time to speak of his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, a Work which contributed as largely to his Reputation, as his *Britannia*. After Camden had been promoted to the Dignity of King at Arms, in the Year 1597, William Cecil desired him to undertake the History of this Queen, promising him the Assistance of all sorts of Memoirs. Camden undertook it; but Cecil's Death, which happened the Year following, very much abated the Eagerness with which he had, till then, pursued that Work. After the Queen's Death he became more remiss, and, by Degrees, gave it quite over, expecting some other, among so many ingenious Men, who had felt the Bounty of that Princess, would undertake it: But seeing no one enter the Lists to publish the History of so glorious a Reign, he vigorously renewed his first Design, consulted all sorts of good Authorities, and, in 1615, published his *Annals of England and Ireland*, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign to the Year 1589. This Work, which was wrote in Latin, met with great Applause; and it must be allowed, that no one could manage the Subject with more Judgment, Gravity, Accuracy, or Clearness of Style. The Continuation of these Annals, which he finished about the Year 1617, did not appear till after his Death (b). He never would consent to the Publication of it in his Life-time; and, to prevent any Accident, he sent a Copy of it to Peter du Puy, at Paris (i). Some have been pleased to say, that many things were both suppressed and added in the first Part, by the Order of King James, in favour of the Queen his Mother [F]. This Report, true or false, encourages Historical Scepticism

(b) The whole Work was translated into French by Paul de Belligny, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris. It was likewise done into English.

(i) See Remark [H], Citat. (40).

on that Head. He confessed his Errors as soon as he discovered them, and did not deny his having consulted those Authors, who had treated of Heraldry: but since he spoke of them with respect, what reason could there be to complain? By what I have said it appears, that the Edition in 1600 surpassed the foregoing; and yet even that was very much inferior to the Edition of 1607. Camden here outdid himself, and it was then that he principally merited the Character the World gave him of the British Varro, Strabo, and Pausanias. This last Edition was illustrated with Maps and Cuts (15). There is an Abridgment of this Work, and an English Translation. Reinier Vitellius, of Ziric-zie, is Author of the Abridgment; and Philemon Holland, an English Physician, of the Translation (16). A certain Author undertook to discover a multitude of Errors in Camden's *Britannia*, but has not hitherto been so good as his Word. 'Illud ditissimum & uberrimum Antiquitatum Britannicarum penu, non minore fide & judicio quam cura & methodo digellum ordinatumque, omnes harum rerum studiosi bonique judices agnoverunt, excepto unico D. Simondio Dewesio, qui nescio quo invidiæ cello percitus, se in Magnæ Britanniciæ, quam molitus est, historia, vix unam in ipsius Camdeni toties celebratâ Britanniciæ paginam suis carere erroribus, ostensurum contendit. Sed hoc decantatum opus historicum nec ipse nec alii post quinquaginta annos hauctenus in lucem produxerunt (17). — All who had a Taste for these Studies, and were good Judges, acknowledge that this rich and plentiful Collection of British Antiquities, was digested and composed with no less Fidelity and Judgment, than Care and Method; excepting only one Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who, from what envious Motive I know not, engaged to shew, in the History of Great Britain he was writing, that there was scarce a single Page in Camden's so much celebrated *Britannia* without it's Errors.' But this boasted Historical Work, neither he nor any one else, after fifty Years notice, has hitherto been pleased to bring to light.

(15) Id. ibid. pag. 45, 46, in the Margin are these Words, in Literis ad Jac. Uffer. 28 Sept. datis que extant in Ufferianarum Epistolarum Sylloge, pag. 496. It was therefore this Sir Simonds d'Ewes, who undertook to find so many Faults.

(16) It was done by several Hands.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, I have met with a Work in Folio, printed at London in 1695, and entitled *Camden's Britannia, newly translated into English: with large Additions and Improvements, published by Edmund Gibson of Queens-College in Oxford*. One of the Reasons given for this new English Translation (18) is, that Dr Holland, Author of the first, had added to it several things of his own. This Mixture, of which a great many Readers were not sensible, made several Writers cite *Camden* to prove what he never had asserted. They took that for the Original, which was nothing but what had been tacked to it by the

Translator. Dr Gibson thought therefore, that, in order to prevent the like inconvenience for the future, another Translation ought to be given free from any foreign Additions: By which means, they, who hereafter shall have a Mind to cite *Camden*, will not run the risk of a false Citation. However, because Holland's Additions are sometimes very good, and the World thought he consulted *Camden* where he met with any Difficulties, Dr Gibson has preserved and placed them at the bottom of the Text in a smaller Character. There are several other things which extremely add to the Merit of this last Translation. There are Observations added at the end of each County, either to confirm what *Camden* had advanced, or to give a more particular account of some Places he had described, or a Description of others he had entirely omitted. Every part of the Text, which relates to these Additions, is distinguished by a Letter, which makes it's respective Comment easily found out. Dr Gibson has added a List of those Persons, who supplied him with Materials; which seems very sufficiently to recommend his Remarks, and to shew, that great Pains are taken in *England*, in the Illustration of the Antiquities of their Country, and in the most exact Topographies. He has presented us likewise with a Life of *Camden*, which is little more than an Abridgment of that published by Dr Smith. He has occasionally added three English Letters from *Camden* to Dr James, which are not in Dr Smith's Collection. Note, he observes, that, in three Years time, there were three Editions of *Camden's Britannia*, published in London.

[F] Some have been pleased to say, that many things were both suppressed and added, in the first Part of his *Annals*, by the Order of King James, in favour of the Queen his Mother. Lewis du Moulin, Cromwell's Creature, and a violent Independent, affirmed in a Speech at Oxford, that King James's Parasities had villainously corrupted *Camden's* History, by foisting in several things contrary to the Author's Sentiments. 'Criminantur alii, inter quos Ludovicus Molinæus, in rebus Angliæ turbandis a primis impii belli civilis incendiis occupatissimus, tyrannidis Cromwellianæ strenuus assertor, & post auspiciatissimum R. Caroli II. reditum adversus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ritus & disciplinam Scriptor male-dicentissimus, aliam manum accessisse, præter haud dubio mentem Authoris, unde opus fæde commaculatū fuit, hisce corruptelis in Aulæ Regiæ adulatores, ut ille pro solito candore & modestia loquitur, traductis derivatque (19). Dr Smith rejects this as a notorious Defamation, and maintains, that *Camden*, as an honest Man and faithful Historian, might give an Account of the Scottish Revolution, and the Adventures of the unfortunate Queen Mary, quite

* Oratione in laudem G. Camdeni habitâ Oxonii, 10 Julii, 1652.

(19) Smith, in Vita Camdeni, pag. 54.

Scepticism, in relation to the Adventures of that Prince [G]. His sending the second

quite different from what Buchanan has done; and that therefore both Sincerity and Prudence obliged him to offer whatever tended to the Justification of that Prince. He adds, that it is to be presumed, if Camden submitted his Book to the Censure of the King his Master, it was only that, upon a Perusal of it, he might rectify whatsoever was not exactly conformable to the Truth. 'Neque alia de causa Serenissimi Regis Jacobi aut illius Nobilissimi Viri a Rege deputati, ad quem scripsit ----- censuræ Annalium supplementum, ut par est credere, subjecti, quam ut veritas magis magisque erueretur, & si quicquam ipsi minus intento aut non probe edocto subrepsisset, regis curis limitum emendaretur (20).' It is certain Lewis du Moulin was not the first, who said that Camden's Book had been patched; for in the Year 1620 there was a Scotch Gentleman, whose Father had a great Share in the Troubles of Scotland, who complained of Camden's Annals on that very account. 'Quinquennio post emissam in dii luminis auram Historiam D. Metallanus de patris sui Baronis Lidingtoniæ, qui turbatissimis Scotiæ rebus, R. R. Maria & Jacobo regnantibus, multum momenti & ponderis auctoritate sua & consiliis addiderat, fama sollicitus, Camdeno molestiam facessivit, ac si non motu proprio & ex se, sed ex aliorum invidia & in parentem malignitate clausulis insinuitis eam exagitant (21).'

(20) Ibid. pag. 55.

(21) Ibid. pag. 57.

(21) Ibid. pag. 57.

AN Enquiry into to what is said of Camden, in relation to Thuanus.

Dr Smith (22) complains of a modern Author, who accuses Camden for having blown hot and cold; I mean, for having supplied Thuanus with Memoirs quite different from what he afterward published in his Annals. This modern Author pretends, that Thuanus was offended at it, and reproached Camden with some sort of Indignation for this Inconstancy. This regards principally the Troubles of Scotland; and it is only in this Article that Buchanan's Friends and Queen Mary's Enemies maintain, that Camden's Annals were altered. Dr Smith observes, in the first place, that this malicious Adversary of Camden does not offer any Reason, which may afford the least shadow of Truth to his Accusation; and then takes notice, that Mr Lisle having settled a Commerce of Friendship and Correspondence between Thuanus and Camden in 1606 (23), Camden sincerely answered Thuanus's Request. Thuanus desired Camden's Opinion of his History: Camden replied, that he found, among the Affairs relating to Scotland, several Relations, which had no Foundation at all, or a very weak one; and which he had borrowed from a Writer, who had employed all his Wit and Malice to blacken Queen Mary's Reputation. 'Pro amore veritatis & amicitiae jure, id quoque rogatus, monet quendam rerum Scoticarum narrationes aut nullo aut debili profusus fundamento niti, Buchananum que, a quo illas acceperat, omnes tum ingenii tum malitiæ nervos contendisse, ut Mariæ Reginæ famam spurcissimis convitiis læderet (24).' Dr Smith adds, I. That Thuanus expressed a great deal of Sorrow for having incurred King James's Censure and Displeasure, in depending too much upon Buchanan's Authority. II. That Camden, by order of the King his Master, drew up a List of the Errors in Thuanus's History, in relation to the Troubles of Scotland (25), and sent it to that great Historian. III. That if Thuanus had received this Advice time enough, he had been less partial against Queen Mary, and for the Earl of Murray, and would not have had recourse to those vain Excuses, to which he was afterwards driven. IV. That they, who consider these things rightly, will be convinced that Camden never sent Thuanus an Account of Things, different from what he afterwards published in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth. 'Hæc serio pensitanti non aliter Camden ad Thuanum, aut ab illis diversis quæ post in Annalibus posuit, olim scripsisse, quicquid in contrarium fingitur, vero verius esse videbitur (26).'

(23) Literis per D. Insulanum --- Ann 1606. misit. Smith, in Vita Cambd. p. 52. If there be no Fault of the Press here, Thuanus's first Letter to Camden is wrong dated. See below, Citation (27).

(24) Id. ibid.

(25) This List is printed at the end of Camden's Letters.

(26) Smith, in Vita Cambdeni, pag. 54.

It must be owned, that these Considerations are of some force; for, I. Thuanus's Letter, written to Camden in February 1605, proves they were not then known to one another. 'Vix speraveram, ut rogatus à me faceres quod sola D. Insulani amicitissimi viri commendatione fecisti. Quid enim sum, ut

VOL. II.

seria tua studia tantisper remorer? Camdenum in meis legendis iacturam bonarum horarum fecisse? tanto hominem sibi ignotum beneficio devinxisse (27)? — I could not hope to obtain that Favour on my own asking it, which you have done me at the sole Instance of my particular Friend Mr Lisle. For what Pretensions have I to interrupt your serious Studies, and expect your throwing away your useful Hours in examining my Writings, and in so high a manner obliging one intirely unknown to you? Camden had read over Thuanus's History at Mr Lisle's Request: Thuanus, admiring that Camden should take so much pains with an Author unknown to him, and who had not himself requested it, was so much the more thankful to him. One may therefore be assured, that this was the first time he writ to him. Now at this very time, that part of his History, which treats of the Troubles of Scotland was already in the Press (28), and could not therefore be composed on Memoirs from Camden. II. He asks his Advice in the same Letter: He knew that King James was angry with Buchanan; he did not know whether Buchanan had been too sharp (29); he was unwilling to offend the English Court, but could not resolve with himself to suppress any Matters of Fact: and therefore prayed Camden to assist him with his Advice in so nice a Conjunction. He did not desire any Memoirs from him (30), but only one word of Advice; 'Scribe, & amico consilii inopituum ne denega. Innuere Verbo potes, nec opus est ut Distinctius scribas (31). — Write, and resolve not your Advice to your Friend who wants it. One Word will be sufficient, nor need you explain yourself more fully' III. We do not know the Particulars of Camden's Answer; but we know he advised him to observe a great deal of Moderation: for when, about the end of July 1606, Thuanus sent him the second Volume of his History, he tells Camden he was afraid he had not observed the Moderation he had advised (32); and thereupon draws up a specious Apology for the Earl of Murray, with an intent to shelter himself under it. IV. The Event shews, that his Fears were but too well grounded. King James was extremely angry with him, and commanded Camden to send him a Catalogue of his Errors concerning the Troubles of Scotland. V. It appears, by a Letter from Thuanus, the thirteenth of April 1608, that Camden had not as yet furnished him with any Memoirs, except what he had sent him concerning Ireland: for Thuanus tells him, he should have been glad to have received the Informations, as to England and Scotland; and in that Case doubts not but he should have taken such measures, as would have given content to the English Court. What can one desire more decisive against those, who have given out, that Camden communicated to Thuanus some Memoirs, which he did not think fit afterwards to insert in his own Annals? I am going to shew, that Thuanus laments his being obliged to follow Buchanan for want of Camden's Assistance. 'In Hibernicis jam multum profeci. --- Utinam quæ vestra sunt, & ad universam Britanniam spectant, pari compendio, & simplicitate scripsisses. Sic enim factum esset, ut temperamentum, quod in Scoticis a me quidam fortasse sunt desideraturi, tuis vestigiis insitens, facilius secutus essem, & in vestratum Magnatum offensionem, quam vitatam cupiebam, non incurrissem. Sed cum neminem haberem præter Buchananum, necesse mihi omnino fuit seriem illius tragicæ narrationis, per alios eoque Religioni Protestantium minime addictos antea adprobata, petere: cæterum omni insecutione omissa (33). — I have made great Progress in the Affairs of Ireland. --- I wish you would have communicated those relating to your own Country, and to Britain in general, with the same Bre- vity and Plainness. By this means, having your Steps to follow, I could more easily have observed that Moderation, which some perhaps will find a want of in the Scottish Affairs, and avoided falling under the Displeasure of your Court, which was very much my Desire. But as I had none but Buchanan, I was obliged to take his Account of that Tragical Transaction, which had been before approved by others, and those far from being inclined to Protestantism

(27) Pag. 68. Epistol. Camde- ni.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Acerbius hæc fortasse Buchanan scripta, & audio discipulum præceptoris ob id succensere, & tamen quia pæ- sta sunt extra flagitium dissimulati non possunt. --- Perhaps these Things may be too sharply related by Buchanan, and I hear his Pupil is angry with him on that account, but yet if they are true, they cannot, without Baseness, be dissembled. Ibid.

(30) Observe, however, he desired some Memoirs for Ireland from Camden, and promised to make use of the Observations Camden had sent him on his first Volume, in the next Edition.

(31) Pag. 68. Epistol. Camde- ni. (32) Mitto ad te --- secundum historiarum nostrarum tomum; sed valde vereor ut temperamentum illud de quo mō- nueras in rerum Scoticarum nar- ratione ubique servaverim. Par. 73. Epistol. Camde- ni.

(33) In Ep. Cam- deni, pag. 97.

second Part to *du Puy*, gives room for Suspicion [H]. *Camden*, not content with de-
voting

(34) *Ibid.* pag.
239.

'Protestantism; however I omitted all manner of
'Scurrilities.' VI. A Letter (34) written by *Thuanus*
to *Camden*, in 1613, shews, indeed, that he had
received some Memoirs of *England*, in which *Cam-*
den had a good Part; but it was Mr *Cotton* who sent
them to him by King *James's* Order. From whence
we may conclude, that these Memoirs were conform-
able to those *Camden* followed in his Annals. What
Cause therefore could there be for the Complaints
which *Thuanus* is said to have made against him?
VII. In short, among all the Letters written to *Cam-*
den, and published by Dr *Smith*, there is not one,
either from *Thuanus*, *du Puy*, or any other, which makes
mention of these Reproaches. See the Remark [H].

Dr *Gibson* has strongly opposed the Report which
has been spread of these pretended Complaints of the
French Historian. He narrowly examines the Cir-
cumstances, and draws from them very powerful Ar-
guments. This is the Substance of his Dispute.
Thuanus, writing to *Camden* when he sent him the
second Volume of his History, at first excused him-
self, and told him, he was afraid he had not exactly
followed his Advice in his Account of the Occurren-
ces in *Scotland*; and says, towards the end of that
Letter, that he related those things as he had received
them from some *Scotchmen*, who had been eye-
witnesses, in whose Balance he had weighed *Buchan-*
an's Writings. Is not this a Demonstration, either
that he had received no Memoirs from *Camden*, or that
he had made no use of those he had received? Add
to this, that if he was fallen into an Error, and
had offended the King of *Great Britain*, in follow-
ing *Camden's* Informations; he might in justice have
expected, that *Camden* would have made him some
Apology. *Camden* would have been obliged, in Ju-
stice and Honour, to excuse himself to *Thuanus*, and
to assure him he was then in an Error, but that his
Conversation with the King, and a Perusal of the
Public Acts, had undeceived him. This is, without
doubt, what *Camden* ought to have done in some
part of his Critical Remarks upon *Thuanus's* History;
but this is what he has not done: He contents him-
self with criticizing upon it; He uses some Tartness
in his Censures, and very much blames *Thuanus* for hav-
ing followed *Buchanan* more than he ought. Is it
to be imagined, that *Thuanus*, provoked at this rate,
would not have expressed his Repentment, and have
replied to his Critic, *If I am deceived, I may thank*
you for it: He ought, from that very time, to
have vented those Reproaches against him, which
they pretend he never expressed till he had read the
first Tome of his Annals of Queen *Elizabeth* (35).
There are a thousand Traditions of this Nature,
which prevail whole Ages in a Kingdoms, without
any other Foundation than the Fancies of a prejudi-
ced, distrustful, and artful Party. If you diligently
examine them, and take the Pains to look for Proofs
to the contrary, they will vanish away.

[G] ----- and this Story ----- encourages
historical Pyrrhonism, in relation to the *Adventures*
of *Mary Stuart*.] They who espouse the *Scotch*,
produce *Buchanan*; and they who stand up for Queen
Mary, cite *Camden*. In this Contest, the Presump-
tions will be against *Buchanan*: I. A rambling vaga-
bond Life like his, and so many Verses, composed
by him, both satirical and lascivious, can prepos-
sess no Man in his Favour, but will at least postpone him
to *Camden*, whose Wisdom, Virtue, and Integrity,
was always without Reproach. II. Besides, *Cam-*
den had no personal Interest in the Justification of
Mary, as *Buchanan* had in her Defamation. *Buchan-*
an was long before engaged in the Faction which
dethroned and banished her: He was concerned
therefore in a Scene, of all others, the most execrable,
if this Queen was not most criminal: and nothing
could excuse it, but making her appear such. I
have considered this elsewhere (36). Dr *Smith* has
not forgot it: '*Buchananum à quo illas acceperat,*
omnes tum ingenii & malitiæ nervos contendisse,
ut Mariæ Reginæ famam spurcissimis convitiis læ-
deret: qui non aliter sperare poterat, se perfidiam
& flagitiosa rebellium subditorum, qui vindicandæ
religionis & legum Scotiæ violatarum, specie &
prætextu arma sumpissent, facinora posse tueri (37).
----- *Buchanan, from whom these Accounts are*

(36) In Remark
[C], of the Ar-
ticle BUCHA-
NAN.

(37) *Smith*, in
Vita *Camdeni*,
pag. 52, 53.

'taken, exerted his whole Wit and Malice, to
'blacken Queen *Mary's* Memory with the most infa-
'mous Calumnies; having no other way to vindicate
'the traitorous and abominable Practices of her re-
'bellious Subjects, who took up Arms under the Pre-
'tence of her having violated the Religion and Laws
'of *Scotland*.' III. *Buchanan's* Patron was Head of
the Party which dethroned Queen *Mary*: on the
contrary, *Camden* lay under a thousand Obligations
to Queen *Elizabeth*. So that *Buchanan's* Charge
against Queen *Mary*, is a Manifesto in behalf of his
*Mæcenæ*s; but *Camden's* Concessions, in her Favour,
are so many Blemishes upon Queen *Elizabeth's* Mem-
ory. IV. In short, *Buchanan* was an Enemy to
the Catholics, and so was *Camden*. From this Con-
formity in Religion arises a great difference in their
Authorities: *Buchanan's* is weakened by it, and *Cam-*
den's corroborated. The Catholic Writers, *Mary's*
most extravagant Panegyrists, have not failed observ-
ing to their Adversaries, that they justify her not,
from the Writings of some Monk, or good Catholic,
but from the Testimony of an Heretic, Historiographer
to Queen *Elizabeth*, his Benefactor.

If there were nothing to oppose in answer to this,
they who are determined by the greatest Probabilities
would in one moment give up their historical Pyr-
rhonism: but it may be objected, that *Camden* writ
under a Prince, who, as Queen *Mary's* Son, must
rather wish to have Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign black-
ned, than that of his own Mother; and that, in such
a Case, it will be no wonder, if this Annalist should
in some respects sacrifice the Honour of the late
Queen, to the filial Affection of the reigning Prince.
Besides, though *Camden* was an Enemy to the Ca-
tholics, he was not less so to the *Scotch* Puritans. No
one is ignorant at what rate the Episcopalians at this
Day treat *Buchanan's* Maxims, and those of his Fa-
ction. 'Hinc, viz. from what was acted against
'Queen *Mary* in *Scotland*, ista impia dogmata, om-
'ne jus regnandi à populo, Reges in ordinem cogen-
'doi, si contra leges deliquerint, licere populo & in-
'ferioribus Magistratibus vi & armis religionem &
'republicam, invitis qui summo imperio potiuntur
'reformare, & ejusmodi reliqua quæ ipsam religio-
'nem tollunt, certamque humano generi perniciem
'inferunt: hinc in rerum *Scoticarum* Historia, &
'potissimum in isto infami libello, qui *Detestatio* in-
'scribitur, calumniæ in R. *Mariam* enatæ. (38) —

Hence, those impious Doctrines, That all Right of
Dominion is derived from the People; that Kings
acting against the Laws are to be controuled; that
it is lawful for the People and inferior Magistrates, to
reform the Constitution, both Ecclesiastical and Ci-
vil, against the Will of the Sovereign; And such
like others, which are destructive of all Religion,
and of the very Being of Mankind. Hence arise
those Calumnies against Queen *Mary*, in the *Scotish*
History, and especially in that infamous Libel, in-
titled, the *Discovery*. This is what may be urged
to weaken *Camden's* Authority, and what has been
actually urged. It is reported, that *Camden's* Work
was curtailed by King *James's* Order, and that the
Blanks which arose from this Retrenchment made
room for other Scraps more conformable to the
Humour of that Prince. This Supposition destroys
all the Advantages the Catholics pretend to draw from
the Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*. But is this Suppo-
sition true? I cannot tell. Is it certain? If it were,
Dr *Smith*, a Minister of the Church of *England*, would
never dare to deny it. Is it a ground for Sceptic-
ism? Undoubtedly; since even in *London* some
affirm, and others deny it. One thing we must ob-
serve renders it probable, which is, that *Camden*
sent a Copy of his second Volume to *Paris*. Is not
this a Sign he was afraid they would alter his Manu-
script? And is not this Fear a Proof of what he had
already experienced? If it is not a sufficient Proof, it
is at least a Foundation for Contention and Dispute.

[H] His sending the second Part to *du Puy*,
gives room for Suspicion.] This is the utmost that
can reasonably be said, since there were many
other Reasons which might induce him to it. In-
deed Dr *Smith* mentions two or three, without
so much as dreaming of that which others give
for the only one; I mean, that he has not given
the

(38) *Ibid.* pag.
53, Edit. Lond.
1691.

ting his Pen to the Service of the learned World, would also endow it with his Fortunes, by founding an Historical Lecturer in the University of Oxford. He fixed this new Foundation in 1622, and named *Degory Wear* for the first Professor. He died the ninth of November, 1623, at his Country-House (k), where he had spent all the Time he could be excused from London, ever since 1609. He gave Orders, in his Will, that he should be buried where he died; but his Executors did not follow his Direction in this Particular, for they buried him with great Pomp in *Westminster Abbey*. The University of Oxford paid him extraordinary Honours, which they still continue. Let us conclude with observing, that he was no less eminent for his Virtues, than for his Learning. He was steady in his Religion (l), and so modest, that he refused the Honour of Knighthood, he was sincere, steady, affable, and friendly: He hated all Reflexions either of the Tongue or Pen: He neither envied his Neighbour, nor was in the least revengful.

(k) It was at Chisilbury, ten Miles from London.

(l) It was that of the Episcopalian.

It

the least hint that the Experience of what had passed, made *Camden* believe, the King would order the second Part of his Annals to be corrected. I shall give Dr *Smith's* Words and Citations. 'Cum vero molestiam, invidiam, obreftationem, & odium à quibusdam malevolis, fato cum cæteris Historiarum Scriptoribus qui veritati litantur communi, inde sibi quoque ex vitio & malignitate sui sæculi creari offenderet, mentem contra alterius tomi, dum viveret, editionem nullis machinamentis expugnandam obfirmavit. Ut Posteritati tamen, quæ absque affectu solet judicare, integer servaretur, nec incendio, aut quocunque tristi casu deletus, aut malignorum hominum invidia suppressus intercederet, Apographum fidelissime exscriptum (Archetypo, quod in Bibliotheca Cottoniana conservatur, apud se recto) tanquam sacrum depositum Petri Puteani curæ & fidei concedidit, & eo quidam libentius, magni Thuanus exemplum sibi ob oculos ponens, cuius Historiarum reliqua pars ante mortem inedita, cum eam publicæ luci donare Curatoribus testamenti non liceret (39), forsitan perisset, nisi mens periculi præfaga exemplari à apud virum integerrimum nobilissimumque Georgium Michaellem Lingelshemum relicto, istud damnum prudentissime anteverisset (40). - - - But finding that, from the Corruption and Iniquity of the Times, be also, by a Fate common to other Writers of History, who adhere to Truth, had procured to himself a great deal of Trouble, Envy, Hatred, and Malice, he made a firm Resolution against the Publication of the other Volume, which no Contrivances should ever shake. And yet, that it might be preserved intire to Posterity, which is used to judge impartially, and should neither perish by Fire, or other unfortunate Accident, nor be suppressed by the Envy of malicious Men, he committed to the Care and Fidelity of Peter du Puy, as a sacred Deposit, an exact Copy (the Original being retained in his own Hands to be kept in the Cottonian Library), and this the rather, as he had the Example of Thuanus before his Eyes, the remaining Part of whose History, not published in his Life-time, as his Executors were not allowed to print it, would probably have perished, had he not, by a sort of Foresight of the Danger, left a Copy with that most faithful Nobleman, George Michael Lingelshem, and so prudently prevented the Loss.' It is also true, that the Annalist might fear least the Continuation of his Annals should be altered, though he had met with nothing like it, in respect to his first Volume; for a Book, after the Author's Death, is subject to more Accidents than during his Life. Now *Camden* was resolved not to have the remaining Part of his Annals printed in his Life-time. I add, that he had been alarmed at the Risque *Thuanus's* History had ran, and that he was exhorted by this Example to imitate the President's Precaution. This is what Mr *de Peirese* wrote to him in 1620. 'If *Thuanus's* History had been only found in his Study after his Death, it had been in great danger of being suppressed; for his Executors, Guardians to his Children, out of some private Interest, had a mind to burn it; but Mr *Lingelshem*, into whose Care *Thuanus* had committed a Copy, saved it. If *Grotius* had put the same Confidence in me six Months before his Misfortune, this Kingdom would have had a Copy of his History, which

would no longer be at the Mercy of his Enemies, or Enviars. In the Name of God, take care of your own, and if you make a Difficulty of printing it in your Life-time, let us have more than one Copy, and let them not all be on your side the Water (41). It is very likely *Camden* did not so much apprehend a Retrenchment, or Addition of some Lines, as a Suppression of the whole, like to that *Thuanus's* would have suffered, if it had not been seasonably prevented. However it be, I shall mention a Controversy which made a Noise in 1687. The following Words were the Foundation of it. '*Camden* writ this History with so much Judgment, and so little Partiality, that he won the Love and Esteem of *Thuanus*, who, after *Camden's* Death, printed the second Volume of his History, from a Manuscript Copy which had been sent to him by the Author (42). Which was thus answered by Mr *Varillas*. 'It is a Mistake to say *Thuanus* printed the second Part of *Camden's* History after his Death; for *Camden*, according to the Character given of him, was too discreet to give a President of a Sovereign Court the Trouble of publishing his Book. I have often heard the younger Mr *du Puy* say, that it was to him *Camden* applied for this Purpose, and that he himself had accordingly performed it. Besides, had *Thuanus* printed it, this would have been no Argument for the Impartiality of *Camden's* History, but rather the greatest Proof that could have been alledged to the contrary, because the whole World knows *Thuanus* has transcribed all his Accounts of the English and Scotch Affairs, to 1570, from *Buchanan*, who is allowed to be the most partial of all our modern Authors. The late Mr *le Clerc*, of *St Martin's*, has said several times, in my Presence, that going in the Holidays of the Year 1620, to wait on King *James* at *Whitehall*, with *Thuanus's* eldest Son, his Majesty reproached him so bitterly, for his Father's false Account relating to *Mary Stuart*, King *James's* Mother, that he fell sick upon it, and so continued for three Months (43). To which it was thus replied: 'I am obliged here to give a more particular Account of *Camden's* Manuscript than I at first thought necessary. *Thuanus*, when first he designed a General History, engaged a Correspondence throughout Europe, with those whom he thought capable of giving him the Informations he wanted. He held a very strict one with *Camden*; and when this Author's first Volume appeared abroad, *Thuanus* reproached him in a Letter, that his History did not agree with the Accounts he had sent him, particularly in that which concerned the Queen of Scotland. Upon this *Camden* told him the Truth, which was, that King *James* would needs peruse his History himself, and afterwards delivered it into my Lord *Northampton's* Hands, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was beheaded on that Queen's Account, by which means several Things in his Book were expunged, and a great many others altered. This troubled *Camden* so extremely, that, for fear the second Volume should run the same Hazzard, he sent it into France to *Thuanus*, that it might be faithfully printed after his Death. This is a thing very well known in England; and the Care he took to commit the second Part into a Stranger's Hand beyond

(41) *Camden's* Letters, pag. 310.

(42) Dr *Burnet's* Criticism on the 10th Book of *Varillas*.

(43) *Varillas's* Answer to Dr *Burnet's* Criticism, pag. 77, Edit. Holl. 1687.

† V. etiam V. Cl. Petri Puteani Vitam à Rigaltio conscriptam. Parisiis 1652, 4to, pag. 50, & Epistolæ, pag. 310.

(39) *Libert* would better answer to the Passage of Mr *Peirese*, which shall presently be produced.

‡ V. Epistolæ, pag. 310.

(40) *Smith*, in *Vita* *Camdeni*, pag. 58.

It is therefore no wonder he had so many illustrious Friends both at Home and Abroad. He was so much addicted to his Studies, that he never travelled abroad, nor was he ever married (m) [L]. Several Letters, which he had either written or received, were published at London, in 1691, by Dr Smith, together with a Piece of his own, very curious and well penned, I mean Camden's Life. There are a great many remarkable Things in it; among which the Resentment of a certain Gentleman, on account of a Female Relation of his being dishonourably mentioned in the Writings of this learned Author [K], is none of the least. Dr Smith tells us likewise, that Camden did not always set his Name to the Books he published [L], and that the Loss of part of the Memoirs, he made use of in compiling his Annals [M], was a very sensible one to the Curious. They wrong him, I think

(m) Taken from his Life, written by Dr Smith, and placed before his Epistles, published by the same Author at London, in 4^{to}, Anno 1691.

‘ beyond Sea, is a Proof of the Cause I have as- signed. I do not indeed believe that the President went to the Bookfeller's to make a Bargain for the Manuscript, or to correct the Press himself. If a Man of Mr du Puy's Quality and Learning took care of the Impression, Thuanus did nothing beneath his Dignity, in being the Trustee of so excellent a Piece, and he fully discharged his Trust, in committing it to his Cousin's Care. It is true, King James reproached Thuanus's Son, that his Father had copied Buchanan's Invectives against Queen Mary: but he must have been very tender hearted, if he lay sick upon it three Months after (44).’ The first of these three Passages is not

(44) The Defence of the Criticism on Mr Parrisius, pag. 60, printed at Amsterdam, 1688.

rightly criticized; and these two Errors seem justly chargeable upon the Critic, by reason of his Silence: The first is, That the Edition of Camden's Annals should gain him Thuanus's Friendship: The second, That Thuanus should survive him. I have shewn, in the Remark [F], that the Friendship and Correspondence between these two great Historians commenced in 1605, ten Years before the Annals of Queen Elizabeth came abroad. It is most certain Thuanus died May 17, 1617, above six Years before Camden. What this Critic would have said to the third Passage, in case of a Rejoinder, I cannot tell; but this I am sure of, that he would not have produced the true Proofs, which shew that Thuanus was neither concerned in the Edition of Camden's second Volume, nor intrusted with the Manuscript. The best Proofs of this do not occur in Peter du Puy's Life (45), but in Camden's Letters. The One hundred forty seventh was sent him by du Puy, a few Days after Thuanus's Death (46). At that time Peter du Puy had only heard, that the History of Queen Elizabeth's Reign was finished: He told the Author the World expected the second Part every Day; and writ to him the same thing some Months after (47). We have seen, above, what Mr de Peirsec writ to him, in 1620. Peter du Puy writ to him in November, the same Year. He had not then received the Manuscript, but expected it. ‘ Cum de Historia tua agis, & de me depositario cogitas, non male certe cogitas, fidelem enim & vere amicam hac in re experieris: tantum effice, ut tuto ad me perferatur (48).’ — Since you mention your History, and think of me for a Trustee, it is certainly no ill Thought, for you shall find me a faithful Friend in this Affair: do but take care that it be safely brought to me. I am of Opinion he sent it into Holland after the Author's Death: It was printed at Leyden in 1625.

[I] His Attachment to his Studies prevented his going to visit foreign Countries, and his engaging in Matrimony.] With regard to this last Point, these are Dr Smith's Words: ‘ Ut à literis nequam avocaretur, Ortelii, Josephi Scaligeri, Nicolai Fabri, aliorumque, quorum fama melius scriptis ex fecundissimo cerebro prognatis quam longa nepotum serie in omne ævum propagabitur, exempla æmulatus, opulentis matrimoniis, quæ multa studiorum impedimenta allatura prævidisset, vitam prætulit cœlibem, sancti propositi ulque & usque retinentissimus (49).’ — That he might not be interrupted in his Studies, he followed the Examples of Ortelius, Joseph Scaliger, Nicolas Faber, and others, whose Names are better transmitted to latest Posterity, in their Writings, the learned Offspring of a fruitful Brain, than in a long Succession of Heirs, he preferred a single Life to the most wealthy State of Marriage, and was constant in his Resolution to the last. As to his

Travels, the Author of his Life observes, that Claudius Joubert had forgot himself, when he writ to Camden from Dijon, in 1612 (50), telling him that he remembered, with a deal of Satisfaction, the Time they had spent formerly together at Padua. ‘ Licet per negotiosam vitam patrio solo adfixus, ne pedem quidem unquam extra Angliam movisset: quod adnotari maxime oportuit, ne quispiam D. Jobertis, ex lapsu memoriæ alium pro alio substituentis, literis deceptus, illum olim Patavii studuisse crederet (51).’ A great many brag of a Familiarity in the University with such or such an one, who is grown into Reputation for his Writings; they brag of it, though the thing may be false (52); but sure scarce any one ever writ so to the Persons themselves, as Joubert did to Camden.

[K] We find --- in the Life of Camden, the Resentment of a certain Gentleman, on account of a Female Relation of his being dishonourably mentioned in the Writings of this Historian.] Camden mentions a young Lady, without naming her, who had been so complaisant to a certain Gentleman, as to grant him the last Favour; which was followed with those unhappy Consequences, which furnish both the Court and City with more Mirth than Scandal. The Gentleman became famous for his Valour and Learning, and did the Lady Justice by marrying her. One of her Relations pretended Camden had affronted his Family, and was so transported with Anger against our Historian, that he broke off the Nose of his Statue placed on his Tomb in Westminster Abbey (53). So dangerous a thing is it for Historians to speak Truth, and not flatter; which is the Reason there are so few Histories, where the Authors have dared to speak freely, either of the Living, or of those who have left any Children in Power behind them. Camden, for being a faithful unbiassed Writer, provoked so many Enemies against him, that this was the Reason why he would not have the second Part of his Annals printed in his Life-time; at least, he wished, that, if the King should lay his Commands on him to the contrary, no one should be suffered to translate them into English. He thought he should meet fewer candid Readers among the Vulgar than among the Learned. ‘ Crebra experientia didicerat, studium veritatis erudendæ in Annalibus ipsi odium & obtestationem peperisse; ideò de parte altera in lucem publicam edenda, quod supra monui, non sollicitus, vel potius ne ederetur, nisi post cineres conditos, maximè sollicitus, totum id Regiæ Majestatis arbitrio commisit, obnixè deprecans, ne, si ita statuisset Rex optimus, in vernaculum sermonem opus istud Historicum ipso vivente verteretur, satis gnarus, indoctos è vulgo Lectores iniquissimis censuris in Historiarum Scriptores, ut ut veritati ex integro litaverint, dum vita adhuc superest, pro fatuitate & malitiâ sua ferri fore lere (54).’

[L] He did not always set his Name to the Books he published.] He put only these two Letters M. N. to an English Book published in 1604, under the Title of Remains concerning Britain, &c. (55). He printed, in 1600, a Collection of the Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Westminster Abbey, &c. without his Name to it; but his Latin Translation of Father Garnet's Tryal came out under his Name, in 1607.

[M] Part of the Memoirs he made use of in composing his Annals were lost.] Jeffrey Goodman, Son and Nephew to those two, by whom Camden was so much obliged, and who was afterwards made

(50) It is the 97th Letter among those of Camden, p. 137.

(51) Smith, in Vita Cambd. pag. 75.

(52) See Dr Carter's Letters, Tom. II, pag. 454.

(53) Smith, in Vita Cambd. pag. 75, 76.

(54) Ibid. pag. 75.

(55) Ibid. pag. 40.

(49) Smith, in Vita Cambdeni, pag. 72.

(46) IV. Kal. Junii, 1617.

(47) III. Kal. Septemb. 1617.

(48) Epist. Camd. pag. 310.

think, who imagine, from a Passage in *Casaubon*, that *Camden*, who no other Hand in Queen *Elizabeth's* Annals, than the turning them into Latin [N].

made Bishop of *Glocester*, desired *Camden* to bequeath to him all his Papers of that sort, and writ to him upon that Subject. *Camden* answered him, that he would have left them to him with all his Heart, but that he had a long time since promised them to *Richard Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. After this Archbishop's Death, the Right of these Papers devolved upon *George Abbot*, his Successor, who, as they say, removed them to a Chamber in *Lambeth Palace*. It is not known where they are now: These were not the Memoirs that related to the Civil Affairs, for they are in the *Cotton Library*, but those touching the Ecclesiastical Matters. Dr *Smith* supposes they were lost when Archbishop *Laud* was imprisoned. For being, says he, accused of several pretended Crimes, *William Prinn*, a Man burned in the Hand for his seditious Libels, secured all that Prelate's Papers, with an Intent to see if any thing could be found in them to strengthen the Indictment they designed against him, or serve in it's Justification. After that *Thomas Scott*, one of the Demagogues of the Rebellion, and *Hugh Peters*, who were both executed for the Death of King *Charles I.* plundered *Laud's* Library. * Postea *Thomas Scottus* è Demagogis * *Parlamentariis*, lingua & manu promptus audax, & *Hugo Petri* infamis & impurus homuncio, * quorum uterque ob regicidium meritisimas suspensiones poenas vindicte iustitia post duodecennium lue-

* bat, Bibliothecam diripuerunt (56). After the Restoration of the Royal Family, Archbishop *Sancroft* gathered together the Fragments, and ordered them to be searched after every where. They found a great many Papers in that Chamber where *Camden's* should have been; but the latter were not to be found, nor any Account of them to be met with (57).

[N] They wrong him, who imagine, from a Passage in *Casaubon*, that *Camden* only turned into Latin the Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*.] This Passage (58) is in one of *Casaubon's* Letters to *Touanus*. It is the Two hundred and ninety fourth, and these are his Words. * Scripsi aliquoties ad te Cottonium * ab urbe abesse, in contexenda historia occupatum. * Nuper cum mihi Ser. Rex indicasset ipsum esse * in urbe, memor mandatorum tuorum adi: respondit se totum in eo esse ut cœptam historiam absolvat quam ille Anglico Sermone composuit, * *Cambdenus* Latinam fecit. --- I wrote to you * more than once that Cotton was gone out of Town, * and was very busy in writing History. Being since * informed by the King that he was come to Town, * I waited on him, in obedience to your Commands, * and was assured by him that he was wisely taken * up in finishing the History he had begun, which * he composed in English, and *Camden* turned into * Latin.

(56) Ibid. pag. 56.

(57) Id. ibid. pag. 55, & seq.

(58) Of this Mr *Hill*, a learned Minister of the English Church at *Rotterdam*, gave me Intimation.

CAMERON (JOHN) one of the greatest Divines among the Protestants of France in the XVIIth Century. He was born at *Glasgow* in Scotland, where he taught Greek, after he had finished his Humanity Studies, and his Course in Philosophy. After having spent a Year in this Employment, he had a Mind to travel into foreign Parts, and went to *Bordeaux* in 1600, being then a little more than twenty Years of Age. The Ministers of the Place (a) were so charmed with his Parts, his Learning, and Behaviour, that they made him Master of the Greek and Latin Languages, in a College founded at *Bergerac*. It was justly to be admired, that one of his Age should speak Greek extempore, and with the same Purity that others spoke Latin. The Duke of *Bouillon* removed him from *Bergerac*, to make him Professor of Philosophy at *Sedan*. *Cameron*, having continued two Years in this Office, took his leave of the Duke, and went to *Paris*, and from *Paris* to *Bordeaux*, where he arrived towards the end of the Year 1604. The Church there resolved to maintain him four Years, in what Place soever he would chuse to study Divinity, and he engaged to serve in the Ministry of that Church, after that Time should be expired. During these four Years, he was Tutor to the Chancellor of *Navarre's* Sons (b), the first Year at their Father's House at *Paris*, the two following at *Geneva*, and the last at *Heidelberg*. The Church of *Bordeaux* re-called him in the Year 1608, to supply the Place of a Minister they had lost (c). He executed this Charge for ten Years, with so great Reputation, that the Academy of *Saumur* thought him worthy of the Divinity Chair, which the Departure of *Gomar* had left vacant. He accepted of it, and discharged all the Duties of it with admirable Success, till the Academy was in a manner totally dispersed in the Year 1621, by the Disturbances in Religion [A]. He removed himself, with all his Family, into England, and obtained the Liberty of teaching Divinity in his own House at London: But this lasted not long; for King *James* made him Head of a College, and

(a) There were two of them, one named *Renaud*, a Frenchman, the other *Prime-rose*, a Scotchman.

(b) He was called *Calignon*.

(c) Viz. the *Sieur Renaud*.

[A] He accepted the Divinity Chair at *Saumur*, and discharged the Duties of it, till the Academy was — dispersed by the Disturbances in Religion.] He commenced his Lectures June the thirteenth, 1618 (1), but was not inaugurated till two Months after (2). The Synod of *Poitou* formed some Opposition, under a Pretence that *Cameron* was of *Piscator's* Sentiment, in regard to the Imputation of the Justice of *JESUS CHRIST*. This Opposition was declared null by the National Synod of *Alex*, in the Year 1620. Observe what follows. When the Government of *Saumur* was taken from *Du Plestis* in 1621 (3), *Cameron* retired to *Paris*, and was carried to *L'Isle* near *Orleans*, where he conferred with *Tilenus*, who had declared for the *Arminians*. The Acts of this Conference were immediately printed at *Leyden*, and received with incredible Applause. *Cameron* represented to the National Synod of *Charenton*, in 1623, that he was without Employment, and unable to provide for his Family, since the King would not consent, for the present, that he should resume the Charge

either of Minister or Professor. Upon this they appointed him the sum of One thousand Livres (4). Some time after the King gave him leave to officiate as before. *Blondel* gives these Accounts, but his vast Memory was not here so very exact. *Cameron*, after he had left *Saumur*, in 1621, went indeed to *Paris*, but he made no stay there, but presently retired to London; and it was not from *Paris* he was brought to confer with *Tilenus* at *L'Isle*; nor was this Conference after the Dispersion of the Academy of *Saumur*. This is the Fact. *Cameron* being informed, that *Daniel Tilenus* desired to confer with him about Grace and Free-will, appointed a Day and Place of Conference, and, according to this Appointment, he went from *Saumur* to *Orleans* the eighteenth of April 1620. *Tilenus* came not till five Days after: The Disputation was held at *L'Isle*, a Country-House of Mr *Grosset's* near *Orleans*, and continued from the twenty fourth to the twenty eighth of April (5). The Account of it, which we find among *Cameron's* Works, is called *Amica collatio de gratia & voluntatis humanæ concursu in vocatione, & quibusdam*

(4) Ibid.

(1) Blondel, *Actes authentiques*, pag. 15.
(2) August 16, 1618.

(3) Blondel, *Actes authentiques*, pag. 17.

(5) See the Preface to the *Amica Collatio*, in *Cameron's Works*.

and Divinity Professor, in *Glasgow* [B]. This Promotion did not agree with *Cameron*, nor did he hold it above a Year; he had a Desire to see *France* again, and therefore returned with his Family to *Saumur*, where he read private Lectures; for the Court had forbidden him to teach in public. Having thus spent one Year at *Saumur*, he went from thence to *Montaubon* towards the End of the Year 1624. He was called thither to be made Divinity Professor. He did not stay there long: He could not side with the prevailing Party; but was continually involved in Troubles, which ended with his Life in 1625 [C]. He was about Forty six Years of Age, and had been twice married. The Churches took care of his Family [D]. He was a Man of great Wit and Judgment, of an excellent Memo-

ry,

Et quibusdam annexis, instituta inter Cl. V. Danielum Tilenum, & Johannem Cameronem. It was printed at *Leyden* in the Year 1621, without the Approbation of the Faculty of Divinity, who, on the contrary, disapproved several Things in it (6).

[B] King James made him Head of a College — at *Glasgow*.] They say *Cameron* was well received by the Bishop of *Ely*, and the other Bishops at Court, because, in expounding the famous Passages *Thou art Peter, and tell it to the Church*, he approved of the Hierarchy. For this reason they recommended him to King James, who, by the Advice of the Bishop of *Ely*, sent him into *Scotland*, and conferred on him *Trecholegius's* Employment, he being a Man ill approved by the Prelates. They were glad therefore to get him from *Glasgow*, where he taught Divinity, and to give that place, together with the Mastership of the College, to *Cameron* (7). By this means *Cameron* became obnoxious to the Puritans; so that, finding himself a Stranger in his own Country, he soon thought of returning into *France*. The Author I had this from quotes a *Scotchman*, who, in a Book published in 1637, against Episcopal Ceremonies, censures, and refutes *Cameron* more than once. The same Author observes, that King James, as liberal as he was, gave *Cameron* nothing but fine Words, which was the Reason he boasted of his King's Friendship: *This I can say*, said he to his Friends, *our King is my Friend* (8).

[C] His Troubles ended with his Life in 1625.] The Author of the *Icon* *Johannis Cameronis* has thought fit to suppress the tragical Circumstances of his Death, which it is likely proceeds from a Principle of Charity for the City of *Montauban*, and indeed for the whole Party: For it is indeed a Shame, that a Man of his Merit should be used as he was; and the Villain, who would have massacred him, never, for ought I can learn, received the just Punishment of his Crime. I would willingly leave this Accident in the Obscurity in which the Author of the *Icon* thought fit to bury it; but that it would be to no purpose, since *Peter du Moulin* has published it to the whole World, and it is to be met with in *Rivet's* Works. We must know, then that *Cameron*, having declared himself too openly against the Party, who preached up the Civil War, raised himself a great many Enemies, amongst whom one was so brutal, as to beat him to that degree, that he left him almost dead. *Cameron* retired to *Moissac*; but, finding the Change of Air had neither restored his Health, nor dispelled his Melancholy, he returned to *Montauban*, where he died some time after thro' Weakness and Chagrin. These are my Author's Words. 'Cum ibi incurfaret obvios, & popularis æstus torrenti obniteretur, increpans eos in quos incidebat, tantum odium populi in se contraxit, ut à cive quodam homine cerebroso pugniss & fustibus horrendum in modum cæsus pœne animam efflaverit. Dicebat autem verberanti, *Feri miser, pectus nudum diloricator thorace objiciens.* Sic male acceptus cessit *Montalbano*, & se recepit *Moissacum*, quod est oppidum in proximo, ut corpus male affectum refocillaret. Inde paulo post rediit *Montalbano*, ubi paucis post diebus ex animi agitudine diem clausit, & tranquillè obdormivit in Domino (9).' According to *Rivet* (10), it was not whilst they were beating him, that *Cameron* opened his Breast, and cried, *Strike Wretch, strike*, but when he was threatened with Death. The Fellow who threatened him would not be commanded twice; he immediately threw him down, and had killed him, had not a Woman interposed,

Eorum uni qui mortem interminatus esset, laxatis continuo thoracis fibulis, pectus renudatum objiciens, dixerit, *Feri miser.* Quo dicto à misero illo violenter in terram dejectus, interfectus fuisset, ni mulier occurrens Cameroni jacenti innixa, corpus ejus corpore suo contegens ab ictibus prohibuisset.' This was all *Cameron* got by preaching up the Spirit of Moderation, in a Place where the Duke of *Roban's* Emiffaries were encouraging People to take up Arms. Who could ever believe that a *Scotchman* would be beaten for Passive Obedience? They were but little acquainted with him, who would have him looked upon as one tainted with *Maxims* he had received from his Country, in consequence of which he made no Distinction between Absolute Power and Tyranny (11). *Du Moulin* does not assign the Time in which *Cameron* was thus handled; tho' one may give a near Guess at it, if we remember that he died either in 1625, according to the Author of his *Icon*; or in the beginning of 1626, according to *Blondel* (12). Tho' he always professed a Reverence and Esteem for Monarchy, yet *Tilenus* publicly accused him for being of a Seditious Spirit, and an Enemy to Royalty, and for having preached up Republican Principles at *Charenton*, which, adds *Tilenus*, obliged him to fly. 'Pro certo habeo tum sacris edoctus literis, tum recta ratione adductus, & ipsa admonitus experientia & rerum usu, Regum autoritate illa summa, quæ nullius hominum solius Dei judicio obnoxia est, semel contempta, neque Deum rite coli, neque Ecclesie pacem reipublice otium constare ulla ratione posse. Sed nec aliter sensi unquam. Nam ex pueris Postquam verò ad Pastoris munus primum, tum deinde Professoris Sacrarum literarum sum vocatus, publice privatimque pro concione, in scholis, in congressibus, ubi res & occasio poscebat, eam professus sum, & pro virili parte defendi (13). — I am fully convinced, as well from the Scriptures, as from Reason and Experience, that if the Regal Authority, which is accountable only to GOD, be once treated with Contempt, there is an end of all Religion and Peace in the Church. Nor did I ever think otherwise. For ever since I was a Child. — And since my first taking upon myself the Ministry, and afterwards becoming Divinity Professor, I have declared and defended this Doctrine to the utmost of my Power, in my Sermons, Lectures, and Disputations, on all occasions. Upon this *Cameron* writ a handsome Letter to King James, wherein he denies *Tilenus's* Accusation: He owns the Mob at *Paris* would have murdered him, and that he saved himself by retiring at the importunate Solicitation of his Friends; But he insists that he met with no Trouble from the Magistracy, and that he obtained a Passport, which he shewed to the proper Officers at *Diep*. He produces Witnesses of all this.

[C] The Churches took care of his Family.] His first Wife was of *Tonneins*: He married her in 1611; and had by her Four Daughters, and a Son who lived but two Years. She died at *Saumur* in *March* 1624. He married his second Wife at *Montauban*, and had no Children by her. He left, by his first Wife, three Daughters, on whose account, as well as on that of his Writings, there was an Act made in the National Synod of *Castres* in 1626, importing, 'That, in Honour to the Memory of the deceased, the Sum of Seven hundred Livres was allotted to his Children, with a Pension to be yearly paid them by the *Sieur du Candal* till the next National Synod, and that the Assembly exhorted the Province of *Anjou* to print the last Tome of *Cameron's* Theological Works, with a Promise that the Charges attending the said Impression should

(6) See *Rivet* Oper. Tom. III, pag. 845, and *Cameron's* Works, pag. 709, Edit. 1692.

(7) De *Ellensis* consilio ab eo rege in *Scotiam* missus est, ut pulso Roberto Bodio à *Trecholegia* olim Theologice in *Salinuriensi* Schola Professore dignissimo, viro certe doctissimo, qui Episcopis nimium orthodoxos vel potius videtur in *Glasgow* Gynasii Praefectura succederet. *Gust. Rivetus* Epistol. ad Th. Rosellum, in operibus. *Andrea Riveti*, Tom. III, pag. 90, and *Du Moulin* in libro cui titulus *De Mosis Amyraldi Libro Judicium*, p. 228.

(8) Sed ab amico rege, Principi aliquo profuso, rediit vacuus. *Id. Gust. Rivet*. *ibid.* See *Blondel's* Answer in behalf of *Cameron*, in the *Authentic Acts*, pag. 45, 46.

(9) *Du Moulin*, de M. Amyraldi Libro Judicium pag. 229.

(10) *Rivet*, in Oper. A. Riveti, Tom. III, pag. 898.

(11) See the History of the Edit of *Nantes*, Tom. II, pag. 191.

(12) *Blondel*, Act. authent. pag. 17.

(13) *Cameron*, Oper. pag. 713, Edit. Genev. 1692.

(d) Taken from the Icon J. b. Cameroni, placed before his Works.

ry, very learned, a good Philosopher, good humoured, liberal, not only of his Learning, but also of his Purse (d) [E], a great Talker, a long winded Preacher [F], very little versed in the Fathers (e), opinionated, or rather inflexible in his Sentiments [G], and a little turbulent. He would own freely to his Friends, that he found

(e) In lectione Patrum hospes & infolens. Petrus Molinæus in Judio de Amyraldi libro.

(14) See Blondel Act. authent. pag. 17.

(15) Blondel, ibid. & Rivet in Oper. A. Riveti, Tom. III, pag. 900, assure us of it.

(16) In Icone Johannis Cameroni.

(17) Ibid.

(18) That is, the 1000 Livres he received from the National Synod, in 1623.

(19) See, above, Remark [B], Citat. (8).

(20) Guill. Rivet, in A. Riveti Oper. pag. 900.

(21) Du Moulin, in Judio de Amyraldi Libro.

(22) Id. ibid. pag. 212.

'should be taken care of (14).' I have already observed, that, in 1623, the National Synod appointed Cameron a Thousand Livres (15).

[E] He was Liberal, not only of his Learning, but also of his Purse. Few learned Men care to communicate, in Conversation, their principal Acquirements in Knowledge; and there are some Professors, who reserve the Solutions of the greatest Difficulties for those Scholars, who can pay the purchase of them. Cameron was not of this Character. He discovered all he knew to the first who desired his Instruction. *Doctrinæ suæ non minus quam tōv χρημάτων καὶ βιωτικῶν κοινωτικὸς*, & liberalis largitor, volentes a se discere nil celabat: quin facile quidquid singulare aut reconditum habuit, iis communicabat (16). This is more usual than to find a learned Man open his Purse to those who stand in need of it. And yet Cameron was so easy in this Point, that he gave with Prodigality: A φιλαργυρία & μακρολογία alienissimus, imo vero pecuniæ mirus & pro fortunæ suæ conditione nimis contemptor, & in erogando supra modum facilis, ne profugum dicam (17). Some Divines, who did not love him, blamed him for his want of Oeconomy. They said, he threw about his Money like Dirt, and thought it beneath him to haggle for any thing in the Shops or Inns; he gave whatever was asked, and never said one Word to beat down the Price of any Thing. They from hence took occasion to remind him of his having formerly subsisted in Scotland at the public Charge, by some very mean Services, to which Scholars of his Rank were subject. 'Exigua hæc ei summa fuit (18). Nam suæ Originis oblitus, & ejus temporis immemor quo in eorum numerum cooptatus, qui 25 Marcarum annuâ pensione pauperum aliquot civium filiis destinata (for poor Citizens) Sont, ut habet formula concessionis) frueretur, eâ conditione ut, inter se distributis temporibus, tintinnabulum pulsarent, præceptoribusque famularentur in libris deferendis quum ad templum irent; vel iis diebus quibus ludebatur, arma ut vocabant campestria, hoc est arcus, Pharetras, & Sclophas, &c. portarent: ejus temporis, inquam immemor, regius amicus (19), de imperio & regno Theologico, cujus altas in animis discipulorum fixerat radices, tantum cogitans, pecuniam ut a quam profundeabat. Et de taberna si quid emerit aut si hospitii expensâ numeraret, de postulo pretio quicquam demere, aut vel verbulo intercedere, se indignum censebat (20).

[F]—A great Talker, a long winded Preacher. He who tells us this (21), adds, that Cameron would never suffer himself to be interrupted. 'Nunquam erat fessus loquendo, indefatigabilis sermociuator, qui vel Bollandum enecaret tædio. Nam si nactus esset hominem qui ei præberet aures attentas, à summo mane usque ad vespæram sermonem sine intermissione prosecutus fuisset. Cum essem Lutetiae, me sæpe invisebat, habens semper Militearium individuum comitem, affixum ejus lateri & admiratorem. Mihi assidens ordiebatur sermonem infinitæ longitudinis. Ego vero summo cum silentio aures ei accommodabam. Nam interloquentem non patiebatur. Cumque mihi semel contigisset pauca verba interfari, ille corrugans frontem ex indignatione dixit, *Ne me obturba; do not interrupt me.* Demitto aurículas &c. Loquebatur autem de suis dictis aut factis. Narrabat quos sermones habuisset, cum illo mercatore, aut caudico, aut Theologo, & quâ occasione: Et quomodo ab eo digressus ad eum misisset carmina à se raptim conscripta, quæ memoriter recitabat non sine audientium tædio (22). ----- He was never weary with speaking, but would tire even the patience of Bollandus with his long Discourses. For if he got but a Man who would listen to him, he would hold forth, without Intermission, from Morning till Night. When I was at Paris, he frequently visited me, always bringing along with him Militeire bis constat Companion and Admirer. After sitting down by me, he would enter into a

Discourse without end. I always gave him the utmost Attention. For he would not bear any Interruption. And I did but once happen to put in a word or two, when he frowned upon me very angrily and cried, Do not interrupt me. I hung my Ears &c. His discourse was all about himself. He related what Conferences he had held with this or that Merchant, Lawyer, or Divine, and on what Occasion: And how, after parting with them, he had sent them some extempore Verses, which he would repeat by heart, even till he became tedious to his Hearers. Du Moulin adds, that the English Divines, who went to see Cameron, were stunned with his eternal Clack. 'Eos dissonantes & adversos expertus est. Nam præter novitatem dogmatum, non ferebant illud Cameronis ἀμετροπείας & ἀβυσσολογίας, & incredibilem loquendi libidinem (23). ----- He met with their Dislike and Aversion. For besides the Novelty of his Doctrines, they could not bear Cameron's endless Talk, and unaccountable Itch of speaking.

His manner of preaching was displeasing in several respects; for, besides that his Sermons were usually two Hours long, he would make random digressions to Subjects which no Body understood, and seem to deliver them as an Enthusiast; he would unbutton himself, as he was preaching, and spread his Handkerchief before him like a Napkin, and every now and then uncover his Head. 'Cause cur ejus conciones non essent acceptæ in vulgus, hæ erant. Quod suas conciones ad duas horas extenderet, quod in longas & intricatas digressiones excurreret, quasi Enthusiastico abreptus, diceret non intelligibilia; quod aliquando mediâ in concione solveret fibulas thoracis, & præ se sudarium quasi mappam extenderet. Quandoque etiam inter concionandum caput nudaret, & pileum poneret super suggestu (24). He was not sensible how he tired his Auditory; on the contrary, he imagined they were charmed with his Eloquence; but having pressed a Tradesman truly and ingeniously to tell him, what the World said of his Sermons, the Man told him a piece of News which prodigiously mortified him: Would you really, Sir, said the honest Fellow, have me tell you what your Flock think and say of you? To be plain with you then, Sir, Your Sermons are not at all relished, they tire out Peoples Patience (25). Cameron, who expected a quite different Answer, retired very much dejected. This Reply touched him to the quick: It lay upon his Spirits for several Days after; He grew pale and melancholy, nor did he conceal the cause of his Grief from his Colleague. His Colleague (26), being his intimate Friend, appeased him with these seasonable Consolations. How can you unman yourself, said he? What, do you regard the Judgment of an Idiot? Can so small a Matter discompose you? Be assured, the gentle Part of your Church, who are Judges, hear you with a great deal of Pleasure, as well as Profit. This Plaster greatly alleviated the Pain, but did not altogether heal the Wound. Cameron's uneasiness returned, and he had recourse to a second Trial: He put the same Question to an Advocate, as he had done before to the Artisan, and received from him the same Answer. Upon which, giving himself quite over, he resolved to quit Bourdeaux, and do his best to become more agreeable in another Place (27).

[G]—inflexible in his Sentiments. This appeared in the National Synod of Tonnesins in 1614, where he refused to subscribe the Article of Justification. A great many were for executing Ecclesiastical Discipline against him; but, not to proceed rashly, they concluded to send Andrew Rivet, their Secretary, and another Minister called Bouchereau, to him. These exhorted him to conform to the Decisions of the Synod; but his Answer was, 'That he would sooner die than change his Opinion: All they could obtain from him was, a Promise not to spread it either by his Tongue or Pen. Rivet's Remonstrances induced the Synod to wave their Right, and sit down satisfied

(23) Id. ibid. pag. 227.

(24) Du Moulin, in Judio de Amyraldi Libro, pag. 225, 226. See what Blondel observes on this Subject, Act. authent. pag. 45, 46.

(25) Profectò domine, tuæ conciones non sunt ad populi guttum, & te populus audit maximo cum tædio. Du Moulin, in Judio de Amyraldi Libro, pag. 225.

(26) It was Primerole.

(27) Taken from Du Moulin, in Judio de Amyraldi Libro.

(f) Beza maxime potest appellari, quem quidem in suis prælectionibus vocat doctissimum interpretem, semper tamen se opponens ejus sententiæ. — He may be called Beza's *Sewage*, whom tho' he complements in his Lectures

found many things in the Reformed Church, which wanted a farther Reformation [H]. He took a pleasure in venting particular Opinions, and in going out of the common Road. He gave some Instances of this while he was a Lad, in the *Theses De tribus Fæderibus*, which he published and maintained at *Heidelberg*, being then only a Student. He never treated a Theological Question without advancing some Novelty; and whenever, in his Interpretations of some Passage in Scripture, he met with any Difficulties, he took Occasions to contradict other Divines, and principally *Beza* (f); for he pretended that they never penetrated to the bottom of that Science (g). It was from him Mr *Amyraut* had the Doctrine of Universal Grace [I], which made so much noise in *France*. He loved to think

with the Title of most learned Commentator, yet he always contradicted his Opinion. Molinæus, in *Judicio de Amyraldi Libro*.

(g) Taken from *du Moulin*, *ibid.*

(28) See *Lewis du Moulin's Preface to his Pænestis ad Edificatores Imperii in Imperio*. See also *Guill. Rivet. Epist. Apol. ad Rossell. in A. Rivet. Oper. Tom. III.*, pag. 898.

(29) *Guill. Rivet. ibid.*, pag. 897.

(30) *Du Moulin*, in *Judicio de Amyraldi Libro*, pag. 211.

(31) *Id. ibid.*

(32) *Id. ibid.*, pag. 224.

satisfied with this Promise, in Consideration of the Services a Man of *Cameron's* Talents might do the Church (28). It is thought this Stubbornness proceeded from his Attachment in his Youth to the Sect of the *Ramists* (29).

[H] He found many Things in the Reformed Church, which wanted a farther Reformation. These are the great *du Moulin's* own Words. 'Fuit ingenio inquieto, semperque aliquid novi animo volutabat & ruminabat, nec dissimulabat inter amicos (quorum ego unus eram) multa esse in Religione nostrâ quæ egeret immutata (30). — He was of a restless Temper, and always studying and musing on some new Subject; nor did he disown to his Friends, (among whom I was one,) that there were many Things in our Religion which he could wish to see Reformed.'

We must take notice, that he thought the proper time for this Reformation was not yet come. 'Id ipse proficitur Epistolâ ad Ludovicum Capellum, ubi ait multa sibi occurrere, quæ promere, & chartæ committere nec animus ejus, nec temporis ratio patiebatur (31). This he declares in a Letter to *Lewis Capel*, wherein he says, Many things occurred to him, which, to divulge and commit to writing, was neither agreeable to his Inclination, or to the Times.' He believed *St Peter* to be the Foundation of the Church, and could not bear those who affirmed, that Salvation was impossible in the *Romish* Communion. He was concerned to find it unsafe to declare himself more freely, and to see the Ministers of greatest Power and Credit awe the Innovators. 'Conquerens quod paucos haberet sympathetas, & approbatores suæ sententiæ. Non est (inquit) qui tantam vim sustineat. Et paulo post: Nos in ea tempora incidimus quibus ne in doctrinæ quidem methodo ἀπὸ τῶν δοκῶν εἶναι εὐλόγως fas est discedere. Non obsecure sugillans, & naso suspendens optimos quosque Pastores Ecclesiæ nostrarum (32). — Complaining that few thought in his way, and approved his Opinion. There is no body (says he) who can bear such a Load. And a little after: We live in such Times, as do not allow us to recede, even in the Form of Doctrines, from those who are esteemed Pillars. Plainly reflecting upon, and ridiculing all the most eminent Ministers of our Churches.' It has been given out, that *Cameron* thought his Character, as a Minister, the Honour of which he had very much at heart, was an Obstacle to those Services he might have done to the Truth. He imagined, that, if he had not been in Orders, he might have declared his Sentiments more freely, as well as more usefully; but the fear of being excommunicated and degraded was a Restraint both upon his Tongue and Pen. The Author of this Report has very much wronged his Memory; for, as he had been very intimate with this Divine, and approached so near to the *Romish* Faith, that he was at last excommunicated by the Protestants, and became a professed Catholic, it was thought, the first occasion of his being perverted was the Confidence with which *Cameron* communicated his Thoughts to him. 'Postquam vir præstans rebus humanis exemptus est, res accidit quæ Cameronis famæ magnam labem inussit. Nam paulo post Cameronis obitum, Militerius ejus *Achates* & individuus comes, semper pendens narrantis ab ore, peperit monstra, quæ sub Cameronis disciplina conceperat. Edidit enim librum in *Molinæum* nihil tale expectantem, quo defendit merita, & justificationem per opera, & de sacramento Eucharistiæ sic loquitur, ut qui in Transubstantiationem esset priorior, & de Ecclesiâ Romana honorifice loquitur, dicens eam omnia fidei Christianæ capita pura & illibata conservasse,

et si in quibusdam a recto tramite aberret. Profitebatur autem se hæc omnia habere a *Camerone* viro incomparabili. — Verba ejus sunt p. 26, & 27. Quod appellat *Cameronismum*, est elucidatio solida plurimarum difficultatum, quam nobis reliquit summum illud ingenium non minus raræ pietatis quam doctrinæ. Fateor cum laude quam ei debeo, cum mihi viam delineasse, & me ejus vestigiis insitisse. Et paulo post. Scio cum ad eundem scopum, quem mihi propono, collineasse, eumque suscepturum fuisse id quod animo conceperat, si Minister non fuisset. Sed experientia similis zeiti, quo post obitum suum condemnatur, efficebat ut prævideret, si tale quid suscepisset, mox sequenturam exaltationem cum Anathemate super caput ipsius. O quoties cum ea de re ageremus, mihi in aures dixit tanquam amicorum intimo, se utilius talento, quod a Deo acceperat, nisi Minister fuisset, usurum fuisse. Non quod professionem illam animatus non prosequeretur honore, sed ob consequentiam eorum, quæ credebatur a se utilius fieri posse si liberior fuisset. Nempe hæc eadem sunt, quæ ipse *Cameron* scripsit Capello, ante a nobis citata, ubi ait, se multa habere, quæ promere & chartæ committere, temporis ratio non patiebatur (33). — After the great *Cameron* departed this Life, an Accident happened which reflected very much upon his Memory. For soon after his Death, *Militerius*, his *Achates*, and inseparable Companion, and constant Auditor, brought forth the monstrous Opinions he had conceived from *Cameron's* Instructions: Having published a Book against *Molinæus*, who expelled no such Thing, wherein he defends the Merits, and Justification by Works, and seems, in treating of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, to favour Transubstantiation, and speaks honourably of the Church of Rome, affirming, that she had preserved pure, and uncorrupted, all the Essentials of the Christian Faith, though in some Things she had erred. And all these Opinions he declared he had received from that incomparable Man *Cameron*. His Words are in pag. 26 and 27. What he calls *Cameronism*, is a solid Explanation of several Difficulties, left us by that great Genius of uncommon Piety, as well as Learning. I confess, to give him his due Praise, he chalked out the way for me, and I have followed his Steps. And a little after. To my Knowledge, he had the same thing in view, which I have attempted, and would have executed the Scheme he had formed, had he not been in Orders. But his Experience of the same sort of Zeal, which is now used in condemning him since his Death, made him foresee, that the Undertaking would have been attended with Degradation and Anathematization. O how often, when we were upon this Subject, has he told me, as his particular Friend, that he could have employed the Talent, God had lent him, to much greater Advantage, had he not been a Minister! Not that he was wanting in heartily honouring his Profession, but because he thought he might have been more useful, had he been more at Liberty. This is no more than what *Cameron* himself wrote to *Capel*, in the Words before cited, where he says, that he had many Things, which to publish or commit to writing was not agreeable to the Times.' The following Character was given of him by a London Divine to a Minister of *Nerac*; 'We have seen Mr *Cameron* in his Passage this way: he seems to me to be a Man profoundly melancholy, and capable of maintaining an Heresy (34).'

[I] It was from him Mr *Amyraut* had the Doctrine of Universal Grace. Never was Scholar filled with a greater Veneration for his Master, than

Mr *Amyraut*

(34) Vir est meo judicio profundè melancholicus, & qui par esset hæresis tuendæ. *Molinæus*, *ibid.*

think, but not to write down his Thoughts; so that, had he not been in some measure obliged to it, he had never committed any thing to the Press, or writ any thing fit for Publication (b). This had been a Loss to the World; for we are indebted to him for some very good Pieces [K]. Whilst he was Minister at Bourdeaux, he printed a Letter, which was sentenced to be burnt by an Arrêt of Parliament [L].

(b) In Icone Joh. Cameronis.

(35) Compare this with what is reported of Alexander; Citatorem gressum Leonide vitium fuisse ferant, ex ipsius consuetudine id hæcille Alexandro, quod postea cum enixe vellet corrigere non potuerit. — Leonidas (Alexander's Governor), had a very bold and faulty Gate, which Alexander, by being so much with him, contracted, and could never after break himself of, though he earnestly attempted it. Freinshemius, in Supplementis Q. Curtii, lib. i, cap. ii.

(36) Guill. Rivetus, in Oper. A. Riveti, Tom. III, pag. 896.

(37) Colomies Biblioth. choisie, pag. 73.

(38) De qua vide Epistolam 633, præfata, & eruditum Virorum, Edit. 1684.

Mr Amyraut was for Cameron. It is said he imitated him even to the Tone of his Voice, and a certain Motion of his Head; and that, when he harangued Lewis XIII, that Prince thought he had a foreign Pronunciation. 'Is totum imbibit Cameronem; & supra omnes alios eum exacte imitari sedulo annifus est, imo vel etiam in gestu demittendi capitis (35), & in pronuntiatione adeo, seu vocis tono & modulatione quadam, sic perfecte imitari didicit, ut homo Gallus a gloriosissima memoria Rege Ludovico XIII, judicii magni & admirandæ imaginationis Principe, extraneus habitus sit. Cum enim anno 1631, a Synodo Nationali, cum aliis, ad Regem delegatus esset, & apud Majestatem ejus verba fecisset, Rex, qui vultu indicavit viri facundiam brevem orationem sibi gratam fuisse, ad magnatam pone stantem conversus, submissiore voce dixit, extraneus est. Illo vero respondente Gallum esse, in tractu Salmuriensi natum; atque (replicavit Regia Majestas) peregrini aliquid in ejus pronuntiatione observavi. Quod ex collegatis unum qui audierat, quum Carentonum rediisset, narrare meminimus (36).'

[K] We are indebted to him for some very good Pieces.] His Theological Lectures, on some very important Subjects, were printed at Saumur, in three Volumes in 4to; the first in 1626, and the two others in 1628. Lewis Cappel, his Disciple, had the Care of this Edition. It was he who composed the *Ion Johannis Cameronis* (37), which I quoted before. Some Years after, these three Volumes were reprinted at Geneva, with an Addition of all the miscellaneous Pieces that could be met with of the same Author, whereof some, which had been published in French (as his seven Sermons upon the sixth Chapter of St John) were translated into Latin. All these together made one Volume in Folio. Frederic Spanheim, at that time Divinity Professor at Geneva, supervised this Impression, and added to it a Preface. Cameron's Answer to a Letter of Episcopius was not forgotten (38). The same Cappel published in 1632 Cameron's *Myrobecium Evangelicum*.

[L] He printed a Letter, which was sentenced to be burnt by an Arrêt of Parliament.] In the Year 1617, the Parliament of Bourdeaux passed Sentence of Death on two Captains accused of Piracy: They

were Protestants, and demanded their Right to a *Judicature of half Protestants and half Catholics*; but the Parliament rejected their Claim 'under a pretence that the Privilege of the Edict extended not to Pirates (39).' They went to the Place of Execution 'with such a Constancy, and so many Marks of a Christian Resignation, that Cameron thought it his Duty to honour their Memories with a short account of what passed at their Death. Writing a Panegyric upon People condemned to a shameful Death, was obliquely arraigning the Parliament. Nay, there were some Strokes in it, which were aimed at it directly, because the Protestants thought the Parliament had violated their Privileges. That Court therefore revenged itself on the Work, expecting some Opportunity of being revenged on the Author, and condemned the Book to be burnt openly by the common Hangman.' The *French Mercury* relates this Fact with several Circumstances. These two Captains 'were broke alive upon the Wheel June 20, having each a Paper Crown upon his Head, with this Inscription, *Captains of the Pirates, Traitors, and Rebels to the King*; and their Heads were set upon Towers along the Port of Bourdeaux. — The Court gave leave to Cameron, the Minister, to attend them in the Prison, and at the Place of Execution, but not in their Way thither; This Minister some time after printed a Libel in form of a Letter (40), which he intitled, the *Constancy, Faith, and Resolution, shewn by the Captains Minquet and Gaillard at their Deaths*. This coming to the Knowledge of the Parliament of Bourdeaux; the said Libel or Letter was diligently examined, and, by an Arrêt then passed, was burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner. The Arrêt prohibited Cameron from writing or printing any such Letters for the future, as tending only to Sedition, and to vilify the Acts of the Court, to prepossess the King's Subject against his sovereign Justice, and to reflect on his Officers; on pain of exemplary Punishment, and being proceeded against as a Disturber of the public Tranquillity (41). You will find, in the History of the Edict of Nantz (42), the Proceedings of the same Parliament against Cameron, and his Colleague *Primerose* in 1615.

(39) History of the Edict of Nantz, Tom. II, pag. 195.

(40) Written to Mr Palmer Minister of Morue, dated June 21, 1617.

(41) Mercure Franc. Tom. V, pag. 39, 40.

(42) Tom. II, pag. 195.

CAMILLUS (MARCUS FURIUS), was the first who rendered illustrious the *Furian* Family. He triumphed four times, was five times Dictator, and had the Complement of being *Rome's* second Founder: In a Word, he obtained all the Honours his Country could give him. Whilst he was Censor, he obliged such, as were unmarried, to marry the Widows of those who had been slain in the Wars. To this end he used gentle Exhortations, and, where they failed, the Terror of a Fine. He was made Dictator in the tenth Year of the Siege of *Veii* (a), and had the Honour to finish it by taking that City, *Rome's* ancient Rival. What he said upon viewing the Ruins of *Veii*, is very remarkable [A]. He returned triumphant home:

[A] What he said upon viewing the Ruins of *Veii* is very remarkable.] It appears from a Multitude of Passages in ancient Authors, that the Heathens believed there were Divinities jealous of the Prosperity of Mankind, and who never failed, sooner or later, to check, with some sensible Misfortune, those who had obtained any great Advantages. Camillus, full of this Thought, could not behold *Rome's* Happiness in the Pillage of *Veii*, without apprehending some Mixture of Adversity from these sort of Deities, who delighted in distributing good and evil. For which reason he prayed, that, if the present Prosperity of the *Romans* must be tempered with some Disgrace, it might fall on himself in particular, and not on his Country. What could be more heroic! What a Greatness of Soul was this? 'Dictator Camillus, capta Veiorum urbe, præcones edicere jubet, ut ab inermi turba abstineatur: is finis sanguinis fuit, dedit inde inermes cepti, & ad prædam miles per-

missu Dictatoris discurrit, quæ cum ante oculos ejus aliquanto spe atque opinione major majorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad cælum tollens precatus esse Dictator, ut si cui hominum Deorumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire suo privato incommodo, quam minimo publico populique Romani liceret (1). Plutarch observes, that Camillus, upon viewing the Desolation of this once flourishing City, fell into Tears before the making his Prayer. Ἀλόνος δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀπὸ κράτος, καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀγρόνων καὶ φερύλων ἀπερὸν τινα πλεῖτον, ἐφορῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας τὰ πρὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐδαρμένην, εἰτα μακαρίσθεις ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ἀνέσχε τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσευχόμενος εἶπε. Urbe expugnata, militibusque ingentem egerentibus prædam, contemplant ex arce cuncta Camillus, primum illacrymavit, deinde quum celebraretur à circumstantibus

(1) Liv. lib. v, cap. xxi. See also Plutarch in Camillo, pag. 121, F. and Val. Max. lib. i. cap. v, n. 2.

(a) This was the 359th Year of *Rome*, according to *Calvisius*.

home : But his triumphal Chariot, drawn by four white Horses, was looked upon as too presumptuous an Innovation [B]. And some little time after, upon his opposing the Instances of the People, who were for having part of their Inhabitants transported to *Veii*, he became odious. They soon found an Opportunity of expressing their Resentments. He had devoted to *Apollo* a tenth part of the Spoils of *Veii*, but had quite forgot to set it apart. The Senate, being informed by the Augurs that the Gods were angry, commanded every Soldier to return a tenth part of his Portion of the Booty. This raised great murmuring against *Camillus*. The Roman Ladies, on this occasion, did a very remarkable thing [C]. The War with the *Falisci* broke out some time after (b) ; and it was then *Camillus* performed that generous Action which Mr *Moreri* mentions (c). The Enemies were so charmed with it, that they voluntarily submitted to the Romans. The Soldiers were by this means baulked in their Expectations of the Plunder ; and this was a new matter of Complaint against *Camillus*. In short, the People's Hatred lost all Patience, when *Camillus* had procured the Proposal of sending some Citizens to *Veii* to be absolutely rejected. *Lucius Apuleius*, one of the Tribunes, called him to an account for the spoils of that Place : but *Camillus* prevented his Condemnation by a voluntary Exile (d). Upon which he was very highly fined. It was during his Exile he did the greatest Action of his Life ; for instead of being pleased with the Gauls ravaging *Rome*, or joining them to revenge the Injury his Country had done him, he employed all his Prudence and Courage to expel the Enemy ; and that with so exact a Regard to the sacred Laws of *Rome*, that he declined the Command which several particular Persons offered him (e). He waited for the Orders of the People, who were represented by the Citizens, who held out still in the Capitol. But before this he had raised some Troops in the place of his Exile (f), and gained some Advantages over the Enemy. The Romans, besieged in the Capitol, made him Dictator in the Year 366 ; and he signalized himself so remarkably, that he drove all the Gauls out of the Territories of the Commonwealth. This great Service, and the many other Victories he afterwards obtained, could not exempt him from the Affronts of the Tribunes ; for even whilst he was Dictator, in the Year 389, they sent him a Summons by an Officer, who would have seized him. He appeared, attended by the Senate ; and because, after a great many Disputes, the Affair in question was determined in favour of the People (g), *Camillus* was conducted to his Lodgings with an universal Applause. He died of the Plague the Year following (h). There was a very handsome thing said of him, that *Rome* was only to be found where *Camillus* resided. The Latin Words, which I cite (i), express this more emphatically. He left Sons, who shared in the Dignities of the Commonwealth [D] ; but afterwards his Descendants lived in Obscurity till the time of *Tiberius* [E]. *Tacitus* is found not to have been very exact in making this Observation.

(b) The 361st Year of Rome.

(c) He sent back to the Besieged their Children, whom the Schoolmaster of the Town had betrayed into his Hands.

(d) The 361st Year of Rome.

(e) See Val. Maximus, lib. iv. cap. i. n. 2.

(f) He was retired to *Ardea*.

(g) The People were for having one Consul of a Plebeian Family.

(h) Taken out of Plut. in Vita Camilli.

(i) Tarpeia fede perula Gallorum facibus Veioque habitante Camillo, Illic Roma fuit. Lucan. Pharf. lib. v. ver. 27.

(3) Plut. in Camilli, pag. 131, F.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 132, C.

(4) Ibid. pag. 133, B.

(5) Liv. lib. vii. init.

constantibus felicitas ejus manus ad cælum tollens precatus est (2).

[B] His triumphal Chariot, drawn by four white Horses, was looked upon as too presumptuous an Innovation. According to *Plutarch*, no General, either before or after him, ever triumphed in the like manner ; so firmly were they persuaded, that such a Chariot was peculiarly sacred to the Sovereign of Gods and Men. *Τὰ τε ἅλλα σοβαρῶς ἐθεαμύεν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιπλέον ὑποζεύξαντες λευκοτάλον ἐπίβη, καὶ διεξήλασε τῆς Πάρις, ἡδυνὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἡγεμὸν πρῶτον ἔδ' ἕσπερον. ἔπειν γὰρ ἠγύοντο τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄχημα, τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ πᾶσι τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπιπεφροσμένον. Triumphum duxit cum aliis superbum, tum quod curru quatuor juncto equis albis sit invehens, & per Romam transierit nullo exemplo vel priorum vel insequentium imperatorum. Sacrum enim currum habent deorum regi & Patri dicatum* (3).

[C] The Roman Ladies, on this occasion, did a very remarkable Thing. Notwithstanding all their Murmurings, every body was obliged to disburse his Portion, in order to fulfil *Camillus's* Vow : but as the Senate had resolved to send a Vessel of Gold to *Delphos*, and there was no Gold in all the City, they were at a loss how to get one made. The Ladies extricated them out of this Difficulty : for, assembling together, they dedicated to this purpose their Jewels. In consideration of which, the Senate allowed them the Honour of Funeral Orations, till then appropriated to the Men (4).

[D] He left Sons, who shared in the Dignities of the Commonwealth. *Spurius Furius CAMILLUS*, one of them, was created Praetor the very Year That Office was instituted in *Rome*, viz. in the Year 389, when the Consulship began to be shared between the Patricians and Plebeians (5). His Brother *Lucius Furius*

CAMILUS made a yet greater figure in History. He was created Dictator, in the Year of *Rome* 403 ; and because he restored the Consulship to the Patricians, he got so much into their Favour, that they chose him Consul the Year following. He subdued the Gauls ; and it was in his Consulship that *Marcus Valerius*, fighting a Duel with a Gaul, gained the Victory by the Assistance (6) of a Raven (7). *Glandorp* pretends, that this *Lucius Furius CAMILLUS* was Consul eleven Years after, in the Year of *Rome* 417 (8) ; but *Sigonius* proves this to be a Mistake from the Tables of the Capitol, where the Consul *L. Furius CAMILLUS*, who triumphed in the Year 415, is said to be *Spurius's* Son, and *Marcus's* Grandson. That *Camillus*, who was Consul in the Year 415, had *Gaius Muentius* for his Colleague : They triumphed both of them, and obtained a Privilege at that time very rare, which was, to have their Statues placed in the Forum (9). I omit the other Actions of this *L. Furius Camillus*, Grandson to the Great *Camillus* : They who would be informed of them may consult *Livy*.

[E] - - - - - Afterwards his Descendants lived in Obscurity. We learn from *Tacitus*, that *Furius Camillus*, Proconsul in *Africa*, under *Tiberius*, obtained the Honour of a Triumph, for having vanquished the Numidians. Upon which this Historian observes, that from the time of the famous *Camillus*, the Restorer of his Country, to this Proconsul of *Africa*, none of the Family had commanded any Armies except the Son of the Restorer. He adds, That this Proconsul was not esteemed a Soldier, and that it was for this very Reason *Tiberius* extolled him so mightily to the Senate. *Fusi Numidae, multoque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militie.* Nam post illum recuperatorem urbis, filiumque ejus Camillum, penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat.

(6) For which reason he was surnamed *Corvinus*.

(7) *Sigonius*, in *Falstis*, ex *Livio*.

(8) Onomastic. pag. 364. The Year he makes 417, is, according to *Sigonius*, 415.

(9) *Livius* additum triumpho honorem scribit, ut statue consilii, rare illa etate res, in foro ponerentur. *Sigonius* in *Falstis* ex *Livio*, volo quos libenter *Eutropius* and *Pliny*, lib. xxxiv. cap. v.

Observation (k). The Glory of this Family descended to the Females, and continued in that respect till the Time of St Jerom [F].

(k) See Remark [E].

* fuerat. Atque hic, quem memoravimus, bellorum
* expers habebatur. Eo prior Tiberius res gestas
* apud Senatum celebravit: & decrevere patres tri-
* umphalia insignia. Quod Camillo ob modestiam
* vitæ impune fuit (10). Lippus pretends, that there
* were two Triumphs in the Furian Family more than
* Tacitus was aware of. P. Furius, says he (11), tri-
* umphed over the Gauls, in the Year 530, and L. Fu-
* rius Purpureo also triumphed over the Gauls, in
* the Year 553. Father Strada objects these same
* Triumphs to Tacitus; and that he might not be a
* bare Copier of Lippus, he quotes Polybius and Oro-
* sius as to the Victory of P. Furius; and Plutarch,
* as to the Triumph of the same Furius; and Livy,
* and the Capitoline Tables, as to the Triumph in
* 553 (12). It is certain, according to Polybius, the
* Romans gained an important Victory over the Gauls,
* under the Consulate of P. Furius and C. Flaminius.
* It is certain, he observes that the Consuls entered
* with an Army into the Enemy's Country (13); but
* when he describes the Battle, he speaks only of the
* Consul Flaminius: nor does he say one Word that
* either of them triumphed. So that it is wrong to
* pretend that Polybius is a good Evidence of
* P. Furius's Victory. The other Historians cited by
* Strada are still more insufficient; for Orosius attri-
* butes the whole Victory to Flaminius (14), with-
* out saying one Word of Furius. As for Plutarch,
* he says, that the Consuls Flaminius and Furius led
* an Army into the Country of the Insubrian Gauls,
* and that the Senate understanding they had been
* irregularly elected, wrote to them to return im-
* mediately, and lay down their Office; but that
* Flaminius did not open the Letter till after he had
* routed the Enemy; and that this Disrespect to
* their Message had like to have hindered his Tri-
* umphal Entry (15). Plutarch adds, that, im-
* mediately after Flaminius's Triumph, he and his Col-
* league were deposed from their Consulate. All this
* intimates, that Furius commanded some separate
* Body, which had no share in the Victory; however,
* there is nothing in Plutarch which proves, that
* Furius triumphed. Father Strada has succeeded
* better in his Citations relating to the Triumph of
* L. Furius Purpureo.

But, in my Opinion, to form a just Criticism
on Tacitus, we ought to understand two things;
one, what he means by *Furium nomen*; the other,
what he means by *Imperatoria laus*: If his Meaning
is, that, from the Son of the Great Camillus down
to Tiberius, none of the Furian Family commanded
the Roman Armies; both Lippus and Famius
Strada have been too sparing of their Criticisms;
they might have objected to him Caius Furius Pa-
cilus, Consul in the Year of Rome 502, who com-
manded some time in Sicily (16); but if he de-
signed to speak only of Camillus's Descendants, the
Censure of both those Authors is to no purpose;

for neither the Consul in the Year 530, nor he who
triumphed in 553, were of Camillus's Branch:
the Surname of the one was *Pbilo*, and of the other
Purpureo. They had done well if they had objected
to him the Grandson of the Great Camillus.

[F] The Glory of his Family descended to the
Females, and continued in this respect till the time
of St Jerom.] I do not pretend that the Ladies,
descended from the Great Camillus, signalized them-
selves in Arms; I speak only of the Glory proper
to their Sex. Chastity and Continency were so
remarkably preferred by the Ladies of this Family,
that we scarce meet with one of them who con-
tracted a second Marriage. St Jerom is my Au-
thor, in a Letter to a Lady of Camillus's Race,
who asked his Advice concerning a Resolution she
had taken to continue a Widow all her Life. 'Ob-
servas literis & suppliciter deprecari ut tibi referi-
bam, imo scribam quomodo vivere debeas, &
viduitatis coronam illas pudicitiae nomine con-
servare (17). --- You take notice in your Letters,
& express an earnest Desire of my Answer, and
I will give you my Thoughts how you ought to live
and preserve the Honour of your Widowhood by an
'inviolable Chastity.' She was the Daughter of a
Lady who had lived continent although she was
married. 'Gaudet animus, exultant viscera, gessit
'affectus, hoc te cupere esse post virum, quod sanctae
'memoriae mater tua Titiana multo tempore fuit
'sub marito. Exaudita sunt preces, & orationes
'eius: impetravit in unica filia quod vivens ipsa
'possederat. Habes praeterea generis tui grande
'privilegium, quod exinde à Camillo vel nulla,
'vel rara vestrae familiae scribitur secundos nosse
'concupitus: ut non tam laudanda sis, si vidua per-
'severes, quam execranda, si id Christiana non ser-
'ves, quod per tanta saecula gentiles feminae cus-
'dierunt. Taceo de Paula, Eustochio, stirpis vestrae
'floribus: ne per occasionem exhortationis tuae
'illas laudare videar (18). --- I am extremely
'glad to find you resolve to be, now you are a
'Widow, what your Mother Titiana, of pious Me-
'mory, was for some considerable Time even whilst
'a Wife. Her Prayers are now heard: she begged
'her only Daughter might imitate her Continence.
'You have also before you the glorious Distinction of
'your Family, which from it's Original in Camillus
'has known few or none of it's Females engaged in
'second Marriages: So that you will not be so
'much commended for continuing a Widow, as you
'will be condemned for not preserving that under
'Christianity, which your female Relations always
'did for so many Centuries under Paganism. I
'shall say nothing of Paula and Eustochium,
'the Ornaments of your Family, lest I should
'seem on your Account to undertake their Pa-
'negyric.'

(17) Hieron. ad
Furium de vidui-
tate servand.

(18) Id. ibid.

CAMPANUS (JOHN ANTONY), one of the most learned Prelates of
Italy in the XVth Century, was the Son of a Country-woman, who finding herself
in Labour, while she was at work in the Fields, was delivered of him under a
Laurel (a), near Capua (b). He was designed for a Shepherd [A]; but appearing
to have a considerable Genius, he was placed in the Service of a Country Curate,
who taught him a little Latin (c). Others say he was only Servant to the Sexton
(d). He was afterwards Tutor in a good Family at Naples (e), and made a great
Progress by his close Application to his Studies. He had, among other Masters,
the renowned Laurentius Valla (f). After he had continued five Years at Naples (g),
he went to study the Law at Perugia (h), and there publicly taught polite Learn-
ing, with so great Applause, that he was made a Freeman of that City, by a De-
cree of the Senate. Some say he never understood Greek (i), whilst others affirm
he studied it perfectly under Demetrius Chalcondylas, at Padua (k). Being returned
to Perugia, he writ the History of the valiant Andrew Braccio. This Book was
very

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Oldoinus
Athen. August.
pag. 24.

(g) Jov. Elog.
cap. xxii.

(h) Oldoinus
Athen. August.
pag. 24.

(i) Graecorum
omnino expers.
Volaterr. lib. xxi,
pag. 776.

(k) Graecam eru-
ditionem uber-
tim potavit.
Oldoin. Athen.
August. pag. 24.

(10) Tacit. An-
nal. lib. ii, cap.
lii, ad Ann.
Rom. 770.

(11) Lipp. in
Tacit. ibid.

(12) Fam. Strada
Prolusionum
Academicarum,
lib. i, Prolus. 2,
pag. 50.

(13) Polyb. lib.
ii, cap. xxxii,
xxxiii.

(14) Orof. lib.
iv, cap. xlii.

(15) Plut. in
Marcell. circa
initium, p. 199.

(16) Polyb. apud
Sigonium in Fa-
lia.

(a) Antonium
Campanum ru-
stica mulier in a-
gro fessa opere
sub lauro peperit.
Paulus Jovius,
Elog. cap. xxii,
pag. 52, 53.

(b) Nicolo Toppi,
Bibliot. Napolet.
pag. 24.

(c) August. Ol-
doinus in Athen.
Augusto. pag. 24.

(d) Aedituo Sa-
cerdotis in famu-
latum & discipli-
nam tradidit
(mater). Jov.
Elog. cap. xxii.

(e) Volaterr. lib.
xxi, pag. 776.

[A] He was designed for a Shepherd.] Some
say his Father put him to that mean Employment,
agro pascendis ovibus ab initio à patre relegatus
fuit (1). Others pretend, he lost his Father and
Mother in his Infancy, and that his Relations

thought of making him a Shepherd. 'Parentibus
'jam inde à puero orbatus est, orbatumque affines,
'in quorum fide potestatemque erat, tenuioris for-
'tunae sordidis ministeriis illum exercuerunt, ita ut
'etiam pascendo pecori destinaretur (2).'

[B] He

(2) Augustin.
Oldoinus in A-
thenaeo Augusti.
pag. 24.

very much esteemed for it's *Stile*; but there appeared in it too much Flattery [B]. The Reputation of *Campanus* became so great, that he was sent for to *Rome* by Pope *Calixtus III.*, to be his Secretary: He was scarce arrived there, when the Death of that Pope put an End to his Expectations. He insinuated himself into the Favour of *Pius II.*, and was made Steward to Cardinal *Saxoferrate*. Some time after he was promoted to the Bishopric of *Crotone*, by *Pius II.*, and afterwards to that of *Teramo* [C]. *Paul II.* made him Arch-Priest of *St Eustachius*, which is a very good Benefice. He attended *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinal Legate, into *Germany*, and made several Speeches in the Imperial Diets. At his Return into *Italy*, he obtained from the same Pope the Government of *Tuderti*. *Sixtus IV.* gave him that of *Fulgino*, and *Citta di Castello*: But he lost both his Post, and the Friendship of this Pope, by being believed an Accomplice in the Rebellion which broke out in his Government. *Sixtus* was so incensed against him, that he banished him out of the Ecclesiastical State, and rejected all Intercessions made in his behalf. *Campanus*, extremely affected with this Disgrace, spent the rest of his Life in Melancholy, sometimes at the Court of *Naples*, and sometimes at *Siena*. In vain he implored the Succour of the Muses and Literature, I mean that he endeavoured to dissipate his Chagrin by writing; he no sooner made a beginning, but he found it return upon him: Upon this he lost all Courage, and, being besides subject to an Epilepsy, he sunk intirely under his Misfortunes. He died at *Siena* the fifteenth of *July*, 1477, in the fiftieth Year of his Age (l), and was buried in the Cathedral Church (m). He had a great Desire to have settled in his own Country [D], as appears by his Letters. He left several Works.

(l) And not proper quadragenarius, in the 4th ed. at Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 583, would have it, being deceived therein by Volaterran, lib. xxi.

(m) Taken from August. Old. Athen. Aug. pag. 24, & seq.

(3) Jovius Eleg. cap. xxii, pag. liii. See likewise Oldoin. Athen. August. pag. 24.

(4) Leand. Albert. Descript. Ital. pag. 136.

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 100.

(6) Id. ibid. 136.

(7) See Toppi Biblioth. Napol. pag. 124.

(8) Gein. in Biblioth. fol. 383, verso.

(9) Pag. 426, Chronol. apud Leonard. Nicodemum Addiz. alla Bibliot. Napol. pag. 18.

(10) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 583.

(11) Leon. Nicod. Addiz. alla Bibli. Nap. p. 18.

(12) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 583. He might have added, and according to Volaterranus, Præful apud Præcutinos.

(13) König. Bibl. pag. 158.

[B] He wrote the History of Andrew Braccio. This Work was very much esteemed for it's *Stile*; but there appeared in it too much Flattery.] These are Jovius's Words: 'Inter multa orationum, & multiplicitis styli opera quæ extant, avidissime Bracii inclyti ducis Vita perlegitur, digna posteritate nisi rerum gestarum fidem adulatione poetica corrupisset (3). ----- Among the many Discourses, and Works composed with Elegancy of *Stile*, the Life of Braccius, the famous Captain, is thought most entertaining, and would be worthy to be perused, if the Facts had not been misrepresented through poetical Flattery.' This Andrew Braccio was a very great Captain. He was a Native of *Montone* in the *Perugino* (4). The Inhabitants of *Perugia* chose him for their Prince by reason of his Valour, and the Services he had done them (5). He died in 1424 (6). His Life, writ in Latin by our *Campanus*, was translated into Italian by *Pompey Pellini*: This Translation was printed at *Venice*, in 1572, 4to (7).

[C] He was promoted to the Bishopric of *Teramo*.] They who say he was Bishop of *Arezzo*, *Aretinus* Episcopus, are mistaken. *Gesner* has been guilty of this Mistake (8): and so have *Peter Opmeer* (9), and *Vossius* (10), as *Leonard Nicodemus* observes, who adds, that it is probable the Term *Aprutinus* led them into this Error (11). *Campanus* is called Episcopus *Aprutinus*, in the Title Page of *Andrew Braccio's* Life, printed at *Basil*, in 1545; And he called himself *Aprutinus*, because his Bishopric was in the *Abruzzo*. *Vossius* observes, that *Paulus Jovius* styles him *Interamnatum Episcopum*, — Bishop of the *Teramians*; and *Gyraldus, Prælatinorum sive Prætutianorum Episcopus* (12), — Bishop of the *Abruzzians*. He reconciles these Differences very well, by saying, 'Nempe sedes episcopalis fuit *Interamnii* Prætutianorum oppidi, quod vulgo à circumfluo Nare fluvio *Terami* vel *Terani* vocatur. --- For his Episcopal See was at *Teramo*, or *Terano*, a Town of the *Abruzzians*, which is so called for it's being surrounded by the River 'Nar.' This ought to have prevented his calling him *Aretinus Episcopus*. *König* is one of those who have given him the same Title (13).

[D] He had a great Desire to have settled in his own Country.] This appears from a Passage in his Letters, which acquaints us with some Circumstances of his Life: 'Dicere de tuis (he is speaking to the Duke of Calabria, Alphonso of Arragon, Son of Ferdinand King of Naples) divinis & præstantissimis laudibus non est epistolæ, in qua nihil æque quam brevitas & castigatio laudatur. Hoc tantum de me addiderim, natum esse hac ætate, in qua tu es, & natum tibi, patri ac Regno tuo, & ad illum & ad te pertinere, haberi rationem de vestris. Ego sextumdecimum annum Romana in Cur. dego. Sub Pio pontifice vixi non sine aliqua gratia & opinione. Qua de re habuit me

odio Paulus, ut habuit cæteros qui Pii memoria afficerentur. Sixtum vero, quo sum usus in philosophia præceptore, aliquanto habui propensiorum. Sed fortuna mea omnis à Regno est: quam mihi tu & pater tuus dabitis spem, ad hanc erigar, huic insitiam. Quare te oro & obtestor, dignissime & sanguinis altissime Princeps, errantem me tot annos redde jam Patriæ, redde meis, & tandem Campanum Campaniæ redde (14). --- To attempt your divine and most excellent Praises is not the Business of a Letter, in which nothing is so commendable as Brevity and Correctness. I will only add one Word about myself, that I was born in the same Age with yourself, and born a Subject to your and your Father's Dominions, and therefore belong to him and you, and account myself your's. I have now lived sixteen Years in the Court of *Rome*. Under Pope *Pius I* was in no small Favour and Esteem. For which reason I was hated by *Paul*, as were a great many others, who revered the Memory of *Pius*. But *Sixtus*, whose Disciple I had formerly been in Philosophy, was more favourable to me. But all my Expectations are grounded on the Favour of my Sovereigns; the Hopes you and your Father shall give me, to these I will trust. Therefore I implore and beseech you, most worthy and illustrious Prince, restore me, from this long vagabond Life, to my Country, restore me to my Friends, and restore at last *Campanus* to *Campania*.

[E] He left several Works.] *Leonard Nicodemus* (15) has given us an exact Account of all the Pieces contained in the Collection of our *Campanus's* Works. There are, among them, several Moral Treatises, as, de Ingratitudine fugienda: de Dignitate Matrimonii, &c. several Speeches, particularly those which he made at *Perugia*, when first he taught there, in 1455; his Funeral Orations on a Duke of *Urbino*, on Cardinal *Saxoferrate*, on *Pius II.*, &c. Nine Books of Letters, some of which were reprinted in *Germany*, by the Care of *Daumius*, with those of *Textor* (16); the Life of *Pius II.*: Eight Books of Elegies and Epigrams, and some Sermons. *Panigarola* very much commends that which he preached upon an *Ashwednesday*; these are his Words: 'Il Campano nell'Orazione Cinerizia amplifica in tanti modi questa proposizione, che bisogna morire, che è cosa di maraviglia il considerarlo: è Monsignor Cornelio non cede punto nell'imitazione (17). — Campanus, in his Sermon on *Ashwednesday*, so fully discusses this Subject, of the Necessity of Dying, that the Consideration of it is very surprizing: And Monsignor Cornelio has imitated him very closely.' This Monsignor Cornelio is the Bishop of *Bisonte*, a great Preacher, and one who made a great Figure in the Council of *Trent*. His Family-name was *Muffs*. He copied our *Campanus* almost word for word in his Necessity of Dying (18). Observe these

(14) Campanus Ep. lib. viii. apud Nicodem. Addiz. alla Bibl. pag. 17.

(15) Leon. Nicod. Addiz. alla Bibl. Napol. pag. 16, 17.

(16) See Reinefius's Letters to Daumius, p. 114 & 115.

(17) Panigarola nel Predicatore, pag. 404. Edit. 1609, apud Nicodem. Addiz. alla Bibliot. Napol. pag. 16.

(18) Nicod. ibid. these

(n) And not Fernus as it is in M. reri.

(o) Composed by the same Fernus.

Works [E], which were published by Michael Fernus (n), with the History of his Life (o), written at large, and full of Commendations. We must not forget that he was Corrector of the Press [F], and very ugly in his Person (p). They are mistaken who speak of him and Antony Campanus as two distinct Persons [G]. Observe, there have been some other Authors named Campanus: The Bibliographers, who who reckon them up, very often forget Francis CAMPANUS, an Italian Humanist (q) of good Repute, whose *Quæstio Virgiliana* I have seen printed by Henry Stephens, in 1567 (r), together with Parrhasius's Book *De Rebus per Epistolam quæstis*. The Author dedicated it to Hercules de Gonzago, Bishop of Mantua, in 1536. He was then at Bologna.

I must add a Remark on the Passage where I have mentioned his writing *Love-Verfes* [H].

these Words of Mr Menage, 'Campanus ---- writ a great many Love Verfes. This he tells us himself. *Scripti Versus, quorum pars est amatoria: pars amore non vacat ad tria millia*. It is in the Forty sixth, of the third Book of his Epistles. He was a Man highly deserving of the learned World, --- and withal very virtuous (19). See the Remark [H].

(19) Menage. Anti-Bailet, Tom II, pag. 337.

[F] He was Corrector of the Press. Read this Passage of Gabriel Naudæus. 'Rome was one of the first Places where the Press was set up, by the means of one Uldaricus Gallus, who gave occasion to Bishop John Antony Campanus, Corrector of it, to complement him with the following Epigram, mentioned by Faernus, and inserted at the end of Tully's *Philippics*, printed by the said Uldaricus, without the Date of the Year, though in all probability before 1470.

Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, unde quod alis
Obstreperes, Gallus cecidit, ultor adest
Uldaricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.
Imprimit ille die quantum vix scribitur anno,
Ingenio haud noceas, omnia vincit homo (20).

(20) Naud. Additions à l'Hist. de Louis XI, pag. 297, 298.

The watchful Goose once sav'd the Roman Walls,
And brought Destruction on the hostile Gauls.
Our Gaul revenges, by his wond'rous Skill,
This ancient Grudge upon the Goose's Quill.
For what the Pen requires a Year to say,
His Printing Art delivers in a Day.

Mr Chevallier quotes part of these Words, and also those of Mr Mentel, where he observes, that two Bishops were at the same time Correctors of the Press at Rome, John Andrew, Bishop of Aleria, and Antony Campanus Bishop of Teramo (21). There are two Mistakes to be corrected in what he quotes from Mr Mentel (22): In my opinion, continues he, they ought rather to be called Authors than Correctors, as one may easily judge from the following Account. Upon which he tells us, that under the Pontificate of Paul II, about the Year 1466, two Germans, Conrade Swaynheim and Arnold Pannarts, came to Rome to set up the first Printing-Office. He gives us the order of the Books printed till May 1472, with the Number of the Copies of each Author. He says, It was the Bishop of Aleria, the Pope's Library-Keeper, who prepared the Manuscripts of most of the Authors, and writ the Dedications and Prefaces to some Editions, and was Corrector of the Press. He adds, that another Printer, called Udalricus (23), came much about the same time to Rome, to erect another Printing-Office (24). The Bishop of Teramo corrected this Press, as the Bishop of Aleria did the other. Udalricus went on with so much Diligence, that Campanus, who had undertaken to keep the Press at work in furnishing Copies and correcting the Proofs, could never be at rest: Cum interquiescere illum affiduis emendationibus non permetteret, says Michael Fernus in Campanus's Life. Observe this Conclusion: 'We may gather easily from the Ac-

(21) Chevallier, Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, pag. 198, 199.

(22) Mr Mentel, pag. 11, de vera Typographia Origine, says: *επιστολῶν, and Udalrici, and not as Mr Chevallier has it, εὐαγγελιστῶν, and Udalrici.*

(23) He should have said Udalricus.

(24) Chevallier, de l'Origine de l'Impr. de Paris, pag. 200.

count now given, that these two Bishops were Authors of the first Editions published at Rome, by these Germans, and that they corrected only their own Works (25). For my part, I cannot conceive how the Reader can conclude any thing like it from this Account; for it plainly proves, that these two Bishops performed all the Duties of Correctors of the Press.

[G] They are mistaken who speak of him, and Antony Campanus, as two distinct Persons. Toppi has committed this Error in two or three places of his Neapolitan Bibliotheca, as Leonard Nicodemus objects to him. Gesner's Abbreviators have mentioned Antony Campanus and John Antony Campanus as two Authors. Konig has made the same Mistake (26).

[H] I must add a Remark on the Passage where I have mentioned his writing *Love Verfes* (27). He is very much censured on account of a very obscene Epigram, inasmuch that he is joined with John de la Casa. 'Quæ tamen non deterruerunt in Italia (ô tempora, ô mores!) Episcopum quendam Nucerinum *Job. de la Casa*, quin Sodomizæ laudes nefario Libro fuerit complexus, uti Conrad. Ritterhusius conqueritur in *Novell. lection. part. 12. c. 9. n. 7*. Parem quoque Castimoniam, & Episcopali felicitat dignitatem convenientem gravitatem sapit Episcopi Imbranenensis ad Gravanolum mostu-patorem (28) Epigramma, quod longè sædius & putidius puto, quam ut Commentariis hinc sit inferendum. Ideoque in id merito infurget Georg. Erhardus in *Symbolis ad Petronium*, pag. 96 (29). Which yet did not deter, even in Italy, a certain Bishop of Nocera, John de la Casa, from writing a wicked Book in the Praise of Sodomy, as Ritterhusius complains in his *Novell. Lection. part. 12. c. 9. n. 7*. Of the same modest stamp is the Epigram of the Bishop of Teramo, on the self-polluter Gravanolus, which is too filthy and obscene to be inserted in these Commentaries. For which reason it is deservedly censured by George Erhardus in *Symbolis ad Petronium* pag. 96. It would be difficult to conjecture who this Episcopus Imbranenensis should be, if we did not otherwise know, that John Antony Campanus, Bishop of Teramo, (in Latin, according to some undoubtedly, *Interamnensis*) was Author of the Epigram in question. George Erhardus, cited by Salmuthus as we have seen, expresses it thus: *Joannes Antonius Campanus Epigrammate ad Gravanolum Mastupratorem*,

Non damnosa mihi gratis manus ipsa placebit,
Inque meis digitis Hermaphroditus erit.

O pudicum virum! At lufit, inquit, in nequam illum fututorem. At non decebat, inquit, illum, cujus est officii severitatem in castigando adhibere, non risum jocumque facere (30). Saldenus makes use of this Passage of Salmuthus, without correcting it's Faults; may he has even added some of his own. 'Parem quoque castimoniam, Episcopali gravitati convenientem Episcopo Imbranenensi adscribit Salmuthus, ob Epigramma (inquit) ad Gravanolum Mostupratorem mislum, longè sædius & putidius, quam ut Commentariis suis infereret (31).

(p) Quis in principis finis rectu tantum ex-culti atque habili ingenii indolem. *Jov. Eleg. esp. xxii.*

(q) His Surname was *C. Nesi*, signifying, I suppose, that he was a Native of Cellis, near Lucca.

(r) It had been printed at Milan, 1540.

(25) Chevallier, *ibid.* pag. 201, 202.

(26) Konig. *Bibl. vet. & nova*, pag. 158.

(27) At the end of Remark [E].

(28) He should have said *Mastupratorem*.

(29) Henricus Salmuth. Comment. in *Pancrolum*, Par. I, Tit. xlvii, pag. 222. See in the Anti-Bailet, Tom. II, pag. 123, the Mistakes of this Passage in respect to the Title of John de la Casa.

(30) Georg. Erhard. *Symbol. in Petronium*, pag. 791. Edit. Petronii Lugd. 1615, in 12mo.

(31) Saldenus, in *Oris Theolog.* pag. 160.

(a) Agrippa de
Vanitate Scienti-
arum, cap. lxiv,
pag. 128, 129.
(b) Id. ibid. pag.
129.

CANICEUS (JAMES), Author of some Love-Letters. I mention this only upon Agrippa's Authority (a), and to encourage the Curious to find out this Writer, whose Name I have not met with in any Bibliographer, any more than that of James Calandrus, an Author of the same Class, according to Agrippa (b) (§. a).

[§ a. Mr Bayle falls into two Mistakes here concerning this Author, who, by the way, was born at Parma. First, he calls him Caniceus instead of Caviceus, and that on the Authority of his Edition of Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiarum, chap. 64; whereas in the good Editions of this Book, particularly in those of 1531 and 1539, we read Caviceus. In the next place Mr Bayle supposes, that the Book, there ascribed to Caviceus by Agrippa, is a Book of Love-Letters, whereas it is an Italian Romance in three Books, entitled *Il Peregrino*, wherein the Author gives us the History of his own Amours with his Mistress, whom he names Geneva. 'Jacobus Caviceus, (says Benedictus Curtius on the 14th of the Arrêts d'Amour) ob Genevram ærumnas, diversarum regionum lustrationes, & ægrolabores, doloresque, infernorum aditus, ut recte peregrinus vocatus sit, uno opere perperit. — Caviceus wrote a Book of his Sufferings for Geneva his Mistress, of his Wanderings thro' diverse Nations, his Labours, Distresses, and visiting the infernal Regions, so that he was rightly styled The Pilgrim.' This is the very same Romance, which Agrippa in the said sixty fourth Chapter places among the Modern Gallant Histories, under the Title of the History of the Amours of the Pilgrim. The following Words of Agrippa in the same Chapter gave occasion to Mr Bayle's Mistake: 'Nam huic (lenocinio) in primis Grammatica scribendi & loquendi disciplina amatorias largitur epistolas, illas que efficit amoris salutatunculis, precatunculis, lamentatunculis, allectatunculis dictare docet: quarum exempla pleraque ex recentioribus Aeneas Sylvius, & Jacobus Caviceus, & plerique alii reliquerunt. — To this Courtship, Rhetoric furnishes Love-Letters, and teaches to fill them with amorous Salutations, Requests, Complaints, Allurements; Ex-

amples of which we find among the Moderns, in the Writings of Aeneas Sylvius, James Caviceus, and many others.' The Romance above-mentioned contains indeed many Love-Letters, as does likewise the Romance composed by Aeneas Sylvius; but this is not the Title of these Books, particularly of that of Caviceus, concerning which I shall observe, by the way, that the Edition printed at Venice in 8vo, 1526, February the fifth, by Nicolo Zoppino, is neither the first, nor the last, for the Title says *correcto & novamente stampato & bistoriato*; and the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library mentions another of the Year 1547, likewise in 8vo, and printed also at Venice. George Anselme, who wrote the Life of the Author in Italian, and joined it to Caviceus's Romance, says, he was born on the first of May 1443, and died aged sixty eight Years, one Month, and two Days, not long after the publication of his Book, which consequently must have been first published about the Year 1510. He had put out some other Works: and some of his pieces, partly finished, and partly only begun, fell into the Hands of his Heirs. It is not known what they have done with them. I had almost forgotten to observe, that our Author was a Priest, and that, among other slips of his Youth, he got a Nun with Child, and was even guilty of Murder, which obliged him, after having broke out of the Bishop's Prison, where he was detained, to turn Pirate, and to rove for three Years, sometimes in the Channel, and sometimes in the Archipelago; but that, upon his return, the Disorders of his Youth being either forgotten or pardoned, he reformed his Conduct, and gave such great proofs of an excellent Genius, that, upon these two Accounts, his Historian freely forgives him his former Course of Life. REM. CRIT.]

CANINIUS (ANGELUS), was one of the most learned Grammarians in the XVIth Century. He was born in a small Town of Tuscany, called in Latin *Anglara* [A], and in Italian *Angbiari*; which is the reason of the Epithet *Anglarensis* being added to his Name, in the Title-Page of his Works. Thuanus places his Death in the Year 1557 (a) [B], and affirms, that he was well skilled in the Greek and Oriental Languages; that he taught them at Venice, Padua, Bologna, Rome, and in Spain; that he was Tutor to Andrew Dudithius [C], and taught at Paris; and

(a) Thuan. Histor. lib. xix, p. 346.

[A] He was born in a small Town in Tuscany, called in Latin *Anglara*. Thuanus did not know that this Town was in Tuscany; he has confounded it with one in the Milanese, called in Latin *Anglaria* or *Anglaria*; for having observed, that Magius was born at *Anglaria*, a Town in the Dutchy of Milan, he adds, that the same Place had before given Birth to *Angelus Caninius* (1). Others (2), by a like Mistake, have affirmed, that Caninius, Magius, and Peter Martyr, Counsellor to Ferdinand and Isabella, were born at *Anglaria*, a Town of the Insularians, that is, in the Milanese. This is only true as to Peter Martyr. We have shown, in its proper Place, that Magius was of *Anglara* in Tuscany; now Magius tells us, that Caninius was his Countryman (3): Caninius therefore could not be a Milanese, as Dom Lancelot affirms in his Preface to the *Metode Greque*. Nicolas Antonio, having firnamed him *Anglarensis*, explains it thus, 'Oppidum Mediolanensis Ducatus Anghiera est, ad oram lacus Verbanii five majoris (4). — Anglara is a Town in the Dutchy of Milan, at the Mouth of the Lake Maggior.'

[B] Thuanus places his Death in the Year 1557. He placed it in the Year 1554, in the first Editions. See the last Page of the first Tome of the Paris Edition in 8vo, 1604: There you will find how it happened that Mr Baillet, who made use of this Edition in 8vo, has said, in speaking of Caninius, that he died in 1557, or rather in 1554 (5). We shall see, in the Remark [F], a Citation, which shews that Thuanus knew very little of this great Grammarian.

(1) Anglara in Insularibus ditionis Mediolanensis oppido, quod & nobis Angelum Caninium olim dedit, natus. Thuan. lib. xlix, ad Ann. 1571, pag. 1018.

(2) Quenstedt, de Patriis illust. pag. 296.

(3) Magius, Epist. Dedie. Tractat. de Equaleo.

(4) N. Anton. Bibl. Hispan. Tom. II, pag. 357.

(5) Jugem. des Savans, Tom. IV, n. 701, pag. 182. He makes him a Native of Anglaria.

[C] He affirms, he was Tutor to Andrew Dudithius. Du Ryer has very ill translated these Words of Thuanus: *Demum Andrea Dudithii Pannonii adolescentia adnotus Lutetia Parisiorum docuit*, which he thus renders: *After he had been sent for to Andrew Dudithius in Hungary — he taught at Paris* (6). This Translation falsely ascribes to Caninius a Journey into Hungary, and makes Thuanus contradict himself; for in another Place he says, *Dudithius studied under Caninius at Paris*, after his Voyage into England, and before his Return to Hungary. 'Demum ex Anglia Lutetiam venit, & illic sub optimo Doctore Angelo Caninio Anglarensi non solum Græcæ Linguae, & Hebraicæ, sed etiam Orientalium peritissimo, denuo intermissis per illas peregrinationes studiis operam dedit (7).' Which is thus translated: *From England he went to Paris, where he renewed his Studies, which his Travels had interrupted, under Angelo Canimo, that excellent Man, so well skilled in the Greek, Hebrew, and Oriental Languages* (8). This false printing of Canimo instead of Caninio, may one Day chance to enlarge the Catalogue of learned Men, and present us with one *Angelus Canimus* different from *Angelus Caninius*, but, like him, well skilled in the Languages. I make no question but that Caninius was Professor at Paris, whilst Dudithius studied there: And therefore I cannot think that these Words of Thuanus, *Andrea Dudithii Pannonii adolescentia adnotus Lutetia Parisiorum docuit*, — being made Tutor to Andrew Dudithius, the young Hungarian, he taught at Paris, are so true historically, as they are good grammatically; for it is not at all probable that Caninius

(6) Teiffier's *Elogies*, taken from Thuanus, Tom. I, p. 131.

(7) Thuan. Histor. lib. xcvi. ad Ann. 1539.

(8) Aoud Teiffier, Tom. II, pag. 103.

and that at last, being received into the Family of *William Duprat*, Bishop of *Clermont* (b) [D], he died in *Auvergne* [E]. There are some who say, that he was Professor in the University of *Paris*, residing there in the College of *Cambray*, and that his Book of the Greek Language may be pronounced one of the most learned Performances we have on that Subject (c). The Character, *Scaliger* has given of him, appears at first very much in his Favour, but amounts to very little in the Conclusion. He allows him to be a very learned young Man [F], who had composed a valuable Discourse on the Greek Language, but that he had borrowed the best part of it from *Vergara*, and others, and had also added something of his own (d). Mr *le Fèvre* of *Saumur*, who prefers *Caninius* to all other Greek Grammarians, absolutely rejects this Accusation. He says this Work deserves to be called the Treasure of the Greek Language, and that it was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1555, in Quarto (e). Several other learned Men have given as great a Character of *Caninius's* Greek Grammar [G]. His other Works are not very numerous [H]. It is very probable that *Jerom Caninius* of *Angiari*, who translated *Tacitus* into *Italian*, and printed it at *Venice*, with *Alamos's* Aphorisms (f), in 1620, was of the same Family.

(b) *Caninius* takes notice of this Bishop's Liberality. Prefat. Introduct. in Linguam Syriacam & Punicam, according to *Magius*, Epist. Ded. Tract. de Ecclis.

(c) *Lancelot's* Preface to the Nouvelle Methode Greque.

(d) *Scaligerana*, pag. 42.

(e) *Notis* in prima *Scaligerana*.

(f) *Nicol. Antonius* Bibliot. Hispan. Tom. I, pag. 141.

was at one and the same time Professor in the University at *Paris*, and Tutor to this young Hungarian Traveller. And yet that he was the latter, is implied by these Words, *Andreae Dudithii adolescentie adnotus*. But I do not believe he had any other hand in teaching *Dudithius*, than only by his public and private Lectures as Professor; which is far different from being said to be a young Gentleman's Tutor, and in *Latin alicujus adolescentie adnotari*. *Moreri* has translated this Passage of *Thuanus* a little better than *Teissier*; for he does not send *Caninius* into *Hungary*, but is content with sending him to *Dudithius* the Hungarian. However here is a very great Mistake; for to affirm with *Thuanus*, in *Moreri's* Dictionary, that *Caninius*, after becoming Tutor to *Dudithius* the Hungarian, taught at *Paris*, is to suppose, that he was Tutor to this young Hungarian before he was Professor at *Paris*; whereas he should have said, that this young Hungarian coming to *Paris*, and there meeting with that excellent Master *Caninius*, studied under him.

[D] — received into the Family of *William Duprat*, Bishop of *Clermont*.] The Words of *Thuanus* are not particular enough; therefore I think it proper to observe, that *Caninius*, in his Dedication of a Book to this *William Duprat*, in 1553 (g), informs us, that he was then at *Paris*, in the *Italian* College. He says, that, returning from *Spain* into *France* with a Monk, whose Name was *Simon Guichard*, they both stopped in the Diocese of *Clermont*, and that he received a great many Favours from the Bishop, to whom he dedicates that Work; that, going to *Paris*, he fell sick by the way, and had almost spent all his Money; that at last he came to *Paris*, where he knew no body, but that the Recommendatory Letters from that Prelate procured him Lodgings and other Necessaries. We find by this, that he was under the liberal Protection of this Prelate before he taught at *Paris*, and we may judge pretty nearly at what time he began to teach there. He dates the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Hellenismus* from the College of *Cambray* in *Paris*, the Twenty ninth of *August*, 1555. I would not say, that *Thuanus* is mistaken; but it is not improbable, that *Caninius* left his public Lectures, to retire to the Bishop of *Clermont*, and there ended his Life.

[E] He died in *Auvergne*.] Others say he died at *Seville* in *Spain*. It is upon this Foot *Don Nicholas Antonio* speaks of him (10); for he has given us a Catalogue of all foreign Authors, who resided a long time in *Spain*, or died there. He quotes *Francis Forerius* the *Jacobin*, who confesses, in the Preface to his Commentaries upon *Isaiab*, that he was *Caninius's* Scholar. *Antonio* knew very little of *Caninius*; he ascribes to him no other Work but, *Disquisitiones in locos aliquot Novi Testamenti obscuriores ex Hebraica & Ethiopica linguarum Originibus*, which, says he, was printed at *Antwerp* with the *Quinquagena* of *Antonius Nebrissenfis*.

[F] *Scaliger* — allows him to be a very learned young Man.] This Expression at first seems very surprising, when we consider that *Scaliger* uses it a long time after *Caninius's* Death, and that *Thuanus*

does not speak of him as of one who died young: For he makes him travel a long time through *Italy* and *Spain*, teaching the Oriental Languages (11), before his settling at *Paris*. But it appears from another Passage in the *Scaligerana*, that, according to *Scaliger*, he died when he was but Thirty six Years old (12). I do not very much rely on this, because *Scaliger* said just before, that *Clenard* died at the Age of Thirty two, which is utterly false (13). I have not yet been able to find how long *Caninius* lived: it is not easy to clear his History. *Thuanus*, who found the Difficulty of it, had recourse to *Scaliger*. *In compiling my History, says he (14), I mention, with great Pleasure, Men, who have been famous for their Learning, under the Year of their Deaths: among these I was very unwilling to omit *Angelus Caninius*, whose Name I think worth recording; but I meet with no body who can give me any Account of him. In the first place, his Country seems uncertain. He called himself *Anglarenfis*; I cannot tell whether that was from some Place upon the Lake of *Como* (15), or elsewhere. He was still living in *France* in 1553; and had spent his whole Life, residing sometimes in *Spain*, and sometimes in *France*. If you know any thing of him, or of the Year he died in, I beg your Information.

[G] The Learned have given a great Character of *Caninius's* Greek Grammar.] These are the Words of a German Writer: *In Grammatica Græca quicquid vetustissimi Scriptores de Græcæ lingue ratione præcipiunt, atque adeo omnia quæ ad dialectos intelligendas, & Poetas penitus cognoscendos pertinent facili methodo exponuntur (16). — His Greek Grammar explains, in a very easy manner, all the Rules laid down by the ancient Writers concerning the Greek Language, and consequently every Thing necessary to understand the Dialects, and Poetical Licences.

[H] His other Works are not very numerous.] There is a Latin Translation of his of *Simplicius's* Commentary upon *Epicetus*, printed at *Venice* in 1546, in Folio, *Et Institutiones Lingue Syriacæ, Assyriacæ, atque Thalmudicæ, una cum Ethiopicæ atque Arabicæ collatione, quibus addita est ad calcem Novi Testamenti multorum locorum Historica Enarratio, Parisiis apud Carol. Stephanum 1554, in 4to. De locis Scripturæ Hebraicis Commentarius.

Mr *Crenius* has lately given us a new Edition of two Pieces of *Caninius*. *Angeli Caninii, Anglarenfis ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ, Copiosissimi Græcarum Latinarumque vocum Indicis accessione per CAROLUM HAUBOESIIUM locupletatus — Accedunt plurimorum verborum Originum explicatio, Regulæ quedam breves de ratione Syn-taxeos, & loci aliquot Novi Testamenti cum Hebræorum originibus conlati, atque explicati. THOMAS CRENIUS recensuit, emendavit, & notis ac Præfatione, in qua de claris agit ANGELIS, auxit. Lugduni Batavorum, apud Fredericum Haaring c18 1800 in 8vo.

(11) *Is perdoctus diu in Italia, Venetiis, Patavii, Bononiæ, Romæ, atque in Hispania vagus*. *Thuan. lib. xix*, pag. 346.

(12) *Prima Scaligerana*, pag. 47.

(13) According to *Valerius Andreas*, *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 683, he lived to the Age of 46; and, according to *Bullart Acad. des Sciences*, 49.

(14) *Epitr.* *Frang. à Scaliger* pag. 329.

(15) *Rather Angleria, upon the Lake Maggiore.*

(16) *Quæstio de Patriis Illustr.* pag. 296. See Mr *Baillet*, *Jugem. des Savans*, Tom. IV, pag. 182.

(9) The Institutiones Lingue Syriacæ.

(10) *Biblioth. Hispan.* Tom. II, pag. 357.

CAPET (HUGH), King of France, the first of the third Race. Many things might be said upon this Subject; but I shall content myself with observing, that the Poet Dante published a ridiculous Falsehood, in saying that the Father of Hugh Capet was a Butcher [A]. Francis I. is said to have fallen into a violent Passion, when he understood that Dante had expressed himself in that manner [B].

[A] The Poet Dante published a ridiculous Falsehood, in saying that the Father of Hugh Capet was a Butcher. The refuting this Man would only be trespassing on the Reader's Time and Patience. It is sufficient to relate the usual Conjecture of Authors, who have mentioned this Matter; which is, that Dante published this Imposture on purpose to revenge himself for the Treatment he had received from Charles de Valois, who was descended from Hugh Capet. Pope Boniface the VIIIth, being solicited by one of the Parties which divided the Commonwealth of Florence, prevailed with Charles de Valois, Brother to Philip the Fair of France, to go and compose the Confusions of that City. The Party, Dante had embraced, was, at that time, the weakest: He, with several others, was banished Florence, and his Estate confiscated. He revenged himself the best way he could, with his Pen, in defaming the Kings of France, who had favoured the contrary Faction, and, among other things, he attacked them on the Subject of their Extraction. He makes Hugh Capet confess that his Father was a Butcher, *figliuol fui d'un Beccaiu di Parigi* (1), and own himself the Root of a Plant which had done much Mischief to Christendom.

(1) In his Purgatory, Canto 20, pag. 282.

I fui radice de la mala pianta,
Che la terra Christiana tutta aduggia,
Si che buon frutto rado se ne schianta (2).

(2) Ibid.

These wicked Stems proceed from me their Root,
Which over Christendom redundant shoot,
And every where produce their deadly Fruit.

A Canon of Paris, called Balthezar Grangier, dedicating his French Translation of Dante's Hell, Paradise, and Purgatory, to Henry the IVth, tells that Prince, that the Word Butcher ought not to be taken in a literal Sense; 'For Dante, who during his Exile resided a long time in Paris, could not be ignorant of our manner of speaking. When a Prince is a little more rigorous than ordinary in executing Justice upon Malefactors, we say he has made *une grande boucherie*. — A great piece of Butchery; and to our Poet calls Hugh the Great, Earl of Paris, Father of the forefaid Hugh Capet, the great Justiciary of his Time upon all Gentlemen, Criminals, and Rebels, the Butcher of Paris, as I prove more fully in the Annotations, and as some of our Chronologers, quoting this Passage, have rightly observed.' This Explication is altogether as ridiculous as Dante's Fiction. Without doubt, he took the Word Butcher literally. I am not certain whether any Lampooner led him the way, or he himself was the first Author of this silly Story; however, it is certain several have propagated it: So true is it that there is no Falsehood, how absurd soever, but will be handed down from Book to Book, and from Age to Age. 'Lie boldly, print all the Extravagances you can think of, may one say to the paltriest News-writer in Europe, and you will find Fools enough to copy from you: And if you are discountenanced at one time, Conjectures will happen, when some will find an Interest in reviving your Credit (3).' Papyrus Maso has a Passage in his Annals, which proves that other Authors were of the same Opinion with Dante. 'Itali quidam Hugonem humili genere natum scribere, seu ignorantia, seu odio. Dantes poeta illum Parisiensis Beccai filium fuisse canit, quæ vox lanium sonat. Is Florentia à Carolo Valefio pulsus Philippum pulchrum & Francos oderat, ut recte in mentem venerit Volaterrano, Dantis opinionem refellere, etsi Ricordanus & Villaneus in Hetruscis Annalibus id quoque à Pluribus literis mandatum affirmant (4). — Some Italian Writers have affirmed, either ignorantly or maliciously, that Hugh was meanly born. Dante the Poet calls him the Son of a Butcher in Paris. But this Author, as Volaterranus rightly observes, in refuting this Opinion of his,

(3) See Citation (68).

(4) Papyr. Maso, Annal. lib. iii.

had been expelled Florence by Charles de Valois, and so was bigbly incensed against Philip the Fair and the French. Although Ricordanus and Villani in their Annals of Tuscany affirm, that the same thing has been published by a great many others. See the following Remark.

[B] Francis the first is said to have fallen into a violent Passion, when he understood Dante had expressed himself in that manner. This Passage in Dante being read and explained to Francis the First of that Name, by Lewis Alleman, an Italian, he was so provoked at the Imposture, that he commanded the Book to be taken away, and was even thinking of prohibiting the reading it throughout his Dominions. Pasquier, after having said this, advances a Conjecture as insignificant as that before recited. 'To excuse this Author, says he (5), I would say, that, by the Word Butcher, he would be understood, that Capet's Father was a very valiant Soldier. — In the same manner I have read that Oliver de Clisson was called Butcher, by the French, because he gave no Quarter to any of the English, but put every Man of them to the Sword.' He adds, that the Protestants called Francis de Lorraine, Duke of Guise, a Butcher. If Pasquier had considered what followed, and preceded, this Passage of Dante, he would never have imagined, that this Poet intended to say Capet was the Son of a great and valiant Soldier; for this could never be thought a Reflexion, as it is plain Dante intended it, on Hugh Capet. Upon some Occasions a simple Narration would be sufficient. If Pasquier had been content to say, that Francis the First was angry at Dante, and that this Poet's whimsical Abuse, though he writ it by the way, as minding something else, served for a Foundation to other Authors, he had been justly commended. He quotes Francis de Villon, 'more conversant in Taverns and tippling Houles than in good Books (6), who has said in some part of his Works,

Si feusse des hoirs de Capet

Qui fut extrait de boucherie.

If I was the great Capet's Heir,
Who had a Butcher for his Sire.

He adds, that Agrippa — upon this fundamental Mistake, has declaimed very impudently against our Capet's Genealogy (7). And yet, how unreasonable soever Pasquier's Conjecture may appear, it has been espoused by Mr Bullart. Stephen Pasquier, said he (8), 'having fixed a juster Sense and more reasonable Explication on this grand Poet's Expression, is of Opinion that he used the Word metaphorically, and that by the Word Butcher he meant that Capet was the Son of a famous Warrior. Mr Bullart says just before, that Francis the First was displeased with Dante to that Degree, that he commanded the Book to be taken away from him, and was thinking to prohibit it in his Kingdom. I know a Person, who affirms, that this is misunderstanding Pasquier's French: For, says he, that Author means by those Words, that Francis the First gave order to have this Passage concerning Hugh Capet struck out of Dante's Book. It is very strange Francis the First should order a Book he did not like to be taken away from him. Why did he not throw it away? He must have been more effeminate than a Sybarite (9), to have charged another Person with the easing him of such a Burthen as this: he might as well have commanded one to beat a Flie from his Face which had stung him, and to put the Meat into his Mouth at his Meals, to save the Trouble of using his own Hands. But, with Submission to this Gentleman, the Bluntness, Bravery, and martial Spirit of That Prince, might very well move him to command another to remove out of his Sight a Book which offended him. Nor was it himself who held the Book, but, in all probability,

(5) Pasquier, Recherches, lib. vi, cap. i.

(6) Id. ibid. lib. iv, cap. i.

(7) In his Book De Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. de Nobilitate.

(8) Academie des Sciences, Tom. II, p. 307.

(9) See in Athenæus, lib. xii, pag. 530, a wonderful Example of Lascivious in a certain Sybarite.

an Italian Master, who was reading it. The Truth of the matter is, that he had ordered this Poet to be read to him by an ingenious Italian Refugee (10). This clears up the whole Difficulty.

(10) Aloisio Alamanni. I have mentioned him in the Article MACHIAVELL, in Remark [C].

CAPYCIUS (SCIPIO), in Italian *Capece*, descended from an ancient Family in Naples (a), rendered himself famous in the XVIth Century by his Writings [A]. He was very much esteemed by *Isabella Villamarini*, Princess of Salerno, on whom he bestowed great Commendations [B]: The chief of his Poems is that wherein he philosophizes on the Principles of Nature; it was printed at Venice, with another Poem of the same Author, upon St John Baptist, by *Paulus Manutius*, in the Year 1546 (b). *Gyraldus* has been very much blamed for mentioning *Capycius* as an indifferent Poet [C].

(b) See the Remark [B].

(a) Lorenzo Crasso, *Elog.* Tom. II, pag. 176.

(1) Nella quarta finalmente deplorata le miserie sue, e del suo secolo. *Lorenzo Crasso, Elog.* Tom. II, pag. 178.

(2) Taken from *Lorenzo Crasso, ibid.*

[A] He rendered himself famous by his Writings. They chiefly consisted of Poetry. The following was in Prose: *Magistratum regni Neapolitani cum Romanorum Magistratibus comparatio*. Of four Elogies he published, the first was addressed to Cardinal *Antony Perrenot*, Vice-Roy of Naples; the second to Cardinal *Sacripante*; the third to *John Baptista Castaldi*, Marquis of *Cassano*; the fourth had for its Subject the Misfortunes of the Author, and those of the Age he lived in (1). Some of his Epigrams are of his own Invention; others are Imitations of the *Antologia*. His Poem upon the Life of *JESUS CHRIST* was never printed, which was owing to the Negligence of a Friend, who had the Manuscript after the Author's Death, and did not care to publish it (2). You will find in the following Remark what relates to his two best Poems.

[B] He was very much esteemed by *Isabella Villamarini*, --- on whom he bestowed great Commendations. *Paulus Manutius* is my Author for this, who says, that this Lady, having preferred the Study of Letters to all other Pursuits, surpassed her Sex as much in Learning as she did in Birth and Beauty, and that, for this Reason, several Poets, and *Capycius* in particular, had made choice of her for the principal Subject of their Elogies. And it is upon this Account *Manutius* believed, that, in dedicating *Capycius's* Poems to her, he should make her a very acceptable Present, and thereby procure her Esteem. His Latin is fine enough to deserve a Quotation in this Place. 'Effecisti studio tu quidem, sed ingenio magis, ut cum esset omnium nobilissima, omniumque pulcherrima (quorum alterum majorem tuorum, maximeque Viri tui, Principis omni laude cumulat, magnis rebus testata virtus, alterum benignissima tibi natura dedit) eadem & sis, & habeas omium doctissima. Hinc illa ad te commendam singularis omnium propensio, hinc multorum Poetarum, quibus gravissima Regum bella magni operis argumentum suppeditare poterant, ad te canendum traducta ingenia: Hinc *Capycius* ille tuus, tuarum laudum laudatissimus Praeco, qui te admiratur unam, qui observat, qui cum de te multa, & vera praedicavit, ita concludit, unam habere quae notabilia sint omnia. --- Hoc opus, & quia scriptum est a tui studiosissimo, & quia veribus te dignis, id est, luculentissimis, non hercle dubito, quin a me missum avidè accipias, sic inquam, ut de isto me munere ames plurimum' (3). --- Such are the Effects of your Studies, or rather of your Genius, that you, who are the most noble, and most beautiful (the first of which is owing to the great Virtue and heroic Achievements of your Ancestors, and particularly of the Prince your Consort, who has received the highest commendations, the last is the gift of indulgent Nature) are also become the most learned of your Sex. Hence it is that you are so particularly adored by all the World; Hence it is that so many Poets neglected the great Theme of the Wars of Kings, and chose to sing your Praises: Hence it is that your *Capycius*, the celebrated Publisher of your Excellencies, who admires and adores you only, and who, after having truly said a great many fine Things of you, thus concludes, that in you only appears every valuable Qualification. --- I make no doubt but my presenting this Work to you, whose Author was the greatest Admirer of you, and whose Verses are very worthy of you, will be extremely agreeable, and intitle me to your Esteem. This we find at the Head of the Poem de Principiis Rerum, printed at Venice in 1546, with another Poem under the Title *De Vate maximo libri tres* (4), and which had been

printed before; for *Gesner* mentions it in a Book he published in 1545. *Scipionis Cypicii Viri doctissimi de Vate maximo libri tres erudito carmine conscripti, quod cum veterum etiam Majestate conferri queat, ut habet inscriptio. Joan. Oporinus excudit nuper* (5). *Basilæ cum aliis quibusdam Christianis Poematibus* (6). *Nicodemo* therefore is mistaken, when he says in regard to these two Poems, that this Edition of *Manutius* was the first (7); which holds true only in that *De Rerum Principiis*. He finds fault with Father *Oldoini*, for saying that Cardinal *Pompey Colonna* (8) had highly commended *Isabella Filomarini*, the Prince of Salerno's Wife. His Reason is, because that Prince's Wife was called *Isabella Villamarini*. That is the Name *Manutius* has given her. *Niphus* has also mentioned her under the same Name, upon an Occasion well worth the Reader's Knowledge. He says this Lady loved her Husband so tenderly, that she had a mind to accompany him to the Army, but could not obtain his Permission. Finding her self therefore separated from her dear Lord, she spent her Days in Sorrow, but her Nights in Pleasure; for her Dreams represented him as present to her, for which Reason she wished the Sun might never rise again. This will read better in the Original. 'Id quod in *Isabella Villamarina* Salerni Principe, quæ flos redolentissimus nostri ævi est puellarum, corporisque & animi formæ singulare exemplum, est videre. Hæc cum Ferrandum Sanseverinum conjugem flagrantissimè deperiret, unaque in militiam proficisci arderet, quia ab eo ob pericula & labores fuit denegatum, nullam testatur Heroïnæ religiosissimæ, aut raram esse noctem, qua cum dulcissimo viro in somnis non conjunctissimè vivat, fabuletur ac delictetur, ut omnibus votis exoptaret perpetuas esse noctes, (cum illum totos dies suspiret) & in Epimenidem transformari, quæ de Alceste & Laodamia fabulata est ventus (9). The Book, from whence this Passage is taken, was finished November the third, 1529. This, without doubt, was the Lady so much praised by Cardinal *Colonna*, and therefore Father *Oldoini* was only mistaken in that he took *Filomarini* and *Villamarini* to be at the bottom the same thing. *Jerom Ruscelli*, who has praised this Princess very much, calls her *Isabella Villamarina*. Here is a part of his Elogy. She possesses, says he, so many more than humane Beauties both of Body and Mind, that, if Nature were to exert her utmost Efforts (10), she might perhaps form a Woman who might equal her, in the whole, or in some part, but she could not make one who would surpass her in the least. *Sanseverino* also calls her *Isabella Villamarina* (11).

As to the rest, *Capycius* makes the Air the Principle of all Things, and refutes the Atomists, and those who admit four Elements, as also those who hold, with *Thales*, that all Bodies proceed from Water, or with *Heraclitus*, that they proceed from Fire (12).

[C] *Gyraldus* has been very much blamed for mentioning him as an indifferent Poet. He deserves, said he, some Place among the Poets (13). *Nicodemo* thinks this too cold a Commendation (14), to which he opposes what *Bembus* and *Manutius* have wrote in Favour of *Capycius*, though he allows this to be in the other extreme (15). He quotes *Gaddi* who takes *Gyraldus's* Judgment to be too severe (16). See Mr *Baillet* in the third Tome of the *Judgments on the Poets*, numero 1277, and the two Letters (17) before *Donatus's Virgil*, published in 1535.

(5) That is, in 1542.

(6) *Gesner* in Biblioth. fol. 592.

(7) *Nicod. Addiz.* alla Bibl. Napol. pag. 226.

(8) See the Article of this Cardinal, towards the end of the Text.

(9) August. Niphus, de Amore, esp. cii, pag. 426. Edit. Paris, 1645.

(10) Por fare un estremo delle sue forze. *Ruscelli Lettura sopra un Sonetto del Marchese della Terni*, fol. 40.

(11) In his Book of Italian Families, fol. 200, verso.

(12) Lorenzo Crasso, *Elog.* Tom. II, pag. 177.

(13) In aliquo Poetarum numero confendus est. *Gyraldus Dial. 2. de Poetis sui temporis apud Leon. Nicodem.* Add. alla Bibl. Nap. pag. 225.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid. pag. 226.

(16) *Gaddi de Scriptor. non Eclec.* Tom. I, pag. 14.

(17) You will find them in Nicodemo, Add. alla Bibl. Nap. pag. 127, 128.

(3) *Paulus Manutius* Epist. Dedicat. Poematibus *Cypicii* de Rerum Principiis ad *Isabellam Villamarinam* Salernitanam Principis conjugem. This Epistle of *Manutius* has been printed apart, with his other Prefaces, at Paris, 1579, and elsewhere.

(4) Vid. *Nicodemo* Addiz. alla Biblioth. Napolitana, pag. 226.

(a) Thuan. lib. lii, pag. 1083.
 (b) Id. ibid.
 (c) Ibid.
 (d) Sane ingeniosi sunt Itali & Hispani, qui hæc trahunt, dum nobis profundam suam calliditatem & præposteram prudentiam in hoc facto asserere conantur; quod tamen non fieri auctant, quam ex occasione natum, neque ante præmeditatum tam artificiosè excusant, Id. ibid.
 (e) Teissier, Addit. aux Elog. Tom. I, p. 179.
 (f) Aubert Miræus, de Scriptor. fec. 16, pag. 99.
 (g) Baillet, Jugement on the Poets, Tom. II, p. 1300, p. 277.
 (h) Teissier, Addit. aux Elog. Tom. I, p. 179.
 (i) Borrichius, Dissert. de Poëtis, pag. 96.

CAPILUPUS (CAMILLUS), a Native of Mantua, lived in the XVth Century. He composed a Book intituled *The Stratagem* (a), wherein he relates, not only what happened at Paris during St Bartholomew's Massacre, but also the artificial Preparations, which preceded that horrible Execution, and which, by a long Train of Intrigues, ensnared the Huguenots. This Work, published at Rome, in the Year 1572 (b), was soon after translated into French. It contains a great many Falsities (c). The Court of France ought not to have been pleased with it, because they endeavoured to make it believed that this Massacre was not premeditated (d). Capilupus is reckoned among the Latin Poets. He had two Brothers, one of which, named Hippolytus, was Bishop of Fano (e); the other, named Lelius, signalized himself by the Centos of Virgil. You will find this in Thuanus, quoted by Moreri. I shall also say something of this in the Remark [A]. Observe that Mr Moreri has very wrongly quoted the Twenty second Book of Thuanus, and Miræus, in regard to Camillus Capilupus.

[A] I shall say something of LELIUS CAPILUPUS in the Remark.] The Manner of his applying Virgil's Expressions, to represent things That Poet never dreamt of, can never be sufficiently admired. Thuanus (1), Possévin (2), Ghilini (3), and others, have happily observed his Address. He died at Mantua (4), January the third, 1560, aged sixty two Years and fifteen Days (5). The Cento he composed against the Monks is inimitable; it is to be met with at the end of Nægeorgus's *Regnum Papisticum*. It was omitted in the Edition of his Centos at Rome, in 1590. They had been prohibited, but were suffered to be printed after a Retrenchment of what they thought inconvenient (6). Julius CAPILUPUS, his Nephew, added to them several Centos of his own: He had a particular Talent this way, which excelled even that of his Uncle, if Possévin may be credited (7), who adds, that Julius Roscius Hortinus, having illustrated Ausonius's Rules by some Examples, added them to this Edition. Miræus (8), and Moreri after him, pretend that this Edition was procured by Roscius; but Possévin induces us to believe the contrary. I cannot tell whether Lelius Capilupus's Cento against the Female Sex be among them; it is a very ingenious Piece, but too satirical: It is inserted in the Collection intituled *Baudii Amores*, and printed at Leyden in 1638. Observe that Camillus, Hippolytus, Lelius, and Julius Capilupus, were not all Brethren, as some affirm (9). Their Latin Poems are to be met with in the *Deliciae Poetarum Italorum*. Mr Teissier says, that Hippolytus Capilupus excelled in Satiric Poetry (10); though others say that He, as well as Julius, and Camillus, excelled in the Elegiac. *Alia atque alio carminum genere famam suam propagarunt, floridiores tamen elegiaci* (11). These are Borrichius's Words: But he is chargeable with a considerable Omission; he knew not that Julius Capilupus had signalized himself by his Centos; he mentions only those of Lelius.

(a) And not of St Dominic, as Leunclæus affirms, Pandect. cap. cxxxiii, cited by Guillet, Hist. of Mabomet II, Tom. II, p. 431.
 (b) Labbe de Script. Eccles. Tom. I, pag. 513.
 (c) Guillet, Hist. of Mabomet, Tom. I, p. 288.
 (d) Octob. 3, 1456, 71 Years old. Labbe, de Script. Eccles. Tom. I, p. 519.
 (e) And not of St Dominic, as Leunclæus affirms, Pandect. cap. cxxxiii, cited by Guillet, Hist. of Mabomet II, Tom. II, p. 431.
 (f) Labbe de Script. Eccles. Tom. I, pag. 513.
 (g) Guillet, Hist. of Mabomet, Tom. I, p. 288.
 (h) Octob. 3, 1456, 71 Years old. Labbe, de Script. Eccles. Tom. I, p. 519.

CAPISTRAN (JOHN), a Monk of the Order of St Francis (a), lived in the XVth Century. He was born in the Village of Capistran in Italy, in the Year 1385 (b). He gained a wonderful Reputation by his Zeal, Eloquence, and Manners. He was sent into Bohemia to undertake the Conversion of the Hussites [A], and preached up the Crusade against the Turks, in Germany, Hungary [B], and Poland (c). He so effectually seconded, with his Tongue, the Great Hunniades's Sword, that he had a great share in those Victories the Christians obtained against Mabomet, especially in that famous Battle of Belgrade, in the Year 1456. They were so evidently Partners in the Glory of those great Successes, that they were thought to entertain some sort of Jealousy of each other. For Capistran's Relation of this Victory at Belgrade made no mention of Hunniades; nor did Hunniades's Account say one Word of Capistran. Aeneas Sylvius's Conjecture, or Reflexions hereupon, are very judicious [C]. Capistran died soon after obtaining this Battle (d), and

[A] He was sent into Bohemia, to undertake the Conversion of the Hussites. He is said to have been successful in his Undertaking, and to have required of them, in order to 'justify the Sincerity of their Abjuration, and do penance for their Errors, to take up Arms against Mabomet. It is on this Occasion Chalcondylas', speaking of Capistran and of the Bohemians, affirms, from very bad authority, that these People worshipped the God Apollo, and that Capistran delivered them out of this Idolatry (1).
 [B] He preached up the Crusade against the Turks - in Hungary.] The French Author, I quoted in the preceding Note, observes, that 'Capistran being a Picentine born, his Italian had gained him the Admiration of his own Country, but was of no Service to him in Hungary, where he was not understood, inasmuch that he preached up the Crusade there with very little Success, not being able to lift under the Banner of the Cross above Five hundred Men (2).' For the same Reason, I think he must have been very unfit to preach in Germany, and Poland, and convert the Hussites. See the last Remark.
 [C] Aeneas Sylvius's Conjecture - - is very judicious.] He makes no doubt but that a secret Thirst of Glory obliged them to this Silence; and from thence observes that it is much easier for humane Nature to renounce Riches and Pleasures, than Praise and Honour. Each of them ascribed the Glory to God, and acknowledged him to be the Author of the Victory; but then each appropriated to himself the Glory of being God's Instrument. Ambition and Vanity does not hinder Men from allowing God to have been the Cause of all; they apprehend nothing from such a Rival: It is with other Men they avoid entering into Partnership, and decline all Competition. These are Aeneas Sylvius's Words, who was afterwards Pope under the Name of Pius II. 'Auctores victoriae tres Joannes habiti, legatus Cardinalis, cujus auspicio res gesta est, Huniades, & Capistranus, qui prælio interfuerunt. Verum neque Capistranus Huniades, neque idem Capistrani Huniades mentionem fecere in eis Literis, quas ambo obtenta victoria, sive ad Romanum Pontificem, sive ad amicos scribere; per suum quicumque ministerium Deum dedisse Christianis victoriam affirmavit. Avarissima honoris humana mens, facilius Regnum, & opes, quam gloriam parturit. Potuit Capistranus patrimonium contemnere, voluptates calcare, libidinem subigere, gloriam verò spernere non potuit, &c (3).' He says much the same thing in another Book. 'Huniades & Capistranus huic bello interfuerunt, uterque rem gestam scripsit, neque alterius mentionem fecit, alteruter solidam sibi rei gestæ laudem usurpavit. Ingens dulcedo gloriae, facilius contemnenda dicitur, quam costemnitur. Spreverat Capistranus seculi pompas, fugerat delicias, calcaverat avaritiam, libidinem subegerat; contemnere gloriam non potuit. Qui

and was buried at *Willak*, in *Hungary*. It is reported that there were a great many Miracles wrought at his Tomb, and that he for a time suspended the Miracles wrought by a Lay-Brother (e). He was canonized by Pope *Alexander VIII.* in the Month of *October*, 1690. He had been already beatified by *Gregory XV.* He is the Author of some Books [D]. They relate very surprizing Effects of his Eloquence [E]. His Body, about an Hundred Years after, when the Turks became Masters of *Sirmischo*, was removed into another Monastery; but it was torn to pieces by the Protestants, and thrown into a Well, upon their sacking that Monastery (f).

(e) See the end of Remark [E].

(f) *Isthusfii*, *Hist. Hungar.* lib. x, apud *Spondan.* ad *Ann.* 1456, n. 6.

(4) *Id. Hist. Bohemae*, pag. 238.

(5) *Guillet. Hist. of Mahom. Tom.* I, pag. 330, 331.

(6) *Per suum quispam ministerium Deum delisse Christianis victorian affirmavit. Aeneas Silvius Hist. Europæ, ubi supra.*

(7) *Uterque videtur ea infami nota liberandus, quia neuter agebat alterius historicum, sed quilibet de iis cause per seipsum tractaverat atque persecerat commonebat Pontificem. Th. Raynaudus, Hystob. sect. 2, serie 3, cap. xi, pag. 368.*

(8) *Bellarm. de Script. Ecclæs.*

(9) Compare this with *Id.* xix, 29.

(10) *Ex Theatro Pauli Frecheri*, pag. 89.

* Qui summo Pontifici Bellum, atque exitum Belli describens, nulla Huniadis, nulla Cardinalis facta mentione, totum suum esse dixit, quod gestum erat, quamvis Deum in primis, victoriæ confessus fuerit auctorem. Nemo est tam sanctus, qui dulcedine gloriæ non capiatur. Facilius Regna Viri excellentes, quam gloriam contemnant, &c. (4). Mr *Guillet* is to be praised for the Pains he has been at to excuse these two great Men; but we are not obliged to think his Justification effectual. Some, says he (5), have attributed this mutual Silence to a secret Jealousy of each other; which made them say of *Capistran*, that of all worldly Vanities, the desire of Praise was the only one he had not subdued: Though in Justification of these great Men, it may be alledged, that they were both willing to ascribe the Triumph to God alone, without furnishing each other with a Subject for Vanity, so contrary to the Modesty and Humility of a Christian. This is ascribing to them a very preposterous Charity: Each owned himself to be God's Instrument (6); and consequently made no Scruple of furnishing himself with a Subject for Vanity; or rather chose to expose himself to a Crime than his Friend, or lastly distrustful his Friend's Modesty, but not his own: and that very thing would be an Act of Vanity. They who would apologize for these two great Men's reciprocal Silence, by saying one was not the other's Historiographer, and that each was content to relate what he himself had executed (7), make use of a very weak Argument. If the Marshals de *Brezé* and *Chatillon* had sent *Lewis* the XIIIth an Account of the Battle of *Avon*, in which neither had made the least mention of the other, might not one safely affirm Jealousy was the Cause of this Silence?

[D] He is Author of some Books. Of a *Speculum Clericorum*; of a *Treatise de Potestate Papæ & Concilii*; of a Book de *Pænis Inferni & Purgatorii*; of another against the *Hussites*, and in particular against *John de Roquesane*, their Bishop (8), &c.

[E] They relate surprizing Effects of his Eloquence. He went to *Nuremberg*, in 1452, and was received in great Pomp by the whole Clergy. He had a Pulpit erected in the middle of an open Place, where he preached against Vice, for some Days, with so much Eloquence, that he obliged the Inhabitants to throw their Cards and Dice on a Heap, and set fire to them (9), and afterwards exhorted them to the War against the *Turks*. The Year following he went to *Breslau* in *Silesia*, where he afterwards inveighed vehemently against all Instruments for Gaming, and ordered them to be brought to him and burnt. The Power of his Eloquence was not confined to these remarkable Executions upon inanimate Subjects; the Jews felt the Effects of it in a terrible manner, of whom he caused a great number to be burnt in *Silesia*, under pretence that they had been guilty of Irreverence towards the consecrated Bread. He used to preach two Hours in *Latin*; after which, another was two Hours explaining this *Latin* Sermon in the vulgar Tongue (10).

You will find some Particulars in the following *Latin* Passage: 'Johannes Capistranus in Germaniam descendit prædicans magno zelo verbum Dei, in Austria, Bavaria, Suevia, Thuringia, & Saxonia. Nam in Civitate Magdeburgensi, in novo foro, maxima ad illum confluentem multitudine, cum esset Germanicæ Linguae non ignarus, Latino sermone prædicabat Latinis in tertiam horam, populo solis gestibus ejus, quos ante non viderat, satis vehementer permotus. Aderat ex Germanis sui ordinis Fratribus vir æque doctus, qui post illum non minore tempore dicens interpretabatur populo, quæ ille dixisset: moti sunt omnes, & usque adeo permoti, ut feminæ abusum in ornatu, viri ludos, quibus tempora perdunt, Sc-

corum alearumque, in unum contulerint, & in eodem loco igne subito concremarent. Fertur idem aliquot sanitatis signa fecisse, ut vulgo est creditum. Sed est in ea re sæpe loquacior fama. Hoc constat virum fuisse incredibilis in vita & moribus austeritatis & sanctitatis. Sed est spiritus ille torrens, quo tum commotus populus illa quæ diximus fecit, ut non diu perseveraret. Facile redit res in abusum, ut est hodie cernere per omnes terras & urbes (11). — John Capistran went into Germany, preaching the Word of GOD with great Zeal in Austria, Bavaria, Schwaben, Düringen, and Saxony. For in the City of Magdeburg, a great Multitude resorting to him in the new Market-place; although he was not ignorant of the German Language, he preached to the learned Part of his Audience in Latin for above two Hours, the People in the mean time being extremely moved at the sole sight of his Gestures, which were intirely new to them. There was present a German of the same Order and Fraternity, and equally learned, who, speaking after him, in the same length of time interpreted to the People what he had been saying. So great an Impression was made upon all, that the Women brought their superfluous Ornaments, and the Men their gaming Tables and Dice, which wasted so much of their Time, and piled them up together in the same place and burnt them. He is also reported to have performed some miraculous Cures, which are commonly credited. But in these, Fame often speaks too largely. It is certain he was a Man of incredible Sanctity and Austerity in his Life and Manners. But that Spirit, which then moved the People to do all these Things, like a Torrent was but of short Continuance. Things of this Nature easily return to their former Abuse, as may every Day be seen in all Cities and Countries. You will observe, I. That, according to this Author's Account, it was not at *Nuremberg* but at *Magdeburg*, that *Capistran's* Eloquence made the People reform. II. That this Reformation did not last long. III. That common Report is not much to be trusted in respect to *Capistran's* Miracles. IV. That as to the Austerity of his Life, there is no room to doubt, that being unquestionable. He had no occasion to fear those jests which are applicable to fat and overgrown Pastors, who preach up Fasting and Mortification; for he was a little Man, so lean and meagre that he was nothing but Skin and Bones. *Hertmannus Scheydel*, who had seen him, says thus of him (12): 'Capistranum pusillum corpore Nurembergæ vidi, ætate senecta, annos quinque & sexaginta natum, siccum, aridum, exhaustum, sola cute nervisque & ossibus compactum: lætum tamen & in laborem fortem sine intermissione singulis diebus prædicantem, altas ac profundas materias absolventem.'

I must not forget to tell you, that his Prayers were as efficacious as his Sermons. These were so prevalent as to interrupt the Miracles which were done at the Tomb of one *Thomas* of *Florence* (13), who had been a Lay-brother in a Monastery of *Franciscans*. There was reason to fear, that, whilst they were endeavouring to get *St. Bernardin* canonized, the Miracles of this Lay-brother might retard the Affair. For this reason *Capistran* addressed a very fervent Prayer to him, to obtain that Interruption. He was heard: *Thomas* of *Florence*, that he might not divert the Design, or give occasion to any Accidents or Obstacles, suspended his miraculous Virtue, and did not renew it till after the Canonization of *St. Bernardin*. *Spondanus* relates this Matter thus: 'Memoria dignum est, says he (14), quod Chronicon refert Minorum, cum eo tempore quo de Canonizatione Bernardi ageretur, Reate defunctus quidam Thomas Florentinus ejusdem ordinis Laicus, miracu-

(11) *Alb. Krantz Saxoniæ lib. xi, cap. xxxv, pag. 841.*

(12) In sexta mundi ætate apud *Sedulium* Commentar. in *Vitam Sancti* *Francisci*, p. 260.

(13) You may observe, on this Head, that there have been Saints who have ceased doing their Miracles any longer, after being forbidden. See *Mr. Baisnæ's History of the Church*, Tom. II, pag. 1283.

(14) *Spondanus*, ad *Ann.* 1444, n. 22, pag. 911. * *Chron. Min.* lib. ii, Par. III, cap. xxviii.

'lis etiam fulgeret, ne inde aliqua ratione Bernardini negotium retardaretur, Johannem de Capistrano infignem alium ejusdem ordinis patrem ante Thomæ sepulchrum prostratum, orasse ut tandiu à miraculis edendis abstineret, quoad Bernardini Canonizatio perfecta esset: Thomamque cessasse, atque eâ factâ rursus continuasse.' This is not the only Proof that can be produced of the Respect which the Saints have for one another: We may venture to say, that St Germain had a Complaisance for St Martin, which has all the Air of human Politeness. 'St Martin's Relics, being carried all over France, were brought to Auxerre, and deposited in the Church of St Germain, where they wrought a great many Miracles. The Religious of Auxerre, looking on St Germain to be as great a Saint as St Martin, demanded one half of the Offerings, which were very confide-

rable: but St Martin's Priests pretended, that he alone performing all the Miracles which they saw, all the Alms belonged to him alone. To justify the Truth of what they had advanced, they desired that a sick Body might be placed between the Shrines of St Martin and St Germain, and then they should see which of the two did the Miracle. They made tryal on a Leper, who was healed on that side which was next to St Martin, but not on that next to St Germain; after which the side, which still remained unaffected, being turned next to St Martin, was also healed. This was not, says Cardinal Baronius, because St Germain was not as great a Saint as St Martin, or could not work as many Miracles; but, because St Martin had done him the Favour of a Visit, he suspended the Power he had with GOD, in order the better to receive his Guest (15).'

(15) Bourfaut, Lettres Nouvelles, pag. 397, 398. Edit. of Holl. 1698.

CAPISUCCHI, a Family in Rome, which has produced, within these latter Centuries, several Persons of Worth, as will be seen in the following Articles, and as appears more fully demonstrated in the History of this Family, published by Vincent Armannus; and in the Genealogy of it, composed by Ugbeili. See also Father Tarquin Gallucci, in his first Book de Bello Belgico.

CAPISUCCHI (BLASIUS), Marquis of Monterio, General of the Pope's Forces at Avignon, towards the end of the XVIth Century, rendered himself famous by his Courage and Knowledge in the Art of War. He performed a very remarkable Action, during the Siege of Poitiers, in 1569 [A]. Pope Pius V has expressly mentioned it in a Bull (a). Others speak of it a little too rhetorically [B]. This Roman Gentleman then served in a Company of Arquebusers, under Paul Sforza, Brother to the Marquis de Santa-Fiore (b). After that he served in the Low-Countries, under the Duke of Parma (c), who sent him to the Relief of Cologne, in 1584, during the War with Gebhard Truchses, an Elector, who was a Protestant, and married. Capisucchi made a great Noise in that Country [C]. He was afterwards Lieutenant-General of the Duke of Florence's Forces, and commanded those of the Pope at Avignon, and in the Venaisin County (d). There is preserved in

(a) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. II, lib. v.

(b) Davila, lib. v.

(c) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. II, lib. v. ad Ann. 1584.

(d) Prosper Mandosius, Bibl. Romana, pag. 226.

(1) Davila, lib. v.

[A] He performed a very remarkable Action during the Siege of Poitiers, in 1569. The Protestants were besieging Poitiers, and had already thrown a Bridge over the River in order to an Assault. Capisucchi, accompanied by two other expert Swimmers, threw himself into the River, and getting under the Bridge, cut in several places the Ties which joined the Pieces of it together (1). By this means the Bridge was immediately carried away with the Stream, to the great Advantage of the Besieged.

[B] Others speak of it a little too rhetorically. This Action is represented as much more glorious by Strada than by Davila. The last tells us, that, whilst Capisucchi and his Companions swam under the Bridge, in the Night-time, in order to disjoint it, several Alarms were given to the Enemy by a Sally under the Command of Ferraques, and a great Fire of the Artillery; by which means the Besiegers were so taken up, as not to observe the Ruin of their Bridge. They, who supplied Father Strada with his Memoirs, thought there was nothing extraordinary in such an Action as this: they esteemed it more proper to expose Capisucchi to a terrible Shower of Musket-shot, and to place him above Horatius Cocles, one of the three Heroes of ancient Rome, in the War with Porfenna. Let us hear this eloquent Historian: 'Ob iteratas Colonienfium ac Septemviri literas, addiderat Blasium Capisuccum, quem paulo ante sclopetariorum equitum, mox & lanceariorum turmae praefecerat, commendatum à famâ praeclari facinoris, quo in Pictaviensi obfidione, quum Hugoneti ad invadendam urbem fluminis pontem injecissent, ipse aquis immerfus crebra inter hostium missilia grandi cultro pontem intercidit, atque aditum subeuntibus interrupit. Veteris illius Romani patriâ non indignus, nisi quod ille post sectum aliorum opera pontem tum fluminis periculum subiit urbis suae ab hostibus jam securus; hic à discrimine in aquis exorsus suis pontem manibus perfregit, hostibus à patria submotis aliena, meritis ut facti memoriam Romanus Pontifex sanctioribus literis inferuerit (2).'

(a) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. II, lib. v. pag. 305.

of Cologne, and of the Elector, he sent them Blasius Capisucchi, to whom he had a little before given the Command of a Troop of Horse-Musketeers, and since also of another of Pikemen, and who was famed for his heroic Exploit at the Siege of Poitiers, when he threw himself into the River, and, amidst the repeated Volleys of the Enemy, cut away the Bridge the Huguenots had laid over the River in order to assault the Town, and interrupted the Passage of those who were going over it. An Action which will make him worthy to be compared with his Countryman, that famous old Roman, with only this Difference, that Cocles did not plunge himself into the Waves, till the Bridge had been broke down behind him by others, and his own City secured from the Enemy; but Capisucchi braved the Danger of the Stream from the first, and broke away the Bridge with his own Hand, and all this to save a Place belonging to a foreign Nation; an Action which has had the Honour to be recorded in the Pope's Bulls. He quotes, in the Margin, a Bull of Pius V, dated May 10, 1567. He is mistaken in the Year, since the Siege did not happen till two Years after: But this is not his greatest Fault. He pretends the Bridge was broken in spite of the Assaults Fire, whilst they were upon it in order to throw themselves into the Town. This favours more of the Orator than of the Historian, since Davila affirms the contrary.

[C] The Duke of Parma sent him to the Relief of Cologne, ----- he made a great Noise in that Country. Blasius Capisucchi mandavit ut cum sua lanceariorum turma ----- per Agrippinensem Provinciam ac praecipue per Bonnenfem agrum infestis signis excurreret, ----- quod ille praevia sui famâ quae multa per eos Rheni tractus, strenue ac feliciter peregit, &c (3). ----- He commanded Blasius Capisucchi to commit Hostilities with his Troop of Pikemen through the Territories of Cologne, and especially through those of Bon, ----- which he bravely and successfully performed by the great Fame he had already acquired in that Country.'

(3) Ibid. pag. 321.

[D] He

in the Archives of the *Vatican*, a Volume of his Letters, written to Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, Nephew to *Clement VIII*. He had a Brother named *Camillus* [D].

[D] He had a Brother named *Camillus*.] This *Camillus CAPISUCCHI*, Marquis of *Puy-Catin*, was a famous Soldier in the XVIth Century. He gave a great many Proofs of his Valour in the Battle of *Lepanto*, which occasioned *John of Austria* to give him the Command of Four hundred Gentlemen on board his own Ship, in his Expedition to *Tunis*, two Years after (4). He signalized himself often in the Low-Country Wars, where the Duke of *Parma* made him Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, in 1584 (5). After several Campaigns under so great a Master, he was thought fit to command the Pope's Troops in *Hungary*, which he discharged with a great deal of Reputation. He died there in the beginning of *Novem-*

ber, 1597, of a Sickness contracted by the great Fatigue he went through, to prevent the fatal Consequences apprehended from the breaking a Bridge built over the *Danube*. He was then in his sixtieth Year. He was a great Master in the Mathematics, and in Fortification, and writ a Book *De Officio Præfetti Castrorum*, which remains in the Closet of his Heirs. Several of his Letters, written to Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, *Clement the VIIIth's* Nephew, are deposited in the Archives of the *Vatican*. His Tomb and Epitaph are to be seen in the Church of the Holy Cross, at *Vienna* (6). His Exploits in *France*, under the Duke of *Parma*, are particularly described by *William Dondini*, the Jesuit, in the History of that Duke's Expeditions in order to succour the *League*.

(4) Ib. ad Ann. 1584.

(5) Id. Strada passim.

(6) See Prospero Mandosio's Bibl. Romana.

CAPISUCCHI (JOHN ANTONY), Cardinal by the Title of *St Pancrace*, afterwards of the Holy Cross of *Jerusalem*, and last of all of *St Clement*; raised himself by degrees to the Purple. He was Canon of the *Vatican*, and afterwards Auditor of the *Rota*, under Pope *Paul III*. He was made Cardinal and Bishop of *Lando* by *Paul IV*, who likewise placed him on the Bench of the Inquisition. He was made Prefect of the Signature of Grace under *Pius V*, and Governor of *Gualdo*, with the Character of Apostolical Legat. He died the Twenty ninth of *January*, 1569, in his Fifty fourth Year. He published some Constitutions for his Diocese, and a Synod (a).

(a) Ex Bibl. Rom. Prosperi Mandosii.

CAPISUCCHI (PAUL), rendered himself famous in the XVIth Century, by Employments and Negotiations. He was Canon of the *Vatican*, Referendary of both the Signatures, Auditor of the *Rota*, Bishop of *Neocastro*, Vicar-General to *Clement VII*, and *Paul III*, Prefect of the Signature of Grace, and Vice-Legat of *Umbria*. He composed the Disturbances which were raised in *Perugia*, and brought that City again under Obedience to the Pope. He was no less successful at *Avignon*, under the Pontificat of *Paul III*; for, by his Prudence and Authority, he dispersed the Faction which divided that State, and re-established universal Peace and Loyalty. He was made choice of by *Clement VII*, to examine into, and report, that nice Affair of *Henry VIII's* Divorce. He was then Dean of the *Rota* (a), and it appears by the Volume of his Decisions, that he was no Friend to the King of *England's* Design; for in two of his Decisions he makes it appear, that this Prince had incurred the Censures in divorcing *Katherine of Arragon*, and marrying another Woman in spite of the Prohibitions of the Holy See, and that Queen *Katherine* ought to be restored to her former Dignity. He published several very useful Constitutions relating to the Troubles of *Perugia* and *Avignon*, the Government wherein he was Vice-Legat, and the Clergy of his Diocese. He died at *Rome* in 1539, aged sixty Years, and was interred in the Vault belonging to his Family, by *John Antony Capisucchi*, his Nephew, Cardinal of *St Pancrace*, a Title already mentioned (b).

(a) Palavic. I. flor. del Concil. lib. ii, cap. xvii.

(b) Ex Bibl. Rom. Prosperi Mandosii.

CAPISUCCHI (RAIMOND), raised to the Cardinalship by *Innocent XI*, the first of *September*, 1681, was Son of *Paul Capisucchi*, Marquis of *Puy-Catin*. He entered into the Order of the *Dominicans* at fourteen Years of Age. He taught Philosophy publicly at *Rome*. *Innocent X* made him Secretary to the Congregation of the *Index*, and afterwards made him Member of that for the Examination of Bishops. He made him Master of the Sacred Palace in 1654 (a). We have several of *Raimond Capisucchi's* Works [A].

The Office of Master of the Sacred Palace was taken from him by *Alexander VII*, as I have observed elsewhere (b), and it was thought this Disgrace would have drawn on other more troublesome Consequences; but this Storm blew over: The Pope was convinced of his Innocence (c), and offered him a Bishopric; but finding him resolved to prefer the private Life of a Monk to that of a Bishop, he gave him the second Degree of Honour and Authority among the *Dominicans*.

(a) Taken from Prosperi. Mandosius, Bibl. Rom. Cent. v, pag. 259, 300.

(b) See above, Remark [C], of the Article BARON (VINCENT).

(c) See Father Baron, Apologet. Tom. II, lib. v, pag. 343, & seq.

[A] We have several of *Raimond Capisucchi's* Works. These are the Titles: *Controversiæ Theologicæ, Scholasticæ, Morales, Dogmaticæ, Scripturales, ad mentem Divi Thomæ Aquinatis resolutæ*; of which there is a second Edition revised and augmented by the Author. *Appendices ad controversias supradictas. Vita beati Johannis Chisii. Censura, seu Votum ad Librum de cultu, & Veneratione Sanctorum veteris Testamenti. Discursus de gradu virtutum in Sanctis canonizandis requisitis.*

Mandosius's Bibliotheca Romana, from whence this is taken, gives us a Catalogue of several Pieces of this Author which were ready for the Press. One of them is intitled, *De Contritione & Attritione*; another, *De Opinione Probabili*. It has been observed, that Father *Capisucchi* approved the Bishop of *Condom's* Exposition, though it contained several Opinions contrary to his own. See the *Examen des Methodes proposees par Messieurs de l'Assemblée du Clergé de France en l'année 1682* (1).

(1) Mr *Balsage*, who was then Minister of *Rome*, and since that at *Rotterdam*, from the Year 1685, is Author of this excellent Piece: It was printed at *Rotterdam*, in 1684, by *Henry de Graef*, tho' the Title Page says at *Cologne*, by *Peter Marteau*. What relates to *Capisucchi*, is in pag. 313, 315.

- (a) Strabo, lib. xii, init.
- (b) Id. ibid. pag. 368.
- (c) Id. ibid. pag. 367, 368.
- (d) Lloyd quotes several Authors for this. See also Becharr's *Phalleg. lib. iii, cap. xi.*
- (e) Theophrastus vulgo parere (Mules) in Cappadocia tradit, sed esse id animal ibi sui generis. — Theophrastus says, that the she Mules in Cappadocia usually bring forth young, but that they are there Animals of a distinct Species. Plin. lib. viii. cap. xlv.
- (f) Boet. Phalleg. lib. iii, cap. xi.
- (g) Theophrastus vulgo parere (Mules) in Cappadocia tradit, sed esse id animal ibi sui generis. — Theophrastus says, that the she Mules in Cappadocia usually bring forth young, but that they are there Animals of a distinct Species. Plin. lib. viii. cap. xlv.
- (h) Boet. Phalleg. lib. iii, cap. xi.
- (i) Justin. lib. xxxvii, cap. vii, pag. 560.
- (j) Ibid. lib. xii, cap. vi.
- (k) See Diodorus Sicul. lib. xviii, cap. xxii, and Grævius's Justin. Varior. pag. 309.
- (l) In Remark [1].
- (m) Cicero in Orat. post reditum in Senat. cap. vi.
- (n) Perseus, Sat. vi. ver. 75.
- (o) Horat. Epist. vi. lib. i. ver. 39.
- (p) Dacier, upon this Passage in Horace, Tom. viii. pag. 327.
- (q) Lib. iii, Plautina II, pag. 435.

CAPPADOCIA, a Country in Asia, bounded by Cilicia, Armenia, Colchis, the Euxine Sea, Paphlagonia, Galatia, &c. (a), was divided successively in different manners. Ariarathes, who was the first King of it [A], united the Cataonians with the Cappadocians. The Persians divided this Kingdom into two Satrapies. The Macedonians continued this Division [B], and, partly by Force, partly by Consent, permitted them to be converted into two Kingdoms, the one called simply Cappadocia, or Cappadocia the Great, the other Pontus, or the Pontic Cappadocia (b). Cappadocia the Great was divided into ten Provinces, and so it continued in Strabo's Time, and under the Reign of Archelaus, after whose Death it was reduced to a Roman Province (c). This Country abounded in Horses, Asses, and Mules (d); and it is said also, that the she Mules here were not barren (e). From hence were brought the Horses designed peculiarly for the Person of the Roman Emperors, the Consuls themselves being interdicted the use of them (f). It furnished also a great Number of Slaves [C], false Witnesses, and transparent Stones [D]; but

- (1) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 368.
- (2) Diod. Sic. in Eclog. lib. xxxi, pag. 1164.
- (3) Moreri, in the Word Cappadocia.
- (4) Appianus in Mithridat. pag. 117.
- (5) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 368.
- (6) Diod. Sic. lib. xviii, cap. xvi, pag. 920.
- (7) Quint. Curt. lib. iii, cap. iv.
- (8) Id. lib. x, cap. x. See Freinshemius upon this Passage; he proves that it ought to be read Ariarathes, and not Arbates.
- (9) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 117.
- (10) Justin. lib. xxxvii, cap. vii, pag. 560.
- (11) Ibid. lib. xii, cap. vi.
- (12) See Diodorus Sicul. lib. xviii, cap. xxii, and Grævius's Justin. Varior. pag. 309.
- (13) In Remark [1].
- (14) Cicero in Orat. post reditum in Senat. cap. vi.
- (15) Perseus, Sat. vi. ver. 75.
- (16) Horat. Epist. vi. lib. i. ver. 39.
- (17) Dacier, upon this Passage in Horace, Tom. viii. pag. 327.
- (18) Lib. iii, Plautina II, pag. 435.

that Cappadocia was one of those Parts of Asia, which neither Alexander nor his Successors had ever attacked (10). However it be, let us resume the Thread of Diodorus Siculus's Narration.

After Alexander's Death, his Successors would not suffer Cappadocia to be free from the Macedonian yoke. Perdiccas entered it with a great Army, and found Ariarathes disposed to defend himself at the Head of Thirty thousand Foot, and Fifteen thousand Horse. He gave Perdiccas Battle, lost it, was taken Prisoner, and crucified among several others; and Eumenes was constituted Governor of Cappadocia. We must here observe a Slip of Justin: He says, that this Victory of Perdiccas over Ariarathes, was of no advantage to the Conqueror, because the vanquished retired into the Town, put their Wives and Children to the Sword, set Fire to their Houses, and threw themselves into the midst of the Flames (11). He confounds Things. What he relates happened in Pisidia, at the Siege of Isaurus, after the Reduction of Cappadocia, upon the Defeat and Punishment of Ariarathes (12). We shall see below (13), that the Macedonian Government continued but a very little time in this Country.

[C] This Country — furnished — a great number of Slaves:] This appears from these words of Tully; Cappadocem modo abreptum de grege venaliū diceret (14); — You would have thought him a Cappadocian, just purchased out of a String of Slaves; and from this Passage in Persius,

Vende animam lucro, mercare, atque excute solers
Omne latus mundi, ne sit præstantior alter
Cappadoces rigida pingues plauisse catasta (15).

Go Miser, go; for Lucre sell thy Soul;
Truck Wares for Wares, and trudge from Pole to Pole:

That Men may say, when thou art dead and gone,
See what a vast Estate he left his Son!
How large a Family of brawny Knaves,
Well fed, and fat as Cappadocian Slaves.

We may add to this what Horace observes, that the King of Cappadocia, though destitute of Money, was rich in Slaves.

Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum Rex (16).

Mr Dacier observes, that, whilst Lucullus was in Cappadocia, an Ox was sold but — for six Pence, and a Man for Twenty four Pence (17). It is remarkable, that the Slaves of this Country, and of Cilicia and Crete, were esteemed very wicked, and gave occasion for the Proverb, Tria cappa pessima. See Famiarius Strada's *Prologiones* (18).

[D] — and of false Witnesses, and transparent Stones.] The Cappadocians are said from their Infancy to accustom themselves to suffer Torments, and that they tortured one another to harden themselves against those Punishments, to which their false Testimonies might one Day expose them, and to set a greater Price upon their Perjuries, in Proportion to the Hardness they had acquired. This is my Construction of these words of Persius's Scholiast: 'Vel quia Cappadoces dicerentur habere studium naturale ad falsa testimonia proferenda: qui nutriti in

but was very bare of Money [E]: The Bread of this Country was excellent (g), and the Bakers the best in the World (b). The Romans, on granting their Friendship to the Kings of Cappadocia, comprehended also the Inhabitants [F]; I mean, they received into their Alliance, King and People jointly. They did not use the same Method with the Kings of other Nations; for they declared them their Friends, without making any mention of the People (i). This might make it believed that the Cappadocians lived under a Government partly Monarchical, and partly Aristocratical; but I cannot easily come into that Opinion. This is certain, that they could not be without a King [G]. They had a great Number of

Magi,

(10) Schol. Perf. in hæc verba, Sat. vi. ver. 77. Cappadocia rigida pingues plau-tille catalla.

(20) Cicero Orat. pro L. Flacco, circa init.

(21) See Mr de Bréux's Treatise on the Origin of some Proverbs.

in tormentis a pueritia equuleum sibi facere dicuntur, ut in eo se invicem torqueant, & cum in pœna perdurant ad falsa testimonia se bene venundarent (19). These People outdid the very Grecians, though they had carried this Vice to a very great excess, if we may believe Tully, who attributes to them the occasion of this Expression, Lend me your Evidence, and I will return it you. He has so elegantly expressed the wicked Dispositions of the Grecian Witnesses, that I cannot forbear reciting here his beautiful Description. Hoc dico de toto genere Græcorum: tribuo illis literas, do multarum artium disciplinam, non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; denique etiam, siqua sibi alia sumunt non repugno. Testimoniorum religionem, & fidem, nunquam ista natio coluit: totiusque huius rei quæ sit vis, quæ autoritas, quod pondus ignorant. Unde illud est, Da mihi testimonium mutuum. Num Gallorum, num Hispanorum putatur? totum istud Græcorum est: ut etiam qui Græce nesciunt, hoc quibus verbis a Græcis dici soleat, fiant. Itaque videte quo vultu, qua confidentia dicant: tum intelligetis qua religione dicant. Nunquam nobis ad rogatum respondent, semper accusatori plusquam ad rogatum: nunquam laborant, quemadmodum probent quod dicunt, sed quemadmodum se explacent dicendo. Græcus testis cum ea voluntate processit ut lædat: non jurisjurandi, sed lædendi verba meditatur. Vinci, refelli, coargui putat esse turpissimum, ad id se parat, nihil aliud curat. Itaque non optimus quisque nec gravissimus, sed impudentissimus, loquacissimusque deligitur (20). — I say this of the whole Grecian Nation: I allow them Learning, I grant them the Knowledge of many Arts, I do not deny their Eloquence, Wit, and Oratory: in short if they lay claim to any other Excellencies, I shall not oppose it. But they are a People who never regarded the Faith and Sacredness of Testimonies: they are ignorant of the great Importance of this Matter. Whence comes this Saying, Lend me your Testimony? Do we owe it to the Gauls, or to the Spaniards? It is intirely Greek, and so well known, that they who are ignorant of that Language, yet understand this Greek Expression. Observe, therefore, with what Face and Confidence they speak: and then you will understand with what Confidence they speak. They are always ready to answer more than the Prosecutor asks of them, and as backward in satisfying the Questions of the other side: they do not concern themselves so much how they may prove what they say, as how they may express what they are to say. — A Greek Witness undertakes to do an Injury: and therefore considers not how to swear true, but how to effect his injurious Purpose. To be defeated, confuted, and disproved, is with them esteemed the most ignominious: against this they guard themselves, and consider nothing farther. For this reason those of them are made choice of, not who are the best and most reputable, but who are most hardened and loquacious. This puts me in mind of a Story I have heard a hundred times, that there is a Province in France (21), where this is a usual Request among the Gentlemen, Pray lend me your Witnesses for a few Days; and where there are People, who, if you ask what Business they follow, will answer, Sir, I am a Witness at your Service.

As for the transparent Stones found in Cappadocia, I shall only quote Pliny. Hispaniam hunc (specularem lapidem) olim ceterior tantum dabat, nec tota, sed intra centum millia passuum circa Segobricam urbem: jam et Cyprus, & Cappadocia, & Sicilia, & nuper inventum Africa: Post-ferendos omnes tamen Hispaniæ, & Cappadociæ, mollissimis, &

amplissimæ magnitudinis, sed obscuris (22). — This (transparent Stone) was formerly found only in the nearer Spain, nor in every place of that, but within a hundred Miles round the City Sigüenza: but now it is to be met with in Cyprus, Cappadocia, and Sicily, and lately in Africa: But the worst of all are those of Spain and Cappadocia, being the softest, and largest, but not the clearest. He adds, that in Nero's Time there was discovered, in Cappadocia, a sort of Stone as hard as Marble, white, and transparent (23), called Phengites. Nero made a great use of them in his Buildings (24); Domitian, who lived in fear of Conspiracies, and was willing to observe what passed behind him, ordered the Galleries, in which he used to walk, to be cased with this Stone (25).

[E] It was very bare of Money. The Verse, before quoted from Horace (26), is a Proof of this. Mr Dacier confirms it by the Cheapness of Oxen, and of Men, and by observing that the Cappadocians paid their Tribute to the great King in Horses and Mules (27). He does not forget Tully, who, speaking of Cappadocia, and its King Ariobarzanes, says, Et mehercule ego ita judico nihil illo regno spoliatus, nihil rege egentius. Indeed I am of opinion no Kingdom is poorer than Cappadocia, no King more indigent (28). Cicero was then Governor of Cilicia. He observes, that Ariobarzanes was too much in debt to be able to clear all at once with Brutus and Pompey. He paid Pompey's Agent Thirty three Attic Talents a Month, and yet that did not satisfy the Interest. He was obliged to impose Taxes; for he had no ordinary Revenues: and what was thus raised was so far exhausted, that he was unable to answer his other Creditors (29). Alii neque solvit quicquam nec potest solvere, nullum enim ararium, nullum vectigal habet. Appii (30) instituto tributa imperat, ea vix in foenus Pompeii quod satis sit efficiunt (31). Though he was very poor (32), he paid at last near a hundred Talents in one Year to Brutus, and promised to pay two hundred to Pompey at the end of six Months (33).

[F] The Romans, on granting their Friendship to the Kings of Cappadocia, comprehended also the Inhabitants. The first Cappadocian King, who had the Advantage to be declared a Friend of the Romans, had joined with Antiochus, King of Syria; he asked Pardon of the Republic after that Monarch's Defeat, and offered to expiate his Fault with a Sum of Money. He was condemned to pay two hundred Talents; but at the Request of Eumenes, King of Pergamus, his Son-in-law, he obtained a great Abatement: He was excused for one Moiety of that Sum, and admitted to the Friendship of the Romans. Legati ab Ariarathæ rege Cappadocum venerunt ad veniam petendam, luendamque pecunia noxam, quod auxiliis Antiochum juvisset. Ei CC talenta argenti sunt imperata (34). — Ariarathes rex parte dimidia pecuniæ imperatæ, Eumenis beneficio, cui desponderat per eos dies filiam, remissa, in amicitiam est acceptus (35). From that time forward he was faithful to their Interests, together with his Father-in-law. See the Margin: you will there find his Inclinations during the War they made with the last Macedonian King (36).

[G] — they could not be without a King. The Royal Family being extinct, they refused the Privilege offered them by the Romans of being a free People, and sent Embassadors to Rome to declare, that Liberty was insupportable to them, and to desire a King. Πρὸς τούτοις αὐτοὶ τὴν μὴ ἐλευθερίαν παρ' ἡμῶν εἶναι γὰρ δύνασθαι φέρειν αὐτῶν ἐπαύσαν, βασιλέα δ' ἡξίουν αὐτοῖς ἀποδεδέσθαι. Missi legati libertatem repudiaverunt, ut quam sibi dicerent esse intolerabilem, regem sibi dari postularent.

(g) Athen. lib. iii, pag. 113.

(b) Ibid. pag. 112.

(i) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 372.

(22) Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. xxii.

(23) Translucens etiam qua parte fulvæ inciderant venæ. — Translucent in its yellow Veins. Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. xxii.

(24) Id. ibid.

(25) Sueton. in Domit. cap. xiv.

(26) Citat. (16).

(27) Dacier, Remarq. sur Horace. Tom. VIII. page 327.

(28) Cicero. Epist. i. lib. vi. ad Atticum.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) He was Cicero's Predecessor in the Government of Cilicia.

(31) Cicero, Epist. i. lib. vi. ad Atticum.

(32) Erat enim Rex perpauper. Id. ibid.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) Tit. Liv. lib. xxxviii, cap. xxxvii.

(35) Id. ibid. cap. xxxix.

(36) Ariarathes Cappadocum Rex præterquam quod Romanis suo nomine auxilia pollicitus erat, ex quo est junctus Eumeni affinitate, in omnia belli pacisque se conciliaverat concilia. Id. lib. xlii, cap. xxix.

Magi, and places of Devotion [H]. It ought not to be concluded, that this is peculiar to gross, ignorant, and brutal Nations; for in matters of Superstition, they neither equal the *Grecians* nor the *Romans*: and there are some People to be met with, who are so very barbarous and stupid, as to have no Religion at all. The Reader will find, in the Remarks, part of the History of the Princes, who reigned in *Cappadocia* [I]. The ordinary Seat of their Residence was at *Mazaca* (k), a Town

(k) Ibid. pag. 371.

(37) Strabo, lib. xii. pag. 372.

(38) Taken from Strabo, *ibid.*

(39) Justin. lib. xxxviii. cap. ii.

(40) Id. *ibid.* cap. v.

(41) Strabo, lib. xv. pag. 504.

(42) In the Article COMANA.

(43) See Rem. [A], in the Article COMANA, at the end.

(44) Strabo, lib. xii. pag. 369.

(45) Id. *ibid.* pag. 370.

(46) Id. *ibid.*

(47) Plot. in Sylla. p. 457. B.

(48) Max. Tyrius, Orat. 38. pag. 385.

(49) Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, Sept. 1700, pag. 393, in the Extra of Observations historiques sur quelques Medagliani antiques.

verunt (37). The *Romans*, wondering at their Taste, gave them leave to confer that Dignity on whom they thought fit. They made choice of *Ariobarzanes*, whose Posterity failed in the third Generation: whereupon *Archelaus*, no way related to that Family, was created their King by *Marc Antony* (38). Of them therefore it may well be said, *O homines ad servitutem natos!* After all it is probable, Monarchy agreed better with them than a Commonwealth: Liberty, unless it meets with a certain Disposition of Mind, is subject to be abused; and all People are not blest with such a Disposition. Note, *Justin* affirms, that *Ariobarzanes* was elected by the Roman Senate, *Cappadoces munus libertatis abnuentes, negant vivere gentem sine rege posse, atque ita rex illis à Senatu Ariobarzanes constituitur* (39). *Mithridates* maintained, that the *Romans* complemented the *Cappadocians* with this Liberty only to affront him: He added, that, merely because *Gordius* was his Friend, the Request of that People to have him for their King was rejected. 'Libertatem etiam in contumeliam sui à senatu ultro delatam Cappadociæ, quam reliquis gentibus abstulerunt: deinde populos Cappadocum pro libertate oblata Gordium regem orantes ideo tantum quoniam amicus suus esset, non obtinuisse' (40). He is in this more to be credited than *Strabo*; for it is not likely the *Romans* should leave it to the Discretion of the *Cappadocians* to chuse a King at such a Conjunction.

[H] They abounded in Magi, and places of Devotion. A Parenthesis in *Strabo* is a Proof of this. 'Εν δὲ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ (πολὺ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν μαγῶν φύλον, οἱ καὶ Περσικῶι καλῶνται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ) ἔστι μαχαλεὰ θύσται, ἀλλὰ κορυφὴν τινὴν ὡς ἀνὸς τῶν τῶν ἱερῶν. In *Cappadocia* (etenim maxima est ibi magorum multitudo, qui Pyretibi vocantur, & multa Persicorum deorum templa) non cultro sed stipite quodam mactant, tanquam malleo verberantes (41). I have elsewhere (42) mentioned the Devotion of the *Cappadocians* for the *Bellona* of *Comana*, and for the *Diana* of *Cajabala* (43). We shall observe here, that they had an Arch-Priest of *Jupiter*, in a place called *Dacia*, which was very famous (44). The Temple of *Apollo* at *Cataona* was held in great Veneration throughout all *Cappadocia*: His Statue in this place was an Original, from which a great many Copies were taken for other Towns (45). The *Jupiter* of the *Penafians* was not at all inferior to the *Bellona* of *Comana*: His Temple was situated in a fertile Country, which brought to the High-Priest a Revenue of fifteen Talents a Year. This Office was for Life. There were Three thousand Persons appropriated to the Service of this God, and maintained in his Temple (46). *Plutarch* observes, that the *Romans* had learned from the *Cappadocians* the Worship of a Goddess, which was either the *Moon*, *Minerva*, or *Bellona* (47). Add to all this what *Maximus Tyrius* says, that a Mountain was the God, the Oath, and the Statue of the *Cappadocians*: 'Ὁρὸς Καππαδοκίας καὶ θεὸς, καὶ ὅρκος, καὶ ἀγάλμας: Mons Cappadociæ, & Deus & iururandum est & Statua (48). If he means they had no other God, but a Mountain, he is very much mistaken. You will find in a Work of Mr *Buonarotti*, that Mount *Argæus* was the Symbol of the City of *Cæsaria* in *Cappadocia* on all their Medals (49), and that the Height of that Mountain rendered it almost inaccessible: which made the People in the Neighbourhood, and particularly those of *Cæsarea*, adore it as a sort of Deity. See also Mr *Spanheim's* Dissertation de præstantia & usu numismatum, pag. 892.

[I] Here is part of the History of the Princes who reigned in *Cappadocia*. Let us here finish what was begun in the preceding Remarks. I. We have brought the Reader down to the Time of *Perdiccas*, who after *Alexander's* Death reduced the *Cappadocians* under the *Macedonian* Yoke. We have seen *Ariarathes* expire on a Cross. This

unhappy Prince left a Son of the same Name, who took shelter in *Armenia*, and some time after recovered his Dominions: For being informed that *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes* were dead, and that *Antigonus* and *Seleucus* were taken up with other Wars, he entered *Cappadocia* with the Troops lent him by *Ardoates*, King of *Armenia*, and engaged and killed *Amyntas*, General of the *Macedonians*, and drove them out of the Country. He left the Kingdom to *Ariamnes*, his eldest Son, who contracted an Alliance with *Antiochus Theos*, King of *Syria*; for he married his eldest Son *Ariarathes* to *Stratonice*, *Antiochus's* Daughter. He had so great an Affection for his Son, that he made him his Colleague in the Government. *Ariarathes*, having reigned alone after his Father's Death, left his Dominions, at his Death, to *Ariarathes*, his Son, who was then very young. He married *Antiochide*, Daughter of *Antiochus the Great* (50), a crafty Woman, who, perceiving herself barren, had recourse to a supposititious Birth. She made her Husband believe she had been delivered of two Sons, who were named *Ariarathes* and *Holophernes*. Her Barrenness was removed some time after; she had first two Daughters, and then a Son, who was named *Mithridates*. She confessed the Cheat to her Husband, and got the eldest of those supposititious Children educated at *Rome*, with a very small Retinue, and the other sent into *Ionis*. The legitimate Son took the Name *Ariarathes*, and was brought up after the *Græcian* manner. His Father, whom he intirely loved, had a mind to give him sensible Proofs of his reciprocal Affection. He resolved to resign the Kingdom to him; but the Son opposed it, demonstrating it to be unnatural for him to reign during the Life of the Person to whom he owed his Birth. He succeeded his Father, and proved a very honest Man. He applied himself very much to the Study of Philosophy, by which means *Cappadocia*, unknown before to the *Grecians*, became an agreeable Residence to several learned Men (51). This is what we find in the Fragments of *Diodorus Siculus*.

II. There are other Fragments of the same Historian, which inform us, that *Orofernes* drove his Brother *Ariarathes* out of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, after which Violence he reigned himself very tyrannically. He put several of the *Cappadocians* to death, committed a thousand Extortions, confiscated the Great Men's Estates, and pillaged the very Temple of *Jupiter*; which, from Time immemorial, had been exempt from such Violations, and which stood at the bottom of Mount *Ariadne* (52). We are told by *Polybius*, that *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, re-established *Ariarathes* on the Throne of *Cappadocia* (53), and that he spirited him up to demand of the Inhabitants of *Priene*, the Four hundred Talents *Orofernes* had deposited in their Hands, and to lay waste their Country, upon their Refusal to deliver up that Sum (54). They were faithful Trustees, and restored the Money to *Orofernes*; but this Fidelity exposed them to infinite Mischief (55). Observe, that this *Attalus*, who re-established *Ariarathes*, was Brother to *Eumenes*, and that this was the first Action of his Reign (56). This gives us some Light into Chronology; for we know *Eumenes* died in the Year of *Rome* 596, and that *Attalus* succeeded him. It would not therefore be reasonable to suppose that these two Brothers, *Ariarathes* and *Orofernes*, were Sons of *Ariarathes*, the Philosopher, whose Mother was the Daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, who died in the Year 567, from the building of *Rome* (57). For since this Daughter of *Antiochus* was not married to the *Cappadocian* King till about the Year 560 (58), it is impossible her Son's Children should be Men grown about the Year 597, as they are represented to be. This Son was not born 'till after the Birth of two Daughters, preceded by a long Sterility, which had induced her to pretend the Birth of two Boys (59). How therefore is it possible her Son should

(50) Appian in Syriacis, pag. 592, observes that *Antiochus* married his Daughter to *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, during his preparation of War against the *Romans*. It must therefore be towards the Year of *Rome* 560.

(51) Taken from *Diodorus Siculus* in Eclogis, lib. xxxi, pag. 1164, 1165.

(52) *Diod. Sicul.* in Excerptis à *Valejo* publicatis, pag. 335, 336.

(53) *Polyb.* in Excerptis à *Valejo* editis, pag. 168.

(54) Id. *ibid.* pag. 172.

(55) Id. *ibid.*

(56) Id. pag. 168.

(57) *Calvisius*, ad Ann. Mundi, 3764, pag. 302.

(58) See Appian in Syriacis, circa init. p. 59.

(59) *Diodor. Sicul.* in Eclog. lib. xxxi, pag. 1165.

(1) Ἀρμένιοι καὶ νομῶν δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐξηγητὴς τῶν νόμων. καθάπερ οἱ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους νομολογοὶ. Legum decantatores designant, qui ipsi est legum interpretes, ut apud Romanos sunt jurisperiti. Strab. lib. xii, p. 371.

a Town situated at the Foot of Mount *Argæus*, which followed *Charondas's* Laws, interpreted by a Chanter chosen for that Purpose (1). This Town was built upon

(60) Justin. lib. xxxv, init.

(61) App. in Syriac. pag. 79.

(62) Justin. lib. xxxv, cap. i.

(63) Polyb. lib. iii, cap. i.

(64) See Sigon. in Fastis.

(65) Appian. in Syriacis, pag. 79.

(66) Justin. lib. xxxvii, cap. i.

(67) Id. ibid.

should be the Father of an *Ariarathes* and *Orofernes*, who, before the end of the VIth Century of Rome, had done what we read of them in History?

III. We learn from *Justin*, that *Demetrius*, King of Syria, undertook to restore *Orofernes*. He had a Sister, whom *Ariarathes* had refused to wed; for which reason he became the mortal Enemy of this King of Cappadocia. *Demetrius* - - - *Ariarathi regi Cappadociae propter sustititas sororis nuptias infestus, fratrem ejus Orofernem per injuriam regno pulsum supplicem recepit* (60). He therefore received with Pleasure the Petition of *Orofernes*, to be restored to the Throne, from whence he had been unjustly expelled by his Brother: but, finding that this very *Orofernes* plotted to dethrone him, he ordered him to be imprisoned, and if he had not been afraid, that by dispatching him he should release *Ariarathes* from his Fears of all farther Contention with this Rival Brother, he had not been content with imprisoning him, but would have instantly put him to death. Observe, that the beginning of his Reign answers to the Year of Rome 592; and therefore we must suppose he had reigned four or five Years when he gave Protection to *Orofernes*, and undertook his Restoration. He effected it, if we may believe *Appian* (61), and drove out *Ariarathes*; which was not pleasing to the Romans, who would have been better satisfied to have had the two Brothers reign together. *Justin* does not well agree with *Appian*; for he places *Ariarathes* among those Princes who set up a pretended Son of *Antiochus*, and supported him so vigorously, that this Intrigue cost *Demetrius* both his Crown, and Life (62). But these Historians may both be in the right in a certain Sense; for *Polybius* says, *Demetrius* expelled *Ariarathes* to restore *Orofernes*, and after that removed *Orofernes* to make way for *Ariarathes* (63). However it be, I take this *Ariarathes* to be the same, who lost his Life in the War against *Aristonicus*, in taking the Part of the Romans. This War ended in the Year 623 (63). I believe also that he ought not to be distinguished from *Ariarathes* the Philosopher: or if he ought, we should say, that after the Death of this Monarch, the Patron of the Learned, the two supposed Sons of *Antiochide* disputed the Succession, and drove each other from the Throne, and that, in short, they are the *Ariarathes* and *Orofernes* mentioned by *Polybius*, *Justin*, *Appian*, &c. For my part, I should rather believe, *Orofernes* contended for the Crown with *Antiochide's* legitimate Son, than with the other supposed Brother. The legitimate Son, that Prince, who was a Lover of Philosophers, and who invited so many learned Men to him, would not have had time to deserve what *Diodorus Siculus* says of him, if he had died before *Eumenes*, and had left, before that time, the Throne vacant to his two pretended Brothers. It was he therefore who was rivalled by *Orofernes*. You may please to observe, in *Appian*, that it was not well known whether *Orofernes* was Brother to the Prince with whom he contended for the Crown. *Demetrius accepit mille talentis pulso Ariarathæ Holophernem ejus, ut ferebatur, fratrem in regnum induxit* (65). — *Demetrius having received One thousand Talents, and driven Ariarathes from his Kingdom, established Holophernes, who was said to be his Brother, in his Room.* It is very likely therefore, *Ariarathes* looked on him as an Impostor.

The Sons of that *Ariarathes*, who was slain in the War with *Aristonicus*, obtained of the Romans *Lycania* and *Cilicia*, as a Reward for their Father's Services (66). They were six Brothers, and some of them about fourteen Years of Age, which occasioned their Mother, out of an abominable Ambition, and fear of losing in a little time the Administration, to poison five of them. The youngest had met the same Fate, if the Vigilance of his Relations had not withdrawn him from her Fury. The People, after having slain *Laudice* (67), for so was this unnatural Mother called, placed him on the Throne. This new Prince took the Name of *Ariarathes*, and married *Laudice*, *Mithridates's* Sister, by whom he had Children. He was murdered by the Order of his

VOL. II.

ambitious Brother-in-law (68); and immediately after, (68) Id. lib. *Nicomedes*, King of *Bitynia*, seized on *Cappadocia*, and married *Laudice*. As soon as *Mithridates* understood this, he sent an Army into *Cappadocia*, and, expelling *Nicomedes's* Garrisons, restored the Crown to his Nephew, Son of *Ariarathes*, whom he had before assassinated by the Hands of one *Gordius*. He desired the young King, whom he had just established, and who was named *Ariarathes*, to re-call *Gordius*. In case he agreed to this, he hoped to get rid of the Son, by the Hands of the same Assassin, who had killed the Father; and if he refused it, he should then be furnished with a Pretence to quarrel. *Ariarathes* not being able to bear, that his Uncle should concern himself in revoking the Sentence of Banishment against *Gordius*, and plainly perceiving the Drift of his Designs, prepared for War. He raised a very powerful Army, by the Assistance of his Neighbours; and *Mithridates* presented himself at the Head of another equally numerous (69). The Armies being in fight of each other, *Mithridates* desired a personal Conference with his Nephew; for, as the Event of a Battle was uncertain, he resolved to have recourse to Treachery. He concealed a Dagger under his Cloaths, and whilst, according to the Custom among Kings in such Cases, he was searched about his Belly, he said to the Man appointed by *Ariarathes* for that Examination, and who was diligently doing his Duty, *Take care you do not hit upon a Weapon quite different from that you are searching after*: By this Piece of Raillery he prevented the Discovery of his treacherous Preparations, and having drawn *Ariarathes* aside, under the Pretence of a private Conference, he stabbed him in fight of both Armies. *‘Cum ferrum occultatum inter fascias gereret, scrutatori ab Ariarathæ regio more missa, ‘curiosius imum ventrem pertractanti, ait, caveret ‘ne aliud telum inveniret quam quæreret. Atque ita ‘risu protectis insidiis, se vocatum ab amicis velut ad ‘secretum sermonem, inspectante utroque exercitu, ‘interficat* (70).’ He made a present of *Cappadocia* to his Son, who was but eight Years old; and named him *Ariarathes*, appointing *Gordius* his Governor.

IV. The Cappadocians, not being able to endure the Oppressions of *Mithridates's* Lieutenants, took Arms, and calling in *Ariarathes*, Brother to the last King, placed him on the Throne. *Mithridates* attacked him, vanquished him, and drove him out of the Kingdom. The young Prince soon after fell sick through Grief and died. Upon this *Nicomedes* set up a fine Youth, and obliged him to call himself Brother to the two last *Ariarathes's*, and upon that score to desire the Kingdom of the Roman Senate. He sent his Wife *Laudice* to Rome, there to attest that she had three Sons by her former Husband. *Mithridates*, having discovered this Imposture, countermined it with another: he dispatched *Gordius* to Rome, to assure the Senate that the Boy, he had created King of *Cappadocia*, was Son of that *Ariarathes* who fell in the War with *Aristonicus*. The Senate saw plainly that each of these Princes was for usurping the Crown, under the Name of a pretended Heir; and therefore ordered *Mithridates* to renounce *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes* to quit *Paphlagonia*, and that those two Nations should be governed as they thought fit themselves. It was then the Cappadocians answered, as we observed before, that they could not live without a King. The Senate gave them *ARIOBARZANES* (71).

V. This new Prince did not quietly enjoy his Dignity. *Appian* says, that *Mithraas* and *Bagoas* drove him out of *Cappadocia*, and re-instated *Ariarathes* (72). The Romans restored *Ariobarzanes* (73). He was soon after dispossessed by an Army, which *Mithridates* sent into *Cappadocia*, in behalf of his Son *Ariarathes* (74). *Sylla*, having gained great Advantages over *Mithridates*, obliged him deliver up *Cappadocia* (75). Some time after *Tigranes*, at the Instigation of this Prince (76), invaded it, and drew from thence Three hundred thousand Men, to whom he gave some Lands in *Armenia*. *Ariobarzanes*, who had fled to Rome before this Invasion (77), was not restored till *Pompey* had made an end of the *Mithridatic* War in 690 (78). See how *Cicero* complains

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(69) He had 80000 Foot, and 10000 Horse, and 600 Chariots armed with Scythes.

(70) Id. ibid.

(71) Taken from Justin. lib. xxxviii, cap. i, ii.

(72) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 118.

(73) Id. ibid.

(74) Id. ibid. pag. 120.

(75) Id. ibid. pag. 144, 145.

(76) Id. ibid.

(77) Justin. lib. xxxviii, cap. iii.

(78) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 163.

on the River *Melas*, which discharges itself into the *Euphrates*. A certain *Cappadocian King*, having dammed up the Outlets of this River, laid the neighbouring Plains

(79) Cicero, in *Orat. pro Lege Maniliâ*, cap. ii.

(80) Plut. in *Sylla*, pag. 453.

(81) Id. *ibid.* pag. 466.

(82) Appian, in *Mithridat.* pag. 163.

(83) Id. *ibid.*

(84) Cicero, *Ep. ii.* lib. xv. ad *Famil.*

(85) Id. *ibid.*

(86) The Medals give these two Titles to this King, signifying Pious, and a Friend of the Romans. See *Gravina's Parionum* on this Passage of Cicero.

plains that a Confederate Prince was excluded the Possession of his Dominions (79). Note, that, according to *Plutarch*, *Cappadocia* was twice restored by *Sylla*; first, when, after his Pretorship, he was sent into this Country, to re-instate *Ariobarzanes* on the Throne (80); secondly, after the Victories he gained over *Mithridates* not only during, but after his Consulship (81). We shall examine this towards the end of the following Remark, and reconcile some Contradictions of *Appian* and *Justin*. We must not forget, I. That *Pompey* very much enlarged the Dominions of *Ariobarzanes*, when he restored him to the Throne of *Cappadocia* (82): II. That the Son of that King inherited all those Dominions (83).

VI. He did not long enjoy them; for he had been murdered when *Cicero*, in 702, went to command in *Cilicia*. The King, who then reigned in *Cappadocia*, was Grandson to *Ariobarzanes* the first of that Name, and found himself threatened with the Fate of his Father. There was a Conspiracy formed against him in favour of his Brother *Ariarathes*; but *Ariarathes* assured *Cicero* he was no way consenting to it. 'Dixit (*Ariobarzanes*) ad se indicia manifestarum infidiarum esse delata, quæ essent ante adventum meum occultata, quod si qui ea patefacere possent, propter metum reticissent: eo autem tempore spe mei præsidii complures ea quæ scirent; audacter ad se detulisse: in his amantissimum sui, summa pietate prædium, fratrem, dicere ea, quæ se me quoque audiente dicebat, se sollicitum esse ut regnare vellet: id vero fratre suo accidere non potuisse: sed tamen ante illud tempus eam rem nunquam in medium propter periculi metum protulisse. Quæ cum esset locutus, monui regem ut omnem diligentiam ad se conservandum adhiberet: amicosque patris ejus avique judicio probatos hortatus sum, regis sui vitam, docti casu acerbissimo patris ejus, omni cura custodiæque defenderent (84). - - - He (*Ariobarzanes*) declared he had received Information of manifest Conspiracies, which before my coming were concealed, because they who knew of them were afraid to discover them: but that now, confiding in my Protection, a great many had boldly revealed to him all they knew: That among these his own Brother, who loved him extremely, and was remarkable for his Piety, had confessed to him, which he also did in my Presence, that he had been solicited to accept the Crown; that although he was sensible this could not happen without his Brother's Death, yet he durst never discover these Designs for fear of Danger. When the King had said all this, I advised him to take particular care of himself: I encouraged his Friends, who had been approved both by his Father and Grand-father, from what they had seen of the hard Fate of his Father, to defend the Life of their King, with all possible Caution and Zeal.' *Cicero*, at his Departure from *Rome*, had received Orders to favour and protect *Ariobarzanes* with all imaginable Care. The Senate had never given such an Order before for any King whatsoever: This Testimony therefore of their Affection did a very great Honour to that Prince: These are *Cicero's* Words (85): 'Cum vestra autoritas intercessisset, ut ego regem *Ariobarzanem* Euseben & Philorhomæum (86) tuerer, ejusque regis salutem, incolumitatem regnumque defenderem, regi regnoque præsidio essem: adjunxisseque, salutem ejus regis, populo senatuique magnæ curæ esse, quod nullo unquam de rege decretum esset a nostro ordine: exstimavi me judicium vestrum ad regem deferredere, eique præsidium meum & fidem & diligentiam polliceri: ut, quum salus ipsius, incolumitas regni mihi commendata esset à vobis, diceret, si quid vellet. - - - When I received your Commands to defend King *Ariobarzanes*, a Prince pious and in Friendship with the Romans, to protect his Person and Kingdom, and to be a Guard to both; with this additional Declaration, that the People and Senate have very much at Heart the Preservation of that Prince, which is an Honour you never paid to any King before: I made it my Business to ac-

quaint him with your Decree, and to assure him of my most sincere and hearty Protection, that as his own Preservation as well as that of his Kingdom was recommended by you to my Care, he might freely communicate to me his Desires.' This Order of the Senate was faithfully executed. *Cicero* employed his Authority, his Forces, and his Advice, in favour of *Ariobarzanes*, and preserved him his Crown, and even his Life. 'Ariobarzanes operâ meâ vivit, regnat. Ev $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, consilio & autoritate, & quod infidiatoribus ejus $\alpha\pi\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ov me non modo $\alpha\delta\omega\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ ov præbui, regem regnumque servavi (87). - - - Ariobarzanes lives and reigns by my means. My Presence, Advice, and Authority, and rendering myself not only incorruptible but also inaccessible to his Conspirators, preserved both King and Kingdom.' He hindered the Priests from molesting him (88). This was a great Piece of Service.

VII. Before we proceed any farther, let us take notice of two Mistakes in a learned Commentator. He supposes the *Ariobarzanes* here mentioned, to be the Son of the first of that Name (89), and that he was honoured with the Title of King by the Senate when *Cicero* was Consul (90). To prove the last he quotes these Words of *Cicero*, 'Ariobarzanem - - - Senatus per me regem appellavit, mihi quæ commendavit (91). - - - The Senate, by me, saluted Ariobarzanes - - - King, and recommended him to my Care.' But this relates to the Time when he was sent into *Cilicia*, and not to his Consulship. Besides it is not at all likely that *Ariobarzanes* I. was dead when *Cicero* was Consul. There could be no occasion therefore at that time to think of acknowledging another *Ariobarzanes* for King. As to his first Mistake, it proceeds from hence, that *Manuetus* did not consider, as other Critics have done, that in the Passage before quoted (92) ought to be read, *Amicosque Patris ejus avique judicio probatos*, - - - His Friends approved both by his Father and Grand-father. We have no reason to think that any Son or Nephew of this *Ariobarzanes*, who was protected by *Cicero*, reigned in *Cappadocia*, and yet this Family was not extinct 'till the third Generation (93). It is therefore reasonable to think, that he who ruled when *Cicero* went Governor into *Cilicia*, was Grandson to the first *Ariobarzanes*.

VIII. He led some Troops to *Pompey* (94); which fought against *Cæsar* at the Battle of *Pharfallia*. This, undoubtedly, was the reason that *Cæsar* put him under Contribution. It is certain he exacted from him several Sums of Money, for this Prince represented that he should be disabled from paying, if *Pharnaces* continued to pillage *Cappadocia*. 'Rex *Deiotarus* ad *Domitium Calvinum*, cui *Cæsar* Asiæ finitimæque provincias administrandas tradiderat, venit, oratum ne *Armeniam* minorem, regnum suum, neve *Cappadociam*, regnum *Ariobarzanis*, possideri, vassarique pateretur a *Pharnace*: quo malo nisi liberarentur, imperata se facere, pecuniamque promissam *Cæsari* non posse perolvere (95). *Cæsar* was then in *Ægypt*, and left it to bring *Pharnaces* to Reason. He passed thro' *Cappadocia*, where he made some Regulations, which shew that *Ariobarzanes*, and his Brother *Ariarathes*, were not great Friends. He obliged the last to be obedient to his Brother. He saw plainly that *Ariobarzanes* stood in fear of his Heir, and that the Heir was not Proof against an Impatience for the Succession: 'Fratrem *Ariobarzanis* *Ariaratem*, cum bene meritis uterque eorum de republica esset, ne aut regni hæreditas *Ariaratem* sollicitaret, aut hæres regni terreret, *Ariobarzanis* attribuit; qui sub ejus imperio ac ditione esset (96). From hence we may infer, that *Ariobarzanes* had no Children of his own, and that *Fratres* is better than *Filius*, in this Passage of *Tully*. *Ariarathes* *Ariobarzanis* Filius *Roman* venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere à *Cæsare*, nam quomodo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet (97). This shews that *Ariarathes*, after *Cæsar's* Regulations, no longer shared the Government of *Cappadocia*. After *Cæsar* had conquered *Pharnaces*, he gave

(87) Cicero, *Epist.* xx, lib. v, ad *Atticum*. See also *Epist.* ii, iv, lib. xv, ad *Famil.*

(88) Id. *Epist.* iv, lib. xv, ad *Famil.* I have cited his Words in the Remark (D) of the Article. COMANA, towards the end.

(89) Paul. Manuet. in *Cic. Ep.* ii, lib. xv, ad *Famil.* p. 159.

(90) Id. *ibid.*

(91) Cic. *Epist.* xvii, lib. ii. ad *Famil.*

(92) Citat. (84).

(93) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 273.

(94) *Cæsar*, de *Bello Civili*, lib. iii, cap. iv.

(95) *Hirtius* de *Bello Alexandr.* cap. xxxiv.

(96) Id. *ibid.* cap. lxxv.

(97) Cicero, *Ep.* ii, lib. xiii, ad *Atticum*.

Plains under Water; after which he cut out several little Islands, in imitation of the *Cyclades*. There he childishly spent part of his Life (*m*); but these Amusements caused him both Shame and Damage. The River broke it's Dams, and the Waters, returning into their Channel, made the *Euphrates* overflow, so as to occasion incredible Mischiefs in *Cappadocia*. The *Galatians*, Inhabitants of *Phrygia*, suffered great Losses by this Inundation, for which they required Satisfaction. They demanded Three hundred Talents of the *Cappadocian* King, and made the *Romans* their Judges. He was likewise obliged to make good, to the *Cilicians*, the Damages they had sustained by the *Carmale*, another River he had also dammed up, which broke it's Banks (*n*). *Strabo's* Negligence is inexcusable; he contents himself with saying that this Prince was named *Ariarathes*. Would a good Author now a-days be suffered to say, gravely, that *Charles*, King of *France*, or *Pope John*, repaired a High-way? Would not the Reader be at a loss to know which *Charles* among the *Kings*, and which *John* among the *Popes*, this must be? *Moreri* has ventured to determine which *Ariarathes* this was. Perhaps he is under a greater Mistake in this, than in a great many other things he has delivered without Exactness [*K*], the Particulars of which will be found in my Remarks, as also a Criticism

(m) *Διὰ τῶν ἀμυσημάτων ἐν αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐποίησεν ἀμύσεις, ἐκ τῶν ὧν ἐκέρχθησαν οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀμύσεων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐποίησεν ἀμύσεις, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐποίησεν ἀμύσεις.* Id. *ibid.*

(n) Id. *ibid.*

(98) Dio, lib. xlii, pag. 234.

(99) Id. *ibid.* lib. xlii, pag. 395.

(100) In the Text of the Article *ARCHELAUS*, King of *Cappadocia*.

(101) In Remark [A], Citation (3).

(102) See the preceding Remark, No. VI, at the End.

(103) Under the Word *ARATHES*.

(104) Diod. Siculus, lib. xviii, cap. xvi.

(105) *Livy* is quoted in lib. v; it ought to have been lib. xxxviii, and xlii.

(106) He ought to have said *Ariarathes*.

gave part of *Armenia* to our *Ariobarzanes* (98). This made *Cæsar's* Murderers, some Years after, apprehend that the King of *Cappadocia* would not be their Friend. He did not openly declare himself against their Party, but he refused to join with them. This Conduct of his gave them a just Suspicion of him, inasmuch that *Cassius* resolved not to spare him; he attacked him, and, having taken him Prisoner, put him to Death (99). This happened in the Year of *Rome* 712. We have seen elsewhere (100), how *Ariarathes* was molested in his Succession to *Cappadocia*, and that Sentence was given to his Prejudice in the Year 713; and that, having found Means to evade that Determination, he was intirely expelled the Kingdom, in the Year 718. After which *Archelaus* reigned in *Cappadocia*, and was the last of it's Kings.

To conclude, The Contradictions, we meet with in comparing together ancient Histories, are infinite. I shall consider some of them in the following Remark.

[K] *Moreri* ----- has delivered a great many ----- Things ----- without Exactness. I. He has falsely pretended, as I have already observed (101), that from *Pharnaces*, the first King of *Cappadocia*, down to *Ariarathes*, the first of that Name, there were no more than six Kings. II. And that their Names are not known. III. *Archelaus* did not succeed to the Crown after *Ariarathes*, Brother to that *Ariobarzanes* who was restored by *Pompey*, but after another *Ariarathes*, Grandson to that *Ariobarzanes* (102). IV. Since, in the Article of *Cappadocia*, Ten Kings are reckoned up, who were named *Ariarathes*, it is a Contradiction to say elsewhere (103) of *Ariarathes* the Second, that he had *Seven Successors of his own Name*. V. In the Battle against *Perdiccas*, the Number of *Ariarathes* the Second's Cavalry was Fifteen thousand (104), and not Twenty thousand. VI. *Ariarathes* the Fifth, who lent some Forces to *Antiochus* against the *Romans*, was not Brother-in-law, but Son-in-law, of that *Antiochus*. VII. It is not made out, that it was this *Ariarathes*, who stopped up the Passage through which the River *Melas* discharged itself into the *Euphrates*. VIII. He ought not to have omitted, that the Works raised in that Place were destroyed; for that Omission renders the rest of the Narration altogether unintelligible. It is impossible to comprehend how those Works should occasion the over-flowing of the *Euphrates*. They were infinitely more likely to prevent, than to occasion it. And if the *Euphrates* did over-flow, without the Waters of the *Melas* falling into it, it is impossible to comprehend why the *Cappadocian* King was liable to make good the Damages of the Inundation. IX. The Senate of *Rome* did not condemn him to pay Three hundred Talents; the Demand the *Galatians* made of that Sum was left to their Judgment, but it is not known what was their Award. It is more likely they moderated the Pretensions of the Demandants, than intirely supported them. X. Why is he content to quote *Polybius* and *Livy* (105), who say nothing of all this? He had a great deal more Reason to cite *Strabo*. XI. No one ever said, the City of *Ariarathia* (106) was built after the Inundation of the *Euphrates*, and the Payment of the Three hundred Talents; how comes it therefore to be affirmed in *Moreri*? XII. He, who built the City of *Ariarathia*, was *Antiochus's* Son-in-law (107): *Moreri's* Continuator therefore had no Reason to attribute this Foundation to the *Ariarathes*, whom he mentions for this purpose, because he considers him as *Antiochus's* Brother-in-law. And though at the Bottom this pretended Brother-in-law were in reality his Son-in-law, yet doth it not follow that he was the Founder of *Ariarathia*; for his Father *Ariarathes* was Son-in-law of *Antiochus Theos* (108). Perhaps it is he who is intended to be spoken of in *Stephanus Byzantinus*.

We must make a Digression here, to observe, that *Pinedo* has given a very insignificant Comment: He has quoted a Place in *Strabo*, which says, that *Ariarathes* the First, King of *Cappadocia*, united the *Catainians* with the *Cappadocians* (109). Wherein does this serve to explain the Words of *Stephanus Byzantinus*? And, when he was quoting this Passage, why did he not quote that of *Strabo*, where he makes mention of a more modern *Ariarathes*? *Berkelius*, another of *Stephanus's* Commentators, aimed at a better Comment upon his Text, but has not succeeded. At first he thought that *Ariarathes*, Son-in-law to *Antiochus*, had married *Antiochus Soter's* Daughter; but afterwards he observes that *Demetrius*, Brother of *Antiochus*, waged War with *Ariarathes*, propter fastidias sororis nuptias. — For refusing to marry his Sister (110). His Opinion therefore is, that the Founder of *Ariarathia* had married *Demetrius's* Sister, and that upon some Disgust he sent her back again. In answer to which I say, That the Latin Expression has a more general Signification, and that it is more natural to interpret it for a Refusal of Marriage, than for a Divorce. I add, That a Prince, who had married *Demetrius's* Sister, would not have been Son-in-law to *Antiochus*; for *Demetrius's* Father was *Seleucus Philopater*, Son of *Antiochus* the Great. My third Remark against *Berkelius* is, that he did not know that *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of two Kings of *Cappadocia* called *Ariarathes*, and Sons-in-law, one to *Antiochus Theos*, and the other to *Antiochus* the Great. But to return to *Moreri's* Dictionary.

The XIIIth Fault is in saying that *Mitbridates* expelled *Nicomedes*, who had seized on *Cappadocia*. He ought to have said *Nicomedes*, King of *Bythynia*. XIV. *Mitbridates* did not employ a young Man (111) to kill his Nephew, but did it with his own Hands, as I have observed before (112). XV. He ought to have quoted the Thirty eighth Book of *Justin*, and not the thirtieth. XVI. The Successor of him, who was murdered by *Mitbridates*, was his Brother, and not his Son. XVII. He ought not to have omitted the Reign of *Mitbridates's* Son, since it was antecedent to the Election of *Ariobarzanes*. XVIII. This Son of *Mitbridates* ought to have been placed under the Word *Ariarathes*, and not under *Ariarathes*; for when his Father made him King of *Cappadocia*, in the room of his Nephew whom he had killed, he gave him the ordinary Name of the Kings of that Country, viz. that of *Ariarathes* (113). XIX. *Ariarathes's* Conquest of *Cappadocia*

(107) *Stephanus Byzantinus*, voce *Αριάρθια*.

(108) *Diod. Sicul.* in *Eclog.* lib. xxxi, pag. 1164, 1165.

(109) *Pinedo* in *Steph. Byzant.* pag. 107.

(110) *Berkelius* in *Steph. Byzant.* pag. 104.

(111) He was misled by these Words in *Justin*, lib. xxxviii, cap. ii, *Solicitorumque juvenem ad colloquium, &c.* — The young Man being invited to a Conference, &c.

(112) In the preceding Remark, No. III, Citat. (70).

(113) *Justin* lib. xxxviii, cap. i.

Criticism on some Mistakes of *Justin* and *Appian*. *Cappadocia*, generally speaking, was a Country where Wit and Learning were intire Strangers; and yet it has produced some very celebrated Authors. *Strabo* and *Pausanias* are of that Number. The

did not give such a Jealousy, as to put *Mitridates* upon poisoning him. *Cappadocia* had been conquered a long time before, when this *Ariarathes* commanded a body of Troops for his Father in *Europe* (114), and if he was poisoned by *Mitridates*, as is pretended, it must be upon some other Jealousy.

(114) *Plutarch*. in *Sylla*, p. 458, C.

(115) *Id.* in *Pompeio*, pag. 639, A.

(116) *Moreri*, under the Word *ARIOBARZANES*.

(117) *Moreri's* Continuator, under the same Word.

(115). XX. It is not likely that *Ariobarzanes* had been advanced to the Crown about the Year 644, from the Foundation of Rome (116). This I shall afterwards prove. XXI. It was he himself who was driven out of *Cappadocia* by *Mitridates*, and restored by *Sylla*. How comes it therefore to be reported of his Son? XXII. He was not immediately attacked by *Tigranes* (117): He had been already restored more than once before he was attacked by *Tigranes*. XXIII. It is false that *Sylla* defeated *Tigranes's* Army. XXIV. *Justin*, still wrong quoted in his thirtieth Book, no where says, either that *Ariarathes*, *Mitridates's* Son, was vanquished by *Ariobarzanes*, XXV. Or that *Ariobarzanes*, by *Pompey's* Assistance, conquered *Sophene*, *Gordene*, and Part of *Cilicia*; XXVI. Or that, after these Conquests, he resigned his Crown to his Son *Ariobarzanes*, to pass the rest of his Days in Peace. Not only *Justin* is silent as to all this, but I believe so is every other good Author. *Appian* says only, that *Ariobarzanes* was gratified with these Provinces by *Pompey* (118). Does that shew he conquered them? XXVII. He ought to have known, that at the time when *Ariobarzanes* is said to have overcome *Ariarathes*, *Mitridates's* Son, that is, after *Tigranes's* Overthrow, this *Ariarathes* was dead (119).

(118) *Appian*. in *Mithridat.* pag. 163.

(119) *Appian*. in *Mithridat.* pag. 129, speaks of *Arcathias* *Mitridates's* Son, as of one who, having subdued *Macedonia*, was marching against *Sylla*, but died of a fit of Sickness. This, without doubt, is by *Plutarch* calls *Ariarathes*.

Let us examine if it be true that his Election happened in the Year 1644. I am well assured, that, if all Occurrences between *Aristonicus's* War and this Election be well considered, they will be found to require more than Twenty four Years. *Ariarathes* dying during this War, which lasted two or three Years more or less, and ended in 623, all his Sons, except the youngest, were poisoned by their Mother. He who escaped was advanced to the Throne, and assassinated by the Intrigues of *Mitridates*: He left two Sons, who reigned one after another. The eldest vigorously opposed *Mitridates*; he raised a powerful Army, and commanded it himself, when he was murdered by *Mitridates*, under the pretence of inviting him to a private Conference. All this shews he was no Child. After this, *Gordius*, Governor to the new King, *Mitridates's* Son, had the Direction of *Cappadocia*. His Administration was so severe, that the People rebelled, called in the late King's Brother, and made him King; but he was overcome by *Mitridates*, and constrained to quit the Country; After which he lived but a short time. *Nicomedes*, having heard of his Death, set up a Youth, who pretended to be the lawful Successor. His Wife took a Journey to *Rome* to make good the Imposture; and *Mitridates* sent *Gordius* thither to oppose it with another. The Senate put an end to all these Disputes, by leaving the *Cappadocians* at their full Liberty. This Favour was not accepted by these People: they would have a Prince, and had *Ariobarzanes* (120). It is impossible, according to this, that his Election should happen in the Year of *Rome* 644. I should not have repeated this long Detail, if, besides it's being necessary as a proof of the twentieth Fault in *Moreri*, I had not found that it would furnish Materials for a Criticism on *Justin*.

(120) This whole Account is taken from *Justin*, lib. xxxviii.

JUSTIN criticized.

He says that *Laudice*, Widow to that *Ariarathes*, who was slain in the War with *Aristonicus* about the Year of *Rome* 622, poisoned five of her Sons, and that the youngest had met the same Fate, if his Relations had not concealed him from the Violence of this unnatural Mother. He observes, that the Fear of not long enjoying the Regency, seeing some of her Sons were grown up, led her to this Inhumanity (121). 'Tis difficult to make good his Reasonings; for if this Fear was the Cause of her endeavouring to dispatch the youngest, he must necessarily not have wanted much of being of Age; in which case the eldest must consequently have been

(121) *Timens ne non diuturnam regni administrationem adultis quibusdam potestetur. Justin, lib. xxxviii, cap. i.*

of full Age, which would have excluded *Laudice* from the Regency. If it be answered, that her eldest Son was not quite of Age, but very near it, it follows of Course, that the youngest was too far from it to give the least Alarm to her Ambition. There was room for her to expect an Administration long enough, not to put her upon dispatching him so soon. *Justin* therefore has not reasoned justly upon the Motives of this cruel Woman. There are innumerable Faults of this Nature, to be found in this Author, and in the best Writers, by any one who would be at the Pains to collect them. For my part, I am of Opinion, that all *Laudice's* Sons were of Age, and that it was for this reason she attempted to get rid of them all at once. My reason for this Opinion is, that the youngest of them all left Two Sons behind him, who succeeded him in the Kingdom, and who, according to the Account we have of them, must needs have lived till they were at least twenty. Now it is certain *Ariobarzanes* had been dethroned before the Year of *Rome* 659; for it was in this Year *Sylla* re-established him (122). There must be some Distance of Time between the Death of the last *Ariarathes* and *Ariobarzanes's* Election: During this Interval, the Pretensions of the two supposed Heirs were disputed at *Rome*; and there intervened a Decree of the Senate. We may add also, that there must be some Distance of Time between *Ariobarzanes's* Election and Expulsion, and between his Expulsion and Restoration. Since therefore he was restored in the Year 659, it is very likely the last *Ariarathes*, aged about twenty Years, did not die before 654. Judge therefore, if it be probable, that his Father should be only an Infant, when *Laudice* had a mind to make him away about the Year 623.

(122) See *Sigon*, in *Fabris*, ad *Ann.* 659. fol. 106, verso.

We shall here examine whether *Appian* has justly related the Adventures of *Ariobarzanes*. This is his Account. The Romans commanded *Mitridates* to resign *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*: He obeyed, but *Mitbraas* and *Bagoas* expelled *Ariobarzanes*, and gave the Kingdom to *Ariarathes*. The Romans sent an Embassy into this Country to restore *Ariobarzanes*: *Manius Aquilius* was their Principal. Orders were sent from *Rome* to *Lucius Cassius*, who commanded in *Asia*, and to *Mitridates*, to assist the Embassadors with all their Power. *Mitridates*, dissatisfied with the Romans, did not obey them. However, *Cassius* and *Aquilius* restored *Ariobarzanes*, and advised him and *Nicomedes*, King of *Bythynia*, to make Incursions into *Mitridates's* Territories. *Nicomedes*, not able to resist the Importunity of the Embassadors, committed some Hostilities (123). Upon this *Mitridates* complained; but, finding no Redress, he had recourse to Arms, made a Conquest of *Cappadocia*, and gave it to his Son *Ariarathes* (124). The Embassador, he dispatched to the Roman Generals, delivered himself in very high Terms, and was answered in yet higher (125). The Event was, that *Mitridates* overthrew the Romans, and took Prisoner *Manius Aquilius*, the Chief of the Embassy; but was himself at last defeated by *Sylla*, and forced to accept of a very disadvantageous Peace (126). The Restoration of *Ariobarzanes* was one of the Conditions of the Treaty (127): this was at first imperfectly (128), but afterwards very effectually executed (129). The Invasion of *Cappadocia* by *Tigranes* happened some Years after (130). *Sylla* was then dead. *Lucullus* re-took *Cappadocia* (131), *Mitridates* recovered it again (132), and lastly *Ariobarzanes* was re-established there by *Pompey* (133).

APPIAN and Justin criticized.

(123) *Appian* in *Mithridat.* pag. 118.

(124) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 120.

(125) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 121.

(126) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 122.

(127) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 127.

(128) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 143.

(129) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 144.

(130) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 150.

(131) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 151.

(132) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 156.

(133) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 163, 168.

I observe, I. That *Appian* is to blame for speaking of the Invasion of *Mitbraas* and *Bagoas*, without telling us who they were, and who that *Ariarathes* was they made King of *Cappadocia*. II. He is also to blame for taking no Notice of *Sylla's* Commission to restore *Ariobarzanes*. This was in the Year of *Rome* 659. *Sylla* then commanded in *Cilicia*. He mentions it himself in *Appian*, addressing to *Mitridates*. In *Cappadociam* ego reduxi *Ariobarzanem* ex *S. C. cum praesentem Cilicia: idque feci te cedente auctoritate*

The Cappadocians were particularly esteemed very unfit to make Orators [L]; but St. Basil, and Gregory Nazienzen, have been Exceptions to that Rule. It has been observed, that the Cappadocian Horses grew better as they grew older [M].

(134) Id. *ibid.*
pag. 139.

toritatis populi (134). — I re-established Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, by order of the Senate; and this I did by your Compliance with that Authority. This renders the Historian the less excusable; for as he was not ignorant of this Discourse of Sylla, he ought to have enquired into Ariobarzanes's Re-establishment, and have given it in its proper place like a good Chronologer. His Omission had been the more excusable if he had not known what Sylla said to Mitridates. Note, Plutarch observes, that Sylla, after his Pretorship, was sent into Cappadocia, under the specious Pretence of restoring Ariobarzanes; but in reality to be a Check upon Mitridates, who was forming some great Designs (135). Consult Sigonius who will clear up all this Matter (136); though he is not to be credited, when he says, Mitridates; by the Hands of Gordius, murdered both Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, and his Son, who was only an Infant. We may remember, Mitridates himself dispatched this Son, who was arrived to Maturity. My III. Remark against Appian is, That, in all Appearance, he is mistaken as to the Invasion of Mitraas and Bagoas: He supposes Mitridates had no hand in it; nay, that the Romans commanded him to dethrone the Usurper, and restore Ariobarzanes, and that Mitridates, disgusted at them, disobeyed their Order. I make no question but this Invasion was carried on by Mitridates's Generals, in Favour of his Son Ariarathes, whom the Cappadocians had expelled. Justin says, they recalled the Brother of their last King, and that he was overthrown by Mitridates (137); that is to say, if I am not mistaken, by Mitraas and Bagoas, who brought back into Cappadocia Ariarathes, their Master's Son. Let us observe, in the IVth place, That Mantius Aquilius's Embassy ought to be placed in the Year of Rome 663, or thereabouts; and therefore does not at all concern the first Restoration of Ariobarzanes, as Appian supposes (138).

(135) Plut. in
Sylla, pag. 453.
(136) Sigon. in
Fastis, ad Ann.
659.

(137) Justin,
lib. xxxviii, cap.
ii.

(138) The Epi-
tome of Livy,
lib. lxx, makes
mention of the
Restoration of
this Prince by
Sylla, and lib.
lxxiv, of another
Restoration.

One Word more against Justin, who supposes that Tigranes, instigated by Mitridates, was the first who expelled Ariobarzanes, and that this gave Occasion to Aquilius's Embassy. This is false. That Embassy was antecedent to the bloody Wars between Sylla and Mitridates, which did not commence till the Year of Rome 665. Tigranes is never mentioned before Lucullus's Expedition. It ought therefore to be affirmed, that he seized not on Cappadocia till after Ariobarzanes had been restored the second time by Sylla.

I expect to be charged with insinuating too much upon Trifles: But I would have it understood, that my Motive to this, is not from any supposed Importance in the Things themselves, but only to insinuate, by evident Examples, that we ought to be very diffident of what we read, and employ our Talent in the discerning matters of Facts. This Application enlarges and improves the Faculties of the

Mind. I imagine therefore the Reader will not think my Labour has been ill bestowed.

There is so little Chronology in most of the Greek and Latin Historians, that ancient History stands in need of being new modelled. I dare venture to say, that, had we at this Day all those Affluences with which they abounded, we should write much better Histories than those they have left us.

[L] The Cappadocians were esteemed very unfit to make Orators. It is on this Account Mr. Kuhnias has confirmed their Opinion, who hold, that Pausanias, Author of the Description of Greece, is the same with Pausanias the Sophist, whose Life is written by Philostratus, and who was one of those Scholars Herodes Atticus admitted to so great a Familiarity. This is not contradicted by Philostratus's Observations, viz. That this Sophist pronounced Greek very indifferently; for that was a Fault so natural and incurable in the Cappadocians, that an Orator of this Country was said to be more rare than a white Crow, or a flying Tortoise. Cui non repugnat, these are Kuhnias's Words in his Preface to the New Edition of Pausanias (139), 'quod Philostratus tradit, quod Græcam Linguam durius pronunciarit quam delicata ejus rotunditas patiebatur. Hoc enim toti Cappadocum nationi commune vitium, orique fuit ἐλαττωμα nulla exercitatione emendandum, uti clare indicat notum epigramma:

(139) That of
Leprie, in 1696.

Θάττον ἔην λευκὸς κόβρατος πῆλιν τε χελιδνάς

Εὐρεῖν, ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκων.

Rarius alata testudine, rarius albo

Invenias corvo Rhetora Cappadocem.

A Cappadocian Orator 's a Shew,

Rarer than a wing'd Tortoise, or white Crow.

[M] The Cappadocian Horses grew better as they grew older. Oppian has observed, that they are very weak whilst they are young, but grow swifter as they grow older.

Χεινότεροι δὲ γέγονον ὅσοι μᾶλλον ἡνέκα
κῆσι (140).

(140) Suite du
Menagiana, pag.
53. Edit. Holl.

To these Words of the Menagiana, let me add a Passage of Brantome. 'The Cardinal of Guise was the only Man on whom the common Saying of the late King Francis took Place; who remarked, That the Princes of the House of Lorraine resembled the Neapolitan Courtiers, which are long and tardy in growing, but prove very good when they grew old (141).'

(141) Brantome's
Elogy of Monf.
de Guise. Tom.
III, of his Me-
moires, pag. 139.

CAPRIATA (PETER-JOHN), a Civilian and Historian, was of Genoa, and lived in the XVIIth Century. He had every Qualification requisite for an excellent Advocate, if we believe the Testimony of Amantius [A]; but we must remember that this Testimony is in a Poem before a Book of Capriata. In this Poem are also given him all the Commendations the most accomplished Historian can deserve. The Expressions, made use of in Encomiums of this kind, are not to

[A] He had every Qualification requisite for an excellent Advocate, if we believe the Testimony of Amantius. This is the beginning of a Poem placed before Capriata's Book:

Qui consulta patrum, & nodosi dogmata juris,
Atque vagos Legum anfractus, dubiosque recessus
Ingenio solitus scrutari, & quem
Jurisconsultum infignem MENOCHIVS olim
Testatur, scriptis commendans laudibus, — (1).

(1) Paulus A-
mantius, in Car-
mine ad Ancho-
rem Historie, &
ad Librum.

Thy Skill can sound the Depths of puzzling Laws,
Trace all their Windings, and remark their Flaws.

YOL. II.

A little after follows,

Tu, seu jura doces, juris penetralia quævis,
Seu patronus agis causas, dubiumque clientem
Sublevat, arguto quem promissu pectore, sensus,
Unde audent dubiæ melius confidere causæ;
Seu juris responsa refers consulta petenti,
Seu lites dirimis certantes arbiter inter;
Tam rite & recte peragi tibi cuncta videntur,

liii

Tam

be construed literally; but it is certain the historical Works of this Writer are very valuable [B]. He delivers Facts with great Clearness; he discovers their Springs, Instruments, and Consequences; and neither falls into the Adulation of a Flatterer, nor into the Ill-nature of a cynical Censor. He boasts of having kept clear of all Partiality, either for *France* or *Spain*; and insists that whoever accuses him of favouring a Party, must find the Charge return upon themselves [C].

The

Tam facile, atq; brevi interjecto tempore, quantum
Per tardas perfecta moras vix quisque dedisset.

Whether in learned Lectures you explain;
Or by just Pleadings tott'ring Rights maintain;
Or give Opinions on some Points in doubt;
Or by kind Arbitration end a Suit;
No Time requir'd for searching Books you need,
Your instant Thoughts excel all you can read.

Here is one, who succeeded equally, either in explaining the greatest Difficulties of the Civil-Law, or in pleading Causes, or in giving Opinions, or in ending of Suits by way of Arbitration. What can be said more glorious of a Civilian?

[B] *The historical Works of this Writer are very valuable.* They relate what passed in his own Times, particularly in Italy. He published the two first Books by way of Essay, in the Year 1626. *I due primi libri dell' Historia sopra i movimenti d'arme succeduti in Italia dall' anno 1613 fino al 1618* (2). — *The two first Books of the History of the Wars in Italy, from the Year 1613 to 1618.* He re-printed them at Genoa in 4to in 1638, with the ten following Books. All the twelve go on from the Year 1613 as far as to 1634, and were again printed at Geneva in 1644 in 8vo. The Author published a second part at Genoa in 1648, which was re-printed at Geneva in 1650 in 8vo. It was intitled, *Dell' Historia di Pietro Giovanni Capriata, parte seconda in sei libri distinta.* Nel primiero de qual li si contengono alcuni movimenti d'armi fuor d'Italia succeduti. E ne cinque susseguenti la continuatione di quei d'Italia dell' anno MDCXXXVIII, fino al MDCXLVIII. — *The second part of the History of Peter John Capriata, divided into six Books.* In the first of which is contained an Account of some Wars which happened out of Italy. In the five following, the Continuation of those of Italy, from the Year 1634, to 1644. There was printed at London, in 1663, an English Translation of the whole Work.

[C] *He insists that whoever accuses him of favouring a Party, must find the Charge return upon themselves.* This is a judicious Observation, and applicable to a great many Readers, who are apt to accuse Historians of being partial, for no other reason but because they are remarkably so themselves. If he speaks well of those whom they, out of National Prejudice, or Party Interest, dislike, it is Flattery; and if he says any thing amiss of those whom they, for the same sort of reason, love, it is Malice. They never examine themselves, nor discover that the Partiality which they charge upon their Author is intirely their own. This is what *Capriata* represents to some certain Readers, who complained that he had not preserved an exact Balance between the two Crowns; and that he had set off too extravagantly the Actions of some Princes, and reported as disadvantageously those of others. When the Readers, says he, are more prejudiced than the Writer, they think the Commendations too sparing which he gives to their Friends, and those too liberal which he bestows on their Enemies. They accuse him of not censuring the latter enough, and of censuring the former too much; and thus they judge, even whilst the Historian preserves the most perfect Equilibrium. Their doleful Complaints are the Effect of their own Passion, and not, as they pretend, of that of the Author. This Thought is better expressed in *Capriata's* own Words. *Ma perche fra molti affectionati lodatori si sentono qualche più presto doglienze, che detrattoni, parendo ad alcuni, che io sia più dell' una, che dell' altra corona parziale, e che de Principi nella parte premiere interefatti; altri venghino innalzati, altri depressi più di quel, che la via mezzana, che han gl' Istoriographi a tenere. Dirò per tanto in rispo-*

sta, più che in difesa di simili doglienze, primieramente, che tanto riesche difficile tener la via di mezzo allo Scrittore, quanto al Lettore, & che però tanto può l'uno, quanto l'altro trapassare la Mediocrità, quello nello scrivere, e questo nel giudicare. Impercioche il Lettore tocco per avventura da maggior passione, che l'Autore, e però più all' una che all' altra parte inclinate riputerà sempre corte le lodi, e abbondanti gl' abbassamenti della parte, nella quale inclina, e per lo contrario maggiori le lodi, e mirori gl' abbassamenti delle contrarie, per quanto lo scrittore si sia ugualmente con tutti diportato: onde la doglienza procederà per avventura più dalla passione di chi legge, che da quella di che scrive, conforme al proverbio Latino,

Arquatis omnia lurida videri (3).

A jaundic'd Eye sees every thing discolour'd.

I have said elsewhere (4), that it is sometimes easier to be an honest Man, than to appear so; and I here affirm that it is sometimes more difficult to appear a faithful Historian, than to be such in reality. I do not mean that it is an easy Task to write an History, which shall impartially represent the Prudence and ill Conduct, the Right and Wrong, the Advantages and Losses of two Parties. This requires a Man without Passions, or the Sage of the Stoics, a Man who never can be met with, and exists only in Idea; It requires, I say, this state of Insensibility, to be able to preserve always so exact a Medium in composing History. It is not sufficient to belong to a Country no way concerned either with *France* or *Spain*, during the Wars between those two Crowns. We may favour indirectly, at least by our wishes, one Party more than the other, notwithstanding this Neutrality (5). Our own national Interests, or national Caprices, may inspire this preference. It is impossible to express how this prejudices an Historian against the Party he dislikes, how many secret Passions it raises in him which corrupt his Judgment, and how it accustoms him to relate, with much more Pleasure, the Successes of the Party he favours. I add, that a private Person shall even from his own particular Constitution conceive an Affection for one Foreign Nation, greater than for another; and that the Situation of his own Fortune may make him have more to hope or fear from one Prince, than from another. These are some of the Obstacles to an Historian's being perfectly candid, and observing a just Medium. A great many more might be mentioned; and if every thing was to be, which may bias an Author in writing the History of his own Country, the Catalogue would be still much larger. It must therefore be owned to be a very difficult Task to compose an Impartial History.

But if an Author could surmount all these Obstacles, the Snares and Surprises of his Passions, the Prejudice of Education, the Force of Prepossessions, and the Habits contracted before undertaking to write his History; If in short he had related sincerely the Good and Bad of each Party, without inclining to either side, where would he find Readers candid enough to do him the Justice he deserves? Would they take the same pains to divest themselves of all Prepossession? Would they not be displeased with what they find related either in prejudice to the Party they love, or in favour of that they dislike? Would they believe these Accounts to be true? Would they not reject every Thing as false which should contradict their prejudices? Consequently, this Author would find more Difficulty to be esteemed impartial, than really to be so.

The Inconveniences I have mentioned are more particularly to be apprehended in writing a History of our own Times; for, in proportion as the Facts are of more distant Dates, the Readers become less untractable

(3) *Capriata*, in the Preface to the second Part of his History.

(4) *In Remark [H], of the Article AMPHARAUS.*

(5) See, in the *Historical Letters*, for the Month of October, 1702, pag. 374, &c. with what Violence the People of Rome discovered their Partiality, either for the Emperor, or for France. See also the *News from the Courts of Europe*, October, 1704, pag. 380, &c. and the *Historical Letters* for the same Month, p. 358.

(2) *Thuanus's Catalogue*, pag. 305, Part I, notes the Edition of Milan, 1627, in 8vo.

The *Venetians* complained of being ill treated in his History; the Grounds on which he justified himself were worth remarking [D]. He dedicated his Work, not to the Princes, but to private Persons; for fear that his addressing to a powerful Patron might make him suspected of not having strictly adhered to the Rules of History [E].

untractable; but, as to those lately passed, they will hear no Reason. They directly declare to be Pensioners to the Enemy, the Gazetteers, who give a more favourable Account than other Writers have done of their Losses, and suppress nothing of their Successes. The generality of Readers are so unjust, as to esteem those, who dare contradict their late Advantages, to be Favourers of the Enemy. So that an Historian, in proportion as he is in reality more sincere, renders himself so much the more suspected. *Salust* might have reckoned this among the Difficulties in writing History: I mean the Difficulties, which, according to him, rise from the Dispositions of the Reader. 'Ac mihi quidem tametsi haud quaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem & auctorem rerum; tamen imprimis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt: dein quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia & invidia dicta putant: ubi de magna virtute, atque gloria bonorum memores; quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putet, æquo animo accipit; supra, veluti ficta pro falsis ducit (6). — And though there is not the same Glory acquired by relating Actions, as by performing them, yet I take the Undertaking of an Historian to be one of the most difficult. First, because Facts are to be equalled with Words; again, because most Readers will take all Animadversions on Misconduct to proceed from Malice and Envy: And in all Relations of brave and gallant Actions, what they think they could have done themselves, they admit as true, and what exceeds that standard they reject as fictitious and false.'

(6) *Salust*. in Prefat. Belli Cæsarini.

To return to *Capriata*, is is observable that he gives (7), as an Instance of his Impartiality, his Account of the two Wars in *Montferrat*. The Duke of *Mantua*, being attacked in the former by the Duke of *Savoy*, was supported by the King of *Spain*; but in the second he was attacked by that King, and supported by the King of *France*. Our Author, who had commended the King of *Spain*, with respect to the first, condemns him in regard to the last, and bestows so much Praise on the Conduct of *Lewis XIII.*, that they have been copied by a *Frenchman*. 'Che un Cavaglier Franceſe dell' ordini dello Spirito, nel suo Politico Christianissimo, dato alle stampe, s'è compiaciuto per pompa di quella Reggia atione di registrarla parola per parola, senza però nominar (8). — That a French Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, in his Most Christian Politician, a Piece lately printed, was so pleased with the Magnificence of this Royal Action, as to give the Description of it Word for Word, without so much as naming his Author.' His Impartiality, and Independence, appear also from a Latin Epigram he gives us, and which was published by an Author (9), personally unknown to him. This is part of it:

(7) In the Preface to the second Part.

(8) *Capriata*, *ibid.* The author however of *The most Christian Politician*, is no Plagiary; for he declares, pag. 202, of the Edition of 1645, in 12mo, that he gives that account from an Italian author.

(9) *Paganinus Ovidentius*, in the Book called *Obætrix Librorum*.

Detegis arcanos Regum sensusque dolosque,
Nec belli causas præterisse finis.
Venalem renuis laudando obtrudere palmum,
De nullo erectus dicere vera times.

Gallus & Hispanus nullo discrimine habentur;
Nec tibi tractatur mollior Emanuel.

Nor the Designs, nor Frauds of Kings, you spare,
But their most secret springs of War declare.
Free from base Flattery your bold Truths appear
Scorning the Influence of Bribe or Fear.

Spaniard and French impartial Justice find,
Nor moves Emanuel your equal Mind.

But let him have rendered himself ever so deserving of this Encomium, a Reader, who is prepossessed, will never think him so; and if it may be said, that

he who writes History ought to be void of all Passion, it may also be affirmed, that he ought to be so too who judges of the Work. Books of History above all others verify that Observation, *Pro capta leſoris habent sua fata libelli.* — The Reader's Taste decides the Fate of Books.

[D] The *Venetians* complained of — his History: the Grounds on which he justifies himself are worth remarking.] *Andrew Balbo*, a noble *Venetian*, was at *Genoa*, when the first Part of *Capriata's* History was published. He complained very civilly to the Author, who answered him, among other Things, That no body could accuse him of want of Respect to the Republic of *Venice*, in every Thing which concerned the Wisdom of its Government (10); that, if he had not described the Successes of their Wars, in an agreeable manner, it was not his Fault, since he had represented them according to Truth, and it could not be expected that the Description of those Things, which gave pain when they happened, should give pleasure in the reading. 'Quanto poi a successi delle guerre tanto di mare, quanto di terra, non havendole recato gusto quando succedevano, e impossibile che glie' recchino quando si descrivono, onde non v'hà colpa lo scrittore se conforme al vero i rappresenta.' It would undoubtedly be a great Disorder, if the Events themselves were disagreeable to us, and yet the History of them was pleasing. Those Writers only, who have no regard to Truth, can produce this Contradiction in the Nature of Things. They are like Cooks, who make such savoury Sauces to Meats, the most insipid, and hard to digest, that they go down with a Relish. An Historian of no Integrity will suppress all bad Successes, or cover them with a long detail of little advantageous Circumstances, so as to render them imperceptible to his Readers: they will not be able to see the Wound under the Multitude of fine Plaisters, he applies to it.

Capriata represented also, that he was neither a Subject, nor Pensioner, of the Republic of *Venice*, and yet had treated it with greater Respect than some Authors of its own had done, who had been punished both in their Persons and Works, whilst the Sale of his History was publicly permitted. 'E se V. S. andera paragonando i nostri scritti con quei d'alcuni Veneti scrittori trovera, che, come con maggior verita, così con rispetto maggiore ho i successi poco felici dell' armi *Veneticani* rappresentato, havendo nelle cose dubbie sempre nella piu benigna interpretazione inclinato. In maniera, che le nostre opere sono pubblicamente, nella stessa Città di *Venetia*, vendute, lette, & con applausi non minori, che altrove ricevute, dove quelle de' loro scrittori rimanendo affatto sterminate, non compariono in luce e gl' Autori ne stati sono puniti, e puniti ancora i Capitani, che mal si diportarono ne sinistri incontri dell' Armee, e delle pubbliche fattioni (11). All this was more proper to justify the Author, than to remove the Uneasiness he had given the *Venetians* by the Sincerity of his Pen. Men do not love to be told publicly of their Faults (12).

[E] He was afraid his addressing to a powerful Patron might make him suspected of not having strictly adhered to the Rules of History.] He dedicated the first Part of his History to *Ottaviano Raggi*, Auditor of the Chamber to *Urban VIII.*; and the second to *Carolo Emanuele Durazzo*, Referendary of both Signatures, and declared the Reasons which hindered his dedicating them to any Prince. There is not a Prince, says he, but is interested in the Affairs I relate; whatever therefore is said in favour of him, to whom I should dedicate my Book, might be esteemed Flattery, and any thing to his Disadvantage would be an Affront. It might also be suspected, that the Desire of procuring a Prince's Favour had served as a Bridle to make me hold my Tongue, or a Spur to carry me beyond the Truth. 'Essendo vi tutti (Principi) o tanto o quanto interessati, non pareſce adulazione quel, che il corso ordinario delle cose succedere portasse di poco loro gusto, e sadiſfazione: E per che ancora nessuno haveſſe occasioni

(10) *Capriata*, Preface of the second Part of his History.

(11) *Ibid.*

(12) *Obsequium* amico, veritas odium parit. — Truth begets Enmities; and Flattery Friends.

Tarent. And. Act. I. Sc. I.

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(13) *Capriata*, in the Epistle Dedicatory of the first Part of his History.

'occasione di far concetto, che il desiderio d'acquistarmi la gratia di quel Principe, haveffe servito di freno, per farmi tacere, o di stimolo per iscrivere piu abbondantemente, contro quel, che l'obbligo di fedele, e sincero scrittore mi potesse prescrivere (13).' Nothing is more judicious than this; for the more an Historian deserves to be commended for his Sincerity, in censuring a Monarch's Misconduct, and relating his ill Successes, the more would he be to blame for his Imprudence in dedicating his Book to him. Besides, it is become customary to use Flattery in addressing to Princes. Some Pension or Reward is expected; and therefore care is taken to consider what ought to be expressed or concealed. This is made the Rule of relating their Actions through the whole Course of the Work. The Dedication of such a Piece to their Patron, is a direct Declaration of their renouncing their Liberty, and seeking a Master. At least it will be imagined so.

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(a) Brantome, Vie des Dames illustres, pag. 398.

(b) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1432, n. 18, pag. 816.

(c) Mariana, lib. xxi, cap. v.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Simulat rex valetudinem. Joannes Caracciolus Senefcalus majori apud reginam gratia & auctoritate quam honestum erat, ad invicendum accedens capitur. Mariana, lib. xx, cap. xiii.

(f) Id. ibid.

CARACCIOL, or CARACCIOLI. Mr *Moreri* has mentioned several famous Persons of this Family; but he has forgot the grand Seneschal of Naples, who was, perhaps, the first great Man of his Branch. His Name was JOHN CARACCIOL: He made use of his Pen when he was very young (a); which was occasioned by his Poverty, though he was born a Gentleman. He had the good fortune to please Joan, Queen of Naples, the second of that Name, which proved the way to his Preferment. He was not only admitted to the Friendship of this Queen, but also to her Embraces, which were followed by Posts of Honour and Profit, according as he knew how to husband his Interest with her, and make himself serviceable to her. The manner, in which this Princess is said to have made him the first Advances, is very extraordinary [A]. He at last met with the Fate common to such Favourites; he was too busy an Intriguer, and rendered himself odious to a Lady of great Credit with the Queen: Some say he was so insolent as to give this Princess gross, abusive, Language, and even to give her a Box on the Ear, upon her refusing to give him the Principality of Salerno (b). There was some reason to suspect him of several ill Practices against the Interest of the State; for it was he, who suggested to Alphonso, King of Arragon, the Design of returning to Naples (c), from whence he had only retired upon his not being able to carry away Queen Joan, his Mother by Adoption. It is easy to imagine how much the Queen must, after this, hate the Party of her ungrateful Son. Yet Caracciol undertook to procure, to this very Party, the Superiority in the Kingdom of Naples. His Designs were discovered, and, in order to make them ineffectual, the Queen pretended to put her Confidence in him: He was drawn by this Artifice to her Court, upon which she ordered him to be slain, the first of August, 1432, by the Advice of her favourite Woman (d) [B]. At the beginning of the Rupture between Alphonso of Arragon and Queen Joan, Caracciol, being sent to visit that Prince, who pretended himself indisposed, was made a Prisoner (e); but he was set at Liberty some time after (f). See *Pasquier's Recherches de la France*, cap. xviii, lib. vi.

[A] The manner, in which this Princess is said to have made him the first Advances, is very extraordinary. Brantome is my Author. The first Opportunity the Queen ever had of discovering her Passion to him was from his Aversion to Mice. One Day, as he was playing at Chess in her Wardrobe, she herself procured a Moule to be brought before him: he turning himself in a Fright, sometimes this way, and sometimes that, and running first against one, and then another, fled at last to the Door of the Queen's Chamber, and so fell directly upon her. By which means he discovered her Love to him, and immediately granted him the Favour, soon after which she made him her grand Seneschal (1). Believe this Story who will; however it is not improbable, that, of all Declarations of Love, none costs a Person of her Sex and Quality so dear as a verbal one.

Nor is this to be wondered at: Women have a greater Command over their Tongues, than over several other Signs, more apt to make the Fire blaze out, which lies smothering in their Breasts (2): It is for this Reason Shame more easily hinders them from having recourse to articulate words, which are Signs of Intuition, than from expressing their Desires in their Faces by some natural Signs. And as Men are commonly very dexterous in discovering these Signs, and as ready in taking the Advantage of them, Women are seldom reduced to make verbal Declarations; this Necessity therefore is so great a Rarity, that, for want of frequent Use, it cannot become easy. If they perceive all other Signs unregarded; they prefer the use of the Pen to that of the Tongue. We have seen an Example of this kind before (3), in the Description Ovid has given us of the Passion of Byblis. And it is to be observed, that, in Affairs of this Nature, a Queen has not the Advantages other Women have; she is surrounded with those only, who, by reason of their Subjection, dare not advance any Declarations of Love: so that of necessity she must

be the first Aggressor, and make the Discovery of her own Passion. Other Women, generally speaking, suffer themselves to be attacked; and, though at the same time they wish to be conquered, yet keep upon the defensive, and have the Honour of it (4); whilst a Queen is forced to give the Onset, and shamefully to break through all the Rules of Decency: I say nothing of the risque she runs of not being understood; she may easily be delivered from that, and explain herself sooner or later: Our Joan of Naples was so dexterous, that, without descending to I love you, or to a Declaration more plain and gross, which was made to the Patriarch Joseph (5), she discovered her Inclinations. Much less need the fear a Repulse, after she has made herself understood; for that Danger is very small. The Advantages, which redound from such a Condescension, and the Inconvenience a Man exposes himself to, if he flights these Royal Favours, almost always oblige him to answer them (6).

[B] — this Queen — ordered him to be slain — by the Advice of her favourite Woman. These are Mariana's words: 'Principis consilii auctor Cobella Rufa Antonii Sueffæ Ducis conjux, quæ præcipuum gratiæ & auctoritatis locum apud Reginam nacta erat, eoque implacabili odio in Caracciolum ferebatur (7). — The chief Author of this Advice was Cobella Rufa, Wife of Antony, Duke of Sueffa, who was in greatest Favour and Authority with the Queen, and therefore extremely inveterate against Caraccioli.'

We must observe, that, according to some Authors, the Queen's share in this matter consisted more in permitting than commanding it to be done (8). She pardoned the Murderers, confiscated the Estate of the deceased, and attained his Memory. He did not apprehend that this Princess was his Enemy; for as soon as he was falsely informed, by the Contrivance of the Conspirators, that the Queen was fallen into an Apoplexy, and that his Preference was

(2) Valnus alit venis, & cæco capritur igne. Virg. Æn. lib. iv, ver. 24.

(3) In Remark [B], of the Article BYBLIS.

(4) Pugnat prius fortassis, & improbe, dicit: Pugnando vincit sed tamen illa vult. Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. i, ver. 667.

(5) Genes. cap. xxxix, ver. 7.

(6) See Remark [C], of the Article FAUSTA.

(7) Marian. lib. xxv, cap. v.

(8) Non tam jubente quam non negante regina. Spondan. ad Ann. 1442, n. 18.

was desired; he rose immediately, and opened the Door to them in his Shirt. They rushed in upon him, and murdered him, the Twenty seventh of August, the Day on which he had celebrated the Marriage of his Son, with great Solemnity (9).

(9) Taken from *Spondanus, ibid.*

CARACCIOLI (JOHN ANTONY), Son of *John Caraccioli*, Prince of *Melfi*, Marshal of *France*, &c. was Bishop of *Troyes* in the XVIth Century, and declared himself a Calvinist in the Year 1561. See *Moreri's Dictionary*; but observe, that he there misrecites the Words of *Thuanus*. He makes him say more than he has said (a), and omits one considerable Circumstance, which he has taken notice of; which is, that the Protestants acknowledged *Caraccioli* for Bishop, after he had publicly embraced their Religion [A]. This deserves Examination.

(a) This is more especially remarkable in the latter Editions, where what he pretends to be said by *Thuanus*, is distinguished in *Italic Characters*.

[A] *The Protestants acknowledged Caraccioli as a Bishop, after he had publicly embraced their Religion.* *Thuanus* takes notice, that this Bishop, upon a Scruple of Conscience, for his not having been elected by the Suffrages, either of the Church or People, assembled the Protestant Elders, in order that they might piously and prudently deliberate about electing and acknowledging him for Bishop. He declared against the shewing him any Favour, and that, if they did not think him worthy of that Character, he would lay it down with Pleasure. The Affair being duly considered, he was unanimously elected and re-ordained, and took his Seat as Bishop, and often preached, till the Bishops, apprehending the Danger of such a Precedent, prevailed with the King to deprive him. 'Ei scrupulus injectus est de vocatione sua, quod non Ecclesie neque Populi suffragiis electus esset; itaque Protestantium Ecclesie seniores evocavit, ut pie ac prudenter despicere, an se eligere vellent, ac pro Episcopo habere; neque quidquam gratiae darent; nam si minus idoneum existimarent, se libenter loco cessurum. Ita re inter eos deliberata, omnium consensu electus & denuo ordinatus loco Episcopi fedit, in concionibus publice ad populum, quibus eorum doctrinam sequebatur, habendis assiduus, donec praesulis exemplum veriti apud regem pervicerunt ut dignitate moveretur (1).' Sure this was a Matter well worth being mentioned by *Moreri*. We shall see presently, that it does not at all agree with the Account of *Theodorus Beza*, and yet *Thuanus* has followed *Peter Martyr*, who was upon the Spot.

(1) *Thuan. lib. xxviii, pag. 569. col. 1, C. ad Ann. 1561.*

(2) He was then Minister of the *Savoy Church* in *London*, which is Episcopal.

(3) *Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia (vulgo) Nonconformistis*, p. 163, Edit. 1665.

One of the Presbyterian Ministers, who were banished from *England*, in the Year 1662, published an Apology, wherein he refutes a Piece, printed by *Mr Durel* (2), in Defence of Episcopacy: I have seen what this Apology answers to *Mr Durel*, who had proved from this Example of *Caraccioli*, Bishop of *Troyes*, that the Reformed in *France* did not condemn Episcopacy. It maintains, that, if they did acknowledge this Profelyte for a true Bishop, it was only by taking that Word to signify no more than a Minister of the Word of God, and not as it is used to signify a perpetual President of the Assembly of Presbyters, and much less as it signifies a Prelate, who rules absolute without the Advice of his Presbyters (3). It adds, that *Caraccioli*, being in doubt whether he could lawfully exercise the Pastoral Function, not having been confirmed or elected by the Church and People, (to use the very Words of *Peter Martyr* in his Epistle to *Beza*) 'convened the Elders of the Reformed Church, and desired them piously and prudently to consider, whether they would elect, confirm, and acknowledge him for Bishop, which if they thought proper to do, he would make it his Duty to proceed as he had begun, by teaching and exhorting the Church committed to his Care, to edify and enlarge it to the utmost of his Ability; but, if they judged him unfit for so great a Charge, that they would freely and openly declare so, in which case he was ready to resign, having nothing more at heart than to be permitted to live in the Reformed Church, according to the sacred Rules of the Gospel. He requested, that they would maturely deliberate on this Matter in the Church; which when they had done, he was unanimously acknowledged and received as a true Bishop, on the sixteenth of November, 1561. *Incessit animum boni viri scrupulus, an possit munus pastoris obire, eo quod non haberet ecclesiae & populi confirmationem seu electionem: inde (utar ipsissimis verbis Petri Martyris in Epistola ad Beza) seniores Ecclesiae reformatae acceperunt, rogavitque, ut pie ac prudenter despicere, an eum vellent eligere, & confirmare, ac pro Episcopo habere, quod si*

'judicaret faciendum, se daturum operam, ut si cut coepit ita pergeret, Ecclesiam sibi commissam docendo & hortando, pro viribus aedificare, & augere; sin vero existimarent illum minus idoneum ad tantum munus, libere atque aperte dicerent, se autem paratum esse loco cedere, modo ei liceat in Ecclesia Reformata vivere, juxta sanctam Evangelii disciplinam. Rogavit ut ea de re maturè in Ecclesia deliberarent; quod cum factum esset, ab omnibus unanimiter ut verus Episcopus agnitus est & receptus, Nov. 16. 1561. (4).' Here is an exact Agreement between *Thuanus* and *Peter Martyr*: no wonder therefore that *Mr Durel* should say, *Caraccioli* was acknowledged for a true Bishop by the Reformed in *France*. For who could attest this better than *Peter Martyr*, who, after the Conclusion of the Conference at *Poissy*, passed through *Troyes*, to pay a Visit to the Bishop who had openly declared himself a Protestant (5)? However the Apologist accuses *Mr Durel* either of Fraud, or Negligence; and, in order to convict him, compares his Words with the following Passage, in the History of the Reformed Churches of *France*.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Thuanus, lib. xxviii, ad Ann. 1561.*

'About the End of September, *Antony Caraccioli*, Bishop of *Troyes*, returning from the Conference at *Poissy*, which had made some Impression upon him, being also solicited by some Princes and Ladies of the Court, presented himself before the Consistory of the Church of *Troyes*, solemnly acknowledging his Errors, and requesting to be received into the Ministry. On which, there being a difference in Opinions, some thinking it would be a great Advantage to have him on their side, others suspecting, not without reason, the Levity and incontinent Life of that Bishop, at that time too notorious, it was resolved to consult the Ministers then assembled at *Poissy*, who, finding some difficulty in the Affair, on account of some Circumstances which were made public, it was referred to the Church of *Geneva*, whose Opinion of which is to be met with in writing among the *Latin* Answers of *John Calvin* (6). In the mean time, he passed through *Troyes*, that great Man *Peter Martyr*, in his Return from *Poissy* to his Church at *Zurich*, by whose Advice the Bishop, having made his Abjuration, and signed the Confession of Faith, and promised to quit his Bishopric, was received into the Ministry, though not unanimously, being opposed by one of the Ministers, named *Peter le Roy*. However, having quitted his Bishopric, by means of a Pension procured him by the Queen, he applied himself to preaching, abounding much more in words than knowledge: but he behaved himself very ill afterwards, as will be shewn in it's Place (7).'

(6) I take it to be in the 373d Letter of *Calvin*, pag. 726. Edit. Hanov. 1597.

(7) *Beza's Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches*, Tom. I, lib. v, pag. 767, under the Year 1561.

If this Account be any way reconcilable with That of *Peter Martyr*, it must be allowed to be very ill expressed, and after the most obscure and deceitful manner. I agree, that if *Mr Durel* knew what the Author of the History of the Reformed Churches had advanced, he ought either to have refuted him, or reconciled him in the best manner he could with *Peter Martyr*: but very probably he knew nothing at all of it, nor in the least suspected that there was any Account so contrary to that of this Minister, which had been adopted and confirmed by *Thuanus*. He took advantage from the Remark, with which this celebrated Historian has corroborated his Account; namely, that the Bishops of *France* apprehended the Consequences of this Behaviour of *Caraccioli*, and that upon this account they prevailed on the King to remove him from his Dignity. The Presbyterian Apologist eludes this Remark, by replying that the Bishops apprehended the Consequences of the Conduct of their Brother of *Troyes*, because, if the Episcopacy

VOL. II.

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(8) *Apologia pro Ministris in Angliā*, pag. 166.

copal Character could not be lawful without the Suffrages of the People, there must be an End of their Hierarchy; and because the frequent Preachings of *Caraccioli* condemned the Idleness of his Brethren, or their Application to other Matters (8). But this is going from the Purpose: It is evident, *Tuanus* meant, that the Apprehension of the Bishops was founded on *Caraccioli's* retaining his Bishopric, after his Admission into the Protestant Communion. It was from hence that his Example might become dangerous. It was possible that a great many of the

Bishops would have separated from the Church of *Rome*, if they had been sure of preserving their Dignity, upon their being confirmed by the Protestant People. There was no room to fear they would renounce their Dignities to become only common Preachers. We must allow therefore, that *Mr Durel's* Antagonist was mistaken, and that he entered upon these controversial Topics, principally to have an opportunity of reproaching the *English* Bishops with their Neglect of Preaching (9).

(9) *Ibid.* & pag. seq.

(a) He took for his Surname, *a Cofacciaro*.

CARBON (a) (LEWIS), Author of several Books of Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Divinity, lived towards the end of the XVIIth Century. He was not a Civilian, as *Mr Konig* affirms, but a Divine: He was even Professor of Divinity at *Perugia*. *Servilius Treus*, a Native of *Udine*, was one of his particular Friends, and advised several Persons to buy the Rhetoric that *Carbon* had published. This was one of the Reasons which induced *Carbon* to dedicate to him his *Introductio in Logicam* [A], printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1579, in Octavo. And indeed this is a Method of obliging an Author in the most agreeable manner.

(1) See, on this Head, the Remark [C], of the *Antesig-NANUS*.

[A] *Servilius Treus* — advised several Persons to buy the Rhetoric that *Carbon* had published. This was one of the Reasons that induced *Carbon* to dedicate to him his *Introductio in Logicam*.] He begins with the usual Topic, that the Person to whom he dedicates his Book will become its Patron (1); after which he comes to that of Gratitude, and, among other Favours, acknowledges the Encomium bestowed on his Treatise of Rhetoric, and the Recommendations in favour of the Sale of it. 'Deinde si iis potissime opera dicanda sunt, quibus se plurimum homines debere sentiunt; & ex hoc sane capite ad hos meos labores omni animi studio tibi commendandos causas non levibus impulsus sum. Nam ut paulo ante dicebam, cum te apud multos meorum scriptorum eum prædicatorem habuerim, qualem alium fortasse neminem; profecto non poteris non defendere id, quod tuæ privatæ fidei commissum fuisse videbis. Optime namque novi, te non modo meis scriptis, quæ de Arte dicendi in lucem dedi, mirifice delectari; sed etiam ad ea sibi comparanda alios sæpe fuisse hortatum (2). — Moreover, if Books ought especially to be dedicated to those to whom we have the greatest Obligations, I ought on this Account to dedicate these my Labours to you in the most affectionate manner. For, as you have been pleased to recommend my writings, in a stronger manner than any of my other Friends, I assure myself that you will not fail to defend what is thus put under your particular Protection; for I am well informed, that you not only are very well pleased with my Books on Rhetoric, but have frequently desired others to purchase them.'

(2) *Lud. Carbo*, Epist. Dedicat. *Introductio in Logicam*, folio a 2, verso.

Note, That *Servilius Treus*, Patron of that Book, was a Civilian, who had great Employments in the Republic of *Venice*. They are particularly enumerated in this Epistle Dedicatory. He was one of the seven Commissioners intrusted with the Building of

the Town of *Palma Nuova*, and he made a Speech to them, which was printed, and has been commended by our Author, who did not fail observing that his Friend had a very rare Talent; which was his excelling both in Business, and Learning. It is certain these two Things seldom go together (3); for great Application to study generally disqualifies for any public Employment, which is not in the learned way. 'Et in te admirati sint, quod in paucis reperitur, doctrinam cum rerum agendarum ratione conjunctam; quotus enim quisque est, qui cognitione & actione excellat, ut tu, *Servili*, facis? Eloquentiæ vero tunc privatum specimen exhibuisti, cum orationem non jejunam, non nudam, sed rerum genere eruditam, varietate copiosam, sententiis illustratam, verborum selectione cultam, schematicis pictam, atque dicendi forma ornatam, apud Illustriss. *Palmae Novæ* urbis ædificandæ Præfectos, ut unus e Septem designatis, habuisti: quam vir eruditus & eloquens *Augustinus Michaelius*, ne tanto bono bonarum literarum studio carent, tua cum laude in lucem dedit (4). — And admired to find in your Person, what we seldom meet with together, the Scholar and the Man of Business. For how few are they who excel both in Science and in Action, as you, *Servilius*, do? Of your Eloquence you gave us a signal Proof, in the Speech which you, as one of the seven Commissioners for rebuilding *Palma Nova*, made to the honourable Trustees, not a jejune and naked one, but full of curious Learning, great Variety, wise Sentences, elegant Choice of Words, adorned with noble Figures and Expressions, which *Augustin Michaelius* published with due Encomiums on the Speaker, that the learned might not be deprived of so fine a Piece.'

(3) See the Preface to *Sarrafino's* Works.

(4) *Carbo*, *ibid* supra, fol. a 4.

This Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Venice*, the fifth of *June*, 1597.

(a) *Cardanus*, de Vita propria, p. 12. Edit. Paris. 1643, in 8vo.

CARDAN (JEROM), a Physician, and one of the greatest Genius's of his Age, was born at *Pavia*, the Twenty fourth of September, 1501 (a) [A]. His Mother, not being married [B], did all she could, during her Pregnancy, to cause Abortion;

(1) *Cardanus*, de Vita propria, cap. iv, pag. 14. Edit. Paris. 1643.

[A] He was born the Twenty fourth of September, 1501. I was not willing to depend upon what I have read in the second Chapter of his Life, *Ortus sum An. M.D.VIII. Calend. Octobris*. I intend no Criticism on the ill placing of these Words, though they leave the Reader in a doubt whether he was born Octob. 1. 1508, or Sept. 24. 1500. I stick at other Matters. *Cardanus* says, he had a Fit of Sickness, of which he thought he should have died, in the beginning of his Eighth Year (1), and that he recovered, whilst the French were rejoicing for their Victory, obtained over the *Venetians* near the *Adda* (2). It is certain this Victory was obtained on the fourteenth of May, 1509, and it is very likely *Cardanus* fell sick towards the end of Sept. 1508; now, as he was then entering upon his eighth Year, he must of consequence be born about the latter end of September, 1501. If this Proof is excepted against, under Pretence that *Car-*

dan's Sickness might have begun in Sept. 1507; let it be observed, how *Cardanus* elsewhere (3) makes his Thirty fifth Year fall in with 1536. *Mr Baillet* had reason to remark, that Authors are extremely divided as to the precise time of *Cardanus's* Birth and Death (4). See the Remark [F].

[B] His Mother was not married. Her Name was *Clara Mitheria* (5). I find her Son no where expressly affirming he was not married; he says indeed, she attempted to destroy the Fruit of her Womb, and that his Father did not cohabit with her; but both these Things may be consistent with Marriage. There are many married Women, who make use of Drugs to cause Abortion; the Writings of the Casuists furnish but too many Instances, and the Confessors know enough of it. Besides, a Separation from Bed and Board is no such extraordinary thing in the married State. The Reason therefore, that makes me believe *Cardanus* was a

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 19, 20.

(4) *Baillet*, *Tom.* 1, of his *Anti*, pag. 46, & seq.

(5) *Cardanus*, de Vita propria, pag. 6.

Abortion; but the Medicines she took had not their desired Effect (b). She was three Days in Labour, insomuch that they were forced to tear the Infant from her. He was born with a Head full of black curled Hair (c). At four Years of Age he was carried to Milan (d), where his Father was an Advocate (e); and he was eight Years of age, when, in a dangerous Fit of Sickness, they devoted him to St. Jerom. It was his Father made this Vow, who chose rather to have recourse to the Assistance of this Saint, than that of his Familiar Spirit, whose Attendance he greatly boasted of. His Son never once thought of asking the reason of his making this Preference (f). At twenty Years of Age he went to study in the University of Pavia; where, two Years after, he explained Euclid. In 1524, he went to Padua, where he took the Degree of Master of Arts the same Year, and, towards the end of the Year 1525, that of Doctor of Physic (g). He married about the latter end of the Year 1531 (h). He had been incapable, for the space of ten Years before, of enjoying a Woman [C]; which very much afflicted him. He had completed his Thirty third Year, when he was made Mathematical Professor at Milan. Two Years after, he was offered a Physic-Professorship in Pavia, which he refused, from the uncertainty of the Payment of his Salary (i). In 1539, he was admitted into the College of Physicians at Milan; and in 1543, taught Physic publicly in that City. The Year following he did the same at Pavia, but left off at the end of the Year, because they did not pay him his Stipend, and returned to Milan (k). In 1547, a very advantageous Offer was made him by the King of Denmark, which he refused, on account of the Air and Religion of the Country [D]. He

Bastard, is this: The two Particulars I have taken notice of, though, I say, they exclude not Matrimony, are however commonly Signs of an illegitimate Birth. If they had not been such in Relation to Cardan, he would certainly have declared so in express Terms: for he could not be ignorant of the Consequences, which would be naturally drawn from his Confession. Since therefore, after mentioning the two Points, I have insisted on, he takes no notice of his Mother's being married, there is no reason to doubt his being the Issue of an unlawful Commerce. After he was seven Years of Age, he was brought up in his Father's Family, where his Mother, and one of her Sisters, lodged at that time. This is no Argument that she was married; and that she was not a Concubine. I have read in a modern Author (6) that Cardan confessed *, the College of Physicians at Milan would not admit him into their Society, on account of his being suspected to be illegitimate. This Word suspected is very remarkable; and plainly proves that it was not certainly known, whether Cardan's Father and Mother had been married or not. However it be, this modern Author makes use of a very improper Expression, when he says, Cardan declared himself plainly the Son of a Whore, by beginning the History of his own Life with his Mother's Attempt to make herself miscarry of him (7). The Word Whore is very improper in this place; not only because Cardan no where owns his Mother was a Concubine; but also because, if he had owned her so in the most clear and express Terms, it ought not from thence to be concluded that he had treated his Mother so very rudely. A Concubine and a Whore are commonly esteemed two very distinct Characters. * Est enim Meretrix (ut loquitur Imp. in l. 22. C. ad L. Jul. de adult.) quæ pudorem suum vulgi libidinibus prostermit, quæ passim venalem formam habet, & quæstum inde facit (8). — For a Whore (as Justinian says) is one, who prostitutes herself to all Comers, who lets out her Body, without Exception, for Lucre and Hire.

[C] He married ---- in 1531. He had been incapable, for the Space of ten Years before, of enjoying a Woman. He attributes this to the malignant Influences of the Constellation under which he was born. The two unlucky Planets, and the Sun, Venus and Mercury, were in the human Signs; for which Reason, says he, I could not but be endued with a human Form: and because Jupiter was in the Ascendant, and Venus presided over the whole Figure, I could be prejudiced no where but in my Genitals, continues he; so that, from the Age of Twenty one to that of Thirty one, I was incapable of enjoying any Woman, which made me deplore my own Destiny, and envy that of all other Men. * Cum Sol, & maleficæ ambæ, & Venus & Mercurius essent in signis humanis, ideo non declinavi à formâ humanâ: sed cum Jupi-

ter esset in ascendente, & Venus totius figuræ domina, non fui oblatius nisi in genitalibus, ut à xxi. anno ad xxxi. non potuerim concumbere cum mulieribus, & sæpius defleerem fortem meam, cuique alteri propriam invidens (9). Upon a Review of the heaviest Misfortunes that befel him in his Life, he reckons up four, whereof the first, according to his Account, was this, of not being able to enjoy the Sex; the second, was the tragical end of his eldest Son; the third, his Imprisonment; and the fourth, the irregular Life of his younger Son. * Totidem maxima detrimenta, & impedimenta, primum concubitus, secundum mortis lævæ filii, tertium Carceris, quartum improbitatis filii, natu minoris (10). In another place he gives a longer Catalogue of his Misfortunes, not forgetting that of his Impotency. * Infelicitates sunt, mors filiorum maxime lævæ, aut stultitia vel sterilitas: impotentia ad congressum mulierum: paupertas perpetua, pugna, accusationes, incommoda, morbi, pericula, carcer, injuria in præferendo immeritis tot & toties (11). — My Misfortunes have been, the most cruel Death, or Folly, or Barrenness of my Children, my own Impotency, perpetual Poverty, Quarrels, Accusations, Incumbrances, Distempers, Dangers, Imprisonment, Hardship in the so frequent Preference of so many worthless Persons.

[D] ---- Which he refused on Account of the Air and Religion of the Country. His Friend Andrew Vesalius had procured him these Terms. Cardan was to have had Eight hundred Crowns a Year, and his Diet: He refused these Advantages among other Reasons, because, in order to have complied with the Fashion of the Country, he must have quitted the Catholic Religion. * Oblata est conditio D. CCC. Coronatorum in singulos annos à rege Daniæ, quam recipere nolui, cum etiam victus impensam suppeditaret, non solum ob regionis intemperiem, sed quod alio sacrorum modo consuevissem, ut vel ibi male acceptus futurus essem, vel patriam legem meam majorumque relinquare coactus (12). To judge of things according to the Idea, which at first sight we form of Cardan's Religion, we should not imagine him to have been so conscientious. But we ought to distrust those precipitate Opinions formed of People, from Prejudices, first Appearances, and examine to the bottom. For my part, upon reading the Book Cardan has left us of *de Vita propria*, I rather discover in it the Character of a superstitious Man than of an hardy Unbeliever. I confess he owns he was not very devout: *parum pius* (13); but in the foregoing Page he tells us, that, though he was naturally of a very revengeful Temper (14), yet he forbore to exert it when occasion offered, in Veneration of the Deity. *Dei ob venerationem, quod omnia hæc vana quantum sint dignosco, occasionem oblatam ultionum etiam consulo negligo* (15). There is no Prayer, no frequenting of Churches,

(6) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. X, Letter 43, pag. 345.

* De Consolatione, lib. iii, cap. iii.

(7) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. XI, Letter 63, pag. 38.

(8) Marquardus Freherus, de Famæ, lib. ii, cap. xi, pag. 211.

(b) Ibid. pag. 7.

(c) Ibid. pag. 8.

(d) Ibid. pag. 13.

(e) See, in Remark [9], some particulars relating to this Man.

(f) Ibid. pag. 14.

(g) Ibid. pag. 16.

(h) Ibid. pag. 19.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Ibid. pag. 20.

(l) Ibid.

(m) Ibid.

(n) Ibid.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Ibid.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid.

(s) Ibid.

(t) Ibid.

(u) Ibid.

(v) Ibid.

(w) Ibid.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Ibid.

(z) Ibid.

(aa) Ibid.

(ab) Ibid.

(ac) Ibid.

(ad) Ibid.

(ae) Ibid.

(af) Ibid.

(ag) Ibid.

(ah) Ibid.

(ai) Ibid.

(aj) Ibid.

(ak) Ibid.

(al) Ibid.

(am) Ibid.

(an) Ibid.

(ao) Ibid.

(ap) Ibid.

(aq) Ibid.

(ar) Ibid.

(as) Ibid.

(at) Ibid.

(au) Ibid.

(av) Ibid.

(aw) Ibid.

(ax) Ibid.

(ay) Ibid.

(az) Ibid.

(ba) Ibid.

(bb) Ibid.

(bc) Ibid.

(bd) Ibid.

(be) Ibid.

(bf) Ibid.

(bg) Ibid.

(bh) Ibid.

(bi) Ibid.

(bj) Ibid.

(bk) Ibid.

(bl) Ibid.

(bm) Ibid.

(bn) Ibid.

He made a Voyage into Scotland, in the Year 1552 [E], and returned to Milan about

so acceptable to GOD as worshipping him after this manner; I mean, in obeying his Laws out of a due regard to his Majesty, and against the strongest Inclinations of Nature. He therefore, who said Cardan was, by his own Confession, an *impious Man* (16), made use of a rash Expression. Cardan brags that he refused a good Sum from the King of England, because he would not give him those Titles the Pope had taken away from him. *Renui quingentos, certe aliqui dicunt mille (veritatem scire non potui) quod titulo ipsius regis, in Pontificis præjudicium subscribere noluerim* (17). He means King Edward, whom he had the Honour to wait upon at London, in 1552. He relates, that, having found among his Father's Papers, that Prayers addressed to the Virgin Mary, the first of April, at eight in the Morning, were of wonderful Efficacy, provided a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* were added to them; he made use of this Rule of Devotion in his most pressing Occasions, and observed it to answer perfectly well (18). He was very angry with Polybius for denying the Apparition of Spirits, and such other Tenets of the Pagan Religion (19). In a Word, nothing can be more solid and serious, than the Reflexions he makes in his Twenty second Chapter, where he gives an Account of his Piety and Religion. Is that an impious Reason, he has given for his Love of Solitude? When I am alone, said he, I am then more especially with those I love, with GOD, and my good Angel. 'Diligo solitudinem, nunquam enim magis sum cum his quos vehementer diligo quam cum solus sum: diligo autem Deum, & spiritum bonum: hos dum solus sum contempler, immensum bonum, sapientiam æternam, lucis puræ principium & autorem, gaudium verum in nobis, ubi periculum non est ne nos deferat, veritatis fundamentum, amorem voluntarium, autorem omnium, qui beatus est in seipso, & beatorum omnium tutela & desiderium: Justitia profundissima seu altissima, mortuos curans, & viventium non oblitus. Spiritus autem mandato illius me defendens, misericors, consolator bonus, & in adversis auxiliator, & consolator (20).

----- I love Solitude, for I am never so much in the Company I like, as when I am alone. For I love GOD, and my good Angel. These, while I am alone, I contemplate, the infinite Good, the eternal Wisdom, the Fountain and Author of Science, the true Pleasure, which we need not fear losing, the Foundation of Truth, the Source of disinterested Love, the Creator of All Things, who is happy in himself, and the Patron and Protector of all who desire to be so: the most high and profound Justice, exerting itself on the Dead, and not forgetting the Living. And the Angel who, by his Command, is my Guardian, a kind and compassionate Counsellor, and Assistant, and Comforter in Adversity.

However, I would neither contradict nor affirm what I have read in *Martin del Rio*. That Author says, that Cardan writ a Book concerning the Mortality of the Soul, which he would sometimes shew to his particular Friends (21). This Book was never printed: on the contrary, the public has seen a Work of Cardan, on the Immortality of the Soul, wherein some are offended at his saying, that he was hindered by Fate and Warnings from declaring all his Thoughts upon that Subject. It is a sign, say they, he published this Book out of Policy, while he retained in his Heart all his Venom. 'Cum eo ipso opere (*de Animarum Immortalitate*) cap. 13. p. 280. aperte prodatur se ac monitis prohiberi reliqua dicere quæ de anima sentiret, suspicito est hunc polypum ad eam scripserit metu infamiae adactum, verè antequam tale quid scripsisset contra Animæ Immortalitatem quale nonnulli referunt, idque doctrinæ venenum ejus in pectore etiam post editum eum quem retuli librum delituisse (22). I believe this is a Mistake: Dr Parker, who has very happily represented Cardan's Follies and Extravagancies, takes him to have had more of the Fanatic in him than the Atheist. I think he is in the right: see the Seventy seventh Page of his Book *de Deo*. It cannot however be denied, that some very pernicious Doctrines are scattered

up and down through Cardan's Works. Father Raynaud, in the place just cited, has mentioned some of them, and concludes with a Proscription of this Physician's Works, calling him the Head of the second Class of Atheists. *Homo nullius religionis ac fidei, & inter clancularios Atheos secundi ordinis ævo suo facile princeps*.

Scaliger, the Father, quotes some Words out of Cardan's Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul, which contain the very impiety of *Averroës*. Cardan maintains, that there is but one Intelligence in these sublunary Regions, and that this Intelligence, which is no farther humane, than as humane Matter is capable of receiving it, enters into Man, and is that which produces in him Intellectual Actions; that it also approaches and encompasses Brutes, but is not able to enter them by reason of the disproportion of their matter; from whence it comes that Man receives an inward Illumination, while it's Rays act only on Brutes from without (23). This is all the Difference Cardan allows between the humane and brutal Understanding: from whence it follows, that a Man's Soul has no higher perfections than that of Brutes, which is inferior to it only in regard to it's matter; and consequently that our Soul is as mortal as that of a Dog. We ought not to be surprized if we meet with other Principles in this Work of Cardan; for it is nothing but a heap of divers Pieces pillaged here and there out of the Books he had read of *Pomponatius*, *Augustin Niphus*, &c. 'Ne vero tibi placeas in illis tuis Commentariis (*de immortalitate animæ*) quos confusus diximus: nihil enim aliud sunt quam farrago præceptorum meorum, Pomponatii, Susepiani, Domitici de Flandria: quæ tua fecisti ridiculis fabellis declamatoriis (24)'. To conceal his Theft, he intermixed the Doctrines he stole from these Philosophers with some Declamations of his own. *Thomasius* might have added those Words of *Scaliger* to those he borrowed from *Naudæus* (25) to prove Cardan a Plagiary (26).

[E] He made a Voyage into Scotland in the Year 1552. He says, the Archbishop of St Andrews (27), Primate of the Kingdom, sent for him, after having in vain applied first to the Physicians of the French King, and then to those of the Emperour (28). This Prelate very generously defrayed the Expences of his Voyage. By this means Cardan had an Opportunity of seeing several Countries. He passed through France as he went, and returned through the Low-Countries, and through Germany along the Rhine (29). It was upon this occasion he went to London, where he calculated King Edward's Nativity, of which perhaps I shall speak in another Article.

Let us add, that this Archbishop, being then Forty two Years old, had been ill Ten Years (30). His Distemper was an Asthma, which for the two last Years returned every eight Days (31); before which time the Intervals had been considerably longer. The Patient grew better under Cardan's Advice (32); who, after staying with him Seventy five Days, took his Leave, and gave him such Directions as did within two Years compleat his Cure (33). This is all the Account he gives of this Voyage: Nor does he in the least boast of the Prediction I am going to mention. 'This Archbishop languished under a Dropfy which all his Physicians judged incurable, but Cardan restored him. - - If we may believe what History relates of this famous Astrologer, he gave his Patient, after he had cured him, a terrible Proof of his Skill, when taking his Leave of him, he told him, *That he had perfectly cured him of his Distemper; but that it was not in the power of his Art to prevent his Fate, or hinder him from being hanged*. The Event justified his Prediction: for he was hanged eighteen Years after *', according to the Sentence passed upon him by Mary the Queen Regent's Commissioners. It is no wonder if, after this, some Historians, especially *Scottish*, have treated Cardan as a Magician (34). Two Reasons induce me to distrust his having made this Prediction. I. The first is, that Cardan was too self-interested, and too well versed in the Tricks of Astrology, to threaten at this rate so great a Prelate

(16) Teissier, Elog. Tom. I, pag. 496. See, below, Remark [U].

(17) Cardan. de Vita propria, cap. xxix, pag. 107.

(18) Ibid. cap. xxvi, pag. 166.

(19) Ibid. cap. xliii, pag. 232.

(20) Ibid. cap. liii, pag. 315.

(21) Del Rio, Disquisit. Magicar. Tom. I, lib. II, Quest. 26, §. 2, pag. 255.

(22) Th. Raynaudus Ercorn. 4. de bonis ac malis libris, n. 44.

(23) See Scaliger. Exercit. 307, n. 30. pag. 987.

(24) Id. Scaliger. ibid. n. 31, pag. 939.

(25) You will find them in Remark [Q], Citation (68).

(26) Thomas de Plagio Literario, n. 376, pag. 165.

(27) He calls him *Avallton*; it should be *Avallton*.

(28) Cardan. de Vita propria, cap. xl, pag. 192. See also cap. xxix.

(29) Ibid. cap. xxix.

(30) Id. ibid. cap. xl, pag. 192.

(31) Id. cap. xxix, pag. 104.

(32) Ibid. cap. xl, pag. 193.

(33) Id. ibid.

* In 1570.

(34) Larrey Histoire d'Angleterre, Tom. I, pag. 711, ad Ann. 1551.

about ten Months after (l); where he continued 'till the beginning of *October*, 1559; (l) *Ibid.* pag. 22. and then went to *Pavia*, from whence he was called to *Bologna*, in 1562. He continued Professor in this last Place, 'till the Year 1570; at which time he was put into Prison, but was carried home again some Months after. However this was not absolutely giving him his Liberty, for he was kept Prisoner in his own House, but this continued not long. He left *Bologna* in September 1571, and went to *Rome*; where he lived without any public Employment. He was admitted into the College of Physicians, and had a Pension from the Pope (m). He died at *Rome*, the Twenty first of September, 1575 (n), if we may rely upon *Thuanus*, who, perhaps, has not been over exact [F]. The Account is sufficient to satisfy the Reader, that *Cardan* was of a very inconstant Temper: but his fantastical Humour will better appear from the Relation he has given us himself of his own good and bad Qualities [G]. This very Ingenuity is a plain Proof that his Mind was of a very particular Cast [H]. He tells us (o), that if Nature did not give him some

(m) *Ibid.* pag. 21, 22.

(n) *Thuan.* lib. xlii, pag. 155.

(o) *Ibid.* pag. 30.

late. You never find Astrologers telling a great Man that his Stars have doomed him to an ignominious End: They rather promise him what they think he most earnestly desires; and it is by this they best intitle themselves to some of his Gold. From thence it comes, that great Men, to prevent being imposed upon, commonly consult these sort of People, without making themselves known to them. II. My second Reason is, That if *Cardan* had delivered this Prediction, he would certainly have boasted of it in that Book, where he gives an account of his Cure wrought upon this Archbishop; since it was not printed till some Years after that Prelate had undergone the Fate he is said to have threatened him with. Judge if *Cardan* would have suppressed so favourable an Instance of his Abilities in Astrology.

You will find in *Melvil's* Memoirs, that *John Hamilton*, Archbishop of *St Andrews*, and Brother to the Regent, of the Realm, fell 'so dangerously ill, that, being for some time speechless, no body thought he could recover, but that he was restored to his Speech and his Health, by the Assistance of an Italian Magician named *Cardan* (35).

(35) *Melvil's* Memoirs, pag. 45, Edit. of the Hague, 1694.

[F] He died — the twenty first of September 1575, if we believe *Thuanus*, who perhaps has not been over exact.] If *Cardan* died the twenty first of September 1575, he must have lived Seventy four Years all but three Days; and so *Thuanus* would make his Life a Year longer than it really was (36). Besides, it appears from several Passages in *Cardan's* History, that he was carrying it on during the Year 1575. *Naudæus* thought it went no farther than the Twenty eighth of April 1576; and consequently did not observe the hundred and fifty eighth Page, where we find the first of *October* 1576. Testaments plura condidi ad hanc usque diem quæ est Calendarum mensis *Octobris* anni MDLXXVI. — I made another Will, on this very Day, which is the first of *October* 1576. If this Number is right, *Thuanus* is mistaken both in the Day, and in the Year.

(36) Cum tribus diebus minus septuagesimum quintum annum implevisset *Thuan.* lib. xlii, pag. 155.

[G] But his fantastical Humour will better appear from the Relation he has given us himself of his own good and bad qualities.] Besides what I have said in the Body of this Article, I shall observe here, that his Gate was so irregular, that he must undoubtedly be taken for a Mad-man. Sometimes he walked very slowly, like one in deep Meditation, and then all of a sudden would redouble his Pace with several odd Postures. *Incessus inequalis causa fuit cogitatio.*

Abire in proverbium posset incessus meus, nam est inconsideratus; dum aliena ab his quæ præ oculis sunt meditor. — Ambulatio modo celeris, modo tarda, modo capite & humeris erectis, modo inclinat (37). He was mightily pleased at *Bologna* to appear in a Coach with three Wheels (38). Never was Man more singular in his dress. *Thuanus*, who saw him at *Rome*, remarks that he found him in a Habit quite different from other People (39). Poverty was the Cause of this oddness in his Habit; for instance, when *Cardan* was in *Scotland*, he bought such Cloaths as were there in Fashion: and at his return into *Italy*, not being able to buy others, nor willing to sell those to a Loser, he continued to wear them out. His fantastical Behaviour cannot be better represented than by some Verses in *Horace*, I am going to cite. He owns himself that they hit him exactly, and that if *Horace* had been to have

(37) *Cardan.* de Vita propria, cap. xxi, pag. 84, 85.

(38) *Naudæus* in Judicio de *Cardano*.

(39) *Thuan.* lib. lxii, pag. 164. His Words are quoted below, at Citation (42).

described him, he must have done it in the very same Lines. 'Non aliter de me ego sentio quam Horatius de suo Tigellio; quinimo Horatium dixirim tum de me sub illius persona locutum.

Nil æquale homini fuit illi: sæpe velut qui Currebat, fugiens hostem: per sæpe velut qui Junonis sacra ferret: habebat sæpe ducentos, Sæpe decem servos: modo Reges atque Tetrarchas, Omnia magna loquens: modo sit mihi mensa tripes, & Concha salis puri, & toga, quæ defendere frigus, Quamvis crassa queat *.

* Lib. i, Sat. iii, ver. 9.

Quæras causam, imo causas, in promptu sunt, varietas primo cogitationum & morum: deinde ut salutis prorsus consulere corporis: & quod cum mutaverim sæpius patriam, seu habitationis locum, coactus sum etiam mutare vestes, quas neque ob jacturam vendere, nec frustra servare conveniebat, ob id necessitas intulit legem (40). — I know myself to be so like *Horace's* Tigellius, that I think him describing me under his Name.

(40) *Cardan.* de Vita propria, cap. xx, pag. 82, 83.

This fickle Wretch is never of one Mind: Sometimes his hasty Steps out strip the Wind, As if he fear'd some Enemy behind: Now with slow Pace, he apes the solemn Priest, Who in Procession walks to Juno's Feast: His Equipage now counts Two hundred Men; And now that number is reduc'd to ten: Now with grand Airs, his Conversation rings Of nothing less than Governors and Kings: Now a clean Salt-Seller is all his Wish, And a small Table for one homely Dish: And as to Cloaths, however coarse and old, They're good enough, if they keep out the Cold.

If you would know the Cause, or rather Causes, I will tell you; first the great Variety of my Thoughts and Humours; then by way of healthful Exercise; again, being obliged by often changing my Habitation and Country to change my Cloaths, which I could neither afford to sell again to such a Loss, nor to keep them superfluously. Necessity became a Law. *Cardan's* Mind was as inconstant as his Body. See *Thuanus's* Words in the following Remark.

[H] This very Ingenuity is a plain proof that his Mind was of a very particular Cast. *Thuanus* observes it as a very extraordinary thing. *Varia ejus vita*, says he (41), & mores; pluraque ipse de se inaudita in viro literas professo simplicitate seu libertate scripsit, quam curiosus quisquam à me exigat. — His Life and manners were very inconsistent; and he writes many things of himself with an Ingenuity and Freedom, never before heard of in a Man of Letters, Instances of which may be given to any curious Person. He adds, that he was surprized to find him so much inferior to the great Reputation he had in the World. This made him admire the Judgment passed on him by *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*; That in some things *Cardan* appeared more than a Man, in others less than a Child. 'Romæ eum diverso ab aliis cultu incedentem paucis ante obitum annis

(41) *Thuan.* lib. lxii, pag. 164.

LIII

some painful Sensation, he procured it himself, by biting his Lips, and distorting his Fingers, 'till he shed Tears [I]; that sometimes he had a mind to kill himself [K]; that he took a delight to ramble all Night long in the Streets (p); that he never was immoderate in his Amours [L], but that, if he did at any time pursue them, further than was necessary, it did him no great Damage; that nothing pleased him better than to hold such Arguments as were disagreeable to the Company (q); that whatever he knew came out, whether it was proper or improper (r); that he also was befitted to Gaming, as to spend whole Days at it, to the no small Prejudice of his Family and Reputation (s), for he played away his very Household-goods, and his Wife's Jewels (t) [M]. These, and several other things, he relates with the greatest Simplicity. However I make no question that if his Life were faithfully written by another Hand, we should find a great many more dishonourable Particulars than he has given us in that he wrote himself, which yet contains several other more remarkable Instances of the Singularity of his Temper, than those I have mentioned. He speaks of abundance of Prodigies, which foretold him, sleeping or waking, what was to befall him: This made him believe that, like *Socrates*, and some other great Men, he was under the Care of a particular Genius [N]. What shall we say of those four extraordinary Gifts Nature had endowed him with [O]? Which were, 1. That he could fall into an Ecstasy

(p) Ibid. pag. 32.

(q) Ibid. pag. 60.

(r) Ibid. pag. 61.

(s) Ibid. pag. 81.

(t) Ibid. pag. 94.

(42) Id. ibid.

(43) Cardan. de Vita propria, cap. vi, pag. 30.

(44) Ibid. cap. xiv, pag. 65, 66.

(45) Ibid. cap. vi, pag. 31.

‘conspicaci & allocuti, ac sæpius admirati sumus, cum celeberrimi tot scriptis hominis recordatio fubiret; neque tamen quidquam in eo quod tantæ famæ responderet animadverteremus: eoque magis Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri acerrimum judicium suspexit, qui divinum ingenium suum in opere de subtilitate exagitando, præcipuè exercuit inæqualitate illius ubique diligenter notata, qui in quibdam interdum plus homine sapere, in pluribus minus pueris intelligere videatur (42).’ We shall see in the Remark [T] that he was thought subject to Fits of Lunacy.

[I] If Nature did not give him some painful Sensation, he procured it himself, by biting his Lips, - - - still he shed Tears.] This is not so much to be wondered at, when we know the reason of it; he did it only to avoid a greater Mischiefe: For if at any time he happened to be without Pain, he was subject to such violent and dangerous Sallies or Impetuosities of Mind, as were much more insupportable than Pain itself. This is most to be wondered at, and appears almost incredible. ‘Fuit mihi mos (de quo plures admirabantur) ut causas doloris si non haberem, quaererem, ut dixi de podagra: unde plerumque causis moribificis obviam ibam (ut solum devitarem quantum possem vigilias) quod arbitrarer voluptatem consistere in dolore præcedenti sedato: si ergo voluntarius sit dolor, facile sedari poterit: & quoniam exterior me nunquam posset prorsus carere dolore, & si modo contingat, subit in animum impetus quidam adeo molestus, ut nihil possit esse gravius, ut multo minus malus sit dolor, aut doloris causa, in qua nulla prorsus inest turpitudine, periculumve. Itaque ob hoc morsum labii, & digitorum distorsionem, & compressionem cutis, ac tenuis musculi brachii finistri ulque ad lachrymas excogitavi (43).’ In another place he says, that under his greatest Uneasinesses of Mind, he used to whip himself severely, and bite his left Arm: *In maximis animi doloribus crura verberabam virga, sinistram brachium mordebam acriter, jejunabam, levabam fletu multum, ubi contigisset flere, sed persæpe non poteram (44).*

[K] Sometimes he had a mind to kill himself.] This he calls an Heroic Passion, and believes that several others have been possessed with it, though they have never owned it. ‘Laboravi interdum etiam amore Heroico, ut me ipsum trucidare cogitarem, verum talia etiam aliis accidere suspicor, licet hi in libros non referant (45).’

[L] He was not immoderate in his Amours.] These are his words: *Veneri neque immoderate incubui, nec ex superfluo usu multum læsus sum, nunc tamen manifeste ventriculum labefactat. — I was never immoderate in my Amours, nor much hurt if I happened to pursue them farther than was proper, but at present the use of Women is very prejudicial to my Stomach.* Observe, that, in the Title of his fourth Chapter, he says, he has brought his History down to the end of October 1575: since therefore he says, at present the use of Women is very prejudicial to my Stomach: it follows, that even at Seventy four Years of Age he sometimes followed that Game. So

that he found some Amends for the Ten Years of Insufficiency he so much regretted; for perhaps he would have made so bad a use of them, as upon that account to have ended his Days before he had come to sixty.

[M] He played away his - - - Household Goods and his Wife's Jewels (46).] He observes, that the Misery, to which he found himself reduced, never forced him to do any thing unworthy his Birth and his Virtue, and that one of the ways he took to gain a subsistence, was writing Almanacks, *Ephemérides scribebam (47).* He tells us, that, having lost all his Money at Venice in a Man's House who had cheated him of it, he gave him a Cut over the Face with his Dagger, took away not only his own Money, but also that of his wounded Host, got the Door opened to him, and marched off. He had also lost his Rings, and his Cloaths, but had won them again (48). We must not forget, that in consideration of the Wound he had given to this Sharper, he threw down part of his Money upon the Floor. These are Particulars no more honorable to his Memory, than what he tells us of the Professor *Curcius*, who indicted him for Felony, because *Cardano* would not restore something which had been left him in Pawn: His Plea was, that he stopped it as a Security for some Money *Curcius* had borrowed of him without any Witness. *Ab eodem Curcio de furto accusatus, quod pignus retinerem pro sponsione pecuniariam quam sine teste fecerat (49).* What a Dispute is here! A couple of Scholars contending like a Turk and a Jew.

[N] He believed that - - - he was under the care of a particular Genius.] I should not doubt but he had reason to believe so, could I believe all he reports to be true; which in my Opinion is not to be accounted for, purely by the general Laws of the Union of the Soul with the Body. However it be, there are some People think he was very much undetermined as to that Point. ‘He speaks so differently of his Genius, that after he had in one of his Dialogues, intitled *Tetini*, said positively that he had one which was Venerial with a Mixture of Saturn and Mercury, and in his Book *de Libris propriis*, that he communicated himself to him by Dreams; yet in the very same place he makes a doubt whether he had one or no, or whether it was not the Excellence of his Nature. *Sentiebam, says he, seu ex Genio mihi præfesto, seu quod natura mea in extremitate humanæ substantiæ conditionisque & in confinio immortalium posita esset, &c.* And concludes at last, in his Book *De Rerum Varietate*, that he had none at all; declaring ingenuously, *Ego certe nullum Dæmonem aut Genium mihi adesse cognosco (50).* See what the same *Naudæus* says upon this Subject, in his *Judicium de Cardano*, printed with *Cardano's* Life.

[O] What shall we say of those four extraordinary Gifts Nature had endowed him with? This he affirms after so positive a manner, that it is worth while to consider his own Words. ‘Quatuor mihi indita sunt à Natura, quæ nunquam aperire volui, &

(46) *Alca adversa oppugneratis ornamentis uxoris & suppellectilibus Cardan. de Vita propria, cap. xxv, pag. 94.*

(47) Ibid. pag. 95.

(48) Ibid. cap. xxx, pag. 117, 112.

(49) Ibid. cap. xiv, pag. 67.

(50) *Naudé, Apologie des grands Hommes, cap. xiv, pag. 348.*

Extasy whenever he pleased. 2. That he could see whatever he pleased. 3. That he forefaw in his Sleep what was to befall him. And, 4. That he could foretel it likewise by certain Marks which appeared on his Nails. It has been a Question, whether or no he believed the Immortality of the Soul (u). He was unfortunate in his Family [P]. He is justly condemned for his Audaciousness in calculating the Nativity of JESUS CHRIST [2]. His Astrological Predictions are

faid

& omnia (meo iudicio) admiratione digna. Quorum primum hoc est quod quoties volo, extra sensum quasi in ecstasim transeo. - - Sentio dum eam in eo, ac (ut verius dicam) facio, iuxta cor quandam separationem, quasi anima abscederet, totique corpori res hæc communicatur, quasi ostiolum quoddam aperiretur. Et initium huius est à capite, maxime cerebello, diffunditurque per totam dorsum spinam, vi magna continetur; hocque solum sentio, quod sum extra meipsum: magnaque quadam vi paululum me contineo. Secundum est, quod cum volo, video quæ volo, oculis, non vi mentis: velut imagines illas, de quibus dixi, cum infans essem, me vidisse. Sed nunc credo ob occupationes, nec diu, nec perfectas, nec omnino semper cum volo, nec tamen nisi velim. Moventur autem perpetuo quæ videntur imagines. Itaque video lacos, animalia, orbes, ac quæcunque cupio. Credo causam esse, vim virtutis imaginatricis, visusque subtilitatem. Tertium est, quod omnium quæ mihi ventura sunt, imaginem video per somnum. Neque unquam ausim ferre dicere, vere autem dicere possum, meminisse, quod quicquam boni aut mali vel mediocris mihi evenierit, de quo prius & raro ante multum, non fuerim per somnum præmonitus. Quartum est, quod eorum, quæ mihi eventura sunt, quanquam sint perexigua, vestigia in unguibus apparent. Nigra & livida malarum in medio digito, felicitum alba: & ad honores in pollice, ad divitias in indice, ad studia & res majoris momenti in annulari, ad exiguas inventiones in minimo: coacta, res firmas: si sint veluti stellæ, res minus constantes, & magis publicas verbiique plenas (51). — Nature has favoured me with four Endowments: which I would never reveal, all of them, in my Judgment, very extraordinary. Whereof the first is, that, whenever I please, I can transport myself out of my Senses into an Extasy. — In the doing which I feel near my Heart a sort of Separation, as if my Soul departed, and this Affair is communicated to my whole Body, as it were by the opening of a Door. The beginning of it is from my Head, principally the Cerebellum, and so diffuses itself all along the Spine of my Back, and is not stop without great Resistance; all I perceive is, that I am beside myself, and I can just contain myself a little with a certain considerable Force. The second is, that I can at any time see whatever I please, with my Eyes, not by force of Imagination; as those Images I have mentioned my seeing when I was a Child. I can therefore see Groves, Animals, Worlds, and whatever I please. I take the Cause to be the Strength of my conceptive Faculty, and the Quickness of my Sight. The third is, that I see, in my Sleep, the Representation of all that is to happen to me. And I dare almost say, I am sure I might very truly say, that I never remember any Thing happening to me either good, bad, or indifferent, of which I had not been forewarned in a Dream. The fourth is, that whatever is to happen to me is signified by Appearances on my Nails. Black and livid Specks on those of my middle Finger signify Misfortune, white the contrary: and on my Thumb Honours, on my fore Finger Riches, on my Ring-Finger Study, and Discoveries of Importance, on my little Finger Inventions of the lowest Class: if the Speck is close and even, it betokens lasting good Fortune, but if spread, and something like a Star, it is a Sign of such as will not be very much to be depended on, but rather of more public Nature, and consisting of Promises. We must take notice, that during these voluntary Extasies, he felt not the most acute Fits of the Gout, and if any one spoke near him, he could hear a little the Sound of the Words, but understood not their Signification. For the rest, he never would boast of these four Singularities: but at last this grand Secret was too hard for him, and so he revealed it to the Public in one of his Works.

(51) Cardanus, de Rerum Varietate, lib. viii, cap. 43.

[P] He was unfortunate in his Family.] His eldest Son, falling in Love with a Woman not worth a Groat, married her, and repented of his Bargain when it was too late. Instead of taking all patiently, since it was of his own seeking, he had recourse to a very criminal Remedy, and poisoned his Wife. He was punished for it according to his Deserts; Sentence being passed upon him to lose his Head, which was executed at Midnight (52), in the Prison (53). Cardan's other Son was a Rogue and a Villain. His own Father was forced to throw him into Gaol more than once (54), to cut off one of his Ears (55), and at last to turn him out of Doors, and disinherited him (56). Cardan's Daughter gave him only two occasions of Uneasiness, the first when he was obliged to pay her Fortune (57); the second when he saw she had no Children. He was so affected with the unfortunate End of his eldest Son, that he almost died with Grief; there were even some of the Judges condemned the Son, out of an Expectation that it would cost the Father either his Life or his Reason. * Confessi sunt quidam è Senatu (sed puto non de seipsis intelligi voluisse) ea spe damnasse illum ut dolore interirem aut infanrem, ab unoque quam parum abfuerim, superi norunt. — sed non successit (58). The most extraordinary Thing is, that Cardan, who did not deny but that his Son had poisoned his Wife, and which his Son himself confessed at his Trial (59), imagined the Divine Justice pursued his Judges for their unjust Sentence, and that many of them came to an unfortunate End (60). He pretended, that his Son, being drawn into marry a Wife, who, having neither Fortune nor Honour, made no scruple to cuckold him, was not to blame in murdering her.

(u) See Remark [D], Paragraph II, III.

(52) Id. de Vita propria, cap. xxxvii, pag. 169.

(53) Ibid. cap. xxvii, pag. 99, 100.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Naud. in iudicio de Cardano.

(56) Cardan. in Vita propria, pag. 100.

(57) A sola filia præter dotis sumptum nihil molesti perpeffus sum. Ibid.

(58) Ibid. cap. x, pag. 45.

(59) Ibid. pag. 170.

(60) Id. cap. xlii, pag. 215, 216.

Nate haud immiti qui Principe, iussa Senatus, Exemplo infando veterum tam dira tulisti: Crimina fallacis properas dum tollere mæchæ. Conjugibus nostris jam tuto insultet adulter, Plebitur egregii juvenis si dextera vindex (61).

(61) Id. pag. 239. See likewise pag. 46, 47.

[2] He has been justly condemned for calculating the Nativity of JESUS CHRIST.] Naudæus makes two Observations upon this Fact. I. He reproves Joseph Scaliger for believing, that Cardan was the first who attempted any thing of this Nature. II. He observes, that Cardan had the Vanity, rather to pass for the Inventor, than to justify himself by the Example of others who had gone before him, in this prophane Enterprize.

As to the first Point, he begins by citing Scaliger's own Words; which are these. * Audi subtilitatem nostri sæculi: extitit ante 44. annos cymbalum genethliacorum, qui Domini nostri Jesu Christi thema edidit, & omnia quæ illi acciderunt, ex positu Stellarum, necessario illi contigisse ratiocinatur: impiam dicam magis, an jocularum audaciam, quæ & dominum stellarum stellis subjecerit, & natum eo tempore putarit, quod adhuc in lite positum est, ut vanitas cum impietate certaret (62). — Observe the Subtlety of our Age: about Forty four Years ago appeared a most jingling Fortuneteller, who published the Scheme of JESUS CHRIST's Nativity, and undertook to prove that all these things, which happened to him, necessarily came to pass from the Position of the Stars: an Attempt which I cannot tell whether to call more impious or ridiculous, in subjecting the Lord of the Stars to the Power of the Stars, and in supposing him to be born at a precise Point of Time, which has never yet been fixed, so that the whole seems a Struggle betwixt Vanity and Impiety. Afterwards Naudæus quotes four Authors, who, long before Cardan, had been calculating CHRIST's Nativity. The most modern of them is Tiberius Ruffianus Sextus of Calabria, who lived under the Pontificate of Leo X. He undertook publicly to maintain Four hundred Proposi-

(62) Scalig. in Prolegomenis ad Manilium.

tions

said to have been often times confirmed by the Event [R]; but he owns, that, in relation to himself, his Art had proved false (*). Some say, that Cardan having foretold he should die at a certain Time, he abstained from Nourishment, that his Death might verify his Prediction [S], and his Life not disgrace the Art. He was therefore afraid of surviving the Falsity of his Prognostics, and so tender of his Honour, that he could not endure the Reproach of having proved a false Prophet, and wronged his Profession. Few People, in the like Case, stand up with so much Courage and Affection for the Honour of their Art. They take Comfort, and are neither ashamed nor discomposed (y). He writ a very great many Books; for the Edition of his Works at Lyons, in 1663, contains ten Volumes in Folio. His Poverty contributed to this multitude of Writings, which frequently puzzle his Readers by their Digressions and Obscurity [T]. He did not write so many Volumes

(*) See Remrsk [R].

(y) See the Remrsk's [T], and [K], of the Article COMENIUS.

tions at Bologna, Florence, and Padua: The Monks condemned twelve of them, as favouring of Heresy; of which this was one of the principal: 'Christum quoad corporis compaginem elementariam astris suppositum, ejusque genituram, & Prophetam magnam, & ea quæ circa corporis evenerant, præsertim violentum ejus mortis genus, nuntiasse non inconvenient. — That CHRIST, as to the elementary Composition of his Body, was subject to the Stars, and that there is no Inconveniency in calculating his Nativity, and shewing the Necessity of his being a great Prophet, and of all those things which happened to his Body, particularly his violent Death.' The Author of these Theses, being nettled at their Censures, published a Book called *Apologeticus adversus cuullatos*, in which he published the Scheme of CHRIST's Nativity, in three different Figures. *Tria Christi geneseos ibemata secundum tres rationabiles differentium doctorum opiniones luculentem enarravit* (63). Before him, Peter d'Ailli, Cardinal, and Bishop of Cambrey, who died under the Pontificate of Martin V, was not content to maintain, that Judgment might be made of CHRIST's Birth from Astrological Observations, but proposed the very Scheme of his Nativity. *Præterquam contendit Christi nativitatem præosci potuisse ex genealogicis observationibus, ejusdam insuper nativitatibus Schema cælestis proposuit in elucidario Astronomicæ concordia* (64). *Albertus Magnus*, before Peter d'Ailli, had maintained, that the Rules of Astrology took place, even in calculating the Nativity of our Saviour. *Albumasar*, more ancient than *Albertus Magnus*, had made a great many Observations relating to JESUS CHRIST, according to the Principles of Astrology. Here are four Authors produced by Naudæus; some of which have been cited by Roger Bacon, Picus Mirandulanus, and Robert Holkot; from whence he concludes, that Thuanus (65), and Scaliger were in the wrong, to believe Cardan the Author of this blasphemous Attempt. 'Unde mirari satis non possum illos non visos, nec auditos unquam fuisse duobus illis eruditiorum Coryphæis Thuanus & Scaliger, qui saltem ex Bacchone, Picco Mirandulano, aut commentariis Roberti Holkot in Sapientiam Salomonis, dicere potuissent, erratum à nonnullis ante Cardanum hunc errorem fuisse, ut Christum falsis, & commentitiis astrorum imaginibus submitterent: nec propterea æquum esse ut Cardanus, quasi sceleris istius primus opifex fuerit, tam acerbe ab illis vapulet (66). Without going so high, they might have read in *Sixtus Senensis* what Cardinal d'Ailli had thought upon that Subject (67).

(63) Naudæus in *Judicio de Cardano*.

(64) *Ibid.*

(65) These are Thuanus's Words. Extreme amentia fuit, imo impie audacie astrorum commentitiis legibus astrorum Dominum velle subijcere, quod ille tamen exarata Servitoris nostri genitura fecit. — It was extreme Madness, nay and most impious Audaciousness, to endeavour to subject the Lord of the Stars to their pretended Influence, which he has yet done by drawing the Scheme of our Saviour's Nativity. Lib. lxii, p. 155.

(66) Naud. in *Jud. de Cardano*.

(67) See above, Citat. (14), of the Article AILLI.

& in discrimen capitis veniret, vel minimam de illis auctoribus mentionem injicere, maluitque de sua impietate tot rumores disseminari, quam ex opinione tam audacis facti partam gloriam amittere (68).

[R] His Astrological Predictions are said to have been oftentimes confirmed by the Event.] Thuanus says, Cardan brought Astrology into Credit by his good Success in his Horoscopes. 'Judiciaria quam vocant fidem apud multos adstruxit, dum certiora per eam quam ex arte possint plerumque promeretur (69). But Naudæus will not agree to this Fact, but refers us to Scaliger and Alexander de Angelis, who have related, that Cardan's chief Horoscopes were directly contrary to the Events (70). Cardan owns himself, that by the Knowledge he had in Astrology, he was persuaded he should never exceed his fortieth Year, or at least, that he should never arrive to his Forty fifth; and that this was also the Opinion of all who knew him. He adds, that this Persuasion was very prejudicial to him. 'Astrologia cognitio quam tum habebam, & ut mihi videbatur, & omnes aiebant me non excessum XL. vitæ annum, certe non ad XLV. perventurum multum obfuit (71).

[S] He abstained from Nourishment, that his Death might confirm his Prediction.] Thuanus says this was the common Opinion. 'Cum tribus diebus minus septuagesimum quintum annum implevisset, eodem quo prædixerat anno & die, videlicet xi. Kalend. Octobri defecit, ob id, ne falleret, mortem suam inedia accelerasse creditus (72). — When he was within three Days of finishing his Seventy fifth Year, in the same Year, and on the same Day he had foretold, viz. the Twenty first of September, he departed this Life, being thought to have hastened his Death by starving himself to make good his Prediction.' Scaliger relates it as a Matter of Fact: I shall recite his own Words, after having observed, that Cardan's Father died in the same manner, in the Year 1524. He refused all Sustenance, and lived so for nine Days (73). He had white Eyes, could see in the Dark, and never had any occasion for Spectacles (74). These are Scaliger's Words. 'Idem Genethliacum quum multis ante annis diem & horam mortis suæ determinasset, & appetente tempore nihilo minus bene valeret, quanquam jam octogenario major, ne artem contumeliæ exponeret, inedia constituit mori. Quodnecio serius, an citius ante constitutum ab eo tempus contigerit. Res nota est: neque nostrum est mentiri. Omnino fecit, quod ille in Epigrammate, ἀσχυρὸς ἢ τρώσις ἀπὸ γέλας. Lege totum epigramma. Nihil melius hujus Genethliaci exitum exprefferit. Nam idem mimus rei fuit (75). — The same Fortuneteller having many Years before declared the Day and Hour of his Death, and being in very good Health when the Time was come, though he was above eighty Years of Age, that he might not disgrace his Art, resolved to starve himself. Which, whether it happened exactly to his Time, or sooner, or later, I am not able to say. The Fact is very well known: nor would I advance a Falsity. He acted just the same Thing with him in the Greek Epigram. Read the whole Epigram. Nothing can better express the Exit of this Fortune-teller. For he was also a Counterfeit.'

[T] His Poverty contributed to the Multitude of his Writings, which frequently puzzle his Readers by their Digressions and Obscurity.] His Readers find in his Writings what they never could expect: in

(68) Naud. in *Judicio de Cardano*.

(69) Thuanus, lib. lxii, p. 155.

(70) Naud. in *Jud. de Cardano*.

(71) Cardanus, de Vita propria, cap. x, pag. 43, 44. See also pag. 184, where he says, Quod ad Astrologiam quæ prædicere docet operam dedi, & nimis quam debui fidi quoque in perniciem meam. See also his Treatise De Prudentia Civilis, cap. cxxx.

(72) Thuan. lib. lxii, pag. 155.

(73) Cardan. de Vita propria, pag. 17.

(74) *Ibid.* pag. 10.

(75) Scalig. Prolegom. ad Manil.

Volumes without stealing from others (z). As to writing his own Life, he justifies it by the Example of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* (aa). *Naudæus* concurs with him in the same Justification (bb); tho' it is certain the Instance is ill alledged; for the Piece, attributed to that Emperor, is not his Life, but a Collection of Moral Instructions for his own Use. Some say *Naudæus* writ a Life of *Cardan*; but they are mistaken; he only published a Discourse, wherein he gives us his Judgment of the Character of that Man. He could not forbear saying he was a Madman [U]; though he does him Justice in other respects as to his Wit, his Learning, &c. *Scaliger*, the Father, writ against *Cardan*, and imagined, without reason, that his Book was the cause of his Death [X].

(a) See the Remark [D], Citations (24) and (26), and the Remark [E], Citat. (68).

(aa) Cardan. in Pref. Libri de Vita propria.

(bb) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

I shall

in his Arithmetic, several Discourses upon the Motion of the Planets, upon the Creation, and upon the Tower of *Babel*: In his Logic, his Thoughts upon the Historians and Letter-Writers. He owns these Digressions were made on purpose to fill up the Page; for he had so much a Sheet from the Book-feller, and he writ as much for his livelihood as for his Reputation. 'Ut missos faciam (excursus) quos de rebus suis frequentissimos habet: eo tantum fine, quemadmodum alicubi fatetur, ut plura folia Typographis mitteret, quibuscum antea de illorum pretio pepigerat; atque hoc modo fami, non secus ac famæ scriberet (76).' As to his Obscurity, the Author, last quoted, gives some Reasons for it (77), and this among others, that *Cardan* imagined a great many Things, which were familiar to him, wanted not to be expressed; besides, his quick capacious Genius passed readily from one thing to another, without troubling himself with explaining the Medium and Connection between the two Extremes. He is not the only Author guilty of this Fault.

(76) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

(77) Id. ibid.

[U] *Naudæus* could not forbear saying he was a Madman.] The Opinion *Seneca* ascribes to *Aristotle*, that your greatest Wits have all a Mixture of Madness, *nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ* (78), does not hold good as to *Cardan*; we must not say of him, that his great Wit had a Mixture of Madness; but on the contrary, that his Madness had a Mixture of great Wit: His Wit was only an Appendix, an Accessory, to his Madness. They, who think I aggravate the Matter, may, if they please, follow the Sentiment of *Naudæus*: I consent to it; he agrees with them, who hold *Cardan* to have lived almost like a Madman, 'Ut mittam aliorum etiam gravissimorum virorum judicia, qui Cardanum miras de seipso fabulas concitasse, & infanti proximum vixisse non perperam asserunt (79). The prodigious Contradictions, adds he, we meet with in his Works, are infallible Signs that he was not always in his right Senses. They can neither be ascribed to want of Memory, nor to Cunning. The little Coherence there is in his Variations, is a Consequence of the different Fits of Extravagance with which he was seized. 'Enimvero non semper eum compotem fuisse, sed æstu quodam raptum, indicio est omnium certissimo, varietas illa pugnantium inter se sententiarum, quas non est quod aliquis oblivione eorum quæ jam dixerat, aut astu, vafriæque prolatis ab eo fuisse, sibi persuadeat, cum se in rebus aliis memorem ad miraculum usque præstiterit; & artis ac vafriæ suspicionem omnem elevet, quod grandia quidem, sed contraria semper, nunquam autem connexa, & sibi mutuo coherentia loqueretur (80).' The scandalous Things he has published of himself, are another great Argument of his Madness. He might have brought his Action against any Poet who had treated him so barbarously. He confesses his Stars had given him an impious, revengeful, treacherous, magical, calumniating Soul, addicted to all sorts of Impurities, and full of an infinite number of shameful Faults, all which he specifies. 'Ingenium si quis inimicus tale illi affinxisset quale suum esse in themate natalitio testatus est, potuisset in illum agere merito ea læge *Pœna*, quæ lata, malo quæ nollit carmine quemquam decipi. Nam ex Venere loci Lunæ ac Mercurii domina, & Mercurio multum, Saturno mediocriter commissa animum sibi effusum ait, in diem viventem, nugacem, religionis contemptorem, &c (81). *Naudæus* pretends *Cardan* was the very Man he represented himself to be; but I should rather think he meant only to show what the malign Influences of his Stars would have subjected him to, had he not undertaken to correct them; for he owns the Arts

(78) Seneca de Tranquill. Animi, sub fin.

(79) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

(80) Id. ibid.

(81) Id. ibid.

of Divination were frustrated in his own Case. According to the Rules of Chiromancy, he was judged to be of a heavy Wit, *ut Chiromantici rudem esse pronunciarint ac stupidum, inde ubi norunt puduerit* (82); and by the Rules of Astrology, he was to have died before he was Forty five Years old (83). Every one knows how *Socrates* justified the Physiognomist, who had ascribed to him so many Defects. We must not forget, first, That *Naudæus* maintains, that *Cardan*, who boasted he never was guilty of a Lie, was a very great Liar. This he proves upon him in several Particulars. Secondly, That Dr *Parker* is of *Naudæus*'s Opinion, in relation to *Cardan*'s Madness, the chief Signs of which he enumerates (84).

(82) Cardan. de Vita propria, cap. v. pag. 24.

(83) See Remark [R].

(84) Parker, Disputat. de Deo, §. 25.

[X] *Scaliger*, the Father, writ against *Cardan*, and imagined, without reason, that his Book was the Cause of his Death.] It may be said, without the least prejudice to Probability, that the Hope of acquiring a great Name from his Adversary's Reputation, provoked *Scaliger* to write against *Cardan*. If he had not been so much possessed with the Spirit of Contradiction, he had gained more Honour than he did in this Combat; but what the *Greeks* called ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας, an excessive Passion of opposing others, did *Scaliger* a great deal of harm. For upon this Principle he maintained that the Parrot was a very ugly Creature. If *Cardan* had said so, *Scaliger* would have objected to him the Testimonies of the ancient Poets, concerning the Beauty of this Bird. *Vossius* has made a judicious Observation upon this perverse Humour in *Scaliger*, and shown at the same time wherein these two Antagonists were superior and inferior to each other. 'Scaliger, in Exercitat. 246, quia Cardanus Phittacum commendat à colorum varietate, ac præterea fulgore, quod & Apuleius facit in secundo Floridorum, contra contendit esse deformem, non modo ob fœditatem rostri, ac crurum, & linguæ, sed etiam quia fit coloris fuscæ, ac cinericiæ, qui tristis. Quid faciamus summo viro? Si Cardanus ea dixisset, provocasset ad judicia Poëtarum: atque adeo omnium hominum. Nunc quia pulchri dixit coloris, ille deformis contendit. Hoc contradictionis studium, quod ubique in hinc exercitationibus se prodit, Sophistâ dignius est quam Philosopho. Majorem etiam modestiam, dum falsè adeo tractat Cardanum, merito passim requiras: præsertim si cogites, scribere adversus virum summum, studiis quidem Humanitatis, & Metaphysicæ non paulò inferior; at non scientia naturæ, matheseos autem omnibus disciplinis, in quibus parum omnino Scaliger videbat, albis quod dicitur equis prævertentem (85). - - - - - *Scaliger*, in his Two hundred and forty sixth Exercitation, because *Cardan* had commended the Parrot for the Brightness and Variety of its Colours, as Apuleius has also done in his second Florida, undertakes on the contrary to prove its Deformity, not only from the ugliness of its Beak, Tongue, and Legs, but also from its brown, ash, and dull Colour. What is to be done with this Great Man? Had *Cardan* said this, he would have appealed against him to the Judgments of the Poets, and of all Mankind. But now because *Cardan* declares this Bird beautiful, he will have it ugly. This Spirit of Contradiction, which appears every where in his Exercitations, is fitter for a Sophist than a Philosopher. And he must be allowed very much wanting in Modesty, to treat *Cardan* so bitterly: especially if it be considered, that he writes against so great an Adversary, who was very little his Inferior in Humanity and Metaphysics; but in natural Philosophy

(85) Vossius de Orig. & Progr. Idolol. lib. iii. cap. lxxx. pag. 1163.

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VOL. II. No. XLI

I shall make an Addition concerning his Book *De Subtilitate*, which *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* refuted (cc) [2].

(cc) See Remark [x].

'and *Mathematics*, which *Scaliger* knew very little of, far his Superior.' *Naudæus* is still more offended at *Scaliger* than *Vossius*: He blames him for resolving not to read the second Edition of *Cardan's* Book. This Reflexion is very just. For how unreasonable is that Critic, who, rather than lose the Labour he has been at in marking down Faults, publicly arraigns a Writer for Errors he has already corrected? Now *Scaliger* printed his Book two Years after the second Edition of his Adversary. He was afraid of finding, in this second Edition, several Passages corrected; this would have fouled the Pleasure he had met with in finding Faults, and deterred him from publishing his Criticisms on Errors no longer to be found in *Cardan's* Book: He thought it therefore his best way not to read the second Edition at all. This is *Naudæus's* first Remark. 'Nam primum quis ferat Scaligerum exercitationes suas triennio post secundam librorum de subtilitate editionem invulgasse, nec tamen illam videre voluisse, nec mendis illis pepercisse, quæ postrema hac diligentia sublata à Cardano fuerant, ne videlicet laboris sui quantumvis frustra impensis fructum amitteret.' His second Remark is, 'That *Cardan* justified himself so well, that if there were any Objections left unanswered, they were to be looked upon as little or nothing. Præterea quis nescit Cardanum, actione prima in calumniatorem librorum de subtilitate, sic omnes illius aculeos retulisse, objectiones diluissse, accusationes infregisse, ut earum ratio haberetur non debeat, quæ superesse forsan ex tanto numero possent: nam homo fuit Cardanus, & humani à se nihil alienum putavit: nec adeo mirum est illum errasse, quin multo magis admiratione dignum sit, tam rarò, & in tam paucis, ac minimis celsitasse.' He remarks, in the third place, that *Scaliger*, during the nine Years he spent in this Criticism, committed more Errors himself, than he censured in *Cardan*. 'Imò verò ausim ego pignore deposito contendere multo plures nævos esse, quos *Scaliger* exercitationibus suis inimicis reliquit, quam eos quibus adversus Cardanum tam procaciter exagrandis totos novem annos insudavit.' IV. Lastly, he remarks, that *Scaliger's* Motive was not so much the Love of Truth, as a Passion of opposing whatever was then most eminent in the Republic of Letters. 'Non tam eruditi veritatis studio, quam ut effroeni desiderio suo satisfaceret, cum illis omnibus congrederendi, quos suo tempore literarum eruditionumque principes haberi cognoverat.' To these four Remarks may be added a fifth, which is, that *Scaliger* imagined his Criticisms had killed poor *Cardan*. Upon this he writ a Preface full of laboured Reflexions (86); he loaded *Cardan* with Encomiums, and expressed a mighty Regret for having gained a Victory that cost the learned World so considerable a Man, &c. The Truth is, *Cardan* out-lived *Scaliger* fifteen or twenty Years, and, by *Naudæus's* second Remark, we may guess whether he had reason to be so much afflicted at *Scaliger's* Book.

(86) It is at the end of his Orations against Erasmus, Edition of Toulouze, 1620, pag. 63. It was not designed to serve for a Preface to the sixteen Books *Exercitationum exercitiorum*, as we find it in the History of *Cardan*, pag. 334; but to the sixteenth Book.

[§ (a) There were two Editions of the Book *de Subtilitate* published in *Scaliger's* Life-time; the first at Nuremberg, 1550, in Folio, and the second at Basil, in 1554, also in Folio; and this last was corrected and enlarged by the Author in

more than Two thousand two hundred Places, as the Title Page has it. And therefore, if *Scaliger*, in his *Exercitationes*, has criticised Passages which *Cardan* had corrected in the Edition of 1554, he had good reason to complain of it, and Mr *Naudé* and Mr *Bayle* justly approve of his Complaint. But this Complaint does not relate to the Passage of which Mr *de la Monnoie* speaks in the new Edition of the *Menagiana*, Tom. iv. pag. 305. That scandalous Passage which is in the Two hundred fifty fourth Page of the first Edition is to be found, without any Alteration, in pag. 354 of the second Edition, and the Passage in question was not corrected till the third Edition at Basil, in 1560, in 8vo, newly Corrected and Augmented in above a thousand Places. REM. CRIT.]

[2] I shall make an Addition concerning the Book *de Subtilitate*, which *Scaliger* refuted.] *Cardan* belloyed but eight Months in writing it, and gave it to *John Petreus*, Bookseller of Nuremberg, to print. He dedicated it to *Ferdinand de Gonzague*, Governor of the Milanese. The first Edition was in Folio, and dated in the Year 1550 (87); and yet the Author declares in an Epistle Dedicatory, dated at Paris, the Twenty first of April, 1552, that since the first Edition he had spent three Years in correcting and enlarging the Work. Quos octo mensium spatio absolvam, perpetuo triennio emendati atque aucti in publicum sub nomine tuo prodirent. This is the Epistle Dedicatory of the second Edition, and is addressed to the same *Ferdinand de Gonzague*. I mean by the second Edition, that which was published after the first revising that Work, in the beginning of the Year 1554 (88). That of Nuremberg had already been counterfeited at Lyons. *Scaliger's* Book against that Edition appeared in 1557, and yet *Cardan* objects that his Adversary had employed about nine Years in criticising it (89). He made a second Revival of his Work, and gave it to be printed with his new Corrections and Additions to a Bookseller of Basil (90), and subjoined to it an Answer to *Scaliger*. It was intitled, Hieronymi Cardani in Calumniatorem Librorum de Subtilitate Actio prima, and is only a general Answer, without descending to Particulars. As *Ferdinand de Gonzague* was no longer living, the Author sought a new Patron. He dedicated this third Edition to *Don Gonzales Ferrand of Corduba*, Duke of Suesfa. He has not dated his Epistle Dedicatory, but I believe it was written in the Year 1560. I have however seen the Epistle Dedicatory of the second Edition, in a Copy printed at Basil, in Folio, ex Officina Petrinâ, 1560. The Actio prima in Calumniatorem was at the end of this Copy. I do not believe *Cardan* revised his Book any more after this: there are no Appearances of a third Revival in the Edition of *Henric Petri*, in 1582, in 8vo (91). I have an Edition of Lyons, apud Bartholomæum Honoratum, 1580, in 8vo, which is according to the first Revival. The Actio in Calumniatorem is not in it. The extreme Negligence in this Bookseller of Lyons is very remarkable; who did not know that within twenty Years there had been published a much better Edition than that he had counterfeited. There was a French Translation of this Book of *Cardan*, done by *Richard le Blanc*, and printed at Paris, in the Year 1556, in 4to (92).

(87) Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri, pag. 346.

(88) Cardani Act. in Calumniatorem pag. 1019.

(89) Id. ibid. pag. 1023.

(90) Named Henric Petri.

(91) Gesner's Epitome takes no notice of this Edition in 8vo, but mentions only that in Folio.

(92) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 1222.

CARION (JOHN), Professor of the Mathematics in the University of Frankfurt upon the Oder, was born at Buetickeim, in Germany (a). He published Ephemerides from the Year 1536, to 1550. He put out another Book called *Prædictæ Astrologica* (b). He gained but little Reputation from these two Pieces; but he became famous for a Chronicle in which he had no Hand [A], and which the Protestants

(a) Gesn. in Biblioth. fol. 399.
(b) Melchior Adam. in Vita Philosophor. pag. 104.

[A] He became famous for a Chronicle in which he had no Hand.] It has been often printed, and translated into several Languages. This is the Account of it. Carion having written a Chronicle, had a mind to have it printed at Wittemberg, but was desirous Melancthon should first correct it. Melancthon, instead of correcting it, composed a new

one, which he published under Carion's Name at Wittemberg. It was written in High-Dutch, and translated into Latin, in 1538, by Herman Bonnus, Minister at Lubec, and Principal of the College (1). Melancthon observing how well this Book was received, after having revised and enlarged it, published a new Latin Version, in 1558 (2). He published

(1) Melancthon in Epist. Dedicat. Chron. Carionis, Edit. 1558.

(2) Id. ibid.

testants extolled at a high rate [B]. He died at *Berlin*, in the Year 1538 (c). (c) *Id. ibid.* pag. 105. Mr

lished it two Years after, with an Addition of a second Part. It then consisted of three Books: the two first contained the first Part, extending from the beginning of the World down to our Lord Jesus CHRIST. The third Book contained the second Part, from *Augustus* down to *Charlemagne*, exclusively. *Peucer*, after his Father-in-law *Melancthon's* Death, continued the Work, and published, in 1562, a fourth Book, from *Charlemagne* to *Frederic II.* About three Years after he printed a fifth Book, which ended with the Death of *Maximilian*, in 1519. In 1572, he published an Edition of the whole (3), I mean of what was written by himself, and by *Melancthon*, and promised a Continuation of it down to his own Time (4), but was never so good as his Word. The Edition I have of *Carion's* Chronicle is that at *Geneva*, printed in 8vo, 1625 (5), containing, in an Appendix, the Abridgment of the History from the Coronation of *Charles V.* to the Death of *Rodolphus* in 1612. *Eusebius Menius* has translated this Chronicle into *High Dutch* (6). *Simon Goulart* printed a French Translation in 1579, and published a second Edition in 1595, adding each time a Supplement of his own down to his own Days. I shall take notice presently of the French Version of *John de Blond*.

We are to observe, that *Carion's* Manuscript was sent to *Melancthon*, in 1531. This appears by a Letter from the latter (7). I will here insert a long Passage out of it, because it serves to give us a Character of our *Carion*. 'Accepi tuam disputationem de prædictionibus *Carionis*. Quamquam autem iste vehementer affirmat, se nihil præter fiderum positum in consilium adhibere, tamen multis non satis persuadet hoc. Et ars meo quoque judicio non potest tam disertè de singularibus eventibus pronuntiare, sed vir est, quantum ego quidem cognovi, Candidus, & Sævicæ simplicitatis plurimum referens. Misit huc *Carionem* excudenda, sed ea lege ut ego emendarem. Sunt multa scripta negligentius. Itaque ego totum opus retexo, & quidem Germanicè, & confitui complecti præcipuas mutationes maximorum imperiorum. --- I have received your Disputation on *Carion's* Predictions: Though he declares very earnestly, that he has formed them solely from the Position of the Stars, yet he has not prevailed on many to believe him. And indeed, in my Opinion, it is not in the Power of that Art to pronounce so exactly on particular Events; but the Author appears, as far as I can judge of him, to be a Man of candour, and to discover a great deal of the Schwabian Simplicity. He sent his Chronicle hither to be printed, but upon condition that I should revise it. But I find it a very hasty Work: And have therefore now formed the whole Work in the German Language, and comprised in it the principal changes of the most considerable Empires.' By this it appears, *Melancthon* new moulded the Work he was desired to correct. We shall see, by and by, he made but one Blot of *Carion's* whole Manuscript, and that nevertheless he was willing that the Chronicle he substituted in its place, should appear under *Carion's* Name; and That not only in the German Edition of *Wittenberg*, in 1531, but also in the following ones in Latin, which he corrected and augmented. The same was observed after his Death, in *Peucer's* Continuations. Read what follows: 'Nomen *Chronici Carionis* retinui, quod mutare illud autor primus sanctæ beatæque memorie *Philippus Melancthon*, fover meus noluit. Ocasio nominis hujus inde extitit, quod cum *Joannes Carion Mathematicus* ante annos quadraginta cœpisset contexere *Chronicum*, & recognoscendum illud, atque emendandum, priusquam prælo subiceretur, misisset ad *Philippum Melancthonem*, hic, quod parum probaretur, totum aboluit unâ liturâ, alio conscripto, cui tamen *Carionis* nomen præfixit: sed & hoc cum retexisset, amici nomen & memoriam, à cuius primordiis ægropiâ prima *Chronici* contexendi nata atque profecta esset, titulo posteritati commendare voluit (8). --- I have continued the Chronicle under *Carion's* Name, because it's first Author, *Philip Melancthon*, my Father-in-law, of blessed Memory,

'set me the Pattern. The Occasion of it's being published under that Name was this: *John Carion*, the Mathematician, had been for forty Years before composing a Chronicle, which he sent to *Philip Melancthon* to revise and correct before it went to the Press; but he not at all approving the Work, made but one Blot of the whole, and wrote a new one himself, to which however he prefixed *Carion's* Name. And when he afterwards revised it, he would continue to Posterity the Name and Memory of his Friend, who had laid the Plan, and given the first Occasion of his composing it.' But it is also to be remarked, that there is some reason to believe that *Carion* published his own Piece. Mr *Sagittarius* makes no doubt of it: He is only surprized at *Carion's* Conduct in doing so (9). He had, among his Books, two German Editions of this Author's Chronicle; one in 4to, but in what Year published he could not tell; the other in 8vo, reaching down to April 16, 1521. This does not at all agree with *Melancthon's* Work, which, even after it had been very much augmented by the Author, reached no farther than the beginning of *Charlemagne's* Reign. But we meet with another Difficulty. The *Swissers* found that the greatest part of what has been said concerning their Nation in this Chronicle, is false. 'Qui inter *Helvetios* nostros *historiarum* patriæ non imperiti sunt, pleraque falsa eum de rebus nostris scripsisse affirmant (11).' *Bullinger* publicly refuted the Falsities he observed in it concerning a Battle lost by the *Swissers* near *Zurich* in 1531 (12). Neither can this, for the reason before given, any way in the World agree with *Melancthon's* Work. On the other side, *Gesner*, who relates these Observations of the *Swissers*, had just before described *Carion's* Work by Marks, perfectly suiting with that of *Melancthon*. He had been saying that *Carion's* Chronicle, printed in *High Dutch* at *Wittenberg*, in the Year 1538, had been printed at *Hall* in *Suabia*, in 1539, and at *Lyons*, in 1543, translated into Latin, by *Hermannus Bonnus*, and called *Chronicorum libellus*, maximas quasque res gestas ab initio mundi apto ordine complectens, ita ut annorum ratio ac præcipuæ vicissitudines quæ in regna, in religionem, & in alias res magnas incidunt, quam rectissime cognosci queant. This Title exactly answers the Design and Character of *Melancthon's* Chronicle; and it is well known this Author publicly owned that to be his Work, which had been translated into Latin by *Herman Bonnus* (13). The same *Gesner* observes, that *Carion* dedicated his Book, in 1531, to *Joachim*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*. This admirably agrees with *Melancthon's* Book, as appears from this Passage, in a Dedication (14). 'Cum autem prima editio illustrissimo principi *Electori* patri tuo dedicata sit, ne transferre munus in aliam familiam viderer, filio dedicare hanc editionem volui, quia patrem ipsum cui jam *historia ecclesiæ & imperiorum* notissima est, scio velle talia jam à filiis legi, & se vivo vos in possessionem doctrinæ venire. --- The first Edition having been dedicated to the most illustrious Electoral Prince your Father, I was not willing to seek a Patron in any other Family, and therefore have dedicated this to the Son, because I know it to be the Desire of the Father, who is excellently skilled in History, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, that his Sons should study and make themselves Masters of the same during his Life.' It will not bear to be made an Objection, that at the time when this was written, the *Elect*or of *Brandenburg*, to whom the first Edition was addressed, was then alive, which cannot agree to the *Elect*or in the Year 1531 (15). For he to whom the first Edition was dedicated, was not yet *Elect*or, when the Chronicle in question was first published. Let us observe farther, that *Du Verdier* tells us that the Chronicle of *John Carion*, the Philosopher, containing the most remarkable Things from the Creation of the World down to the Reign of *Henry II.*, and translated into Latin by *John Blond*, was printed several times at *Paris* and *Lyons* (16). Can this be said of *Melancthon's* Work,

(3) At *Wittenberg* in *Folio*, a-pud *Johannem Cratonem*.

(4) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(5) Apud *Samuelem Crispinum*. There is one of the Year 1617, apud eundem, and another of *Francfort*, 1594, in two Volumes in 8vo. See *Michael Hertzius's* *Bibliotheca Germanica*, n. 502, 503.

(6) *Melchior Adam*, in *Vitis Phil.* pag. 105. This *High Dutch* Translation was printed at *Francfort* in *Folio*, in 1566.

(7) 'Tis the 117th of the fourth Book, dated the 10th of April, 1531.

(8) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(9) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(10) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(11) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(12) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(13) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(14) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(15) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(16) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(17) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(18) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(19) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

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(30) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(31) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(32) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

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(48) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(49) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(50) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(51) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(52) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

Mr Moreri has made a childish Mistake [C]. And I have something to charge some other Writers withal [D].

Work, which was continued down no farther than *Charlemagne*? It is more likely to be that Chronicle *Carion* had continued down to 1530, if we believe *Keckerman* (17). We must only suppose, that the *Frenchman*, who translated it, continued it down to his Time.

The Result of all this is, That it is uncertain, whether there were not two Pieces published under *Carion's* Name; one composed by *Carion* himself, the other by *Melancthon*. It is probable *Carion* did not acquiesce in the Judgment of that Great Man, when, instead of correcting some Places in his Chronicle, he saw it quite laid aside, and another composed. Perhaps he then published his own, whilst another was published under his Name. If so, we have two Chronicles, one of which was continued down to the Time of the Impression. Perhaps also *Melancthon* consented that a Supplement should be added to his, and leaving it to *Carion's* Discretion, the latter printed his Work such as *Melancthon* had sent it him, adding an Appendix down to his own Time. If it be so, we have but one German Edition in *Carion's* Name. It may easily be supposed, that *Melancthon*, having revised his own Work a long time after, and translated it into Latin, retrenched what was not of his own composing. Thus the first Edition of his Latin Chronicle appears to reach only to *Cæsar*, and the second to *Charlemagne*. They, who understand the German Language, and have an Occasion to search the Libraries of Germany, are desired to clear this Matter, and let us know what we are to believe upon it.

Since the printing of what you have just now read, I am put out of doubt; for I have seen a Latin Chronicle of *Carion*, dedicated by him to *Jacobus*, Marquis of Brandenburg, and divided into three Books, which reaches from *Adam* to *Solyman's* Expedition into Hungary in the Year 1532. The Author ends with four or five Prophecies, which he applies to *Charles V.*, and all which have proved false. The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Berlin*, in 1531. The Edition I use is of *Paris*, 1563, in 16mo, by *James Dupuis*, and contains a Supplement down to the Twenty ninth of September, 1560. I have likewise seen the French Translation of *John le Blond*, printed at *Paris* by *Stephen Groleau* in 16mo. It contains no Appendix with relation to the general History, but only with regard to that of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.*; That relating to *Francis I.* begins with the first Year of his Reign.

[B] --- which the Protestants extolled at a high Rate.] See what *Andrew Franckenberg* says of it: 'Chronicon Carionis magna sui parte retextum, tanto judicio tantaque dexteritate perfecit (*Melancthon*) ut nihil in eo genere & compendiarie ratione præstantius extare sciamus (18). — *Carion's* Chronicle, being a great part of it new modelled, was completed by *Melancthon*, with so much Judgment and Exactness, that it is acknowledged to be a Master-piece of it's kind, and in the compendiarie way.' He esteemed it so highly, that he followed the Model of it in his own Work, quoted in the Margin (19), and made an Oration, 'De magnitudine rerum divinarum & politicarum quæ in Chronico Philippi continentur' (20). — Of the Greatness of the Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, which are contained in *Melancthon's* Chronicle. One may suppose *Vissarius Strigelius* to be much of the same Judgment; for he writ several Historical Lectures upon this Chronicle (21). *Stephen Prætorius* looks on them, who have no taste for it, to be direct Dunces: 'Eruditissima & elegantissima Epitome omnium fere historiarum totius mundi est Chronicon Phil. Melancthonis, quod qui non degustavit, is vere barbas eff' (22). Add to this *Bæclerus's* Testimony. In hoc (*Chronico*) ea sunt ad summam rerum & historiarum universalis contextum spectantia, judicia, monita, præcepta, ut de alio hujus generis & instituti volumine similia polliceri nemo facile queat (23). — In this (*Chronicle*) appear such Judgments, Observations, and Rules, relating to the Formation of a Compendium, and universal History, as will not readily be equalled in any other

Work of the same kind and Design.' He, who quotes these Judgments, makes it appear that he approves of them: 'Meretur, says he (24), hoc ipsum, quod vulgo Carionis, rectius tamen Philippo-Peucerianum appellaretur Chronicon, inter selectissima probatissimaque utriusque Historiæ (Ecclesiasticæ ac Civilis) monumenta computari, atque à studiosa juventute diligenter legi, lectumque aliquoties repeti. — This Chronicle, which is commonly called Carion's, but more properly Melancthon's and Peucer's, deserves to be esteemed amongst the most compleat and valuable Monuments of History (Ecclesiastical and Civil), and to be diligently read, and often repeated by young Students.' He finds Fault, that the Authors, from whom the Accounts were taken, are not quoted; and he is in the right. It is a great Fault in a Work of this Nature, and indeed in all others; *La Popeliniere*, who has given this Piece a very good Character, finds another Fault in it, which is a Spirit of Prejudice. It will not be amiss to give it in his own Words: 'John Carion, the Mathematician, is reputed the Author of some Chronicles, first printed in Germany, and afterwards in other Places, under his Name. Tho' his Master *Melancthon*, as I am informed (25), to whom he presented the first Draughts for him to revise, add, and correct what he thought fit, made but one Blot of the whole, and composed new ones: But, through a Condescension, natural to him, permitted Carion to print them under his own Name. They shew a great deal of Learning and Industry. But his Zeal to benefit his Reader, is yet more remarkable, by insisting upon the most eminent Examples, to habituate him to Virtue, and sometimes raising him up to Heaven, in order to admire the Divine Providence, in the so various Methods of governing the World. However, he exceeds the Duty of a Chronologer by his Prolixity, and of a Historian by diverse Fictions (26). *Simon Goulart's* Commendations of this Work of *Carion* (27) are not attended with this Censure. We must observe that the Writers of the other Party very much condemn this Chronicle. 'Possévinus, suo more, they are the Words of *Keckerman* (28), insectatur Chronicon Melancthonis sine ulla ratione & fronte. — Possévinus, after his usual manner, falls foul of Melancthon's Chronicle without Reason.' *Surius* throws a whole Load of Reflexions upon *Peucer*, for his Continuation of this Chronicle (29). He saw himself ill treated in the Dedication to the fifth Book.

[C] Mr Moreri has made a very childish Mistake.] I make use of this Expression, because he has translated like a School-boy. These are his Words: *Carion was skilled in the Languages, in polite Learning, and Mathematics. He taught them with Applause, at Wittemberg, and elsewhere.* This infers, that he taught these three things in several Universities. Though the Truth is, he taught only the Mathematics at *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*. Let us see the Latin *Moreri* meant to translate; it is very easy to be understood, though he could not apprehend it. *A teneris optimarum artium, & literarum studiosus fuit, inque pluribus Germaniæ Academicis, præsertim in Wittebergenf, cum laude versatus* (30). This shows plainly that *Carion* gained himself a Reputation, whilst he studied at *Wittemberg*, and elsewhere in Germany, but not that he taught there with Applause.

[D] I have something to charge some other Writers withal.] *Gesner's* Abbreviators take notice of an Edition in 1528: it is a mistake: the first Edition could not be before 1531. *Keckerman* says, *Melancthon* published, in 1540, a Chronicle, extending from the beginning of the World down to *Charlemagne* (31). He ought to have said in 1560. *Zeiller* followed *Keckerman* in the same Mistake (32); for he copied him word for word. He is guilty of another, in saying that *Peucer* continued this Chronicle down to his own time (33): he ought to have said, down to 1519. He observes, that *Peucer* died in 1602. Mr *Sagittarius* makes use of a strange Instance, to prove, that *Melancthon* and *Carion*

(17) Keckerman de Natura & Proprietate Histor. cap. v. apud Magirum Eponymol. pag. 182.

(18) Andreas Franckenbergius, lib. iii. Institutionum Antiquitatis & Historiarum, pag. 237, apud Casparum Sagittarium Introduct. ad Histor. Eccles. pag. 97, 98.

(19) Suis Institutiones Antiquitatis & Historiarum ad Chronicon Carionis Melancthonianum commodavit. — He formed his own Institutions of Antiquity and History, chiefly according to Melancthon's Chronicle of Carion. Sagittarius, ibid. pag. 101.

(20) Printed at Wittemberg, in 1589. Id. ibid.

(21) Scholæ Historias in idem Chronicon scripsit. Keckerman de Natura & Proprietate Histor. cap. vi. Auct. cap. vi.

(22) Stephan. Prætorius in ordine studiorum apud Sagitt. pag. 98.

(23) Bæclerus Dissert. de Utilitate Historiarum Univers. compositione capiendi, pag. 16, apud Sagitt. ibid.

(24) Ibid. pag. 97.

(25) He might have quoted a Book printed 27 Years ago; viz. Peucer's Dedication before the Edition of 1572. See above, Citation (8).

(26) La Popeliniere, Histoire des Histoires, liv. ix, pag. 481. This Book was printed in 1599.

(27) See the Dedication to his Version.

(28) Keckerman de Natura & Proprietate Histor. cap. vi.

(29) Surii, Comment. Rerum in Orbem Gestar. ad Ann. 1555.

(30) Melchior Adam, in Vind. Philol. pag. 104.

(31) Keckerman ubi supra.

(32) Martinus Zeiller, in Histor. Parte II, pag. 34. He quotes Keckerman, de Histor. pag. 207.

(33) Id. ibid. pag. 114.

(34) Intereffisse tamen Melancthon cum Capnione singularem amicitiam frequentia producit. *Sagittar. ubi supra, pag. 99, and in the Margin he has Amicitia Philippicum Carione.*

tion were very good Friends (34). He quotes a Passage in the Dedication to the Edition of 1558. This Passage imports, that *Melancthon* had heard *Capnio* say, that the Elector Palatine had ordered *Dalburg*, Bishop of Worms, *Rodolphus Agricola*, and *Capnio*, to make an Abridgment of the ancient Mo-

(35) This he observes of *Carion*, pag. 96.

CARMILIANUS (PETER), a Latin Poet, and an Englishman by Nation, lived in the beginning of the XVIIth Century. *Erasmus*, and *Andrew Ammonius*, speak of him with a great deal of Contempt. He published, among other Poems, an Epitaph upon That King of the Scots, who was slain in a Battle, he lost to the English, Ann. 1513. The Opinion, the World had of it, will be seen in the Remark [A], which will serve for a Reason to the Reader, why this Poet was never taken notice of. The profound Obscurity, in which he lies buried, is one of the chief Reasons, which engaged me to consecrate this small Article to him: a Method I shall observe towards some others.

[A] The Opinion the World had of it will be seen in the Remark. Here is what *Ammonius* wrote to *Erasmus* thereupon. 'Hoc prætereundum non est P. Carmilianum Regis Scotorum epitaphium nuper edidisse muliebribus maledictis refertum, quod Pinfonicis characteribus excusum propediem leges. Eo Carmilianus magis sibi placet, seque magis miratur, quam Catullianus ille Suffenus; & tamen nisi ego admonuisssem pullulare prima correpta possuisset. Utcunque multa restant quæ rideas, & in primis aliquos inveniri qui ejusmodi ineptias serio laudent (1). — I must not omit, that Carmilianus has lately published the Epitaph of the King of Scots, full of womanish Reviling; which you will soon read, printed by Pinfon. Carmilianus discovers great self-satisfaction, thereupon, and admires himself more than even Suffenus in Catullus; and yet, if I had not sworn him, he would have made the first Syllable in pullulare short. You will have still greater occasion to laugh, especially when I tell you there are some, who commend such Stuff in earnest.' This Letter from *Ammonius*, dated in November 1515, is the fortieth in the eighth Book of those of *Erasmus*, who returned him this

Answer: 'Carmiliani epitaphium vidi, quumque legerem pullulare, hic, inquam scabies est: deinde quum sciscitanti respondissent esse Carmiliani, ref- pondi, sane ipso dignum est. Id quidam sic acceperunt quasi dixissem Scotorum rege dignum: quibus plusculum erat nati, subrisere. Sed næ tu hominum es candidus qui belluæ istius famæ confus- las: ita me Deus amet magno emerim si suisfices. — I have seen the Epitaph, written by Carmil- lianus; and, when I read the word pullulare, here, said I, is a Scab: when, upon enquiry, I was told it was Carmilianus's, I replied, indeed it is worthy of him. This by some was taken, as if I had said, it was worthy of the King of Scots: Those, who were more acute, smiled at the Jest. But, in truth, it is too good natured in you, to concern your self for the Reputation of That Fellow. I wish to GOD you had been silent.' This Answer of *Eras- mus*, dated in November 1511, is the twentieth Letter in the eighth Book: from whence we may judge how exact they were, who put *Erasmus's* Letters in order, and set a Date to those that were without Date (2).

(2) See the end of Remark [B], of the Article AMMONIUS (ANDREW).

CARNEADES, a famous Greek Philosopher of Cyrene (a). He founded the third Academy [A], which, properly speaking, differed in nothing from the second (b); for, if you except some Softenings, which served only to cast a Mist before the Eyes, he was as earnest a Stickler for Uncertainty, as *Arcefilas* [B]. He found

(a) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62. Plutarch. Sym- pos. lib. viii, cap. i, pag. 717.

(b) Founded by ARCE- SILAS. See his Article.

[A] He founded the third Academy. I shall observe elsewhere (1), that *Diogenes Laërtius* is not to be relied upon, when he attributes to *Lacydes* this Foundation. *Lacydes* nicely followed *Arcefilas* his Predecessor's Hypothesis; which received no Innovations, for ought appears to us, either from *Evander*, who succeeded *Lacydes*, or *Hegesinus* (2), who came next after *Evander*. It was *Carneades*, *Hegesinus's* Successor, who made himself Head of a new Party. Let us see what *Cicero* says: 'Cujus (Arcefilæ) primo non admodum probata ratio --- proxime à Lacyde solo retenta est: post autem conficta à Carneade, qui est quartus ab Arcefila: audivit enim Hegesinum, qui Evandrum audiverat Lacydis discipulum, quum Arcefila Lacydes fuisse (3). — The Method of Arcefilas was not much approved of, at first. — It was next taken up by Lacydes alone: afterwards it was put in practice by Carneades, who is the fourth from Arcefilas; for he studied under Hegesinus, who had followed Evander, the Disciple of Lacydes, which Lacydes was the Disciple of Arcefilas.' He had observed in another place, that *Arcefilas's* Academy met with no variation till *Carneades's* Time; Quæ (Academia) usque ad Carneadem perduravit, qui quartus ab Arcefila fuit, in eadem Arcefilæ ratione perman- sit (4). *Clemens Alexandrinus* observes, that the middle Academy flourished till *Hegesilaus*, *Carneades's* Predecessor's Time (5). I shall quote *St. Au-ustin* hereafter, who attributes to *Carneades* the Inno- vation of *Arcefilas's* Academy.

[B] He was as earnest a Stickler for Uncertainty as *Arcefilas*. See *Cicero's* Words, which show, that *Carneades* confirmed *Arcefilas's* Hypothesis: Hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi,

'nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta à So- crate, repetita ab Arcefila, confirmata à Carneade, usque ad nostrum viguit ætatem (6). --- This Method, in Philosophy, of disputing against every thing, and openly judging of nothing, invented by Socrates, restored by Arcefilas, and confirmed by Carneades, was in vogue even to our Time.' What follows proves, that, as to Incomprehensibility, he went as far in it as the other. 'Ex hoc illud est natum quod postulabat Hortensius, ut id ipsum sal- tem perceptum a sapiente diceretur, nihil posse per- cipi. Sed Antipatro hoc idem postulanti, quum diceret, ei qui affirmaret nihil posse percipi consen- taneum esse, unum tamen illud dicere percipi posse, ut alia non possent, Carneades acutius resi- stebat. Nam tantum abesse dicebat ut ei consen- taneum esset, ut maxime etiam repugnaret. Qui enim negaret quidquam esse quod perciperetur, eum nihil excipere: ita necesse esse ne id ipsum quidem, quod exceptum non esset, comprehendere & percipi ullo modo posse (7). — Hence arose That Postulat of Hortensius, that a wise Man can at least only perceive this, that nothing can be perceiv- ed. But when Antipater took the same thing for granted, and said, that he, who affirms that no- thing can be perceived, must yet say, that this very thing (viz. that other things cannot be perceived) is capable of being perceived, Carneades opposed him with more Subtlety. For This, he said, was so far from being necessary, that it was most contradictory. For he, who denies that any thing can be perceived, excepts nothing: whence it necessarily follows, that what is not excepted cannot possibly be comprehended and perceived.' By this we find, he taught, that they, who hold nothing can be comprehended, and that

(6) Cicero de Naturæ Deorum, lib. i, cap. v, & xxv.

(7) Idem, Aca- dem. Quest. lib. iv, cap. ix.

(4) Id. ibid. lib. i, cap. xii, in fin.

(5) Clem. Alex- andr. ubi supra.

it in the most evident Notions [C]. It is not agreed whether he wrote any Books or

that there is nothing certain, ought to allow, by an unavoidable Consequence, that this very Proposition, *there is nothing certain, we can comprehend nothing*, is uncertain and incomprehensible. Now he was one of those, who held we could comprehend nothing, and therefore he went as far as *Arcefilas*. Duo placet esse Carneadi genera visorum. In uno hanc divisionem: alia visa esse quæ percipi possint, alia quæ non possint. In altero autem, alia visa esse probabilia, alia non probabilia. Itaque quæ contra sensus, contraque perspicuitatem dicantur, ea pertinere ad superiorem divisionem, contra posteriorem nihil dici oportere. Quare ita placere, tale visum nullum esse ut perceptio consequeretur; ut autem probatio, multa; etenim contra naturam esset, si probabile nihil esset, & sequitur omnis vitæ ea quam ut Luculle commemorabas everfio. Itaque & sensibus probanda multa sunt, teneatur modo illud, non inesse in his quicquam tale, quale non etiam falsum nihil ab eo differens esse possit. Sic quicquid acciderit specie probabile, si nihil se offerret quod sit probabilitati illi contrarium, utetur eo sapiens, ac sic omnis ratio vitæ gubernabitur (8).

(8) Id. ibid. cap. xxxi.

— Carneades says, *there are two kinds of Things seen: In the one he makes this Division: Some things are seen, which may be perceived; others, which may not: In the other; Some Things seen are probable; others not probable. Those Things therefore, which are said to be contrary to Sense and Perspicuity, belong to the first Division; but that nothing can be said against the second. He was therefore of Opinion, that there is nothing so seen as to be followed by Perception: but many things, so as to be followed by Probability; since it is contrary to Nature, that nothing should be probable; and such a Sentiment tends to That Subversion of human Life, which you just now mentioned, Lucullus. Many Things therefore may be proved to the Senses: only we must remember, that there is nothing in those things of such a Nature, as that nothing, even what is false, can differ from it. Thus whatever has the Appearance of Probability, if nothing offers, which is contrary to That Probability, will be made use of by a wise Man; and by such things human Life will be directed.* By this we see, that he allowed of nothing but Probabilities for the use of Life; and beyond that he believed there was no Certainty or Evidence. He laboured might and main to break the Custom of assenting to what is not evident

(9) Ego enim est maximam actionem potest repugnare visis, obfistere opinionibus, assensus laboribus sustinere, credoque Clitomacho ita scribenti: Herculis quendam laborem exantlatum à Carneade, quod ut feram & immanem bellum sic ex animis nostris assensionem, id est opinionem, & temeritatem extraxisset, tamen, &c. Id. ibid. lib. iv, cap. xxxiv.

(10) Id. ibid. cap. xxxviii.

(11) Id. de Natura Deorum, lib. i, cap. v, sub fin.

(12) See Vossius de Philosoph. sectis, pag. 76.

sufficient to determine us to act; provided we pronounced absolutely upon nothing (13). He was yet more indulgent; he allowed a wise Man, upon some occasions, to conclude, 'Si nulli rei sapiens assentietur unquam, aliquando etiam opinabitur: nunquam autem opinabitur, nulli igitur rei assentietur. Hanc conclusionem Arcefilas probat. Confirmabat enim primum & secundum. Carneades nonnunquam secundum illud dabat assentiri, aliquando id assequebatur etiam opinari (14). — If a wise Man will ever assent to any thing, he will sometimes conclude; but he will never conclude; therefore he will never assent to any thing. Arcefilas proves this Consequence. For he confirmed the Major and the Minor. Carneades sometimes allowed of Assent, and now and then permitted to conclude.' This Condescension in Carneades made some Breach in his System; for which reason, Arcefilas is said to have maintained his Hypothesis better than he. 'Ex his illa necessario nata est εἰροχῆ, id est assensionis retentio, in qua melius sibi consistit Arcefilas, si vera sunt quæ de Carneade nonnulli existimant. Si enim percipi nihil potest, quod utrique visum est, tollendus assensus est. Quid enim est tam futile, quam quicquam approbare non cognitum: Carneadem autem etiam heri audiebamus solitum esse delabi interdum, ut diceret opinaturum, id est peccaturum esse sapientem (15).

(13) See Cicero Academ. lib. iv, passim.

(14) Id. ibid. cap. xviii. See likewise cap. xxix.

(15) Id. ibid. cap. xviii.

From hence necessarily arose the εἰροχῆ, or withholding of Assent, in which Arcefilas is more consistent with himself, if it be true what some think of Carneades. For if nothing can be perceived, as both allow, all Assent is taken away. For what can be weaker, than to approve we know not what? But we were told yesterday, that Carneades sometimes went so far, as to say, that a wise Man would conclude, that is err. But it is certain, Carneades always returned to the εἰροχῆ, which was, if I may so call it, the Analysis of his Faith. This appears from the Exposition of his Sentiment at the end of Tully's Academic Questions. This is it: 'Quid Catulus sentit? Quid Hortensius? Tum Catulus. Ego ne inquit? ad patris revolvor sententiam, quam quidem ille Carneadem esse dicebat, ut percipi nihil putem posse, assensurum autem non percepto, id est opinaturum, sapientem existimem, sed ita ut intelligat se opinari, sciatque nihil esse quod comprehendi & percipi possit, per εἰροχῆν illam omnium rerum comprobans; illi alteri sententiæ, nihil esse quod percipi possit, vehementer assentior. Habeo, inquam, sententiam tuam, neque eam admodum aperiore. Sed quid tibi tandem videtur Hortensi? Tum ille ridens, tollendum. Teneo te inquam. Nam ista Academicæ est propria sententia (16). — What is Catulus's Opinion? What Hortensius? Then Catulus; My Opinion, say you? I return back to my Father's Sentiment, which he said was That of Carneades; viz. that nothing can be perceived, yet that a wise Man will assent to what he does not perceive; yet so as to be sensible, that he only concludes, and to know, that nothing can be perceived, in every thing observing the εἰροχῆ, or withholding of Assent: this Sentiment I strongly approve of. I have your Opinion, said I, nor do I greatly dislike it. But what think you, Hortensius? Upon which he smiled, and replied, that we should refuse all Assent. I understand you, replied I; for it is properly the Sentiment of the Academy.' This is not all; some, who knew it well, maintained he did not allow a Philosopher to conclude. 'Licet perceiving nihil, & tamen opinari: quod à Carneade dicitur probatum. Equidem Clitomacho plusquam Philoni aut Metrodoro credens, hoc magis ab eo disputatum, quam probatum puto (17). — It was allowed, that

(16) Id. ibid. cap. ult.

(17) Id. ibid. cap. xxiv, fin.

we perceive nothing; yet we were permitted to conclude: which Carneades is said to have proved. For my own part, relying more on Clitomachus, than Philo or Metrodorus, I rather think he discussed, than proved, the Point. It is very probable therefore, in my Opinion, that he retained at the bottom Arcefilas's Doctrine; but, out of Policy, and that he might deprive his Adversaries of the most specious Pretences of declaiming against, and ridiculing him, he granted them some Degrees of Probability, capable of determining a wise Man to choose such

or no: Some say positively he did not, whilst others seem to insinuate the contrary (c). The Account we have of his Application to study is very singular [D]. He

(c) See the Remark [I], towards the end.

such a side in his civil Capacity. He saw very well, that, without this, he should never be able to answer their most odious Objections, or prove that his Principle was not the readiest way to reduce a Man to Inaction, and the most scandalous Quietism. If it be well considered, it is the same thing to say, *There are no Truths, and there are, but we have no Rule to distinguish them from Falshoods*. If *Arcefilas* had maintained the first of these Propositions, he might have been compared to a fiery Courser, that follows his Impetuosity to the very bottom of a Precipice. But I can scarce be brought to believe, that he absolutely denied the Existence of Truths. He thought it enough, in my Opinion, to maintain, that they were impenetrable to human Understanding. The Heat of the Dispute perhaps hindered him from expressing himself so cautiously, as they did afterwards in *Carneades's* Academy. *Carneades* managed himself more circumspectly, than to inherit all the Disgrace of his Predecessor. *Carneades* primo illam

(18) Augustin. lib. iii. contra Academicos, apud Aldobrand. Not. in Diogen. Laërt. lib. iv. n. 28.

velut calumniandi impudentiam, qua videbat *Arcefilam* non mediocriter infamatum, deposuit, ne contra omnia velle dicere quasi ostentationis causa videretur (18). ----- *Carneades* was the first, who laid aside the shameful way of calumniating, which he knew *Arcefilas* to have been very guilty of, that he might not be thought fond of disputing against every thing, for the sake of Ostentation. These words of *St. Austin* are more favourable to *Carneades*, than *Arcefilas*; but *Numenius* had another Opinion of these two Academics; he was more angry with *Carneades*, than with *Arcefilas*. He pretended, that *Arcefilas* was in earnest, and deceived himself whilst he was deceiving others: but that *Carneades* believed nothing of what he said, and entertained his Confidants with Discourses quite different from his Lectures, being pleased in nothing more than puzzling his Scholars, and diverted himself with arguing *pro* and *con*. Τοισιν ἀπάγων τὰς ἀλλας, αὐτὸς ἐμὲν ἀνεξέπαυτον, ὃ μὴ περὶ τῶν Ἀκαδημαίων ἐκείνῳ γὰρ περιεχόμενος τῇ φαρμάκῃ τὰς συκοφαντίας, ἐλαδὲν εὐαίῳ πρῶτον ἐξήπαλιν καὶ μὴ ῥηθῆναι, πεποιθὲς δ' ἀληθῆναι εἶναι, ὃ λέγει διὰ τῆς ἀσφαπῶν ἀναίρεστος χρημάτων. Quippe, cum in fraudem alios et errorem impelleret, tum fallabatur ipse nunquam, id quod locum in *Arcefila* non habebat. Is enim dum ceteros suis secum maleficiis ac praestigis, Corybantum more insaniens, circumferret, non sentiebat quam sese primum ipse deciperet, dum sibi quoque vera esse quae diceret, omnia simul ac semel abolendo, persuadebat (19). He built and demolished, having no sooner established a Probability, but he was the first himself that took care to destroy it. Ἥς δ' ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀπέρεν, ἀντιλογίας τε καὶ σεραφῆς λεσολόγους συνέφερε τῇ μαχῇ ποιημάτων, ἐξαρνητικός τε καὶ καταφαντικός τε ἦν, κάμπερον ἀντιλογικός. Idem asserbat, idem auferbat, pugnamque suam contrariis sententiis, et versutis quibusdam ac subtilibus argutiis cum multiplici varietate miscebat, affirmando simul ac negando, et oppositis utrinque rationibus disputando (20). In confelling there were Truths and Falshoods in Nature, but so concealed, that they were not really to be distinguished one from the other (21), he was a more dangerous Sharper than *Arcefilas*. Ἦν γὰρ λυσὶς καὶ γόνος σοφώτερος. Fur ergo praestigia-torque fuit solertior (22). *Cicero* says a thing, which may be opposed to *Numenius*. The latter pretends, that *Carneades's* public Doctrine differed from his private; that, in public, he confounded all, in order to combat the *Stoics*; but that, among his Friends, his Sentiments were the same with the rest of the World. Ὅμως δὲ καίτοι καὶ ὑπὸ Στωϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰς τὸ φανερόν, πρὸς γὰρ τὰς εὐαίῃς ἐταίρους δ' ἀπορρήτων ἐμολογεῖται τε καὶ ἠλθὲν, καὶ ἀπερρίνῃ, ὃ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων. Et tamen ille ipse, qui *Stoicos* velle-candi studio palam cuncta miscebat, clam sodales inter suos eadem omnia fatebatur vereque ac certo pronuncia-bat, quae alius quicvis ἐ populo (23). This does not agree with a Passage in *Cicero*, where we are told, that *Clitomachus* never could discover what *Carneades* thought the most probable, though he had for ma-

(19) *Numenius* apud Eusebium, Praep. Evang. lib. xiv, cap. viii, pag. 737, C.

(20) *Id. ibid.* B.

(21) *Id. ibid.* pag. 738, A.

(22) *Id. ibid.*

(23) *Id. ibid.* D. See likewise pag. 739, A.

ny Years been his favourite Scholar (24). *Cuius* (Calliphontis) quidem sententiam *Carneades* ita studiose defendebat ut eam probarectiam videretur, quamquam *Clitomachus* affirmabat nunquam se intelligere potuisse quid *Carneadi* probaretur (25).

I know I shall be condemned by a great many for this heap of Quotations: I was aware of their Contempt, Dislike, and magisterial Censures; but had no regard to them: I chose rather to turn *Copier*, for the sake of those, who, without stirring from their Place, are glad to receive an historical Account of the Opinions of the Ancients, and see the original Proofs, I mean the genuine Expressions of the Witnesses. This is the Principle I shall stick to upon an hundred other occasions.

[C] He found an Uncertainty in the most evident Notions.] Every Logician knows, that the Foundation of a Syllogism, and by consequence the Faculty of Reasoning, is built upon this Maxim: *Those things that are the same with a third are the same to each other; Quae sunt idem uni tertio sunt idem inter se*. Now it is certain, *Carneades* strongly opposed it; since he has with all his Subtilties attacked this; *Those things that are equal to a third, are equal among themselves*. This we have from *Galen*, in a Discourse printed with one of *Sextus Empiricus's* Books; and he tells us farther, that this Philosopher's Scholars left in writing all the Sophisms their Master had opposed to this Notion, the most evident in the World, and that neither they, nor any of the Academics, who lived after him, endeavoured to solve those Sophisms. He adds withal, that it is as mischievous to preserve in a Book such Objections, without observing wherein they are deficient, as it is to invent them. The Reader shall have his words, as I find them translated by *Erasmus*. *Carneades* ne illud quidem quod est omnium evidentissimum concedit esse credendum, quod magnitudines uni cuipiam aequales, sint etiam inter se aequales. Rationes igitur quibus conatur deservire & haec & alia permulta, quae tibi evidentur apparent credunturque esse vera, adhuc in hunc ulque diem servatas habemus, proditas scriptis, ab illius discipulis collectas. Solutiones autem nec ab illis, nec ab alio quopiam Academicorum, qui post *Carneadem* fuerunt, datae sunt. Ea res sola declarat, istius rationes omnes esse sophismata: nobisque querenda sunt, O discipuli, istarum solutiones. Improbum est enim hoc: attamen nihilo minus improbum fecerunt illi qui scripserunt quidem has, ceterum vobis non indicarunt quales essent (26).

[D] His Application to study was very singular.] He was as laborious as any one, and so intent upon his Studies, that he would not allow himself time to pare his Nails, or have his Hair trimmed. φιλόπονος δὲ ἀνθρώπος γίγονεν εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ----- ἔδεν καὶ ἐκόμα καὶ ἔτρεφεν οὐρυχας ἀσχολία τῇ περὶ τὰς λόγους. Fuit autem vehementer studiosus ----- quocirca & caesariem & unguis nutriebat, tanta erat in literas intentione (27). He was so unwilling to lose any of his Hours, that he not only avoided all Feasts (28), but forgot to eat even at his own Table (29); inasmuch that his Maid, who was likewise his Concubine, was forced to cut his Meat for him, and put it into his Hand, nay perhaps into his Mouth. I express myself so, because the *Latin* Author I am just going to quote confines himself to general Terms only. We are to observe, that his Concubine was divided between the fear of interrupting *Carneades*, and suffering him to perish with hunger. This is no useless Observation: We may infer from it, that this Philosopher was unwilling to be disturbed in his Meditations, tho' for his necessary Sustainance. *Carneades* laboriosus & diuturnus sapientiae miles: siquidem nonaginta expletis annis, idem illi vivendi ac philosophandi finis fuit. Ita se mirificum doctrinae operibus addixerat, ut cum cibi capiendi causa recubisset, cogitationibus inherens, manum ad mensam porrigere oblivisceretur. Sed enim Melissa, quam uxoris loco habebat, temperato inter studia non interpellandi, sed inedia succurrendi officio, dexteram suam necessariis usus aptabat. Ergo animo tantummodo vitae fruebatur, corpore vero quasi alieno & supervacuo circumdatus

(24) A *Clitomachus* sumam, qui usque ad senectutem cum *Carneade* fuit. *Cicero* Academ. Quest. lib. iv, cap. xxxix init.

(25) *Id. ibid.* cap. xlv, fin.

(16) *Galenus*, in libro de optimo docendi genere, at the end of the Pyrrhonianae Hypotyposis, printed by Henr. Stephens, Amst. 1562, pag. 220, 221.

(27) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. iv, n. 62.

(28) *Id. ibid.* n. 63.

(29) *Valer. Maximus*, lib. viii, cap. vii, n. 5, in Extern.

He opposed the Stoics, and vigorously attempted to confute the Works of *Cbrysippus* [E], who, for some time, had been the principal Pillar of their Porch. He was Master of a surprizing Eloquence, which made him feared by the Roman Senate [F], during his Residence at Rome with two other Embassadors. Whilst he

(30) Val. Max.
Ibid.

circumdatus erat (30). — Carneades, laborious and constant under the Banners of Philosophy; for, after ninety Years spent, he ceased, at once, to Live, and to Philosophize. His Application to Study was so wonderful, that, when he sat down to Meat, through intenseness of Thought he would forget to reach out his hand to the Table. But Melissa, his Hand-Maid, with divided Care, not to interrupt his Meditation, and yet to satisfy his Hunger, dexterously supplied his wants. He enjoyed Life, therefore, only in his Thoughts, and looked upon his Body as foreign and superfluous. Add to this what I shall relate immediately touching the Remedy he made use of to strengthen his Mind.

(31) Muret. Orat. II, Vol. I, pag. 17.

Muretus, through a defect of Memory, has taken *Cbrysippus* for Carneades. 'Prodeat in medium Chrysippus, says he (31), qui saepe studio intentus tanta voluptate perfruebatur, ut eum tanquam extra se positum cibi potionisque caperet oblivio. — Let us instance in Chrysippus, who was often so wrapped up in the pleasure of Contemplation, that he forgot to eat and drink.' Another learned Man, upon Muretus's Authority, has twice applied That to *Cbrysippus*, which belongs to Carneades alone (32); tho' it is true, he says, *Valerius Maximus* spoke of Carneades, and not of *Cbrysippus* (33). I shall set down his Words; wherein we shall find, that he supposes *Cbrysippus* had his Meat put into his Mouth. 'Aut Chrysippum denique repetam, quem inter etiam epulas tam intemperantem studii fuisse aiunt, ut evolante ad alia ingenio, manus cessaret, & hianti ori ancilla Melissa cibum ingerere deberet (34). — Or I will again instance in Chrysippus, who, even at a Banquet, is said to have been so intemperately studious, that, his Thoughts wandering on other things, his Hand was idle, and his Maid Melissa was obliged to put the Meat into his Mouth.' He is no Plagiary, though he makes use of *Frontonius's* Words (35); for he refers us to him: so that here are three Authors together guilty of the same Error: without doubt they have many Companions.

(32) Jacobus Thomaeus, Orat. pag. 148, 156, Edit. Lips. 1683.

(33) Id. ibid. in Margin. p. 156.

(34) Id. ibid. pag. 156.

(35) Libertus Fromondus, Philof. Christ. de Anima, pag. 211.

[E] He was a grand Stickler against the Stoics, and attempted to refute the Works of *Cbrysippus*. Here is a Passage of *Cicero*: 'Sed is (Carneades) ut contra Stoicos, quos studiosissime semper refellebat, & contra quorum disciplinam ingenium ejus exarserat (36). — But He (Carneades) ever refuted the Stoics with the greatest eagerness, whose Doctrines he could not endure with patience.' He attentively read the Writings of the Stoics, particularly those of *Cbrysippus*, and refuted them (37). He succeeded so well, that he owned, had it not been for *Cbrysippus*, he had never been what he was. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐγώ. *Nisi Chrysippus fuisset, non essem ego* (38). There are many others, who might say the same thing: they are obliged to their Antagonists for their Reputation: they had either sunk into Idleness, or made no more than a private Amusement of Study, if the Ambition of excelling their Adversaries had not inspired them with the Resolution of acquiring great Knowledge, and of publishing it to the World. The Necessity a Man finds of defending himself against an ambitious and troublesome Aggressor, has produced Books, which have procured great Reputation to those, who never thought of being Authors. This was not Carneades's Case; he began the Quarrel, chose for his Antagonist one of the most famous Stoics, and so earnestly desired to get the better of him, that, whilst he was preparing himself for the Combat, he took a Dose of Hellebore, to render his Conception more free and serene, and to excite against him with the more force the fire of his Imagination. Idem (Carneades) cum *Cbrysippo* disputaturus, helleboro se ante purgabat, ad exprimendum ingenium suum attentius, & illius refellendum acrius (39). I wish he, who gives us this Account, had left out the Word cum, which implies a verbal Dispute; whereas *Cbrysippus* was dead, when Carneades undertook to confute him. *Pliny* (40) and *Aulus*

(36) Cicero Tufcul. Quest. lib. v. He says in the second Book de Natura Deor. that Carneades li-benter in Stoicos ingrehebatur. — Carneades in-terrogatus de Pleasure against the Stoics.

(37) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62.

(38) Id. ibid.

(39) Valer. Maximus, ubi supra.

(40) Candidum (elleboreum) — quondam terribile posita tam promiscuum, ut ple-risque studiorum gratia ad pervi-denda acris quae commentaban-tur, sepius sumptaverint, Carne-adem responsum Zenonis li-bris. *Plin. lib. xxv, cap. v, pag. 390, 391.*

Gellius (41) pretend, that he made use of this Expedient, when he undertook to answer *Zeno's* Writings. Some Moderns conceive, that this *Zeno* was not the chief of the Stoics, but *Zeno of Tarsus*, *Cbrysippus's* Scholar and Successor (42). This may be; though, as Mr Menage has judiciously observed (43), it may as well be understood of the Founder of the Stoic Sect. I cannot approve all his Criticisms upon *Joncius*. He censures him justly for saying, *Valerius Maximus* affirms, that Carneades, being to write against *Zeno*, took Hellebore (44). He should have said, being to dispute with *Cbrysippus*. He charges him very fallily with having reprehended *Petronius*, *Tertullian*, *St Jerom*, and *St Austin*, for saying, that Carneades purged his Brain with white Hellebore, whilst he was writing against *Cbrysippus* (45). This Fault in Mr Menage is the more surprizing, because he had just then been quoting *Joncius's* words, which are these; Quod tamen *Cbrysippus* tribuit perperam *Petronius* in *Satyrice*; *Tertullianus* libro de anima cap. 6; *Hieronymus* Commentario in *Epistolam ad Galatas* (46). These Words clearly imply, that those three Authors were in the wrong in attributing to *Cbrysippus* what *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, apply to Carneades, *Joncius* speaks not a Word of *St Austin*. This is not Mr Menage's only Fault; for he says expressly, that *Petronius*, *Tertullian*, and *St Jerom*, affirm, that Carneades cleared his Brain with white Hellebore, whilst he was writing against *Cbrysippus* (47). Now it is certain these three Authors mentioned the Hellebore in relation only to the last. Mr Menage says the same thing himself, in another Book (48). I shall make one more Observation upon him. He is mistaken when he says, that *Fulgentius*, speaking of Carneades's Hellebore, mentioned *Zeno* (49): this is false; he named no Body but Carneades (50). If he had consulted the Originals, *Joncius* had lain open to a new Criticism, for placing *Fulgentius* among the Authors, who hold, that Carneades prepared himself to write against *Zeno* by a Dose of Hellebore. I would not insist upon these Punctilio's, but that our Writers might accustom themselves to a most severe Exactness; for a small neglect in them gives rise to many Blunders, transmitted by others from hand to hand.

Observe, that *Fulgentius* takes notice also of *Cbrysippus's* Hellebore. Ego vero *Cbrysippi* elleborei rancidulo acreo postposito cum Musis aliquid blandius fabulabor (51). — Setting aside therefore the Hellebore of *Cbrysippus*, I will apply to the left severe Studies of Poetry. Thus have we almost as many Authors for *Cbrysippus* as for Carneades. For Carneades, we have *Valerius Maximus*, *Pliny*, *Aulus Gellius*, *St Austin* (52), and *Fulgentius*: For *Cbrysippus*, *Petronius*, *Tertullian*, *St Jerom*, and the same *Fulgentius*. To these Mr Menage adds *Lucian* (53); but this is to bring him in by Head and Shoulders: for the Passages he quotes say only, that *Cbrysippus* could not be admitted into the Fortunate Island, till he had taken four Doses of Hellebore (54). There is another Passage in *Lucian* more to the purpose, where he brings in *Cbrysippus* saying, that one can never be a wise Man, till he has taken three Draughts of Hellebore one after another (55). See likewise his *Hermotimus* towards the end. There you will find, that, if Mr Menage had quoted that place, he might have proved what he asserted. In this Division I had rather follow those, who apply all this to Carneades (56), though it is not unlikely but *Cbrysippus* too might have taken a Draught to sharpen his Wit.

Let us observe by the way, that *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, made a great Blunder, when they said, that Carneades was *Cbrysippus's* good Friend and faithful Follower, *Cbrysippi maxime studiosus*. I shall observe hereafter (57), that he maintained some Doctrines with no other Intent than to contradict the Stoics.

[F] He had a surprizing Eloquence, which made him feared by the Roman Senate. It was so effectual, that

(41) Aulus Gellius, lib. xvii, cap. 15.

(42) Joncius de Script. Hist. Philof. pag. 117. Ouzellius in Aul. Gellium, quoted by Mr Baillet, Jugem. Tom. I, p. 420.

(43) Menage, Anti-Baillet. Tom. I, p. 154.

(44) Id. ibid. pag. 153.

(45) Id. ibid.

(46) Joncius, ubi supra.

(47) Menage, ibid. pag. 153.

(48) Id. Not. in Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62, p. 184.

(49) Menage, Anti-Baillet, p. 154.

(50) Sed in quibus & Carneades refutat helleborem. *Fulgent. Mytholog. lib. i, sub fin. Praefat. pag. 27.*

(51) Id. de Virgiliiana continencia, pag. 140.

(52) August. lib. i, contra Cresconium, cap. xix, quoted by Mr Baillet, in his Judgment of the Poets, Tom. I, pag. 199.

(53) Mens. Not. in Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62.

(54) Lucian. Veræ Hist. lib. ii, pag. 757, Tom. I.

(55) Id. in Vitae. Auctione, pag. 377. Tom. I.

(56) See Schoocius Fabul. Hist. mel. pag. 125, 126.

(57) In Remark [K].

he was there, he is said to have made an admirable Oration, one Day, for Justice, and

that he never maintained any thing he did not prove, nor attack any thing he did not utterly defeat. 'Carneadis vero vis incredibilis illa dicendi & varietas perquam effect optanda nobis, qui nullam unquam in illis suis disputationibus rem defendit quam non probavit, nullam oppugnavit quam non everterit (58).' After this Commendation is This other Passage in Cicero, necessary to be cited; *Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua extitit divina quadam celeritate ingeni, dicendique copia, Carneades (59).* — Hence arose this later Academy, in which Carneades, famous for his Wit and Eloquence, flourished. Numenius compares Carneades's Eloquence to a rapid Torrent, that bears down all before it. This Commendation will appear better in the Original Greek: *Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν καὶ θαυμάσιον λόγον, ἐξηγείσθω λόγος, οἷον ποταμὸς ποταμὸς, ὁ ποταμὸς ὅσων, πᾶσι καὶ ἀπαιτήτως τὰ τῆς καὶ τὰ καὶ, καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ συνέσπρε τὴν ἀκούσαν διὰ τοῦτο. Quod si alto quodam & exaggerato dicendi genere opus esset, tum enimvero vehementer ac rapido cursu ferebatur, ut amnis quidam incitatus & rapax, qui omnia passim inundet & obruat: sic in auditorem incumbat, cumque secum magno cum fragore strepitumque rapiebat (60).* He adds, that this Philosopher charmed his Auditor to that Degree, that he brought them, like Captives, to submit to his Sentiments; and that, by Force or Address, he subdued those very People, who had armed themselves with the most exact Precautions against him. This deserves to be quoted in Greek. *Καὶ μὲν οἱ λέγων ὁ Καρνεάδης ἐλυχαρῶντο καὶ νῦν ἐπαυροῦντο. ἢν δὲ κλέπτον μὲν ἀφάνει, φαινόμενον δὲ ληΐης, αἰρῶν καὶ δόλῳ καὶ βία τὴν καὶ πᾶν σπῶδες παρὰ κενοσμένους. Ἀνὴρ γὰρ Carneades interea dicendi facultate auditorem perculsebat, idemque captivum traherebat: & fur occulte, manifeste prædo, vel fraude vel aperta vi paratissimum etiam quemque capiebat (61).* None of his Adversaries, continues he, were able to resist him; they were inferior to him in Eloquence; he was the only Conqueror; his Opinions were established, those of others rejected. *Πᾶσα γὰρ Καρνεάδης δόξα ἐνίκη, καὶ ἐδεδίκα, ἥτις ἂν ἀλλοίως. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ περισσεύοντες, ἥσαν εἰσιπὶν ἀδυνατώτατοι. Omnis quippe Carneadis vincebat opinio, alia cujuslibet nulla proposita, cum adversarios omnes longe dicendo inferiores haberet (62).* Antipater had a mind to combat him (63), but how? he never dared appear before him at the public Lectures, in the Walks, or in Conversation. He was silent; the poor Man had not a word to say for himself; he attacked him only with his Pen at a distance, and secretly by some Books which he wrote. Posterity has seen them: They were not able to make head against Carneades after his Death, so far were they from being able to oppose him whilst he flourished in the Meridian of his Glory and Reputation. *Βιβλία κατέλιπε γράφας τοῖς ὕστερον, ἔτε νῦν δυνάμενα, καὶ τότε ἀδυνατώτατα πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπέρμαχον φανέντα, καὶ καλὰ δέξαντα εἶναι τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις τὸν Καρνεάδην. Libros tantum posteris relinquebat, verum ejusmodi, qui nunc quidem, tum vero multo minus Carneadem illum, qui tantus ac tam admirabilis ejus ævi hominibus videbatur, sustinere possent (64).* Let us end all with this beautiful Passage in Lactantius. 'Carneades Academicæ sectæ Philosophus, cujus in differendo quæ vis fuerit, quæ eloquentia, quod acumen, qui nescit, is ex prædicatione Ciceronis intelliget, aut Lucilii, apud quem differens Neptunus de re difficillima, ostendit non posse id explicari, nec si Carneadem ipsum Orcus remittat (65). — Carneades, a Philosopher of the Academic Sect, whose strength of Reasoning, whose Eloquence, and whose Wit, whoever is unacquainted with, may learn them from the account given us by Cicero, or Lucilius, in whom Neptune, disputing concerning a most difficult Point, shews that it cannot be explained, not though the Grave should give back Carneades himself. What an Idea! What a Commendation is this! Neptune is introduced discoursing upon a very intricate Point, and affirming, that, if Carneades himself should rise from the dead, he could not solve it. Let us proceed to his Em-

bassy to Rome: it will furnish us with such Instances of his Eloquence, as are sufficient to warrant this matter of Fact; viz. that the Rhetoricians left their Schools to become his Auditors (66).

The Athenians, being fined Five hundred Talents, for having pillaged the City of Oropus, sent their Embassadors to Rome, who prevailed so far as to have the Fine reduced to One hundred Talents (67). Carneades the Academic, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic, three famous Philosophers, were charged with this Embassy (68). Before they had their Audience of the Senate, each of them made an Oration in the presence of a great Assembly, and in each of them was admired a particular Excellency (69). Strength and Rapidity of Thought was That of Carneades (70). Cato the Censor advised the Senate to send the Embassadors back again immediately, because it was difficult to discover the Truth in the Intricacy of Carneades's Arguments. Cato Censorius, in illa nobili trium sapientie procerum ab Athenis legatione, auditio Carneade, quamprimum legatos eos conjunct dimittendos, quoniam illo viro argumentante, quid veri esset haud facile discerni posset (71). The Athenian Embassadors, said they in the Senate, are not sent to obtain any thing from us by way of Persuasion, but rather to force out of us whatever they think fitting, *Εἰς τοῦτον ἐνέτρεξαν τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν, ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐπεμψάν Ἀθηναῖοι πρεσβευόντας, ἃ τὴν πείσονται, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὴν βίαν ὡς ἡμᾶς δεῖσαι ὅσα θέλουσιν. Qui tanta gravitate dicendi senatum perpulerunt, ut diceret, Miserrunt Athenienses legatos, non ut nos persuaderent, sed qui cogerent nos facere, quod ipsis collibitum esset (72).* There is no need to add, that this infers only, that Carneades's Discourses were irresistible. Plutarch tells us, the Roman Youths were so charmed with them, that they renounced their Pleasures and Exercises, to indulge without interruption the Passion he had inspired into them for Philosophy, and with which they were seized as with an Enthusiasm. *Δύσθω κατείχετο, ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνας εἰς ἐκπληξιν ὑπερβούς πάντα κηλῶν καὶ χειρῶν, ἔρωτα δεινὸν ἐμβέλλων τοῖς νοῖς, ὥς ἂν τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν καὶ διατεχνῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐνθεσίῳσι περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. Vulgatumque fuit, virum Græcum ad miraculum utque eximium, omnia delinientem & allicientem, mirum infudisse juventuti ardorem, per quem reliquarum voluptatum & oblectamentorum oblit, quasi fanatici raperentur ad philosophiam (73).* This by no means pleased Cato; he was afraid, lest, for the future, young People would chuse to follow their Studies, rather than the Wars, and taxed therefore, in the Senate, the Conduct shown to those Philosophical Embassadors. Let us give them their Answer out of hand, said he, and send them home; they are Men able to make us believe whatever they please (74). He spoke this not out of any particular Prejudice to Carneades, as some have imagined, but because he disliked Philosophy in general, and all the Greek Learning (75). We ought not however to infer from these Words of Plutarch, that Cato did not particularly fear the Subtlety of Wit, and the Strength of Reason, wherewith Carneades disputed pro and con; those sort of Men are dangerous; they are able to weaken the best Cause in the World, as Cicero has observed of him (76): they will sometimes prove black to be white, and resemble Mercury's Son, of whom the Poet;

Nascitur Autolycus, furtum ingeniosus ad omne,
Qui facere assuevit, patriæ non degener artis,
Candida de nigris, & de candentibus atra (77).

To Mercury Autolycus she brought,
Who turn'd to Thefts and Tricks his subtle Thought;
Possess'd he was of all his Father's slight,

At Will made white look black, and black look white,
CROXALL.

(66) Dlog. Laert. lib. iv. n. 62.

(67) See Pausanias, lib. vii, pag. 216, 217.

(68) Aulus Gell. lib. vii, cap. xiv. Macrobi. Saturn. lib. i, cap. v.

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) Violenta & rapida Carneades dicebat. Aul. Gell. ibid. Fasciunda Carneades violenta & rapida. Macrobi. lib. i, cap. v.

(71) Plin. lib. vii, cap. xxx.

(72) Aelian. Histor. Var. lib. iii. cap. xvii, p. 189.

(73) Plutarch. in Catone maiore, pag. 349, E.

(74) Περὶ πάντων ἐβόλουντο βολῶν τοῖς νοῖς, ὥς ἂν τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν καὶ διατεχνῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐνθεσίῳσι περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. Id. ibid. pag. 350, A.

(75) Id. ibid.

(76) Ut Carneades respondens quid sepe optima causa ingenio calumniam ludificari solet. Cic. lib. ii, de Repub. apud Nonium, voce calumniam, p. 263.

(77) Ovid. Metam. lib. xi, vers. 344.

(58) Cicero de Orat. lib. ii, cap. xxxviii, fin. See ib. cap. lxxxviii, the Commendation gives him for his local Memory, tho' some Critics are of Opinion that in that place instead of Carneades, it ought to be read Charmidas. See Jonson, p. 191. However Quintil. lib. xi, cap. ii, pag. 519, has it Carneades.

(59) Cicero de Orat. lib. iii, cap. xviii, fin.

(60) Numenius, apud Eusebium, Præp. Evang. lib. iv, cap. viii, pag. 737. C.

(61) Id. ibid. pag. 738. B.

(62) Id. ibid. C.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) Id. ibid. D.

(65) Lactant. lib. v, cap. xiv.

and the next Day *against* it [G]. The nice Subtilties, with which he opposed That Virtue, appeared terrible to *Cicero* [H], and capable of dissolving the Foundations, on

[G] He made an admirable Oration one Day for Justice, and the next against it. He was then in his Element: he loved to ruin his own Works, because at the bottom it served to support his grand Principle, which was, that the Mind of Man was capable of nothing, but meer Probabilities; so that of two contrary things a Man might indifferently stick to the one or the other, in a negative or affirmative Discourse. To make good our Text, we shall quote *Laëtantius*. 'Is (*Carneades*) cum Legatus ab Atheniensibus Romam missus esset, disputavit de iustitia copiose, audiente Galba, & Catone Censorio, maximis tunc Oratoribus. Sed idem disputationem suam postmodum contraria disputatione subvertit, & iustitiam, quam pridie laudaverat, sustulit, non quidem Philosophi gravitate, cujus firma, & stabilis debet esse sententia, sed quasi oratorio exercitii genere in utramque partem differendi. Quod ille facere solebat, ut alios, quodlibet sententiarum, posset refutare (78). — *Carneades, being sent Ambassador by the Athenians to Rome, disputed copiously concerning Justice, in the presence of Galba, and Cato the Censor, both at that time great Orators. The next day he overthrew his own Disputation by a contrary one, and destroyed Justice, which the Day before he had extolled; not indeed with the Gravity of a Philosopher, who ought to stick to his Opinion, but as it were to exercise his Rhetoric in disputing pro and con. This he did, that he might be able to oppose others, what ever they asserted.* *Laëtantius* adds, that it was easy for this Philosopher to refute whatever they could say in the behalf of Justice; for the Heathens could have no Notion of it, being Strangers to Religion, the Fountain and Foundation of Justice. 'Erat facillimum iustitiam radices non-habentem labefactare, quia tum nulla in terra fuit; ut, quid esset aut qualis à philosophis cerneretur — cujus origo in religione, ratio in æquitate est. Sed illi, qui primam illam partem nescierunt, ne secundam quidem tenere potuerunt (79). If they had no Notion of it, they were unable to defend it, and consequently forced to quit the Field to the first Sophist, who attacked it. Expofui causam, cur Philosophi nec invenire iustitiam, nec defendere potuerunt. Nunc redeo ad id quod intenderam. *Carneades* ergo, quoniam erant infirma, quæ à Philosophis differabantur, sumpsit audaciam refellendi, quia refelli posse intellexit (80). — *I have shown the reason, why the Philosophers could neither find out, nor defend, Justice. I now return to what I proposed. Carneades therefore, finding how weakly the Philosophers disputed, ventured to refute them, because he knew they might be refuted.* After this *Laëtantius* gives us the Substance of the Dispute, and tells us *Carneades* argued thus. If there be such a thing as Justice, said he, it must be founded either upon positive Right, or upon natural Right. Now it is not founded upon positive Right; for that varies with Times and Places, every People applying it to their own Profit and Interest: nor is it founded upon natural Right, which is no other than a Byass Nature has implanted in all Animals, which leads them to search after what is useful to them; and it cannot be regulated according to this Byass without committing a thousand Frauds and Violences: from whence it follows, that it cannot be the Foundation of Justice; wherefore, &c. He proved, by a great many Examples, the Condition of Men to be such, that, if they have a Mind to be just, they must act imprudently and foolishly; and, if they have a mind to act prudently, they are unjust: from whence he concluded, that there is no such thing as Justice; for a Virtue inseparable from Folly cannot be just. *Laëtantius* owns the Heathens were incapable of answering this Argument, and that *Cicero* dared not undertake it. 'Ita ergo iustitiam cum in duas partes divisisset, alteram civilem esse dicens, alteram naturalem; utramque subvertit, quod illa civilis sapientia fit quidem, sed iustitia non fit, naturalis autem illa iustitia fit quidem, sed non fit sapientia. Arguta hæc planè, & venenata sunt, & quæ M. Tullius non poterit refellere. Nam cum faciat Lælius Furio respon-

dentem, proque iustitia dicentem, irrefutata hæc tanquam foveam prætergressus est, ut videatur idem Lælius non naturalem, quæ in stultitiæ crimen venerat, sed illam civilem defendisse iustitiam, quam Furio sapientiam quidem esse concesserat, sed injustam (81). — *Thus, having divided Justice into two kinds, and called the one civil, the other natural, he overthrew both; inasmuch as The Civil is Prudence, but not Justice; the Natural is Justice, but not Prudence. This is a subtle Argument, and which Cicero could not refute. For when he introduces Lælius replying to Furio, and defending Justice, he leaves this Argument unrefuted, and seems to make Lælius defend, not Natural Justice, which had been shewn to be Folly, but Civil, which Furio had allowed to be Prudence indeed, but unjust.* After this, he gives us a Solution of it by the Light of Faith (82), and observes, that *Carneades*, knowing on one side that just Men were no Fools, could not find, on the other, the true Reason, why they appeared to be so: from whence he took an Opportunity of declaiming in favour of Incomprehensibility, his darling Principle. Sensit igitur *Carneades*, quæ sit natura iustitiæ, nisi quod parum altè prospexit, stultitiam non esse, quamquam intelligere mihi video, quæ mente id fecerit. Non enim vere existimavit eum stultum esse, qui iustus est; sed cum sciret non esse, & rationem tamen, cur ita videretur, non comprehenderet, voluit offendere, latere in abdito veritatem, ut decretum disciplinæ suæ tueretur, cujus summa sententia est, nihil percipi posse (83). Let us not forget a very good Observation made by *Quintilian*. He says that *Carneades* always lived up to the Rules of Justice, though he argued for Injustice: This was usual with the Academics; their Speculation hung betwixt two Contraries; but their Practice stuck fast to one of them. 'Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque differunt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Neque *Carneades* ille, qui Romæ audiente Censorio Catone non minoribus viribus contra iustitiam dicitur differuisse quam pridie pro iustitia dixerat, injustus ipse vir fuit (84). It is the way of the World: Men do not live up to their Principles (85).

[H] The Subtilties, with which he opposed Justice, appeared terrible to *Cicero*. One of the best Pieces of This Illustrious Roman is That *De Legibus*. There he lays down this Foundation, that there is a natural Right, that is, some Actions are just in their own Nature, and which we are obliged to do, not because we live in a Society, where the positive Laws punish those that pay no regard to them, but for the sake of That Justice and Equity, which accompanies them independent of human Institution. This, he says, he must suppose, if he intends to build upon Principles well chosen, and rightly concerted, and yet he does not expect every Body will approve of them: He promises himself only the Approbation of the ancient *Platonists*, and of the *Peripatetics*, and *Stoics*. *Epicurus's* School he regards not: They professed a Retreat from Politics; he therefore suffered them to philosophize as they thought fit in their Retirement; but he demands Quarter from *Arcesilas* and *Carneades*. He is afraid, if they once came to attack him, they would make too great a Breach in the Structure he had been raising. He finds himself too weak to oppose them; he wishes he may not be exposed to their Anger; he desires to appease, and live in Peace with them. These are his Words: 'Vecor committere, ut non bene provisâ & diligenter explorata principia ponantur: nec tamen ut omnibus probentur; nam id fieri non potest; sed ut eis qui omnia recta atque honesta per se expectanda duxerunt, & aut nihil omnino in bonis numerandum, nisi quod per seipsum laudabile esset, aut certe nullum habendum magnum bonum, nisi quod vere laudari sua sponte possit. His omnibus five in Academia veterem cum Speusippo, Xenocrate, Polemone manserunt: five Aristotelem & Theophrastum cum illis re congruentes, genere docendi paululum differentes, sequuti sunt: five, ut Zenoni visum est, rebus non commutatis immutaverint;

(78) *Laëtant. lib. vi, cap. xiv, pag. 339, 337.*

(79) *Id. ibid. pag. 337.*

(80) *Id. ibid. cap. xvi, pag. 340, 341.*

(81) *Id. ibid. pag. 342.*

(82) Nobis facilius est ista defensio, quibus celestis beneficio familiaris est ac penitus nota iustitia, quique illum non nomine sed re novimus. *Id. ib. cap. xvii, pag. 343.*

(83) *Id. ibid.*

(84) *Quintil. Institut. Orat. lib. xii, cap. i, pag. 557.*

(85) Compare with this the Elogy, which *Cleanthes* made of *Arcesilas*, in the Article ARCESILAS, Citat. (91).

on which the Books, that treated of Right, and of the Laws, were built. He proved the Stoics guilty of Absurdities with respect to Religion [I]; and I wonder he was suffered to attack them so violently upon that Score; for the Arguments, he alledged, were very proper to destroy, Root and Branch, all the Hea-then Deities. There can be nothing more Christian than one of his Moral Tenets [K].

His

mutaverint vocabula: five etiam Aristonis difficultem atque arduam, sed jam tamen fractam & convictam sectam sequuti sunt, ut virtutibus exceptis atque vitiis, cetera in summa æqualitate ponerent, his omnibus hæc quæ dixi probantur: sibi autem indulgentes, & corpori deservientes, atque omnia quæ sequantur in vita, quæque fugiant voluptatibus & doloribus ponderantes, etiam si vera dicant (nihil enim opus est hoc loco litibus) in hortulis suis jubeamus dicere, atque etiam ab omni societate reipublicæ, cujus partem nec norunt ullam, nec unquam nosse voluerunt, paulisper facessant rogemus: perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam hanc ab Arcefilæ & Carneade recentem exoremus, ut fileat. Nam si invaserit in has quæ satis scite nobis instructæ & compositæ videntur rationes, nimias edet ruinas, quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo (86). According to this Idea, Carneades might pass for a destroying Angel (87).

(86) Cicero, lib. i, de legibus.

(87) We observed before, Citat. (81), that Cicero, making Lælius defend Justice against Furius, who stood up for Injustice, let several of Carneades's Arguments pass without an Answer. This was in his Book De Republicâ. See St. Julien, de Civitate Dei, lib. ii, cap. xxi.

[I] He proved the Stoics guilty of Absurdities with respect to Religion. This may be gathered from these Words of Cicero, addressed to the Stoics. Si vos sequar, dic quid ei respondeam, qui me sic roget: Si dii sunt, sunt ne etiam Nymphæ & Deæ? Si Nymphæ, Panisci etiam & Satyri? Hi autem non sunt, ne Nymphæ quidem Deæ igitur. At earum templa sunt publice vota & dedicata. Quid igitur? ne cæteri quidem ergo dii, quorum templa sunt dedicata? Age porro Jovem & Neptunum deum numeras? ergo etiam Orcus frater eorum deus, & illi qui fluere apud inferos dicuntur, Acheron, Cocytus, Styx, Phlegethon; tum Charon, tum Cerberus, dii putandi. At id quidem repudiandum: ne Orcus quidem igitur. Quid dicitis ergo de fratribus? Hæc Carneades agebat, non ut deos tollerent: quid enim philosopho minus conveniens? sed ut Stoicos nihil de diis explicare convinceret. Itaque insequabatur. Quid enim, aiebat, si ii fratres sunt in numero deorum, num de patre eorum Saturno negari potest, quem vulgo maximè colunt ad occidentem? Qui si deus est, patrem quoque ejus Cælum esse Deum confitendum est. Quod si ita est, Cæli quoque parentes dii habendi sunt Æther & Dies, eorumque fratres & sorores, qui à genealogiis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolus, Metus, Labor, Invidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebræ, Misericordia, Querela, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parca, Hesperides, Somnia, quos omnes Erebo & Nocte natos serunt. Aut igitur hæc monstra probanda sunt, aut prima illa tollenda (88). — If I should embrace your Self, what Answer can I make to him, who shall put this Question to me: If there are Gods, are the Nymphs likewise Deities? If the Nymphs are, are the Pan's and Satyrs? But these are not Gods: therefore neither are the Nymphs. But there are public Temples dedicated to them. What then? Are not the rest therefore Gods, who have Temples dedicated to them? Farther, do you reckon Jupiter and Neptune among the Gods? Then is their Brother Orcus a God, as also the infernal Rivers, Acheron, Cocytus, Styx, and Phlegethon: then are Charon and Cerberus to be esteemed Gods. This you can by no means allow: then neither is Orcus a God. What do you say then of his Brothers? Thus Carneades reasoned; not to take away the Gods; (for what could be more unbecoming a Philosopher?) but to shew, that the Stoics gave no consistent Account of the Gods. He therefore went on. If, said he, those Brothers are in the number of the Gods, can you deny it of their Father Saturn, who is chiefly worshipped in the West? And if Saturn be a God, so must his Father Cælum be likewise. Again, if Cælum be a God, you must esteem his Parents, Æther and Dies, as such, as also their Brethren and Sisters, who are thus named in the ancient Genealogies, Love, Grief, Fear, Labour, Envy, Fate, Old Age, Death, Darkness, Misery, Complaints, Favour, Fraud, Perseve-

(88) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. iii, cap. xvii.

rance, The Destinies, The Hesperides, and Dreams; all which, they say, sprung from Erebus and Night. Either therefore you must prove these Fictions to be all Gods, or you must deny that the fore-mentioned are so. You will find, in Cicero, the rest of this Argument, which is very long. We find elsewhere, that Carneades had offered such Arguments against those, who held that the Gods wrought a thousand Things upon Earth for the Benefit of Mankind, that he raised in many People a Curiosity to enquire into the Truth of it. Contra quos Carneades ita multa disseruit, ut excitaret homines non sordides ad veri investigandi cupiditatem (89). It has been observed (90), that, if Carneades had undertaken to plead in behalf of the Pagan Religion, he had fallen very short of that Eloquence, which nothing was able to withstand. Let us observe here, that, in pleading against it, it was easy for him to prevail. His Antagonists melted before his Eloquence, like Wax before the Fire. Mr Foucher, who excuses him as much as he can (91), makes use of too favourable a Turn, and of Conjectures incompatible with Matters of Fact.

(89) Id. ibid. lib. i, cap. ii.

(90) Penfées diverses sur les Comètes, n. 124, pag. 351.

(91) Foucher, Dissert. sur la Philof. des Académiciens, lib. iii, pag. 159.

WHETHER Carneades wrote any Books.

There are two Passages in Cicero, which I have quoted, that seem to prove, that Carneades wrote some Books. For it is not likely, that a Philosopher's Arguments should be cited, if they had been only known by Tradition. But it may be said, in Answer to this, that they were cited, as found amongst the Works of some of his Scholars. Thus Cicero relates several other of his Doctrines, as he found them in Clitomachus's Writings (92). So that we have no demonstrative Proof against those, who say, that Carneades left nothing behind him in Writing. Plutarch assures us of it in express Terms (93). Others say, there were Letters published, which he had written to Ariarabes, King of Cappadocia, and that all the rest was published by his Scholars, he leaving no Writings behind him (94). These Letters make nothing against Plutarch; for, if they were written without an Intent of being published, the Writer cannot, upon that Score, be reckoned an Author. Pliny and Aulus Gellius contradict Plutarch; They affirm that Carneades took a Dose of Hellebore, when he was to write against Zeno (95). I will not insist upon Fulgentius; for the Carneades, he quotes (96), is probably the Poet (97), and not the Philosopher. Cicero would be more to the purpose; he speaks of a Work of Carneades, upon this Subject; A wise Man will be assisted for the Loss of his Country. This Work was inserted, by Clitomachus, in a Consolatory Epistle, addressed to the Carthaginians, his Countrymen. Legimus librum Clitomachi, quem ille everfa Carthagine misit consolandi causa ad captivos cives suos. In eo est disputatio scripta Carneadis, quam se ait in commentarium retulisse: quum ita positum esset, videri fore in ægritudine sapientem patria capta. Quæ Carneades contraxerat, scripta sunt (98). — I have read the Book of Clitomachus, which he sent, after the Destruction of Carthage, by way of Consolation to his captive Countrymen. There is in it a written Disputation of Carneades, which Clitomachus says he himself transcribed; the Subject of which is the Position, that a wise Man will naturally be assisted for the Loss of his Country. What Carneades said against it was committed to Writing. Cicero was sensible of the strong and subtle Reasons, wherewith Carneades opposed Divination. Nobismet ipsis querentibus quid sit de divinatione judicandum, quod à Carneade multa acute & copiose contra Stoicos disputata sunt (99). But still this does not prove, that they were extant in any Book of this Philosopher. I have observed before (100), how we came by his Objections against this Maxim, Quæ sunt æqualia uni tertio sunt æqualia inter se.

(92) Cicero. Acad. Quest. lib. ii, cap. xxxii.

(93) Plutarch. de Fort. vel. Virtute Alexandri, pag. 328, A.

(94) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4, n. 64, pag. 265.

(95) See the Remark [D].

(96) Nam & Carneades in libro Telefiaco ita ait, Πῶς τὸ καὶ αἰώνιον φρονέωντας καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους, ὅς ἐστι, ὅμοια ἔστιν ἡ φύσις. Fulgent. de Virgil. Comment. pag. 145.

(97) Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 6, makes mention of one Carneades, a Poet.

(98) Cicero. Tufcul. Quest. lib. iii, cap. xxii.

(99) Idem de Divinatione, lib. i, circa init.

(100) In Remark [C], Citat. (26).

[K] There can be nothing more Christian than one of his Moral Tenets. I shall here copy from a Canon of Dijon, that it may not be said, that, if I was a Divine,

His Arguments against the Oracles of *Apollo* were of some weight [L]. It is thought he would have made his Disciple *Mentor* his Successor in the Philosophical

Divine, I would not talk at this rate of the Opinions of a Philosopher, who invincibly refuted the Religion of the Heathens, the only Religion he was acquainted with. 'This was one of his Maxims. If a Man knew privately, that an Enemy, or any other Person, whose Death would be an Advantage to him, was going to sit upon the Grass, under which an Asp lay concealed, he ought to warn him of it, even though no one could reprehend him for his Silence in that Point. Si scieris, inquit Carneades, aspidem occultè latere, assiam, & velle imprudentem aliquem super eam affidere, cujus mors tibi emolumento futura sit, improbe scieris nisi monueris ne affideat, sed impune tamen id te constaret fecisse: quis enim cogere possit (101)? This Doctrine is admirable, and very worthy of Christianity; for what can become a Christian better than to do good to his Enemy, and that without any hopes of Recompence in this World (102)?' These are Mr Foucher's Words, which he almost repeats word for word, in the fourth Chapter of the third Book. But since we are upon *Carneades's* Morality, let us see what Notion he had of the Nature of Sovereign Good. The chief End of Man, said he, is to enjoy Natural Principles (103). Mr Foucher takes the Meaning of this to be, 'To exercise, in Perfection, all the Functions of the Understanding and the Will, without any Hindrance whatever, arising either from Ignorance, Prejudice, or any other exterior Obstacle (104).' *Cicero* observes, that *Carneades* maintained this Maxim, only to contradict the *Stoics*, and that, if Virtue were united to this Felicity, it were enough to make a Man completely happy. 'Quæ possunt eadem contra Carneadeum illud summum bonum dici, quod is, non tam ut probaret (105), protulit, quam ut Stoicis, quibuscumque bellum gerebat, opponeret. Id autem ejusmodi est, ut additum ad virtutem autoritatem videatur habiturum, & expleturum cumulate vitam beatam (106).' He says, in another place; 'Honestum vivere fruentem rebus his, quas primas homini natura conciliat, & vetus Academia censuit, ut indicant scripta Polemonis, quæ Antiochus probat maxime, & Aristoteles ejusque amici nunc proxime videntur accedere. Introducebatur etiam Carneades, non quo probaret, sed ut opponeret Stoicis, summum bonum esse frui his rebus, quas primas natura conciliavisset (107).'

(101) This is taken from *Cicero*, lib. ii, de *Finitibus*, c. xviii, fin. and not lib. i, as Mr Foucher will have it. *Dissert. sur la Philosophie des Académiciens*, Book i, ch. viii, pag. 153.

(102) Foucher, ibid. pag. 46, 47.

(103) Carneades frui principiis naturalibus esset extremum. *Cicero de Finitibus*, lib. ii, c. xi, fin.

(104) Foucher, ubi supra, pag. 153.

(105) Add to this what we find in the fifth Book of *Finitibus*, c. 7. Voluptatis Aristippus, non docendi Hieronymus, fruendi rebus his quas primas secundum naturam esse diximus, Carneades non ille quidem auctor sed defensor, disserendi causa.

(106) *Cicero*, ibid. cap. xlii, A.

(107) Id. *Academicarum Quest.* lib. ii, c. xlii, C.

(108) In the second Book, cap. xi, &c. and the fifth Book, cap. i, &c.

(109) Id. ibid. lib. iii, cap. xii.

'Stoici, quum ea re non verbis ponderarentur, causam esse desiderandi negabat (110).' One of his Victories against the *Stoics* was his driving them from a Post they had held a considerable time. They had maintained, that a good Name, without Profit attending it, was not worth a Man's Care. This they could not make good against *Carneades*, but found themselves obliged to maintain, That, of itself, it deserved our Choice (111). Every one knows they made a Difference between good Things, and Things that deserve to be preferred.

(110) Id. *Tof. cul. lib. v, sub fin.*

(111) Id. de *finitibus*, lib. iii, cap. xv, & seq.

[L] His Arguments against the Oracles of *Apollo* were of weight.] He maintained, that *Apollo* could not foretell Things to come, unless they had a Dependence upon a necessary Cause. He denied him the Knowledge of all contingent Events, the Parricide of *Oedipus*, for Example; for, there being no Cause necessitating him to kill his Father, it was not to be foreseen that he would kill him: A future Action is not to be foreseen, but from a Knowledge of the efficient Causes of it. Nay, he held, That the Gods, presiding over Oracles, could not so much as know what was past, where no Footsteps were remaining to carry them up to the Time of the Event. He pretended, without doubt, that no other Footstep was sufficient for this, but a Chain of Natural Causes, acting without any Use of Free Will, and that the Acts of the Free-Will of Man, breaking this Chain, hindered the Gods from casting their Eyes backward upon past Ages, where no visible Mark of the Events remained. 'Dicebat Carneades, ne Apollinem quidem futura posse dicere, nisi ea, quorum causas natura ita contineret, ut ea fieri necesse esset. Quid enim spectans Deus ipse diceret Marcellum eum, qui ter consul fuit, in mari esse peritum? Erat quidem hoc verum ex æternitate, sed causas id efficientes non habebat, ita ne præterita quidem ea quorum nulla signa tanquam vestigia extarent. Apollini nota esse censebat, quo minus futura. Causis enim efficientibus quasque rem cognitis, posse denique sciri quid futurum esset. Ergo nec de *Oedipode* potuisse Apollinem prædicere, nullis in rerum natura causis præpositis, cur ab eo patrem interficere necesse esset, nec quicquam ejusmodi (112).' *Chrysippus* had eluded the Instance drawn from this, That a Man, predestinated to die, shall die, let him make use of Physic or not; he had, I say, eluded it, by supposing a Complication of predestinated Events, as that such a Man shall make use of a Physician, and be cured: For then the Remedy is annexed to the Fatality of the Cure. 'Omnes igitur hujus generis captiones eodem modo refelluntur. Sive tu adhibueris medicum, sive non adhibueris, convalesces, captiosum. Tam enim est fatale medicum adhibere, quam convalescere. Hæc ut dixi confatalia ille appellat (113).' This Answer did not satisfy *Carneades*: but, in order to confute it well, he shewed the great Inconvenience attending it, I mean, the Loss of Free-Will. If, said he, you join thus, in the Decrees of Fate, the Causes with their Effects, all Things must be done by Necessity, and nothing will be left in our Power; every Thing will depend upon an antecedent Cause, and a Chain of Causes arise, linked together by a natural invincible Tie. His Thought will appear better in *Cicero's* Words. 'Carneades genus hoc totum non probabat, & nimis inconsiderate concludi hanc rationem putabat: itaque premebat alio modo, nec ullam adhibebat calumniam, cujus erat hæc conclusio: Si omnia antecedentibus causis fiunt, omnia naturali colligatione conferta contextaque fiunt, quod si ita est, omnia necessitas efficit. Id si verum est, nihil est in nostra potestate. Est autem aliquid in nostra potestate. At si omnia fato fiunt, omnia causis antecedentibus fiunt: non igitur fato fiunt quæcunque fiunt (114).'

(112) *Cicero de Fato*, cap. xiv.

(113) Id. ibid. cap. xiii, fin.

(114) Id. ibid. cap. xiv, init.

You see, The Disputes of the Augustinians with the Jesuits, and the Remonstrants, about the Consequences of Predestination, had a Being among the ancient Philosophers. *Carneades* has taught the Predestinarians to puzzle their Adversaries with this Objection, That God can foresee nothing that depends

(d) Diog. Laërt.
lib. iv, n. 65.
Lucian. in Ma-
crob. pag. 640.
Tom. II.

(e) Cicero. Aca-
dem. Quest. lib.
iv, cap. vi. Val-
er. Maximus,
lib. viii, cap. vii.

phical Chair, had he not caught him in Bed with his Mistress [M]. Some say he lived 'till he was Eighty five Years of Age (d) : Others stretch his Life to ninety (e). His Death is assigned to the fourth Year of the CLXIII Olympiad (f). I do not believe there is any ground for substituting another Chronology, as Father *Peta-vius* has done (g), or for maintaining that he was cotemporary with *Epicurus*. This last Point has raised a Contest between two modern Writers [N], which the Reader

(f) Diog. Laërt.
lib. iv, n. 65.

(g) See Remark
[P], n. vi.

depends upon an indifferent Cause. None, but the *Socinians*, have been so ingenuous as to acknowledge the evident Force of this Objection; but, alas! into what a Gulph has their Ingenuity thrown them? It has cost them the Preciency of GOD; and what a monstrous Absurdity is it to suppose a GOD ignorant of what Men will do, 'till their Actions are a doing.

[M] He broke with Mentor, upon catching him in Bed with his Mistress.] That I may leave room for no Equivocation, I must tell the Reader that Mentor was in Bed with his Master *Carneades's* Concubine. In this case *Carneades* found no Grounds to dispute upon Probability or Incomprehensibility; he was grown like the rest of his Neighbours; he took for a Thing certain and indisputable, what his own Eyes had seen, of the Infidelity of his Mistress, and his Scholar; whereupon he broke with Mentor, who became his Antagonist, opposed Subtilties to Subtilties, and confuted the *Acatelephs*. Καρνεάδης δὲ γίνεται γυναικὶ. Μέντωρ μὲν οὐ παρὸν, ἡ μὲν διαδοχὴ. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καρνεάδῃ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ μοιχρὸν εὐρύν, ὅχ' ὑπὸ πιδανῆς φαντασίας, ἡ δ' ὡς μὴ κατεληγμένη, ἐς δὲ μάλα σιγῶν τῇ ὁδοί, καὶ καταλαβὼν, παρτήσατο τῆς διατελεῖς. Mentorem Carneades primum habuit discipulum, non tamen pellicem suam repererat, non jam viro tantum probabili, aut quasi minus hominem comprehenderet, at suis maxime credens oculis, eumque vere comprehendens, ejus deinceps operam & consuetudinem repudiavit (115). This we have from *Numenius*. *Diogenes Laërtius* speaks of it with more Brevity (116). This Action of Mentor was a very base one: He was *Carneades's* Head Scholar; he had as free an Access into his Master's House, as if he had been his Child; this Liberty he abused, and debauched his Patron's Mistress. The Irregularities of Love can never be too much detested. It is a brutal Passion, that chokes all Sentiments of Gratitude and Generosity. There are some Men, who, for the whole World, would not wrong their Friend of a Farthing. If they are sensible of having betrayed him in the smallest Circumstance, they are severely touched with it: Generosity carries them through all other Points: But, when a Wife or Daughter are in the way, there it leaves them, and they make no scruple of debauching them. Friendship is not proof against That Devil of Uncleanness, to which every Thing is lawful Prize. Non sospes ab hospitio tutus. The Rights of Hospitality, so sacred, so inviolable, cannot retain him, but rather serve to open a readier way to his Designs.

[N] I do not believe - - - he was cotemporary with *Epicurus*. This Point raised a Contest between two modern Writers.] I mean between Mr *Foucher*, Canon of *Dijon*, and Mr *Lantin*, Counsellor in the Parliament of the same Town. The Particulars of this Dispute are to be found in the *Journal des Sçavans* (117). The Question is, Whether *Carneades* was cotemporary with *Epicurus*. This Mr *Foucher* affirms in his History of the Academics, and maintains, by four Arguments, in a Memorial communicated to Mr *Cousin* (118). They were refuted by Mr *Lantin* (119), and that in a Method, I think, unanswerable. He has found in *Cicero* (120) a very decisive Point; which is, that *Carneades* came with the other two *Athenian* Embassadors to *Rome*, under the Consulship of *P. Scipio*, and *M. Marcellus*. Now this Consulship was in the 598th Year of *Rome*, which is the second of the CLVth Olympiad, and after *Epicurus's* Death about 112 Years. Which proves, that *Epicurus* and *Carneades* could not be living at the same time. The Authority therefore, which Mr *Foucher* brings from *Cicero* (121), where he says, that *Carneades*, *Epicurus's* intimate Friend, *Epicuro* persamiliaris, made a Visit to *Arcefila*, must be groundless. Either *Cicero's* Memory failed him, or he speaks of another *Carneades* (122), or the Co-

pylists have written *Carneades* instead of some other Philosopher, as they have done in several other Places (123). Mr *Foucher*, without question, felt the weight of this Reason; but, having started new Difficulties, he thought not fit to surrender, till Mr *Lantin* had removed them (124). He thought it probable, that the Consulship, under which the three Embassadors came to *Rome*, might be That of one *Scipio the Bald*, and a *Marcellus* in 531, or 532, of the Foundation of *Rome*. . . . This being allowed, *Carneades* might have lived twenty Years with *Epicurus*, and have been deputed to this Embassy at sixty Years of Age. . . . and have lived thirty Years longer; since he did not die before he was ninety Years old. But it is very easy to prove this Embassy to have been a great while after the Year 532.

In the first place, we learn from *Pausanias* (125), that the Pillage of *Oropus* was after the Romans had reduced *Macedonia* into a Province; and it is certain, that *Perseus*, the last King of that Country, was not carried to *Rome* till the Year 587. It is therefore impossible, that an Embassy, designed to moderate the Fine laid on the *Athenians* for the Pillage of that Place (126), should fall in with the Year of *Rome* 532. In the second place, *Cato* was an old Man in the time of this Embassy: This *Plutarch* observes. Ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ γένησις γέγονε πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριανόν, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔσχατῳ ἔτη οἱ περὶ Καρνεάδην, &c. *Eo jam sene legati Atheniensium Romam adventarunt Carneades*, &c (127). Now *Cato* was born in the Year of *Rome* 519; for *Cicero* (128) makes him say, that, at the Age, of Sixty five, he advised the Establishment of the *Poman Law*, under the Consulship of *Philip* and *Cepio*, which falls in the Year of *Rome* 584. This proves it impossible those three Embassadors should be sent to *Rome* in 532. Here is a third Reason, taken from the very Passages, which Mr *Foucher* has produced to support his Cause. *Scipio* and *Laelius* were very young at the time of this Embassy (129), and looked on old Age as at a great distance from them, in the Year of *Rome* 601. See *Cicero de Senectute*; where *Cato* speaks like an old Man to young People, and tells them, that *Scipio Africanus* had been dead Thirty three Years (130), one Year before *Cato* was Censor. He died then in 568: Wherefore it is impossible *Carneades* should have been at *Rome* in Quality of *Athenian* Ambassador in 532; for, if *Scipio* and *Laelius* had been then fifteen Years of Age, they must have been more than eighty before the third *Punic War*, than which nothing can be more false, nor would any thing be more ridiculous than *Cato's* Discourse in this Dialogue *de Senectute*. He would not have been so old as they. So that I cannot comprehend what induced Mr *Foucher* to vindicate his Opinion by this Instance, that *Scipio* and *Laelius* were young, when these Philosophers were deputed to the *Roman* People. I add, in the fourth place, that his Objection to Mr *Lantin*, founded upon the Consulship, assigned by *Cicero*, is insignificant. *Cicero* places the Embassy of these three Philosophers under the Consulship of *Scipio* and *M. Marcellus*. Mr *Lantin* will have it to be That of *P. Scipio Nasica*, and *M. Marcellus*, Anno Urbis 598. He is answered thus: 'That *Marcellus*, under whose Consulship *Carneades* was sent to *Rome*, was dead before That *Marcellus*, who had *Scipio Nasica* for his Colleague, was created Consul. For we find, in the Dialogue *de Senectute*, that this first died before the Year of *Rome* 552; whereas *Nasica's* Colleague was not Consul with him 'till the Year 599, at which time it is certain *Carneades's* Embassy was over. It could not therefore be under the Consulship of *Scipio Nasica* and *Marcellus*, that *Carneades* came to *Rome*, since, before that time, the Embassy was expired, and *Marcellus*, under whose Consulship it was performed, was then dead; which is manifest from *Cicero* in the same Dialogue: Cujus interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepul-

(123) See *Jonstus*, de Script. Hist. Philof. pag. 791, where he says, that it ought to be *Carneades*, and not *Carneades*, in some Places in *Cicero*.

(124) See the *Journal des Sçavans*, 1692, pag. 704, &c.

(125) *Pausan.* lib. vii, pag. 216.

(126) This was the Business of the three Philosophers at *Rome*; see *Plat.* in *Cato* major pag. 349. *Aulus Gellius*, lib. vii, cap. xiv.

(127) *Plut.* in *Cato* major. pag. 349, D.

(128) *Cicero* de *Senectute*, cap. v, pag. 358.

(129) Quibus adolescentibus Stoicum Diogenem, & Academicum Carneadem video ad Senatium ab Atheniensibus missis esse legatos. *Id.* *Tufel.* lib. iv, quoted by Mr *Foucher*, in the *Journal des Sçavans*, pag. 706.

(130) The Manuscripts differ in this Point; some make it 33, and some 33 Years.

(115) *Numenius* apud *Euseb.* *Præpar. Evang.* pag. 738, D.

(116) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. iv, pag. 63.

(117) Under the sixth of *Augustus*, 1691, pag. 509. Under the 24th of *March*, 1692, pag. 197. And under the eighth of *December*, 1692, pag. 704.

(118) In the *Journal des Sçavans*, *August*, 6, 1691.

(119) In the same *Journal*, 1692, pag. 206, &c.

(120) In the fourth Book of the *Academic Questions*, cap. xlv, init. In my Edition it is the second Book, fol. 212, D.

(121) At the end of the fifth Book of *finibus*.

(122) This is visible; for he had several times mentioned *Carneades*, in the preceding Pages, without any Addition: Is it therefore likely he should call him at last *Epicurus persamiliaris*?

(b) Carneades, apud Plutarch. de Discrim. A. dulat. & Amici, pag. 58, F.

Reader will find in the *Journal des Scavans*, and of which I shall give a short Account. *Plutarch* has recorded this witty Saying of *Carneades* (b), That the only thing young Princes are instructed in, is, how to ride the Great Horse: Other Masters flatter them: They, who wrestle with them suffer themselves to be thrown; but a Horse, without making any Distinction between the Rich and the Poor, the Subject and the Sovereign, flings to the Ground every unskillful Rider that dares mount him. I shall observe, in the Remarks, a Mistake of Mr *Saldenus* [O], and Those

(131) *Journal des Scavans*, 1692, pag. 705.

'turæ carere passus est (131). -- *Whose Death even the truest of Enemies honoured with Funeral Rites.* For an Answer to this Passage, it will be sufficient to consider, that the *Latin Words*, with which it concludes, relate to That brave *Marcellus*, who behaved himself so gallantly in the time of the second *Punic War*, and whose Funeral Obsequies *Hannibal* honourably solemnized *Ann. Rom. 545*. *Cato* was then but Twenty six Years old. It was therefore under neither of this *Marcellus's* Consulates, that *Carneades* was sent to the *Romans*. I cannot conceive for what reason the Year of *Rome 592* is brought in here.

Observe, that the Passage in the second Book *de Oratore*, quoted by Mr *Foucher*, is erroneous; it may be a Fault of the Impression; however it be, instead of *L. Africano* read *P. Africano*, and be very well assured that nothing is more improper for Mr *Foucher's* Purpose, than this Passage in *Cicero*. We there meet with three illustrious *Romans*, *Scipio*, *Lælius*, and *Furius*, very well pleased that the *Athenians* had sent, in Quality of *Embassadors to Rome*, *Carneades*, *Critolaus*, and *Diogenes*. Mr *Foucher* was in the right, when he said, that these three *Romans*, with some others, were the young Men that raised a Jealousy in *Cato*, upon Account of these *Grecian Philosophers*, and that *Scipio Africanus* was not then Consul. But this Observation, instead of favouring his Cause, is prejudicial to it. No one ever pretended, that *Scipio*, under whose Consulship these three *Philosophers* came to *Rome*, was either of the two *Scipio's* surnamed *Africanus*; and, as this manifestly relates to him, who, in the third *Punic War*, ruined *Carthage*, and after that *Numantia*, it necessarily follows, that the Voyage of the *Philosophers* was made towards the End of the *Vth Century of Rome*, and not in 532. That *Scipio* was not yet born in 532; for, when he was created Consul in 606, he had not the Age required by the Laws for the Execution of that Office (132). He only demanded to be *Ædile*; however, to the Satisfaction of the Tribunes of the People, his Age was dispensed with (133). His Youth, during the Residence of those *Philosophers* at *Rome*, is one of the best Arguments Mr *Lantini* could object to Mr *Foucher*. I wonder he passes over so carelessly the Testimony of *Aulus Gellius*, which Mr *Foucher* makes use of. He thinks it sufficient to observe, that it is not an Authority, which can be compared with That of *Cicero* (134). In my Opinion, he might have given a more effectual Answer: He might have contradicted what Mr *Foucher* has made *Aulus Gellius* say, That *Carneades* was sent *Embassador about the Year 534* (135). These are *Aulus Gellius's* Words: 'Ac deinde annis fere post quindecim bellum adversus *Pœnos* sumptum est: atque non nimium longe M. *Cato* Orator in civitate, & *Plautus* Poeta in *Scena* floruerunt: iisdemque temporibus *Diogenes* Stoicus, & *Carneades* Academicus, & *Critolaus* Peripateticus ab *Atheniensibus* ad *Senatum* populi *Romani* negotii publici gratia legati sunt: neque magno intervallo postea Q. *Ennius*, &c. (136). -- About fifteen Years after, a War was begun against the *Carthaginians*; and, very soon after, M. *Cato* the Orator, and *Plautus* the Poet, flourished: the one in the State, the other on the Stage: and, at the same time, *Diogenes* the Stoic, and *Carneades* the Academic, and *Critolaus* the Peripatetic, were sent *Embassadors* from the *Athenians* to the *Senate* of *Rome*, on a public Affair: and, a little later, *Ennius*, &c.' This ought rather to be referred to the Year 560, than to 534; for *Cato's* first Consulship falls in with the Year of *Rome 558*, and *Plautus* died not 'till 569 (137). I do not approve of *Aulus Gellius's* Chronology: The loose manner, in which he expresses himself, with his non nimium longe: iisdem temporibus: neque magno intervallo postea: is enough to make it disregarded. These

are indefinite Terms, and may be extended more or less, as *Cassaubon* has very judiciously observed (138).

I know there are a great many Readers, who will accuse me for insinuating longer than I ought upon *Punctillio's*; they will say, that it signifies but little to know whether *Carneades* came to *Rome* in 532, or 598: But I shall not concern myself at all with the ill Taste of such Censurers, or make a Scruple of those Enquiries, which an illustrious Counsellor in the Parliament of *Burgundy*, and an illustrious Canon in the Capital of the same Province, thought not unworthy their Attention, and which they have communicated to the Public under the Patronage of a famous President of the Court of the Mint at *Paris* (139). If any one be willing to take my Part against the Censures of those tickly Palates, that condemn this sort of Discussions, I desire them to apply, in my Behalf, these Verses in *Terence*.

Faciunt næ intelligendo ut nihil intelligant,
Qui cum hunc accusant, Nævium, Plautum, Ennium
Accusant, quos hic noster autores habet,
Quorum æmulari exoptat negligentiam,
Potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam (140).

— With all their Pretensions to Knowledge, they do but betray their Ignorance; who, in accusing him, accuse Nævius, Plautus, Ennius, whose Example our Author follows, and whose Negligence he would rather emulate, than the obscure Diligence of such Men.

[O] I shall observe — a Mistake of Mr *Saldenus*.] Having made mention of the *Philosopher Heraclitus's* Obscurity, he observes the same Fault in *Epicurus* and *Carneades*. 'Germani huic fuerunt *Epicurus* & *Carneades* *Cyrenæus*, novæ *Academiæ* principes, quorum hic adeo a *Clytomacho* obscurus dictus fuit, ut nunquam percipere se potuisse asseveravit, quænam scriptorum ejus mens sensusque fuerit (141). — A kin to these were *Epicurus*, and *Carneades* of *Cyrene*, the Founder of the new *Academy*; the latter of whom, *Clytomachus* tells us, was so obscure, that he averred he could never discover the Sense and Meaning of his Writings.' Allowing his *Epicurus* to be as much chief of the new *Academy*, as I am *Patriarch of Constantinople*, we will only observe, that *Clitomachus* did not complain of the Obscurity of *Carneades's* Writings. He said no more than that he could not discover what Sentiments *Carneades* approved of (142). This does not proceed from the Obscurity of Expression, but the Scepticism of that *Philosopher*. He held nothing for certain; he maintained and opposed successively the self same Doctrines, and, for this reason, it could not be discerned whether he approved of any of them. I do not accuse honest *Saldenus* of not understanding *Cicero's* Words, from whence we have what relates to *Clitomachus*: I make no question but he had understood them, if he had found them in the Original; but he met with them in a Place of Exile, where they had lost their natural Garb. He ought therefore to be excused if he mistook them. He saw them in a modern Book, whither they were arrived, after having traversed several sorts of Countries. They had suffered so much by Thieves, that there was nothing left them of their Patrimony. They had passed through so many Hands, that a small Blow at every Removal was enough to cost them their Lives. The same may be said of an infinite number of Passages, copied from the first modern Writer that comes in one's way. They are robbed, maimed, stigmatized, &c. Fugitives: It is therefore no wonder if their Condition be mistaken, and if the Qualities of their Birth cannot be discovered.

[P] — and

(138) *Cassaubon* in *Athen. lib. v.* cap. xviii, pag. 385.

(139) Mr *Croft*, Author of the *Journal des Scavans*,

(140) *Terentius*, in *Prologo Andrie*, init.

(141) *Gulielmus Saldenus* de *libris*, pag. 124.

(142) See above, *Citat. (25)*, the Words of *Cicero*, wherein we learn that Fact.

(132) According to *Livy*, lib. xlv, cap. xlv, he was in his 17th Year, when *Perseus* was taken, &c. in the Year of *Rome 585*.

(133) See *Sigonius* in *falsis*, ad *Ann. 606*.

(134) *Journal des Scavans*, 1692, pag. 209.

(135) *Journ.* 1691, pag. 513.

(136) *Aulus Gellius*, lib. xvii, cap. xxi, in fin.

(137) *Cicero*, in *Bruto*, cap. xv.

Those of Mr Moreri [P]. I have mentioned, elsewhere (i), a Carneades, one of Epicurus's Friends, and who, in my Opinion, is the same with That voluptuous Epicurean, called Corniades in the Edition of Plutarch (k). There is no reason to suppose, that Cicero, speaking of this Friend of Epicurus, meant That Carneades who was Author of the third Academy. See the Marginal Note (122), in the Remark [N]. I shall examine, upon another Occasion (l), That Passage in Diogenes Laërtius, importing, that one of Epicurus's Scholars changed Sides, and joined himself to Carneades; and I shall set down Mr de la Monnoie's Thoughts thereupon.

[P] ----- and the Faults of Moreri.] I. Nothing is more false than to affirm, that Carneades succeeded Chrysippus. This Fault was omitted in the second Holland Edition. II. It is true, he applied himself more to moral than natural Philosophy (143); but it is false that he neglected every thing else besides Morality. Could he have maintained the *Epoche* so vigorously and eloquently as he did, if he had neglected Physics, Logic, Rhetoric, &c? III. Ought that earnest Meditation, which made him forget to eat at Table, to be called a profound Sleepiness? Can any one be more awake than in such a Condition? IV. Valerius Maximus did not say, that he purged his Brain with Hellebore ----- when he was to dispute against Zeno: Moreri should have said against Chrysippus. V. He did not poison himself, upon hearing that Antipater had taken Poison. We find the quite contrary in Diogenes Laërtius. That Historian relates, that (144) Carneades had a great Aversion to Death, often repeating these Words, *Nature, that has collected, will disperse likewise*, intimating, that she ought to be left to herself, and not be prevented by self-murder. When he was told, that his Adversary, Antipater the Stoic (145), had poisoned himself, he felt a Fit of Resolution to brave Death. Give me too, said he: and when they asked him what? Some good Wine, replied he. By which it appears, that, if he had conceived some Ambition of imitating his Antagonist, it vanished in a Moment. Diogenes Laërtius ridicules him for his Cowardice, and reproaches him for choosing rather to languish under a Phtisic, than release himself by Death (146). Father Labbe ought to have known these Particulars, and not have affirmed, that he poisoned himself (147). VI. If it is difficult to settle the Year, in which he died, it is not for the Reason Moreri gives, viz. because Diogenes Laërtius allows him to have lived Eighty five Years, and Cicero ninety. This Difference does not make the thing difficult; for we are ignorant in what Year

Carneades was born, which if we could discover, we should have no more to do than to suppose him to die Five Years sooner or later, according as Cicero's Authority should be rejected, or preferred to That of Diogenes Laërtius; by which means the Difficulty would not be very considerable. It is so however, but for other Reasons, which you will find discussed in the two Authors named by Father Labbe. 'It is very difficult, says he, to determine in what Year this Philosopher died, as the same Father Petavius has very well observed, in his Miscellaneous Exercitations upon the Works of Julian the Apostate. Jonsius, in his Philosophical History (148), very judiciously answers the Objections, which the said Father had learnedly made against the vulgar Opinion, founded upon the Authority of Apollodorus, as he is cited by Diogenes Laërtius (149). Mr Moreri, intending to make use of the first Lines in this Passage, did it with too little Attention, and thereby fell into a great Oversight. VII. It is not true, that Apollodorus, quoted by the same Diogenes, ----- affirms ----- that there was an Eclipse of the Moon at Carneades's Death. Diogenes vents it only upon an *Hear-say*, without quoting Apollodorus. He adds, that it looked as if the most beautiful of all the Stars, next to the Sun, sympathized with Carneades (150). Others say, the Sun was darkened at the same time (151). VIII. The Athenians having pillaged Oropus, Moreri should not have said, that they were the Cause of That Plague. It is a wrong Expression in that Place. IX. It is false, to say, that Carneades was against following Probability; he owns a Man ought to square his Actions by it (152). X. Plutarch's Piece against Colotes ought not to have been quoted; for there is not one Word of Carneades in it. XI. But Father Rapin ought to have been quoted (153), whom Moreri has copied Word for Word, near a Page together.

(i) In the Article ARCESILAS, Citat. (96).

(k) In Remark [I], of the Article EPICURUS, towards the end.

(l) In Remark [D], ibid.

(143) Diog. Laert. lib. iv. in Carneade init. n. 62.

(144) Id. ibid. n. 64.

(145) See Remark [F], Citat. (63).

(146) Diog. Laert. ibid. n. 65.
(147) Labbe Chronolog. Fragm. Tom. II. p. 395, ad Ann. Rom. 625.

(148) Pag. 189, &c.

(149) Labbe, ubi supra. p. 396.

(150) Συμπέ-
δισαν, ὅς ἂν
αἰτοὶ τις αἰν-
τοῦν τῶ
αὐτῶν καλ-
αἰς τὸν ἄ-
στρον. Ut com-
pati sibi videri
posset pulcherri-
mum post solem
fidus. Diog.
Laert. lib. iv.
n. 64.

(151) Suidas, in Καρυάδης.

(152) See the Remark [B], Citation (8).

(153) Rapin's Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, Part IV, cap. i, pag. 369.

CARRANZA (BARTHOLOMEW), a Native of Miranda (a), in Navarre, was one of the most illustrious Dominicans in the XVIth Century. He signalized himself in the Council of Trent, Ann. 1546 [A], especially whilst the Matter of Residence was in agitation (b). He maintained, not only that Residence is of divine Right, but also that the contrary Opinion is a diabolical Doctrine (c). Philip of Austria, who had been his Pupil (d), took him with him (e), when he went into England to marry Queen Mary. He thought him very capable of refuting and exterminating the Protestant Faith, which had taken deep Root in that Country. He laboured very earnestly in this Mission; he caused several Books to be burned, and a great many People to be banished, and the University of Oxford to be restored. He was made the Queen's Confessor, and pleased Philip to that degree, that, by his means, he was preferred to the first See in Spain, (the Archbishopric of Toledo), Ann. 1557 (f). He assisted at the Death of Charles V (g) [B], which,

(a) From whence he was called Bartholomew de Miranda.

(b) Father Paul, lib. ii, pag. 201.

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 240.

(d) Vinc. Barona. Apol. Tom. II, lib. v. pag. 237.

(e) Nicol. Anton. Bibl. Hist. Tom. I, pag. 147.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Who died September 21, 1558.

[A] He signalized himself in the Council of Trent, Anno 1546. Moreri is mistaken ten Years, when he says, Carranza spoke, before the Council, the first Sunday in Lent, in the Year 1556. That Oration which we still have of his. Oration is very improper; it ought to have been Sermon. Nicolas Antonio, who very expressly observes the Year to have been 1546, makes use of the Word Cencio (1). There was no Council in 1556.

(1) Nicol. Anton. Bibl. Hist. Tom. I, p. 148.

[B] He assisted at the Death of Charles V. No one can deny This. Faminus Strada owns, that Bartholomew de Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo, administered the Sacraments of the Church to that dying Emperor: 'Toletano antistite procurante quæ Christiano ritu luctanti animæ suppeditantur adjuncta (2). ----- The Archbishop of Toledo

(2) Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. Dec. i. p. 15.

'administering those Assistances, which a departing Soul is supplied with after the Christian manner.' Father Paul knew nothing of this; if he had, he would have taken notice of it in that place, where he makes mention of Constantius Pontius and our Carranza (3). The Jesuit Palavicini, who spares him in nothing, accuses him for having attributed That to Pontius, which belonged to Carranza, viz. that Pontius attended the Emperor in his last Extremity. 'Illius (Carranzæ) loco Pontium accepit Suavis hallucinatus: nam revera Carolo moribundo adfuit Carranza, & pro dignitate quam obtinebat extrema Ecclesiæ officia illi præstitit in vitæ exitu (4). ----- He mistakes Pontius for Carranza; for, in truth, Carranza assisted Charles in his last Moments, and, by Virtue of the Dig- nity

(3) Frs. Paolo. lib. v. pag. 399.

(4) Palavic. Hist. Conc. Trident. lib. xiv. cap. xi. sub fin.

which, as much as any thing else, occasioned People to say, that That Emperor died a Lutheran [C]; for, in 1559, Carranza was taken up for an Heretic by the Inquisition (b). After having defended himself in Spain till 1567, he was removed to Rome, where his Imprisonment continued very long. At last Sentence was given against him in 1576, importing, that, though they had no certain Proofs of his Heresy, yet, forasmuch as there were very great Presumptions against him, he must make a solemn Abjuration. Upon his Submission to this Order, he was removed into the Convent of the *Minerva* (i), where he died a little after (k), viz., the second of May, 1576, at Seventy two Years of Age. They tell us Wonders of

(b) Spond. ad Ann. 1559, n. 29.

(i) A convent of Dominicans at Rome.

(k) Spond. ibid. Nic. Ant. ubi supra.

(5) Ubi supra. nity he had obtained, performed to him the last 'Offices of the Church, at his Death.' Palavicini therefore is a Witness that Carranza performed the last Offices of the Church to Charles V. Nicolas Antonio saith the same thing (5). I shall produce Campana as a fourth Witness, in the following Remark.

[C] Which ----- occasioned People to say, that the Emperor died a Lutheran.] It is notoriously known, that Carranza lost his Archbishopric and his Liberty, as an Heretic; and that, after fifteen or sixteen Years Imprisonment, he was declared suspected of Heresy, and condemned, as such, to an Abjuration, and other Penalties (6). It is not very strange therefore, that several Catholics and Protestants should suspect, upon different Motives, that Charles V died not averfe to the Sentiments of Luther, since he was willing to render up his Soul in the Hands of such an Archbishop. The Spaniards knew very well the bottom of these Presumptions; and, finding they cannot deny that Carranza assisted at the Death of that Emperor, they come off with saying, that Charles V sent for him to censure and reprove him. See how the Count de la Roca turns the matter: 'Don Bartholomew de Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, was present at the Funeral of the immortal Charles V, at which all his Family assisted. This Prelate arrived a little before at St Justus, where the Emperor expected him with Impatience, having heard that his Heretical Opinions, which after that gave him abundance of Trouble: this generous and catholic Prince thought himself obliged to reprimand him (7). This Author takes no notice, that the Emperor was prepared for Death by Carranza: but his Silence is of no weight, since Cardinal Palavicini, who gives the same reason for Carranza's appearing at that Ceremony (8), that John Antony de Vera (9) gives, acknowledges, in express Terms, that this Archbishop afforded to the dying Prince all the Assistance, that the Church affords on such an Occasion, *Extrema Ecclesiae officia illi praestitit in vitae exitu* (10). Spondanus, perceiving the Artifice of the Spanish Historians, thought himself obliged to oppose the Testimony of Campana to That of Sandoval, Panegyric Historiographer to Charles V. Sandoval owns that his Imperial Majesty saw Carranza, but denies, that he spoke to him, though he had a Desire to question him about some erroneous Opinions charged upon him. Spondanus, notwithstanding this Account from Sandoval, gives an entire Credit to Campana, who says, in Philip the Second's Life, that Charles thanked Carranza for having assisted him on that necessary Occasion, confessed his Sins to him, received the Sacrament from him, and had several spiritual Discourses with him till his Death. 'Carolus gratias ei egisse de adventu ad ipsum in tali necessitate, & confessum ei esse sua peccata sacramentaliter, atque Eucharistiam de ejus manu sumpsisse, ac multa spiritualia colloquia cum eo habuisse usque ad transitum: quod & nos verum putamus, cum plures id afferant (11). Spondanus verily believes all this, without any regard to Sandoval, who had not denied it, but for fear such a thing would have made Charles V pass for an Heretic: 'Sed Sandovalium qui nonnulli laudes Caroli prosequitur timuisse, ne si diceretur Carolus sacramentum in fine à Miranda, qui postea ----- infamatus est de pravâ doctrinâ, suscepisse, & extrema verba cum eo habuisse, id in Caroli dedecus ac quoddam animæ periculum verteret (12).'

(6) Spondan. ad Ann. 1559, n. 29.

(7) History of Charles V. pag. 347.

(8) Causa cur illic adesset ea fuit quod delato ad Carolum rumore finitiae opinionis quae de corrupta Archiepiscopali mente spargebatur, ad se hominem accerit iussit, ut ipsum commoneret. Palavic. ubi supra.

(9) He is the same with the Count de la Roca, (10) Palavic. ibid.

(11) Spondan. ad Ann. 1558, n. 9.

(12) Id. ibid. FACTS concerning Charles the Fifth's Confessor.

amends in another place, and has not neglected the Occasion of making Charles V appear under the Character of a Prince suspected of Heresy: for, giving an Account of the cruel Executions in Spain, he observes, 'that Constantius Pontius, who died some Days before in the Prison of the Inquisition, and who had been Charles the Fifth's Confessor in his Solitude, and received his last Groans, was burned in Effigy (13). He was imprisoned immediately upon That Prince's Death (14). This last Execution, adds he, tho' done on an Image, appeared more terrible than any of the rest; every one concluding there was no Connivance or Pity to be expected from a Prince, who did not so much as spare a Person, whose Disgrace would be a Blemish to his own Father's Memory (15). Mezeraï carries the Reflexion farther; for, after having related how Philip caused several Lutherans to be burned, 'nay the very Effigies of Constantius Pontius Confessor to Charles V, and who administered to him at the Point of Death; he adds, that it was no wonder he could, without scruple, blast his Father's Memory, since, as some say, he had a mind to have him indicted after his Death, and his Bones burnt, for being an Heretic, nothing restraining him but this Consideration, that, if his Father died an Heretic, he had forfeited his Estates, and consequently had no Right of resigning them to his Son (16). In this Account are several Particulars: I. That Pontius was Confessor to Charles V. II. That he performed the Functions of That Office in the Agonies and dying Gasps of That Emperor. III. That he was burnt in Effigy. IV. That this reflected upon Charles's Memory. And, V. That Philip would have got his late Father condemned to be burnt for Heresy, but for some weighty political Reasons, that restrained him. Mezeraï relates this last Circumstance as being the Opinion of some People; but others affirm it without any Restriction (17). We shall see hereafter (18) upon what Authority Brantome reports it. I believe this for certain, that it is a matter very uncertain. The first and second Points are denied by the Spanish Writers (19). They own, that Pontius (20) was Preacher to Charles V, but deny his being his Confessor, and maintain, that he was in the Prison of the Inquisition before the Death of That Prince. See what the Count de la Roca says; 'When the Inquisition arrested Constantine, at Seville, Charles was heard to say, 'If Constantine be a Heretic, he is a very great one (21). That Prince's last Confessor was called Francis Villalva (22). The third Point is most true. And, as for the fourth, it may be said, that the Conviction of Constantius Pontius gave ground for some Suspicions relating to Charles V. We ought not to forget, that it does not appear that Carranza had any share in the spiritual Direction of That Emperor; and, if he administered to him the Sacraments of the Church upon his Deathbed, it was, say some, because the Monastery of St Justus was in his Diocese. He went to the Convent, as soon as he heard the Emperor was ill, and arrived there the Day before his Imperial Majesty's Decease. 'Placidissime expiravit (Carolus) praesente Bartholomæo Carranza à Miranda Archiepiscopo Toletano, Ordinis Dominicani, loci Ordinario, qui audita ejus infirmitate accurrerat, & pridie obitus advenerat, summa ejus, ut quidem scribunt, consolatione (23). ----- Charles expired very calmly in the Presence of Bartholomew Carranza of Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo, a Dominican, and Ordinary of the Place, who, bearing of his Sickness, hastened to him, and arrived the Day before his Death, to the great Consola-

(13) Father Paul, lib. v. pag. 399.

(14) Nella quale (pregione) per imputazione d'heresia fu posta la morte dell' Imperatore. Mr Amelot de la Houffaye has not rendered this.

(15) Mr Amelot de la Houffaye has put here this marginal Note: Nothing hindered him from proceeding against his Father, as against an Heretic, but the fear he had, that, if his Father had been such, the Renunciation of his Dominions had been void upon that account.

(16) Mezeraï, Abr. Chronol. ad Ann. 1559, Tom. V, pag. 9.

(17) Amelot de la Houffaye. His Words are quoted above, in Citation (15).

(18) In Rema & [S], of the Article CHARLES V.

(19) See Cardinal Palavicini's History of the Council of Trent, lib. xiv. cap. xi. n. 3.

(20) I call him so, according to the common Error; but I have sufficiently declared, in the Article PONTIUS, that he was not so called.

(21) Count de la Roca's History of Charles V, pag. 335.

(22) Palavic. lib. ex Joanne Antonio Vera, & Sandovalio.

(23) Spondan. ad Ann. 1558, n. 9.

of his Patience [D]. His chief Books are *Summa Conciliorum*, and a *Spanish Catechism* in *Folio*, which has been put in the Index [E].

You will find an ample Account of the Merit and Adventures of Carranza in Mr Varillas's Preface to the fifth Tome of his History of Herefy. See likewise the Twenty third Book of the same History. He has not forgot to observe, that the General of the Jesuits favoured Carranza. An Apologist of the Dominicans (1) made use of this in answer to a Jesuit, who had a mind to call this great Prelate's Faith in Question. Gratitude obliged the General of That Society to defend Carranza in this Conjunction; for it was he who gave the Jesuits leave to settle in Toledo, which his Predecessor had vigorously opposed (m).

(1) Vincent: Baron. Apolog. Tom. I. pag. 64.

(m) Id. ibid.

* tion of the Emperor as some write.* We shall speak more fully of this Part of Charles's History under his own Article, in the Remark [D]; where we shall observe some Faults of the Abbot de St Real.

[D] They tell us Wonders of his Patience.] One of the greatest Instances, that can be given of it, is, that, though he knew himself innocent, he did not in the least blame his Judges. 'Perceiving himself near Death, upon St Athanasius's Day, who was the greatest Prelate, and the most persecuted of any the Church had in his time, in presence of the holy Sacrament, which was brought him for his Viaticum, and of all the Religious in the Convent of the Minerva, at Rome, where he died (24), he said, with Tears in his Eyes, That by the glorious LORD he was going to receive, and before whom, in a few Hours, he must give up his Account, he had never mortally offended him in matters of Faith; that, notwithstanding, he esteemed it a just Sentence that was pronounced upon him, in consequence of what had been alledged and proved against him; an Action that acquired him so high an Esteem of Innocence, that, when he was interred, though it was upon a Working-day, all the Shops were shut up as close as if it had been Easter. The People had as great a Veneration for his Corps, as they could have had for That of a Saint (25). It is an edifying thing, that the People made it appear they did Justice on this Occasion to oppressed Innocence. The People are not always blind (26); though here they did their Duty but by halves: they ought at the same time to have expressed their Indignation against That unjust Tribunal, which had been so long persecuting an innocent Man; and, at least, they should have made it appear, that they wished his wicked Judges might be stigmatized with some Mark of Infamy: For how insupportable is it to see a learned Prelate, against whom no Proof was produced, not able to get out of his Informers

Clutches, till he had suffered a long and painful Captivity, and then to be discharged with a Brand, designed only to save the Honour of his execrable Persecutors? In order to hide the Injustice they had done Carranza, they were obliged to declare, that there were strong Presumptions against him; without which they had stood too much exposed to the Complaints and Indignation of the People. This is the Point, wherein the Public was imposed upon, and at which the People should have been offended. But this is to require too many things at one time from the Multitude. It is the part of wise Men to behold this double Iniquity, and humbly to adore the divine Providence, which suffers the Tribunal of the Inquisition, a real Abomination introduced into the Holy Places, not only to reign and triumph thus long in so many Christian Countries, but also to enlarge it's Phylacteries, and spread it's Roots every way.

[E] He wrote a Spanish Catechism - - - which has been put in the Index.] Nicolas Antonio says this was the Cause of Carranza's Persecutions. 'Qui liber Autori suo infortunii tota causa fuisse dicitur: quare prohibitus est in Romano Indice (27). You may find, in Father Paul, what a Clamour the Bishop of Lerida made against the Congregation of the Index for having approved this Book. The Bishop of Lerida inveighed against the Sentence of the Congregation, and related several Plates in the Book, which, taken in the Sense he gave them, seemed worthy of Censure; and, what is worse, taxed the Conscience of the Prelates of That Congregation. Hereupon the Chief complained to the Legates. The Dispute was concluded, upon some Excuses made by the Bishop of Lerida, and on Condition that no Copies should be given of the Attestation, that had been remitted to Carranza's Agent. The Count de Luna, the Spanish Ambassador, recovered the Attestation out of the Agent's Hands (28).

(27) Nic. Anton. Bibl. Hisp. Tom. I, pag. 148.

(28) Father Paul, lib. viii, ad Ann. 1563, pag. 724.

CARTEROMACHUS (SCIPIO), Native of Pistoia in Tuscany, was a learned Man in the XVIth Century. He understood very well both Latin and Greek [A], and was very happy in his Explications of the difficult Passages of the ancient Authors. He was very much respected at Venice, from whence he had never parted, but for the Confusions of the War, which threatened to interrupt his Studies. He retired to Rome, where he found a favourable Protection in Cardinal Francis Aldobrandini's Family. He followed him to Ravenna, whence, when that Cardinal had lost his Life, he returned to Rome. He was placed, by Pope Leo X, with Julius de Medicis, in quality of a learned Man, and had undoubtedly raised himself

[A] He understood very well both Latin and Greek.] This appears by his Writings: 'Qua literaturâ fuerit, five carmen Græcè five Latine pangeret, five orationem elucubraret, ex multis ejus scriptis unicuique erudito viro licet inspicere (1). — His Writings will satisfy any learned Man of his Abilities in Greek or Latin Poetry, or Prose.' Alcyonius ascribes to him a profound Knowledge in the Greek Language. 'Cui, says he (2), tametsi Latinus est, attamen vel Græci ipsi in suæ linguæ cognitione & subtilitate primas deferunt. — Whom, though an Italian, The Greeks themselves allow to excel in the Knowledge and Accuracy of their Tongue.' Some Pages after, see how he makes Julius de Medicis speak to his Cousin John Cardinal de Medicis, afterwards Pope Leo X. 'Multos Græcâ literaturâ insignes viros domi habes, ad quorum emulationem non desitis cum omni genere exercitationis, tum maxime stilo, augere partam eloquentiam; atque inter hos maxime

eminet Scipio Carteromachus, quem honorificentissime pro tua natura liberalissimèque tractas, cum præsertim videas illum quamquam Latinum Græcè sic loqui & scribere, ut solus post veterum Græcorum Platonis, Socratis, Demosthenis, & Strabonis interitum, orbi eloquentiæ tutor relictus videatur (3). — You have with you many Men famous for Greek Learning, in Emulation of whom, you continue to improve the Eloquence you have acquired, in every kind of Exercise, particularly in Stile: among these the most eminent is Scipio Carteromachus, whom you treat with that great Respect and Liberality, which is natural to you, being sensible, that, though he is an Italian, yet he speaks and writes in the Greek Language so well, that, since the Death of the ancient Greeks, Plato, Socrates, Demosthenes, and Strabo, he seems to be left as the only Support and Guardian of Orphan Eloquence.'

(1) Id. ibid. sub fine. Observe, that this Dialogue of Alcyonius relates to the time of John de Medicis's Embassy about the Year 1512.

[B] Cartero-

VOL. II.

Q 3 9 9

(a) Taken from
Pierius Valeria-
nus de Literato-
rum Infelicitate,
lib. ii, p. 72, 73.

(b) See Remark
[A], Citat. (3).

self to some honourable and advantageous Post, if Death had not anticipated his Master's Friendship (a). I shall quote one Author, who says that he lived with Cardinal John de Medicis, in 1512 (b): this Cardinal was afterwards Pope Leo X. I shall cite another Author, to shew, that *Carteromachus* was free from Ostentation, and that he died at about the Age of Forty three Years [B].

[B] *Carteromachus* was far from Ostentation, and died at about the Age of Forty three Years. He must be provoked, and spurred, before he would discover himself in his Discourse to be a Man of Learning. What a fine Commendation! and how few learned Men deserve it! He, who has given it to *Carteromachus*, ought to be believed; he speaks of a Man that was dead, and to whom he was personally known. 'Bononia primum videre contigit' 'Scipionem Carteromachum, reconditæ & absolutæ eruditionis hominem, sed uique adeo alienum ab ostentatione, ut ni provocasset, jurasset esse litera-

rum ignarum. Cum eo post Romæ fuit mihi propior familiaritas. Et decessit haud multo major annis quadraginta duobus (4). — I chanced to meet with Scipio *Carteromachus* first at Bononia, a complete Scholar, but so far from Ostentation, that, unless you provoked him to discover his Knowledge, you would swear he was illiterate. I was more intimately acquainted with him afterwards at Rome: and he died not much above Forty two Years of Age.' The Letter, out of which I take these Words, is dated the first of March 1524.

(4) Erasmi. Ep. v, lib. xxiii, pag. 1209. He had said, in his Ciceronianus, Scipionem Carteromachum agnoscere vi- rum citra ostentationem in utraque literatura doctum.

CARTHAGENA (JOHN), was first a Jesuit, and after that a *Franciscan*. He was a *Spaniard* by Nation, and Professor at *Salamanca*; but removed from thence to *Rome*, where he taught Divinity with Applause, under the Pontificate of Paul V. He died at *Naples*, in 1617 (a). No Man was ever more devoted to the Interest of the Court of *Rome* than *Carthagenæ*, or stood up more peremptorily for the Papal Rights. This appears by his Works published upon the Quarrels between Paul V, and the Republic of *Venice* [A]. The French have found Arguments in these Works, wherewith to defend themselves against the malicious Complaints of the *Spaniards* [B]. *Carthagenæ* made likewise some extravagant Suppositions concerning God's Favours to some Saints [C]. The Reader will find, in the last Remark, a Specimen of his Genius.

(a) See Nicolas
Antonio, Biblio-
thec. Hispan.
Tom. I, p. 512,
512.

[A] The Works be published upon the Quarrels between Paul V, and the Republic of *Venice*. These are the Titles; *Pro Ecclesiastica libertate, & potestate tuenda adversus injustas Venetorum leges*; printed at *Rome* 1607, in Quarto. *Propugnaculum Catholicum de jure belli Romani Pontificis adversus Ecclesiæ jura violantes*. *Rome* 1609, in Octavo.

[B] The French found Arguments in them, wherewith to defend themselves against the malicious Complaints of the *Spaniards*. They were continually complaining of the Alliances France concluded with the Protestant Powers. They used Exaggerations and Hyperboles, to cry down particularly the League, which was formed in favour of the Elector Palatine, and of which, said they, the King of *England* is the Head: whereupon they vented their Spleen against that Monarch to such a Degree, that they were within an Hair's breadth of displaying all that infamous Satire, they had formerly printed against him under the Name of the Corona Regia (1). To this, among other things, Father *Carthagenæ* was objected (2), who, in *Rome*, a Spanish Monk, writing to the Pope, for the Pope, and by his Order, takes up a whole Chapter to prove. 'That the Pope might, with a safe Conscience, when he thought it proper, make use of infidel Soldiers, to assist him against all those who were for violating the Liberties of the Church.' The same Monk was produced (3) writing another Book (4), expressly to prove that it is lawful to war with Catholics, if the case requires it; and concluding thus, 'That it does not belong to a Subject to enquire whether the Causes of a War be just.' They quoted (5) another Maxim of the same Monk. 'All Ecclesiastics are obliged by the divine and natural Right to maim and kill their Enemies in defence of the Republic, without being guilty of any Irregularity; and may enter upon and enjoy the Estates of Enemies, with as much Reason as any secular Soldier whatever.' The Spanish Writers on one side with their Complaints against the Leagues of France, and the French on the other with their Apologies, thought little of what was to come, and that, before an Age was at an end, Proofs would be changed into Objections on both hands. They may now say, both of them,

Mutemus clypeos, Danaumque insignia nobis
Aptemus (6).

Then change we shields, and their Devices bear.

DRYDEN.

(6) Virg. Æn.
lib. ii, ver. 389.

Whilst a disinterested Spectator makes this Reflexion.

Nescia Mens hominum fati fortisque futuræ (7).

(7) Id. ibid. lib. x, ver. 501.

O thoughtless Men, and to the future blind!

[C] He made some extravagant Suppositions concerning GOD's Favour to some Saints. He pretended, that St *Joseph*, and some others, were sanctified before they were born. *Claudius Dausqueius*, or *Dausquius*, Canon of *Tournay*, wrote against this Fancy; and says, among other things, that *Carthagenæ* wrestled the holy Scriptures with too much Presumption. 'Palam in oculis Ecclesiæ Romanæ præcipiti temeritate in sacras literas involavit, easque oborto collo in affectatæ novitatis patrocinium interpretando contra Concilii Tridentini edicta depravavit (8). — He openly, in the face of the Romish Church, and with a precipitate Rashness, laid his hands on the sacred Writings, and, interpreting them contrary to the Edicts of the Council of Trent, wrestled and forced them to patronise the novel Opinions he affected to advance.' A Flemish *Franciscan* took Fire at this, and writ a Book against the Canon; who replied, and did not shew more Moderation than his Adversary. This Doctrine of *Carthagenæ*'s is to be found in his *Homilia sacrum Catholicæ tum Morales de Religionis Christianæ arcanis*. According to *Dausquius*'s Account of this Work, it consists of nothing but a parcel of high-flown insignificant Words (9); 'Ista incuriosa curiositate victus Carthagenæ volumina ista quibus orbis cymbalum audire meruit (an etiam voluit) inscribit de Religionis Christianæ Arcanis. Quia scilicet arcano quodcumque Moses volumine clausit, & de arcanis Catholicæ veritatis quæcumque Galatinus compilavit, veritate, diligentia, immanitate superavit Carthagenæ (10). — Carthagenæ, subdued by That incurious Curiosity, entitled those Volumes, by which he deserved, (or even was willing) to be called The World's Drum, De Religionis Christianæ Arcanis. — Of the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. For Carthagenæ surpassed, in outrageous extravagancy, whatever Moses comprehended in the secret Volume, and whatever Galatinus compiled, with Truth and Diligence, concerning the Mysteries of the Catholic Truth. There is one Book in these Volumes, called *Arcana Deiparæ, ac Josephi Mysteria*; in which the Author vents a very scurvy piece of Impertinence (11); which is, that St *Joseph* may be reckoned among the Martyrs, because the jealousy, which tore his Heart, upon

(8) See Dausqueius, Sancti Josephi Sanctificationis extra uterum, pag. 82.

(9) In illa voluminum Carthagenæ immanitate verbosissima (cui loquacitate codit unus scriptor ab omni sevo) censores, &c. Ibid. pag. 109.

(10) Ibid. pag. 116.

(11) Dausqueius, ibid. pag. 119, calls it Blasphemia propudiosa, seeing

seeing his Wife grow every Day bigger, could not but give him insupportable torment. 'Cum ergo B. Josephus immani zelotypia dolore angetur, neque levamen hoc, quod ei adsumere licebat, quaritaret, Evangelista dicente, cum esset justus, noluit eam traducere, consequens est cor ejus gravissimo doloris vulnere fuisse exulceratum. — Profecto hujusmodi perplexitas, & plusquam civile bellum inter sensum & rationem, non poterat non immaniter viscera Josephi disrumpere, & excarnificare — cogitatio illa non potuit non esse illi grave martyrii genus (12). He confirms his Thought by the Authority of Solomon: 'Cum zelotypicus amor sit, ut ait Salomon, dura sicut infernus æmulatio, non poterat non vehementer, & absque ulla interruptione Josephi cor transversari, sicut & infernus summopere torquet, & nec per momentum excruciare cessat (13). — Since Jealousy, according to Solomon, is painful as Hell, the Heart of Joseph must, of necessity, have been vehemently, and without interruption, pierced through; as Hell greatly afflicts, and never ceases to torment.' How are the Mysteries of our holy Religion exposed to the Railleries of profane Men, when some dare create such sort of Martyrs! The Canon of Tournay was in the right, when he thought these Whimfies were no better than Blasphemies. *Sensus virgineum uterum intumescens videns adulteram judicabat; — Seeing the Virgin's Belly to swell, he judged*

that she was an Adulteress; these are Caribagena's Words, and here is the Answer of the Canon (14): Josephus Chrysostomi testificatione cavebat vel nimam Virgini afferre molestiam, & tu dicis Josephum eam adulteram judicasse. Impie! Ac si dicat, Manifestaque crimina pleno fert atero. — Joseph, according to the Testimony of St Chrysostom, was careful not in the least to molest the Virgin; yet you say, that Joseph thought her an Adulteress. Impious! As if he should say: Her swelling Womb too plain the Crime betrays.

A Professor of Louvain was not the better for the judicious Reflexions of the Canon of Tournay. 'One Day he ran into an excess of Impiety and Impudence; for, explaining the Trouble that St Joseph was in, and designing to give an account of the Reason why he thought of leaving the Holy Virgin, he said it was because that great Saint was afraid of being looked upon as a C----- timebat vocari C----- Modesty does not allow me to say, what he was not ashamed to utter in a full Auditory.' This I find Word for Word in a Book printed at Cologne in 1685, and intitled, *The History of the Intrusion of the Sieur du Bois into his Professorship to explain the Holy Scriptures, in the University of Louvain, and of the manner how he discharges that Employment: with some Reflexions on the Reasons of his Reputation and Credit.*

CASSANDRA, Daughter of Priamus and Hecuba, was tempted by Apollo, and deceived him. He promised her the Gift of Prophecy, provided she would give him her Maiden-head [A]. She made a show of agreeing to the Bargain; but, when she had obtained her Ends, she disappointed the Seducer, and broke her Word. Apollo did not revenge himself in recalling what he had given her, but in making her find no Credit, whatever she undertook to foretel (a). She was looked on as a Fool, before her Predictions were fulfilled; and allowed to be a wife Woman only after their Accomplishment (b). Servius relates after what manner they were rendered useless [B]. Others give another account of it [C]. However

[A] Apollo promised her the Gift of Prophecy, provided she would give him her Maiden-head. I have observed often before, that nothing can be worse concerted than the System of the ancient Heathens. We have a Proof of it before us: It was a received Doctrine among them, that the Priestesses of Apollo at Delphos was to be a Virgin; otherwise she was incapable of being inspired (1). It could not be therefore supposed, after this, that Apollo would offer a Virgin the Gift of Prophecy, provided she would give up her Maiden-head. Some observe from hence the Artifices of the Devil, and his profound Malice (2); but this is to suppose it a true History, when it is no more than a Poetical Fiction. The Author, I am now speaking of, has committed another Fault. He supposes, that the Sybil of Cumæ was tempted by Apollo in the same manner with Cassandra; for a Confirmation of which (3) he quotes some Verses of Ovid (4), which mention no Promise of Prophecy. To find an exact Conformity between these two Temptations, it must be said, that Apollo made an Offer in general to Cassandra of whatever she thought fit to demand; for so he did to the Sybil (5). A modern Author supposes, that, in effect, the Promises to Cassandra were confined to nothing, and that she made choice of Prophecy (6): but the Authority of Apollodorus and Servius allow not of this Supposition. These two Authors say, the one that Apollo promised Cassandra to make her a Prophetess (7); the other, that he promised her nothing; but, that Cassandra, having demanded the Gift of Prophecy as the Price of her Maiden-head, was taken at her word (8). The Sybil, being left to her own choice, to ask all the advantages she would, demanded a long Life; and, forgetting to add a perpetual Youth, she might have obtained that likewise for the Loss of her Maiden-head.

Excidit ut peterem juvenes quoque prolixus annos;
Hos tamen ille mihi dabat, æternamque juventam
Si venerem paterer (9).

Unmindful of the sad Effects of Time,
Thoughtless, I bargain'd not for youthful Prime;
The amorous God wou'd have bestow'd even This,
Nor thought too dear a Purchase for the Bliss.

But she considered it would be too dear a Purchase she valued her Honour therefore at a high rate.

[B] Servius relates after what manner the Predictions of Cassandra were rendered useless. It was effected by Apollo's Spittle; the Operation of which was so effectual, that Cassandra's words met with no belief. He was angry to see the Lady deny her Promise, but concealed his Resentment, and begged at least the Favour of a Kiss from her: His Request was granted; upon which he spit upon her Mouth, and thereby rendered the Talent he had given her of no use to her. 'Apollo, cum amasset Cassandra, petit ab ea ejus concubitus copiam: illa hac conditione promissit, si sibi ab eo futurorum scientia præstaretur: quam cum Apollo tribuisset, ab illa promissus coitus denegatus est; sed Apollo, dissimulata paulisper ira, petit ab ea, ut sibi osculum saltem præstaret, quod cum illa fecisset, Apollo os ejus inspuavit; & quia eripere Deo semel tributum munus non conveniebat, effectum ut illa quidem vera vaticinaretur, sed fides non haberetur (10). This is Servius's Account in his Comment upon these words of Virgil:

Tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
Ora, dei jussu non unquam credita Teucris (11).
Cassandra — — — — —
Foretold our Fate; but, by the God's decree,
All heard, but none believ'd the Prophecy.

DRYDEN.

[C] Others give another account of it. Which is, that Helenus and Cassandra, being Twins, were carried in their Infancy to the Temple of Apollo, where they were left a whole Night, either through Forgetfulness, or out of Custom. The next Morning two Serpents were found twisted round their Bodies,

(12) Tom. II. l. iv. Homil. iii. pag. 123. n. cæterum apud Daufquium, ibid.

(13) Apud Daufquium, pag. 121.

(a) Apollodorus, lib. iii. pag. 227.

(b) Plot de Præce Reipubl. p. 822.

(1) See Petit de Sibylla, p. 114.

(2) Id. pag. 121.

(3) Ibid. pag. 122.

(4) Ex lib. xiv. Metamorph. Ovidii.

(5) Ellege, ait, virgo Cumæa, quid optas, optatis potius tuis.

— He said, Here all your Cumæan Maid. Dr. GARTHE. Ovid. Metam. lib. xiv. ver. 140.

(6) Vigenere, in the Argument to Philostratus's Cassandra, Tom. I. p. 660. printed in 1640, and Tom. II. pag. 77.

(7) Apollodorus, lib. iii. pag. 227.

(8) Servius in Æn. lib. ii. ver. 247.

(9) Ovid. lib. xiv. ver. 144.

(10) Servius in Æn. lib. ii. ver. 247.

(11) Virgil. Æn. lib. ii. ver. 246.

(c) In the Remarks [B] and [C] of the Article of *Ajax*, the Son of *Oileus*.

it be, when *Troy* fell into the Hands of the *Grecians*, this Prophetess fled into the Temple of *Minerva*, which secured her Life, but not her Honour [D]. *Ajax*, the Son of *Oileus*, ravished her in the middle of the Temple. We have observed, elsewhere (c), how *Minerva* repented this Injury, and will observe, in this Place, some things relating to the Punishment that followed this obscene Impiety [E]. It is remarkable, that the Punishment was inflicted on the Sex that received the Injury,

(12) Tzetzes in Lycophron Eustathius in *Iliad*. 6. Scholiastes Euripidis in *He-cub.* apud Mezi-riac. in Epist. Ovid. pag. 479.

(13) Apollodorus, lib. ii. Scholiastes Homer in *Odyss.* xi. Scholiastes Apollonius in lib. i. apud Mezi-riac. ibid. pag. 480.

(14) Bene diffimulavit de *Ly-pro* Cassandra. Servius, ibid. ver. 403.

(15) Q. Calab. lib. xiii. v. 421.

(16) See Servius, in *Aen.* i. ver. 41.

(17) Pausanias, lib. i. pag. 14. lib. 5, pag. 167. lib. x, pag. 343.

(18) Servius in *Aen.* ii. v. 404.

(19) Tractata comis antistita Phœbi Non profecturas tendebat ad æthera palmas. Cassandra lifts her Hands to Heav'n in vain, Dragg'd by her sacred Hair.

TEMPLE STANYAN. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. xiii. v. 409. See Euripides in *Troadi-bus*, ver. 253.

(20) Virg. *Aen.* lib. ii. ver. 341.

(21) Hom. *Iliad*. lib. xiii. ver. 265.

(22) Pausan. lib. x, pag. 344.

dies, and licking their Ears, by which both of them were endowed with the Gift of Prophecy (12). This puts me in mind of *Melampus*'s Adventure: One Day, whilst he was sleeping, two Serpents came, and licked his Ears: when he awaked, he was surprized to find he understood the Language of Birds, by which means he was able to foretel a great many things (13).

[D] She fled into the Temple of *Minerva*, which secured her Life, but not her Honour. Virgil thought not fit to affirm that she was ravished (14); he contents himself with representing the condition she was in when dragged out of the Temple.

Ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo
Crinibus à templo Cassandra adytique Minervæ,
Ad cœlum tendens ardentia lumina frustra;
Lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.

Behold the Royal Prophetess, the Fair
Cassandra, dragg'd by her dishevell'd Hair;
Whom not *Minerva*'s Shrine, nor sacred Bands,
In safety cou'd protect from sacrilegious hands.
On Heav'n she cast her Eyes, she sigh'd, she cry'd,
(Twos all she cou'd); her tender Arms were ty'd.

DRYDEN.

Quintus Calaber is not so reserved; he tells us plainly, that *Ajax*, Son of *Oileus*, ravished her in the very Temple of *Minerva* (15). This is the general Tradition (16); to which many public Monuments, in several Cities of *Greece*, served for Witnesses (17). See the Article of This *A J A X*. Some say, *Cassandra* was *Minerva*'s Priestess (18); others, that she was *Apollon*'s (19); yet, if we will believe *Virgil*, she had been betrothed to *Choræbus*.

— *Juvenisque Coræbus*,
Mygdonides. Illis ad Trojam fortè diebus
Venerat, infans Cassandra incensus amore,
Et Gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
Infelix qui non *Sponse* præcepta furentis
Audierit (20).

— young *Coræbus*, who by Love was led
To win renown, and fair Cassandra's Bed:
And lately brought his Troops to Priam's Aid:
Forewarn'd in vain by the Prophetic Maid.

DRYDEN.

Homer makes mention of a Prince, who came to demand *Cassandra* in Marriage, and promised upon that condition to raise the Siege of *Troy*, demanding no Fortune, he being contented with *Cassandra*'s Beauty.

Ἦτις δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγάτηρ εἶδος ἀρίστην
Κασσάνδην ἀνέειπον. ὑπὸ στήθεσσι δὲ μέγα
ἔργον
Ἐκ Τρώϊος ἀέκοντος ἀπώσμεν ἦς Ἀχαιῶν

(21).

Cassandra's Love he sought, with Bosoms of *Pow'r*,
And promis'd Conquest was the proffer'd Dow'r.

POPE.

Whereupon *Priam* consented to the Match. *Homer* calls this *Priam*'s Son-in-law, that was to be, *Othryoneus*, and makes him die in a Combat. *Virgil* likewise makes *Coræbus* to be slain the Night *Troy* was taken. *Pausanias* makes mention of this *Coræbus*, as of one, who was to marry *Cassandra* (22).

[E] We shall observe — some things relating to the Punishment that followed this obscene Impiety. *Plutarch* observes, that it was not long before his time, that the *Locrians* had left off sending Maids

to *Troy*, to expiate that lewd Action of *Ajax* (23). There did these Wretches spend their Lives in sweep- ing the Temple of *Minerva*. Here is a Representation of their Employment, and their Equipage, according to *Amior*'s Translation.

Où les pieds nus, sans aucune vesture,
Sans voile aucun, ni honneste coiffure,
Ne plus ne moins qu' esclaves, tout le jour
Des le matin elles font sans séjour
A ballier de Pallas la Déesse
Le temple saint jusques en leur vieillesse.

Where when the tributary Virgins come,
They attend the daily Drudgery of the Dome.
A Load of Sorrow in their Looks they wear,
Naked their Feet, dishevell'd is their Hair;
Nor dare they, but by Night, to th' awful Shrine
repair.

From Youth to Age, in sad Restraint they live,
'Till welcome Death brings them a late Reprieve.

To this let me add *Vigener*'s Prose, which will give us a more particular Account of the Punishment which *Ajax*'s Impiety drew upon the *Locrians*. *Timæus* the *Sicilian*, and *Callimæchus*, are more particular in this matter, informing us, that, about three Years after *Ajax*'s Death, the Plague broke violently out upon his account over all *Locria*. The People hereupon consulted the Oracle, which told them, that, for a thousand Years following, they were to appease *Minerva* of *Troy*, and send her every Year two Virgins, that were to be chosen by Lot. These poor Wretches were obliged to go privately by night through the most secret unfrequented ways they could find out, and in a disguise, to throw themselves, if possible, into the Temple; where if they arrived in Safety, they were detained to sweep and wash the Temple; from whence they never dared depart, nor approach the holy Shrine but by night; being moreover shaved, and clothed in an ill favoured Robe, and bare-legged: though very few of them were so happy as this; for, as soon as the *Trojans* were acquainted with their setting out from *Locria*, which was usually at certain Seasons of the Year, they lay in wait for them; and, if by chance they fell into their hands, they were sure to be murdered by Stones or Swords without any mercy: which done, they burned their Corps upon the place with barren Wood, and threw the Ashes from off the top of Mount *Tracon* (24) into the Sea. So severely could the Gods of the Gentiles punish those, who offended them (25).

Vigener quotes *Timæus* the Historian, and *Callimæchus* the Poet, as formally, as if the Pieces, in which they left us these Accounts, were still extant; but this is to impose upon us: He had dealt more honestly and ingenuously, if he had quoted *Lycophron*'s Scholiast; for it is he who gives us this Relation, upon the Authority of those two Authors. He observes (26), that *Peribœa* and *Cleopatra* were the two first Maids that were sent by the *Locrians*; and that, in time, the *Locrians* made some small Variations in the Method of their Choice: at first they sent two Virgins of full Age, afterwards Infants a Year old, with their Nurses. If the *Trojans* murdered them before they could arrive at the Temple, the *Locrians* were obliged to proceed to a new Choice. This Custom expired a thousand Years after the *Trojan* War. Χιλίων δ' ἐτῶν παρελθόντων μετὰ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο τῆς τοιαύτης θυσίας. Ex alii mille annis à bello Trojano, abstinuerunt ab ejusmodi piaculo. It ought to be read Τρωϊκὸν, and not, as some Editions have it, Φωκικὸν. The learned *Casaubon* had better have given the Text this Correction, than have criticized *Timæus*, upon Pre- tence

(23) Plut. de fe- ra namin. vin- dicta, pag. 557.

3

(24) It should have been *Tracon*.

(25) *Vigener* upon Philostratus's *Ajax* the *Locrian*, Tom. I. pag. 711.

(26) Tzetzes in Lycoph. v. 114-15

Injury; for the *Locrians* were obliged every Year to send some of their young Maids to *Troy*, where they led a very indifferent Life. This lasted for many Ages, and not one of those poor Girls was ever known to have forfeited her Honour (*d*). *Theon* the Sophist has made an Observation, of which I intend to say something [*F*]. *Cassandra*, in the Division of the Spoils, fell to *Agamemnon's* Share: This Prince was not displeased with her [*G*]; which, they say, made *Clytemnestra*

(*d*) See St *Jerom's* Words in the Remark [*E*], Citat. (31).

(27) *Cassub. in Aeneid. Polior. cap. xxxi. pag. 1764.*

(28) *Id. ibid. pag. 1764.*

(29) *Et trompant de Colbert la prudence importante. Bouleau, Ser. xvii, ver. 195.*

(30) *Polyb. lib. ii, cap. iii, pag. 914. Edit. Amstel. 1670.*

(31) *Hieronym. contra Jovinian. lib. i, cap. xxv.*

(32) They threw them into the Sea. *Lycophr. ver. 1158.*

(33) *Tzetzes in Lycophr. ver. 1159.*

tence that there were not much more than Eight hundred forty Years between the *Trojan* and the end of the *Phocian* War (27). Observe, that he makes this Reflexion in his Comment upon an Author, who is proving how difficult it is to take Precautions enough against those, who undertake to find out a secret unforeseen Entry for any thing into a City. Of this he produces the *Trojans* as an Example, who employed all imaginable care to hinder the *Locrian* Virgins Entrance into *Troy*, and all to no purpose. You may see he speaks of that Custom under the Time present, which is a strong Proof that it was then in being (28). Μαγνέσιον δὲ ἔτι τὰ εἰσπεμπομένα μετ' ἐπικυλῆς χαλεπὸν φυλάττει. Οἱ γὰρ περὶ Ἰλίου ἀνθρώποι ἐκ τούτου χρόνου καὶ οὗτω διατρίβοντες, ἔτι δύνανται φυλάττει μὴ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς Λοκρίδας. Καὶ τοὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ. Ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι προσέχοντες τῷ λαθεῖν λανθάνει, πολλὰ εἰσάγοντες σάμαλα. Quod autem ejus rei quæ subdole immittitur, difficilis cautio fit, testimonio probari potest. Nam qui Ilium colunt homines a tanto tempore in eo laborantes, & tanta diligentia ad hoc dispositi, nondum cavere possunt, quo minus Locrides Ilium ingrediantur: qui tamen in eam rem studii tantum impendant, & tanta cautione utantur. Sed nimirum pauci ad fallendum attentiores fallunt, & ita multas in urbem Locridas inducunt. — That it is difficult to prevent the clandestine Entrance of a thing, may be proved by example. For the *Trojans*, notwithstanding all their Care and Circumspection, cannot yet prevent the *Locrian* Virgins from entering into *Troy*. If this Author were now living, he might confirm his Aphorism by the Example of a Multitude of People, who retired out of *France* for the Sake of their Religion, in spite of the best concerted Measures to prevent their Escape. I say nothing of those successful Wiles, by which contraband Goods are brought in, in the Face of a thousand Custom-houses, and as many Officers, and notwithstanding *Colbert's* greatest Precautions (29).

Cassaubon has made a considerable Mistake in his Translation of that Passage in *Polybius*, where he says, that there were a hundred noble Families among the *Locrians*, distinguished by several Prerogatives, out of which the Virgins, sent every Year to *Troy*, were to be chosen. Ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲλλον οἱ Λοκροὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον κληρὸν τὰς ἀποσταλίσσόμενας παρθένους εἰς Ἰλίον (30). *E quibus*, according to *Cassaubon's* Version, *Locrenses* illas centum virgines sorte legere ex oraculi responsu tenebantur, quæ erant quotannis ad Ilium mittendæ. This Latin plainly signifies, that the *Locrians* had sent every Year a hundred Virgins to *Troy*; but *Polybius* says nothing of this, nor mentions the Number they sent. Let us add here this Passage of *St Jerom*: 'Iustum est & Locras virgines non tacere, quæ cum Ilium mit- terentur ex more per annos circiter mille, nulla obsecni rumoris & pollutæ virginitatis ullam fabulam dedit (31). — Nor ought we to forget the *Locrian* Virgins, who were sent to *Troy*, according to a Custom, which continued about a thousand Years; none of whom were ever censured as having suffered their Chastity to be violated.' He does not pretend to commend these Virgins for that none of them were ravished, but for that no one of them ever suffered herself to be debauched, which, without doubt, is very remarkable, considering the length of the way, and the Continuance of the Custom. That the *Trojans* never thought of enjoying them in their Passage, is no wonder; they considered them as Victims accursed; they looked on them as unclean Animals, fit for nothing, but to be first murdered, and then burnt, and whose Ashes were to be scattered in the Air (32), as a means of Expiation. *Tzetzes* (33) observes, that one of them died upon the Mountain *Traron*, near the City of *Troy*, and that the *Locrians* buried her, and said nothing, but, from that time, omitted sending any more, because they

thought the Space of Time, which the Oracle required, was complet. In this they found themselves deceived; the Famine began again in their Country, and they saw themselves constrained to renew the Custom they had discontinued; though, instead of two, they sent but one, imagining, that for the Future one would suffice for the Expiation of *Ajax's* Fault. The Scholiast pretends they put a wrong Interpretation upon the Oracle, since *Apollo*, without prescribing any set time, had commanded them to send two Virgins to expiate the outrage committed upon *Cassandra*. This Observation is of no weight; he had been just before saying himself, that the Oracle had prescribed a thousand Years (34), and in this several other Authors agree (35). It is true, *Ælian* supposes, that the Oracle imposed this Punishment in general till the *Trojan* *Minerva* was satisfied (36). Let us not forget what *Strabo* assures us of, which is, that, in his Time, it was discontinued in *Troy*, that the *Greeks* had never totally ruined that City (37); for a Proof of which, they urged, that the *Locrians* began to send their Daughters thither almost immediately after. To this *Strabo* answers two things. I. That *Homer* makes no mention of *Cassandra's* being ravished. II. That the *Locrians* began not to send their Virgins till the Times of the *Persian* Monarchy. There is a gross Mistake in the Translation of these Words of *Strabo*: Αἱ γὰρ Λοκρίδες παρθένοι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀρξάμεναι ἐπέμποιον κατ' ἔτος (38); for instead of *Locrenses* quidem virginis paulo post ceperunt Ilium mitti quotannis, the Translator has it *Locrenses*, &c. mitti more usitato: Which signifies that this Custom was more ancient than the War of *Troy*. And this in short is a Blunder of the Translator.

[*F*] *Theon*, the Sophist, has made an Observation, of which I intend to say something. This Observation is a Precept in Rhetoric, touching the manner of refusing a Narration. The Matter of Fact, says he, ought to be denied, either in affirming it to be a Thing impossible, or very unlikely; but, if it is manifestly true, we must then go another way to work, and enquire if the Narration be perfect in all its Parts, or whether it contains something needless, or if one Part of it does not contradict another. If it can stand this Scrutiny, see whether it be attended with Decency and Utility: for, as certain Actions ought not to have been committed, so after Commission ought they not to be reported, but lie buried in Silence. How unlearnedly would it therefore be, after having represented *Ajax* guilty of that Impiety, he is said to have committed, to add, that he suffered no Misfortunes thereupon either by Sea or at home, but lived to a good old Age. It is easy to conceive, that *Theon* means, that, if some Orators had related *Ajax's* Adventures, without breaking the Rules but in this one particular, viz. of not suppressing the good Fortune which attended his Impiety; there would be no other Means left of refusing their Narration, but to object, that they were not silent in a Point, wherein they ought to have been so. The Common-Place of Usefulness and Decorum would be the only Weapon to be opposed against them: They would be liable to censure, only for having exposed to the Eyes of the Public a fortunate Impiety; a thing which is repugnant to Decency, and may prejudice good Manners. I must give the Reader this *Greek* Sophist's own Words; for they have something very surprizing in them, and are little conformable to the Laws of History, or to Sincerity; but Rhetoric has some peculiar Rules of its own (39). Εἰ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα κατὰ τὸν τρόπον εἴη διαβεβαιωμένα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπρεπὲς τε, καὶ ἀσύμφορον δεκτικόν. Ἐστὶ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπερχομένων μὲν ἐν ἐχθρῶν, φθάσαντα δὲ περὶ χεῖρας, σιωπᾶσθαι συμφέρον, οἷον, εἰ τις τὸν Λοκρὸν Αἰαντᾶ τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀσεβῆσαι, οἷα λέγεται, ἔπειτα ὑπόδοξο, μήτε ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, μήτε

(34) *Id. ibid. ver. 1141.*

(35) *Lycophrone ver. 1153. Scholiast. Homer. in li. xiii, ver. 66, ex Callimacho.*

(36) *Ælian. apud Suidam, pag. 652. in τοῦτο.*

(37) *Strabo, lib. xiii, pag. 413.*

(38) *Strabo, lib. edit. Genav. 1587.*

(39) See the Remark [A], of the Article CASSIUS (TITUS). See also the end of Remark [B] of the Article CASSIUS Family.

R r r

(e) Homer. Odyss. lib. xi, Hygin. cap. xvii, Philostrat. in Cassandra.

(f) Pausan. lib. ii, pag. 147, Edit. Lips. 1696.

(g) See Remark [D].

(h) Pausan. ibid.

(i) Id. lib. iiii, pag. 277.

(k) Lycoph. ver. 1128, &c.

(l) A Town of the Peloponnesus.

(m) Ex Plut. in Agide & Cleom. pag. 799.

temnestra jealous, and was one of the Reasons that provoked her to murder her Husband (e) [H]. *Cassandra* was not spared: she was massacred at the same time. In the same manner they treated two Boys, Twins, which she had by *Agamemnon* (f). She was very handsome, and had been sought for in Marriage by great Men (g). Her Sepulchre proved a Subject of Dispute between the City of *Mycenæ*, and that of *Amyclæ* (h). Each of them pretended they had it. She had a Temple erected to her at *Leuëira*, where her Statue was worshipped, under the Name of *Alexandra* (i) [I].

Lycophron speaks of a Temple built to *Cassandra* by the *Daunians*, and by the Inhabitants of *Dardania*, where her Statue served for an *Asylum* to those Virgins, who had no mind to marry, and who founded their Denial upon the Homeliness, or mean Extraction, of the Gallants that courted them. The Remedy they made use of on this Occasion, was to embrace the Statue of *Cassandra*. But they were first to dress themselves up like *Furies*, and change their Complexion, by the Application of some Drugs designed for that Purpose. They devoted themselves, after a very particular manner, to the Worship of *Cassandra*, and adored her as a Deity (k). This Passage in *Lycophron* is one of those he has expressed with the greatest Clearness [K]; and yet it is impossible for us to find any Authority for it in the Authors now remaining. Hence it is, that the Commentaries of our Critics are very dry upon that Place.

Plutarch tells us, that there was, at *Tbaleme* (l), an Oracle of *Pasiphaë*, and that some were of Opinion that *Cassandra* died in that Place, and had the Surname *Pasiphaë* given her, because she uttered Oracles to every one (m).

μήτε οἶκος κακὸν τι αὐτὸν πεποδῶτα, ἐν γῆρᾳ μετ' ἐνδαιμονίας τελευτηκῆναι. Quæ omnia si, quemadmodum oportet, se habebunt, ad indecorum & inutile deveniemus. Sunt enim quedam, quæ quemadmodum fieri non debent, ita postquam facta sunt, silentio involvi præstat. Ut si quis Ajaetem Locrensem ita impium fuisse erga Minervæ numen, ut fertur, ostendat: ac deinde neque in navigatione, neque domi quicquam illi triste accidisse, senemque vita feliciter defunctum probet (40). However, this makes for the Tradition of the Punishment inflicted on *Cassandra*'s Ravisher.

[G] *Agamemnon* was not displeased with *Cassandra*. [H] He fell in love with her, if *Euripides* may be credited (41), and obtained her from the *Greeks*, as a particular Distinction. She was not disposed of by *Lot*, but set a-part as a Present for that King (42), who made her his Concubine (43). I have elsewhere taken notice of *Horace*'s wrong Argument. It is under the Article *BRISEIS* (44): The Poet would prove, that his Friend has no reason to be ashamed of loving a Servant Maid, since *Agamemnon* thought it no Disgrace to him to be in love with King *Priam*'s Daughter:

Arsit Atreides medio in triumpho
Virgine raptâ (45).

Amidst the Triumph of his conquering Arms,
Atreides sig'd for fair *Cassandra*'s Charm.

Hyginus should not have said, that *Oeax*, to revenge his Brother *Palamedes*'s Death, told *Clytemnestra* a Lie, assuring her, without any Grounds for it, that her Husband was bringing a Rival, or rather a Concubine, home with him, meaning *Cassandra* (46); for it was no more than what was true. *Pausanias* tells us, that *Cassandra* was with Child by *Agamemnon*, and was actually delivered of Twins, who were murdered, by *Ægistheus*, upon their Father's Tomb (47).

[H] *Clytemnestra* was jealous, and it was one of the Reasons that provoked her to murder her Husband. [I] *Hyginus*, in the Place before quoted, says, that the Discourse of *Palamedes*'s Brother had the desired Effect. *Clytemnestra*, being informed that her Husband was bringing *Cassandra* home, was resolved to get rid of them both, and did it accordingly. She confesses, in *Euripides*, that the Injury, her Husband did her in sacrificing *Iphigenia*, would not have provoked her to murder him; but he returned, said she, with a fanatical Wench, whom he placed in my Bed, so that we were two Brides under one Roof.

Ἄλλ' ἢ λυθ' ἔχων μοι Μαῖνᾶδ' ἐνθεον κόρην
Λύκτροις τ' ἐπισφῆρκε, καὶ νύμφα δῶω
Ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δωμασὶ κατέχομεν.

Sed venit adducens mihi *Menadem*, afflatam numine puellam, & *lestris* intulit, & sponsæ duæ in iisdem ædibus continebantur (48). *Meziriæ* imagines, that *Pindar* assigned these two Reasons for *Clytemnestra*'s Attempt; but he is mistaken: *Pindar*'s two Reasons are, the Remembrance of *Iphigenia*'s Sacrifice, and the Apprehension of *Agamemnon*'s Anger. She had been leading a very dissolute Life in his Absence (49), which she thought could not long be kept concealed, nor go unpunished: This is manifestly *Pindar*'s Sense; and I wonder it escaped *Meziriæ*'s Eyes. See his Notes upon *Ovid*'s Epistles, p. 891.

[I] She was worshipped under the Name of *Alexandra*. [J] She was known as well by this, as That of *Cassandra*; witness *Lycophron*'s Poem; it is called *Alexandra*, because it is a Prophecy, which the Poet ascribes to *Cassandra*. *Tzetzes*'s Conceit is very pleasant; he would have her called *Alexandra*, παρὰ τὸ ἀλύξαι τὴν ἀνδρῶν συνουσίαν, because she avoided Copulation, or, to express myself in *Meziriæ*'s Terms, because she avoided a carnal Conjunction with Men. I believe she as heartily avoided Fire, Water, and Precipices. So that the Etymology of her Name might as well be drawn from thence.

[K] *Lycophron* speaks of a Temple of *Cassandra*, This Passage is one of those he has expressed with the greatest Clearness. And yet the Disposition of his Words admit of a great many Doubts. For we cannot tell whether he means, that these honest Girls were to be secured from Matrimony, by virtue of *Cassandra*'s Statue, or whether he ascribes that Virtue to the Habits they should wear, and to the Ointments with which they should change their Complexions. The latter Sense is not absurd; for it is easy to imagine, that their new Equipage was a Remedy for Love. Observe the Words of this Poet:

Ἐμὲν περιπτύξουσιν ὠλέαναις βρέτας
Ἀλλὰς μέγιστον κτώμεναι νυμφευμάτων
Ἐεννύων ἐσθῆτα καὶ ῥέβος βαρὺς
Πεπαμῆναι θρόνοις φαρμακῆνρῖοις.

Meam ulnis amplectentur statuam,
Remedium nuptiarum habituræ maximum,
Furiarum vestem & faciei tincturam
Coloribus adeptæ medicatis (50).

They shall embrace my Statue, and meet with the surest Remedy against Matrimony, having obtained the Garb of the *Furies*, and a Complexion altered by Ointments. This sort of *Asylum* was very rare; it was found, doubtless, to be of no use. This, perhaps, is the only one to be met withal; yet it was unknown to the Historians and Geographers.

(48) *Euripid. in Electra*, ver. 1032, pag. 627.

(49) Ἡ ἐρίφω λήξει δαμαλίζομένην ἔννοχοι παράγων κοῖται. An alieno in cubili lascivientem more juvenæ nocturnâ transveriam egerunt concubitus *Pindor. Pyth. Od. xi*, pag. 670.

(50) *Lycophrona*, ver. 1135.

CASSIUS

CASSIUS, the Name of a Roman Family. They, who are contented to say that it was *Patrician*, are as much out as they who absolutely affirm it to have been no other than *Plebeian* (a) [A]. *Antonius Augustinus* (b), and *Corradus* (c), say, upon better Grounds, that there were two Families of this Name, the one *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. For we meet with one *Cassius*, who was Consul a few Years after the Extinction of the Royalty, and a long time before the *Plebeians* had obtained, in the Year of Rome 387, to be admitted to the Consular Dignity. So likewise we read of another *Cassius*, Tribune of the People, an Office conferred on none but *Plebeians*. This *Cassius* was Tribune about the beginning of the VIIth Century of the Republic. Wherefore it follows, that either there were two Families of the *Cassii*, one *Patrician*, the other *Plebeian*, as *Suetonius* has observed in That of the *Claudii* (d); or, that the same Family, *Cassia*, which was *Patrician* at first, became afterwards *Plebeian*, as it has happened to several others. However, I think it no easy thing to determine the Matter [B]. The ancient Authors are not over clear in this Point. It seems *Tacitus* knew of no other Family *Cassia*, but the *Plebeian* [C], or else he knew that the *Plebeian* was no ways descended from the *Cassii Patricians*.

(a) Glandorp. Onomastic pag. 202.

(b) In Famil. Romanis.

(c) In Brutum Ciceronis, pag. 178; but he is mistaken in saying there were several *Cassii* among the first Consuls; for there was but one.

(d) In Tiberio, init.

[A] They, who are contented to say it was *Patrician*, are as much mistaken, as they, who affirm it was only *Plebeian*. Richard Streinnius (1) ought not to have ranked this Family with the *Patricians*, without some Distinction. For, among all the *Cassii*, he speaks of, there is but one, who was undoubtedly a *Patrician*; the rest being of the same Family with That *L. Cassius Longinus*, whom he makes Tribune of the People in the Year of Rome 616. He knew how to reprove *Valerius Maximus* for having made a *Cassius*, who was both *Patrician* and *Consular*, Tribune of the People (2); but in the same Page he does something like it. *Glandorp* commits a quite contrary Fault; for, after having said, that the *Cassii* were *Plebeians*, he begins the Catalogue of the Men of that Name with him, who was condemned to Death for High-Treason, in the Year of Rome 269, after he had been thrice Consul (3). There were no Consuls chosen from among the *Plebeian* Families, till after the Year 387; nor were there ever any Tribunes of the People among the *Patricians*, purely as *Patricians*.

(1) In Stemmat. Gent. & Famili. ar. Romanar.

(2) Val. Maxim. lib. v, cap. viii.

(3) Glandorp. Onomastic pag. 202.

[B] Either there were two Families of the *Cassii* — or the *Cassian* Family, which was *Patrician* at first, became *Plebeian*. I think it no easy thing to determine the Matter. Cicero seems to set us right, when he says, that *Cassius*, *Julius Caesar's* Assassin, was born of a Family, that could not endure the supreme Dominion, nor so much as a great Power in any one Man whatsoever (4). Without doubt, he had then in his Eye That *Spurius Cassius*, who was condemned by his own Father, in the Year of Rome 269, for having aspired to the Royalty. Now it is most certain, that the *Cassii Longini*, of whom he, who conspired against *Caesar*, was one, were *Plebeians*: since therefore he was of that Family, *natus in ea familia*, that could not endure the Ambition of *Spurius Cassius*; may we not from thence conclude, that the *Plebeian* Family of the *Cassii* was descended from the *Patrician*? But it may be answered, That *Cicero*, in this Place, is no sufficient

Witness; for, besides that he speaks cursorily and obscurely of *Spurius Cassius's* Adventure, which he could never have done, had he been certain of the Matter, we may observe he supposes in the same Place, that *Brutus*, *Julius Caesar's* Murderer, was descended from him, who expelled *Tarquin*; which, notwithstanding, is a thing very much to be doubted (5). We may therefore say, that *Cicero* behaved himself then like an artful Advocate, who lays hold of every thing he thinks advantageous to his Cause. See *Corradus* upon these Words in *Cicero's Brutus*: 'Concessum est Rhetoribus ementiri in historiis ut aliquid dicere possint argutius. — Rhetoricians are allowed to falsify in History, for the sake of a smart Expression.' *Brutus* and *Cassius* were not displeased to have it thought they were descended from those of the same Name, who had so eminently distinguished themselves; and, without doubt, their Adherents took care to have it spread abroad upon Occasion. There was likewise a Report, tho' less probable, that *Spurius Cassius* received his Punishment from his own Father's Hand. *Cicero* found this would be of Service to his Cause; and therefore he laid hold of it. Which an Orator might do, tho' those things were very uncertain; so that *Cicero's* Authority in this Place does not remove the Uncertainty.

(5) See, above, Remark [K], of the Article BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS.)

[C] It seems *Tacitus* knew of no other Family of the *Cassii*, but the *Plebeian*. For, speaking of *L. Cassius*, who was married to *Drusilla*, *Germanicus's* Daughter, he speaks of him as being of a *Plebeian* Family, but a Family very ancient and illustrious by their Office (6). *Plebei Romæ generis, verum antiqui honoratique* (7). If *Streinnius* had thought of this Passage, he had changed the Situation of this Family in his Book, or made himself better understood. The *Cassii Longini* were, without doubt, all *Plebeians*. It is therefore a Mistake in *William Grotius* (8), to say, that *Caius Cassius Longinus* was of a *Patrician* Family.

(6) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. xv.

(7) See the preceding Remark.

(8) In vitis Jurisconsultorum, pag. 108.

CASSIUS VISCCELLINUS (SPURIUS), after having been thrice Consul, once General of the Horse (a), under the first Dictator Rome ever had, and twice honoured with a Triumph, was condemned to Death, *An. Rom.* 269, for having aspired to the Royalty (b). Mr *Moreri* gives us here two Articles, instead of one [A]; and, besides that, is guilty of four Errors [B]. He knew not how

(a) In *Calepinus*, the General of the Horse is not well distinguished from *Spurius Cassius*, thrice Consul, &c.

(b) See Remark [A].

VALERIUS Maximus, not over exact, is misfunderford by *Moreri*.

[A] Mr *Moreri* is pleased to present us with two Articles instead of one. He has chosen the worst Method he could take in regard to our *Spurius Cassius*, whom he distinguishes from him spoken of in the fifth Book and eighth Chapter of *Valerius Maximus*. It is very easy to perceive, if we diligently examine the Originals, that He, whom *Valerius Maximus* speaks of in this Place, is the same with Him, whose Punishment he takes notice of in another (1), and whose History is handed down to us by *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassus*. There is nothing there but the Punishment of one and the same Man; but, because the Circumstances are differently related, and *Valerius Maximus*, who is far from being an exact Compiler, speaks of it sometimes

(1) Lib. vi, cap. iii.

after one manner, sometimes after another, Mr *Moreri* chose rather to multiply Beings, without any Necessity, than to keep to the most reasonable, or rather, if I dare say so, the only reasonable Opinion, viz. That which reduces the whole Matter to the only Fact mentioned in the Text of this Article. Let us examine into the Grounds of these Confusions.

Dionysius Halicarnassus (2) and *Livy* (3) allow, that the most probable Opinion is, that the two Quæstors accused *Spurius Cassius* before the People, and, having obtained Sentence of Death against him, caused him to be executed. *Livy*, however, tell us, as a less likely Tradition, that *Cassius* had no other Judge but his own Father, who, having

DIFFERENT Accounts of this *Cassius's* Condemnation.

(2) Antiq. Rom. lib. viii.

(3) Decad. i, lib. ii.

to rectify *Valerius Maximus*. No more did That Author's Commentators [C]. All things

called his Son to a Trial in his own House, caused him to be whipped, and put to Death; after which he consecrated to *Ceres* his Son's *Peculium*. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us a second Tradition, though not so probable, yet delivered in Books worthy our Belief; which is, That *Cassius*'s Father, having first suspected his Son, examined into the bottom of the Affair, acquainted the Senate with it, and produced those Proofs; upon whose Authority his Son received Sentence of Death from them; after which his Father carried the condemned Criminal home, and put him to death. Among other Reasons, for which *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* opposes this Tradition, this is one; viz. That, even in his Time, the Place, where *Cassius*'s House stood, was to be seen near the Temple of the Earth, which House had been razed after his Punishment. He adds, That, in process of time, part of the Ground was allotted out to build the Temple of the Earth upon, and that the other part thereof was left empty and open. I would not relate these Circumstances, but only to make it more plainly appear, that Mr *Moreri* did not well understand those Authors, whose Authority he produces to prove there were two *Cassii* put to death.

For, if he had judiciously compared *Valerius Maximus*, the main Cause that led him into his Mistake, with the two Historians I have quoted, he would have found, that this Author speaks only of the *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, mentioned by those two Historians. In effect, what says *Valerius Maximus* in the eighth Chapter of his fifth Book? That *Cassius*, imitating *Brutus*'s Example, and, knowing that his Son, Tribune of the People, had proposed a Law never heard of before (it was the *Lex Agraria*), and that he gained himself a strong Party by his factious and popular Intrigues, condemned him in his own House, assisted by his Friends and Relations, for having a Design to make himself King; that he ordered him, after he had been whipped, to be put to death, and consecrated his *Peculium* to *Ceres*. In the third Chapter of his fifth Book he tells us how enraged the People were at *Spurius Cassius*, and that they had less regard to his two Triumphs, and three Consulates, than the Apprehensions of his Ambition, and that the Senate and People, not contented with his Death, pulled down his House, and raised, in the room of it, a Temple to the Earth. It is very plain, that all he says in both these Places, except the gross Mistake of having made one of the *Cassian* Family Tribune of the People at that time (4), agrees with *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, according to the different Circumstances of his Trial, as related by *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. I own he there seems to be deceived, and that it is better, since he cannot be altogether excused, to allow, that of one and the same Matter of Fact he made up two, than to say, He falsified the Circumstances of a Trial, with an Intent, in one Place, to shew the Severity of a Father, and in another that of the People. But Mr *Moreri* should have corrected this Author by the Authority of good Historians.

[B] And besides that, he is guilty of four Errors.] I. He would find it a hard Task to prove, that the Father of our *Cassius* was called *Spurius*. II. He has placed the pretended *Spurius Cassius* very injudiciously in the Year of Rome 230; for, since he is not taken notice of but for his Severity to his Son, it follows, that this Severity was exercised very near that time. If so, *Cassius* must of necessity have punished his Son in *Tarquin*'s Time, and there must have been Tribunes of the People before the Expulsion of *Tarquin*, than which nothing can be more false and absurd. Therefore that Chronology concerning the Year 230 of Rome is wrong. Let us add, in the third place, That it only serves to confound the Author that makes use of it; for, if *Spurius Cassius* was living at that time, his Son must have been Tribune of the People very near the Time, to which *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* refer the Punishment of *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, viz. in the Year of Rome, 269; which proves, that *Moreri* had no reason to conceive two *Cassii* punished almost at the same time, one by his own Father, the other by the People, for aiming at the Throne, by means of the *Lex Agraria*.

For two such Examples almost at the same time, in two Persons of the same Name, and for the same Offence, would never have escaped the Observation of so many Historians, who have not left us one Word of it. But, fourthly, he should not have barely said *Cassius* had a Son who was Tribune, but that he was Tribune of the People, and have refuted the pretended Dignity *Valerius Maximus* confers upon him. The learned *Manutius* has suffered himself to be misguided in this Point by *Valerius Maximus* (5).

[C] No more did that Author's Commentators.] The *Valerius Maximus Variorum* (6) gives us no reason to think they were sensible of their Author's Blunders. No body enquires if his *Cassius*, in the fifth Book, be the same with him in the sixth, or thinks it strange that the Sentence and Execution in the fifth Book, should be a Domestic Affair, and in the sixth the Affair of the Senate and People. One of these Commentators refers the *Cassius* of the Sixth Book to the Year of Rome 668, which is only Four hundred Years lower than it ought to be. Father *Cantel*, the *Dauphin*'s Scholiast, thinks it enough to observe, on the Passage in the fifth Book, that the Author agrees neither with *Livy*, nor *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; but he ought also to have observed, either there or on the sixth Book, that he is inconsistent with himself. As to this last Passage, he refers us to Places that are nothing to the purpose. We ought to be more careful of Numbers, in Works designed for the Instruction of Youth.

The same Commentators are so favourable to their Author, as not to reproach him for having spoken too negligently of the Temple of the Earth. His Expressions about it make it appear he was willing we should think the Building of this Temple was one of the Articles of the Sentence pronounced against *Cassius*, and one of the chief Reasons of his Punishment. 'Senatus Populusque Romanus, says he (7), non contentus capitali cum supplicio afficere, interempto domum superjecit, ut Penatium quoque strage puniretur, in solo autem aedem Telluris fecit. Itaque quod prius domicilium impotentis viri fuerat, nunc religiosae severitatis monumentum est. — The Senate and People of Rome, not satisfied with putting him to death, pulled down his House, that he might be punished likewise in the Destruction of his Penates, and upon the Spot built the Temple of the Earth. What therefore was formerly the Habitation of a weak Man, is now a Monument of religious Severity.' It is plain he looks on the building of this Temple as part of the Punishment inflicted on *Cassius*. This a Commentator ought to have censured, since it was observed before, upon the same Subject (8), that the Temple of the Earth, vowed by *T. Sempronius*, was built, according to *Servius*, in That Part of the City, which was called *Carinae*; for it appears from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, that the Temple of the Earth, built on part of the Ground, where *Cassius*'s House stood formerly, was towards That Part of the City. Wherefore That Temple was not built till near Two hundred Years after *Cassius*'s Execution (9), and therefore was not designed to aggravate his Punishment: and indeed they would have thought of it very late; accordingly we see that *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* makes no Connexion between that Punishment and the building of the Temple, but looks on them as two Things of very different Dates.

The Temple of the Earth, which *Pliny* takes notice of (10), was built long before That vowed by *Sempronius*. But this will not serve to justify *Valerius Maximus*; for, if the Dispute was to be determined by this Passage, it must be confessed, that this Temple of the Earth preceded *Cassius*'s Punishment. In effect, *Pliny*'s Words imply, that, Anno 596, the Censors ordered several Statues to be removed, and even That of *Spurius Cassius*, who had aimed at the Royalty, and which he had erected in the Temple of the Earth, to be melted down. Perhaps, instead of the Temple of the Earth, it ought to have been said the Temple of *Ceres*: for, as it was *Spurius Cassius*, who, during his second Consulship, dedicated the Temple of *Ceres* (11), which

(5) Fuit in ea familia (*Cassia*) qui necari filium voluerit, quod Agrariam legem tribunus plebis tulisset, quasi de regno cogitaret. *Paulus Manut.* in *Cicero*. Philipp. 2.

(6) Ex nova recensione A. Thysii. *Lugd. Batav.* 1655. in 8vo.

A MISTAKE of *Valerius Maximus*, about the Temple of the Earth.

(7) Lib. vi. cap. iii.

(8) Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 534. Vix.

(9) *Sempronius* vowed it in the War with the Picentines, *An.* Rom. 485.

THE Temple of the Earth mentioned by *Pliny*.

(10) Lib. xxxiv. cap. vi.

(11) *Dion.* Hal. lib. vi.

(4) He has committed another Mistake, of which hereafter.

things rightly considered, Mr Hoffman is, at least, as much in the wrong as Mr Moreri [D].

which *Posthumus* the Dictator had made a Vow of three Years before, it is not unlikely he chose to erect his Statue there sooner than any where else. But of this I dare not be certain. I only add, that neither *Charles Stephens*, *Calepin*, *Lloyd*, or *Hoffman*, who quote *Valerius Maximus's* Words, take notice of his Mistake.

OBSERVATION
on Pliny and
Father Hardouin.

(12) Lib. xxxiv,
cap. iv. Florus
follows that Tra-
dition likewise,
lib. i. cap. xxvi.

I shall observe, by the by, that *Pliny* follows the Tradition, according to which the Father condemned and punished his Son in his own House (12); and one would think that Father *Hardouin* was tender of *Pliny's* Honour, in his Note upon the Passage of that Author. For, having quoted the Words of *Livy*, who says, that the Thing was related by some in the same manner, he adds, that *Valerius Maximus* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* affirm it likewise, and that others maintain that *Cassius* was precipitated. No body would be able to guess, by this, what was the true Opinion of *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, which does not at all agree with *Pliny's*. If this Account be not altogether exact, we may very well excuse the Author, whose learned Commentary is the Effect of an uncommon Vigilance and Application.

[D] Mr Hoffman is, at least, as much in the wrong, as Mr Moreri.] For if, on one side, Mr Mo-

reris is mistaken, when he makes *Spurius Cassius's* Father flourish in the Year of Rome 230, Hoffman, on the other, is as much deceived, when he supposes *Valerius Maximus* to have said, that, after the Son had been whipped, and executed, by his Father's Order, the Booty was applied to the building a Temple to *Ceres*. *Templo dein Ceresis ex prædâ extructo*. We have already observed (13), that *Cassius* dedicated this Temple, and therefore it could not be built after his Death. Besides, a Rebel's confiscated Estate was never called a Booty. To conclude, If he had a mind to cavil upon the Account of the many Temples built to *Ceres*; we might at least urge the Words of that antient Author against him; 'Verberibus affectum necari iussit, ac peculium ejus Ceresi consecravit' (14). — He ordered 'him to be whipped, and then put to death, and dedicated his Effects to Ceres.' Do these Words imply the building a Temple to *Ceres*? And, since he was willing to specify the Use that was to be made of this *Peculium* consecrated to *Ceres*, why did he not consult *Livy* (15), *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (16), and *Pliny* (17), who all tell us that they made a brazen Statue out of it.

(12) In Citation
(11), above.

(13) Val. Max.
lib. v. cap. viii.

(14) Val. Max.
lib. v. cap. viii.

(15) Lib. ii.

(16) Rom. Antiq.
lib. viii.

(17) Lib. xxxiv,
cap. iv.

CASSIUS LONGINUS (*LUCIUS*), lived in the VIIth Century of Rome. He was a Judge of such inflexible Severity, that his Tribunal was called the *Rock of the Accused* [A]. I am of Opinion that he ought to be distinguished from That *Lucius Cassius*, of whom *Cicero* speaks in his Book of the famous Orators, and in his third Book *de Legibus* [B], but not from him who brought that famous Maxim

CUI

[A] His Tribunal was called The Rock of the Accused. It is not to *Cicero* that we are obliged for this Particular, as *Julian Brodeau* imagined, and for which he is, with as much Modesty as Justice, reprehended by Mr Menage (1), but to *Valerius Maximus* (2), who did it by way of Complement to *Marc Antony*, the *Triumvir's* Grandfather. This *Marc Antony* was one of the best Orators in his Time. Whilst he was going into *Asia*, in Quality of Questor, he heard that he was summoned to appear before the dreadful Tribunal of *L. Cassius* the Pretor, which Tribunal was called *Scopulum Reorum*, there to answer to the Crime of Incest alledged against him. He, waving the Benefit of the Laws, which forbid any Process against those, who were absent *Reipublicæ causa*, returned to Rome, appeared, and was acquitted (3). A modern Author imagines, that *Caius Aquilius* was the Man, whose Tribunal was called *The Rock of the Accused* (4). This *Aquilius* was Pretor at the same time with *Cicero* (5).

(1) Amonitat.
Juris, cap. xliii,
pag. 420. Edit.
Francof. 1680.

(2) Lib. iii, cap.
vii, not. 9, ut
apud Menagium.
Ibid.

(3) See, above,
the Article AN-
TONY (MARC)
the Orator, Ci-
tation (a).

(4) Bibliothèque
Universelle,
Tom. XIII, pag.
221.

(5) Bertrand in
vitis Juris, pag.
223, for which
he quotes Cicero's
Topics.

(6) A Law per-
mitting the Peo-
ple no longer to
vote viva voce,
but to deliver
their Suffrage in
Writing. See
Morérius upon
Alexander ab A-
lexandro, lib. iv,
cap. iii. pag.
894.

A FALSE Ci-
tation of F. Can-
tel.

(7) In. lib. iii,
cap. vii, p. 479,
180.

[B] He ought to be distinguished from That *Lucius Cassius*, whom *Cicero* mentions in his *Treatise of Illustrious Orators*, and in his Third Book *de Legibus*. *Cicero's* Description of him makes it evident, that he is speaking of *L. Cassius*, Tribune of the People, Anno 616; for he attributes to him the *Lex Tabellaria* (6), enacted under the Consulate of *M. Lepidus* and *C. Mancinus*. There is no doubt that *Lucius Cassius*, Consul in the Year 626, and Censor in 628, is the same with him who was Tribune of the People in 616. It is not likely therefore that his Tribunal was called *The Rock of the Accused*; for then we must suppose, that, after having attained to the highest Employment in the Republic, he re-descended to the Pretorship about twelve or thirteen Years after; since the Pretor, of whom *Valerius Maximus* speaks in relation to *Marc Antony's* Cause, must needs have been in that Office about the Year 640; otherwise we must suppose That Author not to have been so exact as he ought, when he expressed the Qualities of *L. Cassius*.

Father *Cantel*, in his Notes upon the *Valerius Maximus in usum Delphini* (7), removes the whole Difficulty at once: He tells us, that *L. Cassius*, by an extraordinary Creation made Pretor, after he had been both Consul and Censor, because he had the Reputation of being a very severe Man, obtained, by an Order of the People, an Authority of en-

quiring into Crimes of Incest, at a Time when the Priests were complained of for having proceeded too gently against the Vestal Virgins accused of Uncleanness. The Mischiefs is, that neither *Livy's* Abridgment, nor *Africanus Pedianus*, both which the Father quotes, speak one word of the Matter. The Abridgment of *Livy* says only (8), that *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Martia*, Vestal Virgins, were condemned for Incest, and that there was an Account how this Incest had been committed, discovered, and punished. A noble Piece of History lost! What a Misfortune is it that we cannot hear the Grave, Majestic *Livy* upon it! It is pity likewise that we do not know all that *Dion* wrote concerning the Process of these Vestals. We meet with something of it in the *Excerpta* published by *Valesius* in 1636 (9). But let us examine *Africanus Pedianus's* Words; he is something particular, especially in what relates to *L. Cassius*. 'When *Sextus Peduceus*, says he (10), Tribune of the People, accused *L. Metellus*, High Priest, and the whole College of the Priests, for not having found the Vestals guilty of Incest, punishing only *Æmilia*, and suffering the other two, *Marcia* and *Licinia*, to be acquitted; the People deputed *L. Cassius*, a Man of extraordinary Severity, to take out a fresh Information against them, who not only condemned those two, but several others with them; for which it was thought he behaved with too much Rigour in the matter.'

(8) Epit. 63.

(9) Pag. 628.

(10) African. Pe-
dian. in Orat. Ci-
cer. pro Milone.

It does not in the least appear from this Passage, that *L. Cassius* had before this been Consul and Censor, nor that the Pretorship had been conferred upon him after an extraordinary manner: however, it may be inferred from hence, by making some allowance, that he obtained then from the People an extraordinary and special Commission, such as those of the *Grand-jours* in France, or Mr *Boucherat's* Commission (11), by virtue of which he took cognizance of Poisoners and Witches in 1680. So that, provided we suppose *Valerius Maximus* to have expressed himself very ill in representing to us That Man as a simple Pretor, who had already discharged the highest Employments of the Common-wealth, and who was at that time invested with an extraordinary Authority, that he might enquire into some very important Causes; we may allow *L. Cassius*, Tribune of the People in 616, Consul in 626, and Censor in 628, to have presided at a Trial of Incest about the Year 640, and to have been *Marc Antony* the

(11) Mr Boucher-
rat was Chancel-
lor of France in
1685, after ha-
ving passed thro'
the most eminent
Offices of the
Gown. He died
in September,
1693.

CUI BONO into Credit [C]; nor from him who, according to *Salust*, was Pretor An. Rom. 642 [D]. The judicial Severity of this *Cassius* made all rigid Judges be called

(12) *Tum L. Cassius multum potuit non eloquentia sed dicendo tamen; homo non liberalitate, ut alii, sed ipsa tristitia & severitate popularis. — At that time L. Cassius had great Authority, tho' not by Eloquence, yet by his manner of speaking; a Man popular, not through Liberality, like others, but thro' Gravity and Severity itself.* Cicero in *Bruto*, cap. xxv.

WHETHER we know from which *Cassius* comes the Maxim *Cui Bono*,

(13) Cicero in *Verr. Orat. ii.*, speaking of one *Cassius*, made military Tribune during *Verrès's Trial*.

(14) *Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. cap. xii.*, speaking of one *Cassius*, who, even in times of Peace, vigorously maintained a military Discipline in his Government of Syria.

(15) Cicero has the same Observation in *Orat. pro Milone*, cap. xii, & *Philipp. 2*, cap. xiv.

WHETHER a Consul descended to the Office of a Pretor.

(16) In *Vita Cicronis*.

(17) *Lib. xxxvii.*

(18) *Lib. xlii.*

(19) *Id. Dio, lib. xlvii.*

(20) In *Orat. Cic. contra C. Anton*, &c.

the Orator's Judge. According to the Character *Cicero* has left of him (12), he will appear a fit Man to acquire the Reputation of being the Rock of the Accused: though, on the other hand, Severity was a Quality so customary in that Family, that it is not easy to decide, if he, who had this terrible Reputation, was the Tribune of the Year 616, or his Son, or his Brother, or his Nephew, or his Cousin. *L. Cassius ex familia tum ad ceteras res tum ad iudicandum severissima* (13). — *Lucius Cassius of a Family remarkable for its Severity in every thing, particularly in Judgment.* Add to this a Passage in *Tacitus*: *Ita dignum maioribus suis & familia Cassia per illas quoque gentes celebrata* (14). — *Thus worthy of his Ancestors, and the Cassian Family, famous likewise among those People.*

This Question is as far from being determined from this Observation, viz. that *Cicero*, who several times takes notice of the Maxim *cui bono*, introduced by one *L. Cassius* a very severe Judge, the same no doubt with him, whose Tribunal was called *Scopulus Reorum*, takes no notice that he had ever been Consul and Censor: for to this it may be answered, that his Business being only to represent the Qualities of a good Judge, it was unnecessary to name his other Employments; and that otherwise one might pretend that *L. Cassius*, Tribune of the People in 616, of whom *Cicero* speaks in his Book of the famous Orators, never was Consul nor Pretor, because *Cicero* mentions not a word of it. If I should be asked upon what grounds I pretend, that the Maxim *cui bono* was introduced by *L. Cassius*, the Rock of the Accused; I would produce that beautiful Passage in the *Oration pro Roscio Amerino*. — *L. Cassius ille quem populus Romanus verissimum & sapientissimum iudicem putabat, identidem in causis querere solebat cui bono fuisset* (15). *Sic vita hominum est, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur sine spe & atque emolumento accedere. Hunc quaesitorem ac iudicem fugiebant atque horrebant ii quibus periculum creabatur; ideo quod tametsi veritatis erat amicus, tamen naturam non tam propensum ad misericordiam, quam impudens ad severitatem videbatur.* Ego — facile me paterer vel illo ipso acerrimo iudice querente, vel apud *CASSIANOS* iudices, quorum etiam nunc illi, quibus causa dicenda est, nomen ipsum reformidant, pro *Sex. Roscio* dicere. — *Lucius Cassius, He, whom the Roman People esteemed to be the best and wisest of Judges, was wont, upon Causes, to enquire, who is the Gainer? Such is the nature of Mankind, that no one is wicked without the prospect of Advantage. They, who were in danger, fled from and dreaded this Inquisitor and Judge; for, though he was a Friend to Truth, yet he was naturally more inclined to Severity, than Mercy. For my own part — I should not be afraid to plead the Cause of Sextus Roscius before that severe Judge himself, or any Cassian Judge, whose very Name now affrights those, whose Cause is to be pleaded.*

I have mentioned a thing, which requires a Digression. I supposed, that they, who had exercised the highest Offices of the Republic, never descended to the Employment of a Pretor: and yet a Return to this Charge, after the Possession of the Consulate, is not without example; but this is a Case, which will not affect our *L. Cassius*. They, who had the Misfortune to be degraded, retired thither for a Rehabilitation. This we have from *Plutarch* (16), speaking of *Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, who was expelled the Senate after he had been Consul, and could not be restored till he had been a second time Pretor. *Dio* makes the same Observation upon this *Lentulus* (17); and, in another place (18), tells us, that *Salust* was made Pretor An. Rom. 706, that he might be re-admitted into the Senate. It was, without doubt, upon this very Motive, that the Triumvirs made *Ventidius* Pretor again (19), he, together with *Marc Antony*, having been declared Enemies to the Republic. This Office may, without this Reason, have been conferred twice upon the same Person; for we learn from *Africanus Pedianus* (20), that *Marius Gratidianus* was twice Pretor; and the Reason is, because he was extremely beloved by the People: but it is like-

ly there was no Interposition of the Consulate and Censorship between his two Pretorships: so that this Instance is not sufficient to illustrate what relates to our *Cassius*. The Example of *Mancinus*, who was made Pretor after all the Disgraces he suffered before *Numantia*, whilst he was Consul (21), amounts to nothing more than That of *Lentulus Sura*: But *Metellus Pius's* carrying the Pretorship and Pontifical Dignity from his Consular Competitors would be of some weight, if it might not be alleged, that these words in *Aurelius Victor*, *Adolescens in petitione Præturæ & Pontificatus, Consulibus viris prælatum est* (22), signify no more than that he had Consular Competitors for the Pontificate. We are not to imagine, that *Aurelius Victor*, nor those superior to him, observe, in their Narrations, that Logical Rule, viz. That a Proposition, compounded of several Subjects, is false, if the Attribute agrees not to each Subject, distinctly and separately taken. As for the Questorship, a Dignity inferior to That of Pretor, I cannot deny but it had been enjoyed by some, who before that had been Consuls; and let us see here what a learned Man has observed upon it: 'Though the Questors had no Right of Jurisdiction, no Power to summon any before them, or imprison them, *neque vocationem neque prebensionem haberent*, yet it was a Dignity, that Men, who had been Consuls, thought not fit to decline. *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* was Questor with *Martius Valerius*, after he had been thrice Consul; and so was *Cato* the elder, after he had triumphed, and gone through all Offices; nay, the *Lex Pompeia* provided, that none but Men of Consular Dignity should execute that Charge (23). But since the Pretorship has no Instance of the same nature, I have reason to suppose there was a Difference in this respect between those two Offices.

[C] — But not from Him, who brought into Credit the famous Maxim *CUI BONO*.] The Passage in the *Oration pro Roscio Amerino*, which I have quoted in the foregoing Remark, shews what this Maxim meant, and the use the Pretor *L. Cassius* made of it. I add here, that it contains a great deal of Sense in it, and that it is founded upon a Principle, which meets with but few Exceptions in the World, viz. That no one transgresses without the Prospect of an Advantage; and that in criminal matters Presumption is against those who are Gainers by them. I speak of Crimes punishable by earthly Judges. For which reason *Cassius* the Pretor thought, upon good grounds, that, in criminal Trials, the Judge went a great way, if he could discover of what Advantage the Crime in question might be to the Accused. Not but there are some, whom no Advantage can induce to commit a Crime (24), as there are others, who will do it for a very little Profit, or even not to break a Custom of being wicked (25): However, this no ways weakens *Cassius's* Maxim; we know very well, that, in things of this nature, there can be no Rules of a metaphysical or even physical Generality. See the Use *Hobbs* makes of this Maxim in the Fifty seventh Chapter of his *Leviathan*; *la Motte le Vayer* in his Discourse upon History, p. 201. *Tom. ii.* of the Edition in 12^o, and the Author of divers Thoughts upon Comets, p. 683.

[D] — nor from Him, who, according to *Salust*, was Pretor An. Rom. 642.] This Pretor may very well be the Author of the Maxim *cui bono*; and the Rock of the Accused; for *Salust* represents him as a Man of such extraordinary Probity, that his private Word went as far as the public Faith; which Consideration prevailed with *Jugurtha* to deliver himself up to the Mercy of the Romans; *Cassius*, who was sent to persuade him to come to Rome, having not only given him a safe Conduct from the Republic, but also his own Word. *Privatim præterea*, says *Salust*, *fidem suam interponit, quam ille (Jugurtha) non minoris quam publicam ducebat. Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat* (26). If this be the same with Him, of whom *Valerius Maximus* speaks in relation to *Marc Antony* the Orator, he must be a different Man from the Tribune of the People in 616; for it is very unlikely, that a Man, who

(21) *Aurel. Viæ*

(22) This Passage puts the Commentators to a great deal of trouble.

(23) *Du Boulay Threor des Antiquit. Romaines*, pag. 825.

(24) This is *Cicero's* Observation in the same Place, where he makes mention of *Cassius's* Maxim. *Illud Cassianum, Cui bono fuerit, in his personis valeat, est boni nullo emulamento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi sape parcos.*

(25) Si causa peccandi in præcis minus suppetebat, nihilominus infontes sicuti fontes circumvenire, jugulare. Scilicet ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratulatio potius malis atque crudelis erat. *Salust. in Bell. Catil. speaking of what Catiline executed by the Hands of his Creatures.* See *Cic. de Offic. lib. ii.* cap. xiv, p. 275.

(26) *Salust. in bello Jugurthino*, cap. xxxiii, fin.

called *Cassiani* [E]. The President *Bertrand* has ignorantly transferred this Honour to another *Cassius Longinus* [F]. A Mistake of *Corradus* shall be enquired into [G].

who had been Censor in 628, should be no more than meer Pretor in 642.

The *Variarum* Comment upon *Salust*, published by *Thyffius* at *Leyden* in 1656, mentions two very opposite Opinions. Some maintain, that *Cassius* the Pretor, who was dispatched to *Jugurtha*, was the same with him, who, when he was Tribune, made the *Lex Tabellaria* be ratified: Others say it was he, who, being Consul, some time after the Numidian Expedition (27), and commanding an Army against the *Gauls*, was cut to Pieces by the *Tigurini* (28). This last Opinion, to which *Sigonius* (24) and *Glandorp* assent, seems the most probable; for, if *L. Cassius*, who was overthrown by the *Tigurini* in 646, had been Tribune of the People in 616, he must have been the second time Consul in 646, of which the Consular Tables take no notice. He was rather, as *Sigonius* conceives, the Son of That Tribune, than the Tribune himself.

This to me appears very certain, that the *L. Cassius*, Author of the *Maxim cui bono*, and who was *Reorum Scopulus*, was he, who was Tribune of the People in 616; or he, who, being Pretor in 642, was sent to *Jugurtha*. The *Delphin* Commentator on *Cicero's* Orations, is of this last Opinion; to which *Valesius* (30) agreed before him, but without reprehending *Lindenbrogius*, who holds to the other side, and whom he has reproved upon another account in the very same Note. *Corradus*, in his Commentary upon *Cicero's Brutus*, and the *Delphin* Scholiast upon the same Book, *Glandorp*, and several others, are of *Lindenbrogius's* Opinion. I hope this will excite the Learned to search into the Bottom of the Question.

[E] His Severity made all rigid Judges be called *Cassiani*. This we have learned already from a Passage in *Cicero* (31): the Reader has here another of the same Author (32). *Non quæro iudices Cassianos, veterem iudiciorum severitatem non requiro. . . . I want not Cassian Judges, I require not the ancient judicial Severity.* *Cicero* had a little before said ironically; *etiam illum ipsum quem tu in cohorte tua Cassianum iudicem habebas. . . . Even He, the Cassian Judge, whom you had in your Cohort.* To this relates the Passage in *Ammianus Marcellinus's* Twenty sixth Book: *Jura quidem præstentur & leges, & Catonianæ, vel Cassianæ sententiæ, suo periti resident iudices; . . . There is indeed a specious Pretence of Law, and of Catonian or Cassian Determinations; and there is a formal Appearance of Judges.* And this other of *Marcus Aurelius* (33). *Pato me non errasse, siquidem & tu notum habes Cassium, hominem Cassianæ severitatis, & disciplinæ. . . . I believe I was not mistaken, since even you are acquainted with Cassius, a Man of Cassian Severity and Discipline.* To all this may be added a Passage in the same *Marcellinus's* Thirtieth Book concerning the Emperor *Valentinian*. *Judices nunquam consulto malignos elegit: sed si semel promotos agere didicet immaniter, Lycurgos invenisse se prædicabat & Cassios, columina justitiæ præcæ, scribensque hortabatur assidue ut noxas vel leves acerbius vindicarent. . . . He never purposely chose austere Judges: But if, when once promoted, he found, that they behaved with cruelty, he gave out, that he had met with Lycurgus's, and Cassius's, the supports of ancient*

Justice; and he was perpetually exhorting them by Letter to animadvert even severely on slight Offences. Observe, that *Lindenbrogius* refers *Marcellinus's* first Passage not to *Lucius Cassius*, but *Caius Cassius*, who lived in and after *Tiberius's* Reign, and who was chief of the *Cassian* Sect among the *Civilians*. He ought to have remembered, that, upon these words in the Twenty second Book of the same Historian, *Judicibus Cassiis tristior & Lycurgis*, he had observed, that the *Judices Cassiani* were so called from *L. Cassius*, of whom *Cicero* speaks in his *Brutus*, and of whom he pretends *Marcellinus* spoke in that place.

[F] The President *Bertrand* has ignorantly transferred this Honour to another *Cassius Longinus*. The Passages before quoted make up one of the greatest Elogies Posterity could find to render Justice to the Integrity of *L. Cassius*, and to immortalize that Passion he had to make the rigour of the Laws prevail in his Age. The President *Bertrand* is very much out here (34). He observes from *Suetonius*, that *Caius Cassius Longinus*, who lived under *Nero's* Reign, was blind, and he pretends that to be a signal Mark of an extreme Severity, which he proves in the Instances of *Cæcilius*, *Appius*, and *Catulus Messalinus*. He adds, that this *Cassius* was so severe a Judge, that his Bar was called *Scopulus Reorum*. There lies the Mistake; for he, whose Tribunal was so called, lived in the days of *Marc Antony* the Orator, about the Year of *Rome* 640, and more than One hundred and fifty Years before *Nero's* Reign. *Menage* (35) has observed it; as did likewise *William Grotius*, Brother to the great *Hugo Grotius*, long before (36). It is true he makes *Bertrand* say, that *Cassius* drew That Character upon him by his too great Cruelty; *propter nimiam sævitiam*; whereas *Bertrand* makes use of the Term *severitas*; but perhaps the least Criticism upon this would be to renew the *Cassian* Severity.

[G] I shall not forget a Mistake of *Corradus*. I have produced a Passage in *Cicero*, where he speaks of one *L. Cassius*, who, having been elected Military Tribune, could not have sat as *Verres's* Judge, if the Cause had been adjourned to the Year following. *Corradus* (37) imagined, either that *Africanus Pedianus's* Notes upon the Place had been falsified, or that the Commentator was mistaken in supposing, that *Cicero* was speaking of the same *L. Cassius*, who brought in the *Lex Tabellaria* in 617 (38). If *Africanus* had had that Thought, he had fallen into a very childish Error; for there being, according to *Corradus's* Computation, Sixty seven Years at least between the passing of that Law, and *Verres's* Trial, what a Blunder must it be, to imagine, that a Man should be elected Military Tribune, Sixty seven Years after he had been Tribune of the People, and when he must be near a hundred Years old? But there is nothing of this in *Africanus's* Notes; and *Corradus* could not rightly understand them. *Africanus* (39), endeavouring to prove, that *Cicero* was in the right, when he said, that the *Cassian* Family was always observed to have been very severe, as well in judicial Matters, as upon other Accounts, observes, that from that Family sprung the *Leges Tabellariæ*, and That *Cassius*, who asked the Question *cui bono*.

CASSIUS LONGINUS (CAIUS), one of the Murderers of *Julius Cæsar*, and he who said to one of his Accomplices, *Strike, though your Dagger pass through my Body* (a), was one of the greatest Men of his Age. It is true he was a little violent, and to him are ascribed the Counsels which sometimes carried *Brutus* too far (b). He was a thorough-paced *Epicurean*, and yet behaved himself better, and lived up to the Rules of Morality with more Exactness, than the greatest part of the Heathens. He never drank any Wine (c). Every one knows that he had this Encomium given him, that he was called the last of the *Romans* (d). He married *Junia*, *Brutus's* Sister, and, as it is thought, had great reason to distrust her Conduct [A]. He was an excellent Commander, as he made appear to the World, after

[A] He married *Junia*, *Brutus's* Sister, and it is thought he had great reason to distrust her Conduct. For otherwise he must have been deaf to common

Fame, or at least have been ignorant of the Suspicions and Raileries, which fell from the Mouth of the most eloquent Orator in *Rome*. *Cicero* supposes, in the

(27) *Glandorp*, pag. 203, allows six Years between his Pretorship and his Defeat, tho' there were no more than four.

(28) The *Swift* of *Zurich*.

(29) In *Fastis* Consul.

(30) In *Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii*, pag. 321, Edit. in fol. 1681.

(31) In *Remark* [B].

(32) In the fifth Oration against *Verres*, which is likewise called the third in *Verrem*, because among those Oration there are two, which are only preliminary. Mr *Vallart* the younger, in *Amm. Marcell. pag. 471*, applies one of these Passages to the first in *Verrem*, quoted by his Brother: this must certainly be an Error of the Press, as is *Vetrem*, which is there put for *Verrem*; for, pag. 321, the Elder cites three in *Verrem*.

(33) *Epist. ad Præf. Pretor.*

(34) *Lib. ii, de Jurispr. p. 274.*

(35) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. xlii, cap. xliii, pag. 420.

(36) In *edita Jurisconsultorum, quorum in Pandectis extant nomina*. A Work which lay a long time among the Papers of the deceased; and worthy of a more correct Impression. It was printed at *Leyden*, in 1690.

(37) In *Brutum Ciceronis*, pag. 179.

(38) According to *Corradus*; though, according to others, it was in 616.

(39) In *proem. Act. in Verrem*.

(b) *Plut. in Brut. to, pag. 1005. A.*

(c) *Seneca, Epist. 83.*

(d) See *Remark* [B], of the Article *BRUTUS* (*MARCUS JUNIUS*).

Cassius's Defeat. The *Parthians*, in pursuit of their Victory, made an Irruption into *Syria*, and sat down before *Antioch*. *Cassius* repulsed them so warmly, that he constrained them to raise the Siege, and took such effectual Measures to beat their Parties, and draw their Army into a disadvantageous Place, that he routed it, killed *Osaces* their General, and obliged *Pacorus*, the King's Son, to abandon *Syria* (e). These things being rightly considered, the greatest part of *Glandorpius's* Criticisms on *Rutilius* falls to the Ground [B]; as will appear in the Remarks. *Marc Antony* began to be sure of the Victory, as soon as he heard that *Cassius* was dead (f). Mr *Moreri's* Faults in this Article are not very many [C]. Mr *Furetiere* has committed a very great Mistake in relation to *Cassius* [D]. *Plutarch* seems to me

(e) Dio, lib. xl. See Rem. [A].

(f) Cuius morte inaudita, Antonius exclamasse dicitur. Vici. Arel. V. 8. de Viris ill. str. pag. 104.

the following Passage, that *Servilia*, not content to have given herself up to *Cæsar*, abandoned to him her Daughter *Junia*, *Cassius's* Wife. 'Mater M. Bruti *Servilia*, cum precioso ære parvo fundum abstulisset à *Cæsare* subjiciente hastæ bona civium, non effugit dictum tale Ciceronis: Equidem quo melius emptum sciat, comparavit *Servilia* hunc fundum Tertia deducta. Filia autem *Serviliæ* erat *Junia Tertia*, eademque C. *Cassii* uxor: lasciviente Dictatore tam in matrem quam in puellam, tunc luxuriam senis adulteri civitas subinde rumoribus et cique carpebat, ut mala non tantum seria forent

(1) Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii, cap. ii. pag. 263. See also Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. l. I shall quote his Words in Remark [A], of the Article *SERVILIA*.

* It is impossible to preserve the Ambiguity of the Phrase *Tertia deducta*, in English.

(2) Gland. Onomast. pag. 4. 8.

(3) Tacit. Annal. lib. iii, sub fin.

(4) Onomast. pag. 470.

(5) An Italian Lawyer, who wrote the Lives of the Lawyers, printed at Basil, in 1537, and 1557.

(6) Τῆς Συρίας ἐν τῇ τῇ παρόντι καὶ ματὶ ταῦτα προέβη. Tunc *Syriae* præfuit & deinde etiam. Dio, lib. xl.

(7) *Syria* adversus *Parthos* defendit, *Osace* duce cum magna copiarum parte intercepto. Glandorp. Onom. pag. 205.

(1). — *Servilia*, the Mother of *Marcus Brutus*, having purchased a valuable Farm, at a small price, from *Cæsar*, who exposed the Goods of the Citizens to sale, could not escape This Saying of *Cicero*. That you may judge of the Cheapness of the Bargain, you must know that *Servilia* procured this Farm for a THIRD part less than the Value. Now *JUNIA TERTIA* was the Daughter of *Servilia*, and Wife of C. *Cassius*; and the Intrigue of the Dictator with both Mother and Daughter was the Conversation and Jest of the whole Town. *Glandorpius* refers us to this Passage in *Macrobii*; and yet he does not know which of *Servilia's* two Daughters *Cicero's* Raillery strikes at; whether at *Junia*, *Lepidus* the *Triumvir's* Wife, or *Junia* the Wife of *Cassius*. Ultra Tertia fuerit in quam jocus est *Cicero* (locus est apud *Macrobium* lib. ii. Saturnal. cap. ii.) non facile dixerim (2). Can any Man that reads the whole Passage doubt which it was? Observe, that *Cassius's* Wife survived her Husband Sixty four Years (3).

[B] When we consider — that he defeated the *Parthians* — and slew their General — *Glandorp's* Criticisms upon *Rutilius* fall to the Ground.] Almost his whole Criticism (4) upon a Passage in *Bernardin Rutilius* (5), in which *Cassius*, *Pompey's* Lieutenant and Governor of *Syria*, is said to have warred with the *Parthians*, is ill grounded. The Error in the Passage vanishes, if those two words, *Pompey's* Lieutenant, be suppressed: for in most of the rest we may agree with *Rutilius*. In effect, *Dio* says, that, tho' *Cassius* had not accepted the Command of the Army, which was offered him by the Soldiers, and to which *Cassius* had consented, he nevertheless took upon him the Government of *Syria* (6), after *Cassius's* Defeat, and the *Parthian* Invasion had made it absolutely necessary. It has been already shewn, with what success he managed the War, and how he drove the *Parthians* out of the Province, where he commanded. *Glandorpius* was not ignorant of this in pag. 205 (7). So that I cannot comprehend the Reason which he urges against *Rutilius* in pag. 470. It is true, said he, after *Cassius's* Defeat, the *Quæstor Cassius*, finding himself blocked up in *Antioch*, made several successful Sallies upon the *Parthians*; but this was without any formal Declaration of War; *Bellum nullum justum aut indictum cum illis gessit*. Was it not sufficient that this was a Continuation of that War, which *Cassius* had carried into their Country? What War can be more formal, than that one, commanding in a Province, should fight with those, who with an armed force had broken into it, in consequence of a Victory gained over the Aggressors? If *Glandorpius* had not made use of this Reason, which has spoiled his Criticism, but had satisfied himself with supposing, that *Rutilius* had in view the Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, his Reflexion had been effectual. Let us see *Cicero's* Account of *Cassius's* Exploits in *Syria* after *Cassius's* Overthrow. 'Negue vero classes decerunt: tanti Tyrii *Cassium* faciunt, tantum ejus in *Syria* nomen atque Phœnice est. Paratum habet

Imperatorem C. *Cassium* P. C. Respublica contra Dolabellam, nec paratum solum sed peritum, atque fortem. Magnas ille res gessit ante Bibuli summi viri adventum, cum *Parthorum* nobilissimos duces maximaque copias fudit, *Syriamque* immani *Parthorum* impetu liberavit (8). — Nor will *Flecti* be wanting: so highly do the *Tyrians* esteem *Cassius*, and so great is his Renown in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*. The Common wealth, Fathers Conscript, has a General, C. *Cassius*, ready against *Dolabella*, nor ready only, but skillful and valiant. Great Things did he perform, before the Arrival of *Bibulus*, having defeated the bravest Commanders, and gallantest Armies of the *Parthians*, and delivered *Syria* from the violent Attacks of That People. See him likewise in the twentieth Letter of his fifth Book to *Atticus*, where he pretends to have alarmed the *Parthians*, and encouraged *Cassius* by his March. 'Ru- more adventus nostri, & *Cassio*, qui *Antiochia* tenebatur, animus accessit, & *Parthis* timor injectus est. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido *Cassius* insequutus rem bene gessit, qua in fuga magna auctoritate *Osaces* dux *Parthorum* vulnus accepit, eoque interit paucis post diebus. — Upon the rumour of my Approach, *Cassius*, who was shut up in *Antioch*, took Heart, and the *Parthians* began to fear. They drew off from before the City, and *Cassius*, pursuing them, gained a Victory; in which Flight, *Osaces*, a Man of great Authority, and General of the *Parthians*, received a Wound, of which he died a few Days after. See also *Josephus* cap. 12. lib. 14. Antiq. Judaic.

[C] Mr *Moreri's* Faults — are not very many. He says *Cassius* was overcome by *Cæsar*, which is false. *Cassius*, after *Pompey's* Defeat, submitted to the Conqueror, and, without any Blows, delivered him up the Fleet under his Command. He had even then a mischievous Design upon *Cæsar's* Life. 'C. *Cassius* — me auctorem, credo, desideravit: qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis *Cydni* consecisset, si ille ad eam ripam quam constituerat, non ad contrariam navim appulisset (9). Nor is it more true, that, when *Augustus*, *Marc Antony*, and *Lepidus* entered into a Combination to revenge *Cæsar's* Death, *Cassius* upon that retired into *Syria*; for both he and *Brutus* had, before that, secured those Countries which they thought most convenient for their Affairs. As soon as they saw *Marc Antony* and young *Octavius* grown too strong for *Cæsar's* Assassins in *Italy*, they left it, not to go to those Provinces the Senate had assigned them, but to make sure of better: to which end *Cassius*, who was very well known and esteemed in *Syria*, made choice of that, whilst *Brutus* secured *Macedonia*. This we have from *Dio*, *Plutarch*, and several other Historians. I omit saying, that *Moreri* ought to have quoted *Florus* in his fourth Book and seventh Chapter, and not the sixth Chapter of the third Book: He has likewise quoted the first Book of *Epicurus's* Life, written by *Gassendus*, instead of the second. He calls *Cassius's* Freed-man *Dandorus*, though *Plutarch* and *Dio* call him *Pindarus* (10).

[D] Mr *Furetiere* has committed a very great Mistake in relation to *Cassius*.] I dare venture to say, that these words in *Aulus Gellius* were at least the remote cause of it: *Eum Cassium postea satis notum est visis Parthis suoque exercitu suo miseram mortem oppetuisse* (11). *Aulus Gellius* is speaking of a certain Fatality, which was said to attend the Horse of *Sejanus*, which ever brought those, who were in Possession of him, to an untimely end; and, among other Instances brought to prove it, he alleges that of *Caius Cassius*, into whose hands the Horse fell after *Dolabella's* violent Death. Then he adds, that it

(8) Cicero. Phil. lib. xi, cap. xlii.

(9) Ib. Philip. ii.

(10) He whom *Cassius* prevailed upon to kill him.

(11) Aul. Gell. lib. iii, cap. ix.

me to contradict himself, touching the Death of this illustrious Roman [E]; and Dio's Reasoning is not just [F]. Eusebius's Chronicle wants a little Correction in this Place [G]. I wonder that Plutarch, and the rest of the Historians, have omitted an Apparition of Julius Cæsar to Cassius [H].

Here is one thing worthy our Observation. Cassius, according to Epicurus's Principles, believed the Soul to be mortal; and yet, on the Day in which Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he addressed his Prayers to the Manes of Pompey the Great [I]. He had, upon this occasion, forgot his Philosophy: Nature was more prevalent in him than Art. It was not so with him, when Brutus told him, that a Spectre had appeared to him; for, though he ought to have been uneasy under the Apprehension of the Success that attended their Undertaking, he philosophized coolly

it was well known, that Cassius died a very miserable Death after having overthrown the Partians (12), and after the loss of his own Army. Nothing could be more improper, than to mention, on such an occasion, Cassius's Advantages over the Partians so long before. Either this Passage has been corrupted, and Partis is put for Partibus (13), or else Aulus Gellius did not think of what he was saying. Besides, Mr Furetiere, who says, that Cassius, Master of this Horse, after Dolabella's Death, died in a War against the Partians (14), took it upon trust, or did not consider Aulus Gellius's Words: for, if he had in the least considered it, he would have found that he means That Cassius, who was Cæsar's Murderer: and every body knows, that That Cassius died not in the Partian War, but in the Battle of Philippi, where Marc Antony got the Day, as may be seen in Moreri.

[E] Plutarch contradicts himself touching the Death of this illustrious Roman. He says in one place, that Cassius killed himself with the very Dagger he had used against Cæsar, and looks on it as a sort of Mystery (15): in another place he only says, that Cassius made his Freed-man Pindarus kill him (16), and even observes, that Pindarus did this Business by cutting off his Head (17). This is confirmed by Velleius Paterculus: 'Lacerna caput circumdedit, extantque cervicem interitus liberto præbuit. Deciderat Cassii caput cum, &c. (18). — He covered his Head with his Cloak, and fearlessly stretched out his Neck to his Freed-man. He had cut off the Head of Cassius, when, &c.' Now a Dagger is not very proper for such an Execution; and it is certain, most of Cæsar's Murderers made use of Daggers (19). The way for Plutarch to have kept up to some Uniformity, had been to say, either that Cassius recommended that Dagger to his Freed-man, or that the Freed-man had no other (20).

[F] Dio's reasoning is not just. Having said, towards the end of his Forty seventh Book, that Cassius made Pindarus kill him, and that Brutus would be killed likewise by one of his Followers, he begins his Forty eighth Book with saying: 'Ο μὲν ἄνδρ' ὅτε Κάσσιον ἔως ἀπὸ λονῆς ἐξέτισιν οἷς τὸν Κάισαρος ἀπεχρήσαντο σφαγίνης (21). Ad hunc igitur modum Brutus & Cassius oppetierunt iis quibus Cæsarem interfecerant gladiis confossi. — Thus fell Brutus and Cassius, stabbed with the very Swords, with which they had killed Cæsar. But, with the Respect due to the ancient Historians, we may say this Narration is a little imperfect, and that no considerate Reader will find any good consequence in it. Brutus and Cassius were killed by some of their Retinue; they fell, therefore, by the very Swords, with which they had murdered Cæsar. This would be more credible, if it appeared they had killed themselves. Suetonius indeed says, that some of these Assassins killed themselves with the same Daggers; but he names none of them. Nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione quo Cæsarem violenter interemerunt (22).

[G] Eusebius's Chronicle wants a little Correction. We find there, that Cassius seized on Judæa, and pillaged the Temple of Jerusalem before Cæsar's Death (23); which is false on several Accounts. There was no need of securing Judæa at that time; for the Jews lived peaceable in Subjection to the Romans. Cassius never plundered the Temple of Jerusalem; if he had, Josephus would not have let such an Action pass in Silence, nor contented himself with saying only, that Cassius exacted a large Sum

of Money from the Jews. This was done after Cæsar's Death, when he went to make sure of Syria (24). Eusebius had been in the right, if he had said, that Cassius pillaged the Temples at Rhodes; though That ought not to be placed, as it is in his Chronicle, two Years after Cæsar's Death. Scaliger says (25), he has mistaken two Years; to me it appears to be but one. However it be, Cassius, having defeated the Rhodian Fleet, took away their Ships and Money, and pillaged their Temples: He left them nothing but the Chariot of the Sun; and had used them more roughly, but that he remembered the time, when he studied among them. They thought themselves so sure of the Victory, that they shewed him the Chains they had prepared for the Romans they should take Prisoners (26). See how Valerius Maximus, that he might the better vent some mysterious witty Conceits, has handled what relates to the Chariot of the Sun (27).

[H] Plutarch, and other Historians, have omitted an Apparition of Julius Cæsar to Cassius. I wonder at this Silence in Plutarch, who has so carefully recorded all the Prodigies relating to the War with Brutus and Cassius, and that in so great a number, that he thought himself obliged to tell us, that Cassius began to waver in his Epicurean Principles (28). Dio, who is as careful and industrious upon this Head, as Plutarch, takes no more notice of this memorable Apparition than he; and I know none but Valerius Maximus, who does. During the Battle at Philippi, says he (29), Cassius, pushing on with extremest Ardor, saw Cæsar, who with a Mein more than human, and an angry menacing Countenance, came up full speed to charge him. This Spectacle so amazed him, that he turned his Back, saying, It is time to give over; what is there more to be done, if to have killed him be not sufficient? Quid enim amplius agas si occidisse parum est? I should be more surprized to meet with this Adventure in no more than one Author, if I did not know, that there are many things remarkable for their Singularity, which we have but from a single hand; and even sometimes it happens that this single Witness speaks of it but occasionally, and that a long time after the Business is over. Of this the Reader finds several Examples here and there in this Work: Here is one. We are told only by Ammianus Marcellinus the Expedient which Alexander made use of to expel Sleep (30); and in all likelihood we had never known it, but that he had a mind to give Julian, the Apostate, some Superiority over Alexander.

[I] He believed the Mortality of the Soul; and yet on the Day, wherein Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he addressed his Prayers to the Manes of Pompey. Plutarch adds to this Relation, a Reflexion of his own: He says, the Greatness of the Enterprize, and the Dangers, with which it was surrounded, threw Cassius into a sort of Enthusiasm, which made him forget his Principles of Philosophy. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν καὶ λέγεσθαι Κάσσιον εἰς τὸν ἀνδρείωλτα τὸ Πομπηίου περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίης ἀποβλέπον, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σωτῆρ, καί ποτε καὶ ἀλλότριον ὢν τὸν Ἐπικύρου λόγον. ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ οὐδὲν (ὡς εἰκεν) ἦν τὸ δυνάμει παρῆσθαι, ἐνθουσιασμον ἐνεποίη καὶ παρῆσθαι, ἀντὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν λογισμῶν. Quin etiam Cassius fertur, quoniam ab Epicuri doctrina non abhorreret, eam statuam ante agressionem respiciens tacitus, Pompeium invocasse. Verum articulus ille, utpote tanto jam ingruenti discrimine, amotis prioribus rationibus, fanaticum eum & commotum reddidit (31).

T t t t

[K] When

(12) Or after the Partians had been overthrown.

(13) See Gland. Osomast. pag. 470. The best Editions of Aulus Gellius have it partibus.

(14) Dist. Universi. under the Word Cheval.

(15) Plut. in Vita Cæsaris, pag. 740.

(16) In Vita Marc. Anton. pag. 924, & in Vita Bruti, pag. 1004.

(17) In Vita Bruti, ibid.

(18) Paterc. lib. ii, cap. lxx.

(19) Suet. in Cæsare, cap. lxxxii, & ibi Pitticus.

(20) You may see the Figure of Brutus and Cassius's Dagger, in a Medal of Brutus, pag. 270, of Mr Spanheim's Commentary upon the Cæsars of Julian.

(21) Dio, lib. xlviii, init.

(22) Suet. in Jul. sub. fin.

(23) Euseb. in Chron. Num. 1973.

(24) See Scaliger's Animadv. in hunc locum Chron. Euseb. pag. 148, where he observes, that Jornandes, according to his Custom, copies these Mistakes from St Jerom.

(25) Ibid. pag. 160.

(26) Dio, lib. xlvii, pag. 395.

(27) Val. Max. lib. i, cap. v, n. 8.

(28) Plut. in Vita Bruti.

(29) Val. Max. lib. i, cap. ult.

A REMARKABLE FACT concerning Alexander, which is only to be found in Ammianus Marcellinus.

(30) Ammian. Marcell. lib. xvi, cap. v.

(31) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæs. pag. 730. A. See him likewise in Brutus, pag. 991 D.

(g) See Divers
Thoughts upon
Comets, n. 187,
pag. 506.

coolly upon the Matter, and ended with a Wifh, that the vulgar Opinion touching the Exiftence of *Genii* were true [K]. The Reason he urged was capable of reviving his Friend's Hopes, and fhews us at the fame time, that Unbelievers are not always induced to Unbelief by the Motives of Self-love (g). I fhall enquire into thofe Religious Phrafes, which, they fay, he ufed in haranguing his Soldiers before the Battle [L].

[K] When Brutus gave him an account of an Apparition — he philofophized coolly upon the matter, and ended with faying, he wifhed the vulgar Opinion touching the Exiftence of *Genii* were true.] This we have from *Plutarch*. Δαίμονας δ' ἢ εἶναι περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, ἢ ὄντας ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν εἰδέναι, ἢ φανέν, ἢ δύναμιν, εἰς ἡμᾶς δεικνύσαν. ὡς ἔγωγε ἂν ἐβουλόμην ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ναυσὶ τοσαύταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἀρωγαῖς ἐπεβαρύνμεν, ὁσιώσαντες ἔργων καὶ καλλίστων ἡγεμόνες ἐνέσμεν. *Genios* porro neque effe credible eft: neque fi fint, hominum habere figuram vel vocem vel vim quæ ad nos pertingat. Nam equidem ita effe velim, ne tantum equitatu, peditatu, & tanta claffe, verum etiam deorum ope freti sanctiffimorum & pulcherrimorum duces factorem effemus (32). — It is not credible, that there are *Genii*: or, if there be, that they have the Shape or Voice of a Man, or a Force fuitable to us: For fuch I fhould wifh them to be; that, depending not only on our Horfe and Foot, and fuch a great Fleet, but relying likewife on the Affiftance of the Gods, we might perform the nobleft and moft gallant Actions. Mr *Balzac* found fo much Beauty in this Difcourfe of *Cassius*, that he paraphrafed upon it, on purpofe to give us a great Idea of the Roman Converfation. See, fays he (33), how *Cassius* handles a bufiness fo difagreeable, and how he improves it for the Benefit of Converfation. Without being a ftupid Admirer, or an incredulous Opiniator, he fays pleafantly to his Friend, That the

(32) Id. in Brutus, pag. 1001, B.

(33) Balzac, Oeuvres diverses, discours 2, pag. 51, 52.

Cares of his Soul, the Diftractions of his Mind, the Wearinefs of his Body, and Darknefs of the Night, might very well create that strange Vision, and prefent it to his Eyes: That, for his Part, the Principles of the Philofophy he professed would not allow him to believe there were any *Genii*, and much lefs that they were vifible: That, notwithstanding, he wifhed there were, and that his Philofophy were falfe: Because, in all appearance, thefe incorporeal Spirits being juft and virtuous, the Action of the Ides of March was fo honourable, and their Cause fo honeft, that they muft needs be of their Party. If fo, the Common-wealth would find Friends and Allies, of whom they never dreamed, ready to fight with and fupport them upon occafion. And then they were not to reckon only on their fide fo many Companies of Foot, fo many Troops of Horfe, fo many Legions, and Ships: for there was an immortal People, victorious Armies ready, without any Pay, to declare for the Juftice of their Cause, whom nothing could tempt to ferve Antony againft Brutus, or prefer Tyranny to Liberty. Thefe, Madam, were the dying words of the Republic; which after he had pronounced, he expired. This was the Roman Spirit, and the natural Language of Majesty. And do not you think *Cassius* expreffed himfelf very eloquently in it? Should you not be glad to have a more intimate Acquaintance with this excellent Man, and to hear him in fome other of his Converfations, upon Subjects more agreeable, and at another time than the Day before the Battle of *Philippi* (34)?

(34) Here *Balzac* is miftaken; for *Plutarch*, ubi fupra, fays, that this Difcourfe between Brutus and *Cassius* was the Day after the Apparition, and that they were not then paffed out of *Asia* into *Europe*.

(a) De Origine Juris, leg. 2, §. ult.

CASSIUS LONGINUS (CAIUS), a great Civilian in *Nero's* Reign. Some Critics pretend, that *Pomponius* (a) has confounded him with *L. Cassius Longinus*, who married a Daughter of *Germanicus* [A]. This is lefs to be wondered at than

[A] Some Critics pretend, that *Pomponius* has confounded him with *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, Sen-in-law of *Germanicus*.] I fhall not enter into a Difpute either for or againft him. They fay that of two Perfons he has made but one, having confounded *L. Cassius Longinus* with *Caius Cassius Longinus*; of whom, the firft was Consul An. Rom. 783, and after that married to *Drufilla*, *Germanicus's*

enough; but fome will fay, did not the Phantom tell Brutus that he was his evil Genius? Does not this deftroy *Cassius's* Suppofition, that the *Genii* always proteft the jufteft fide? Now if we have as much to fear from the ill Offices of thefe *Genii*, as we have to hope from their good ones; what fignifies it whether there be any or no? I anfwer, that, if we only follow the Light of Nature, an Idea of good *Genii* will be eafier formed to us than of wicked ones; and fo Brutus might more readily be touched by *Cassius's* Reflexions than by the Difcourfe of the Phantom.

[L] I fhall examine into thofe religious Phrafes, which they fay he ufed in haranguing his Soldiers.] Brutus and *Cassius*, upon a Review of the Army near the Gulf of *Menas* (35), forgot not the Custom of haranguing the Soldiers. *Cassius*, as being the elder Man, made the Speech; and did it fo effectually, that they all cried out, Let us go on, lead us where you please. Ravifhed at this Exclamation, he began afrefh, and that with this Wifh; May the Gods, who prefide over Wars, waged on a juft account, grant you a Reward worthy your Fidelity. Θεοὶ μὲν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπόται, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, & συνεργαζώται, καὶ περὶ θυμίας ἀμειβόμενοι (36). *Dii* quibus iufta bella curæ sunt pro hac fide vobis, commilitones, faxint bene. He then reprefted to them the good condition in which, through the Care of their Generals, who had taken all thofe Meafures, which Prudence and the Art of War could fuggelt, they then were: Thefe, continued he, are the utmoft Precautions of human Forefight; the reft depends upon your Valour, and the divine Bleffing. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλογον ἀπαρτίσεις παρὰ τὴν ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (37). *Reliqua* τὰ ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (37). *Reliqua* τὰ ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (37). *Reliqua* τὰ ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (37). We will juftly pay you all we have promifed you; and as we have already affigned Rewards for your Fidelity, fo will we take care, by the Gods Affiftance (38), to make you Prefents worthy the Greatnefs of the Victory. A Man who talks at this rate muft furely have forgotten *Epicurus's* Principles. Is it not likely, that *Cassius*, upon the brink of that important Day, on which depended all his Fortune, had recourfe to thofe very Divinities, whofe Providence he had before been taught to deny? Was he not one of thofe who forget all the Maxims of Infidelity upon a dangerous Crisis? I have two things to anfwer: Firft, It is not certain, that the Speech we find in *Appian* is the fame, word for word, as he fpoke it. The Hiftorians were Mafters of thefe fort of Harangues; They turned them as they pleafed, and mixt in them whatever of their own they thought neceffary. My fecond Anfwer is, That, fuppofing *Cassius* continued ftill as firm to the Doctrine of *Epicurus* as ever, yet might his Difcourfe be fuch as the Hiftorian has reprefted it. He knew well fuch Exprefions as thefe would be very acceptable to the Soldiers. From thence he conceived a great Argument for Hope, which it was his Bufiness to improve. A wife General, upon thefe Occafions, fuits his Language, not to his own Philofophical Opinions, but the inbred Notions of his Army.

(35) In Thracia.

(36) *Appian*. lib. iv. *Beil. civil.* pag. 646.

(37) Id. *ibid.* pag. 647.

(38) Κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. *Dii* volentibus. *ibid.*

I

I fhall

than the little Conformity, which appears in the cotemporary Authors, touching the Punishment which *Nero* inflicted upon our Lawyer [B]. Some of them say that he banished him; others, that he put him to Death. The Commentators have neglected

(1) *Lipius* in *Tacit. Annal.* lib. vi, cap. xv.

(2) *Cassius* Plebei Romæ generis, verum antiqui honore, & severa Patris disciplina eductus, facilitas sepius quam industria commendabatur. *Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. xv.*

(3) *Sueton.* in *Calig.* cap. xxiv.

I shall only observe at present, that, if it be true, as *Lipius* pretends (1), that he, who was married to *Drusilla* in 785, had been Consul in 783, it is strange *Tacitus* should not say one of Word it, when, upon account of this Wedding, he tells us who this *Cassius* was, whom *Tiberius* had made Choice of to bestow upon his adopted Grand-daughter; and is so particular as to tell us, That, it is true, his Family was *Plebeian*, but very ancient, and dignified with several Employments of the Commonwealth, and that this *Cassius* had been bred up under the severe Discipline of his Father, and was more to be admired for his Affability, than for the Greatness of his Soul (2). Can any Affectation of Brevity, though ever so great, excuse, in such a Case, the mentioning, when the thing is known, that such a Man was a Consul, and how he discharged That Trust. It follows, therefore, either that *Cassius* was not Consul in 783, or, which is not very likely, that *Tacitus* knew nothing of it. On the other side, if *Pomponius* believed his *Cassius Longinus* had been Consul in 783, how came he to be ignorant of a thing more glorious to him, than the Consulship of *Lucius Cassius*, and afterwards, when his Hand was in, that he would not give him likewise the Wife of *Lucius Cassius*.

But it may be alledged, in *Lipius's* Behalf, that *Suetonius* says expressly, that *Drusilla* was married to *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, a Man of Consular Dignity. To which I answer; *Suetonius* says no more, than that *Caligula* took his Sister *Drusilla* from her Husband *Cassius*, who had been Consul. Now these two Expressions are very different. There were five Years between *Drusilla's* Marriage, and *Caligula's* Reign: In which Interval, *L. Cassius* might have been Consul by Substitution, and to *Drusilla's* Husband might be of Consular Dignity when he lost his Wife, though he was not when he married her. See what odd Conclusions some Men draw from Passages, which they quote, and do not weigh with a *Cassian* Exactness. *Suetonius* says, *Lucio Cassio Longino Consulari collocatam (Drusillam) abduxit (Caligula)* (3). *Lipius*, without taking notice of *Caligula* or the *abduxit*, makes *Suetonius* say, *Drusillam collocatam L. Cassio Longino Consulari*: Words, which, being propounded after so loose a manner, and as a Proof of *Lipius's* particular Opinion, naturally bear no other Sense than this: *Drusilla was married to L. Cassius Longinus, who had been Consul. Des Cartes* has very well observed, that the main Spring, from whence our Errors flow in Philosophical Matters, is, that we crowd more things into our Judgments than our distinct Ideas present to us. We may say likewise, that the multitude of Mistakes, that abound in critical Writings, proceed chiefly from the Licence the Critics take of extending farther than they ought the Authorities upon which they build.

[B] There is but little Conformity in Authors touching the Punishment, which *Nero* inflicted upon our Lawyer. The Splendor, in which our *Caius Cassius Longinus* had lived, seems to me to leave no room for those two different Accounts, so directly opposite one to the other, of *Nero's* Treatment of him. Some say, he put him to death; others, that he banished him into *Sardinia*. These are two contradictory Opinions; it is saying *Nero* did put him to death, and he did not put him to death; how comes it about that we should have Authority for the *Aye* and the *No*, by virtue of what some Authors, almost cotemporary, have left behind them? It would be not less surprizing, if People should begin to say now, that *Barneveldt* was only banished, and Mr *Fouquet* put to death. But, whether we have reason to be surprized or no, all that can be said as certain, is, that on one side several ingenious Men, relying upon the Authority of *Suetonius* and *Juvenal*, affirm, that *Nero* put *Caius Cassius* to death; on the other, that many learned Men, building upon the

Credit of *Tacitus* and *Pomponius*, assure us, in the most exprels manner, that he was sent into Banishment.

Let us first hear the Evidence these two last give. 'Tunc Consulo Senatus, says *Tacitus* (4), *Cassio & Silano exsilia decernuntur. — DEPORTATUSQUE IN INSULAM SARDINIAM Cassius, & Senatus jus expectabant* (5). — By Decree of the Senate, *Cassius* and *Silanus* were sentenced to Banishment. — And *Caius Cassius* was carried into the Island *Sardinia*, &c. Here *Tacitus* leaves him, without telling us what became of him afterwards; but we find in another Author, that he was restored by *Vespasian*, and died peaceably. 'Plurimum in civitate auctoritatis habuit, eo usque donec eum Cæsar CIVITATE PELLERET; PULSUS AB EO IN SARDINIAM, revocatus à Vespasiano, diem suum obiit' (6). — He had great Authority in the State, 'till Cæsar banished him; and, being driven by Him into *Sardinia*, and afterwards recalled by *Vespasian*, he died at Home.' Let us see, whether *Suetonius* and *Juvenal* tell us as clearly, that *Nero* caused him to be put to death. *Suetonius*, having told us, that *Nero* put whom he thought fit to death, upon the least Pretence, without having any regard to Persons or Distinction, adds, with respect to four Persons, the Crimes of which they were accused (7). *Cassius Longinus*, the Civilian, one of the four, was accused, says he, for having preserved *Cassius's* Picture, one of *Cæsar's* Murderers, in the Genealogical Table of his Family; quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassii percussoris Cæsaris imagines retinisset. This, according to *Tacitus*, is one of the Heads of this Great Man's Accusation. 'Obiectavit Cassio (Nero) quod inter imagines majorum etiam C. Cassii effigiem coluisset, ita inscriptam, DUCI PARTIUM' (8). — *Nero objected to Cassius, that, among the Pictures of his Ancestors, he respected That of C. Cassius, inscribed thus, TO THE LEADER OF THE PARTY.* This proves, that these two Historians speak of the same *Cassius*; and yet they say very expressly, one, that he was banished, the other, that he was put to death. For *Suetonius* must have been in a Dream, if he had spoken, as he does, without designing to let us know, that *Nero* ordered this Civilian to be put to death. As for *Juvenal* (9), I find him no less positive than *Suetonius*. Not but that a Banishment into *Sardinia*, which was looked on as a desolate, unhealthy, Island, might pass with him for a Misfortune bad enough, to say, that *Cassius Longinus*, whose mighty Riches had brought him to it, was an Example of the Miseries, to which the Rich, and not the Poor, are exposed; which is the Design of the Poet in that Place; but he had before determined what manner of Misfortune he would impute to the Wealthy, and said, that a great many had been strangled by their accumulated Treasures.

Sed plures nimia congesta pecunia curâ
STRANGULAT.

But more have been by Avarice oppress'd,
And Heaps of Money crowded in the Chest.
DRYDEN.

It follows therefore, that the two Examples, viz. of *Longinus* and *Seneca*, which follow immediately after, must be Examples of Death.

Temporibus diris igitur, jusque Neronis
Longinum & magnos Senecæ prædixit hortos
Claustit, & egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors.

For this, in Nero's arbitrary Time,
When Virtue was a Guilt, and Wealth a Crime,
A Troop of cut-throat Guards were sent to seize
The Rich Men's Goods, and gut their Palaces.
Idem.

Tacitus

(4) *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xvi, cap. ix.

(5) *Lipius* looked on these last Words as a Wound incurable; but they have been ingeniously corrected by the President *Bertrand*, and *William Gratius*, both lighting almost upon the same Thought; the first reads it nec Senatus jus expectabatur; and the other, nec Senatus jussu expectabatur. *Nicolas Heinfus's* Conjecture, which Mr *Rick*, *Animadv. ad Tac.* pag. 282, takes to be the most probable of all, is, that it ought to be read De Senatus ejus respectabatur. But *Don Nicolas Antonio*, de *juribus Exulium*, lib. i, p. 72, pretends, it ought to be ut senex tutius aspectabatur, or depectabatur.

(6) *Pomponius* in lib. ii, de *Origine Juris*.

(7) *Sueton.* in *Ner.* cap. xxxvii.

(8) *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xvi, cap. vii.

(9) *Juven. Sat.* x, ver. 12, &c.

neglected to clear up this Confusion [C]. They, who will have it, that *Germanicus's* Son-in-law was a Civilian (b), have, I think, no Grounds for it [D]. The Omission of one Word has occasioned a great Mistake in Mr *Chevreau's* History [E]. It was not corrected in the Edition of the *Hague*, 1698.

Tacitus observes likewise, that *Cassius's* Riches were one Cause of his Persecution; from whence it appears, that *Juvenal*, and he, meant the same Man. 'Nullo crimine, says he, *Annal. cap. 7. lib. 16.* nisi quod *Cassius* opibus vetustis & gravitate morum - - - praecebat. — *Cassius's* only Crime was his great Wealth, and the Gravity of his Manners.' The other Cause of his Persecution, was his Gravity, that Virtue of Severity hereditary in his Family, of which he had given so many Examples, as well in maintaining a Military Discipline in Syria in the very midst of Peace (10), as in affirming, that the Law ought to be observed, which adjudged all That Man's Slaves to death, who had been murdered by any one of them (11).

[C] The Commentators have neglected to clear up this Confusion. It is not easy to conceive why they neglected inquiring either into *Tacitus* or *Pomponius's* Mistake, or That of *Juvenal* and *Suetonius*. The Commentators upon *Juvenal* (12) and *Suetonius* (13) tell us, that *Nero* put *Cassius Longinus* to death, and say nothing of *Tacitus's* Opinion, so very opposite to it. Those upon *Tacitus* (14) make no mention of the contrary Account, but speak only of his Exile. No more do they, who have written the Lives of the ancient Civilians (15). There are even some Writers, who quote *Suetonius*, to prove that *Cassius* was blind (16), but take no notice of what is close to it, that *Nero* put him to death.

[D] There is no Foundation for saying, that *Germanicus's* Son-in-law was a Civilian. If he had been so, *Tacitus* certainly would have added it to the rest of his good Qualities, which he sums up on occasion of his marrying *Tiberius's* Grand-child. *Suetonius*, who makes mention of him, and tells us, that *Caligula* first deprived him of his Wife, and, after that, of his Life (17), would have characterized him to us as a Civilian, if he really had been,

as *Glandorpius* pretends (18), That Famous Civilian, who succeeded, in the Profession of the Law, *Mafurius Sabinus*, and whose Mother, *Tabero's* Daughter, was *Sulpitius's* Grand daughter, the Oracle of the Law. *Suetonius* has represented *Cassius Longinus* as a Civilian, who was really so (19); why therefore was he not as exact in relation to *L. Cassius Longinus*? *Tacitus* has not omitted *C. Cassius's* Skill in the Law. *Cæteros ed tempestate Cassius præminebat peritia legum* (20).

Mr *Hoffman* has multiplied these Civilians after another manner; he has made one of him, who was put to death by *Nero*, according to *Suetonius*, and another of him, who was only banished into *Sardinia* by the same *Nero*, according to *Tacitus*.

[E] The Omission of a Word has occasioned a great Mistake in Mr *Chevreau's* History. It is, in all Appearance, an Error of the Press. We find, in the ninth Chapter of the third Book of his History of the World, that *Nero* put *Cassius Longinus* to death, for having placed, among the Pictures of his Ancestors, That of *Julius Cæsar*. The Printer omitted the Murderer of, and the Corrector, not well remembering the Story, and finding, notwithstanding the Omission, a Cause plausible enough for *Nero* to put any one to death, left the thing as he found it, and they have not thought fit in *Holland* to rectify it. This Conjecture is very probable, and I wish we found, in the Books that are extant, no greater Errors of the Copyists and Printers than this.

Since the first Impression of this Dictionary, we have had an Edition of Mr *Chevreau's* Works (21), according to the Alterations, made by him, almost in every Page of the former Editions (22). I find no Alteration in the Passage, relating to our *Cassius*; so that now I dare not lay the Fault upon the Printers.

CASSIUS HEMINA (LUCIUS), a Roman Historian, who flourished in the beginning of the VIIth Century of Rome. He composed four Books of Annals. By the Passages we find quoted from them (a), we may judge that he went back as far as the Times preceding *Romulus*, and that he continued it thro' the Kings of Rome, down to his own Times. He described the second Punic War in his last Book (b). They, who say that he lived in *Augustus's* Reign, are very much mistaken [A], and confound him with *Cassius Severus* [B]. There is, in *Charles Stephens's* Dictionary, a wretched Blunder concerning *Cassius Hemina* [C].

(a) See *Vossius* de Hist. Lat. pag. 27, 110.

(b) *Bellum Punicum* posterior. *Priscianus*, lib. vii, apud *Vossium* de Hist. Lat. pag. 27. The Nouns in or were formerly common to both Genders. *Vossius*, ibid.

(1) *Vossius* de Historic. Lat. pag. 27.

(2) *Cassius Hemina* wrote Annals, and some Historical Books, which he sent to the Emperor *Tiberius*, and *Mæcenat*. *La Popeliniere* Hist. des Histoires, pag. 318.

(3) *Cassius Hemina* vetustissimus auctor *Annalium*. *Plinius*, lib. xiii, cap. xlii.

(4) *Vossius*, ubi supra.

(5) In indice *Autorum* *Plinii*; where there is a Mistake in the Article of *Cassius Hemina*; for the beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign is placed in the Year of Rome 780.

(6) *Vossius* de Hist. Lat. pag. 110.

[A] They, who say he lived in *Augustus's* Reign, are very much mistaken. *Vossius* has discovered the Grounds of their Mistake. *Priscian*, says he (1), quotes, in one place, *Cassius ad Mæcenatem*, and, in another, *Cassius ad Tiberium*; upon this, they imagined it related to *Cassius Hemina*. *Stimler* first maintained, in his Epitome of *Gesner's* Bibliotheca, that *Cassius Hemina* had dedicated his History and Annals to *Mæcenat* and *Tiberius*. *La Popeliniere* afterwards affirmed the same thing (2). *Guilandin* and *Dalechamp* push the Matter farther; they think *Pliny* ought not to have called an Author very ancient, *vetustissimus*, who, as they gather from the Persons, to whom he dedicated his Works, preceded him not above seventy Years; they change therefore *vetustissimus* into *verissimus* (3). The Truth of the Matter is, that this *Cassius Hemina* flourished when the *Ludi Sæculares* were celebrated for the fourth time, viz. *Ann. Rom.* 608 or 607. As to *Priscian's* *Cassius*, he was *Cassius Severus*, the Orator, if *Vossius* (4), and Father *Hardouin* (5), may be believed.

[B] - - - - and confound him with *Cassius Severus*. *Vossius* seems very much in the right, when he charges this Mistake upon *Tertullian's* Copyists (6). It is, without doubt, better to lay the Charge here, than to throw it upon *Tertullian* himself. However it be, we find *Cassius Severus* cited, with *Cornelius Nepos*, in *Tertullian's* Apology, and That to justify a Matter, of which it is certain *Cassius Hemina*

treated; whereas it does not certainly appear, that the other *Cassius* wrote any History, properly speaking. *Vossius* thinks therefore, that *Tertullian* quoted only *Cassius*, meaning *Hemina*, and that *Severus* at length crept into the Text, as the Gloss of an ignorant Copyist. He confirms his Conjecture by this Observation; viz. that *Minutius Felix*, and *Laëtantius*, repeating *Tertullian's* Objection, quote *Cassius*, without adding *Severus*. It is true, they rank him after *Cornelius Nepos*; but it does not follow from thence, that they pretend his History to be subsequent to That of *Nepos*; for then we might, upon as good ground, conclude, that *Laëtantius* supposed *Varro* to have lived in the Reign of *Tiberius*, because he places him after *Cassius*; *Latini Nepos*, & *Cassius*, & *Varro* (7). It has been observed to those, who run down *Calvin*, for having added, immediately after he had been speaking of *Arius*, *surrexit postea Sabellius*, that a great many, well versed in Ecclesiastical History and Chronology, have sometimes ranked the Heretics preposterously, where there was no occasion to give a precise Account of the Time in which they lived (8).

[C] There is, in *Charles Stephens's* Dictionary, a wretched Mistake concerning *Cassius Hemina*. We there find one *Cassius Hemina*, a Surgeon of Rome, made a Citizen for his great Skill, and gratified with a Shop in the Place called *Actia*. This is said upon the Credit of *Pliny*, Chap. 7 of the Twenty fifth Book, and the third of the thirtieth; though

(18) *Onomast.* pag. 204.

(19) In *Nerone*, cap. xxxvii.

(20) *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xii, cap. xii.

(21) *At the Hague*, 1698.

(22) The Publisher's Preface.

(21) *At the Hague*, 1698.

(22) The Publisher's Preface.

(7) *Laët. Divinæ*. Init. lib. i. cap. xiii.

(8) See *Epistola Apologetica* J. Sarrauii, impressa *Bordigale*, 1667, where these Words are quoted from *Nicolas Vignier*; apud *Alexandriam* congregata fuit Synodus constantis probis & Catholicis Episcopis, per quos rursus hæretici utraque *Arii* & *Sabellii* damnata sunt; and these from *Carranza*; damnata ita *Cicilium*, *Ariam*, *Photinum*, & *Sabellium*.

though there is nothing of this in either of the fore-cited Places, nor in any other throughout *Pliny*. All he has said, which bears any Resemblance to it, is in the first Chapter of the Twenty ninth Book. *Cassius Hemina*, says he, a very ancient Author, assures us, that the first Physician, that ever came to Rome, was *Archagatus*, the Son of *Lysanias*, who removed thither out of *Peloponnesus* in the Year of Rome 535, where he had the Privilege of a Citizen, and had a Shop bought for him, at the public Expence, in the Place called *Atilia*. The Reader may see plainly the enormous Difference there is between what *Pliny* is made to say, and what he really does say. And it is very strange

CASSIUS SEVERUS (TITUS), a famous Orator in *Augustus's* Time, who distinguished himself principally by a satirical Humour, which drove him at length into Banishment, a Misfortune attended with a great many others, which ended not but with his Life (a). Mr *Moreri* has confounded him with another *Cassius*, surnamed *Parmensis*, a great Versifier, and one of *Cæsar's* Murderers: A Mistake, which has led him into a great many others [B], besides those which

[A] *Moreri* has confounded him with another *Cassius*, surnamed *Parmensis*. I cannot find, that any of the Ancients have given him the Name of *Severus*; and yet Father *Hardouin* tells us (1), he was called *Cassius Severus Parmensis*, and that the Orator, *Cassius Severus*, to prevent the being confounded with him, was surnamed *Longulanus*, from *Longula*, the Place of his Nativity (2). I could wish he had given us Proofs of all this, and told us whether the Poet was surnamed *Parmensis*, because he was born at *Parma*. Of this we have reason to doubt, when we consider that *Horace* calls him *Hetruscum* (3), *Tuscan*, and that *Parma* was then in *Gallia Cisalpina*; but, since it once belonged to *Tuscany*, why might not a Man, who was a Native of *Parma*, be still called *Hetruscus*? The same Father *Hardouin* observes, that the preceding Editions of *Pliny* marked *Cassius Severus*, *Longulanus*, as if they had been two different Authors, and that, in effect, *Simler*, in his Abridgement of *Gesner's* *Bibliothèque*, has made *Longulanus* a distinct Author. He tells us moreover, that there is an Epigram of this *Cassius Parmensis* upon *Orpheus*, inserted by *Pitæus* in his Collection of ancient Poems, published at *Paris* in 1590. I add to this, that the Epigram upon *Orpheus* appeared before *Pitæus's* Collection. *Achilles Statius* was the first, who published it (4): Afterwards *Nathan Chytræus* adorned it with a Comment. Many are of Opinion, that it is a supposititious Piece, and that *Achilles Statius* was the real Author of it (5). Every one knows how *Muretus* imposed upon the greatest Critic of his Time (6), in making some Verses pass with him for *Trabeas's* (7), as having been found in an old Manuscript, which *Muretus* had made himself. Why might not *Achilles Statius* make the same Trial of the public Taste? *Sigonius* did it once, as appears by the Book of *Consolatione*, which he would have pass for *Cicero's*.

[B] A Mistake, which has led him into a great many others. I. He observes that this *Cassius's* Writings, for being prejudicial to the Reputation of Persons of Quality, made *Augustus* enquire into all the remarkable Pieces, which were published. This shows he did not rightly understand the Passage in *Vellius*: *Scriptis suis procacibus proscripsit viros faminaque illustres, eaque re occasionem dedisse Augustus, ut de libellis famosis cognitionem susciperet* (8). Who would imagine, unless he saw it, that the Emperor, by this Passage, was curious of enquiring into the Famous Pieces, that were made public, and not rather armed with a just Indignation against scandalous Libels, and ordering his Judges to enquire into them, and punish the Authors? I believe Mr *Moreri* would have come off better, if he had gone back to the Source which *Vellius* shewed him, I mean the First Book of *Tacitus's* *Annals*; for there he would have found, that *Augustus* was the first, who, by virtue of the Law de Majestate, took cognizance of the Books, which the *Latins* called *Famosi*; from whence he would have concluded, that it was not out of Curiosity for all Famous Writings, but to cause a judicial Information against such Pieces, as those of *Cassius Severus*, that the

to me, that neither *Frederick Morel*, Royal Professor, nor Mr *Lloyd*, nor *Hofman*, have corrected this gross Blunder in *Charles Stephens*. It is entire and perfect in the Edition of 1620, and That of 1662. Mr *Lloyd* has only altered the Figures, which refer to the Citation from *Pliny*, without making them better: He has reduced them to these two, 7. 25. Mr *Hofman* has copied *Lloyd*, Letter for Letter. Immediately after, they give us, in good order, from the Remarks of *Vellius*, the Article of *Cassius Hemina*, the Annalist, the only one they ought to have mentioned, omitting their chimerical Surgeon of that Name.

Emperor was brought to this new Piece of Law. Now, what sort of Writings were these of *Cassius Severus*? They were *Satires*, wherein the Reputation of several Illustrious Persons of both Sexes had been torn to Pieces. Let us see *Tacitus's* Words. *Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis ejus (Majestatis) tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros formidatæ illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat* (9). — *Augustus was the first, who took cognizance of diffamatory Libels by Virtue of the Law de Majestate, moved thereto by the Licentiousness of Cassius Severus, with which he libelled the Characters of Persons of the first Rank, both Men and Women*. II. Mr *Moreri* says, in the second place, that *Cassius Severus* was one of those, who conspired against *Cæsar*; that, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, in the Year 712, he followed young *Pompey*; after that *Antony*, and that at length *Augustus* gave *Varus* orders to kill him, who, having found him in his Study, set it on Fire, and burnt him and his Books together. All this is false, and belongs to another *Cassius*, quite different from the present, as we shall see hereafter (10). III. *Tacitus* says, however, (*Moreri* goes on) that he was confined, by *Tiberius's* Order, to the Isle of *Crete*. This is something indeed, and properly belongs to our *Cassius*; but Mr *Moreri* cannot keep long in the right Road, without launching out again. *Tacitus* does not tell us, that it was *Tiberius* who confined *Cassius* to the Isle of *Crete*; he says only, under the Year 777, which was the tenth of *Tiberius*, that *Cassius's* Punishment was aggravated; for, instead of suffering him to continue in *Crete*, he was shut up in the little Isle of *Seriphus*, with an Interdiction of Fire and Water (11). We cannot gather from this Passage whether he was banished into *Crete* under *Augustus's* Reign, or after his Death; and, supposing it was after the Death of that Emperor, Mr *Moreri* has, however, put Words into *Tacitus's* Mouth which he never spoke. But what if we should prove, that he was banished in *Augustus's* Reign? which is done thus. *Cassius*, according to *St Jerom's* Chronicle, died *An. Christi* 33 (12), and the Twenty fifth of his Exile: It follows therefore, that he was confined to the Isle of *Crete* *An. Dom.* 8, which was the Fiftieth of *Augustus's* Reign. Now, since *Augustus* did not die till the Fifty sixth Year of his Reign, *Cassius's* Exile must precede *Tiberius's* Reign five or six Years. Hence it is that *Scaliger* reckons that *Ovid* and *Cassius* were banished much about the same time (13). IV. This evidently proves another Fault in Mr *Moreri*: He makes *St Jerom* say, that *Cassius* died after he had been an Exile fifteen Years, in the fourth Year of the CCIV Olympiad; that is to say, about the Year of CHRIST 24. It is but looking into *St Jerom's* Chronicle, and we shall there find, that *Cassius* died in the Twenty fifth Year of his Exile, the fourth of the CCII Olympiad, the Thirty third of JESUS CHRIST, and the Nineteenth of *Tiberius*. We cannot suppose here, that the Printer mistook one Figure for another; for, besides that there are some of these Numbers written at length, in this Article of *Moreri*, it is likely a Printer

(1) Comment. in Plin. Tom. I. in Indice Autorum.

(2) A Town of Italy, in the Country of the *Vulsci*, near *Rome*.

(3) Lib. i, Sat. 10.

(4) In his Notes upon Sueton. de claris Rhetoribus.

(5) See *Vossius* de Poet. Lat. and the *Thaeforus Scholasticus* Editions.

(6) *Jos. Scaliger*.

(7) An old comic Poet.

(8) De Hist. Lat. pag. 109.

(9) See Remark

(10) See Remark

(11) See Remark

(12) See Remark

(13) See Remark

(9) Tacit. Annal. lib. i, cap. lxxii.

(10) In Remark

(11) Annal. lib. iv, cap. xxii.

(12) Andr. Schottus has erroneously made it 30, in his *Tract* de claris apud Senecam Rhetoribus.

(13) Scaligeri Animadv. in Euseb. pag. 187, ad num. 2048.

spring from another Cause. The Reader shall have them in the Remarks, with a Blunder of the learned Apologist of Cardinal Mazarin [C]. *Vossius* has likewise confounded the Orator with the Poet [D]; for which he has been censured in some Remarks, which will not all stand the test. Some, on the other side, have split *Cassius Severus* into two [E]. This is not He, to whom *Ovid* wrote [F]; which *Scaliger* knew very well, though he refutes the Error by bad Reasons [G]. Difficulties

ter should mistake the Figures three times together, with the Symmetry we find here between the Faults? V. His last Blunder is, That he applies to *Cassius Severus* what *Horace* spoke of *Cassius Parmensis*, viz. That his Poetical Vein was more rapid than a Torrent, &c. I omit the Authors cited at the End of the Article, which have not one Word of our *Cassius Severus*.

[C] A Blunder of a learned Apologist of Cardinal Mazarin. I mean *Gabriel Naudæus*. *Cassius Parmensis*, says he (14), having written against *Augustus*, *Albius Tibullus* undertook his Defence.

(14) Naud. Dialog. de Mascarat. pag. 642.

* Hor. lib. i, Ep. 4, ver. 3.

Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat? *

But as for the Emperor, he was not at all concerned at it. Never was any thing more improperly alleged than this Verse of *Horace*; for he not only does not assure us, that *Tibullus* wrote any thing relating to *Cassius Parmensis*, and speaks only as doubting of it; but he supposes that, if *Tibullus* was about any thing of that nature, it was not to answer a Satire written against *Augustus*, but to exceed *Cassius Parmensis*. See the Verses following, and consult Mr *Dacier's* Notes upon them.

Albi nostrorum sermonum candide Judex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat?
An tacitum Sylvas inter reptare falubres,
Curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est (15)?

(15) Hor. ibid.

Albius, the fairest Critic that I know,
What shall I say, that you are doing now?
In Pedan Fields do you design to write
More great than Cassius, and with bigger sight?
Or dost thou gravely walk the healthy Wood,
Considering what befits the Wise and Good?

CREECH.

EXAMINATION of a Criticism of Mr. Dacier on *Vossius*.

(16) Tom. V, pag. 147, five in 6 Od. Epod. aut lib. v.

(17) Hardouin. in Indice Autorum Plin. affert ut de voce.

(18) *Vossius* de Poëtis Lat. pag. 24.

(19) Vide *Vossius* de Hist. Lat. pag. 109.

(20) *Glandorp*. Oromast. p. 299.

[D] *Vossius* has likewise confounded the Orator with the Poet. Mr *Dacier*, in his excellent Notes upon *Horace*, has taken notice of this Mistake (16). If it were true, that the Poet was called *Severus* (17), I should see but one Proof of *Vossius's* having confounded him with the Orator; for in this case he might have given the Poet the Name of *Cassius Severus Parmensis*, without confounding him with the Orator. And as for the Passage in *Quintilian*, which relates to *Cassius* the Orator, and which Mr *Dacier* quotes, to prove that *Vossius* had confounded the two *Cassii*, it can be no Proof; for *Vossius* had not that Passage in View, but quoted another out of the same *Quintilian*, relating, not to *Cassius Severus* the Orator, but *Cornelius Severus* the Poet (18). There is therefore but this one Proof left to Mr *Dacier*; which is, that *Vossius* applies to *Cassius Parmensis* what the old Scholiast upon *Horace* says of *Cassius Severus* on Od. vi. lib. v; so that Mr *Dacier* might have said that *Vossius* has applied to the Poet *Cassius*, not only what belongs to the Orator, but also what belongs to *Cornelius Severus* the Poet. *Vossius* is not guilty of this Mistake in his Book of the Latin Historians; for there he applies this Ode of *Horace* to *Cassius Severus* the Orator, distinguishes him from *Cornelius Severus*, and censures *La Popeliniere* for having confounded them (19).

[E] Some have split *Cassius Severus* into two. We shall now see, that, as, on one hand, *Cassius Severus*, and *Cassius Parmensis*, have been reduced into one, so, on the other, *Cassius Severus* has been divided into two. *Glandorp*, having related most of the Things, which are reported of him, presently after tells us, that there was another *Cassius Severus*, flourishing under *Vespasian*, and mentioned by *Pliny* cap. xi. lib. xxxv (20); but this is the same with

him, who was banished for his Slanders. This will appear at first Sight, if we consider upon what Occasion *Pliny* speaks of this *Cassius*: After having spoken of certain Dishes of so enormous a Capacity, that perhaps Luxury never appeared in greater Triumph than there, he adds, that *Vitellius's* Dish was not more infamous, than That of *Asprenas*, with which a hundred and thirty Guests had been poisoned, as *Cassius Severus*, *Asprenas's* Accuser, objected to him. Now we are told by *Suetonius* (21) that it was in *Augustus's* Reign that *Asprenas* was brought to Justice, by *Cassius Severus*, for poisoning.

[F] This is not he, to whom *Ovid* wrote. *Glandorp* has committed another Error a little before; for he thought that *F. Cassius Severus* was the same, to whom *Ovid* wrote the Eighth Epistle of his First Book de *Ponto*. Father *Andrew Schottus* was in the same Error (22), and so was *Vossius* (23); tho' *Scaliger* had refuted it, upon the Doubt he saw *Lilius Giraldus* in, whether the Orator *Cassius Severus*, and that *Severus*, to whom *Ovid* wrote, were one and the same Person.

[G] *Scaliger* — refutes this Error by bad Reasons. He says (24) there is as much difference between the one and the other, as between *Cassius's* Family and That of *Cornelius*; for He, to whom *Ovid* wrote, was the Poet *Cornelius Severus*; the other is *Cassius Severus* the Orator. It appears plainly by these Words, that *Scaliger* was persuaded, that this *Cassius* was of the Family *Cassia*, one of the most Illustrious of *Rome*; but this is false, since, according to *Tacitus*, that Orator was of mean Extraction (25). *Scaliger's* other Reason is a Riddle to me: I have read the Place over and over again, without comprehending any thing of it. He says that *Cornelius Severus* was yet living after the Death of *Augustus*; but *Cassius Severus* had been five Years exiled before the Death of that Emperor, almost at the same time that *Ovid* was. The Printers must have forgot some Word, as for Example *Romæ*; for, without that, *Scaliger* would argue pitifully; and, if it be supposed, that he said, that *Cornelius Severus* lived at *Rome* after the Death of *Augustus*, it is a convincing Reason, that this *Cornelius* was not *Cassius Severus*, who, having been exiled before the Death of *Augustus*, never returned from his Exile. This is the true Means effectually to remove *Giraldus's* Doubt, and to confute the Opinions of *Glandorp* and *Vossius*. They need only be referred to *Ovid's* Letter. They will find it dated in the fourth Year of his Exile, and directed to a Man, who enjoyed all the Pleasures of *Rome*, and all the Delight of his Country-House; which, at that Time, did no ways agree with the Orator *Cassius*, confined to the Island of *Crete*. If *Giraldus's* Doubt concerned the Second Letter of the Fourth Book de *Ponto*, it may also be solved by the Letter itself, since it is directed to a Poet, who was in Prosperity.

It must be known, that, besides the Eighth Epistle of the First Book de *Ponto*, there is one (26) in the Fifth Book, written to one *Severus*, who was a Poet by Profession, as is easy to be gathered from the manner in which *Ovid* writes to him. Perhaps it is *Cornelius Severus*, as *Vossius* (27) and Father *Briet* (28) have thought. So that, according to *Vossius*, the Eighth Letter of the First Book de *Ponto*, and the Second of the Fourth Book, were written to the same Friend. If it be so, it must not be believed, that those Letters were placed according to the Order of Time; the Second of the Fourth Book is of older Date than the Eighth of the First, seeing in the First *Ovid* makes Excuses to his Friend for not having yet written to him. Moreover, considering his Friend under divers Occupations, in the Eighth Letter of the First Book, he says nothing whereby it may appear that he wrote to a Poet. This would be very singular in Persons who pretended to Poetry, and who applied themselves so much to it as *Ovid* and

(21) In Aug. cap. lvi.

(22) De claris apud Senecam Rhetor.

(23) Voss. de Hist. Lat. pag. 109.

(24) Scalig. Animadv. in Chron. Euseb. pag. 187. Edit. Amstel. 1658.

(25) Relatum de Cassio Severo ex fide, qui Jordida originis, malefem vite, sed orandi validus, &c. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv, cap. xxi.

(26) It is the second.

(27) De Poëtis Lat. pag. 34.

(28) De Poëtis Lat. pag. 28.

culties may be formed as to the Time, wherein *Cassius* was punished for his Satires [H]; for Authors disagree concerning the Laws, which *Augustus* published against

and *Cornelius Severus*. So that there is some small reason to question, whether those two Epistles are to the same Person; but it is very certain, that neither the one nor the other were written to *Cassius Severus*.

[H] Difficulties may be formed as to the Time, wherein *Cassius* was punished for his Satires. St *Jerom's* Calculation, concerning the Exile of This Satirist, is capable of embroiling other Calculations. *Cassius* is justly called Satirical: He might also pass for a Martyr to Slander, since, having drawn a hard Exile upon himself by his Satires, and not altering his Tone after his Disgrace, he raised new Enemies against himself, without appealing those he had already angered (29). Which drew a harder Storm upon him, and such an excessive Poverty, that he had scarcely wherewith to cover his Nakedness. He died in that miserable Condition in the Twenty fifth Year (30) of his Exile, according to St *Jerom*. Now, as it was the nineteenth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, This Exile must have began five or six Years before *Augustus* died. But how shall we make this agree with *Dio*, who does not say, that *Augustus* punished any Libellers, or gave Orders to suppress the satirical Licence, till the Seven hundred and sixty fifth Year of *Rome*, that is to say, two Years before the Death of That Emperor? It must not be questioned, but that Those Proceedings and Regulations are the same, which made *Tacitus* say, that *Augustus*, being angry at the Libels of *Cassius Severus*, was the first who ordered Information to be taken, by the Law of *Majesté*, against That kind of Writings. Neither must it be doubted, but that That Writer was banished from *Rome* very near the same Time that the Emperor made those new Ordinances. So that either St *Jerom's* Chronology, is not right, or That of *Dio* is not so. *Suetonius* will not clear up the Matter; he will tell us, indeed, that *Augustus* made such like Ordinances, but not in what Year of his Reign. Neither does *Tacitus* note the Time of it; he satisfied himself with only shewing the Occasion of it.

If it be difficult to fix the Period of the Edict of *Augustus* against Libels, it seems not to be so to find in general, that he published it in the latter Years of his Life. From whence it appears, that They are deceived, who say, that *Horace* had regard to it, where he makes his Friend represent to him, that there were Laws against satirical Poets (31). The Commentator *Chabot* says upon this, that *Suetonius* speaks of the same Law, which is meant in these Words of *Horace*, and quotes *Suetonius* very ill, mutilating the Passage on one side, and adding, on the other, Glosses and Explanations, all in *Italic*. So that one cannot discern what is *Suetonius's*, from what is not. But the grossest Fault is to pretend, that *Horace* had the Law in View, which *Suetonius* mentions; a Law, which was not made till a long time after That Poet's Death; which happened in the Thirty sixth Year of the Reign of *Augustus*, Twenty Years before That of this Emperor. *Torrentius* committed the same Fault in his Commentary on *Suetonius*: *Ad novum Augusti*, says he, *hoc de re editum respexit baud dubie Horat. l. ii. ad Trebatium*. Si mala conderit, &c. — *Horace* undoubtedly had in view the new Edict of *Augustus* concerning this matter, in lib. ii. *Ad Trebatium*, &c. The Author of the new Commentary *Variorum* on *Suetonius*, in 8vo, is of the same Opinion with *Torrentius*. The Dauphin (32) Scholiast goes farther still, saying, that *Horace* considered also the Edict of *Augustus*, in the First Epistle of the Second Book, where it is more plain, that he speaks of an ancient Law, established on the Occasion of the unbridled Liberty of the Farce-Players.

Quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
Describi. Vertere modum formidine fustis,
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti (33).

Till Laws commanded to regard Mens Fame,
Severely lash the Vice, but spare the Name.

Fear made them civil, and design to write
With Modesty, speak well, and to delight.

CREECH.

It is commonly believed, that the Poet means only there the Prohibition, which was made by the Laws of the twelve Tables, to defame any one whosoever. *Forsterus* (34) has erred yet more grossly than all those I have mentioned; he not only applies *Horace's* Verses, before cited, to the Edict of *Augustus*, but also these Words of the Art of Poetry:

Lex est accepta chorusque
Turpiter obtineat, sublato jure nocendi.

Thus was the Chorus left; their railing Muse
Grew silent, when forbidden to abuse.

Idem.

Might the Epoch of the Edict of *Augustus*, noted by *Dio*, and pointed out by *Tacitus*, be criticized with reason, if the Business of *Labienus* were alleged, whose Books were condemned to be burnt, before *Cassius Severus* was called to an account for his satirical Writings? It seems at first to be an Objection, since it cannot be true, that the Proceedings of *Augustus* against Libels began with those of *Cassius Severus*, or two Years before the Death of that Emperor, if it be true that the Senate caused *Labienus's* Books to be burnt, at a time when *Cassius* was yet quiet at Home. Now it appears from *Seneca*, that this happened at such a time; since, when he bemoans the Loss of *Labienus's* Writings, and the Author's Resolution to shut himself up in the Tomb of his Ancestors, that he might not survive the Productions of his Wit, he remarks, that, at the same time that those Books were burnt, *Cassius Severus* said, *They must now burn me alive, because I have them by heart* (35). 'Cassii Severi hominis Labienus junctissimi belle dicta res ferebatur: Illo tempore quo libri Labieni ex Senatus-consulto urebantur, nunc me, inquit, vivum uri oportet, qui illos edidi' (36).

It may be answered, that the Books of *Labienus* were not properly defamatory Libels, or Satires, against every body; that they were Histories, wherein he spoke like a Commonwealth's-man, much for the Advantage of *Pompey*, and of those who had endeavoured to revive his Party; that, to say the truth, those kind of Writings offend as much as defamatory Libels; and that *Augustus* thought himself obliged to take cognizance of them; but that it might be on another foot, than when he made the Ordinances, spoken of by the Historians, whom I have cited above.

Say what you will, I shall never be persuaded that the Writings of *Labienus* were only condemned because the Author spoke well of *Cæsar's* Enemies. It is true, that, under the fierce and cruel *Tiberius*, it cost an Author (37) his Life for having praised *Brutus*, and for having said, that *Cassius* was the last *Roman*: but History notes also, that it was the first Process, which was begun upon such an account; and we see by the Speech of the Accused, that *Augustus* withdrew not his Affection from *Livy*, nor discharged *Asinius Pollio* and *Messala Corvinus* from their Offices, tho' they had spoken very advantageously of *Cæsar's* Enemies. We learn there also, that divers Writings, very injurious to That Emperor, or to *Augustus*, were not taken notice of. From whence it is very easy to infer, that, if the Books of *Labienus* were condemned to be burnt, it is because they were full of Invectives against a great number of Persons. *Seneca* does not permit us to doubt, but that they were of That Character; for see here what he says of it: 'Libertas tanta ut libertatis nomen excederet, ut quia passim ordines hominesque laniaret, Rabienus vocaretur. Animus per vitia ingens, & ad similitudinem ingenii sui violentus, & qui Pompeianos spiritus nondum in tanta pace posuisset. Memini aliquando cum recitaret historiam, magnam partem convolvisse & dixisse, Hæc quæ transeo' (38).

(34) Histor. Juris civil. lib. i, cap. xxxi, pag. 222.

THE Writings of *Labienus* condemned to be burnt.

(35) Some Authors speak of this, as if *Cassius* had said so of his own Books; *Erasme*. *Apophteg. lib. viii. pag. 659.* *Jeremias de Pours, pag. 677* of the *Dreine Melody*, where he calls him *Cassianus*; *Christians Librarian, pag. 111.* *Exercit. de scribendis & asinandis libris*, and others.

(36) *Seneca*, *Prefat. lib. xxv.* *Controversiarum.*

(37) *Crematius Cordus. Consult. Tacitus Ann. lib. iv, cap. xxxiv.*

(29) Per immo-
dicas inimicitias
et judicio jurati
Senatus in Cre-
tam amoveretur
efficeret. Atque
illuc eidem ac-
tando, recentia
veteraque odia
advertis, bonif-
que exutus, in-
terdicto igni at-
que aqua, saxo
Scriphio conie-
nit. *Tacitus*
Ann. lib. iv, cap.
xxi.

(30) XXV exilii
sui anno in sum-
ma inopia mori-
tur, vix panno
verenda conte-
tus. *Chron. Eu-*
lebi.

HORACE
misunderstood
concerning the
Laws against
Satires.

(31) Si mala con-
derit in quem
quis carmina,
jus est
judiciumque.
Horat. Satir. i,
lib. ii, ver. 82.

(32) In *Sueton.*
Aug. cap. iv, pag.
176.

(33) *Horat. E-*
pist. i, lib. ii,
ver. 152.

against Libels. *Plutarch* did not consult Chronology well in speaking of our *Cassius* [I]. The satirical Humour of This Man inclined him often to set up for an Accuser, without being discouraged by the bad Success of his Causes [K]. The manner

(38) Seneca Pref. lib. v. Controversiarum.

post mortem meam legentur. Quanta in illis libertas fuit, quam etiam Labienus extimuit (38). — The Liberty he took was so great, that it exceeded the Name of Liberty, inasmuch that, by tearing to pieces whole Orders, and Mankind in general, he acquired the Name of Rabienus. He was a very wicked Man, and naturally violent, nor had he laid down the Spirit of his Party (That of Pompey) after so long a Peace. — I remember once, when he was reciting his History, and had gone through great Part of it, He said; What I pass over will be read after my Death. How great was the Liberty taken in them, which even Labienus dreaded? If he had kept within the same general Terms, as *Livy*, he had enjoyed the same Impunity with him, and would not have found an intimate Friend in *Cassius Severus*, nor a great Admirer of his Writings. Moreover, the same *Seneca* declares, that, before *Labienus*'s Books were condemned to be burned, they had never heard of the like Proceedings; and he congratulates the Public, for not having thought of that kind of Punishment, when *Cicero* was put to death. Res nova & infueta supplicia de studiis sumi: bono hercle publico ista in poenas ingeniosa crudelitas post *Ciceronem* inventa est. Quid enim futurum fuit si *Triumviris* libuisset ingenium *Ciceronis* proscibere? Dii melius quod eo saeculo ista ingeniorum supplicia coeperunt quo & ingenia defuerunt (39).

(39) Id. *ibid.*

DISAGREEMENT between *Tacitus* and *Dio*.

It results from all these Authorities; I. That *Labienus*'s Books were not burned, by reason of the Partiality, which appeared in them, in general, for *Pompey*'s Friends. The Speech of *Crementius Cordus* is a Proof of it. II. That they were very satirical Writings; *Seneca* insinuates it clearly. III. That they were the first Writings of that kind that were burned. IV. That it was done before either the Person or the Satires of *Cassius Severus* were attacked. But this can never be reconciled with *Dio*, nor with *Tacitus*; the latter will have the Libels of *Cassius* the Cause of *Augustus*'s proceeding, by the Law of Majesty, against Satires; the other will have it, that the Order of informing against Libels, and burning them, and the punishing of some satirical Authors, preceded the Death of *Augustus* but two Years. *St. Jerom*, with the Twenty five Years time that he gives to the Exile of *Cassius Severus*, deceased in the nineteenth Year of *Tiberius*, would not be a good Mediator here. It must necessarily be, that the one or the other have been very little exact. Should it be *Seneca*? should He have confounded the Time? Would That, which *Cassius* said only in his Exile, have been attributed to him by *Seneca* as a Jest, spoken at *Rome* before his Exile? But, if *Seneca* be deceived as to a thing, which passed in his time, and which concerned two Orators of his Acquaintance; how can we depend upon any thing he says? If he has told us the Truth, we have here a convincing Proof of a Fact, which *Vossius* finds ambiguous, or at most probable, viz. that *Labienus* died in the Time of *Augustus* (40).

(40) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. pag. 317.

[I] *Plutarch* did not consult Chronology well in speaking of our *Cassius*. He says, that, *Tiberius* being one Day in the Senate, a Senator represented to the Assembly, that they ought to speak freely, and declare, without dissembling, what concerned the public Good. This beginning having made every body very attentive, the Senator directed his Speech to *Tiberius*, to tell him, that there were great Complaints against him, no one daring to tell him of it, for giving himself too much Trouble for the Commonwealth, and for sacrificing his Pleasures and his Health to it. As he continued a long Series of such Discourse, it is said, adds *Plutarch*, that the Orator *Cassius Severus* said, *The Liberty This Man takes will cause his Death* (41). It is impossible *Cassius* should say This on the same Day that the Senator uttered these Flatteries; since *Cassius*, exiled before *Augustus* died, never was recalled. I wonder, that the vast Memory of *Theophilus Raynaud* (42) did not supply him with this Example of the punishing defamatory Libels, when he was speaking of what was done by the Romans in that Respect.

(41) *Plutarch*. Discontent of the Flatterer and the Friend, chap. xvii.

(42) *Theoph. Rayn. Erotes*. mat. de malis sc bonis libris, pag. 72.

[K] His satirical Humour prompted him often to set up for an Accuser without being discouraged by his bad Success (43). If ever any Man deserved not to be pitted in the Miseries of his Exile, it was doubtless *Cassius Severus*; for, besides the Character of his Detraction, which was an excessive and incorrigible Sourness, he pleased himself so much with accusing, that one would have thought he had set up for a common Accuser. This bad Inclination engaged him to take upon him the most ill-grounded Causes, and not to be discouraged at the loss of them. It was so common to see Persons acquitted in those Trials, that *Augustus*'s Will, that the Forum he was building, which went but slowly forward, might be accused by *Cassius* (44), was put among his Jest. *Augustus*'s Thought is grounded only on the double Signification of *absolvere*; that Word signifying to finish and to absolve. This jest is but a Quibble, or Pun, according to the Relish of the present times; I say the present times; for it is not yet fifty Years, since these kind of Equivocations passed for Attic Salt (45). However it be, This Quibble is no less a Proof of *Cassius*'s Inclination to accuse, than the Exclamation he made in beginning his Plea against *Asprenas*, whose Accuser he was: I am living by the Grace of the Gods, and I have wherewith to find Life pleasant, since I see *Asprenas* in the Hands of Justice. Nothing can be more judicious than the Reflexion of *Quintilian* on this Exordium. Sine dubio in omnibus statim accusationibus hoc agendum est, ne ad eas libenter descendisse videamur; ideoque mihi illud *Cassii* Severi non mediocriter displicet; Dii boni, vivo; & quo me vivere juvet, *Asprenatem* reum video. Non enim iusta ex causa, vel necessaria, videri potest postulasse eum, sed quadam accusandi voluptate (46). — No doubt, in all Accusations, this is first to be taken care of, that we seem not to undertake them willingly; for which reason I am not a little displeased with the Exclamation of *Cassius Severus*; Ye Gods, I am alive, and, to make my Life pleasant, I see *Asprenas* accused. For he does not seem to have been his Accuser justly, or through Necessity, but out of a certain Pleasure he took in accusing. Assuredly this *Cassius* was a villainous Fellow, and those who resemble him in every Age deserve to die as miserable as he, and to make one say, according to the Translation of *Amiot*, Que désormais autant en puisse il prendre A qui voudra telle chose entreprendre (47).

Que désormais autant en puisse il prendre

A qui voudra telle chose entreprendre (47).

May the same Fate, for the Future, attend the same Undertakings.

For if, in the Roman Commonwealth, where they looked upon accusing as a Gate, through which young Advocates of Quality entered into the World (48), and as a noble Career, which could perfect Orators (49), and imprint Fear in the wicked (50), they nevertheless despised and hated those, who made a Trade of accusing; what can be said strong enough, under Christianity, and in States, which govern themselves otherwise than ancient Rome: I say, what can be represented strong enough against those, who use this Trade? I quote *Quintilian* again: he declares, that there is but little Difference between a Robber on the Highway, and a professed Accuser: Accusatoriam vitam vivere & ad deferendos reos premio duci proximum latrocinio est (51). *Cicero* looks upon it as a great Blemish on the Family *Junia*, to have produced an Orator, who exercised the Trade here mentioned. Iidem temporibus M. Brutus, in quo magnum fuit, Brute, dedecus generi vestro, qui cum tanto nomine esset patremque optimum virum habuisset & juris peritissimum, accusationem facitaverit, ut Athenis Lycurgus. Is magistratus non petivit, sed fuit accusator vehemens & molestus, ut facile cerneret naturale quoddam stirpis bonum degenerasse vitio depravatae voluntatis (52). — At the same time lived M. Brutus, in whom, O Brutus, your Family was greatly disgraced: Who, notwithstanding

But a Character of this *Cassius*. He delighted in accusing.

(43) From thence proceeds this Jest of *Augustus*. Cum multi Severo *Cassio* accitante ablo'verentur, & Architectus fori *Augusti* expectationem operis distraheret, ita joctatus est, *Vellem Cassius & meum Forum accuset*. — Many Persons, attacked by *Cassius* having been absolved, and the Architect of *Augustus*'s Forum happening to delay the Work, *Augustus* made this Jest; I wish *Cassius* would accuse my Forum. *Macrobius*. Saturna lib. ii. cap. iv.

(44) See the foregoing Citation.

(45) Witness the Verses of *St. Aspert*, in the Article BAUTRU (WILLIAMS), Citation (1).

(46) *Quintil. Instit. Orat. lib. xii. cap. i.*

(47) It is a Translation of one of *Horace*'s Verses, applied by *Scipio Africanus* to the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*. See *Plut.* in *Tiberio Graccho*. pag. 834.

(48) *Quintil. lib. xii. cap. vii.* *Apuleius* in *Apolonia*. See his Words in the Article ALBUTIUS (TERTIUS), Citation (11).

(49) *Cicero* de Officiis, lib. ii. cap. xiv.

(50) *Quintil. lib. xii. cap. vii.*

(51) Id. *ibid.*

(52) *Cicero*, in *Bruto*, cap. xxxiv.

manner in which he tormented the Orator *Cassius* (b), who had made an Answer to *Cicero's* Oration *pro Milone*, suffices to shew, that there never was a more extravagant Caviller, nor a more quarrelsome Man, than he: And it is very remarkable, that he never pleaded in Defence of the accused (c), except when he was forced to plead his own Cause in the like condition. Mr *Hofman* is deceived in certain things [L]. Authors do not agree about *Cassius Severus's* Country [M]. We shall see the Mistakes of *Peter Crinitus* in the Remarks [N].

(b) See the Article CESTIUS, and Seneca Tract. lib. iii, Declam. pag. 337.

(c) Seneca Epit. tom. Declamit. lib. iii, pag. 336.

It

* withstanding his great Name, and that his Father
* was the worthiest of Men, and an excellent Lawyer,
* yet praised the Trade of Accusation, as *Lycurgus*
* did at Athens. This *Brutus* did not aim at the
* Magistracy, but was a vehement and vexatious
* Accuser; so that you might easily see, that a de-
* proved Inclination had corrupted the natural good
* Disposition of his Race. He remarks, in another
* place, that a Person must almost have renounced the
* Title and Nature of a Man, to put the Lives of
* many Persons in danger; and that a Brand of Infamy
* and Cowardice is printed on his Fame, who puts
* himself in a Condition to deserve the Epithet of
* Accuser. * *Duri hominis vel potius vix hominis vi-*
* * *detur periculum capitis inferre multis: id cum pe-*
* *riculum ipsum est, tum etiam fœdum ad famam*
* *committere ut accusator nominetur, quod contigit*
* *M. Bruto summo genere nato, illius filio qui juris*

(53) Id. de Offi-
ciis, lib. ii, cap.
xiv.

(54) It is the
5th of the 34th
Conversation,
pag. 329.

* *civilis in primis peritus fuit* (53). What would
he say now, were he a Christian, and saw Persons,
called by their Character to quite another thing,
set up for Informers, and perpetual Accusers, some-
times by printed Libels, sometimes by Letters,
without mentioning the Author's Name; inclosing
all kind of Business in the extent of their Accusa-
tions, Crimes of State, Crimes of Heresy; placing
themselves in the Centre of all kind of Spies and
News-mongers; being no more discouraged, than
Cassius Severus, at the perpetual Absolutions of those
whom they attacked, &c. What would he say? It
may be easily guessed. There is a very fine Chap-
ter in *Balzac's* Conversations (54); see here the
latter Part of it. * We have yet a Fragment of a
* Plea of the Orator *Calvus* against this Man so
* universally hated, the infamous *Vatinius*; and
* That Fragment is in the Collections of the ancient
* Rhetoricians in these terms (if my Memory does
* not deceive me); *Hominem nostræ civitatis auda-*
* *cissimum, seditiosum, fœdum, accusatorem; wherein*
* *I see he does not forget That ill quality, among*
* *those of Vatinius, whom he accuses of being an*
* *Accuser.* Once again, it was incomparably more
pardonable, in those times, to set up for an Accuser,
than it is in our Age: for, what will not a Man do
in a Democracy to gain the People's Affection? Now
they did the People of *Rome* a great Pleasure in ac-
cusing those, who had exercised the Offices of the
Republic: they looked upon Accusers as Hounds that
fall upon Wolves. * *Ἐδοκε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος αὐτοῖς*
* *(Ρωμαίοις) ἀνευ περὶ φάσεως ἢ ἀρετῆς εἶναι,*
* *τὸ τῆς καλῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔργον; ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τὸς*
* *νῦν ἐξέλοντο τοῖς ἀνέκδοτον ἐπιφρονέμεν ὄντιν,*
* *ὥσπερ θύρετρον ἐννεύει σὺν λακῇ. Et quidem*
* *videbatur aliqui vel non suppetente causa res non pu-*
* *den-da accusatio, sed delebantur juvenibus improbos*
* *ut generosis canibus feras consectantibus* (55). Thus,
at present, in Commonwealths, there is no better
way to gain the Applause of the Mob, than to
declaim against the Magistrates in the Pulpit.

(55) Plot. in Lu-
cullio, init. See
the Remark [D],
of the Article St
BERNARD.

[L] Mr *Hofman* is deceived in certain things.]
He is more correct here, than Mr *Moreri*; yet
he is not so much as he might be; *quisque suos*
patitur manes.

I. In the first place, he gives us *Cassius Severus*,
an Orator, in an Article by itself, with the Judg-
ment that *Quintilian* makes of him; to which he
adds, that his Writings were suppressed by a De-
cree of the Senate: for this he cites *Suetonius*, and
at last refers us to *Vossius*. This Article is found en-
tire in Mr *Lloyd's* Dictionary, who gave it as he had
found it in *Charles Stephens*, except the Reference
to *Vossius*, which he added to it. Complaint may be
made against all three, in respect to the Citation from
Suetonius (56): for, as he only speaks of the sup-
pressing of *Cassius's* Books, to inform us, that they
were approved afterwards by *Caligula*, with those of
Crematius Cordus and *Labiatus*, the Decree ought
not to have been spoken of, which forbade the read-

ing of them; or else he ought to have informed us,
that That Interdiction was taken off some time after.
II. Next to This Article, Mr *Hofman* gives us an-
other, which is That of *Cassius Severus* of *Parma*, an
Orator; of whom he says divers things, which be-
long only to *Cassius Severus* of the foregoing Article.
He cites some Authors indeed, as *Horace* in the nine-
teenth Satire (57) of the first Book, *Paterculus*, *Ap-*
* *pian*, and *Orosius*, who say nothing of That *Cassius*.
So that, not content with having made two Articles
for one and the same Man, he fally gives the Sir-
name of *Parmensis* to *Cassius Severus* the Orator, and
applies to him what was only said of another *Cassius*.
The worst is, that he concludes the Article with
this Interrogation, full of doubt, in a thing that has
no manner of Difficulty? *An idem cum Cassio Poëta?*
The Orator *Cassius*, confined by *Augustus* in the
Island of *Crete*, and by *Tiberius* in That of *Seriphus*,
where he died in the Twenty fifth Year of his Exile,
is he the same Man with the Poet *Cassius* of *Parma*,
whom *Augustus* put to Death at *Athens*, a little
after the Battle of *Actium*, above forty Years before
Tiberius mounted the Throne? III. Mr *Hofman* is
judged by his own Words; for, in the foregoing
Page, he had given us the Article of the Poet *Cassius*
of *Parma*; where he had said, that, after the De-
feat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, That Poet retired to
Athens, and that *Varus*, who was sent by *Augustus*
to kill him, found him busy at his Study, and hav-
ing killed him, brought away his Books and his
strong Box. In all this he has followed Mr *Lloyd*
word for word: and the latter had done the same
by *Charles Stephens*, whom he had better have cor-
rected for having suppressed all the Actions of That
Cassius, from the Battle of *Philippi* to that of *Actium*:
for it is not true, as they affirm all three, that, after
the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he retired to
Athens: he attached himself to the Son of *Pompey*,
and afterwards to *Marc Antony*, and had Employ-
ments under both, and did not go to *Athens* till after
the Battle of *Actium*, in the Year 722 of *Rome*. He was
the only one remaining of those, who had murdered
Cæsar (58); but he did not live long after his Re-
treat (59); and it is believed that he lived not quite
fourteen Years, after he had assisted at That Murder
(60). However it be, Mr *Hofman*, who anticipates
his Death, by making him go to *Athens* a little after
the Battle of *Philippi*, in the Year 712 of *Rome*,
makes him so much the fitter to be distinguished
from *Cassius Severus*, confined in the Island of *Ser-*
iphus in the Reign of *Tiberius*.

Note by the way, that *Suetonius* says, that hardly
any of *Cæsar's* Murderers survived him above three
Years (61): yet it is true, that many of them passed
That time. *Petavius* has made *Suetonius* speak with-
out Exception; *nullus triennio amplius superstes fuit*
— *ut ait Suetonius* (62). Mr *Chevreau*, in the
fourth Chapter of the third Book of the History
of the World, says, that none of them could out-
live *Cæsar* above three Years.

[M] Authors do not agree about *Cassius Severus's*
Country.] Father *Hardouin's* Opinion about This
Cassius's Country is very opposite to That of *Vossius*;
for *Vossius* (63) pretends, that, when *Pliny* the
younger (64) demanded for *Herennius Severus* the
Pictures of *Cornelius Nepos*, and of *Titus Cassius*,
Countrymen of the *Severus* (65), to whom he
writes, he means our *Cassius Severus*. If this be
true, the latter was not of *Longula*, as Father *Har-*
douin pretends (66), since *Cornelius Nepos* was Neigh-
bour to the *Po* (67); which those of *Verona* explain to
their Advantage (68), in order to procure the Honour
to their City of having produced *Cornelius Nepos*. But
Catanus disputes this Honour briskly with them,
and maintains, that *Parma* is nearer the *Po* than *Ve-*
rona; and that, since *Titus Cassius* was of *Parma*,
Cornelius Nepos must have been born there likewise
(69). I leave them to dispute it. However, it is
true

(57) It must be
10, and not 19.
The first Book of
the Satires of
Horace contains
but 10, and the
second but 8.

(58) Vell. Pa-
terc. lib. ii, cap.
lxxxvii.

(59) Val. Max.
lib. i, cap. vii.
n. 7.

(60) See *Cassius*
ad Suet. in
Jul. cap. ult.

(61) Suet. ibid.
(62) Petav. Ra-
tionar. Temp.
Parte I, lib. iv,
cap. xx.

(63) Voss. de
Hist. Lat. pag.
110.

(64) Lib. iv, E-
pist. xxviii.

(65) *Catanus*
calls this *Seve-*
rus, *Julius*,
without giving
any reason for it;
and consequently
he distinguishes
him from him,
to whom the 6th
Letter of the 3d
Book is written,
whom he makes
Pliny's Country-
man.

(66) In *Indice*
Autorum Plinii.
I believe he
grounds what he
says on the List
of the Authors
of the 35th Book
of *Pliny*.

(67) Padi accolæ.
Plin. lib. iii, cap.
xviii.

(68) *Vossius* de
Hist. Lat. p. 69.

(69) Comment.
in *Plin. Epist.*
xxviii, lib. iv.

It is but just, that I should also discover the fair side of our *Cassius Severus*. His Eloquence made him reign over his Auditors; he turned them which way he would; he disposed of their Anger at his Pleasure. They were so delighted to hear him, that they feared he should end too soon. His Voice united two Perfections, which seldom go together; it was strong, and had much Sweetness: And, as he was of a majestic Stature, it might be said, that his Body seconded his Wit well. The Gravity, which he wanted in the Conduct of his Life, appeared signally in his Words; for, when he set jesting aside, his Speech had all the Weight and Character of the Harangue of a Censor (d). He had such a ready Wit, that he succeeded much better in the things he said *extempore*, than in those he had studied. His *Impromptu's* at the Bar were much more charming than the Thoughts he brought prepared: They, who pleaded against him, took great care not to interrupt him; they were sensible that, by stinging him, they gave new Strength to his Eloquence, and that it was an Advantage to him to be put out of the Thread of his Discourse. Unexpected Cases were more favourable to him, than the Study of the Closet (e); yet never any Man prepared himself more carefully than he. His Speeches were extremely elaborate; he could not suffer any Negligence in them: They were filled with great Thoughts; all was to the purpose; the shortest Inattention of his Auditors made them lose a good thing (f). The good Fortune he had so often experienced, as to what his Mind suggested to him *extempore*, never made him less careful to prepare himself. He was not contented with strong Meditation, but wrote also almost all that he had to say. This is the Substance of the Judgment, which *Seneca* made of this Orator (g), and which serves him for a Preface to a curious Recital [O]. *Quintilian's* Judgment does not agree in all things with this. Observe, that our *Cassius*, and one of those Men, whose Combats diverted the People of *Rome*, resembled each other so perfectly, that it was hard to distinguish the one from the other [P].

(d) Quamdiu citra jocos se continebat, censoria oratio erat. *Seneca. Pref. libr. Declam. pag. 336.*

(e) Melius semper fortuna quam cura de illo merebat. *Id. ibid.*

(f) Nulla pars erat quæ non sua virtute staret: nihil in quo auditor sine damno aliud ageret: omnia intenta aliquid potentia. *Id. ibid.*

(g) *Id. ibid.*

(70) Onomasticon Roman. p. 209.

(71) Vide Græci Not. in Plin. Variorum Edit. Lug. Bat. 1669.

(72) De Poet. Lat. cap. xlvii.

(73) It is in the 16th Letter of the 4th Book of *Ponto*.

(74) This Ode proves, that, at first, *Cassius Severus* durst not vent his Calumnies on formidable Persons. Afterwards he became more bold. See Tacit. *Annal. lib. i, cap. 40.*

true, that *Cataneus* seems to be ignorant of the Difference there is between the Poet *Cassius Parmensis*, and the Orator *Cassius Severus*. Perhaps *Vassius* is mistaken after *Glandorpius* (70), in taking *Titus Cassius*, mentioned by *Pliny* the younger, for the Orator *Cassius Severus*; for, if *Pliny* had asked the Picture of *Cassius Severus* from a Man, whose Name was *Severus*, and for a Man, whose Name was likewise *Severus*, he would I think have said something on That Conformity of Name. But I confess that such a Proof is not conclusive. However it be, *Pliny* says nothing, which signifies either that he speaks of a learned Person whose surname is *Severus*, or that He, of whom he speaks, is rather *Cassius* the Orator, than *Cassius* the Poet: Both of them might have had the *Prænomens* of *Titus*. Besides, the Readings of the old Manuscripts vary extremely (71). Some have it *Titii Catii*; others *Titii Atii*; and in the Margins there is *Aticii*, or *Catili*.

[N] We shall see the Mistakes of *Peter Crinitus*. He says (72), I. That *Cassius Severus*, Native of *Parma*, as Authors say, was counted by *Ovid* among the Poets, who flourished in his time, such as *Sabinus*, *Montanus*, *Melissus*, and *Propertius*. II. That it is He, who, having signalized himself in the War of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, retired to *Athens*, where he was killed by the Order of *Augustus*. III. That *Horace* wished him ill, as he testified in divers places, and chiefly in the Iambic Verses imitated from *Archilochus*. IV. That he must not be confounded either with *Cornelius Severus*, or with the Orator *Cassius Severus*. He plainly commits the Fault, which he condemns in others; I mean, that he confounds *Cassius Parmensis* with *Cornelius Severus*, and with *Cassius Severus*: for, since he acknowledges, that the first was put to death during his Retreat at *Athens*, he ought to count him for dead from the Year 723 of *Rome*, more or less. Now, as *Ovid* was then but a young Scholar of twelve or thirteen Years, it must not be thought, that he put him in the List of the Poets his Contemporaries, which he gave us in his old Age. This admits of no Difficulty, when That List is examined (73), wherein he opposes, against some Passages of a Critic, the Reputation he had at *Rome*, at the time when he lived there with such and such (those whom *Crinitus* names), a *Severus*, and some others. Let the Reader judge, whether this *Severus* be not *Cornelius Severus*, with whom *Crinitus* takes it very ill that *Cassius Parmensis* should be confounded. It is moreover certain, that those Verses, imitated from *Archilochus*, are only the sixth Ode of the fifth Book of *Horace* (74), which concerns only the Orator *Cassius Severus*. It will be perceived, without my remarking it, that *Cri-*

nitus falls into the Faults above-mentioned, concerning the suppressing of the Exploits of *Cassius Parmensis*, from the Battle of *Philippi* to That of *Actium*.

[O] *Seneca* makes a Judgment of this Orator, which serves him for a Preface to a curious Recital. That Recital contains the Answer, which *Cassius* made, when he was asked, why he succeeded much better in the Causes that he pleaded, than in the declamatory Speeches that he made on imaginary Subjects. It was much the Custom in those times to declaim on such Subjects. *Seneca*, who had asked *Cassius* this Question, relates what was answered him. *Cassius* made fine Remarks upon it, which I advise you to read in the Original. I content myself to copy something of *Seneca's* Preamble. We read there, that sometimes an Orator, who made himself admired at the Bar, miscarried in the particular Exercises of Declamations, and that no one was more subject to this Inequality than *Cassius Severus*. In nullo hoc fiebat notabilius (75). To this purpose, *Seneca* gives us the Elogy of That Orator's Eloquence, and describes the Character of it. Nothing was wanting in him, adds he, of what serves towards declaiming well. His Words were chosen; his Style was full and lively, and contained more Thoughts than Words; and yet *Cassius*, in declaiming, remained below himself, and below many others. 'Omnia habebat, quæ illum ut bene declamaret, instruerent: phrasim nec vulgarem, nec sordidam, sed lectam: genus dicendi non remissum aut languidum, sed ardens & cogitatum: nec lentas, nec vacuas explicationes, sed plus sensus quam verborum habentes: diligentiam, maximum etiam mediocris ingenii subsidium. Tamen non tantum infra se cum declamaret, sed etiam infra multos erat. Itaque raro declamabat, & non nisi ab amicis coactus (76).' Note, that his Eloquence appeared finer to his Auditors, than to his Readers; what he published did not answer the Admiration he had acquired; there was a greater Disproportion in it, than that which reigns commonly between the Success of a recited Speech, and the Success of a published Speech. 'Non est, quod illum ex his quæ edidit æstimetis. Sunt quidem & hæc quibusdam grata. Verum eloquentia ejus longe major erat quam lectio. Non hoc ea portione illi accidit qua omnibus fere, quibus majori commendationi est audiri quam legi, sed in illo longe majus discrimen est (77).'

(75) *Seneca. in Pref. lib. iii. Epitomes Declam. pag. 335.*

(76) *Id. ibid. pag. 336.*

(77) *Id. ibid.*

[P] Our *Cassius*, and --- another Person resembled each other so perfectly, that it was hard to distinguish the one from the other. *Pliny* and *Solinus* speak of it. 'Cassio celebri oratori Armen-

(78) *Faster Har-
doun pretends,
that Armentari-
us signifies here a
Man that keeps
a Flock; and that
Mirmillo is a
proper Name.*
Salmasius in So-
lin. pag. 30, says
the contrary.

(79) Plin. lib.
vii, cap. xii.

(80) Solin. cap.
i, pag. 8.

tarii Mirmillonis (78) objecta similitudo est (79).
--- It was objected to Cassius, the celebrated Ora-
tor, that he resembled Mirmillo, the Gladiator.
Armentarius Mirmillo & Cassius Severus Orator
ita se mutuo reddiderunt, ut si quando pariter
viderentur dignosci non possent, nisi discrepan-
tiam habitus indicaret (80). --- Mirmillo, the
Gladiator, and Cassius Severus, the Orator, were
so alike, that, when seen together, they could not
be distinguished, but by their Dress. I wonder So-
linus forgot to paraphrase the Circumstance, which

Pliny had mentioned, which is, that this Resem-
blance was objected to Cassius. If he had para-
phrased it, he would have told us perhaps, that the
Jesters pretended that there had been private Gal-
lantries in the Case, which occasioned those two
Men to resemble each other. How do we know,
but that it was said, that they were like each other
in Humour, and that the one was no less a Gla-
diator at the Bar, than the other in the Amphi-
theatre?

CASSIUS CHÆREA, chief of the Conspiracy, that destroyed Caligula,
was Captain of the Guards [A]. He had served as a Captain in the Legions,
which mutinied in Germany, a little before the Death of Augustus (a). Upon that
Occasion, he made his way, Sword in Hand, through the Soldiers, who abused
their Captains. He was a Man of Courage and Integrity (b), and who did not
execute Caligula's severe Orders without Repugnancy. The Compassion, which he
had for the poor People, was the reason that he did not gather the Money of the
Tributes and Imposts (c) with all the Forwardness, that the Emperor required;
for he had a Commission for it. This Humanity passed for want of Courage with
Caligula: That cruel Tyrant insulted and reproached his Captain of the Guards
insufferably; he never gave him the Word without chusing a Term, which was a
severe Raillery on a soft and effeminate Life [B]; and this did not fail to make the
Officers, and the Soldiers, to whom Cassius was to give the Word, laugh (d). Pro-
voked to see himself the Object of his Master's Raillery, and the Jest of his
Regiment, he formed the Plan of a Conspiracy; he made choice of Accomplices;
he encouraged them when there was occasion for it; in a Word, he managed
the Plot so well, that it was executed by the Death of Caligula (e). He always re-
served to himself the Advantage of giving him the first Blow [C]. Some say, that
he gave him a great Blow with his Sword behind in the Neck; others, that,
looking him in the Face, he cut off his Jaw-bone (f). After this Execution (g)
he fled to the House of Germanicus (h), and, hearing that the Senate was pleased
with his Conduct, he shewed himself publicly. One of the Consuls made a long
Speech on Liberty, and concluded, that the Conspirators, and chiefly Chærea,
ought to be raised to the greatest Honours. Chærea went to ask the Word from the
Consuls; they gave him the Word Liberty; he brought it to the Cohorts, who
obeyed the Senate; and, as he was All in that Party, he sent a Tribune, whose
Name was Lupus, to kill Cæsonia, the Wife of Caligula, with their Daughters (i).
In the mean time, Claudius was saluted Emperor in the Camp of the Pretorian
Cohorts, and the Senate was forced to approve this Election, whether they would
or not. The new Emperor did not fail to cause Chærea to be punished [D],
who suffered Death with great Constancy (k).

(a) Tacit. An-
nal. lib. i. cap.
xxxii.

(b) Tum adolef-
cens & animi fe-
rox inter obstan-
tes & armatos
ferro viam pate-
fecit. Id. ibid.

(c) ἄλλως τε γὰρ
ἀρχαῖος τῶν
τίς ἀνὴρ ὁ καί-
ρεας ἦν. Chæ-
rea vir erat anti-
quis moribus præ-
ditus. Dio, lib.
lix, pag. 762.

(d) Joseph. An-
tiq. lib. xix, c. 1.

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Sueton. in
Calig. cap. lvi.

(h) It was done
in the 41st Year
of Jesus Christ,
January 24.

(i) Joseph. Anti-
quit. lib. xix,
cap. 1.

(j) Ibid. cap. ii.

(k) Ibid. cap. liii.

[A] He was Captain of the Guards. Seneca calls
him in general *Tribunus Militum* (1): but Sueton-
ius is more exact; he says, 'Primas sibi partes
' Cassius Chærea Tribunus cohortis Prætoris depo-
' poscit (2). --- Chærea, Tribune of the Præto-
' rian Cohort, claimed the Preference.' The learned
Dr Bentley, in the Eighty first Page of his Notes
on the Chronicle of Malala, gives our Cassius the
Character of Tribune of the People. It is a small Mi-
stake, which cannot prejudice the astonishing Erudi-
tion of That Author.

[B] Caligula never gave him the Word, with-
out choosing a Term, which was a severe Raillery
on an effeminate Life. See Josephus, who speaks
very amply of all this (3). Suetonius expresses him-
self thus. 'Quem (Cassium Chæream) Caius fe-
' niorem jam ut mollem & effeminatum denotare
' omni probro consuevit, & modo signum petenti
' Priapum aut Venerem dare, modo ex aliqua causa
' agenti gratias osculandam manum offerre formatam
' commotamque in obscenum modum (4). ---
' Whom (Cassius Chærea) now grown old, Caligula
' was wont opprobriously to treat as an effeminate
' Man, and sometimes, when he demanded the Word,
' would give him Priapus or Venus; sometimes,
' when he thanked the Emperor on some Account,
' he would offer him his Hand to kiss, forming and
' moving it after an obscene manner.' Seneca says
very near the same thing; but he adds, that Chæ-
rea gave some cause for these Jest by his broken
and effeminate Voice, and that he did not seem to
be the Man he shewed himself afterwards, when
he gave Caligula such a hard Blow. 'Chærea tri-
' buno militum sermo non pro manu erat, langu-
' dior sono & infractione voce suspectior. Huic Caius
' signum petenti modo Veneris, modo Priapi dabat:
' aliter atque aliter exprobrans armato molliem.

(1) Seneca, de
constantia sapi-
ent. cap. xviii.

(2) Sueton. in
Calig. cap. lvi.

(3) Joseph. An-
tiq. lib. xix, c. 1.

(4) Suet. in Ca-
lig. cap. lvi.

Hæc ipse perlucidus, crepidatus, armillatus. Co-
git itaque illum uti ferro, ne sapius signum pe-
teret. Ille primus inter conjuratos fustulit: ille
cervicem medium uno ictu decedit, plurimum de-
inde undique publicas ac privatas injurias ulciscen-
tium gladiatorum ingestum est: sed primus vir fuit
qui minime visus est (5). --- Chærea, the Tri-
bune of the Soldiers, had a Voice, not answerable
to his Courage, but broken and effeminate. Ca-
ligula, when he demanded the Word, gave him
sometimes Priapus, sometimes Venus; reproaching
him, as a Soldier, with Effeminacy, several ways.
This the Emperor did, though himself sunk
in Luxury and Effeminacy. He obliged Chærea,
therefore, to use the Sword, that he might have
no occasion of often demanding the Word. He was
the chief Conspirator; He it was, who, at one
Blow, struck off the Emperor's Head; many
Swords afterwards rushed on him, in revenge for
public and private Injuries; but Chærea first ap-
peared the Man, he was little thought to be.

(5) Seneca, ubi
super.

[C] He reserved to himself the Advantage of
giving him the first Blow. See Suetonius in the
Remark [A]. Mr de Tillemont (6) has not con-
sidered Seneca's Expressions maturely enough: He
will have it, that Seneca has said, that Chærea split
Caligula's Head in the middle with one Blow; It
is not the sense of these Words, *cervicem medium
uno ictu decedit*, or as some read, *disceidit*. Mr de
Tillemont is mistaken in another thing (7): he says,
that Cornelius Sabinus, as some say, struck off Ca-
ligula's Jawbone with his Sword. Suetonius, whom
he quotes, attributes that Blow to Chærea, accord-
ing to some.

(6) History of
the Emperors,
Tom. I, p. 3024

(7) Ibid.

[D] Claudius ---- did not fail to cause Chæ-
rea to be punished. It was confessed that the Action
of Chærea shewed a great Courage; but, on the
other

(8) Joseph. lib. xix, cap. iii.

(9) Suet. in Claud. cap. xi.

(10) Dio, lib. lx, pag. 765.

other side, that it was a Perfidy, and ought to be punished for an Example to those who should dare to attempt upon the Life of Emperors (8). *Suetonius* pretends, that the Conspirators, who were put to death, were punished partly for an Example, and partly because to the Death of *Caligula* they would have added That of his Successor *Claudius*: *Exempli simul causa & quod suam quoque eadem depoposcisse cognoverat* (9). *Dio* deserves to be heard. *Claudius*, says he (10), rejoiced at the Death of *Caligula*; yet he caused *Chærea* to be put to death: he did not think that he owed any Thanks for being raised to the Throne by means of this Con-

spiracy; but he was angry with him, who dared to lay Hands on an Emperor, and thought at a Distance on his own Safety. The Politics of Princes have something that is capricious; they do their Endeavour to debauch each others Subjects; they give Retreat to Conspirators; they protect Rebels; and they do not see, that it is a fair Lesson of Revolt for their own Subjects, and a near Hope of Relief. This Extravagance proceeds from thinking only on the present; for, if they considered the Consequences, a Prince would never contribute a Penny, nor a Word, in favour of Rebellions.

CASTALIO (SEBASTIAN), born in the Country of the *Allobroges* [A], in the Year 1515, deserves a good Place among Authors [B]. The chief of his Works is a *Latin* and *French* Translation of the Scripture. It is very variously spoken of; some blame it much, others speak very well of it [C]. He acquired the Esteem and Friendship of *Calvin*, during his Abode at *Strasbourg*, in the Year 1540, and 1541; and he lodged also some Days with him (a). *Calvin* procured a place of Teacher in the College of *Geneva* for him, or rather exhorted him powerfully to accept it (b). *Castalio*, having exercised it near three Years, was compelled

(a) See Remark [H].

(b) See *ibid.*

[A] He was born in the Country of the *Allobroges*. I have been forced to make use of this general Expression, because I could not discover any thing more particular. The Epithet of *Allobrox* is given him in his Epitaph. It may equally signify, that he was either of *Dauphiné* or *Savoie*. Mr *Allard* is of the first Opinion (1); but he builds on an Author, who did not say what he makes him say: for these Words of *Sammartbanus*, 'Ex asperis & salebrosis Allobrogum montibus humilis ortus fortuna' (2). — Born, of mean Parents, in 'the rugged Mountains of the *Allobroges*;' do not signify, that he was born in the Mountains of *Dauphiné*. *La Croix du Maine* makes *Castalio* a Native of *Savoie* (3). Dr *Spon* (4) and Mr *Leti* (5) make him a Native of *Cbatillon* in *Bresse*.

[B] He deserves a good place among Authors. His Works would be very considerable by their Quality and their Number, though it should not be known, that he lived but Forty eight Years. He made it appear, that he was skilled in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*. He caused four Books of Dialogues to be printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1545, which contained the chief Histories of the Bible in fine *Latin*, that Youth might form themselves by them both to Piety and Latinity together. They were reprinted in the Year 1548, and since with Corrections and Additions in the Year 1551 (6). These three Editions have been followed by divers others (7). In 1546, he published the Translation which he had made (8) of the Sybilline Verses with Notes, and of the Books of *Moses* (9). This was followed, in 1547, by his *Latin* Translation of the Psalms of *David*, and by all the other Songs in the Scripture. In 1548, he published a *Greek* Poem on the Life of *John the Baptist*, and a *Latin* Poem, which is a Paraphrase on the Prophet *Jonas*. I omit his Translation of some Parts of *Homer*, and of some Books of *Xenophon*, and St *Cyril* (10); I shall speak in the following Remark of the most important of his Works. Let us add here only, that he put several *Italian* Treatises of the famous *Ocbinus* into *Latin*, and particularly the thirty Dialogues, some of which seemed to favour Polygamy. *Martin Ruarus* was in the wrong to take it ill, that *Calovius* attributed the Translation of those Dialogues to *Castalio*. 'Scribis Castellionem XXX. Ochini dialogos in *Latinam* linguam transulisse. Id ego utut mihi dubium, cum nonnisi à Castellionis inimicis mera suspicio ductis affirmatum videam, in medio tamen relinquam' (11). — You write, that *Castalio* has translated the thirty Dialogues of *Occhinus* into *Latin*. Though I doubt of the Truth of this, since I see it affirmed only by the Enemies of *Castalio*, and upon mere Suspicion, yet I will leave it undetermined. But he is not in the wrong to reprimand him for having reported, that *Laelius Socinus* published it under the Name of *Felix Turpio*. It is certain that this false Name does not appear in That Work, and that *Occhinus*'s true Name appears in it. Let it not be said, that *Bullinger* observes, that *Occhinus* caused it to be printed by

an *Italian*, his Friend (12); for That *Italian* is no other than *Peter Perna* a Printer at *Basil*, who put his Name at the end of the Book according to custom. How could *Laelius Socinus*, who died in the Year 1562, cause a Book to be printed, which was not in the Press before 1563? *Calovius*'s Error proceeded from this, viz. that there are certain Dialogues of *Castalio*, to which *Faustus Socinus*, who published them, put a Preface, under the Name of *Felix Turpio Urbevotanus* (13). *Castalio* is the Author, and not the Translator, of these Dialogues: They treat of Predestination, Election, Free-Will, and Faith, and were printed with some other Pieces of the same Author (14), in the Year 1578. *Ruarus* says, that it was at *Basil*: if it be so, the Title was falsified; for it bears *Aresdorstii per Theophil. Philadelph.*

I shall mention here and there some other Writings of *Castalio*, in the Remarks of this Article. I leave the Curious to examine if he be not the Author of the *Latin* Translation of some Treatises of St *Chrysostom*, and of St *Cyril*, of which the Epitome of *Gesner* speaks, under the Word *Johannes Theophilus* (15). It is a feigned Name, which our Author gave himself before a Translation (16): It is thought that he took the feigned Name of *Martinus Bellius* in another Work. I have spoken of it more than once (17); but without saying, that he denied, before the Ministers of *Basil*, who summoned him to appear, that he was the Author of that Compilation. *Apellatus coram Basilienfis Ecclesiæ Ministris Bellii Farraginem — falso ejurasti* (18). It is *Beza*, who reproached him with it, and who adds, that it was translated into *French*, and printed in that Language at *Lyons*, where *Castalio*'s Brother had brought the Manuscript. Our Author sets forth some very particular Opinions in the Work, which he entitled *Moses Latinus* (19), as, that the Bodies of Malefactors should not be left on the Gibbet, nor those that steal be punished with Death, and that it would be better to re-establish the ancient Custom of having Slaves. His foundation was, That the Political Laws of *Moses* oblige all Nations (20). His Notes on the Epistle to the *Romans* were condemned by the Church of *Basil*, because they opposed the Doctrine of Predestination, and of Efficacious Grace (21). Yet he procured the Sale of them in the said City, after they were translated into *French* (22).

[C] Some blame his Translations of Scripture much; others speak very well of them. *Tbuanus* says, that many Persons judged, that *Castalio* applied his impure Hands to That Work with an insolent Temerity. 'Impuras manus multorum judicio ad sacra tractanda attulit, cum à rebus ad tantum opus necessarius homo imparatissimus novam Bibliorum interpretationem insolenti temeritate molitus est' (23). The Fault, which was the most generally condemned in his *Latin* Translation, is the Affectation of making use of Classic *Latin* only, which made him say *Genius* instead of *Angelus*, and *Lotio* instead of *Baptismus*, and *Respublica* instead of *Ecclesia*, and *Collegium*

(12) Bullinger, in Pref. Simleri libris prefata, apud Ruar. *ibid.* pag. 227.

(13) This answers to Faustus Socinus Senensis.

(14) Quæstio an perfecte legi Dei obediri possit. Responsio ad Borghium de Predestinatione. Defensio adversus Calvinum de Calumniam.

(15) Epit. Gesneri, pag. 503.

(16) See Remark [F].

(17) See in the Article BEZA, Remark [F], and in the Article SOCINUS (MARTINUS), Remark [B], where I speak of *Laelius*.

(18) Beza, ad Defens. & Repreh. Castelli. pag. 451.

(19) It is the Translation of the Books of *Moses*, of which I spoke above. Citat. (9).

(20) Taken from Beza ad Defens. & Reprehens. Castelli. n. 6, in Lucam, pag. 451. Oper. Tom. I.

(21) Beza, de Predestinatione adversus Castellionem. pag. 384. Tom. I. Oper.

(22) Id ad Defens. & Reprehens. pag. 431.

(23) Thuan. lib. xxxv, in fin.

(1) Allard, Biblioth. of Dauphiné, pag. 68.

(2) Sammartbanus, Elog. lib. II, pag. 126.

(3) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Franc. pag. 453.

(4) Spon, Hist. de Geneve, lib. III, pag. 257, ad Ann. 1544.

(5) Leti, Istoria Genevrina, Tom. III, pag. 79.

(6) Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri, pag. 745.

(7) I make use of That of *Leyden*, 1620, in 8vo.

(8) In *Latin* Heroic Verse.

(9) In *Latin* Prose.

(10) Taken from the Epitome of *Gesner*, ubi supra.

(11) Mart. Ruarus, Epist. xlvii, Cent. I, pag. 226, 227.

compelled to leave it in the Year 1544, and to seek another Dwelling, for having maintained some particular Opinions [D]. He retired to *Basil*, where he obtained

(24) Vossius Institut. Oratoriar. lib. iv, cap. i.

(25) See *Sammaritanus. Eleg.* lib. ii, pag. 126.

(26) Garasse's Doctrine curieuse, pag. 202, 203.

(27) See the end of this Remark.

(28) Henry Stephens's *Apology for Hierodotus*, lib. i, cap. xiv, pag. 96.

(29) Id. ibid. pag. 97.

(30) Beza, ad Defens. & Repreh. Sebast. Castell. init. pag. 430, 431, Oper. Tom. i.

(31) Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, lib. ii, cap. xxx, p. 349. They have put a marginal Note in the Edition of Rotterdam, which informs us, that Henry Stephens reproaches That Translator for speaking the Jargon of Beggars.

(32) Id. ibid. cap. xxi, pag. 324, &c.

(33) In the Elegies, taken out of *Tibullus*, Tom. i, pag. 223, 224.

(34) Hieronimus, Humfred, and Furios Ceriolanus.

(35) You will find those Verses in Mr Simon's Critical History of the Translations of the New Testament, chap. xxiv, pag. 274.

(36) Pope Blount, Conf. Author. pag. 493, & seq.

(37) Episcopus, Institut. p. 277.

(38) Mr Simon mentions it, Critical History of the Translations of the New Testament, pag. 273.

Collegium instead of *Synagoga*. *Vossius* (24), and divers other learned Persons, censured him, with reason, for it. He is accused of having run into another Extreme in his *French Translation* (25), I mean, of making use of low and mean Terms. See here the Examples, which a Jesuit gives of them, after having criticized him, on the effeminate Expressions, and the frequent Diminutives, of the *Latin Translation of the Song of Songs*. 'He is yet more impudent in his *French Translation*; for he scoffs openly at the Holy Ghost in six or seven Places; as, when he should say a Jew, he says *un Rongné*, (one that is cut) that is to say, *circumcisé*: as when he translates the Words of St James, in the eleventh Chapter, *superexaltat misericordia judicium*; that is to say, says this sordid Fellow, *La misericorde fait la figue au jugement*: --- Mercy makes a mock of Judgment: as, when he speaks of David in the Seventy seventh Psalm, and translates his own Words, *De post factantes acceptum eum*, that is to say, says this true Swine-herd, *Il le tira du cul d'une charrie*. --- He took him from the Plough-Tail. In a Word, translating these Words of David in the Eighth Psalm, *Ex ore infantium* & *lactantium percipisti laudem*, he turns them, like a bad Turner, (though he was so by his Trade), *Des petits morveux que sont à la mamelle*, --- Snotty Children at the Breast (26).

Note, that it is false, that the Translation is such, as is reported in the two last Examples (27). Henry Stephens exclaimed no less than this Jesuit against *Sebastian Castalio*, Who studied, says he (28), the Language of the Beggars, or, at least, such as made the Readers laugh, instead of considering the Sense of the Passage. He cites, for Example, *La misericorde fait la figue au jugement*. This manner of translating seems to him the strangest kind of Blasphemy, of which he has spoken in that Chapter; and he adds, 'He has not only taken delight in Words used by Beggars, and in their manner of speaking, but has taken all kind of Liberties; calling her, whom the Husband keeps besides his Wife, a Back Woman (*arriere Femme*), as we say a Back Shop (*arriere Boutique*), whom the Latins have called *Pellex*, (borrowing the Word from the Greeks, who had also borrowed it from the Hebrews,) and using the Word *Avant-peau* instead of *Prepuce*; saying *rongné* instead of *circumcisé*, (*circumcisé*), and *empellé* instead of *incircumcisé*, (*uncircumcisé*). He transforms God also into a Monsieur de Rochefort. Briefly, there is not even *To carouse* (*faire carous*) that has not found place in this Translation. This is the new Invention that the Devil has found, in our Time, to infringe the Authority of the Holy and Sacred Word of God: who, of his Mercy, provided against it in good time, having permitted, that the Author of the said Translation (of whom a very good Opinion was had for some time) should condemn himself with his own Mouth, and make known by what Spirit he was led (29). Beza was not silent upon this: He maintained, that the Jargon of *Poëtiou*, the grossest of all the Jargons of France, may appear less barbarous than the Style of *Castalio* (30). Note, that Mr Simon affirms, that, in the *French Translation of Castalio*, is to be discovered the same Affectation of writing in an elegant and polished Style, as in the *Latin Translation* (31). He gives a Judgment of the latter, which, to take altogether, is glorious for *Castalio* (32). You will find some things of it in the Additions of Mr *Tieffier* (33). You will find there also, that Three learned Persons (34) have spoken of that Translation with Praise. One of them was so charmed with it, that, in praising of it, he felt a Poetical Rapture arising in him, which obliged him to add the Language of the Muses to his Prose, to represent his Admiration (35). Sir Thomas-Pope Blount has collected many Passages, some disadvantageous to *Castalio*, and others advantageous (36); I refer you thither, and add only, that he forgot the Praises, which *Episcopus* gave this Translator of the Scriptures (37), and the Invektive, which is in a Preface to the New Testament, printed at Geneva in the Year 1560 (38). We must not

VOL. II.

forget, that *Castalio* begun the *Latin Translation* at Geneva in the Year 1542, and that he finished it at *Basil* in the Year 1550: it was printed at *Basil* in the Year 1551. He dedicated it to Edward King of England. He gave a second Edition of it in the Year 1554, and another in the Year 1556. The Edition of 1573 is more esteemed than all the rest (39). The *French Translation* was dedicated to Henry the Second, and printed at *Basil* for *John Hervagius* in the Year 1555. As to the Disputes, which arose between *Castalio* and *Beza*, concerning the Translation of the Scripture, see the Author whom I quote (40). Let us not forget that he complained, That, having been the first that had made an exact Description of the Temple of Solomon, he was not only not thanked for it, but that, on the contrary, he was abused by those, who made use of his Labour. 'Nonnihil mirari se dicebat tuorum ingenitatem, qui cum subtilem effigiem Templi apud Ezechielem, in qua una exprimenda primus potissimum elaboraverat, furripuissent, non modo in suis Bibliis quibus eam inferabant non laudarent auctorem, cuius labore suas merces ornabant, sed etiam cum infinitis convitiis onerarent (41). It is *Baudouin*, who speaks thus to *Theodorus Beza*.

The *Latin Bible* of *Castalio* has lately been reprinted in Germany (42), and they have added to it *Ejusdem* (Castellionis) *delineatio Reipublice Judaicae ex Josepho*; nota prolixior in Caput ix. *Epistola ad Romanos, nec non defensio versionis novi fœderis contra Tb. Bezaem*.

I cannot forbear to impart a small Distrust, which I had, and the Effect it produced. That, which *Beza*, *Henry Stephens*, and *Garasse*, say of *Castalio's French*, made me judge, at first, that That Writer had treated the Scripture, as *Scarron* treated *Virgil*: but I thought afterwards, that they ought not to be believed on their Word, and that Passion might have made them amplify. In this Uncertainty, I took the *French Bible* of *Castalio*; I opened it in divers Places; I sought carefully for those burlesque Phrases, which they have reproached him so much with; I could find none of them except That of *Faire la Figue*: I could not find *cul de la charrie*, (*Plough Tail*), nor *petits morveux*, (*snotty Children*), that *Father Garasse* quotes. And I cannot sufficiently wonder at the Impudence of That Calumniator. It must be owned here, that there are unhappy Persons, who can never avoid the Strokes of Slander. If another than *Castalio* had made That Translation of the Scripture, they would not have complained so much against his Language. I add, that the Words *Avant-peau*, *Rongné*, &c. are not low and mean: they are as noble as those of *Prepuce* and *Circumcisé*. He who makes use of them is only blameable for a superfluous Innovation: His good Intention (43) does not justify him.

[D] He was compelled to leave his place of Teacher --- for having maintained some particular Opinions.] He was so vexed, that he could not make Calvin approve of the Impertinencies of his *French Translations* of the New Testament, that he began to spread some Errors, and to maintain, that the *Song of Songs* was an obscene Piece, which ought to be left out of the Canon of the Scriptures. He inveighed against the Ministers, who opposed his Intention. He was cited before the Senate, where he was heard, and declared convicted of Calumny, and he was commanded to leave the Town. Thus *Beza* reports the Matter. 'Indignatus quod suas ineptias in Gallica Novi Testamenti Versione Calvinus non probasset, eoque efferbuit, ut exotica quædam docere non contentus, palam etiam Canonicum Solomonis tanquam impuram & obscenam cantionem ex Canone expungi juberet, & repugnantes Ministros atrocissimis convitiis proscinderet. Id illi verò sibi non ferendum merito rati, hominem ad Senatum vocant: ubi pridie Calend. Junii patientissimè auditis, cognitaque causâ calumnie damnatus, ex urbe excedere jussus est (44). Hoc eodem anno per Sebastianum illum Castalio, nem fœtæ pietatis hominem Satan vos fidemque vestram impellere & levi primùm, ut videbatur, ictu, sed periculossimò quaterè voluit: quo ta-

(39) Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, p. 324.

(40) Id. Crit. History of the Translations of the New Testament, c. xxiii, pag. 273, &c.

(41) Respons. ad Calvin. & Beza pro Franc. Balduino, fol. 68. verso.

(42) In the Year 1697, at Leipzig, by Tho. Fritsch, in Folio.

(43) See his Preface.

(44) Beza in Vita Calvini, ad Ann. 1544, pag. 372, Oper. Tom. III.

(c) See his Epitaph at the end of his *Dialogi Sacri*.

(d) See the same Epitaph.

(e) Their Names are in the Epitaph.

(f) See Remark [F], of the Article BEZA, and the Remark [B], of the Article SOCINUS (MARTINUS), Grandson, &c.

tained the Professorship of the Greek Tongue (c). He passed the remainder of his Life in that Place, and died there the Twenty ninth of December, 1563 (d). He was buried in the great Church at Basil, by the Care of three Polish Gentlemen, who had been his Disciples (e) [E], and who caused an honourable Epitaph to be put on his Tomb. He had the Misfortune to expose himself to the Indignation of Calvin, and of Beza, who loaded him with Reproaches. They persuaded themselves, that he deserved them, for having followed a relaxed Method in the Doctrine of Predestination, and for having disapproved of punishing Hetericks (f). The Latin Translation, which he made of some of Oecolampadius's Work, laid him under great Suspicions of Heterodoxy. He was also accused of favouring the Enthusiasts [F]. To judge of him by the Description that his Adversaries gave of him, he

(45) Danæus, Epist. Dedic. lib. de Hierof. ad Senatorem Genevensem.

men malo & occulto veneno civitas vestra anno xlv homine ipso tanquam spuma expulso purgata est (45). — The same Year, Satan endeavoured to shake you and your Faith, by the means of Sebastian Castalio, a Man of pretended Piety; the Blow, tho' seemingly light, was a dangerous one: however your City was purged from the latent Poison in the Year 45, by speeing out, as it were, the Man himself. This Recital seems over-strained, when compared with an Attestation, which Calvin gave to This School Master of Geneva. It imports, that he laid down this Office voluntarily, that he had behaved himself so well in it, that he was judged fit to be a Pastor, and that nothing had hindered him from being promoted to that Office, but the particular Opinion he had concerning the Song of Songs, and the Article of the Descent of JESUS CHRIST into Hell; and, in short, that it is the only Reason why he left Geneva. Castalio speaks to Calvin in this manner: 'In eo testimonio tu testaris, mihi à vobis discedendi unam causam fuisse, discordiam illam de Canticò Canticorum, & de interpretatione tua capituli fidei de Christi descensu ad inferos. Tua verba sunt hæc: Hoc breviter testamur, talem fuisse à nobis habitum, ut nostro omnium consensu jam ad munus pastorale destinatus esset. Et in fine verba sunt hæc: Ne quis ergo aliud quippiam causa esse suspicetur, cur à nobis discedat Sebastianus, hoc quicumque venerit testatum esse volumus. Scholæ ministerio sponte se abdicavit. In eo ita se gesserat, ut sacro hoc ministerio dignum judicaretur. Quominus autem receptus fuerit, non aliqua vitæ macula, non impium aliquod in fidei nostræ capitulum dogma, sed hæc una, quam exposuimus causa obstitit (46). — In That Testimonial you testify, that the only reason of my leaving you, was, my different Notion of the Song of Songs, and of your Interpretation of the Article of Faith concerning the Descent of CHRIST into Hell. Your Words are as follows. We briefly attest this, that such was our Opinion of him, that, by common consent, he was designed for the Pastoral Office. And at the end are these Words. That no one therefore may suspect there was any other Cause, of Sebastian Castalio's leaving us, we certify this wherever he comes. He voluntarily resigned his place of Teacher in the School. He behaved himself so in it, that we judged him worthy of this sacred Charge. Nor was it any Blemish in his Life, or any impious Tenet, but the reason above-mentioned alone, which prevented his being admitted to it.' He declares, that he shewed this Attestation to divers Persons, and also to some Ministers. Consult Dr Spon, who does not say, that he was expelled the City, but only that he was deposed (47). See, below, my Remarks against Mr Teistler.

(46) Castellio, in Defens. ad Auth. r. libelli, cui titulus est Calumniam Nebulonis, pag. 19.

(47) Spon. Hist. de Genev. lib. iii. pag. 257.

(48) Aliud (Epitaphium) de monumento quod ei tres Poloni locarunt in summi Templi Basil. peristyllo in pavimento.

(49) Scaligeranus, voce Gryneus, pag. 101.

[F] He was buried in the great Church of Basil, by the care of Three Polish Gentlemen — his Disciples. I have learned this Particular in the Inscription of an Epigram at the End of his Sacred Dialogues (48). We find a much more memorable Particular in the Scaligerana: Castalio was laid in the Tomb of the Family of the Gryneus's; but a Professor of That Family made him be taken up again. This perhaps was the Reason, which made the Three Polish Gentlemen take care of Castalio's Funeral. See Scaliger's Judgment here. 'Si non cum affectu vel ignominia Simon Gryneus iussit Castalionem ex suo sepulchro educi & alibi sepeliri, nihil mali. Sunt qui nolunt alios in suo sepulchro sepeliri, sed in nostra religione non deberet fieri (49). — If Simon Gryneus did not order Castalio to be re-

moved out of his Sepulchre, and buried elsewhere, out of Passion, or to disgrace his Memory, there was no harm in it. Some there are, who dislike that others should be buried in their Sepulchres; but under our Religion This should not be done.' He excuses and blames Gryneus's Action at the same time. He excuses it, if Passion did not produce it, and if there was a Temper used, which did not make the Memory of the deceased ignominious; and he blames him, since he pretends, that Protestants ought not to be so weak, as to fancy that others should not be buried in their Sepulchres. It is difficult to imagine, that Simon Gryneus was free from Passion in this Business, and that divers Considerations of humane Interest did not incline him to behave himself as he did. We shall see presently, that they had blackened Castalio like any Devil.

[F] He was accused of favouring the Enthusiasts. This is what Beza means, in censuring him for attempting to enervate the Authority of the Scripture, as not containing the Sublime Divinity, which St Paul taught, *viva voce*, his most knowing Disciples. 'Ut qui sua quadam in Sacrorum Bibliorum perversionem præfatione palam verbi divini satis peripicuum auctoritatem convellere studuisset, suisque in priorem ad Corinth. Epistolam adnotationibus, ut à verbo scripto tanquam imperfecto nos abduceret, disertè scripisset, Paulum quandam Theologiam, ea quam scriptis tradidisset reconditorem perfectos nescio quos suos discipulos docuisse (50). — As openly endeavouring, in a certain Preface on the Perversion of the sacred Books, to destroy the sufficiently evident Authority of the Divine Word; and as having expressly written, in his Notes on the first Epistle to the Corinthians, (to draw us off from the written Word, as imperfect,) That St Paul taught certain of his most knowing Disciples, a more sublime Doctrine, than what he had delivered in his Writings.' Scaliger said, that Castalio had imbibed divers Doctrines of the Anabaptists (51). Nothing contributed more to rank him among the Enthusiasts, than his Latin Translation of the Theologia Germanica: It is a Book full of Fanaticism, and which spoiled many Persons in the Netherlands. See here what Sainte Aldegonde wrote to Beza in the Year 1567. 'Est genus novum *ἐνθουσιασῶν* qui tum ex illa, quam noster, Theologia Germanica dudum à Castellione Latine reddita, tum ex Taulero deliro sanè Monacho, tum porro ex aliorum quorundam & veterum & recentiorum hæreticorum furoribus, eas consunt rhapsodias, quæ non jam superstitiosæ ac rudi plebeculæ, sed ipsi etiam viris, & mediocri eruditione, & non contemnenda pietatis specie præstantibus, ita vehementer arident, ut certatim omnes ad eorum libros quasi ad reconditum aliquem thesaurum accurrant. Omnia eorum deliramenta percerere, nimis foret longum, & ipse non potes pleraque ignorare, cui fuerit cum hujusmodi monitis (in quibus Castellionem ego non infimo loco posuerim) per æpe conficiendum (52). — There is a new kind of Enthusiasts, who, from the German Theology, translated into Latin by Castalio, from Taulerus a crazy Monk, and from the Ravings of other Heretics both Antient and Modern, patch together those Rhapsodies which are so very agreeable, not only to the superstitious and ignorant Vulgar, but to Men of moderate Learning, and no contemptible Piety, that they all press to the Books of these Men, as to some hidden Treasure. It would be tedious to reckon up all their wild Notions, nor can you be ignorant of most of them, who have often been obliged to encounter these Monsters, among whom I reckon Castalio not the least

(50) Beza in Vita Calvini, ad Ann. 1553, pag. 377.

(51) Scaligerana, pag. 28.

(52) Philippus Mornixius, Epist. ad Bezam. It is the sixth among the Letters of Beza, p. 206, Tom. III, Oper.

he must not only be taken for a very dishonest Man, but even for a wicked Wretch [G]. I shall relate (g) several Fragments of the Apology, which he published.

(g) In Remark [G].

'least considerable.' Beza was persuaded, that Castalio had translated that Book into Latin; yet he durst not affirm it in a public Work, before he had informed himself whether it could be possible to produce good Proofs of it, if Castalio should deny it. A wise Precaution, and which ought not to be neglected so often as it is. Let us see what he wrote to a Physician of Basil. 'Hoc amabo te rescribere, si quam fecero in mea responsione mentionem Bellii, & Theologiae Germanicae, & ille se eorum librorum authorum inficietur, num id possum ita securè, affirmare, ut si necesse fuerit, testibus etiam aut idoneis argumentis convinci possit. Nam de re ipsa, id est, quin revera libros illos ac praesertim praefationem Bellianam ediderit, non dubito: sed videndum nobis est ut non tantum detegatur istuc, verum etiam convincatur, ut tandem omnes norint quae sit sancti istius viri conscientia (53). — I desire

'you would inform me in your Answer, whether, if I should mention Bellius, and the German Theology, in my Reply, and He should deny that he is the Author of those Books, there is sufficient Evidence and Arguments to confute him: for as to the Fact, that is whether he really published those Books, especially the Preface to Bellius, I have no doubt of the truth of it; however we must be careful not only to detect him, but to prove the Fact, that the World may know the Conscience of this Holy Man.'

Hoornbeek did not understand the whole Sense of these Words (54): He did not see, that Beza intended to speak of Castalio as the Author of the Latin Translation, and not as the Author of the Work itself, intitled *Theologia Germanica*. He adds, that this Work was also translated into Latin, and printed at Antwerp, in the Year 1558, under the Name of *John Theophilus*. He had already said, that the Dutch Translation was very imprudently praised by Martin Luther. He was ignorant, that the First Edition of the Latin Translation is of Basil 1557. The Epitome of Gesner's *Bibliothèque*, informing us of this, remarks that Castalio is he, who translated that Work under the Name of *Joannes Theophilus* (55). Dr Spon makes him Author of the Work it self, and is mistaken: He wrote, says he (56), another Book entituled *Theologia Germanica*, and a Treatise of the Old and New Man. Mr Jurieu was deceived much after the same manner, since he has said that *John Theophilus* is the Author of a Book entituled *Theologia Germanica* (57). See here another Mistake of Dr Spon: He did not know, that the Treatise of the Old and New Man is only the French Translation, which Castalio made of the *Theologia Germanica*. This is what we find in *La Croix du Maine* (58), who was otherwise ignorant, that That Work in Latin is but a Translation. Note that Castalio denied, before the Ministers of Basil, that he had any Share in that Book (59).

[G] To judge of him by the Description his Adversaries gave of him, he must be taken — for a very wicked Man. He composed an Apology in the Year 1558, wherein he complains of two of Calvin's Writings by name (60); one was intitled, *Answers to certain Calumnies, Blaphemies, &c.* and appeared in the Year 1557. The Title of the other was *Calumniæ Nebulonis ejusdam, &c.* and was printed the Year following. He maintains, that he never saw the two Works, which Calvin ascribed to him (61). He says (62); 'Vocas me subinde in Gallico libello blasphemum calumniatorem, malignum, canem latrantem, plenum ignorantiae & bestialitatis, plenum impudentiae, impotorem, sacrarum literarum impurum corruptorem, Dei proflus derisorem, omnis religionis contemptorem, impudentem, impurum canem, impium, obscenum, torti perverisque ingenii, vagum, balatronem. Nebulonem vero (sic enim interpretor Brouillon) appellas oſties, & haec omnia longe copiosius, quam à me recententur, facis in libello duorum foliorum, & quidem perparvorum. De Latino vero, quid minus opus est? Titulus est: *Calumniæ Nebulonis*. Finis est: *Compelcat te Deus, Satan: media sunt ejusdem coloris.* — In a French Treatise, you load me with the opprobrious Names of Blasphemous Calumniator, Malignant, Barking Dog, full of Ignorance and Bestiality, full of Impudence, an Impostor, an Impure

Corrupter of the sacred Writings, a Mock of Gods and Despiser of all Religion, an Impudent Fellow, a Filthy Dog, an Impious Wretch, Obscene, of a distorted and perverse Mind, a Vagabond, and a Rascal. You call me Knave (for so I interpret Brouillon) eight times; and all these you bestow more plentifully upon me, than I reckon up, in a little Piece of two Leaves, and these very small. As for your Latin Work, it is sufficient to observe, that it is intitled, *Calumniæ Nebulonis*. — The Calumnies of a Knave: It ends with, The Lord rebuke thee, Satan: *The Middle is in the same Strain*. He not only represents to him what the Gospel pronounces against him, who wrongs his Brother, but also what Calvin himself had written in the *Christian Life*. 'Nihilne te movet (ut cætera taceam), tui ipsius libellus ille, quem scripsisti de Vita Hominis Christiani? Qui libellus ita sancta, ita pia precepta continet, ut nuper praesente me dixerit quidam, operæ pretium esse, ut tibi scribat aliquis Epistolam, in qua te interroget, utrum fieri possit, ut horum duorum libellorum videlicet, *Vita Hominis Christiani*, & *Calumniæ Nebulonis*, &c. idem sit Author (63). — To say nothing of other things, have you no regard to your own Book, Of the Life of a Christian? A Book, so full of holy and pious Precepts, that a certain Person said lately in my Presence, that it was worth while to write a Letter to you, and ask you, whether the same Person could possibly be Author of the two Books, Of a Christian's Life, and The Calumnies of a Knave.' He justified himself particularly from the Crime of Theft, as we shall see below, and from that of Perfidiousness, Cruelty, and Blaphemy. After having set down Calvin's Words, he says to him; 'Hæc accusationis tuæ summa est, in qua me insimulas superbiæ, perfidiæ, inhumanitatis, ingratiſtudinis, fraudulentiae, impudentiae, scurrilitatis, blasphemiae, denique impietatis (64). — This is the Sum of your Accusation, in which you charge me with Pride, Perfidy, Inhumanity, Ingratitude, Knavery, Impudence, Scurrility, Blaphemy, and Impiety.' If you knew me to be such, when I lived with you, why did you almost compel me to teach in the College of Geneva? Can any one in Conscience commit the Education of Children to such a Man? 'Si jam tum talem cognovisti quæro ex te, qua conscientia me postea istuc ludo literario praefeceritis, & multum reculantem pertraxeritis, tu & una duo tui summi amici, & summæ in Sabaudia auctoritatis viri concionatores. Quæso te, quorum hominum est pueris institutendis præficere hominem, quem tu sceleratum esse scires, idque in ea urbe, quam vos sanctam etiam impressis libris appellatis (65)?' Why did you give me a Testimonial of a good Life, after I had taught in that School about three Years? Whereupon he alleges the Words, which you have read in the Remark [D] (66). You cannot say, continues he (67), that you did not know me to be such till after that time; for, besides that you plainly insinuate the very contrary, you would be the most stupid of all Men, if, while I lived with you, and taught in the School of Geneva, I had been such as you describe me to be, and in the mean time you should not have perceived it. He owns that he was not free from Vanity (68), and reports an Effect of it, which I shall mention hereafter (69): He acknowledges also, that he loved a merry Humour, but not in Matters of Religion. He says (70); I have always censured those, who bantered in these Matters; two of your best Friends know it well. One of them, having published a merry Book, intitled *Zoograpbia*, I went to give him my Advice, and not finding him, I gave it him by a third Person. But he was so far from profiting by it, that he published a second Writing of the same Nature, entituled *Passavantius*, and has hated me mortally ever since. The other is a Person, to whom I am much obliged; he has entertained me in his House; I knew him to be pious: I wrote to him, that he would do well not to publish any more facetious Books on holy Subjects: He was not angry at my Advice, as the other was. Note, that he observes (71), that Calvin had

prefixed

(63) Id. ibid. pag. 7.

(64) Id. ibid. pag. 17. See the 26th Letter of the Epistol. Ecclesiasticæ & Theolog. Edit. of Amsterd. 1684. in F.lio.

(65) Id. ibid. pag. 18.

(66) Citat (46).

(67) Castellio Defens. pag. 19, 20.

(68) Id. ibid. pag. 22.

(69) In Remark [M].

(70) Castellio, Defens. pag. 24.

(71) Id. ibid.

(53) Beza, Epistola ad Gulielmum Gratarolum. It is the 46th Oper. Tom. III, pag. 257. See the 45th Page of the first Volume of his Works.

(54) Hoornbeek Summa Controvers. lib. vi, pag. 409.

(55) Epit. Gesneri, pag. 745.

(56) Spon. Hist. de Genev. pag. 252.

(57) Jurieu, Apolog. pour les Reformes. Tom. I, pag. 106.

(58) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Franc. pag. 453.

(59) Beza ad Defens. Castellii. init. pag. 431. Oper. Tom. I, See also pag. 451.

(60) Castellio Defens. pag. 2.

(61) Id. ibid. pag. 3.

(62) Id. ibid. pag. 5.

lished. I do not pretend, that they ought to be looked upon as a faithful Description of his Enemies; it will suffice me that they be taken for a general Image of the Corruption of Nature, and for a Subject of Reflexions. Many other Persons agree in praising him for his good Morals [H]. What he answered, when he was

accused

prefixed a Preface to a Piece of this nature, composed by one of those two Authors.

Upon Calvin's upbraiding him with having entertained him in his House (72), this is his Answer. He acknowledges, that he lodged with him at *Strasbourg*, but that, at the Week's End, he went away, to make room for *Mademoiselle du Verger*, who would have Lodgings in Calvin's House for herself, and her Son, and her Son's Servant (73). You desired me civilly to yield my Chamber to That Servant; I did so, and paid you for my Diet. Some time after I was desired, by your Folks, to come and look after your Servant, my Countryman, who was sick. I went, and assisted him 'till his Death, that is to say, for seven Days; and I lived on your Bread, but have not lodged with you since that time (74). He relates some Services he did to Calvin's Family, whilst he went to the Diet of *Ratisbon*; and concludes, that they could not lay any Ingratitude, or Treachery, to his Charge.

The Appendix to his Apology is remarkable. Calvin and Beza are upbraided in it for having too eagerly picked up the flying News, which was spread concerning their Enemies, and inserting it, with all Speed, in the first Book they published. You hate me, said he to them, and therefore you easily believe all the Ill, that is said of me: and either do not believe, or turn the Good you hear of me to a bad Sense. 'Accedit in vobis ad levitatem illam capitale odium mei: quo fit, ut de me quicquid mali dicitur, id, quia vultis, facillime credatis: facile enim (inquit idem Cæsar) credunt homines quæ volunt. Rursumque si quid boni dicitur, id vel non credatis, vel maligna interpretatione depravetis (75).' Your Emisaries relate or write to you all the Fables that please your Palate; you take your Measures according to their News, whereby you expose yourselves, early or late, to Confusion. 'Talia de me jactant levissimi homines, & ea vobis veluti conducti, vel referunt, vel scribunt, quia vos talia libenter audire sciunt. Atque ita ineunt à vobis certe non honesta mercede gratiam. Vos hisce rumoribus, atque auditionibus, permoti de re non levi, leve consilium initis; auditiones illas etiam monumentis literarum mandatis: quorum vos si non è vestigio, at certe aliquando pœnitere necesse erit, cum incertis rumoribus servietis, & plerique ad voluntatem vestram ficta respondeant (76).' If your Emisaries deceive you, you also deceive them in your turn; they hear an hundred false Reports from you, which they spread up and down (77). You have endeavoured to make me odious to all the World, and for that end you have represented me as a dangerous Cabbalist, who had Emisaries in the Country and City, at the Gates of the Town, and in Taverns. Some Frenchmen, who came hither (78) from *Strasbourg* with that formidable Idea, which you give of my Person, were much surprized to find me in Want, and at quiet, and expressed a great Indignation against the Authors of so many Fables. 'Patescunt artes, conatusque vestri, sicuti nuper patere quibusdam juvenibus Gallis, qui huc ab Argentina profecti sic habebant aures imbutas istis de me rumoribus, ut me putarent passim emisarios habere non solum in diversis, verum etiam ruri, & in portis urbis. Denique eam de me opinionem imaginemque animo conceperant, ut me arbitrentur magnum aliquem, & opibus, atque autoritate potentem virum, quasque satellium caterva stipatum, cujus insidias esset effugere difficile. Ubi deinde nihil tale deprehenderunt, contraque homuncionem viderunt, pauperem, vilem, abjectum, quietum, nihil molientem, nullius nec splendoris, nec auctoritatis, mirati sunt non absque stomacho illa mendacia, necumque tandem congressi, tam ab illis abhorruerunt, mihiq; adhæserunt, quam antè cognitam veritatem à me abhorrentes illis adhæserant (79).' You stir up the Magistrates against me, and, not being able to bring them to

(76) Id. ibid. pag. 38, 39.

(77) Neque vero plus illi vobis, quam vos illis nocetis. Nam & a vobis illi vicissim multa falsa audiunt, quæ deinde disseminant, quo fit ut utrique cæteros decipiant: scandalis Ecclesiarum replatis. Id. ibid. pag. 39.

(78) That is, to *Basel*.

(79) Id. ibid. pag. 40.

satisfy your Passion, you make use of all kind of Arts to take away my Reputation, and hinder my Writings from being read. You publish Books against me; and you endeavour to obtain, that I may not be permitted to answer you (80). You forbid your People to speak to me, and, if any of them venture to do it, they become suspected by you, and you become their Enemies. This is the reason, that many, who would come to see me, dare not. 'Quoniam illi (Magistratus) vestræ cupiditati vel non obsequuntur, vel nondum obsequuntur, vos (quod proximum est) me toto orbe quibuscunque modis fieri potest certatim infamatis: mea scripta (ut papam possis agnoscere) ne legantur pro virili prohibetis: ipsi contra scribitis, mihi ne respondere permittatur, quoad ejus fieri potest, cavetur. Vestris ne me conveniant vetatis, si qui convenerint plerumque suspectos habetis, & abhorretis. Quo metu fit, ut multi me quamvis cupientes convenire non audeant, id quod nonnulli, & mihi, & aliis confessi sunt (81).' You cover your Hated under the fair Pretence of the Love of Truth, and you abuse your Eloquence and Wit, to make your Accusations probable to the People, which is not difficult, nothing being so good but what may be poisoned, nor any thing so ugly, but what may be covered with Paint. 'Interea nomine studii tuendæ veritatis odium vestrum prætexitis: veram ejus causam (quippe vobis parum honestam) dissimulatis, causamque vestram apud imperitos probabilem redditis ea arte, quæ docet de quavis re proposita probabiliter disputare in utranque partem. Qua quidem arte sic instructi estis, (atque utinam tam præclaris ingeniis, vobisque divinitus longè alios ad usus concessis, non abuteremini) ut vix quicquam vel tam bene dici, aut fieri possit, quin id interpretando deformare, vel tam male quin fucare possitis, præsertim judice mundo, apud quem valere maledicta quid mirum, cum nullum sit ipsi suavius pabulum (82).' What remains of the Appendix contains good Admonitions; and it must be granted, that *Castalio*, how heretical soever he may be accounted, hath in his Writings given more signal Examples of Moderation, than the Orthodox, who opposed him.

Father Garasse sets forth, that Calvin says of *Castalio*, that, when he drank, he was used to say, before he tasted the Wine, Tu quis es? Then having tasted it, if it was pretty good, or indifferent, he answered, Ego sum qui sum; But, if it was excellent, he answered, Hic est Filius Dei vivi (83). I do not believe that Calvin said this.

[H] A great number of Persons agree in praising him for his good Morals.] There appeared a great Plainness in him, and a very great Aversion to Ostentation (84). Beza agrees to the Fact, tho' he gives the worst turn to it he possibly can (85); but it must be remembered that he speaks as an Enemy. During the Disputes about *Arminianism*, they reprinted, in Holland, the *Consilium ad vocatam Galliam anno 1567, datum per Sebastianum Castalionem, ubi causæ præsentis tum belli simulque medicina ejus indigitantur, ac præsertim diligenter examinatur ac perpenditur an conscientis vis sit adhibenda*. — Advice to France laid waste, in the Year 1567, given by Sebastian Castalio, in which the Causes of the present War, and at the same time the Remedy, are pointed out, and in which it is particularly examined, whether Consciences are to be forced. *Theodorus Bomius*, who procured that new Edition, was criticized for it by the Anti-Remonstrants. They blamed him for having taken *Castalio's* sinking Bones out of the Grave again (86). He answered, that That Man deserved all manner of Praise; he alleged the honourable Testimony, which the University of *Basel* gave him; he cited *Melancthon's* Letters, &c. (87). Bomius (in *Fe-redario suo edito anno 1617, p. 20.*) adversario huic respondens, mirifice Castalionem commendat: honorificum de eo citat testimonium Universitatis Basileensis, in qua Theologiæ (88) Professorem

(80) See here the Words, which Boudouin, Respond. 3, fol. 168, veris, supposed that Castalio made use of, speaking of Beza.

De singulari æquitate tua quam admirabatur nescio quid narrabat, cum te diceret miris artibus efficere ut illi quem impotentissime locustas, non liceret aut respondere aut responsum edere, propterea tuæ clementiæ gratias ageret quam hoc labore liberabas.

(81) *Castell. ib.* pag. 41.

(82) Id. ibid. pag. 42.

(83) Garasse Doctrinæ curiose, pag. 201.

(84) Homo simplex & ab omni fastu alienus. *Sammariti. Elbg.* pag. 126.

(85) Erat quidam *racavos* *oposivus* specie inepitissime ambitiosus. Ac plane ex eorum genera quos Græci *ἰσχυρομανεῖς* appellant. — Under an appearance of Humility, he was most foolishly ambitious; and plainly one of those, whom the Greeks call *ἰσχυρομανεῖς*; Men who are vain in their Opinion. Beza in *Vita Colv.* ad Ann. 1544, pag. 372.

(86) Quod festiva Castalionis ossa à sepulchro produxerit. *Salm. Theodorus in Paschæ festi Belgii*, pag. 103.

(87) Id. ibid. pag. 103, 104.

(88) It ought to have been said Lingue Græcæ.

(b) See the *Latin Verses* on his Death, at the end of his *Dialogi Sacri*.

(89) That is,
Calvin and Beza.

(90) Letter of Charles de Niels. It is the 364th among the *Epist. Eccles. & Theolog.* Edit. of Amsterdam 1684, pag. 951.

(91) See Remark
[B].

[92] See Theod.
Beza, ad Defens.
& Reprehens.
Castell. init. pag.
43, Tom. I,
Oper.

(93) Beza, *ibid*
pag. 43¹.

(94) Scaligerana
pag. 46.

(95) La Croix
du Maine, Bib
oth. Franc. p
453.

(96) Salom.
Theodotus in
Pacificatorio
Dissecti Belgii
pag. 103.

(97) Fol. 68,
verso.

(98) Calvin.
calumniis Ne-
lonis, pag. 7.
Tractat. The-
log.

(99) Castalia
Defens. pag.

Let us state, by the way, the Fault that crept into the Title of the Book which *Bemius* caused to be re-printed. They have wrongfully put the Year 1567 to it. I think they ought to have made it 1562. For this Writer, dying in the Year 1563, could not give That Advice to desolate *France*, but on the Occasion of the first Civil War of Religion. *La Croix du Maine* observes, that he is made the Author of a Book entitled *Advice to desolate France* (95). The first Edition is not of the Year 1578, as the Author (96) whom I quote affirms; it preceded the Peace made in the Year 1563. *Boudouin*, in his Answer to *Beza* (97), mentioned this Advice, as a Book printed about the time that *Antony*, King of *Navarre*, died.

VOL. II.

(100) Id. ibid.
pag. 12.

e (101) Id. *ibid.*

n, (102) Id. ibide.
1 pag. 14.

y. (103) Id. ibid.
and pag. 15.

(104) Id. ibid.

(105) Suburbium prae-
dium sua ipse quoti-
dianum

to quaret. Sam
im, martb. Elog.
ii. pag. 126.

(106) Varill
History of H
fy, Tom. V
Book 26, p.

Man, (107) Mort
e fo est ex pauper

liger Scaligerana,
es of 46.

Zzzz

(1) See Remark
[L].

Persons say, that he was a Minister; but there is some Reason to believe, that they do not speak the Truth (i). I shall not have many things to say against Mr Moreri, nor against Mr Varillas, nor against Mr Teissier [L]. A Remark must be made on the Name

* xit ad extremam senectam, sed in summa paupere, & pene inopia, additus modico gurgustio, postquam Tusculana villa creditoribus cesserat, ut auctor est Bibaculus:

*Si quis forte mei domum Catonis,
Depictas minio affulas, & illos
Custodis videt tortulos Priapi,
Miratur quibus ille disciplinis
Tantam sit sapientiam affecutus,
Quem tres cauliculi, & selibra farris,
Racemi duo, tegula sub una
Ad summam prope nutriant senectam.*

* Et idem rursus:

*Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum,
Tota creditor urbe venditabat.
Mirati sumus unicum magistrum,
Summum grammaticum, optimum poetam,
Omnes solvere posse quæstiones,
Unum difficile expedire nomen.
En cor Zenodoti, en jecur Cratetis.*

* — He lived to an extreme Old-Age, but in the utmost Poverty, and almost in a starving Condition, biding himself in a little Cottage, after he had left Tusculum for Debt; as Bibaculus informs us:

"Whoever happens to visit the Habitation of my Friend Cato, and sees his homely Hut, and little Garden, cannot help wondering by what Discipline he became such a Philosopher, as to live, to extreme Old-Age, in a little Hut, on three Roots, half a Pound of Bread, and two Clusters of Grapes.

* And again,

"Cato's Creditors, Gallus, lately exposed to sale his Estate at Tusculum. We were surprized, that so great a Philosopher, Grammarian, and Poet, who could solve all Questions, could not extricate himself from one Debt. Behold, another Zenodotus, and another Crates!

(100) Montaigne's Essays, Book I, chap. xxxiv, p. 353.

However, Montaigne's Words deserve to be quoted: He says (109): "I hear, with a great shame to our Age, that, in our sight, two most excellent Persons in Learning are dead for want of having wherewith to fill their Bellies; Lilius Gregorius Giraldus in Italy, and Sebastianus Castilio in Germany: And I believe there are a thousand Men, who would have invited them upon advantageous Conditions, or assisted them where they were, if they had known it. The World is not so generally corrupted, but that I know a Man, who could with heartily, that the Means, his Friends have left him, might be employed, as long as Fortune would let him keep them, in sheltering from Necessity remarkable Persons, who are in some kind of Esteem, whom Misfortune sometimes extremely oppresses, and would put them at least in such a Condition, that it should only be for want of just thinking if they were not contented." Two Reasons have engaged me to copy this Passage; the one is taken from the Solidity of the Reflexion, which accompanies this curious Fact; the other, because most of my Readers, who should desire to know what Montaigne has said, would find it difficult to satisfy themselves; for the alphabetical Table of his Essays would not assist them in finding this Place; and he is not an Author, who, by the Title of his Chapters, or the Connexion of Matters, facilitates the Search of what one remembers to have read in his Essays. Local Memory knows not what to stick to in That Writer: for which Reason the Table of Matters ought to have been better than it is. Castilio should have been there under his Name, or at least under the learned Poor, or the Poverty of some learned Persons, &c. How ill is That Table made! and how many others are like it!

[L] I have but little to say against Mr Moreri, or against Mr Varillas, or against Mr Teissier.] The

first pretends, without any proof, that Castilio was of the Mountains of Dauphiné (110). These words: Beza himself, who was of his Party, owns that it (111) was full of Faults; and he adds, that Castilio believed it was indifferent to follow any Religion one had a Mind to: these words, I say, are very absurd; for it is most evident, that Beza was never of the same Party with those, who hold the Indifference of Religions. Moreover, is it not visible, that, having made a Translation of the New Testament, he was Castilio's Rival; and that, for that reason, no one was so much disposed, as he, to find Faults in the Translation of the latter? Add to this, that he espoused Calvin's Quarrels, who was Castilio's great Enemy, before the Bible of the latter was published. Mr Moreri perfectly resembles those, who should say, *The Translation of the New Testament by Messieurs of Port-Royal is not good: Father Bouhours himself* (112), who is of their Party, owns that it is full of Faults. Lastly, it cannot be said, without gross Ignorance, that Beza believed, that Castilio was of the Reformed Religion. I do not find, in the Book quoted by Mr Moreri (113), that the Indifference of Religions was the Heresy, which Beza imputes to Castilio.

I shall begin my Criticisms on Varillas with this, since he assures us, that Beza says, that Castilio left Geneva, because he held all Religions to be indifferent (114). There is more likelihood, continues he, that his Style, which without Comparison was more florid than that of Calvin, made him jealous. Here are two Faults; for it is false, that Castilio equalled Calvin in good Latin: all those, who have any knowledge in Style, will readily grant it me. In the second place, Castilio had not yet shewed the Ornaments of his Pen, when he left Geneva. He translated the Scripture with so much nicety, that the Poet appears almost every where in his Style, and so abundantly, that it often disgusts, instead of pleasing. This Proposition of Varillas is not true; and, if it were, this would not be so: Nevertheless, it must be owned in recompence, that no other Translation comes near it, for the Beauty, and the Perspicuity of it (115). Is not a Man, who makes these two Judgments of one Translation, an ingenious Critic? He seems to say in his Argument on the Song of Songs, that it contains not the mystical Love of JESUS CHRIST and his Church, but the infamous Amours of Solomon and one of his Mistresses (116). I have fully verified that these words are false; I have not found any Argument on the Song of Songs in Castilio's French, or Latin Bible (117).

Mr Teissier (118) was in the wrong to say, that our Author called himself always Castilio after the Adventure, which I shall mention by and by. He was, continues he, first of all a Minister at Geneva. Calvin's Attestation, alledged above (119), refutes this invincibly, and convicts Beza of not having strictly followed the Laws of History, which require, that no Obscurity be left in a Recital. He relates, that, the City of Geneva being afflicted with the Plague in the Year 1542, those who were infected with the Distemper wanted a Pastor to comfort them (120). Most of them feared the Contagion; but Calvin, Castilio, and Blanchet, offered themselves. The chance fell on Castilio, who nevertheless impudently rejected that Employ (121). It is natural to conclude from these words, that he was one of the Ministers of Geneva; so that they are not so clear as they ought to be. The Word Comforter ought to have been put instead of Pastor, which Beza makes use of, and then the Reader would have had no reason to think, that Castilio was a Minister; for, though a Person be not so yet, he may nevertheless offer himself to comfort the infected. We see by the alledged Attestation, that he aspired to the Ministry, and that he would have been admitted to it, if he had not held certain Opinions. I believe, with Dr Spon, that he had preached sometimes (122); but this proves only, that he aspired to the Office of a Pastor. I conclude, that the Jesuit Garasse is deceived as often as he called him Minister. He has often done it, and always

(110) See Remark [4].

(111) That is the Translation of Castilio's Bible.

(112) He has made also a French Translation of the New Testament.

(113) The Life of Calvin by Beza.

(114) Varillas's History of Heresy, Book xxvi, pag. 210.

(115) Varillas's Critic, pag. 220.

(116) Id. ibid.

(117) I have consulted five Editions.

(118) Teissier's Additions to the Eloques, Tom. I, pag. 222.

(119) In Rem. [D], Citat. (45).

(120) Pastoris constantis ac seduli opera requireretur. Beza in Vita Calvini, ad Ann. 1542, pag. 371.

(121) Dr Spon's History of Geneva, pag. 251, and Mr Leti, Hist. Genev. Tom. III, pag. 76, do not say this.

(122) Dr Spon, ubi supra, pag. 251. Note that Mr Leti, ubi supra, pag. 79, 80, says plainly, that Castilio was a Minister.

Name of *Castalio* [M]. I could make another on the Imprudence of this learned Man, but shall not. If he had kept within the Bounds of his Profession, he would have done greater Services, than he did, to the Commonwealth of Learning, as *Peter Ramus* has well observed [N], and would have secured himself from many Vexations. Instead of this, he set up for a Mystic, and a Devotee, and concerned himself with the most nice and obscure Questions of Divinity. He ought to have left them to those, to whom, by their Office, they belonged; or, if he must by all means intrude into this Commerce, he should have applied *Aesop's* Advice to himself (k). I have heard Persons, who passed for wise Men, say, that, for want of taking his Measures agreeable to that Advice, he had done what was said of the last Duke of *Burgundy* concerning his Irruption into *Germany* (l).

(l) While he knocked his Head against that powerful Body of *Germany*, which is all of Iron. *Mezerau Abreg. Chron. Tom. III, pag. 325, ad Ann. 1475.* Add the *Fragilem truci committit pelago ratem* of *Horace*, *Od. III, lib. 1, ver. 10.*

(k) He said to *Solin*, We must not come near Kings at all, or say nothing but pleasing things to them. *Plot. in the Life of Solin, pag. 461, of Mr. Dacier's Translation, Edition of Holland.*

ways with gross Abuses. Here is an Example of it: 'We understand, that *Sebastian Castalio*, who was a Carpenter by Trade (123), has truly hacked and hewed the Holy Scripture, if his Daughters have spun it: This wretched Man, of a very mechanic and servile Mind, worthy to be a Minister, as he was in effect, besides his Carpenter's Trade, has so planed the Scripture, and spoiled it to so great a number of very important Clauses, that he makes us justly apprehensive of giving up the Bible into the Hands of Mechanics and Idiots (124).'

(123) This is a Fact of which I am very uncertain.

(124) Garasse's Doctrine curieuse, pag. 506, 507.

(125) Leti, Istor. Genev. pag. 80.

Mr *Teissier* supposes, that *Castalio* was banished; which is contrary to *Calvin's* Attestation: and note, that Mr *Leti* reports, that *Castalio*, being threatened with Banishment and Deposition, in case of relapsing, did not wait for the Effects of the Threats, but retired to *Basil* (125). Two of the three Causes of his Exile, reported by Mr *Teissier*, are false; for, his Preface to the Translation of the Bible, and his Notes on the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, were not made till many Years after his Retreat from *Geneva*. All the Authors, that I have consulted, say, like *Beza*, that he retired directly to *Basil*. Mr *Teissier* is the only Person I have read, who says, he retired to *Bern*, and that he was driven from thence for his Errors.

[M] We must make a Remark on the Name of *Castalio*. He confesses that in his Youth he suffered himself to be drawn to Vanity. 'Insolebat animus stulta quadam & juvenili persuasione cognitionis eorum scientiarum, & linguarum, quibus saepe solent eorum studiosi plus tribuere quam spiritui (126). — My Mind grew vain from a foolish and youthful Persuasion of my Knowledge of those Sciences and Tongues, to which those, who study them, usually attribute more than to the Spirit.' He brings this Proof for it: When I was at *Lyons*, before I went to you (127) at *Strasbourg*, says he, some one, by mistake, called me *Castalio*, instead of *Castellio*: I was pleased with it, remembering the Fountain *Castalius*, consecrated to the Muses: this made me in love with that false Name; I preferred it before That of my Family, and adorned my self with it at the beginning of a Book. 'Quod ego nomen audiens, à Musarum fonte *Castalio* derivatum, adamavi, atque amplexum sum, meque omisso deinceps *Castellionis* nomine patrio, *Castalio* nem appellavi. Quin etiam hoc idem nomen pri-

(126) *Castell. Defens. pag. 21.*

(127) He directs his Speech to *Calvin*.

mis mei *Prodromi* literis primorum versuum confignavi, videlicet, ut esset insignior etiam ad posteror mea superbia. Eram enim, si Musis placet, Poëta, & Græcæ plane levitatis Musopatagus. Hæc ego confiteor, & execror, nec solum nunc confitens erubescio, verum etiam antea sepe solus cogitans, cum me majorem veri cognitionem adeptum conscientia pro mille testibus accusaret, pudore suffusus sum. Itaque deinceps omissa illa gloriola Græca, nactus, quam saepe optavi, occasionem mutandi, patrio me nomine *Castellionem* appellari cupio (128). — Hearing which Name, derived from the *Castalian Spring* of the Muses, I grew fond of it, and, laying aside my paternal Name *Castellio*, I called myself *Castalio*. Besides which, I prefixed this Name to a Book of Poems, that my Pride might be the more taken notice of by Posterity. For I was a Poet, and please the Muses, and a very noisy one. This I confess, and abhor; nor do I now only acknowledge it with shame; but often, in my private Reflexions, when, upon a greater Insight into Truth, Conscience, like a thousand Witnesses, has testified against me, I have been overwhelmed with Confusion. Throwing off, therefore, from that time, this Greek Vanity, and meeting with an Opportunity, I had long wished for, of making the Change, I desire I may be again called by my paternal Name *Castellio*. The end of this Passage shews us, that he did not persist in that little Vanity, and that he returned to his true Name. He calls himself before his *French Bible Sebastian Chateillon*.

* *Μισογράτης* Recitator clamorosus, vel personare omnia faciens sive verficulator oblitescens.

(128) *Castell. Defens. See Scalligerana prima, pag. 42.*

[N] If he had continued within the Bounds of his Profession, he would have been more serviceable to the Republic of Letters, as *Peter Ramus* has well observed.] I set down his words, that they may serve for a Supplement to the Collections of Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount* (129). 'Utinam tanti ingenii tamque bonis artibus ac literis eruditi vis illa in hoc unico Græcæ professionis argumento versari malisset, nihil mea quidam sententia in isto genere laudis *Basilæa* comparandum habuisset (130). — I wish the Force of so great and learned a Genius had confined itself to the Profession of the Greek Tongue alone; Basil, in my Opinion, could have shewn nothing equally praise-worthy.' Thus speaks *Ramus*, after having made mention of some Books, which *Castalio* had translated.

(129) He has not alleged this Passage of *Ramus* in his *Conjura Auditorum*, p. 493, where he collects the Judgments on *Castalio*.

(130) *Petrus Ramus*, in *Basilicæ*, pag. 52.

CASTELLAN (a) (PETER), great Almoner of France in the XVIth Century, was a Man of great Merit and Learning. His Father, a younger Son of a *Walloon* Gentleman, bore Arms all his Life-time, and settled himself at *Archi* in *Burgundy* [A]; where he married, and had two Sons, of whom our *Peter Castellan* was the youngest. This Child had the Misfortune to lose Father and Mother before he attained to the use of Reason: His Tutors neglected both his Estate and Mind;

(a) His true Name was du *Chastel*.

(1) Ex antiqua & nobili *Hauverderiorum* familia in *Belgiis* — *Quintinus Castellani* Petri Castellani pater ortus est. *Petrus Gallandius in Vita Castell. pag. 1.*

(2) *Eques aurotus magna scientiæ militaris & fortitudinis laude stipendia fecit. Ibid. pag. 2.*

(3) *Beza's Ecclesiastical History, lib. II, pag. 80.*

[A] His Father, a younger Son of a *Walloon* Gentleman — settled himself at *Archi* in *Burgundy*.] If *Gallandius* has not flattered his Friend about his Birth, they have done him great wrong in the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches, and in *Moreri's* Dictionary. According to *Gallandius*, *Du Chatel* was not only a Gentleman, but also of a very ancient Nobility (1), and the Son of a brave Knight (2). *Beza* speaks quite otherwise of it: He says (3), That good Bishop, surnamed *Chastelain*, of very mean Condition. *Moreri* supposes, that *Castellan*, being asked by *Francis I*, if he was a Gentleman? answered, That he did not well

know from which of the three that were in *Noah's Ark* he was descended. This is incompatible with the Narrative of *Gallandius*. Observe also, that all those, who speak of *Castellan's* Country, make him to be born at *Langres*; yet *Gallandius* gives him another Country much more obscure than that. It is a common thing enough, for learned Men, who are born in some Village, to pretend themselves Natives of the next neighbouring City. Such a one is surnamed *Aurelianensis*, who was not born at *Orleans*, but in the Neighbourhood of it. I imagine, that *Castellan* was surnamed *Lingonensis* for some such reason.

[B] He

(5) His Name was Peter Turreau, in Latin Turrellus. See Remarks [B] and [C].

Mind; nevertheless he was sent to *Dijon* in the eleventh Year of his Age, to study under a famous Teacher (b). His Progress made his Masters admire him. He learned Greek without the Assistance of any Body; and he had not been above six Years at *Dijon*, before they gave him a Class to teach [B]. He acquitted himself very worthily of that Charge, and he quickly had a most convenient Occasion to shew his Wit in a full Audience [C]. The desire he had to see learned Persons, and chiefly *Erasmus*, induced him to travel. He begun with *Germany*, where he saw several learned Men; and at last he stopped at *Basil* with *Erasmus* [D], who, soon

(4) Id. ibid.

[B] He had been but six Years at *Dijon*, when they gave him a Class to teach. Beza was not ill informed on this Article. He says (4), He was first of all Regent at *Dijon*, under Mr. Peter Turreau, esteemed one of the chief Diviners of his Time.

(5) Galland. ubi supra, pag. 13.

[C] He had soon occasion to shew his Wit in a full Audience. We have just seen, that Peter Turreau passed for a great Conjuror. He was called before the Magistrates for it, and he ran the hazard of being condemned as an Infringer of the divine and human Laws. Turrellus præceptor impietatis accusaretur, quod contra jura canonica & civilia contraque sacras literas ex astris fata hominibus eventura prædicere diceretur (5). Castellanus, full of Gratitude for his Master, pleaded his Cause so vigorously, that he had him absolved. He discoursed learnedly and eloquently on Astronomy, and on the Divinations, which depend upon it: He shewed, that some of them were very innocent, and others very criminal; but that Turreau did not concern himself with the last. See the Substance of his Plea in *Gallandius*. Castellanus's Youth made his Speech more worthy of Admiration; and without doubt the Judges thought, that they ought to pay a great regard to the extraordinary Merit of such an Advocate.

(6) Id. ibid.

Ipse singulari pietate præditus, calore juvenili effervescens, veluti egregius ciconiæ parenti nutritia perolvens pullus, defensionem sui præceptoris professus ad judicium subcella laureatus accessit (6). — Quem ita differentem incomparabili quadam eloquentiæ & animi magna incitatione cum audivissent judices, qui ad sæviciam inflammati, ut fere fit in rebus quæ ad religionem spectant, ad dammandum eum ad tribunal venerant, ita stupentes & attoniti redditus sunt, ut vix verbum ullum proloqui possent. — Ita eo perorante & vultu & animo immutati sunt, ut non modo de abolitione Turrelli, sed etiam de adolescente generoso & disertò laude & præmio orando cogitarent. Inter quos cum federet Boudetus Lingonenfis antistes, homo doctus, advocatis aliquot Theologis adolescentem non vulgariter laudavit & honorario munere donatum dimisit (7). — Castellanus, endowed with uncommon Piety, and glowing with youthful Heat, like the generous Young repaying the Parent Sork for it's Nourishment, undertook the Defence of his Preceptor before the Tribunal of the Judges. — Whom when the Judges heard, pleading with incomparable Eloquence, and great Emotion of Mind; those very Judges, who, inflamed to cruelty, as is usual in Matters of Religion, came with a full intent of condemning the accused, were so astonished and confounded, that they had not a word to say. — During his Harangue, they were so changed both in Mind and Countenance, that they not only entertained thoughts of acquitting Turreau, but likewise of bestowing Praise and Reward on the generous and eloquent Youth. Among whom, Boudetus, Bishop of Langres, a learned Man, calling together some Divines, complimented the young Orator, and dismissed him with a Reward.

(7) Id. pag. 18, 19.

[D] He stopped at *Basil* with *Erasmus*. Beza was not ignorant of this Journey of Castellanus; but it seems he did not place it at the time he ought to have done: he thought, that Castellanus did not go to *Basil* till after having studied the Law at *Bourges* under *Andrew Alciatus*; but he ought to have said, on the contrary, that he did not study the Law at *Bourges* till after his Journey to *Basil*. These are Beza's Words; From *Bourges* he came to study at *Basil*, where he improved in Philosophy and Religion, living with the *Reſſor* Sebastian Munſter (8). Nothing like it is said in his Life; but on the contrary it is observed there, that he went from *Basil*, when the Catholic Religion was abolished there, and that he had

(8) Beza, ubi supra.

publicly preached against a seditious Minister. 'Seduta Basilee & aliis in Germaniæ locis tragica & templis imaginum exturbatione, & variis de religione tumultibus exortis, cum Erasmo, Basilea relicta, Friburgum proficiscentem animadverteret, ipse quoque (postquam publice concionatorem seditiosum confutasset) in quietiora pacatioraque loca demigrare statuit (9). — It happening, at that time, that the Images were driven out of the Churches, at *Basil*, and other Places of *Germany*, and various Tumults arising on account of Religion, Castellanus, observing, that *Erasmus* had retired from *Basil* to *Fribourg*, resolved likewise (after having publicly confuted a seditious Preacher) to settle in some more quiet and peaceable Habitation.' If it could be said, that Castellanus was twice at *Basil*, there would be no opposition between Beza and *Gallandius*; the latter would have only spoken of the first Journey, and the other only of the second. A Letter from *Erasmus* to Castellanus (10) seems favourable to those, who should say, that the latter was twice at *Basil*. He had been there before the entire abolishing of the Catholic Religion, which fell out in the Year 1529. *Gallandius* affirms it; and he was there in the Year 1531. This is what, it seems, may be gathered from a Letter, which *Erasmus* wrote to him from *Fribourg*, dated September the 24th, later than the printing of his Apophthegms. The Epistle Dedicatory of that Work is dated the Twenty sixth of February 1531; and *Erasmus's* Letter, I speak of, contains the Thanks of the Author, for the Praise which Castellanus had given him, on account of his Apophthegms; therefore that Letter of *Erasmus* must necessarily be later than the Month of September 1531. That Letter shews, that Castellanus did not live far from *Fribourg*; it speaks of some Partridges, which Castellanus had sent to *Erasmus* (11); it testifies, that, whenever Castellanus would come to eat a Fowl with *Erasmus*, he should be very welcome. 'Si tantus est amor in me tuus, ornatissime juvenis, ut juvet etiam cum umbra colloqui, istius quidem voluptatis scito tibi paratam fore copiam, quoties erit commodum. Quod si quando possis istam si non tragicam, certe splendidam personam, quam tibi fortuna imposuit, deponere, & uno Claudio Alberico, velut Achate, comitatus ad pullum simul lacerandum venire familiariter, aut etiam invocatus, si libet, obrepere, quemadmodum Nasica solet Ennio, juvaret interdum tali contubernio republice. — If your Love of me, most accomplished Youth, be so great, that you take a Pleasure even in conversing with my Shadow, know, that I will afford you that Pleasure, as often as it shall be convenient. But if you can for a time lay aside that Splendid, if not Tragical, Character, with which Fortune has invested you, and, accompanied by Claudio Albericus only, as another Achates, make me a friendly Visit, and pull a Fowl to pieces, or, without Invitation, if you chuse it, steal to me, as Nasica does to Ennius, it would be a pleasure to me sometimes to grow young again in such Company.' All this might indeed signify, that Castellanus lived at that time at *Basil*, and so Beza would not be mistaken. Another Letter, dated the seventh of February 1532 (12), observes, that Castellanus had met with a Bishop for his Patron, and that he had written to *Erasmus*, that he should speedily leave *Paris*. Doubtless this Bishop is he, of whom *Gallandius* makes mention: he was of the Family of *Tonnerre*, and nominated to the Bishopric of *Poitiers*. Castellanus had taught him polite Literature at *Bourges*; and he followed him afterwards to *Paris*. 'Utebatur familiariter Comite Tonoriensi Episcopo Piclavienſi designato, qui tum in eodem legum studio Alciato quoque operam dabat, quem etiam politioris doctrinæ literas Græcæ & Latinas subcivis horis docebat,

(9) Galland.

pag. 21.

(10) The 13th of the 27th Book.

(11) De perdictibus jam iterum miſſis habeo gratiam. *Erasmi* Epist. xii. lib. xxvii. pag. 1516.

(12) Septimo Idus Februarii 1532, juxta vestram supplicationem. *Id. Epist.* xxiv. lib. xxvii. pag. 1437.

soon finding him to be a very able young Man, placed him with *Frobenius*, in the quality of Corrector of the Press (c). *Erasmus* found the Benefit of it; for, upon *Castellan's* Advice, he corrected several Faults, which otherwise would have remained in his Works [E]. They left *Basil* at the same time, when the *Romish* Religion was quite abolished there. *Erasmus* retired to *Friburg*, and *Castellan* returned to *France*; and, when he was preparing to see *Italy*, he was desired, at *Dijon*, to take the Care of some young Scholars upon him, who were designed to be sent to *Bourges* to study the Law there, under *Alciatus*. Those, who requested this of him, were the chief of the Parliament of *Burgundy*. He accepted this Offer: but, while Matters were preparing for this Journey, he employed himself in two very different Things; he read some public Lectures on the *Greek* Text of *St Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*, and private Lectures of Love to his Landlord's Daughter. Let us say rather, that That Maid, being extremely handsome, tempted and caressed him so much, that he could not resist such a dangerous Forwardness. Perceiving, that she was with Child, he told her Mother of it, and begged her Pardon for the Fault, and most humbly desired her to let her Daughter be delivered so privately, that no one should know of it. The good Mother did not fail to do it; she managed the Business so cunningly, that her Husband himself knew nothing of it. A Year after her lying-in, That Daughter was married suitably to her Condition, and under the Notion of a very chaste Virgin [F]. As for the Boy

(c) Eum Frobenio commendavit, atque ut honesto loco & stipendio sibi in emendandis Græcis Latinisque exemplaribus adiutor esset, effecit. Galland. in *Vita Petri Castelli*, pag. 20.

(13) Galland. *ibid.* pag. 25.

cebat. — Percursor legum veluti stadio cum eo Episcopo Lutetiam reversus (13). That which creates some difficulty, is, that *Peter Gallandius* affords us no vacant time, wherein we may place the second Journey to *Basil*, after his Studies at *Bourges*: for he sends his Friend from *Bourges* to *Paris* with the nominated Bishop; and afterwards places him with a Bishop of *Auxerre*, for the Journey to *Rome*. For the rest we understand by *Erasmus's* two Letters to *Castellan*, that both of them wrote a very bad Hand. *Erasmus* seems vexed that he made no more of *Castellan*, when they were together; but *Castellan* was very well satisfied with the Civilities he had received from him. Quod mihi subinde occinis comitatem, humanitatem, atque etiam merita nescio quæ in te mea, usque adeo nihil horum agnosco, ut me mei pudeat quoties tecum re-puto quam parvam habuerim, quum apud nos esses, tuæ dignitatis rationem. Sed ita est hominum ingenium, præsentem virtutem, si non odimus, ut ait *Flaccus*, certe negligimus, sublatam ex oculis querimus invidi, aut si minus invidi, certe incogitantes. Quo magis admiror singularem istius ingenii candorem, qui toties prædices humanitatem meam, cujus Scythicam inhumanitatem merito posset inculcare: neque gravabor hanc culpam facere pro viribus, si vel sese dederit occasio, vel tu submonueris quibus in rebus tibi possum commodare (14). — As to my Courtesy, Humanity, and I know not what Merit of mine towards you, which you every now and then tell me of, I am so far from acknowledging any such thing, that I am ashamed of myself, as often as I recollect the little regard I paid to your Worth, when you were with me. But such is the Disposition of Mankind, Virtue, when present, if not hated by us, as *Horace* says, is certainly neglected: but, when removed from our Sight, we seek after it with envy, or, if not with envy, yet certainly without thought. For this reason, I am the more surprized at that singular Candour of Mind, which induces you so often to cry up my Humanity, whom you might justly accuse of Scythian Inhumanity: nor shall I think it any trouble to repair this Fault, with the utmost care, if either an Opportunity offers, or you shall inform me how I may be serviceable to you.

(14) *Erasmi*. Epist. xxiv, lib. xxvi, pag. 1436.

[E] Upon *Castellan's* Advice, *Erasmus* corrected several Faults, which otherwise would have remained in his Work.] *Erasmus's* Raileries against the French animated *Peter Castellan* in such a manner, that he employed Day and Night in the Study of the *Greek* Tongue, and Divinity, and all kind of Literature. With this Labour, and the Goodness of his Parts, it was not very difficult for him to acquire a profound Learning; which made him discover, that the Strength of *Erasmus* did not lie in the *Greek* Language. Moreover, the little time that That great Man employed in composing his Books, did not permit him to avoid all manner of Faults: It was a Happiness for him, that his Works passed through the Hands of such a learned Corrector, as our Ca-

VOL. II.

stellan was. Hic juvenis *Erasmicæ* gloriæ æmulatione, & ejus falsis in ingenia Gallica, quibus parum in literis tribuebat, cavillationibus incensus, noctes & dies in Græcarum literarum Theologiæque atque omnis humanioris doctrinæ commentatione ita versabatur, ut *Erasmum* satis præcipitater commentantem (15), & Græco non probe intellecta in Latinum sermonem male vertentem, frequenter suorum errorum admoneret. Quæ ille, qui plurimum *Castellani* opera uteretur, cum agnoscere, atque emendare ejus admonitu cogebatur, plurimum tribuebat atque deferbat. Memini *Castellanum* mihi frequenter dicere *Erasmum* in literis Græcis supra vulgus tum parum promovisse, in auctoribus qui ab usu communi remoti essent insigniter hæsitavisse. Itaque quæ ex illis vertebatur aut commentabatur, majore ex parte adjuvantibus doctis, qui ei hanc operam navabant, præstitisse (16). — This young Man, fired with an Emulation of *Erasmus's* Glory, and at his keen Jests on the French Wits, to whom he ascribed but little Learning, applied himself so closely, Night and Day, to *Greek*, Divinity, and all kind of polite Learning, that he frequently pointed out the Errors, which *Erasmus*, through too much haste, and translating out of *Greek* into Latin what he did not thoroughly understand, was guilty of. Which when the latter, who was greatly assisted by *Castellan*, was forced to acknowledge, and, upon his Admonition, to amend, he confessed himself highly obliged to him. I remember often to have heard *Castellan* say, that *Erasmus* had but a very moderate Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue, and that he was remarkably at a loss in uncommon Authors. Therefore, in those things, which he translated, or commented on, out of such Authors, he was for the most part obliged to the Assistance of learned Men.

(15) See, above, the Article *BULÆUS*, Citat. (16).

(16) Galland. *ibid.* pag. 20.

[F] The Daughter of his Host — caressed him — became with Child — and was married — under the Notion of a very chaste Virgin.] The Question is, whether the Husband agreed the next Day after his Marriage, that *Agur* had much reason to say, There be three things, yea four, which are wonderfully difficult to discern; the way of an Eagle in the Air, the way of a Serpent on the Rock, the way of a Ship in the Sea, and the way of a Man with a Maid (17). How do we know, whether he did not say to himself, in his conjugal Embraces, the Parody of these five Verses of *Lucretius*?

(17) *Prov.* xxx, 18, 19.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
Trita solo: juvat integros accedere fontes
Atque haurire, juvatque novos decerpere flores,
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
Unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musæ (18).

(18) *Lucret.* lib. iv, init. Compare the rem non novam of the Remark (P), of the Article *BULÆUS*.

— inspir'd, I trace the Muses Seats,
Utt'rodde yet: 'tis sweet to visit first
Untouch'd and Virgin Streams, and quench my Thirst.

5 A

I joy

Boy that she brought into the World, *Castellan's* Brother took him and educated him as his own Child. The time of those young Persons going to *Bourges* being come, he went with them, and improved very much in the Knowledge of the Law, to which he did not so much apply himself, but that he cultivated polite Literature very much. His Application to Study was surprizing [G]. His Desire of seeing *Italy* was soon satisfied; for the Bishop of *Auxerre*, who was to go thither upon an Embassy, desired to have him with him as a Man of Letters. *Castellan* did not stay long at *Rome*, where almost nothing pleased him but the Remains of Antiquity [H]. He went to *Venice*, where he found an Employ, to be exercised

*I joy to crop fresh Flow'rs, and get a Crown
For new and rare Inventions of my own.*

CREECH.

Lastly, how do we know, but that some excellent Anatomist had fortified him against all Events by such a Discourse as this? 'Gentlemen, if you find no Obstacle in the Passage, or if the Defeat be not bloody, suspect nothing upon that account to the Disadvantage of your Wives. Believe me, in this matter, as well as in many others, a pleasing Error is better than a vexatious Truth.' This is what the *Sieur Lami* said to his Auditors in a Lecture of Anatomy (19).

(19) *Lami* Discours. Anatom. pag. 89.

Some perhaps may imagine, that there is no likelihood that *Peter Gallandius* said, that his Friend *Castellan* got his Landlord's own Daughter with Child; for it seems That Landlord should be the Father of *Castellan's* Disciple; in which case the Fault would have been so criminal, that the Historian, to save his Friend's Reputation, would have passed it in silence. Therefore left it should be thought, that I have translated ill, I will place here the Terms of the Original. 'Versabatur in ædibus honorati & primarii cujusdam civis, cui puella erat forma admodum venusta & eleganti, à qua frequenter multis illecebris ad amores & voluptatem invitabatur. Itaque etsi ea erat virtutis & continentiae indole ut — tantis tamen puellæ blandimentis quibus non modo adolescentia lubrica, verum etiam ætas corroborata caperetur, captus, eam gravidam reddidit. Quod ubi cognovit nihil antiquius ducens quam ut cui juvenili cupiditate incensus stuprum obtulerat, citra ignominiam quantum fieri posset, confuleret, senili quadam prudentia ad matrem accessit, culpam confessus, & veniam precatus, per omnia sacra rogare cepit honesta aliqua occasione in eum locum filiam abduceret, ubi citra infamiae notam clam parere & citra turpitudinis suspicionem in ædes paternas reduci posset. Quod ita matris prudentia administratum est, ut non modo alios sed & patrem ipsum flagitium latuerit, & anno postquam puella enixa est, in matrimonium honestissime collocata sit (20). — He was conversant in the Family of an honourable and chief Citizen, who had a very beautiful Daughter, who was ever tempting him by various Allurements to Love and Pleasure. Therefore, notwithstanding his natural Virtue and Continency was such, that — yet, captivated by the Girl's Blandishments, which were able to ensnare, not only easy Youth, but even confirmed Age, he got her with Child. Which discovering, and judging that he ought above all things to consult the Reputation of Her, whom in the warmth of youthful Lust he had debauched, with the Prudence of an old Man he went to her Mother, confessed his Fault, and, begging pardon, conjured her to take an Opportunity of sending her Daughter where she might lie-in privately, and without Infamy, and return unsuspected to her Father's House. The Affair was so conducted by the prudent Mother, that not only others, but even the Father, knew nothing of the Matter, and the Girl, a Year after her lying-in, was honourably married.' By this you see, that *Gallandius* gives us plainly to understand, that *Castellan* lodged at the Maid's Father's House; for, if he had designed to have observed only that he went very often to That Man's House, he would have made use of an Expression (21), which would have been improper, at least in this Place, by reason of an Ambiguity very dangerous to *Castellan's* Honour. It is a Phrase, of which the most natural, the most common, and the most reasonable Sense, is That which I give it; it leads us directly to an Idea, which aggravates *Castellan's*

(21) Versari in ædibus.

Crime, though his Historian has abstained from all Terms, that might represent to us the domestic Pedagogy; and that, if we carry it so far, it must be by joining together some Probabilities. I confess, on the other side, that he would have been less excusable, if he had not lodged in the same House with this Daughter; for, in that Case, he would have sought such Occasions, which he might easily have avoided: but, being under the same Roof with the Tempter, Opportunities fell in his way, whether he would or no. The Author of his History found a very wise Conduct in the Care, which was taken to save the Daughter's Reputation. 'Quæ tanta in consulendo honori puellæ prudentia & tegendo flagitio industria me adduxit, ut ne hanc quidem adolescentiæ labem silentio prætereundam esse existimaverim (22). — Which great Care of the Girl's Honour, and Industry in concealing the Crime, induced me not to pass in silence this Slip of his Youth.' There is nothing extraordinary in it. He should not have begun by telling the Mother, that her Daughter was with Child, but by telling her of her Daughter's ill Inclinations: otherwise it was to act like those, of whom it is reasonably said: they think after they have spoke. It was well for *Castellan*, that *Beza*, and other Writers of that Party, were ignorant of this Adventure.

(22) *Gallandius* ibid. pag. 23.

[G] His Application to study was very surprizing.] He slept hardly three Hours in the Night: he lay on the Ground, without any other Pillow than his Gown, which he wraped about his Head; and as soon as he awaked, he immediately run to his Books. It was in vain to advise him to study less; he did not listen to those kind of Remonstrances (23). When he was in the Office of King's Reader, he resumed that strong Application; and, to have a more proper time to study, he never dined, but took a piece of Bread at eight a Clock in the Morning, and supped at five in the Evening. He attended at the King's going to Bed, and did not retire till he slept. He went to sleep four Hours at most, and then to his Study without Intermission till ten o' Clock, when the King went to his Devotions. 'Hanc personam ubi tanti Regis judicio & voluntate sibi impositam esse vidit, noctes & dies, veluti Prometheus Caucasus, se rursum libris affixit, nullum non auctorum genus in omnibus linguis ita manibus pervolutavit, ut in singulis totam vitam contrivisse quavis etiam exercitissimus eum diceret (24). — Tres ipse horas, quatuor ad summum, dormiebat; quibus exactis, nocte intempesta, excitatus in horam decimam, donec Rex sacris operaretur, in literarum studia indefessus incumberebat (25). — When he saw himself self invested with this Character by the Judgment and Will of so great a King, he again fixed himself to his Books, like Prometheus to Mount Caucasus, and turned over almost every Author in every Language, inasmuch that the most conversant in them would have said that he had spent his whole Life in the Study of each in particular. — He slept but three, or four Hours at most: after which, rising in the middle of the Night, he studied indefatigably till ten in the Morning, when the King went to Prayers.'

(23) *Id.* ibid. pag. 25.

(24) *Id.* ibid. pag. 41.

(25) *Ibid.* pag. 42.

[H] He staid not long at *Rome*, where almost nothing pleased him but the Remains of Antiquity (26).] He was so scandalized at the Corruptions, which he observed in the Court of *Rome*, that, for many Years after, he could not think, or speak, of them without Indignation. He pushed the matter so far, that he believed Religion was but a meer Farce at *Rome*, which they made use of to deceive the World, in order to preserve Dominion. *Calvin* has not said much more of it; *Calvin*, I say, who has been so much insulted, and so often called an egregious Calumniator for

(26) Cum omnia fere præter antiquitatis vestigia quedam improbarent. *Ibid.* pag. 27.

exercised in the chief Town of the Island of Cyprus. The Bishop and Inhabitants of that Town wanted a Man, who understood Greek and Latin, and who could teach Literature, and they offered him a Pension of two hundred Crowns. *Castellan* undertook to serve them, and taught two Years in their Town with much Success; infomuch that they were not well pleased when he left them to go and see Egypt. He saw it like an ingenious Person, for he could discourse of all that belonged to it, as if he had lived there all his Life. Having heard of the good Reception, which the *Sieur de la Forêt*, his most Christian Majesty's Embassador, gave to the French at Constantinople, he had a Mind to see that great City: In his Journey thither he stopped two Months at Jerusalem. *La Forêt* conceived a singular Esteem for him, and recommended him to Francis I, and to some great Lords of the Court. Cardinal *du Bellai*, and some others, recommended him to the same Prince for a very learned Man. *Castellan* confirmed their Testimony by the Discourses he had with the King, which were so pleasing to him, that he used to make *Castellan* speak of a great many things whilst he was at Dinner and Supper [I]. A little while after, he gave him the Office of his Reader, which *Colin*, who was fallen into Disgrace, had exercised [K]. This obliged *Castellan* to study more than ever, that he might be able to answer the Questions, which the King his Master, who was curious, and a Lover of good Literature, might ask him. He lulled him asleep, every Night, by the Explication of some Author (d); he allowed also some Hours for the Instruction of the Princess *Margaret*, That Prince's Daughter. He made use of the Favour, to which he had attained, for the Good and Advancement of Learning, and caused some good Regulations to be made for the Advantage of the Professors, and of the King's Library. It is assured, in his Life, that he laboured hard to maintain the Catholic Religion, against those who solicited the King of France to cast off the Pope's Yoke; not but that he knew, as well as any Body, the need the Church stood in of being reformed; but he foresaw, that, if Francis I. appeared never so little indifferent as to the Innovators, they would take so much Boldness upon them, that they would overturn every thing, the

(d) Francis Regi ad quietem se comparanti Latinas Græcæque historias & tragedias ad verbum pene verbatim interpretabatur, & dormituri affidens inter legendum præclari alicuius loci sententiae explicatione, tanquam emolumenta Pythagoræorum munifici, cum ad quietem tranquillam deteris curis omnibus & perturbationibus componebat. *Ibid.* pag. 42.

for having made use of these words: *The first Article of their secret Theology* (he speaks of the Popes and Cardinals) *which reigns among them, is, that there is no God: the second, that all that is written and preached of JESUS CHRIST is but Falshood and idle Talk: the third, that all that is contained in Scripture concerning Eternal Life, and the Resurrection of the Body, are meer Fables* (27). Compare this with what I am going to say of *Castellan's* Life, and you will find no great difference.

(27) *Instit. lib. iv, cap. vii, n. 27, apud Joha Hay, Defence of the Demands,* pag. 27.

Memini eum aliquando, cum Pontificum Romanorum supinas libidines, avaritiam, & rapacitatem, religionis contemptum, superbiamque Cardinalium, luxum, & ignaviam, nundinationesque, cauponationes, & flagitia reliqua aulicorum Romanensium describeret, & cætera quæ tunc vidisset commemoraret, ita animo concitari & indignatione commoveri consuevisse, ut ei non modo in facie color, sed & toto corpore gestus motusque immutarentur; ut etiam mihi frequenter diceret sibi esse persuasissimum ne Pontifices quidem Romanos religionis & sacrorum antilites, tot suis fuorunque flagitiis sceleribusque contaminatos, vere & ex animo Christum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis causa, veluti larva ad fallendum apposita, egregie simulare (28). — I remember that, when he was describing the wanton Lust, Avarice, and Rapaciousness of the Roman Pontiffs, their Contempt of Religion; the Pride, Luxury, and Laziness of the Cardinals, their riotous Feastings, and other Vices, which he had observed in the Court of Rome, he would be so moved with Indignation, that not only the Colour in his Face, but the very Motions and Gestures of his Body, would be changed: infomuch that he would often tell me, he was fully persuaded, that the Popes themselves, the supreme Heads of Religion, contaminated with so many Vices of their own and those about them, did not sincerely and from their Hearts worship CHRIST; but that whatever shew they made of Religion, it was an egregious Cheat, carried on only for the Sake of Power. See what I quote out of Erasmus, in Remark [G] of the Article CALVIN.

(28) Galland, pag. 27.

[I] Francis I made him speak of a great many things, while he was at Dinner and Supper. *Castellan* had not only much Learning, but also a very good Grace in speaking; which made him be heard with much Attention and Delight, when he discoursed on the Questions which Francis I proposed to him. Præstanti regi fere semper astabat; & ad ea quæ in percontando ab eo ponebantur sic respondere solitus erat, ut facile quivis naris non obesse eum omnia ingenio summo, acerrimis studiis, atque usu maximo cognita, & perspecta habere judicasset. Huc accesserat vocis ea lenitas, vultus gestusque compositi decor, & sermonis comitas, elegantia, & gratia, ut, quod de Pericle prodidit Eupolis, Pitho quamdam flexanimam in ejus labris sessitare homines putarent. Itaque quoties differebat, Regem, silentibus aliis omnibus, in eum oculos conjicere, ex ejus ore veluti auribus suspensum pendere, & singula verba ab eo emissâ tanquam oracula probare animadvertisset (29). — He generally stood by the King at Supper, and returned such Answers to the Questions, which were put to him, that a Person of any Skill might easily judge, that, by dint of Genius, and Application to study, he had acquired a compleat Knowledge of every thing. To this was added, That Mildness of Voice, that graceful Aspect and Deportment, that Courtessy, Elegance, and Grace of Language, that, as Eupolis said of Pericles, Men would think Persuasion itself dwelt upon his Lips. As often therefore as he discoursed, you might see the King (the rest keeping Silence) fix his Eyes on him, hang on his Words, and receive every Sentence as an Oracle. From the first Conversations the King approved of him much (30), and, because some considerable Persons conceived a great Jealousy at it, and laboured to put him out of Countenance, and to hinder him from insinuating himself into the King's Mind by his fine Discourses, the King charged the Dauphin to tell him, that he should not regard any Body's Threatnings, but continue to speak freely and boldly. Cumque essent qui, ejus felicitati invidentes, silentium ei imperare cointenderent, atque ab hoc de rebus omnibus apud Regem dicendi instituto deterere pararent, per filium natu maximum Delphinum Rex ipse eum hortatus est ut intrepide & constanter ad suam mensam loqueretur, neque cujusquam interpellatione aut minis de sententia deduceretur (31).

[K] The King gave him the Office of his Reader, which *Colin* had exercised. Gallandius (32) pretends, that *Colin* made himself odious by Discourses, which created Quarrels, and that those, who were against him, speaking in *Castellan's* Favour on one side, while his Merit recommended him on the other, *Colin* was dismissed, and *Castellan*

(29) *Ibid.* pag. 42.

(30) De variis rebus differentem & fermocinantem avidissimis auribus rex inter cœnandum & prandendum eum audiret, & repudiatis aliorum opinionibus in ejus sententiam descenderet. *Ibid.* pag. 38.

(31) *Ibid.* pag. 39.

(32) *Ibid.* pag. 40.

the State as well as Popery. For which Reason he thought it expedient, that Indulgence should be used towards Inquisitors and Informers [L]; tho' it happened very often, that they accused innocent Persons. On the other side, he did not approve of the Rigour of Capital Punishment, and brought also some Trouble upon himself, for having interceded in favour of some erring Persons, who were threatened with Death (e). The Exactness, with which he maintained the Episcopal Laws against the Pretensions of the Church of Rome, made him odious beyond the Alps; and he greatly displeased the Sorbonne by the Protection he granted to Robert Stephens [M]. He occasioned the Assembly of Melun (f), in which some Prelates and Doctors prepared the Instructions of those, who were to be deputed to the Council. He never appeared more eloquent, more grave, and more majestic, than when he prepared Francis I. for Death, and when he made That Monarch's Funeral Oration [N]. I forgot to say, that he had obtained of

(e) He appeased the King towards the *Pseudois* three Years before the Execution of *Cabreres* and *Merindol*. *Ibid.* pag. 60, and caused *Dohet* to be once released out of Prison. *Ibid.* pag. 62.

(f) The Year 1545. See the last Remark.

fellan advanced in his Place; *Castellan*, I say, who had never dreamed of such a Preferment, and who would rather have had an Employ in the Army, than in the Church. *Beza* relates the Thing in another manner. He says, that *Castellan* presented himself to *James Colin*, at that Time Reader in Ordinary to King Francis I. and that God would have it, that *Colin* offered him to the King, who was desirous to hear ingenious Persons at his Table, and chiefly those, who brought him any thing new (33). The Issue of that Presentation, continues *be*, was such, that *Castellan* thrusting *Colin* out, remained the King of France's Favourite until his Death. Another reports, that *Colin* and *Castellan* disputing, on a time, on something, in his Majesty's Presence, *Colin* grounded himself on his Books; *Castellan* spoke as an Eye-witness, and maintained, that the Authors quoted by *Colin* were mistaken. This placed *Castellan* so high in the King's Opinion, that he received Orders to remain at Court, and that afterwards he obtained the Bishopric of *Tulle*. 'Narrat Petrus à Sancto Juliano in præfatione ad historiam Burgundionum, cum incidisset quæstionem quædam inter eum & Castellanum coram Francisco primo, Colinusque librorum auctoritate tantum uteretur; Castellanus vero, qui rem, de qua agebatur, etiam oculis usurparat, sua auctoritate testibusque approbasset vera his libris non contineri, tantam hinc illum gratiam affecutum esse apud Regem, ut in aula manere jussus sit, indeque Episcopatu Tutelensi donatum (34).' It is very dangerous to recommend an abler Person than one's self. I do not question but that *Castellan* was very prejudicial to *Colin*, either without endeavouring it, or as *Beza* relates it.

(33) *Beza* Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. ii, pag. 80.

(34) *Baluzius* not. ad vitam Petri Castellani, pag. 147.

[L] He was of opinion, that Indulgence should be used towards Inquisitors and Informers. He was not ignorant, that there were many Calumniators in the Catholic Church, who, through Hatred, Jealousy, Ambition, and Covetousness, persecuted innocent Persons, by falsely imputing Lutheranism to them: but he thought those kind of Accusers ought to be supported, though their Suspensions should be ill grounded; for, said he, the Innocent, who are accused, clear themselves; Criminals are not punished, if they are not accused. He made use of a Passage of *Cicero* (35), concerning the Dogs of the Capitol, from which he concluded, that, to suppress the Audaciousness of Innovators, the Dogs, who bark after them, must be protected and favoured for the sake of the public Good. 'Neque fieri posse quin in factione quoque diversa calumniatores essent, qui odio, invidia, vel nimio studio suas opes & dignitates retinendi potius, quam pietatis affectu, bonos aliquando viros pro Lutheranis persequerentur; ferendos tamen esse quoties in suspicionem, à qua etiam crimen abesset, suspectos in judicium vocarent. Quod si innocentes essent accusati, absolvi possent, condemnari autem nocentes, nisi accusarentur, non possent. Quam ad rem locum illum ex *Cicerone* pro *Roscio* de canibus Capitolinis adducebat, ut illos olim, cum fures internoscere non possent, rectè latratu appetere solitos esse quicumque noctu Capitolium ingressi essent; ita ut metu lymphaticorum quorundam compriemeretur audacia, quoties moribus & longo usu in Ecclesia recepta privata auctoritate abrogarent aut seditiose damarent, latratores, à quibus appeterentur, reipublicæ causa favore prosequendos

(35) See, below, the Article St BERNARD, Citation (9).

'esse (36).' It cannot be denied, that this Maxim is of Use for the Good of the Public, and chiefly in troublesome Times; but it is also certain, that it is a Source of Injustice. We must lament, upon this, the Fate of Mankind, and the fatal Necessity, which obliges, on so many Occasions, to sacrifice the Right of private Men to the Use of the Public. The Honour and Innocency of a Family become but too often the Prey of a suspicious or wicked Informer; Justice would require, that this Informer should be exemplarily punished, either for his Temerity or Malice; but the public Good requires, that such Persons should be left to bark against every Body, and that they should go unpunished, when they confound the Innocent with the Guilty. This keeps ill affected Persons in awe; and it is better to accuse ten times without Necessity, than to fail once to inform against those, who deserve it. This is the reason, that many good Persons are neglected, whilst the Bad are in Credit. A good Man will not take upon him the Trade of a Spy, or an Informer; an ill Man takes this Office willingly, and thereby makes himself useful, and sometimes necessary. However it be, you see on what Foundation our *Peter Castellan* would have Quarter given to those unjust Accusers, who blemish so many innocent Persons. The Good of the Church required Dogs, who did not only bark against Heretics, but indifferently against all those, who, by their Moderation, and Spirit of Toleration, became suspected. *Castellan* is not the only Man, who adopts this Maxim.

(36) *Galland.* pag. 58.

[M] He displeased the Sorbonne, by the Protection he granted to Robert Stephens. It was a Protection, which did not last long enough; *Castellan* was tired at last with resisting the Torrent of the Sorbonnists, and he gave up to them Robert Stephens, who complained of it in this manner: 'Immediately, as being agitated by I know not what Fury, he leaves him a Prey to the Divines, whom he had supported against such Furies, by an Inspiration of God rather than by a pure and sincere Affection. It was in hopes to gain a Cardinal's Cap, that he gave up himself so servilely, and without reason, to them; for he hated them much (37).' His Passion was allayed some Days after, and he was vexed, that they should oppress that learned Man, and compel him to seek another Country (38). Admire *Castellan*'s Fate: he was suspected of Lutheranism, as well because he understood Greek and Hebrew, as because he disapproved of the Cruelty of the Inquisitors, and some Abuses of the Church: And when he turned Persecutor, to clear himself of these Suspensions, it was thought he did it only out of Ambition. *Gallandius* tells us all these Things himself. 'A quibusdam, qui quicquid polioribus literis tinctum est, aut ex Hebræis Græcisque literis erutum, statim Lutheranismum esse clamitant, affinem ei scilicet, ab aliis vero aulæ pontificiæ corruptos mores, nundinationes rerum sacrarum, & quam vocant superstitionem improbantibus, purpurei galeri desiderio fictum & personatum simulatorem habitum esse non ignoro (39).'

(37) Robert Stephens's Answer to the Centures of the Divines of Paris, fol. 22, Edit. of 1552, in 8vo.

(38) *Ibid.* fol. 24, verso.

(39) *Galland.* ubi supra. p. 55.

[N] He made that Monarch's Funeral Oration. It consisted of two Sermons, which Mr *Baluze* caused to be printed, when he published *Castellan*'s Life, composed by *Gallandius*. Every body knows the Complaints of the Sorbonne on *Castellan*'s expressing himself pretty plainly concerning Purgatory; he

him the Bishopric of *Tulle*, and afterwards that of *Macon*. He designed to have retired after the Death of That Prince, but *Henry II* would have him continue to follow the Court as before; and, as soon as the Place of Great Almoner of *France* became vacant, he conferred it upon him. That Office is of a great Extent, and may become a Foundation of many good things, when it is administered by a Person, who knows and practises all the Duties of it. This our *Castellan* did, and, among the good Uses he made of the Money, which he disposed of, we must not forget what concerns the Women of ill Fame [O]. He quitted the Bishopric of *Macon* for that of *Orleans*, which was in the Neighbourhood of the Places, where *Henry II* delighted to reside. That Prince, preparing himself for the Expedition of *Germany*, went from *Amboise* to *Orleans*, and permitted the Great Almoner to absent himself from the Court for two Months. *Castellan* desired that Leave of him, in order to set the Affairs of his Diocese in Order. He had not leisure to correct the Abuses of it; but he cleared it from a great Number of vagabond Priests, who were ignorant, and led a scandalous Life [P]: He preached often; but, one Day, while he was preaching, he was taken with a violent Palsy, which soon degenerated into an Apoplexy, and carried him off in a very little time. He died the third of *February*, 1552 (g). The Protestants made many Reflexions on this Death [Q]. He was a Man very well versed in the Oriental Languages (h),

(g) Taken from his Life, composed by Peter Gallandius, his Friend, and published by Mr. Baluze at Paris, in the Year 1674.

(h) See Colomies in Gall. Orient. pag. 14, 15.

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he declared, that he believed the King's Soul went directly to Heaven. The Deputies of the *Sorbonne* fell into the Hands of a Banterer (40), who laughed at them. I know, said he to them, the late King's Humour; he stayed seldom long in one Place, and; if he went through Purgatory, it was but to taste the Wine there. *Beza* (41) and *Thuanus* (42) relate the Thing very amply.

(40) *Mendoza* the King's Steward.

(41) *Beza*, Hist. Eccl. cap. ii, pag. 80.

(42) *Thuanus*, lib. iii, pag. 58.

[O] We must not forget what he did in relation to the Women of ill Fame. I shall only speak of the Maids, who were shut up in the House of Repentance, and who did not deserve the Name of Repentant Maids; for they were neither Maids nor repentant: they had prostituted themselves, and having afterwards put themselves into a Monastery, to expiate their Faults there, and not having wherewith to subsist, they went a begging from Door to Door, which gave them Opportunity to take up their first Trade again. *Castellan* tried all ways to find a sufficient Fund for the Subsistence of those Creatures, and ordered, among other Things, that they should work with their Hands. It was with difficulty he persuaded them, that they ought not to walk up and down in the City, but to keep religiously in their Monastery. Vix verbis exprimi potest quantis sudoribus & molestiis operam dederit ut mulieres, quæ Lutetiae corpore vulgato quæstum meretricium fecissent, ex vitæ contaminatæ penitentia ad castitatem, bonam frugem, & religiosam vitam in monasterio profectam convertere, verè id quod profiterentur præstarent. Nam cum iis redditus qui ad usus vitæ necessarios requiruntur destitute vicatim & ostium mendicare cogentur, & ejus rei occasione sui copiam magno cum probro facere vulgo dicerentur, re prius diligenter multumque cum prudentibus bonisque viris communicata, illis demum multis rationibus, quamquam ægrè, persuasit ne monasterium semel ingressæ, cum hac ignominiosa boni nominis & famæ jactura per urbem in posterum divagarentur (43).

(43) *Galland*, pag. 110.

[P] He purged his Diocese from vagabond Priests, who were ignorant, and led a scandalous Life. He began the Reformation of his Diocese with the Priests, and ordered, that all those, who had not settled Habitations, and who only went from Place to Place, begging to say Masses, should leave the Country immediately. In fifteen Days he drove so great a number of them away, that one might have formed a good Army of them. Doctrinæ & vitæ sui populi cognitionem instaurationemque à capite, hoc est, à sacerdotibus exoritur, eorum qui nullam certam stationem habentes, velut erronei circumforanei, Missas undique accupantur, tantum numerum intra dies quindecim Episcopatus sui finibus exegit, ut ex iis iustus propemodum exercitus cogi posse videretur (44). Having examined them, he found them very ignorant, and very much corrupted; yet he gave them travelling Charges. It was a very great Abuse to suffer such People, who offered themselves, as one may say, from Door to Door, to say Masses at a low Rate. Cum eos interrogatos literarum omnium ignaros,

(44) *Ibid.* pag. 134.

omnium sordium maculis infames, nulli certo homini aut loco auctoritas mercedula se veluti venales ad sacra obeunda obtrudere didicisset (45). This Evil has been a little remedied; but it is still so great, that it moved a Catholic, Author of a Book, printed in *Holland* in the Year 1681, to make very vehement Complaints about it: 'It is a comical thing, says he, in *Italy*, to see ten or twelve Priests in a Vestry, waiting for some Popen, who, for a Mass, gives them a *Giulio* to buy Bread withal, and that very often they are turned out of the Vestry, by the Sacristan, before they have earned a Penny. This is not seen at *Paris*; but there are above a thousand of those Adventurers, who have no fixed Parish, and have much a-do to subsist by their Masses: I shun them as Pick-Pockets, and am glad of one thing, which is, that neither Priest nor Monk ever had any of my Money by way of Payment for their Masses, and I should think it to be a kind of Sacrilege to give it: No Man should be ordained without an Office or Benefice, and then we might be free from these Vagabonds (46).'

(45) *Ibid.* pag. 135.

[Q] The Protestants made many Reflexions on his Death. Let us see those of *Beza*. Speaking of *Castellan*, he says, 'That he was at last provided with the Bishopric of *Macon*, and afterwards of *Orleans*, after the buying and selling of several Benefices. He was a Man of Wit, well learned in *Latin*, and favouring the Protestant Religion, at first, so far, that he maintained *Robert Stephens*' Cause a long while - - when he was attacked by the *Sorbonne*, who found fault with a certain Impression of the Bible, which he had made (47). - - But this good Bishop, complying so far as to persecute those, whom he had excused before as much as he could, became Bishop of *Orleans*, where God waited for him in the Passage. For being come, the Eve of his Entry, according to Custom, to the Monastery, which they call *St. Pierre* (48), and got into the Pulpit to preach, where there was a great number of People, by reason of the Novelty of seeing a Bishop preach, as he was threatening very sharply those, who were called Heretics, he was struck with such a sudden and violent Pain of the Cholick, that, being carried away, he ended his Days miserably the following Night (49), to make his Entry elsewhere than into *Orleans*. Five Days after, viz. the ninth of *July*, were also executed, &c. *Beza* is mistaken both as to the Day and the Year. According to what he says, *Castellan* should have died the fourth of *July* 1549; but it was the third of *February* 1552. Let us add another good Protestant Witness to *Beza*: 'Now that I am speaking of Church men, I remember one, who is seldom forgot, when they speak of such Judgments of God, (viz.) *Petrus Castellanus*. For, indeed, we have in him (as much as in any other) a notable Example of God's Judgment: because, after having made great Profession of the Gospel during the Reign of King *Francis*, the first of that Name, so far as to incur the Displeasure of the *Sorbonne*, (which he did not fear, by reason of the Support he had from the said Prince)

(46) Sure and honest Means for the Conversion of all Heretics, Part II, pag. 26, 27.

(47) *Beza*, Hist. Eccl. pag. 80, 81.

(48) *Du Peirat*, Antiquities of the Chapel, pag. 384, says, that this Prelate was struck with an Apoplexy, as he was preaching the Word of God in the Church of *St. Lawrence of Orgeres*, before he had made his Entry into the City of *Orleans*.

(49) *Gallandius*, pag. 135, says, that *Castellan* fell into an Apoplexy first on his left Side, and afterwards on his right Side, that he could not breathe, and that he was suffocated before three Days: ante triduum suffocatus sit.

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and moreover so universal a Scholar, that Francis I, who boasted never to have seen any learned Man, whose Knowledge he had not exhausted in two Years [R], declared, that he had never found this Man's Erudition defective. Castellan wrote but few Things [S]. Very surprizing Effects of his Eloquence are reported [T]. We

' he turned his Coat in the Reign of King Henry, the second of that Name; (so far as he perceived that those, who made Profession of the Gospel, had not, then, the best of it at Court) and even turned it so that it was no longer known. And, not contented with that, he came to Orleans, (of which City he had newly obtained the Bishopric) to preach strongly and firmly against the Religion, which he had before maintained. And, indeed, he went sometimes into the Pulpit; but as he was disgorging Blasphemies, in a Sermon, against the True Religion and his Conscience, he was seized with a Sickness, which would not suffer him to come down from the Pulpit in the same manner as he got up into it. It is said, that one half of his Body burned, and the other was as cold as Ice: They speak also of a Dysentery; in so much that Death followed it, in a few Days, with ' horrible Cries and Groans (50). ' D'Aubigné (51) cites a Book, entitled *Dan*, wherein it was said, that Bishop Castellan, who sent Protestants with great Coldness to be burned, died half frozen, and half burned. Chassanion relates the same Thing, as Beza and Henry Stephens, concerning the Death of this Prelate. See the hundred and sixth and the hundred and seventh Pages of a Book, which he published in 1586, entitled, *Memorable Histories of the great and marvellous Judgments and Punishments of GOD*.

I believe I may say Three Things on this Subject. I. That Beza and Henry Stephens, &c. have not acted thro' meer Slander, but out of Zeal for Religion. II. That what they have said is very proper to serve their Cause, in confirming the People already reformed in their Opinions. III. That it is likely they went too fast in their Decisions. Calvin, Beza, and several others, were persuaded, that all those, who had at first favoured the Reformation, either by endeavouring to mollify the Minds of the Persecutors, or by shewing an extream Desire to see the Evils of the Church at an end, were so many Apostates and Traitors to their Consciences, if they continued in the Communion of Rome, and if they changed their Behaviour towards the Reformed. I say they were too hasty in their Judgment. To believe, that the Church stands in need of Reformation, and to approve a certain manner of reforming it, are two very different Things. To blame the Conduct of those, who oppose a Reformation, and to disapprove the Conduct of those, who reform, are two very compatible Things. So that Erasmus may be imitated, without being an Apostate or a perfidious Man, without sinning against the Holy Ghost, and without betraying the Lights of one's Conscience; and this is what, it seems, Beza did not understand: He imagined, that all those, who agreed, that Calvin and Luther were in the right in many Things, were, from that time forward, fully persuaded, that they ought to break with the Church of Rome, and raise Altar against Altar, break and cast down Images, and not stop at the Sight of the Streams of Blood, which were going to be spilt. This is an Illusion: Doubtless, there were many Persons, who believed, that, since the Reformation met with such great Obstacles, that put Europe into the utmost Confusion, God shewed, that the Time of reforming was not yet come. Many Persons will be always conceited with this Principle, That it is a less Evil to tolerate the Abuses both of Church and State, than to endeavour to heal them by Remedies, which over-turn the Government (52). It would be difficult to determine, whether Castellan was one of those. But all Persons, free from Prejudice, will grant me, That one cannot be too reserved in accusing others of preaching against their Consciences. The Chancellor de l'Hôpital made very fine Verses on Castellan's dying almost in the Pulpit. He praised this Prelate much (53). Some body has said that Castellan was poisoned. Peter de St Julien (54) testifies, that it was the Opinion of That Bishop's domestic Servants,

[R] Francis I boasted never to have seen any learned Man, whose Knowledge he had not exhausted in two Years.] This deserves Attention. Francis I boasted, that, of many very learned Men, with whom he had conversed, he had found none but Castellan, who could supply him with something new for two Years. That is to say, all the rest were soon exhausted, and reduced either to repeat or be silent. They shewed the Bottom of their Bag; but Castellan was a living Spring, which never dried up. Galland's Words are fine enough to deserve to be copied. ' Cum de doctis hominibus loqueretur (Rex) dictitare solebat se permultis extra munem aliorum aleam positus doctis hominibus sæpe familiariter usum esse & delectatum, verum præter Castellum neminem sibi ad eam diem visum cujus eruditionem omnem non intra biennium exhaustisset; Hunc veluti omnium artium quandam oceanum semper vivo gurgite redundantem ad se accedentem semper videri novum nec unquam antè auditum. Eam esse ejus immortalis ingenii vim & doctrinæ fecunditatem, ut nunquam in ulla disputatione hæsitare & titubare visus esset (55). ' Perhaps there are no Persons, whose Conversation is more to be feared by a learned Man, than That of great Lords, who love Learning. For, as they are used to speak without Preparation on the Things, which are under their Cognizance, they conceive an ill Opinion of a Man who does not answer readily to the Questions, which are asked him concerning his Profession. Now how many learned Divines are there, who would be cruelly puzzled by a Question, put on a sudden, concerning the Year, Progress, Issue, and chief Circumstances of a Council? I have heard a famous Historiographer of France confess ingenuously, That he did not know in what Age Philip the Fair lived. The more a Man reads, and the more Collections he makes, the less fit is he to answer immediately to Questions about Matters of Fact; so that there are some Persons, that make their Learning no less to be admired in their Books, than their Ignorance in Conversation. The Blounts, the Salmasius's, and a very small number of such like Persons, are not subject to this Misfortune. But others fall into dangerous Hands, when they are to go through the continual Questions of a Person of Quality, who loves Books. I have heard say, that the Marshal de Crequi, being retired to a Country-House during his Disgrace (56), sent for the most learned Man of that Part of the Country. The Prior of a Monastery was brought to him. Fifteen Days had not passed before he said, that They had brought him the most ignorant Man in the World. Not but that this Prior knew a great many Things, and might have satisfied Monsieur de Crequi, if he had had Time to prepare himself; but, to tell immediately the proper Names, the Dates, and other Circumstances, was what he could not do. See the Margin (57).

[S] He wrote but few Things.] They ascribed to him a Latin Letter of Francis I, against Charles V, published in the Year 1543 (58). I have already spoken of his Funeral Oration of Francis I.

[T] They relate very surprizing Effects of his Eloquence.] He made such moving Discourses in the Hospitals, Prisons, and Cloysters of Paris, that he made all his Auditors weep, and filled them with an ardent Desire of well doing (59). Having employed Two Months in reducing an Abbot of Pontoise to Reason, who did not well administer the Revenues of an Hospital, founded by St Lewis, he did not depart till he had given the Nuns a Sermon, which touched them in such a manner, that they cast themselves on the Ground, with a thousand Sobs and Sighs, beat their Breasts, wept abundantly, and promised to perform their Duty better for the Future. ' Ea vi eloquentiæ rerumque & sententiarum è sacris literis depromptarum tum gravitate tum copia de virginittatis, caritatis, & misericordiæ officiis mundaque contemptu, nobis præsentibus dissevit, ut omnes sese humi affligentes, maximis singultibus & sulphuris

(50) Henry Stephens's Apology for Herodotus, pag. 312.

(51) D'Aubigné, Tom. I, Book II, chap. xi, p. 112.

(52) Expediebat quasi æque fauque Reipublice requiescere quomodocunque ne vulnera curatione ipsa reciderentur. Florus, lib. III, cap. XXIII.

(53) Du Peirat's Antiquities of the Gospel, p. 334. Mr Baluze Not. ad Vitam Castell. pag. 165. Colomes, Gall. Orient, pag. 13, have given this Chancellor's Verses. They are also in Moreri.

(54) In the Antiquities of Mafcon, pag. 425. apud Comnesium Gallia Orient. pag. 12.

(55) Galland, pag. 714.

(56) In 1672, when he refused to serve under the Marshal de Turenne.

(57) The President de Mesmes was learned, and delighted so much in the Conversation of learned Men, that it was said of him, that in eight Days time he exhausted a Doctor. Continuation of the Menagians, pag. 216.

(58) Moreri, Tom. II, pag. 1017. Varillas's History of Francis I, Tom. II, pag. 440.

(59) Galland, in Vit. Cast. pag. 110.

We shall make but one Remark, for Mr *Moreri's* Faults, and for those of some other Writers [U]; and we shall report what Mr *Varillas* observes concerning the Assembly of *Melun* [X].

Note,

(60) *Id.* pag. 124.
 * suspiriis editis, sua pectora pugnis contunderent, & maximam vim lachrymarum profundentes se longè aliter quam superioribus temporibus officium facturas profiterentur (60). When he preached to the Repentant Maids, he began with representing the Horrors of an impure Life, and ended with the Praises of Conversion. Each Part of his Sermon had it's Effect: The first drove almost to the Brink of Despair: The last filled with Consolation. *Gallandius* expresses this very nobly: Here are his Words. * Ad virum aliquando passas, sed vitæ contaminatæ tædio in monasterio castitatem professas, inrefusus, cum scditatem veneram gravissimis verbis infectatus esset, ea verba de resipiscencia & penitentia fundebat, ea è sacris literis exempla & testimonia ad laudem ejus vitæ ad pudicitiam sanctam conversæ adducebat, ut quæ prima oratione capillo passio humi consternatæ & pectora pugnis acriter tunderent, faciem unguibus deformarent, & lamentis atque ejulatibus omnia completerent, oratione postrema ad se revocatæ, manibus ad cælum versis, Deo gratias agerent, se longè felicissimas prædicarent, & in suscepto vitæ instituto constanter perseverarunt iterum atque iterum voverent
 (61). — *Whom he preached to those, who had been debauched, but, tired with an impure Life, had professed Chastity in a Monastery, beginning with severe Inveective against the Filthiness of Lust, he discoursed in such a manner concerning Repentance and Penance, and brought such Examples and Testimonies from Holy Writ in praise of a Life converted to Modesty, that the Women, who, at the beginning of his Oration, lay stretched on the ground with dishevelled Hair, violently beating their Breasts, and disfiguring their Faces with their Nails, and filling the Place with Cries and wailings, recovering themselves at the end of his Discourse, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, returned GOD thanks, declared themselves the happiest Women in the World, and vowed again and again to persevere with Constancy in the Course of Life they had undertaken.* We may add to this what the Chevalier *Casal* wrote to Pope Paul III. The Bishop of *Macon* made the Funeral Oration of *Francis I* very learnedly, and much to the Purpose, except that he was not well heard by reason of the great Groans and Weepings occasioned by the said Bishop's Words. I shall endeavour to have a Copy of it, which I will send your Holiness. You will find this in the *Epistles of Princes* collected by *Ruscelli*, and translated by *Belleforest* (62).

[U] I shall make but one Remark, for Mr *Moreri's* Faults, and for those of some other Writers.] I. He supposes that *Castellan* was of *Langres*, and ignoble, against the express Testimony of *Gallandius*. II. That *Francis I* made him his Preacher, on account of a certain Answer, which I have already related (63). Is it not to scoff at That Great Prince, to pretend, that he rewarded a Jest with such an Holy Employ as That of a Preacher? It was no ways by That pretended Jest, that *Castellan* gained That Monarch's Friendship; It was by his fine and learned Discourses: The Place, which was given him, was That of the King's Reader, and not That of Preacher (64). III. If he had taught polite Literature at Paris, as *Moreri* affirms, *Gallandius* would have said something of it; his Silence thereupon ought to pass for a solid Refutation of *Moreri*: But, besides, how likely is it, that a King's Reader, who is daily waiting at his Master's Table, and at his going to Bed, should trouble himself with teaching in a College? *Moreri* was more in the right, when he said, That *Castellan* became That *Jame Prince's* Library-Keeper, after *Budæus*. IV. They did not begin, as he affirms, to reward his Virtue by the Abbey of *Auberive*. Doubtless, he meant the Abbey of *Hauvilliers* (65), which *Gallandius* calls, in Latin, *Abbatiam Alto villarensis*: But That Abbey was so far from being the first Reward of *Castellan*, that, on the contrary, he had it not before he parted with his Bishopric of *Tulle*. He parted with that Bishopric, when he received that of *Macon*.

(61) In Remark [A].

(64) See his Life, pag. 41. These Words of *Gallandius*, pag. 46. *Primum omnium inter Scribas & Ministros cubicularios Reges cooptatus*, signify, as it seems to me, that he was placed in the List between the Secretaries of the Cabinet, and the Officers of the Chamber; that is, that his Majesty's Reader was reckoned one of these Officers.

(65) In the Diocesis of *Rheims*.

It was in the Year 1543, that he obtained the Abbey of *Hauvilliers*; and he had been made Bishop of *Tulle* in the Year 1539. Mr *Baluze* observed (66), that *Gallandius* had no reason to say, That *Francis I* conferred Three Benefices on *Castellan* in one Year, (viz.) the Provostship of *Eysaus* (67), the Bishopric of *Tulle*, and the Abbey of *Belleperche* (68): *Intra unius anni spatium tribus sacerdotiis, Præfectura Eysauniensis, Episcopatu Tuteleni, & Abbatia Bellepericensi eum ornavit* (69). For *John de Cardaillac* was Abbot of *Belleperche* from the Year 1484, till 1543, as his Epitaph witnesses, published by *Mesieurs de Ste. Marthe* in the fourth Part of their *Gallia Christiana*. So that That Abbey was not given to *Castellan* till four Years after he had obtained the Bishopric of *Tulle*, to which he was certainly promoted in the Year 1539. V. It is not true, that the Dignity of Great Almoner of France was conferred upon him before the Bishopric of *Macon*. He had that Bishopric in the Year 1544, and he was not made Great Almoner, till the Twenty fifth of November 1547, in the Reign of *Henry II* (70). *Thuanus* has committed a Fault here; he believed, that *Francis I* gave the Great Almonery to *Castellan* (71). Several others have committed the same Fault (72), as the *Sieur du Peirat* observes. He is not himself free from Censure, since he believes, that *Castellan* was Almoner in Ordinary to *Francis I*, and Bishop of *Macon*, in the Year 1531 (73). This is very false. Father *Jacob*, having said, that *William Budæus* died in the Year 1540, adds, That the Place of the King's Library-Keeper was given to *Peter du Châtel* by *Francis I*, who afterwards gave him the Bishopric of *Tulle* (74). This is to confound Order: for we have seen, that That Bishopric was conferred upon him in the Year 1539. The same Author says, that *du Châtel* died preaching, in the Year 1558 (75). He ought to have said 1552. The *Sieur Caubertin* has falsely said, that *du Châtel* was Professor at *Bourges* (76). *Mezerai* had no reason to say he was disgraced (77).

[X] We shall repeat what Mr *Varillas* observes concerning the Assembly of *Melun*.] He says (78), I. That 'the chief Divines of the Faculty of Paris had Orders to be at *Melun*, and to give his Majesty their Opinions in writing, supported by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, and also of Reason, on the Points, which had served the Heretics for a Pretence to separate from the Communion of the Catholics. II. That those Doctors acquitted themselves of their Duty with such an Exactness, as would make at present the finest Monument of the *Sorbonne*, if their Opinions had been preserved with the same Sincerity as they were given,' but that the most judicious were suppressed by *du Châtel*, 'III. That that Man, who knew the Oriental Languages, and good Literature, in Perfection, was not so learned in Divinity. IV. That nevertheless he had an itching Desire to assist in the Council, in Quality of Ambassador of France, and that his Credit at Court was sufficient to obtain that important Commission, because, on the one side, there was no Sword-Man learned enough to maintain it with Splendor; and, on the other side, the Prelates durst not pretend to it, for fear of being ridiculed, if they appeared in the Quality of Ministers of a Secular Prince, in an Assembly, where they were to be Judges. V. That therefore he wanted nothing, in his own Opinion, but a quick and particular Knowledge of the Difficulties, which should be proposed there, that he might make his Doctrine to be as much admired as his Eloquence; and, as he was too vain to borrow it from others, he resolved to steal it so cunningly, that he could not be accused of Theft. VI. That he kept the Writings of the Doctors, to make his Advantage of them in his pretended Negotiation, and — made Extracts of them, which contained almost nothing else but the Decrees, which came from the same Faculty four Years before, against *Luther's* Doctrines. VII. That it was in that manner that

(66) In notis ad vitam *Castellani*, pag. 149.

(67) In the Diocesis of *Limoges*.

(68) In the Diocesis of *Montauban*.

(69) *Galland.* pag. 48.

(70) See du Peirat's Antiquities of the Chappell, pag. 383.

(71) *Thuan.* lib. iii, pag. 57.

(72) *Jacob. Servetus* in Tractatu de Episcop. Matificonensibus. *Carolus Saussieu*, lib. xiv. *Annales Ecclæ. Aurelianensis*. *Claudius Robertus* in *Gallia Christiana*.

(73) Du Peirat ubi supra, pag. 455.

(74) Treatise of Libraries, pag. 408.

(75) *Ibid.* pag. 469.

(76) *Catherinot's* Typographical Annals of *Bourges*, pag. 4. The whole Book contains but eight Pages.

(77) *Mezer. Hist. of France*, Tom. II, pag. 1059, in Folio.

(78) *Varill. Hist. of Francis I*, Book xi, pag. 136, & seq.

Note, That the Chancellor Poyet was *Castellan's* great Enemy; for which see the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 289, of the Edition of *Holland*.

that *du Chatel*, without thinking of it, and without any other Motive, than that of collecting Memoirs to signalize himself in an Employ, which was not given him, contributed to the increase of *Calvin's* Herefy in France; because, if the Doctors Opinions had been printed, the People, being confirmed by that means in the Belief of their Ancestors, would not have so easily inclined to Novelty. This is a terrible Accusation; and I cannot positively say, whether it is false or true; but, if *Castellan* committed such a Fraud, we must abate prodigiously of the Esteem he is in. However, the Historian is mistaken in two Things: He has supposed, that *du Chatel* was not a Bishop at the Time of that Assembly, that is, in the Year 1545; for he takes it for granted, that no Prelate durst make himself so ridiculous as to pretend to the Embassy of France in the Council: So that he must suppose, that *du Chatel*, who aspired to That Embassy, was no Bishop. He knew not therefore, that the Bishopric of *Tulle* was

given him in the Year 1539, and That of *Macon* in the Year 1544. This is Mr *Varillas's* first Fault; and it is a Fault, which overthrows the chief Foundations of his Narrative. The second consists in his supposing, that, if the Opinions of the Doctors had been printed, the People would not have embraced Lutheranism. This is a great Illusion; if the Priests and the Prelates lost part of their Flock, it was not for want of having published a very great number of Books, as good as they were able to publish in those times. *Calvin* and *Beza* would as well have answered the Advices of those Doctors, as the other Books, which appeared.

Note, that Mr *Varillas* supposes, in the History of *Henry II* (79), that the Deputies of the *Sorbonne*, who had orders to complain of the Funeral Oration of *Francis I*, wherein *Castellan* had denied Purgatory, were also to accuse him of three other things, the second whereof was the suppressing of the Advices.

(79) Pag. 69, Edit. *Hell*.

CASTELVETRO (LEWIS), a *Modeneze*, one of the most subtle Writers of the XVIth Century, is chiefly known by his Commentary on *Aristotle's Art of Poetry*. Messieurs *Moreri* and *Teissier* (a) will amply inform, concerning his History, those who shall consult them. I shall only dwell on a Particular, which they have not unfolded, and which concerns the Process he had at the Tribunal of the Inquisition [A]. He was a Man, who was too fond of criticizing [B]. *Thuanus* places his Death in the Year 1571.

(a) *Elogies* taken from *Thuanus*, Tom. I, p. 390.

(b) In that of the first Edition, at §. iii.

(c) At the 2nd Page of the Edition of *Holland*.

If his too strong Inclination to criticize was blameable, his Weakness, in not bearing to be criticized, and the Passion which is imputed to him against his Censurers, were much more so. It is pretended, that he made use of violent means against them. His way of citing was very defective. I have spoken of it in the Preface to this Dictionary (b); but you may see that Matter more at large in the Continuation of the *Menagiana* (c). You may find there also, That *Castelvetro's House* happening to be set on Fire at Lyons, he cried out al Poetica, save my Poetry; and that the best Edition of That Book is That of Vienna in Austria. They might have added, that he had reason to shew, by the Cries he made during the Fire, that he looked upon That Work as the best Production of his Pen. By a like Sign it was known what Picture a famous Painter of Antiquity valued most. The other Writings of *Castelvetro* are much inferior to his Poetics, which is nevertheless

[A] I shall confine myself to the Process he had at the Court of the Inquisition. To avoid the Consequences of it, he retired into Protestant Countries. He would have presented himself before the Council, to have his Cause judged there; but the Pope sent word to his Legate, the Cardinal of Mantua, that, since *Castelvetro* had been accused before the Inquisition of Rome, he must come thither as an accused Person. The Pope caused him to be assured, that he would use him as mildly as he could; that, if he found him innocent, he would not only absolve him, but do him good also; and, if he found him guilty, he would exact nothing from him but a private Recantation. The Confidence, which *Castelvetro* put in these Promises of the Pope, did not last, and was of no use to him. He appeared before the Tribunal of the Inquisition, where he was three times examined (1); but, finding himself puzzled by the Questions, which were asked him, and chiefly because of a certain Book of *Melanchthon*, which he had translated into Latin, he fled; and chose rather to expose himself to the most infamous Sentence that could be pronounced against him for Contumacy, than to deliver himself up to the Discretion of his Judges, by imploring their Clemency. He retired to *Basil*, where he died, repenting of his Errors as an Author has said (2). Cardinal *Palavicini* thinks, that, in favour of *Castelvetro's* fine Writings, Credit ought to be given to That Author. Quamquam adjumentum quod ipius stylus suppeditavit politioribus jucundioribusque disciplinis, observatum raritate, commentationum subtilitate promeretur, ut grati animi causa fides benigne habeatur auctori narranti ipsum postremo resipuisse (3). — *Too*

(1) The 11th, 14th, and 17th, of *Osob. 1560*, *Palavic. Hist. du Concil. de Trent*, Book xv, cap. 2, n. 15.

(2) Taken from the History of the Council of Trent, of Cardinal *Palavicini*, *ibid*.

(3) *Id. ibid*.

and subtle Remarks, deserves, that, in Gratitude, we should believe the Author, when he relates, that *Castelvetro* at last repented. [B] He was a Man that was fond of criticizing.] Mr *Teissier* sets down a Passage of *Balzac* concerning our *Castelvetro* (4); and I shall produce another. 'I am very deep in the Quarrel of *Hannibal Caro*; but I do not change my Passion, and esteem him always an honest Man than his Adversary, though perhaps his Adversary may be a greater Doctor than he. I have seldom seen a Grammarian of the force of That *Modeneze* (5), either here, or in the Commentaries on *Aristotle's* Poetry. Nevertheless it must be confessed, that he transgresses sometimes by too much Subtlety, and that, in short, he was a public Enemy, who could not endure any Body's Merit or Reputation.' This is what *Balzac* (6) wrote to *Chapelain* in the Year 1640. Father *Rapin* (7) says, that *Castelvetro* was naturally a morose Man, who, through a contradicting Humour, made it a Law to himself, to have always something to say against *Aristotle's* Text. O! what an ill Character is it, to be of a Spirit of Contradiction! It makes one transgress the most sacred Bounds. [C] He made use of violent means against his Censurers.] Read these words of Mr *Chevreau*; they are in a Letter, which he wrote to Mr de la *Menardiere*. 'I have just made an end of reading your Poetry, wherein you treat *Castelvetro* after a strange manner: and perhaps formerly you would have been the worse for it, if what *Fajquin* reproached him with in some place be true, That he came from Words to Blows, from the Pen to the Sword, from Ink to Blood; and that he caused a gallant Man to be murdered, who had taken the Liberty to contradict him (8).

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(4) *Elogies*, taken from *Thuanus*, Tom. I, pag. 300. Note, that in his second Edition, which appeared since the first printing of this Article, he has quoted part of the other Passage of *Balzac*, which is seen here.

(5) *Castelvetro* was born at Modena.

(6) The 5th Letter of the 5th Book.

(7) Preface to the *Reflexions* on the Art of Poetry.

(8) *Chevreau's* Miscellanies, pag. 330, Edit. of the Hague, 1697.

[D] His

theless a Work, in which many Defects have been found [D]. There are some Treatises of this Author, which, being posthumous [E], are destitute of the best Share of the Patrimony, which he would have left them, if he had published them himself.

[D] His Poetics are a Work, in which many Defects have been found.] Consult Mr de la Menardiere, in the Preface to his Poetics; and if you do not find That Work, have recourse to Mr Teissier, who has given some Extracts of it (9). Mr de Scudery, having refuted the Opinion of Tasso, That Morality is not a Poet's Object, who ought only to think of diverting others, adds, 'That Tasso was not alone in such an unreasonable Error: Castelvetro, though a great Man, carried the Extravagance much farther than he; and, after having spent half his Life time on Aristotle's Poetics, and exhausted all his Latin in that Work, has told us, that Poetry was only invented, per dilettae, & per ricreare gli animi della rozza moltitudine, & del commune popolo. — To amuse and divert the Minds of the Vulgar. Indeed it was well worth Aristotle's while to give himself the Trouble to prescribe Rules for that Art, if such was the end of it: and Castelvetro has well employed his time, if his Labour was only fit to divert the Mob.

(9) Teissier Elog. de Mr de Thou, Tom. I, pag. 391.

De mesme l'Araignée, en filant son ordure,
Use toute sa vie, & ne fait rien qui dure;

Her Ordure spinning, thus, the Spider drains
Her vital Strength, yet nothing lasting gains;

Said one of our famous Poets. But this is not That Author's only Hereby; he says, a few Lines after, that Empedocles, Lucretius, Nicander, He-

siod, Virgil, and divers others, whom he names, are not Poets, because they treat of Sciences in their Works. He ought then to degrade Homer with the rest, and more than the rest, since there is scarce an Art or Science in all the Learning of Men, which is not found in the Iliad and Odyssey (10). I omit the other Observations, which he made against Castelvetro's Maxim.

(10) Scudery's Preface of the Alaric, pag. 6, Edit. of the Hague.

[E] There are some posthumous Works of His.] The Work intituled, Le Rime del Petrarca sposte per Lodovico Castelvetro, was published by the Care of James Castelvetro, the Author's Nephew. This Nephew owns, that his Uncle had not put a finishing Hand to it, avvega che non habbiano ricevuto dal loro autore quella perfezione, che, vivendo egli, & rivedendogli, havrebbe potuto loro dare. He tells us in the Epistle Dedicatory, dated from Modena the first of February 1582, that the late John Maria Castelvetro, his Father, had published, 'Una operetta di Lodovico Castelvetro suo fratello — da lui dettata ne gli ultimi giorni della vita sua, per correggere alcuni falli da altri commessi in materia di lettere, & insieme con essa una giunta fatta dallo stesso suo fratello ad uno de libri della lingua di M. Pietro Bembo. — A Piece by Lewis Castelvetro, dated in the last Days of his Life, to correct some Faults committed by others, with respect to Literature, and also an Addition of the said Brother to Peter Bembo's Grammatical Observations on Petrarch.' That Exposition of Petrarch was printed at Basil, in 4to, in that Year, at the Expence of Peter Sedabunni, Bookseller.

CASTILE (ALPHONSUS X. of that Name, King of), more famous by his Application to Astronomy, than by his Crown, began to reign in the Year 1252. The first Troubles he met with proceeded from the unjust Fancy he took into his Head to repudiate his Wife (a), under pretence of Barrenness, and to look for another in the Court of Denmark. The King of Arragon, his Father-in-law, designed to oppose the Affront intended against his Daughter; but I cannot tell whether he would have succeeded in it; the Queen's being with Child, which was discovered when the Princess of Denmark arrived (b), was, without doubt, the true Reason why the Divorce did not go forward. The Queen passed from one Extreme to another; for she had nine Children; it was more than was necessary for her Husband's Happiness and Quiet: It was for his Sins that he had such a fruitful Wife (c). Yet he was not contented with this Fruitfulness, but got Children elsewhere by stealth. As for what concerns the Princess of Denmark, she did not return into her Country: The Archbishop of Seville, the King's Brother, quitted his Band for the Love of her, and married her: but this gave her but little Satisfaction; Vexation, and Repentment of the Injury, brought her soon to her end. Alphonsus was neither beloved by his Subjects, nor by the neighbouring Kings; yet his Reputation was very splendid in foreign Countries. His Knowledge, Parts, Eloquence, and Politics made a Noise there; which induced part of the Electors to confer (d) the Imperial Crown upon him [A], while the other part elected Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Brother to Henry, King of England. Alphonsus did not go to support, by his Presence, the Party, which had elected him; so that his Title of Emperor never was a real thing. They were tired with waiting for him; and, as the Suffrages could not be united in favour of his Competitor, (for he was dead) they proceeded to another Election. The Empire was given (e) to Rodolpbus, Count of Habsburg, notwithstanding the Oppositions of Alphonsus's Embassadors. The Pope acknowledged Rodolpbus for Emperor; and, not having been able to obtain of Alphonsus, who went to him at Beaucaire on the Rhone, the Renunciation of his Rights, he obtained it at last by the Threatnings of

(a) Isante or Violante, Daughter of the King of Arragon.

(b) In 1254.

(c) Some of his Children were like those, of whom Ovid Metam. lib. i, vers. 148, says, Filios ante diem patrios inquit in anno. The Son impatient waits the Father's Death.

(d) In 1255, or, as others say, in 1253.

(e) In 1273.

[A] Part of the Electors conferred the Imperial Crown upon him.] They, who say, he refused it, are mistaken. Some have added a pleasant Remark to this Error; which is, that he was satisfied with the single Title of Emperor of the West: Imperium Germanicum oblatum recusavit, Occidentalis Imperatoris titulo contentus (1). When a King refuses a Kingdom, he does not reckon it among his Titles: and besides, the Empire of Germany, and the Empire of the West, are not different Dignities. The Truth is, that Alphonsus accepted the

(1) Hofman Lexic. Univ. Vol. I, pag. 89.

Empire, and really designed to go and take Possession of it; but, by being unseasonably, what Fabius was when there was occasion for it (2), he wholly ruined his Affairs. So that he was not satisfied with the Title; but against his Will he had nothing else. I find no kind of ground for what some say, that, after having refused the Empire, he suffered himself to be persuaded, by the interested Arts of the Pope, to accept it. 'Oblatum ab Electoribus imperium modestè deprecatus est, sapientiae suae vim eo ipso testatus. Postquam vero persuasionibus Pontificis

(2) Marius calls him pretty often Cunctator, delayer, lingerer.

5 C

Alexandri

of Excommunication, and granted him some Amends for his Loss on the Tythes of the Church [B]. I have said already, that this Prince was not beloved by his Subjects. He was exposed several times to the Plots of the Grandees, who knew very well how to hold Intelligence with the neighbouring Princes. At last he saw his Son *Sanches* at the Head of a powerful Faction, which grew very formidable by the Discontent the People were in on account of the Alteration of the Coin, and the unjust means he made use of to fill his Treasury. This Rebellion must have the more sensibly affected him, as it was accompanied with great Ingratitude; for he had consented (f), in favour of *Sanches*, to exclude the Sons of the deceased Prince *Ferdinand*, his eldest Son, from his Succession (g). It is true, he did it only to avoid the Troubles, which were to be feared from *Sanches*, if the Rights of *Ferdinand's* Children were not sacrificed to him. That Sacrifice brought only some Delay to the Civil Wars. *Sanches*, being sure of succeeding his Father, was not satisfied; he found, that *Alphonso* lived too long: Wherefore, tired with waiting some Years, he took up Arms, and strengthened himself with the Assistance of the King of *Granada*; he assembled the States of the Kingdom at *Valladolid*; he granted the Deputies all that they desired; and, if he refused the Title of King, it was either because he was satisfied with possessing the substantial Part of the Royal Authority, or the better to excite the Peoples Affection: in a Word, Prince *Emanuel*, his Uncle, pronounced Sentence of Deposition against the King in the Assembly of the States. In the mean time, the King held another Assembly, but much less numerous, at *Toledo*, where, being too desirous to preserve a certain Medium, he had not Boldness nor Circumspection enough. The Succours, he received from the King of *Morocco*, did him but little Service. The Curse, which he solemnly pronounced against *Sanches*, raised no Scruple in the Soul of this Rebel [C]: This hardened Son regarded neither the Thunders of his temporal Father, nor those of his spiritual Father; for he laughed at the Pope's Excommunication [D]. But some Cities left him, by reason of the Interdiction, which came from *Rome*, on those, who should follow his Party. Two of his Brothers left him also. The Death of *Alphonso* put an end to this Civil War, in the Year 1284. He ordered his Heart to be buried on Mount *Calvary*; but that Order was not performed. His Heart and his Bowels are at *Murcia*, and his Body at

(f) In 1276.

(g) Who died in the Year 1275, and by his Contract of Marriage with *Blanche*, Daughter of St *Lewis*, his Children were to represent him if he died before his Father. *Mezerai Abr. Chronol. ad Ann. 1269.*

(3) Matthias, Theatr. Hist. pag. 964.

(4) Omnia consilio & equanimitate moderatus, pristinos honores regis tandem recuperavit. *Id. ibid.*

(5) Lib. xiii, sub fin.

(6) Mezerai, Chron. Abridg. ad Ann. 1274.

(7) Mariana, lib. xiv, cap. v.

‘Alexandri aures dedit qui sui commodi — causa cum instigavit ut oblatum imperii axioma à Germanis acciperet, & quem recularat titulum usurparet — multas — molestias — expertus est (3).’

‘— He modestly declined the Empire, offered him by the Electors, in which very thing he gave an Instance of his Wisdom. But after that, in compliance with the Persuasions of Pope Alexander, who, for his own Interest, pressed him to accept of the Empire offered him by the Germans, and take upon him the Title, he had refused, he experienced many Troubles.’ They add, that his Son deprived him of the Kingdom, and afterwards restored it to him again (4). The last of those two Facts is very false.

[B] The Pope made him some amends for his Loss on the Tythes of the Church. The Pope permitted him to appropriate the third Part of the Tythes to himself, which were used to be employed in building and repairing sacred Places. At that time the Kings of Castile began to lay hands on the Ecclesiastical Revenues. This is what *Mariana* tells us (5). But Mr de *Mezerai* goes farther: we must hear him. He says (6); King *Alphonso* yielded and remitted his Right to the Pope's Disposal, on the granting him the Tythes upon the Clergy of his Kingdom, to make War against the Moors. Thus the Amends, whatever happens, are always laid on the People, who pay all. For that time, the People were not charged anew; Had they not paid the Tythes without it? None but the Clergy suffered by it: Now they have good Shoulders; they need not be pained. Perhaps Mr de *Mezerai* meant, that the Clergy never wanted Inventions to make themselves amends on the People: That is another matter.

[C] The Curse, which he solemnly pronounced against *Sanches*, raised no scruple in the Soul of This Rebel. My Readers will not be displeased to find here the Words of *Mariana*. ‘Ab *Alphonso* Rege Hispalensi in publico conventu Sanctus furiali carmine devotus, & jure paterno diris execrationibus caput revinctus, regnique successione spoliatus est, octavo mensis Novembris die (7). — *Sanches* was solemnly cursed, with dreadful Imprecations, by his Father, in a public Assembly, and declared disinherited, on the eighth of November.’ *Alphonso* gained nothing

by it; his Son felt no Remorse for it (8), and had also the Fortune to reign like a good Prince: so that he gave *Salust's* Maxim the Lye; ‘Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est (9).’ ‘Power is easily kept by the same Arts, by which it is at first gained;’ he exercised well an Authority, which he had criminally obtained. ‘Spoliati ejusque patris nota ad posteritatem infamis: alioqui in bonorum Principum numero; imperium enim flagitio partum bonis artibus exerceat (10).’ ‘Branded with Infamy to Posterity for depriving and banishing his Father: in other Respects to be reckoned among the good Princes; for he exercised that Authority well, which he had wickedly obtained.’ This is something: it is even very much.

[D] His Son laughed at the Pope's Excommunication. Let us see *Mariana's* Expressions again. ‘Novum, says he (11), ex Italia (subsidiis petitis) religionis objecta specie. Sanctius apud Martinum Pontificem Maximum per oratorem de impietate atque ingrati animi noxa postulat, superstitie patre in omnia regni jura invasisse, neque præ ambitione regnandi senis obitum expectare. Ergo in impiorum loco haberi mandatum est quicumque relicto *Alfonso* filii partes sequerentur: dati etiam judices à Pontifice in causa: urbes & oppida Sanctio addicta ex ritu Christiano sacrificiis interdixerunt. Itaque eodem tempore non eadem de causa in Aragonia & Castella sacrorum veluti justitium fuit, mæsta provincia, Sanctioque judicibus, si eos nancisceretur, extrema quævis comminanti. — A new Subsidy was demanded from Italy, on Pretence of Religion. *Sanches* was accused to Pope Martin of Impiety and Ingratitude, in seizing the Royal Authority during the Life of his Father, and, through an Ambition of reigning, not waiting the Death of the old King. It was decreed therefore, that whoever, deserting *Alphonso*, should follow the Party of his Son, should be deemed impious. The Pope likewise appointed Judges in the Cause: The Cities and Towns, which submitted to *Sanches*, were forbidden the use of Sacrifices after the Christian Manner. At the same time therefore, tho' not upon the same Account, there was, as it were, a Vacation, or Intermiſſion of the Performance of Religious

(3) Sanctius neque ea religione tactus. *Id.*

(9) *Salust.* in Pref. belli Catilin.

(10) *Mariana*, lib. xiv, cap. vii.

(11) *Ibid.* cap. vii.

at *Seville*. He is the first King of *Castile*, who permitted all the public Acts to be drawn up in the vulgar Tongue [E]. He caused the Bible to be translated into the same Language (b). He was neither happy in his Wife [F], his Children, or his Subjects. No one is ignorant of the great Expences he made in Astronomical Observations [G], and the Censure he is said to have passed on the Works of God [H].

(b) Ex Mariana Historica.

* Religious Rites, both in Arragon, and Castile; the Province being in Affliction, and Sanches threatening the Judges with the utmost Extremities, if they fell into his Hands. This is the Account he made of the Thunders of the Vatican; he threatened the Pope's Sub-delegates with the most rigorous Punishments, if they fell into his Hands.

[E] He was the first King of Castile, who permitted the public Acts to be drawn up in the vulgar Tongue. I cannot tell why Mariana attributes to that Regulation the Ignorance and Barbarity, which spread over Spain; for they were no less in France, tho' such a Regulation was not settled there till the Reign of Francis I. And it is as true, that the Study of fine Latin was never more in fashion in That Kingdom, than since it was ordered, that all the public Acts should be written in French. Let us hear Mariana: 'Primus Hispaniae regum vendendi atque pacificandi vulgari Hispanorum lingua potestatem concessit; eam linguam nimirum quae rudior erat excolere locupletareque eo decreto cupiebat; sacros Bibliorum libros in maternam linguam vertendos etiam curavit. Ex eo tempore in regis diplomatis ac publicis tabulis Latina lingua cujus antea usus erat desit usurpari, unde pudenda literarum ignorantia in nostram gentem atque utrumque ordinem invasit (12). — He was the first of the Kings of Spain, who granted leave to sell, and bargain in the vulgar Spanish Tongue; he desired, no doubt, by this Decree to cultivate and enrich That Language, which was the more barbarous; he took care likewise to get the Scriptures translated into the vulgar Tongue. From that time, the Latin Tongue, which was before in use, ceased to be employed in the Royal Mandates and Public Acts; from whence a shameful Ignorance of Learning ensued, and invaded both Clergy and Laity.'

(12) Id. ibid. See here what he says, lib. xiii, cap. xii. Primus Hispaniae regum Latinae linguae usu in publicis tabulis antiquo, Hispanicam linguam substituit.

(13) Pag. 113.

(14) That is to say, Chanter. He had that Name because he was a Singing man in the Synagogue of Toledo. Vossius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 180.

(15) August. Riccius, in libro de motu octavae Sphaerae, apud Vossium, ibid.

(16) Expendit in hanc rem ad quater centena millia aureorum. Setius Calvisius, ad Ann. 1252. Matthias Theatr. Histor. pag. 964. Moreri says four hundred thousand Crowns.

(17) Mariana, lib. xiii, c. xx.

Epoch of Those Tables to the first Day of June 1252, which was That of his Accession to the Crown; and he regulated the Concurrence of that first of June in such a manner to other Epochas, that he made it fall on the Two hundred and thirtieth Day of the Year 2000 of the Era of Nabonassar, and so of the rest, as may be seen in *Moreri*.

[H] — the Censure, which he is said to have passed on the Works of GOD. Mariana says in general, that Alphonfus was so bold as to blame the Works of Providence, and the Construction of our Bodies (18). For the Proof of this Fact, he alleges but a vulgar Tradition, which had been preserved from hand to hand. It is a sign, that the contemporary History did not mention, and had not warranted, those Libertine Discourses of the King of Castile, to prevent doubting of it in future Ages. That Historian adds, that GOD most justly punished Alphonfus's rash Tongue by Sanches's Rebellion. 'Emanuel sane patruus (Sancti) suo & aliorum procerum nomine Alphonsum publica sententia in conventu pronunciata regno privavit, ea calamitate dignum quod divinae providentiae opera, & humani corporis fabricam, insigni linguae prociacitate ingenique confidentia accusare ausus fuerit, uti vulgo hominum opinio est, ab antiquo ducta per manus. Vocis stoliditatem nimen iustissime vindicavit. — Emanuel, the Uncle of Sanches, in his own Name, and in the Name of other Nobles, deprived Alphonfus of his Kingdom by a public Sentence; which That Prince merited for daring severely and boldly to censure the Works of divine Providence, and the Construction of the human Body, according to the common Opinion, founded on Tradition. Heaven most justly punished the Folly of his Tongue.' Although the Silence of so wise an Historian, as to the System of Ptolemy, ought to be of some weight; yet I believe, that, if Alphonfus exercised his audacious Censure on any part of the Universe, it was on the celestial Sphere. For, besides that he studied nothing more, it is certain, that, at that time, Astronomers explained the Motion of the Heavens by such intricate and confused Hypotheses, that they did no Honour to GOD, nor answered in any wise the Idea of an able Workman. So that it is likely it was from considering that Multitude of Spheres, of which Ptolemy's System is composed, so many eccentric Circles, so many Epicycles, so many Librations, so many Vehicles, that he happened to say, That if GOD had asked his Advice, when he made the World, he would have given him good Counsel (19). Before we proceed any farther, let us put a Salvo here, which a modern Author suggests to us (20). If the King of Castile had said conditionally, what they will have him to have said absolutely, he would have been very excusable: instead of the Words abovementioned, make use of these: That if GOD had made the World such, as is supposed in the System of Ptolemy, he might have good Advice given him for another time; and you will diminish the scandalous Boldness of Alphonfus very much. Lipsius does not report the thing, as if it concerned the Disposition of the Heavens in particular, but keeps to general Terms: 'Mitior, says he (21), Alphonfus X. Hispaniae regis, sed non melior vox aut sensus, qui solitus providentiam itidem culpae & dicere; si principio mundi ipse Deo adfuisse, multa melius ordinatusque condenda fuisse. — The Words and Meaning of Alphonfus X, King of Spain, were not a whit better, though less outrageous: This Prince used to blame Providence, and say, that, If He had been of GOD's Counsel at the Creation, many Things would have been contrived and ordered better.' Lipsius quotes no body; but Theophilus Raynaud (22), in relating this same Impertinence, alleges Mariana, Rodericus Sanctius (23), and Alphonfus Spina (24). A modern Compiler adds, 'That the King had no sooner spoken this Blasphemy, but the Thunder fell into the Bed where he

(18) Ibid. lib. xiv, cap. v.

(19) I use the Terms of the Author of the Plurality of Worlds. He says, pag. 15, of the Edition of Holland, The Confusion of all these Circles was so great, that, at a time wherein nothing better was yet known, a King of Arragon (a Fault of Imprecision, I believe, for King of Castile) a great Mathematician, but probably very little devout, said, that if God, &c.

(20) News from the Republic of Letters, May 1686, p. 488.

(21) Monit. & Exempl. Polit. cap. iv.

(22) Th. Raynaud. Tract. de Eunuchis, Praef. & pag. 81.

(23) Part IV, Hist. cap. v.

(24) In Fortalitio Fidei, lib. iv, Cons. 9. Belle 138.

It is said that Astrological Predictions were the Cause of the Misfortune which crushed him [I]. It were to be wished, for the Honour of Learning, that a Prince, who was so adorned with it [K], had governed his People more fortunately, and more wisely. They had begun to form a Code, or Body of Laws, in his Father's Reign.

he lay, which struck his Wife, and two of his Children; that he fled through the Chambers of his Palace, followed by the Thunder, which burnt his Shirt, and would probably have done the same to his Person, if he had not prostrated himself on the Ground, to ask God pardon for his Crime (25). Our Compiler refers us to Rodericus Sanctius, Mariana, and Bzovius: but I am

(25) Father L'Enfant, *Month of March*, pag. 143.

very sure, that Mariana does not speak of it, and that he would have mentioned it, if any certain Tradition of such a wonderful Accident had been in Spain. Doubtless he knew what another Historian relates of it: Since then he has adopted nothing of it, we must believe, that he had great reason to look upon it as a Forgery. However it be, here are the Particulars of Rodericus Sanctius's Relation

(26) Hist. Hispan. Part IV, cap. v.

(26). The King repeated his Blasphemy often, *That, if he had been of GOD's Counsel at the Creation of Man, certain things would be in better order than they are.* 'Si à principio creationis humanæ Dei altissimi consilio interfuisset, nonnulla melius, ordinatiusque condita fuisset.' The Governor of the Infant Emanuel saw an Angel in his Dream, who informed him, that it was resolved in the celestial Council, that Alphonfus should die dethroned, and even die a cruel Death, if he did not do Penance. That Governor asked the Reason of it: he was answered, that it was because Alphonfus had been so rash as to censure the Works of GOD: Blasphemiam Alphonfi vanamque temeritatem divina opera corrigere molientis id meruisse: and he was commanded to exhort That Prince to repent. The Governor obeyed; but Alphonfus laughed at him, and repeated his Blasphemy. He was then at Burgos. Some Days after, as he was at Segovia, an Hermit had a like Vision, and went and gave him an Account of it, and exhorted him to retract: the King was angry, and called him Fool, and continued in his Sin. The Night following there were such horrible Storms, accompanied with Thunder and Lightning, as if Heaven was falling. The Fire from Heaven burned, in Alphonfus's Chamber, the King and Queen's Cloaths; then the Prince in Distress sent for the Hermit, confessed his Sins to him, cried, humbled himself, and retracted his Blasphemy: The more he wept, the more the Storm diminished, and at last quite ceased. Rodericus Sanctius, in the beginning of this Relation, alleges the Annals of Spain (27), and in this at least it is not to be questioned but that he is mistaken; for, if the Annals had mentioned it, Mariana, who wrote after him, and who was infinitely more ingenious and judicious than he, would not have alledged only the popular Tradition, nor suppressed the Dreams, the Storms, and the Repentance. However, the French Compiler relates this Prodigy unfaithfully. A Lutheran Minister applies Alphonfus's Blasphemy to the System of the Heavens; and adds, that the Punishment of This King was, to die an Exile in a foreign Country (28). This is false; for he died at Seville (29), one of the Cities, which continued loyal to him.

(27) Ut tradunt Hispanorum Annalia.

(28) Spizelius in Felice Literato, pag. 218, 219.

(29) Mariana, lib. xv, cap. vii.

[I] It is pretended, that Astrological Predictions were the Cause of the Misfortunes which crushed him.] It is said, that, knowing by Astrology, that he should be dispossessed of his Kingdom, he became so suspicious, so mistrustful, so cruel, that he raised an innumerable number of Enemies, which ruined his Affairs. It is very possible, that a Prediction, which is in itself only a Chimera, may become a most real Evil by the Course it makes one take. The Examples, which are alledged of Predictions that have been accomplished, are almost all built on this Foundation. But let us hear Mariana. 'Id fore astra memorant portendisse ejus artis non ignaro, si ars est & non potius inane mortalium ludibrium, quod à prudentibus semper accusabitur, & semper tamen patronos habebit. Ex eo ferunt suspicacem esse redditum, atque ex metu suscepta crudelitate magnam ejus odii partem constitasse quæ illi calamitati fuit (30). ---- They relate, that, through his Knowledge in Astrology,

(30) Id. lib. xiv, cap. v.

he discovered by the Stars that it would be so; if That really be a Science, and not rather a vain Delusion, which prudent Men will always decry, and which yet will never fail of Patrons. Hence, they say, he grew suspicious, and, becoming cruel thro' Fear, raised great Part of That Odium against him, which was his Ruin.'

[K] The Sciences ---- with which he was adorned.] He understood Astronomy, Philosophy, and History, as if he had been only a Man of Letters, and composed Books on the Motions of the Heavens, and on the History of Spain, which are very fine. 'Quid admirabilius quam in castris educato armaque à prima ætate tractanti tantam fuisset astrorum, philosophiæ, rerumque gestarum cognitionem, quantam vix otiosi homines in umbra assequuntur? Extant de astrorum conversionibus, de Hispanica Historia ab Alfonso edita volumina magno ingenio, incredibili studio (31). ---- What can be more surprising, than that a Prince, educated in a Camp, and handling Arms from his Childhood, should have such a Knowledge of the Stars, of Philosophy, and the Transactions of Men, as Men of Leisure can scarce acquire in their Retirement? There are extant some Books of Alphonfus on the Motions of the Stars, and the History of Spain, written with great Skill, and incredible Care.' Rodericus Sanctius gives us to understand that Alphonfus had only ordered some learned Persons to write those Books. 'Idem Alphonfus rerum in orbe gestarum librum accommodatissimum per sapientes scribi fecit, quem

(31) Id. lib. xiii, cap. ix.

generalem Historiam Hispani appellant (32). ---- Astrologus appellatus est. Cujus nomine, nescio an sapientia, tabulæ Alfonsoe & aliæ Astrologicae considerationes compilatæ sunt, & sub ejus regio nomine lustrantur (33). ---- Alphonfus caused a most useful Piece of what passed in the World to be written by some learned Men, which the Spaniards call a General History. ---- He is called an Astrologer; under whose Royal Name the Alphonfine Tables, and other Astrological Considerations, were compiled and published.' Those who can consult Nicolas Antonio (34) may doubtless satisfy their Curiosity on this Point. I cannot tell where a Minister of Rotterdam (35) has read what he says concerning Alphonfus's Knowledge of Law.

(32) Rodericus Sanctius Hist. Hispan. Part IV, cap. i.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) In his Bibliotheca Hispana vetus. See the Journal des Savans, 1697, pag. 462, Edit. Holl.

(35) Ridderus, de Erudit. cap. iii, pag. 147, apud Saldenum, de libris pag. 318.

Legibus fuit deditissimus, omnium ferè populorum & gentium de legibus volumina evoluit, ac septem libros pro æquitatis moderatione collegit, ut & hominibus & divino cultui necessaria singulis innotescerent. ---- He applied himself very much to the Study of the Law; he turned over the Books of the Laws of almost every People and Nation, and collected seven Books, for the Regulation of Justice, that every one might know their Duty both in Temporal and Spiritual Things. Without doubt this has no other Foundation, than what has been said above (36), concerning the Compilation of the Law-book, or Code, of Castile, made in the Reign of Alphonfus; which is not a Proof, that That Prince understood the Civil-Law, unless we will maintain, that Justinian was the most learned Civilian of his Age. Consider well what I quote out of Rodericus Sanctius, and you will not question, but that the Minister of Rotterdam's Words come from thence: it is perhaps from the thirtieth Hand. 'Alfonfus legibus condendis deditissimus fuit ---- leges enim Romanas in regnis suis legi fecit licet minime eis subiceretur. Demum ex omnibus summa moderatione & ratione ac æquitatis vibramine septem libros quos paritas vocant instituit & subtiliter compilavit, in quibus sacratissimæ leges non solum ad causas hominum decidendas, sed ad divinum cultum dirigendum augendumque continentur. ---- Alphonfus devoted himself much to the framing of Laws ---- he caused the Roman Laws to be read in his Kingdoms, though they were not obligatory on his Subjects. At length he collected out of them all, with the greatest Moderation, and regard to Equity, seven Books, containing, not only the Laws relating to human

(36) Towards the end of the Text.

Reign. That great Work was finished by his Care. No regard was paid to his Will, by which he had left his Kingdom to his Grandson *Alphonfus* [L], by Entail to *Ferdinand*, the Brother of *Alphonfus*, and afterwards to *Philip*, King of *France* (i). *Sanches* maintained himself on the Throne, while his Nephews could scarce enjoy their Liberty. *Jolante*, their Grandmother, was fled with them in time to the Court of the King of *Arragon*, to avoid the Attempt, which their Uncle might probably form against their Life, even whilst *Alphonfus* was yet living, if he had them in his Power. So true it is, that the desire of reigning stifles all Sentiments of Humanity, and perverts all Justice! This Reflexion is made by *Mariana* [M].

(i) Mariana, lib. xiv, cap. vii.

'human Judicature, but those likewise, which concerned the Direction and Promotion of Divine Worship.' It would be to deceive one's self most grossly, to pretend, that *Alphonfus* himself was the Compiler of those Laws. He performed, in this, the Part, which *Theodosius*, *Justinian*, *Lewis XIV*, have acted in the Compilation of the Codes, which bear their Name. *Mariana* does not permit us to question it. They who say, that *Alphonfus* had read the Bible fourteen times (37), ascribe to him what belongs to another *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, who lived in the XVth Century. I speak of it in his Article (38). It is not the only thing, which is taken from the latter, and ascribed to the former: Mr *Hofman* has attributed to the King of *Castile*, besides the fourteen times reading of the Old and New Testament, what *Anthony Panormitanus* reports concerning the King of *Naples's* Inclination to Learning, and concerning the Cure of a Fit of Sickness by the reading of *Quintus Curtius*. To make amends, Mr *Lloyd* transfers the King of *Castile's* Labour, and the Expenses of the Astronomical Tables, to the King of *Arragon*.

(37) Morel says it, and *Matthias* also, *Theatr. Hist.* pag. 694, where, for that reason, he calls him *regem pium & religiosissimum*.

(38) NAPLES (ALPHONSUS I. King of), Rem. [C], towards the end.

[L] He had left his Kingdom to his Grandson *Alphonfus*. Conclude from hence, that the Monk *Don Peter de St Romuald* has drawn from very muddy Springs what he wrote, 'that *Alphonfus* declared the youngest of his Children his Successor to the Crown, preferring him before his eldest Son *Sanches*, having found by the Rules of Astrology, that he would be most favoured by the Stars; which was the Cause of their mutual Hatred, and at last of the Death of that youngest Son, and of himself: for the Elder, not being able to bear his being disinherited, rebel-

led against him, made him die in Prison, and killed his Brother, and then seized the Crown (39). It is impossible to accumulate more Falsities than are here; and yet this Passage has (40), and will, serve many other Compilers for an Original.

[M] This Reflexion is made by *Mariana*. Let us set down his Words. *Violantes Castellæ regina nepotum ætatem in quos potissimum erat propensa ludibrio esse dolens Sanctio prælato, neque satis ab ejus injuria tutam, usque adeo omnia jura pervertit exitiabilis imperandi cupiditas fugam meditata — cum illis in Aragoniam abiit, Alfonso nequicquam cum res esset indicata prohibere conato dolenteque, adeo ut nulla sui propria regni clade moveri magis potuisset (41). — Gallo regi curæ erat ne in patris potestatem redacti salutis, libertatis certe periculum adirent, non ignaro naturam mortalium ambitiosam & imperii cupiditate in crudelitatem pronam esse (42). — Violante, Queen of Castile, being grieved, that the Age of her Grand-children, whom she was particularly fond of, was had in contempt, and *Sanches* preferred to them, and thinking that they were not safe from his Attempts (so far does the destructive Thirst of Power pervert all Justice!) fled with them into *Arragon*; *Alphonfus*, upon the News, endeavouring in vain to prevent it, and grieving more than for his own and his Kingdom's Misfortunes. — The French King, who knew that humane Nature was ambitious, and prone, through Lust of Power, to Cruelty, took care they should not fall again into the Hands of their Uncle, and risk at least their Liberty, if not their Lives.' This Picture is very good.*

(39) Abridg. of the *Theatrum Chronol. Tom. III, ad Ann. 1282.*

(40) Father *L'Enfant* inserted it in his *Month of March*, pag. 143.

(41) Mariana, lib. xiv, cap. iii.

(42) Id. *ibid.* cap. iv.

CASTILE (BLANCHE of), Queen of *France*, Mother of *St Lewis*, had very great Qualities. She was Daughter of *Alphonfus*, the ninth King of *Castile*, and was married to *Lewis* of *France*, the eldest Son of *Philip Augustus* (a), the Twenty third of May, 1200. She was crowned, with her Husband *Lewis VIII*, the sixth of August, 1223, and declared Regent by That Prince's Last Will, in the Month of November, 1226. Their eldest Son, *Lewis IX*, began then his twelfth Year, and at that Time the Kings of *France* were not of Age 'till Twenty one Years complet. So that the Regency of this Lady was of Continuance long enough to give her an Opportunity of shewing her Ability and Courage. She stood in need of both these Talents; for the young King was scarce crowned, the first of December, 1226, but there arose a terrible Civil-War. The Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom confederated together, and laid for the Foundation of their Confederacy, That the Regency of the Kingdom was given to a foreign Woman (b). *Blanche* was not disturbed in such a nice and dangerous Conjunction, and, making use of all the means, that her Prudence could suggest to her, she baffled That formidable Party, as often as they renewed their Plots. It is said, that her Beauty was not useless to her [A] on these Occasions, and that it did her very good Services, without injuring her Honour. Every one is not agreed as to this last Point, and but few Queens have more experienced the Malignity of Slander. She

(a) At *Puercor*, in *Normandy*.

(b) *Jontilla Chronique du Roy Saint Loys* cap. xiv.

[A] Her Beauty was not useless to her.] A Modern Historian (1) speaks of that Beauty, as one would do in *Clelia*, or in some other Romance: he says; No Lady 'durst contest for Beauty with *Blanche*, and all of them confessed freely, That she infinitely out-did them in a good Mien. — Neither Seasons, nor Years, had altered her Beauty, and the Ten Children that she brought into the World neither diminished the Freshness nor the Delicacy of it. But let us come to the Matter in hand. Her Chastity, continues he, was impetrable; yet That Virtue was most doubted of during her Life, and after her Death. There are

(1) *Varillas's* *Minority of St Lewis*, pag. 8, 9. It is but a Fragment, printed at the *Hague*, in the Year 1685.

yet some Satires, which attack her in so nice a Part; and the worst was, That she gave Pretence to Calumny. She was persuaded of one of the most dangerous Principles, wherewith Ladies can be prepossessed, That there are Conjunctions, rare indeed, yet possible, which permit them to neglect the out-side of their Honour, provided they preserve the Solidity of it inviolably: that is to say, That Queen *Blanche* laid down for a Foundation of her Politics, that the might in Conscience endeavour to make such great Persons in love with her, as she despaired to engage in her Interests by any other way, when it concerned her

5 D

(e) See the Article THIBAUT, Earl of Champagne.

(d) See the Remarks [D], and [C].

(e) In the Year 1248.

(f) History of St Lewis, lib. vi, n. 15, pag. 321.

(g) St Lewis did not return to France till the Year 1254.

was not only accused of Love Intrigues (c), but also of lending a Hand to those of the King her Son [B], to make him neglect the Government of the State, and to preserve a more absolute Authority. The particular Care she had taken in educating him [C], and the good Fortune wherewith she dissipated all the Storms, which were formed during his Minority, inspired this young Prince with much Respect and Affection for her. It may be affirmed, that he suffered her to assume too much Authority over him: History has preserved some Particulars of it [D], which persuade us, that this Queen had brought too haughty an Humour with her from her Country. It was not the way to correct it, to fall out, as she did, with the Queen her Daughter-in-law: On the contrary, That Rivalship in Authority could only render her Passions more imperious. It is easy to imagine, that St Lewis was not very quiet among all those Disputes between his Mother and his Wife; for, fearing to disgust the former, he durst not so much as caress the latter (d). He took his Wife with him into the Holy Land (e), when he engaged in the Crusade, and left the other as Regent in his Kingdom. It must be confessed, to the Glory of the Queen-Mother, That, though she expected, without doubt, to reign in the Absence of her Son, yet she endeavoured to dissuade him from that unfortunate Expedition (f). She did not live 'till the Return of St Lewis; for she died in the Year 1252 (g), having signalized herself in that second Regency by many prudent Actions, in divers nice Conjunctions. The Kingdom suffered much at that Time, by

to avoid or to end a Civil War. There will be but too many Proofs of it in the Sequel of this History. See the Article of THIBAUT, Earl of Champagne.

[B] She was accused — of lending a hand to the Gallantries of the King her Son. St Lewis shewed himself, all his Life-time, to be much addicted to Virtue; but it was almost impossible, that he should preserve the Appearance of Chastity before he was married. Private Persons stumble much more in that regard, than in all the other Duties of Christianity, either because their Constitution drives them with more force towards Impurity, than towards other Vices; or, because the Point of human Honour is incomparably more favourable to young Men, who sin against Chastity, than to those, who commit other Crimes. If this be true as to private Persons, much more will it be so with respect to a young Prince. Nevertheless it is pretended, that he, of whom we speak, did not stumble in so slippery a way. 'It is true, it did not please God, he should escape the Strokes of Calumny. It could not be imagined, that, being yet but Nineteen Years of Age, he could live without Blemish in the midst of the Dangers of a Court, and in a Place, where every thing prevents one's Desires. And besides, the corrupt Courtiers, pleased with authorizing their Disorders by the Example of their Prince, supported, (if they did not form them) some Reports, which ran, and which were accompanied with probability enough to alarm those, who interested themselves in his Virtue. A good Monk, among others, thought himself obliged to give the Queen notice of it, and told it her in such a manner, as to persuade her, that he questioned it less than he desired. Nay, he made her sensible, that she was suspected of knowing it as well as any Body, and that she troubled herself but little with what her Son did, provided she governed. She could hardly receive a more sensible Blow. But, considering the Zeal of That Fryer, more than the manner wherewith he spoke, she justified the King, and herself, with so much Modesty, that it was not possible to doubt, but that she thought herself assured of her Son's Chastity, and that, on her Part, she was not capable of having any Hand in the Faults he might commit. He was himself so far from it, and all his Actions shewed it so plainly, that those vain Reports vanished immediately, and for ever (2).'

[C] The particular Care she had taken in educating him. She suckled him herself, nor would suffer him to take any other Milk. A Circumstance is related about this, which is not only extremely singular, but also very proper to shew us how strongly she was possessed with this Resolution. 'One Day, when the Queen was in a violent Fit of a Fever, which lasted extraordinarily, a Lady of Quality, who, to please her Majesty, or to imitate her, suckled her own Child also, seeing little Lewis cry for Thirst, took upon her to give him the Breast. The Queen, coming out of her Fit, asked

for her Son, and gave him her Breast; but little Lewis would not take it, either because he was satisfied, or because he did not like hot Milk, after having taken as much of the cool as he wanted. It was not difficult to guess at the Cause, and the Queen suspected it presently. She pretended to be in pain to thank the Person, to whom she was so much indebted for the good Office she had done to her Son in her Illness; and the Lady, thinking to make her Court, confessed, that the Tears of little Lewis had so sensibly moved her, that she could not forbear assisting him. But the Queen, instead of answering, gave her a scornful Look, and, putting her Finger in her Son's Mouth, compelled him, in that manner, to bring up all that he had taken. This Violence made all those wonder, who saw it; and the Queen, to make their Astonishment cease, said, That she could not endure, that another Woman should have a Right to dispute the Quality of Mother with her. So much they were then persuaded, that the suckling of Children made Part of their Education (3).'

[D] Her Son suffered her to assume too much Authority over him. History has preserved some particulars of it. This imperious Woman, having conceived some Hatred towards her Daughter-in-law, hindered her, as much as she could, from living with the King her Husband; and That Prince submitted, against his Will, to this new kind of Servitude. For, when he durst venture to go to his Wife's Bed, he took care not to be surprized there. Can you see a greater Tyranny, than That, which a Husband and a Wife suffer, who have not the liberty of performing the Conjugal Duty at their Pleasure? Queen Blanche would not so much as suffer her Son to visit his Wife, when dangerously ill. Let us prove all this by a cotemporary Author. The Reason, why the Queen did not love the King's Mother, was the severe Usage she received from her; for she would not suffer the King to visit, or be in Company with, the Queen his Wife, but forbade him as much as she could. And when the King went his Progress sometimes in his Kingdom, and had his Mother Queen Blanche, and his Wife Queen Margaret, along with him, his Mother commonly made them to be separated from each other, and they never lodged together. It happened one Day, that, they being at Pontoise, the King's Lodging was above That of the Queen his Wife, and he had instructed his Yeomen of the Hall in such a manner, that, when he had a mind to lie with the Queen, and when Queen Blanche was coming to the King or Queen's Chamber, they beat the Dogs, that they might make a Noise, which the King hearing, he would hide himself from his Mother: but the same Day Queen Blanche happened to find the King in the Queen his Wife's Chamber, who was come to see her, because she was very ill of a Miscarriage, and found the King hid behind the Queen, for fear he should be discovered; but the Queen-Mother perceived

(a) History of St Lewis, Book III, ad Ann. 1233, pag. 134, Edit. of Brussels, 1688. The Author cites the fifth Volume of The Historians of France, published by du Chene, pag. 446.

QUEEN Blanche was Nurf to her Son.

(3) Varillas's Minority of St Lewis, pag. 10.

by the Fury of a great number of weak People (b), whom certain Fanatics infatuated [E]. The Oppression of the People under the Yoke of the Clergy was lamentable. A vigorous Action was done, to cure it in some measure [F]. The News of *Blanche's* Death afflicted the King her Son very much. The Queen her Daughter-in-law wept also heartily for it; but she was sincere enough to own the true Reason of her Tears [G]. Some Authors tell certain Things of Queen *Blanche*, which chiefly prepare the way for her Canonization [H]. On the other side, certain Monuments still remain of the Passion, which the Earl of *Champagne* had for her, which seem to signify, that he did not always sigh in vain. I shall speak of it in That Earl's Article. The new Historian of *St Lewis* vindicates her strenuously on that Article, but does not deny, that She had some Faults [I]. His manner of expressing himself engages me to set down his own Words.

(b) They are called *Passoureaux*. See the History of *St Lewis*, lib. x, pag. 113, & seq. ad Ann. 1252.

'perceived him, and took him by the Hand, saying to him, Come away, you have nothing to do here, and put him out of the Chamber. When the Queen saw, that Queen *Blanche* separated her Husband from her, she cried out aloud, Alas! will you not let me see my Lord, neither living nor dying? and saying so she fainted away, so that it was thought she was dead: and the King, thinking so too, returned immediately to see her, and recovered her from her swoon (4).'

(4) *Jonville's Chronicle of St Lewis*, chap. lxxvii, pag. 262, 263.

[E] *The Kingdom suffered — by the Fury of weak People, whom certain Fanatics infatuated.* Queen *Blanche* did not at first discover their pernicious Errors. An Author 'makes it a very meritorious thing in her, that she owned she was mistaken in her Judgment of the *Passoureaux*; a very mean Praise, in my Opinion. For to take wicked Men for good Men is but an human Error, which may proceed from the Goodness of the Heart, and which Self-love takes a delight to confess: But if, being good Men, they had been calumniated, without any other Support than their Innocence, in that case such a Confession could not be praised too much, and in that case also it must be but seldom expected (5).' This Reflexion of the new Historian of *St Lewis* is very fine and judicious.

(5) History of *St Lewis*, lib. x, pag. 125.

THE Tyranny of the Chapter of Paris, punished by Queen *Blanche*.

[F] *The Oppression of the People by the Clergy was lamentable. A vigorous Action was done, to cure it in some measure.* 'The Chapter of Paris had imprisoned all the Inhabitants of *Chatenai*, and of some other Places, for divers Things, which were imputed to them, and which were forbid to Bondmen; for such was then the People's Condition, and especially the Inhabitants of the Country (6). They were sold with the Lands, as a Dependence, which belonged to it (7). So that a Crowd of those miserable People languished in the Prisons of the Chapter, where, wanting necessities for Life, they were in danger of being starved to Death. *Blanche*, moved to Compassion by the Complaints, which she received from them, sent to desire that, in Consideration of her, they might be released upon Bail, assuring, that she would inform her self of the Matters, and would do all manner of Justice. But the Chapter, after having answered, That no Body had any thing to do with their Subjects, and that they might put them to Death if they pleased, sent again to seize the Women and the Children, whom they had spared at first. Then, in hatred to see them honoured with such a Protection, they were used in such a manner, that many of them died either through Famine, or the Inconveniences they suffered by Heat, in a Place hardly able to contain them. *Blanche*, full of Indignation at an Action no less insolent than inhuman — went with main Force to the Prison of the Chapter, and ordered the Gates of it to be broken open: And, because some Difficulty might have been made about it, for fear of the Censures, so common in those Times, she gave the first Stroke with a Stick she had in her Hand. That Stroke was so well seconded, that the Gate was broke down in an instant, and a Crowd of Men, Women, and Children, came out with disfigured Faces, who, casting themselves at her Feet, prayed her to take them under her Protection, without which the Favour that she had done them would cost them very dear. She did it, and so effectually, that, after having seized on the Revenues of the Chapter, till they had submitted to the Authority, wherewith she was entrusted, she even obliged them to enfranchise those

(6) *Id.* pag. 122, 123.

(7) This is what was anciently called *Servus glabris*, or *glabris adscriptis*.

Inhabitants for a certain Yearly Sum. It was almost at that Time that those kind of Affranchisings began, or, at least, that they became very common. If any one thinks that I have cited too long a Passage here, they must complain, That, in shewing them a fine Piece of our *Blanche's* History, I have also exposed two or three very singular Facts to their View. So that their Complaint will be very ill grounded.

[G] *The Queen, her Daughter-in-law, wept — But she had the sincerity to own the true Reason of her Tears.* It would be a little surprizing, that a Queen, so constrained in her Matrimonial Rights, as the Wife of *Lewis IX* was, should be afflicted to see, that she should no longer find, at her return into France, The Author of her Constraint. The *Sire de Jonville* did not fail being surprized at the young Queen's Affliction; he knew how much, and for what reason, she hated the deceased; but see here the unfolding of his Surprise: 'After I was gone out of the King's Chamber, says he (8), Madam *Mary de Bonnes vertus* came and desired me to go and comfort the Queen, who was very much afflicted. When I was come into her Chamber, and saw her cry so bitterly, I could not forbear telling her, That Womens Tears are not to be believed; for the Moan that she made was for the Woman she hated most in the World. Then she told me, That it was not for her that she cried, but for the great Uneasiness wherein the King was, and also for their Daughter, who was left in the keeping of Men: who was since Queen of *Navarre*. He adds the Occasion of this Hatred: It is, says he, because Queen *Blanche* hindered the King her Son, as much as she could, from lying with his Wife: And the Reason why the Queen did not love the King's Mother, was, the great Severity with which she treated her; for she would not suffer the King to visit or keep the Queen his Wife Company, but hindered it as much as she could (9).'

(8) *Jonvil. ubi supra*, pag. 262.

[H] *They relate certain things of her, which prepare the way for her Canonization.* She was not contented to be enrolled in the third Order of *St Francis*, according to the Devotion of those Times (10), but she made also Profession of the Order of *Citeaux* (11), to the Abbess of *Maubuisson*, a few Days before she died. When she was brought to That Abbey (12), where she would be buried, she was dressed with Royal Ornaments over her Religious Habit (13). But this is no very extraordinary Thing. I do not mention it as a Proof of what is in Question here: I only think it has been of some use to procure, in Process of Time, the Title of *Blessed* to Queen *Blanche*, to place her in some Martyrologies, and to relate some Miracles and Apparitions about her (14).

(9) See the Sequel of this Passage in the Remark [D], *Citat.* (4).

(10) *Mezerai, Chron. Abrégé*, ad Ann. 1252. Tom. II, pag. 731.

(11) History of *St Lewis*, lib. x, pag. 124.

(12) She founded it about the Year 1242. King *St Lewis* ratified that Foundation a little before his Departure for the Holy Land. *Ibid.* lib. v, pag. 277.

(13) *Ibid.* Book x, pag. 124.

(14) *Ibid.* pag. 125, 126.

[I] *The new Historian of St Lewis vindicates her — but does not deny, that she had some Faults.* The Historian's Name, of whom I speak, was *Mr de la Chaise*: I have heard say, that he was Counsellor in the Presidial of *Poitiers*, and a Friend of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*. 'Few Princesses, says he (15), have been seen, who deserve to be cleared from so many Calumnies, if this were a Place for it. Not that she never committed any Faults. By what Privilege should she be exempted from them? She was a Woman, and reigned. But, if some Faults are found among so many great Qualities, ought she therefore to be exposed to Malice, and to the fantastical Judgments of those, who are pleased to undervalue what is so universally esteemed? She had perhaps too much haughtiness in respect of the *Grandeess*, in her first Regency: and, perhaps

(15) *Ibid.* pag. 126.

'perhaps she went a little too fast on some Occasions. ' And I would not assert, that she did not endeavour
'It is very probable, that she used the Queen, her ' to preserve the Power too long, which her Ability,
'Daughter-in-law, somewhat roughly, through a ' and the Quality of Mother, had given her over
'Jealousy of Authority, which is but too natural: ' Lewis in his earliest Youth.'

CASTOR, an ancient Author. See the Remark [O], of the Article DE-JOTARUS.

CASTRITIUS (MARCUS) was a Magistrate of *Placentia*, in the 669th Year of *Rome* [A], when the Consul *Cneius Carbo*, endeavouring to engage all the Towns of *Italy* in the Party of *Marius*, against *Sylla*, required Hostages of them. As *Castritius* would not suffer the Inhabitants of *Placentia* to give him any, *Carbo* pretended to frighten him, by saying, that he had many Swords; and I many Years, answered *Castritius*; and the thing went no farther. A like Answer was made by *Solon*, and by some others [B]. They meant by it, that the few Years, which remained, were not worth the making a false Step. This *Castritius* cannot be He, whom *Cicero* mentions in the Oration for *Lucius Flaccus*; for it appears by the Honours, which the Inhabitants of *Smyrna* did to the latter, that he did not die very old (a). Besides *Cicero* expresses himself in a manner, which shews that he had not a very great Opinion of that Man's Merit. The same *Cicero* speaks elsewhere of a MARCUS CASTRITIUS (b), who is, doubtless, different from the other two; for he praises him in earnest, and says, that *Verres*, being Pretor in *Sicily*, made him some Presents. Now the Magistrate of *Placentia* was very old, when *Verres* was yet but Questor, under *Cneius Carbo*, in the Six Hundred and Sixty ninth Year of *Rome*.

(a) At *Castritium* quibus veris, Dii immortales! decus patrie, ornamentum populi Romani. FLOREM JUVVENTUTIS appellat. *Cicero* pro L. Flacco, cap. xxxi.

(b) M. Castritium summo splendore, ingenio, gratia praeditum. Id. in *Verro*, Orat. 3. cap. 80.

(1) In Val. Max.

(2) At the 250th Page of Tom. II. That History was printed at Paris in the Year 1675.

(3) In Remark [B], of the following Article.

[A] He was a Magistrate of *Placentia*, in the 669th Year of *Rome*.] The Commentary *Variorum* on *Valerius Maximus* places this Event in the Year of *Rome* 621; which is a great Blunder: But Mr *Moret de la Fayolle*, who places it in the 667th Year, and *Father Cantel* (1), who places it in the 671st Year, have their Reasons for it: They follow some *Fassi Consulares*, two Years different from others. I cannot tell upon what Mr *de la Fayolle* builds, when he calls *Cn. Castritius* him, who has the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, in *Valerius Maximus*, whom he cites. See his History of the Roman Commonwealth (2). In the Supplement to *Moret*, this Article is placed under the Word *Castriatus*. We shall say hereafter (3), that *Charles Stephens* has committed the same Fault.

[B] He made to *Carbo* an Answer, like That, which had been made by *Solon*, and some others.] I shall set down what is found in *Cicero* upon this Subject: 'Hoc illud est quod *Pisistrato* tyranno à *Solone* refponsum est, cum illi quaerenti qua tandem ipse fretus sibi tam audaciter obfisteret, respondisse dicitur, senectute (4). — This is the Answer *Solon* gave to *Pisistratus* the Tyrant, who asking him, upon what Hope relying, he so boldly resisted him, the other is said to have replied, On old Age.' *Confidius* made a like Answer to *Julius Caesar* (5), and *Cesellius* to the *Triumviri* (6). See the *Prose Chagraine* of *la Motte la Vayer*, at the Three hundred and Thirty seventh Page of the ninth Volume of his Works.

(4) *Cicero* in *Caetone* majore, cap. xx. See also *Plutarch* and *Diogenes Laertius* in *Vita Solonis*.

(5) *Plut.* in *Caesare*, pag. 714. G.

(6) *Val. Maxim.* lib. vi, cap. lii.

CASTRITIUS (TITUS) taught Rhetoric at *Rome*, in the II^d Century, with more Reputation than any of his Contemporaries. *Aulus Gellius*, who was his Disciple, speaks of him as of a Man of great Importance (a), and of great Judgment; and it is easy to know, by his Remark on a Period of a Speech of *C. Gracchus* (b), that he ingeniously discerned those false Thoughts, which become almost imperceptible, when they are hid under the harmonious Cadence of fine Language. Another Sign of his discerning Faculty appears elsewhere (c) [A]. His Probity contributed, no less than his Learning, to make him esteemed by the Emperor *Hadrian* (d), and, if it be never so little considered, how he censured some Senators, whom he instructed (e), and who appeared one Day before him, clothed in a manner very unbecoming their Rank [B], I mean undressed, and, as we should say at present, in a Morning-Gown, we shall easily perceive, that he preserved the grave

(a) *A. Gellius*, lib. xi, cap. xiii, & lib. xiii, cap. xx.

(b) Id. lib. xi, cap. xiii.

(c) Id. lib. i, cap. vi.

(d) Id. lib. xiii, cap. xx.

(e) Id. lib. i.

[A] We meet with another Sign of his discerning Faculty.] It was when he refused some Critics, who took it ill, that *Metellus*, making a Speech to the People, to recommend Marriage to them, had owned, that it was a necessary, troublesome, State. 'Si sine uxore, Quirites, possemus esse, omnes ea molestia careremus. Sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullomodo vivi possit, saluti perpetue potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum (1). — If, my Countrymen, we could all live without Wives, we should be free from this Trouble. But since Nature has so ordered it, that we can neither live conveniently with them, nor at all without them, we should consult a lasting Happiness, rather than a short Pleasure.' It is, said they, as much to deter People from Marriage, as to advise them to it; and they shewed how he ought to have turned the Thing. It cannot be denied, that they gave a good Turn to it. But *Castritius* reprehended them, that a Man of *Metellus*'s Character, who exercised the Censor's Office at that Time, ought to

(1) *A. Gellius*, lib. i, cap. vi.

speak otherwise than a Rhetorician; that a Rhetorician is permitted to make use of false and captious Reasons, and that it is a Shame for him not to make the best of a bad Cause; that it is not the same with a Magistrate, who is venerable by the Gravity of his Manners, and by his Dignity; for he ought not to say any thing in public, of which he and others are not convinced, and chiefly when the Question is about a Fact exposed to daily Experience, and public Evidence (2); and therefore that *Metellus* had done well to acknowledge what was plain to every Body, by which he had made himself more fit to establish the important Point, on which he spoke (3); for his Ingenuity, having sheltered him from all Suspicions of Disguise and Art, disposed the Auditors to believe the rest.

[B] He censured some Senators — who appeared — clothed in a manner unbecoming their Rank.] It is hard to guess what Mr *Moret* meant, when he made *A. Gellius* say, that *Castritius* made use of great Severity against two of his Auditors, who were too magnificently dressed. I. *A. Gellius* does not re-

(2) *Præsertim* cum super ea recideret quæ quotidiana intelligentia & communi pervulgataque vitæ usu comprehendebatur. Id. *ibid.*

(3) De molestia heitor cunctis hominibus notissima est confessio, eaque confessione fidem sedulitatis veritatisque committitur, &c. Id. *ibid.*

grave Spirit of ancient *Rome*. It cannot well be determined, whether he was the Son, or a Relation, of That *Castritius*, whom *Pliny* cites, as an Author, who had written of Gardening (f) [C], nor whether those two descended from a *Castritius*, who discovered *Murena's* Conspiracy to *Augustus* (g), and whom That Prince helped afterwards out of a very bad Business, only by the way of Intercession.

(f) In indice, lib. xix.
(g) Sueton. in Aug. cap. lvi.

duce the censured Auditors to two; he says, *discipulos quosdam suos*. II. He adds, that they were Senators; and this is what Mr *Moreri* ought not to have suppressed. III. He does not say, that they were too magnificently dressed, but, on the contrary, that *Castritius* saw them *tunicis & lacernis indutos, & Gallici calceatos*. These Faults are corrected in the Edition of this Country; but they have cited the Twenty first Chapter of the thirteenth Book of *A. Gellius*, instead of citing the twentieth, which Mr *Moreri* quoted right (4); and they have over-looked what he said, that *Castritius* was more commonly called *Castroitius*; for they have retained his *Castritius*, see *Castroitius*, and given the Article of This Rhetorician under the Word *Castroitius*, as he has done. Note, that it is no mistake to cite Chapter 21: there are Editions, which cite thus the Chapter relating to *Castritius*; but, there being others, in which it is Chapter 20, to correct it right, it should be said; See the thirteenth Book of *A. Gellius*, Chapter 20, according to some Editions, or Chapter 21, according to others. *Charles Stephens* gives the Name

of *Castratius* both to That Rhetorician, and to the Magistrate of *Placentia*; two Articles which do not appear in *Lloyd's* Dictionary. Mr *Hofman*, who copied them from *Charles Stephens*, advertises, in the Article of the Rhetorician, that it must be read *Castritius*, and he lengthens his Original, to refer us to the Censure of the two Auditors, too well clothed, in *A. Gellius*, *severitatem ejus contra duos auditores nimium ornatos*. This it is to trust to bad Guides.

[C] We cannot determine, whether he was the Son, or a Relation, of that *Castritius*, whom *Pliny* cites as an Author, who wrote about Gardening. Father *Hardquin* (5) censures a Mistake of *Simler*, who has said (6), that *Titus Castritius*, mentioned by *A. Gellius*, wrote a Book, intitled *Cepurica* (7), out of which *Pliny* took many Things. If the Fountain-heads were consulted, these Mistakes would be avoided, and then *Simler* would have found, that *A. Gellius* speaks of a *Castritius*, whose Disciple he was, and, consequently, who could not have wrote Books, quoted by *Pliny*.

(5) Indice Auditorum Plinii.
(6) Epit. Gesneri, pag. 805.
(7) In Greek κεχυρική, that is to say, de re botanica.

CATALDUS, one of the Saints of the Church of *Rome*, and the particular Patron of the City of *Taranto*, was Bishop of the same City (a). It is reported, That, about a thousand Years after his Death, he appeared to a Priest, and said to him, *Go and dig up a Book, which I have composed, and which I hid in such a Place; carry it immediately to the King: It is a Work, which contains the Secrets of Heaven*. It was in a Dream that he appeared to this Priest, and gave him this Order: He repeated this Apparition divers times; for little Faith was given to this Dream, and his Order was not obeyed. At last he shewed himself in another manner; the Curate being alone in his Church, and perfectly awake, saw *St. Cataldus* in his Episcopal Ornaments, who commanded him to go and dig up his Book the next Day, in the Place he had shewed him in his Dream, and to carry it speedily to the King. He threatened him with severe Punishment in case of Disobedience. The Priest proved more tractable at that time; for the next Day early he walked in Procession with the People to the Place, where That Work was buried. It was found there in a leaden Box (b); and they found, that it contained the Miseries, which would speedily oppress the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, and of which you will find the Description in the Writer whom I cite (c). It is pretended, that this happened in the Month of *April*, 1492 (d). Some affirm, that this prophetic Book gave some Hopes, that the Kingdom of *Naples* would be secured from this approaching Ruin, provided the King should execute what *St. Cataldus* prescribed to him [A]. This Clause, of which *Alexander ab Alexandro* makes no mention, might confirm the Suspicions of those, who take this for a pious Fraud [B]. They would not be contented with meer Suspicions, if they had read

(a) *Alexander ab Alexandro*. Genial. Dier. lib. iii, cap. xv, pag. m. 734.

(b) *Postera luce solemnè pompa ministrum cum populi comitatu ad locum, in qua longinquo ævo libellus latuerat, processisse: eumque plumbeis tabellis ob-signatum, & clavibus obferatum invenisse, satis constat. Id. ibid. pag. 735.*

(c) Taken from *Alexander ab Alexandro*, ubi supra.

(d) *Spondanus*, Annal. Eccles. ad Ann. 1492, n. 13. He cites Infir. in Diar. Vit. S. Cataldi.

[A] He appeared to a Priest — and directed him to a Book, concerning the Miseries, from which the Kingdom of *Naples* might be secured, provided the King should execute what *St. Cataldus* prescribed to him.] This Condition is mentioned by *Spondanus*. Nimirum mense Aprili, ex revelatione prædicti Sancti repertum fuisse librum tabellis plumbeis ab eo dum viveret jussu divino scriptum, obferatumque; quo vaticinium continebatur de calamitatibus & miseriis quibus regnum vexandum esset, nisi Rex, ad quem illico librum mitti præcepit, ad accusum observaret quæ in eo præcepta reperiret (1). — To wit, that, in the Month of April, by the Revelation of the aforesaid Saint, a Book was found, in a leaden Box, written by him, during his Life, in pursuance of a divine Command, and locked up; in which was contained a Prophecy of the Calamities and Miseries, which the Kingdom was to suffer, unless the King, to whom he ordered the Book immediately to be sent, should exactly observe what he should find prescribed in it. He adds, that *Philip de Comines* spoke of this Work of *St. Cataldus*. But this cannot be said, without taking too much Liberty; for *Philip de Comines* makes no kind of mention of This Saint. These are his Words: Le Roy Ferrand — porta grande passion en son

cœur de voir venir sur luy cette armée — & si trouva un livre escrit, comme m'ont certifié des plus prochains de luy, en deffaisant une chappelle; où y avoit dessus: La Vérité, avec son Conseil secret: & vœut l'on dire qu'il contenoit tout le mal qui luy est advenu: & n'estoient que trois à la voir: & puis le jetta au feu (2). — King Ferrand — took it much to Heart, to see so great an Army come against him — and found a Book written (as those that were near him have assured me) at the demolishing of a Chapel, whereupon were these Words, Truth with it's secret Council; wherein it is pretended all the Evil that happened to him was contained. Three Persons only saw it; and he threw it into the Fire.

[B] This Clause confirms the Suspicions of those, who take this for a pious Fraud.] It is certain, that *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and his eldest Son, led a scandalous Life, and tyrannically oppressed the People (3). They feared the Preparations and Confederacies, which were forming against the Kingdom of *Naples*. The People always fear such Wars; but they are chiefly more afraid of them, when they imagine, that the Crimes of the Sovereign, and his long Impenitency, have exposed him to the Wrath of God. It is then necessary to have recourse to the

* Perhaps there was, in Italian, *Il vero, or la verità*, &c. that is to say, The Truth.

(2) *Philip de Comines*, Book 7, chap. 11, pag. 465, 466.

(3) See *Philip de Comines*, Book 7, chap. 11.

(4) Some Editions, and among them That of H. Stephens, Paris, 1655, in 8^{vo}, refers this to chap. 20, others to chap. 21, because they make of chap. 24, chap. 14, and 15.

(1) *Spondanus*. Annal. Eccles. ad Ann. 1492, n. 23, pag. m. 204.

VOL. II. No. XLIII.

5 E

read the Passage I shall cite out of a cotemporary Author, who relates the History and the Motives of the Imposture [C]. It is not agreed where *Cataldus* was born, nor at what time he lived; some say he was born in *Scotland*, others in *Ireland*. There

the most proper Expedients, to avoid the public Misfortunes; it is a very good Expedient to pretend a Prophecy, which may affect the Sovereign, and inspire him with such a good Amendment of Life, that his Subjects may promise themselves the Assistance and Protection of appeased Heaven. So that it is probable, that, in those Times, some Persons, well affected to the public Good, thought on this religious Contrivance: a Box of Lead was made; a Book was put in it, which contained what was thought necessary; it was buried; an Ecclesiastic was produced, who declared, that, sleeping and waking, he had received an Order, of the utmost Importance, from *St Cataldus*; the Book was easily found in the Place directed to, with the Threats and necessary Counsels in it. Here are then divers Circumstances, fit to persuade, that the Discovery of that Prophecy was an artful Contrivance; but, if it be supposed, that *Cataldus* threatened only, and that he did not prescribe a certain Method to *Ferdinand* to prevent the Calamities, it is much harder to discover, that there was a religious and politic Trick in it.

I need not say, that there is no manner of likelihood, that *Cataldus* buried such a Book, or that, after many Ages, he revealed That Treasure, and ordered it to be presented to King *Ferdinand*; but, as it is probable, that such a Thing was pretended, it will not be improper to touch upon the Reasons, which might make one doubt of it. I say, that the Fact of That Supposition is probable; for, besides the Use which might be hoped for it, in the Necessities of the State, and the Unquietness of the People, we have a cotemporary Author, who reports for a certainty (4), that this Book was dug up. He not only lived at that time, but dwelt near the Place, which was the Scene of the Event. He affirms, that the People accompanied the Priest in Procession, who dug up That Prophecy. Moreover, he is a learned Man. Could he be deceived in such a Fact? Durst he have told a Lie on such an Adventure? This is what causes a Belief, that a Prophecy of *St Cataldus* was supposed. But here are some Reasons to question it. That Author, with his great Learning, shews much Credulity. *Philip de Comines*, speaking of a prophetic Writing, shewed to King *Ferdinand* (5); does not speak of *Cataldus*, nor of the other Circumstances, mentioned by *Alexander ab Alexandro*. It may then reasonably be believed, that those, who related to him what concerned That Writing, told him nothing concerning the Apparitions of That Saint, nor concerning the Procession, which is supposed to have marched at the Discovery of the Book. It is therefore very likely, that no such Procession was made; for, if it had been made, it would have been the first Thing that would have been told to *Philip de Comines*. Now if *Alexander ab Alexandro* deceives us in this Point, he deserves no Credit in the rest.

Having mentioned the Reasons to believe, and the Reasons to doubt, I must add, that, the other Day one of my Friends maintained against me, that it is impossible to attain to a full Certainty about this. He said, we are too far distant from that time, and no verbal Processes were made of That Adventure; or, if any were made, they could not at present exclude all Suspicions. I have observed, in another Article (6), the prodigious Negligence of those, who love to relate mysterious Events: they take no Precautions against those, who are not disposed to believe any thing of it: they want Charity for those, who stand most in need of it. Why do they not cause legal Informations to be made? Why do they not cause verbal Processes to be drawn up? For Example, the *Tarantines* ought to have desired the Magistrates to cause to be engraved on a Pillar, that, on such a day, such a Priest had dug up a Book in the Presence of all the People, and that he had taken his Oath, that *St Cataldus* had appeared to him, &c. (7). An authentic Copy of the Act, that the Magistrates had drawn up, ought to have been sent to the Places

where the Records of the Kingdom were kept; the Ambassadors of all the foreign States ought to have been desired to send their Masters such a Copy. You will tell me, that the Legend of *St Cataldus*, cited by *Spondanus*, witnesses this great Event: I answer, that it is only of use to those, who have no need of it. They, who believe such a thing on the Credit of a Legendary, would believe it as well on a Hearsay; and they, who are incredulous, and consequently Objects of Charity for the great Promoters of extraordinary and ill proved Adventures, are not moved with the Testimony of the Legend. So that they are cruelly forsaken, when the Remedy that should cure them is neglected.

For the rest, let us not wonder, that it is difficult to averr things, which are said to have happened towards the end of the XVth Century; for I do not think it possible for private Men to discover certainly what concerns the Blacksmith of *Salon* (8). The thing is yet fresh; it is but two or three Months ago (9), that he was sent to *Paris*, to acquit himself of a Commission, which an Apparition had given him, to go and tell the King certain things. He was at *Paris*, and at the Court, and was sent home again. This is all that is certain of it; a thousand other Facts, which have been vended in the public News, are doubtful; for some Persons deny them, and others affirm them: Some maintain, that he spoke to the King himself; others say that he spoke only to a Secretary of State. The most indefatigable Inquisitors would lose their Patience, before they had cleared the Truth, buried under a Heap of opposite Affirmations and Negations. The strangest and most likely thing to deceive Posterity is, that an anonymous Author had the Presumption to cause a Letter to be printed (10), wherein he relates I know not what familiar Conversations he had with the Blacksmith of *Salon*. He sets forth many strange Particulars, which cannot be sufficiently wondered at. Must the Public be so soon deceived, and must a Snare so soon be laid for Posterity? Should any thing be suffered to appear about this, but what is well attested, and may pass for an incontestable Fact? For our part, let us advertise the Public to reject these Impostures. The Audaciousness of those Writers cannot be better punished than by giving no Credit to their Relations. The News Writer, who declared he believed the anonymous Author's Letter to be apocryphal, when he published it (11), is much to be praised: This will serve for something in a proper Time.

I have given you the Particulars of a long Conversation, wherein Mr - - - maintained to me, that we cannot be assured, that the Discovery of the pretended Book of *St Cataldus* was made in *Taranto*. We shall see presently, that he went too fast, and that the Reality of that Procession, and its Consequences, is a Fact certain enough.

[C] I shall cite a Passage - - - which shews the History and the Motives of the Imposture. I desire my Reader to look upon the foregoing Remark only as a Picture of the Vanity of Conjectures; I speak of the most plausible Conjectures, which can be made, when the Circumstances of an Action are but imperfectly known, and when we judge of things without hearing both Parties. We hear but one of them in the present Business, if we only consult *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and those who have copied him. And therefore we run the hazard of making fallacious Conjectures, what care soever we take to consult Probability. To proceed prudently in it, we ought to enquire, whether other Authors, as credible as he, have not related the thing differently. I have found one, who informs me, that the Account of that Writer is That of the People, and that some learned Persons, acquainted with the Court, related that Adventure after another manner. *Jovian Pontanus* informs me, that a bold and ambitious Spanish Monk set up for a Preacher, though he knew nothing.

(8) It is the place where *Nostradamus* was born, in *Provence*.

(9) This I wrote in the beginning of June, 1697.

(10) It is printed in the *Historical Letters*, and in the *Political Mercury*, of the Month of May, 1697.

(11) See the *Historical Mercury*, of May, 1697.

(4) Satis constat, says he twice. In coertum est. *Alexandro ab Alexandro*, Genial. Dier. lib. 3, cap. 15, pag. 734.

(5) See *Philip de Comines's* Words in the preceding Remark.

(6) In the Remark [C], of the Article CATHO.

(7) Note, that this Inscription ought to have been made during the Novelty of the Event; for, without that, it would not be a good Proof at this time.

There are some, who pretend, that he lived in the IVth Century, or the beginning of the VIth; but *Johannes Juvenis* says, that he converted the *Tarentines*, in the Year 160 (e), after the Ascension of the Son of God, or else in the 166th Year of the Christian Æra (f). *Bartholomew Moron*, and *Bonaventura Moron* his Brother, who have written his Life, the one in Prose, and the other in Verse (g), follow, very nearly, the same Chronology, since they assert, that he entered into *Taranto* under the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, and in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, about the Year 170. *Dempster* makes him flourish after the middle of the IVth Century (h). *Alexander ab Alexandro* makes him younger about an hundred Years. Consult the learned *Usher* (i), who maintains, that *Cataldus* was not born in *Scotland*, as *Dempster* pretends, but in *Ireland*; and he quotes several Authors. I am surprized that he was ignorant of the Passage of *Jovian Pontanus*, which I have set down in the Remark [C].

(e) A Poem of six Books, intitled *Cataldus*; it was printed at *Rome* with an Italian Discourse of the same Author, in praise of *Cataldus*, and with the Life of That Saint, by *Barthol. Moron*.

(h) *Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Scotor. lib. iii. n. 278.*

(i) *Usher. de Brit. Eccl. Prim. pag. 751, &c.*

(e) *Johan. Juvenis in Prefat. librorum de Antiquitate & varia Tarentinorum Fortuna, apud Usserium de Britan. Eccl. Primordis, pag. 750. Edit. Dublin. 1653.*

(f) *Id. lib. viii. cap. ii. apud eund. ibid.*

(12) *Frater Franciscus Hispanus* — quamvis rudis atque indoctus, tractus tamen audacia, atque ambitione, pulpitum ascendere est ausus, tantoque five fastu, five temeritate, palam ut asseveraret, prædicare se de religionis, Christianique de rebus, docente ac discante Angelo, cujus admonitio & futura quædam prædicaret, & qui cum divinis in exco de mortuis agerent qui rursus apud inferos cruciarentur. scribit ac proferret. *Jov. Pontanus de Sermonibus, lib. ii. cap. ult. p. 1623.*

thing. He preached with so much Audaciousness, that he boasted of a particular Communication with an Angel, of whom he learned, as he said, what he taught the People concerning Religion: He affirmed, that That Angel revealed to him what Persons enjoyed the Blessedness of Heaven, or suffered in Hell (12). Lastly, Not being able to persuade *Ferdinand* to drive all the Jews out of his Kingdom of *Naples*, as his Cousin *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, had expelled them from his Dominions, he bethought himself of a Trick. He engraved what he pleased on a leaden Plate, pretending that *St Cataldus* was the Author of it, and buried This Piece of Metal under the Wall of an half ruined Chapel near *Taranto*. Three Years after, having suborned a Priest, who declared that *St Cataldus* had appeared to him, &c. he caused That Piece of Lead to be digged up. Some Enigmatical Words were found in it, which tended to acquaint the King, that he was bound to extirpate Judaism. The pretended Order of *Cataldus* was, that *Ferdinand* should not read That Writing, but with one of his Servants, whom he should know to be most virtuous and faithful. This Prince discovered the Cheat, and did not employ the Monk to decypher the Prophecy. The Monk was so angry at it, that he inveighed against every body: He could hardly spare *St Cataldus*; and he grew so hot, that all the States of *Italy*, and chiefly the Court of *Rome*, were alarmed at the Discovery of the leaden Plate. A great number of Persons, who understand *Latin*, have not *Pontanus's* Books; therefore they will be well pleased to find his Narrative here in the original Tongue: 'Denique cum *Ferdinando* persuadere arte nulla aut ratione posset, ut universam Judæorum gentem omnino exterminaret: ò regni finibus, exemplo *Ferdinandi* patris Hispaniarum regis, *Tarenti* cum ipse ageret, commentum hoc inivit. E plumbo tabulam divi *Cataldi* nomine clanculum à se inscriptam haud *Taranto* procul in facello semiduro sub parietem occultui, quam triennio post erucendam curavit, corrupto sacerdote, qui diceret, in somnis assistisse sibi *Cataldum* monstrantem quo in loco tabella esset abdita, commonentemque uti cum populo supplice, collegioque sacerdotum, iret ad effodiendam illam, quam effossam curaret ad regem deferendam, communicandam ab eo uni tantum viro, quem è suis optimum nosceret, ac maximè fidem. Deum enim iratum illi futurum, clademque ac calamitatem immisurum, ni quod in tabula scriptum esset, & cautum, à rege præstaretur. Scriptum verò ipsum per ambages quasdam ac latebricosa verba eò spectabat, uti Judæorum exterminatio indicaretur. Rex accepta tabula deprehendit fraudem, qua deprehensa minime Franciscum ad eam legendam secum adhibuit, arbitratus eum interpretaturum verba in eam sententiam, dissimulavitque rem ipsam summa cum tacurnitate ac prudentia. At *Franciscus* re cognita, furore percitus, quòd tantum commentum falsum eum habuisset, non populo, non regi, vix ipsi *Cataldo* publicis pepercit in predicationibus, in tantumque incanduit, ut *Italia* ferme omnis, ipseque in primis *Romanus* Pontifex de tabulæ hujus fuerit inventione sollicitus, atque anxius (13). Note, that *Philip Camerarius* relates the Story of the *Neapolitan* Civilian (14) as a true History: It is in the second Volume of his *Historical Meditations* (15). He adds to it *Philip de Comines's* Words. *Simon Goulart*, the French Translator of That Work of *Camerarius*, has often inserted his own Collections in it between Crochets: I am certain he would have inserted *Pontanus's* Narrative with all his heart, if he had known it. He has inserted another Fact in that Place, which may properly be produced here: 'John de la Gessie, Secretary of the Chamber to *Francis de Valois*, Duke of *Alençon* and *Anjou*, caused his poetical Works to be printed at *Antwerp* by *Plantin*, in the Year 1583. In the sixth Book of the *Miscellanies*, pag. 678 and 679, he translates a *Latin* Prediction of *Cataldus* against the Apocalyptic *Babylon*, beginning with these Words, *Heu heu plange, infelix Babylon*. This is all the *Latin* that is there, the Poet having been contented to give Forty two French Verses, which mention wonderful Exploits of a King of *France*, his signal Victories, and his Death on Mount *Calvary*, after a long Course of Years employed in War. He promises at that time a great Restoration of Things, and speaks of it as of the end of the World: which I would not decypher more particularly for good Reasons (16). Here we have an Example of prophetic Cheats. The pretended Book of *St Cataldus* concerned only the Kingdom of *Naples*, and it was scarcely seen by any body. And yet here is a French Poet, who, an Age after, pretends that there were Threats in it against the *Babylon* of *St John*, and most magnificent Promises for a King of *France*. They, who make use of such kind of Contrivances, are very glad to screen themselves under some great Name. That of *Cataldus* seemed fit for this Design; and thus they built one Cheat upon another. You must remember, that *Pontanus's* Narrative made no great Progress, and did not stop the Course of Lies. There are some Writers, who relate the Discovery of *Cataldus's* Predictions as a Truth, without making any mention of the other Relation: *Bartholomew Moron* does so, in the Life of *St Cataldus*, which he wrote: he quotes the Records of the Church of *Taranto*, the Testimony of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and what he might have read in the first Chapter of the eighth Book of *Peter Galatin, De Ecclesia destituta* (17). *Antony Caraccioli* published, at *Naples*, in the Year 1626, an anonymous Annalist, with four other ancient Chronologers. This Annalist says, that, in the Year 1494, were dug out of the Ground some leaden Plates, on which *St Cataldus* had engraven his Prophecies, and spoke of the sudden Death of the King; and that the King accordingly did die immediately after they presented that Monument to him. 'Isto anno mccccxciiii. fuit repertus *Tarenti* liber Sancti *Cataldi* consistens in tribus laminis plumbeis, videlicet duabus extremis semiscriptis, & media scripta ex utroque latere; qui præsentatus fuit Domino Regi, loquens de dicti Regis repentina morte; & sic fuit repente mortuus (18). We have seen, that This Discovery is placed in the Year 1492. This did not serve the turn of our Annalist; he wanted that the King of *Naples* should die suddenly; but found no such thing at that time; he therefore pitched upon the Year of *Ferdinand's* Death.

(14) That is, of *Alexander ab Alexandro*.

(15) In the first Book, chap. xii.

(16) *Simon Goulart, in Chap. ii. Book i. of Vol. II. of the Histor. Meditat. of Camerarius, p. 438.*

(17) See *Usser. de Britannic. Eccl. Primord. pag. 758.*

(18) *Id. ibid.*

CATIUS,

CATIUS, an Epicurean Philosopher, whom *Cicero* mentions [A]. *Horace* speaks also of him in one of his Satires, if we believe the Commentators [B]. Mr *le Fevre* confuted them by Arguments, which Mr *Dacier*, his Son-in-law, opposed [C], making use of the Liberty which prevails in the Commonwealth of Learning.

[A] Cicero mentions him.] He says, that *Catius* called *Speſtra* what *Democritus* and *Epicurus* had called εἰδῶλα; whereby they understood the Images, which represent the Objects of the Senses to us, and which the School-men call *Intentional Species*. He says also, that *Catius* had not been long dead, and gives him the Surname of *Infabrer*. These things are found in a Letter (1), which he writ to That *Caius Cassius*, who conspired against *Cæſar*, and who was much addicted to the Epicurean Sect. This Man, thinking that *Cicero* had rallied the Epicureans on their Rusticity, because of those *Speſtra* of *Catius*, answered him (2), that he would quote so many Rustic Stoics, that he would make him confess, that *Catius* was of *Athens*. He adds, that *Catius* was one of the ill Interpreters of *Epicurus's* Words; and, because he says so on occasion of a very grave Sentence of the Head of the Sect, viz. (3) *That a Man cannot live voluptuously, without doing that which is good and just*, he gives us to understand, that *Catius*, explaining the Doctrine of εἰδῶλα very badly by his *Speſtra*, was moreover one of those unworthy Epicureans, who understood of the Voluptuousness of the Body, what their Master meant only of the Joy of the Soul. This is, without doubt, the chief Foundation of those, who will have it, that *Horace* made choice of *Catius*, to set forth divers Kitchen Precepts and Maxims, fit to turn the Parasites and voluptuous Epicureans into Ridicule, *Epicuri de grege porcos*.

[B] Horace ----- likewise, if we believe the Commentators.] If it is an Error to pretend, that the *Catius* of *Cicero*, and the *Catius* of *Horace*, are the same Person, People have been a long time mistaken on that Subject; for we read in the old Interpreters of *Horace*, that That Poet, to laugh at the Epicureans, made use of the Person of *M. Catius* the Epicurean, Author of four Books about the Nature of Things, and the Supreme Good. We find there also, that the same *Catius* boasted in his Work, when he treated of any thing relating to Paffry (4), that he was the Inventor of it: *Hæc primus invenit & cognovit Catius Miltiades*, said he, speaking of himself. It must not be questioned, but that the Author of those four Books is the same, of whom *Quintilian* spoke thus in the first Chapter of the tenth Book of his *Institutions*: *Catius, of the Sect of the Epicureans, is no profound Author; but is however agreeable: In Epicureis levis quidem sed non injucundus tamen autor est Catius*. Neither must it be questioned, but that This Man is the *Catius Insuber* of *Cicero*. The Surname of *Miltiades* might occasion a Difficulty, and determined *Crugnius* to believe, that *Catius Insuber* is not he whom *Horace* laughed at so often. The other Commentators find no Difficulty in it. *Lambinus, Chabot, Fabrini*, &c. pretend, that the Poet speaks of the Epicurean Philosopher *Catius*. *Petrus Viatorius* (5) and *Gassendus* are of the same Opinion. In a word, it was the general Opinion when *M. le Fevre* confuted it.

[C] *Mr le Fevre* *confuted them by Arguments,* which *Mr Dacier* has attacked, &c.] *Mr le Fevre's* (6) chief Reason is, that *Catius*, being dead before *Cicero*, was not living when *Horace* composed the fourth Satire of the second Book. *Mr Dacier* says, that This Proof is very weak, and that we ought to keep to the general Opinion. See here how he argues: 'Because *Catius* was dead, when *Cicero* wrote the sixteenth Letter of the fifteenth Book, must it therefore follow, that he was dead, when *Horace* wrote That Satire? It is certain, that *Cicero's* Letter was written in the fourth Consulate of *Augustus*, in the Year of Rome dccxxiiii. *Horace* was then Thirty fix Years of Age. Why could he not then have wrote That Satire before That Age? There is not the least room to raise a Doubt about it? So that the Passage of *Cicero*, instead of proving what *Mr le Fevre* pretended, serves, on the contrary, to inform us, that That Satire is one of *Ho-*

'rate's Works, which he composed when he was
' yet young, and on this side of Twenty five Years
' of Age (7).'

This is one of those Passages, on which one can hardly believe one's own Eyes, and which might pass for a Prodigy, if one had not experienced what Inattention can do. There are some Geometricians, who, having laboured three or four Hours to rectify a Calculation, and to find out the Cause of their Misreckoning, have found at last, that it proceeded from saying, in multiplying, three times seven is twenty two. It is by a like Inattention that Mr *Dacier* has written in his Copy, and has left in the Printer's Proofs, that *Cicero* wrote to *Cassius* in the Year of *Rome* 722, in the fourth Consulate of *Augustus* *; and consequently it is a Mistake, which concludes nothing against his Capacity, of which he has otherwise given so many Proofs. Every one knows, that *Cicero* perished in the fatal Proscriptions of the Triumvirate in the Year of *Rome* 710. It is not then certain, that the Letter to *Cassius* was written in the fourth Consulate of *Augustus*, in the Year of *Rome* 723: It was in the fourth Consulate of *Julius Caesar*, as is noted in the Summary of That Letter, and probably it was That occasioned the Inattention. However it be, Mr *le Fevre*'s Proof will have some force, if, for this, it be sufficient that *Catius* was dead, when *Horace* composed the fourth Satire of the Second Book: for, since the fourth Consulate of *Julius Caesar* falls in the Year of *Rome* 708, which was the Twentieth of *Horace* more or less, it follows from thence, that, when that Poet was twenty Years of Age, *Catius* was not then living. Now there is little likelihood, that *Horace* composed, at that Age, the Satire in question. I confess it would not be impossible, and it is not without example, that very young Poets have made very good Satires. Perhaps also *Horace* took care to correct that Satire before he published it as we have it; but however, this ought to have been made use of in criticizing Mr *le Fevre*.

There is another much better way of doing it, which is to say, that the Death of *Catius* ought not to hinder *Horace* from making use of the Fiction, or Dialogism, which he used. The Jurisdiction, which Poets have given themselves over Time, is sufficiently known; Antidotes are no shameful Faults in them: So that, if this Epicurean Philosopher was held, at Rome, in the same Repute, which *Montmaur* was in at *Paris*, nothing could hinder *Horace* from making use of him, after his Death, as an Interlocutor in a Poetical Dialogue, to turn Gluttony, and the Parasitical Spirit, which might reign at that time among the false Epicureans, into Ridicule. I do not think, that any Difficulty would have been made, in *France*, to use *Montmaur's* Name in a Satire, Fifteen or Sixteen Years after his Death, in the same manner as That of *Catius* is made use of in *Horace*. Perhaps also This Poet did not pretend, that his Satire should be taken for a seditious Dialogue between *Catius Infelix* and himself, and that he only made choice of That Name, because he was to utter such Thoughts as agreed with that Philosopher (8). This seems to me to be most likely; but, if he had taken it the other way, I do not think he ought to be blamed for it, as *Plato* was for having made use of Interlocutors, some of whom were dead and others living (9). Poets are more privileged in that than Philosophers. All things duly considered, *Cicero's* Passage does not seem a Proof, that *Horace* composed that Satire in his Youth. One would be much mistaken, to pretend, that all those, of whom *Juvenal* speaks in the present Tenue, were yet living (10). *Boileau*, in his tenth Satire, spoke lately of *Robertal*, as of a Man yet living: If Posterity should conclude from thence that *Robertal* was not dead in the Year 1694, they would be much deceived.

Mr le Fevre's other Reasons testify, that he had not taken notice enough, that, in *Catius's* time, generally

(7) Remarks on
Horace, Tom.
VII, pag. 348.

[* Mr Dacier
corrected this
Mistake in the
Edit. of 1704.
REM. CRIT.]

(8) Chiefly if he was the same with *Catius Mil- tiades*, who boasted, in his Writings, of ha- ving enriched the Art of Pastry by his Inven- tions. See above, Citat. (1).

(9) Apud Athenæum, lib. xi. c. xv. p. m. 505, 506. Vide etiam, lib. v, cap. 17, 18, & Macrobius, Saturn. lib. 1, cap. 1.

(10) Alii verò
de Agrippina
Claudii uxore (in
qua opinione &
nos sumus) in-
telligi volunt
quæ, ut scribit
Tranquillus, ma-
ritum medicato
fufultit boleto
post adoptatus
Neronem, nam
Pocita ita plerum-
que de mortuis
loquitur ac si vi-
verent præfen-
tesque eflent; ut
de Crifpino, Ma-
rio Priſco, Ma-
thone caufidico.
Britannicus in
Juven. Sat. 1,
ver. 60.

W H E T H E R
Horace himself,
an Epicurean,
could laugh at
his Brethren.

(1) It is the
16th of the 15th
Book, *ad Fami-
liarē*.

(2) This Answer is the 19th Letter of the same Book. *Lambinus*, in *Horat. Sat. 4, lib. 2*, ought not to have attributed this second Passage, concerning *Catius*, to *Cicero*, as he has done.

(3) Օ՛րս է՛լ ար
նո՛րեմբ քա՛ղաք ԴԻ
քա՛ղաք և քա՛ղ Ե՛-
րևան է՛լ քա՛ղ.

(4) Mr Dacier, pag. 365, of the seventh Tome, translates the old Commentator (and it may be he is in the right,) as if he had said, that *Catius had wrote a Book of Pastry-works : wherein he said, speaking of some kind of Cake, I have invented it ; I have brought it into use ;* but the other Explication seems more literal ; for this is the Latin of it, according to the Edition of Cruquius, pag. 460.

(5) In Cicero.
Epist. 16. lib.
25. ad Famil.

(6) Tanaquillus
Faber, Epist.
57. lib. 2.

Learning [D]. *Gassendus* deserves a little Censure here [E]. *Costar* deserves it no less [F]; *Glandorp* has committed another Mistake [G]; and I would not war-

nerally speaking, the Epicureans were ridiculed on the account of good Cheer; without any regard being had either to the Frugality of *Epicurus*, or to the Purity of his true Maxims. The Irregularity of divers Epicureans drew this Blame on the whole Sect; and it must not be imagined, under pretence, that *Horace* and his Friends followed the same Sect, that he would spare those, who disgraced it, and thereby lose the occasion of making use of his Jest and Railleries. A Satirist is too eager, to neglect such Advantages. Do we not see, at this present time, that the true *Cartesians* are the first, who cry out against those, who have built Chimeras on Mr *Des Cartes*'s Principles, though those Chimeras be not prejudicial to good Manners, as the false Interpretations of *Epicurus*'s Doctrine were, which became thereby actually and justly more exposed to the Strokes of censuring Writers? Who would believe, that *Boileau*, if he were of Mr *Des Cartes*'s Sect, as perhaps he is, would abstain on that account from jesting upon it in a Satire, and from shooting Darts at it sometimes, even when he should find himself in a way to utter good Thoughts, and it should happen, that the Abuse should be carried so far as to bafe and infamous Practices? *Credat Judæus Apella*.

But if Mr *le Fevre* has not proved, that the Fourth Satire of the Second Book of *Horace* does not concern the Epicureans in general, and the Philosopher *Catius* in particular, he teaches us at least, by the Passage of *Cicero* concerning the Death of That *Catius*, that the ancient and modern Interpreters of *Horace* have not rightly apprehended in what manner *Catius* is introduced there. Doubtless, they believed, that he lived at the time, when the Satire was published, and that the Poet's Intention was, that his Narrative should be taken for a real Fact, I mean for a real Conversation with That Philosopher. But, as it is very likely that *Catius* was dead, when *Horace* made That Satire, it must not be imagined, that he gave it as a true Dialogue with the deceased; he only feigned a Person, who was called *Catius*, which was sufficient for him.

[D] — making use of the Liberty, which prevails in the Common-Wealth of Learning.] This Common-Wealth is a State extremely free. The Empire of Truth and Reason is only acknowledged in it; and under their Protection an innocent War is waged against any one whatever. Friends ought to be on their Guard, there, against their Friends, Fathers against their Children, Fathers-in-law against their Sons-in-law, as in the Iron Age.

— non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non focer à genero (11).

No Rights of Hospitality remain,
The Guest by him, who barbour'd him, is slain.
The Son-in-law pursues his Father's Life, &c.

DRYDEN.

Every body, there, is both Sovereign and under every-body's Jurisdiction. The Laws of the Society have done no Prejudice to the Independency of the State of Nature, as to Error and Ignorance: in that respect, every particular Man has the Right of the Sword, and may exercise it without asking leave of those who govern. It is very easy to know why the sovereign Power ought to leave every one at liberty to write against Authors, who are mistaken, but not to publish Satires. It is because Satires divest a Man of his Reputation, which is a kind of civil Homicide (12), and consequently a Punishment, which ought only to be inflicted by the Sovereign; but the criticizing of a Book tends only to shew, that an Author has not such and such a degree of Knowledge. Now as he may enjoy all the Rights, and all the Privileges, of the Society, with this Defect of Knowledge, without his Reputation of an honest Man and a good Subject of the Common-Wealth receiving the least Blemish by it; no Usurpation is made on the Majesty of the State, in shewing the public the Faults, which are in a Book. It is true, the Reputation of being a learned Man,

VOL. II.

which an Author has acquired, is, sometimes, diminished thereby, as also the pecuniary Profit, which he drew from it: but if it be done in Support of the Cause of Reason, and for the Interest of Truth only, and in a civil manner, no Body ought to find Fault with it (13). Such Critics have nothing in common with the Writers of diffamatory Libels; they advance nothing without Proof; they are both Witnesses and Accusers, exposed to the Punishment of Retaliation; they run the same hazard they make others run; but a Libeller hides himself, that he may not be obliged to prove what he publishes, and that he may do evil without being answerable for it. So that natural Justice requires, that every Member of the Common-Wealth should preserve his Independency as to the Refutation of Authors, without any regard to the Relation of Father, Father-in-law, Husband, Brother, &c. We have several Instances of it: *Joseph Scaliger*, and *Isaac Vossius*, have not spared their Fathers Opinions; and we see that Mr *Bernoulli*, Professor at *Basil*, and Mr *Bernoulli*, Professor at *Groningen*, do not spare each other, notwithstanding their being Brothers (14).

[E] *Gassendus* deserves a little Censure here.] He observes, that *Horace*'s calling *Catius* *Insuber* a learned Man, is a thing very honourable to his Memory (15); but, if he had consulted the place well, he would have seen, that it was meer Irony, and that *Horace* is so far from being fit to be cited in favour of *Catius*'s Learning, that, on the contrary, his Testimony can only serve to make that Philosopher ridiculous. It is not many Years ago, that a *Cartesian* having said in his Conferences, that this Proposition *Two and Two make Four* admits of no Difficulty, found himself soon after crowned with the praise of a learned Man for that Thought. *Two and Two make Four*, said one of the Company, as Mr *sub an one* has learnedly observed. If the Acts of that Conference were public, I would rather make use of them to prove, that this Philosopher had been called *learned*, than to alledge, as *Gassendus* did, the *Doctæ Cati* of *Horace*'s Satire, in honour to the Memory of *Catius Insuber*. It had been better not to have passed over in Silence the four Books he had written *De rerum natura* & *de summo bono*.

Permit me to observe by the way, that there are so many Citations in the Writings of *Gassendus*, that it must not be wondered at, if they are not all right, since his main Design consisted in something else, *viz.* Philosophical Doctrines. It may be affirmed, that he was the most excellent Philosopher among the Humanists, and the most learned Humanist among Philosophers: *Philosophorum literatissimus, litteratorum maxime Philosophus*. Those who took care of the Edition of his Works, after his Death, had not patience enough; from whence it happened, that they have very often misplaced the Citations. For example, in the Fifteenth Page of the first Volume, they cite *Terence* in *Andr.* over against a Passage of *Perfius*; whereas they ought to have placed the Citation three or four Lines higher, where the Author had quoted a Passage of *Terence*.

[F] *Costar* deserves it no less.] There are his Words: 'Is *Catius*, who discourses in *Horace* * so seriously and gravely about Cookery, a less polite * Author for it, and has he lost any thing of his * esteem (16)?' The least School-Boy, who had read That place of *Horace* with a little Attention, would answer *yes* to this Question of *Costar*, since it is plain, that the *Catius* of *Horace* is a Person, who is turned into ridicule. I do not know why Mr *de Girac* took no notice of this Fault of his Adversary.

[G] *Glandorp* has committed another Mistake.] Having spoken of *Catius Celsus*, Pretor in the Consulship of *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus*, which was in the Year of Rome 688, he adds, that there was another *Catius* before him (17): it is he, who makes the subject of this Article; for *Glandorp* attributes to him what *Quintilian* and *Cicero* say of *Catius* the Epicurean; nay, and he pretends, that it is of him that *Horace* spoke in the Fourth Satire of the Second Book. How then could he imagine him anterior to

5 F

Catius

(13) The Abbot de St Real has said something against this Thesis, in his Book entitled *de la Critique*: It would be easy to refute him.

(14) See the *Journal of the Learned*, 1693.

(15) *Gassend. de vita & moribus Epicuri*, lib. 2, cap. 6.

(11) Ovid. Metam. lib. 1, ver. 244.

(12) See the Dissertation on diffamatory Libels, at the end of this Dictionary.

* Sat. iv, lib. ii.

(16) *Costar*, Continuation of the Defence of *Voltaire*, pag. 423.

(17) *Glandorp. Onomast.* pag. 211.

rant, on Chabot's Authority, that *Catius* taught *Virgil* Epicureism [H]. A particular Reason engages me to insert, in this Article, a Mistake of *Scaliger*, in relation to the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, of which I spoke in the Project of this Work [I].

Catius Celsus? It must be, that he neither thought on the common Opinion, that he, of whom *Horace* speaks, was then yet living; nor on the Passage of *Cicero*, which informs us, that *Catius Infaber* died a little before the Year of *Rome* 708.

[H] *I would not warrant, on the Authority of Chabot, that Catius taught Virgil Epicureism.* If I should be asked, from whence *Chabot* (18) had it, that *Virgil* relished Epicureism by the means of our *Catius*, born at *Milan*, I believe I might answer, without any Mistake, that it is out of the Commentary of *Joseph Scaliger* on the *Catalesta* of *Virgil*; but, for all that, I should not be the more certain of the Fact, since That great Critic gives no good reason for it. I find indeed in *Servius* (19), that *Virgil* and *Varus* had learned Philosophy under *Siron* (20): but nothing at all of *Catius*: and besides, all the *Insubrians* were not of *Milan*.

(18) In *Horat.* Sat. 4, lib. 2.

(19) In *Eclog.* vi, *Virgili.*

(20) *Scaliger* and *Chabot* call him *Siron*, and say that *Virgil* was his Disciple at *Milan*.

[I] *A Fault of Scaliger* — of which I have spoken in the Project of this Work. I had resolved to suppress this Remark, since I could not insert it in its natural place, which was the Article of the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, which I do not give in this Edition: I say, I had resolved on it, when a particular Reason made me take other Measures. I will explain what it is; but first of all I shall set down the Remark, as it is found in the Project of this Dictionary.

REMARK on the Effect of Inattention. *Scaliger* quoted for an Example.

(21) *Scaliger*. *Animadvers.* in *Chron. Eusebii*, pag. 138, Edit. 1658.

(22) History of the World, Tom. IV, pag. 20, Edit. of *Holland*, 1687, and pag. 310, Edit. of *Holl.* 1693.

The great *Scaliger*, who exercised himself oftner in the Rules of Arithmetic, than any Banker or Financier, fell doublets into such an Inattention, when he computed the weight of the famous *Colossus* of *Rhodes*. He found by his Calculation, that, since the Merchant, who bought the pieces of That *Colossus*, loaded Nine hundred Camels with them, the weight thereof amounted to Seven hundred twenty thousand Pounds, or to One hundred and forty four Quintals (21): for, says he, the Burthen of a Camel is double to That of a Mule, and contains Eight hundred Pounds. By the Rule of Multiplication it is easy to averr, that Nine hundred Camels, each of them loaded with Eight hundred Pounds, carry Seven hundred twenty thousand weight; but to find that One hundred and forty four Quintals are equivalent to Seven hundred twenty thousand weight, Five thousand must be taken for an hundred in multiplying: that is to say, one must have forgot, that a Quintal is but an hundred Pound weight, and take it to be five thousand Pounds weight. A great Wit will sooner fall into these Mistakes than an indifferent one, and does not deserve any Insult for it. Therefore the Harshness of *Leo Allatius*, who has reproved this Error in Multiplication with very injurious Words, is but little excusable. Mr *Chevreaux* takes him to task roundly for it (22): He ought to be thanked for it; but he will give me leave to say, that, since he believed, that *Scaliger* reckons nine hundred Pounds for the loading of a Camel, he should not have overlooked, as he has done, this Mistake of *Scaliger*, viz. that the loading of nine hundred Camels make but Seven hundred and twenty thousand Pound weight. After being mistaken in setting down Nine hundred instead of Eight hundred, he ought to have found a Mistake in That Sum of Pounds, and not be satisfied with finding one in the Equivalency, which *Scaliger* has put between That same Sum and One hundred and forty four Quintals. He had erred consistently, which is a sort of exactness not to be despised. Mr *Chevreaux* believes, that this Passage was misprinted, and consequently he would not have it serve for the use, to which I employ it here, that is to say, as an Example of the Effect of Inattention.

I have inserted in this place this Passage relating to the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, for the sake of those, who might have objected to me, that I suppose, without reason, that it is sometimes said, in multiplying, three times seven is twenty two. The cause

that I assign of this small Mistake of *Scaliger*, seems to me to be so much the more likely, because I find no ground for a Conjecture, which might at first present itself to the mind; which is, that perhaps the Quintal, of which he speaks, and which is That of *Guienne* and of *Spain*, weighed five thousand Pounds (23): but some Persons, who have informed themselves well of the matter, have assured me, that no such Quintal is known either in *Guienne* or in *Spain*.

This is what I said in my *Project*. I would not have repeated it in this Article, if Mr *Chauwin*, a Minister of *Rotterdam*, had not communicated a Memorial to me, sent from *London*, containing some critical Remarks on my *Project*. They were sent to be inserted in his new Journal of the Learned, published at *Rotterdam*. I cannot tell whether he will do it or not: I have desired him to do it, and to add my Answer to those Remarks (24). One of these Remarks contains a Conjecture, much more probable than mine, of the Cause of *Scaliger's* Error. I am very glad that the Public gains by it; and I am not ashamed that another has guessed better than myself. Here is the Passage of the Memorial.

I believe it may be conjectured how the great *Scaliger* mistook in the Calculation he made of the weight of the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, the Pieces whereof were the Loading of Nine hundred Camels. *Scaliger* values each Loading at Eight hundred Pound weight, which is, according to him, the double Load of a Mule, and whereof the total amounts to Seven hundred and twenty thousand Pound weight, which he reduces, by an enormous Error, to One hundred and forty four Quintals. Commonly, good Arithmeticians cut off the Cyphers in their Multiplications, which are at the end of the Number they intend to multiply, and of the Multiplier, and multiply only the Figures, to avoid an useless redoubling of the Cyphers. Afterwards they add as many Cyphers to the Product of their Multiplication as they had cut off from the Multiplicand, and from the Multiplier, if it has also any Cyphers. For example, I would know what the Price of 400 Hogheads of Wine amounts to at 90 Livres the Hoghead; I multiply only 9 by 4, which are the Figures of my two Numbers, and which give me the Product 36; to which I add afterwards the three Cyphers, which are in both my Numbers, the Multiplicand and the Multiplier, which makes just 36000 Livres, and is the Price that I would know. Likewise *Scaliger*, having valued every Camel's Loading at the rate of the double Loading of a Mule, at 800 Pound weight, which make just 8 Quintals, and, there being 900 Camels, he multiplied 9 by 8, which produced 72. Now, as it happens often, that those, who calculate, prepossess themselves so much, that sometimes they not only do what they think not of, but likewise the contrary of what they intend to do; *Scaliger*, having the double loading of a Mule for that of a Camel in his Head, instead of adding the two Cyphers, of the multiplied Number 900, to the Number 72, which was the Product, which would have made 7200, which is the just Number of the Quintals, doubled the Product 72, which made 144; such a different Number from 7200, the just Total of the Quintals, that it is impossible to conceive how it could happen otherwise, there being no probability in the Author's Conjecture, who pretends, that *Scaliger*, forgetting, that a Quintal is but an hundred Pounds, counted it at the rate of Five thousand Pounds.

What the Author of the Memoir has been saying, seems to me a very happy Thought, and I do not question but that he guesses at the true Cause of *Scaliger's* Error; an Error, which by this way is no less a strong Proof of the Effect of Distractions, than by the way I have shewed.

(23) Vulgo ut mercatores nostri & Magnarii in Aquitania & Hispania loquuntur (septingenta viginti millia pondi) efficit centum quadraginta quatuor Quintalia. *Scaliger. Animad.* in *Chron. Eusebii*, pag. 138.

(24) Having been invited to *Berlin*, to be Professor of Philosophy, since the first Impression of this Page, he continues his Journal there, and has inserted the Memoir in Question, and my Answers, in it, in the Months of March and April, 1696.

[5] Mr *Chauwin* died at *Berlin*, the 6th of April, 1725, aged 85 Years. REMARK.

CATO the Cenfor. Look for PORCIUS (MARCUS).

CATTHO (ANGELO), Archbishop of Vienne, in the XVth Century, was of Taranto. As he had addicted himself to the Party of Anjou, in the Kingdom of Naples, the Dukes John and Nicolas of Calabria (a), who pretended successively to the Marriage of the only Daughter of Duke Charles of Burgundy — kept him near the said Duke's Person, to negotiate that Marriage on their Part. This Negotiation had no Success; they did not live long, but died soon after one another. After their Death, the Duke of Burgundy, knowing the great Sense and Virtue of Angelo Catto, retained him in his Service, and gave him a Pension. Catto civilly took his leave of him after the Battle of Morat, and retired to the Court of Lewis XI (b), where he was well received; and the Dignity of the King's Almoner was conferred upon him, and afterwards the Archbishopric of Vienne. Some say he served Lewis XI as a Physician and Astrologer [A]. He was a Person of a good Life, great Literature, and Modesty, and very learned in Mathematics (c). — He died, having lived holily and austerely, and lies in his Church of Vienne (d). A strict Friendship was formed between him and Philip de Comines, whilst they were at the Duke of Burgundy's Court; and it continued whilst they were in the Service of Lewis XI (e). It was at the Solicitation of Angelo Catto, that Philip de Comines wrote the Memoirs which we have of his composing. He declares so in his first Lines, and addresses his Discourse to him in several Places of his Work, which he does sometimes, to praise him for having foretold things to come, a long time before they came to pass [B]. Some surprizing Particulars are told of This Person's Gift of Prophecy [C], and which might afford Matter for many Reflexions. I must take notice

(a) They were Heirs of the House of Anjou, and had great Right to the Kingdom of Naples.

(b) Taken from a Discourse at the beginning of the Proofs and Illustrations of the Memoirs of Philip de Comines.

(c) Ibid. pag. 3.

(d) Ibid. pag. 9.

(e) Ibid. pag. 5.

[A] Some say, that he served Lewis XI, as a Physician and Astrologer. Peter Matthieu, having written, that That Prince, being fallen into a fainting Fit, was so speedily assisted by the Lord du Bouchage, who was his Physician, and afterwards Archbishop of Vienne, that, after having taken a Clyster, he recovered, advertises us, in the Index, that we must put out the Name of du Bouchage, and read Angelo Catto (1). When he speaks of the Astrologers, which Lewis XI employed, and had an Esteem for, he expresses himself thus (2): 'But he had chiefly a great Esteem for Angelo Catto, a Neapolitan, who came into France with the Prince of Taranto, and had foretold to the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Guelderland, their Misfortunes. The King gave him the Archbishopric of Vienne, on which he could not refuse, by reason of the great Disturbances he met with from those of Dauphiné, and was forced to retire to Rome (3). Naudé says the same Thing (4), and quotes the Life of Angelo Catto, composed by Sleidan (5). I shall quote Claudius Robert below, who assures us, that our Catto was Physician to Lewis XI. Let us hold this for certain: for Philip de Comines mentions it. You came there, says he (6), speaking of a Sickness of Lewis XI, immediately, my Lord of Vienne, you who was then his Physician. I do not think, that Peter Matthieu is in the right, when he says, that Catto came into France with the Prince of Taranto; for it appears plainly by Philip de Comines (7), that That Prince left the Duke of Burgundy, to come to Lewis XI, the Eve before the Battle of Morat, and that Angelo Catto was with That Duke after the Loss of That Battle. The Historian, having spoken of the Duke of Burgundy's Affliction, after the Misfortune of That Day, does he not speak thus? 'And this, my Lord of Vienne, you know better than myself, as being the Person, who helped him to drive away his Melancholy, and caused his Beard to be shaved, which he had let grow (8). I cannot tell whether we may believe what Don Juan Vitrian says, that Angelo Catto took refuge in France, with John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, and that, after That Duke's Death, and That of his Son Nicolas of Anjou, he put himself into the Service of the Duke of Burgundy (9).

[B] Comines — sometimes praises him for having foretold Things to come. He relates, that Dom Frederic of Arragon, Prince of Taranto (10), who had been a Year with the Duke of Burgundy, in hopes of marrying his Daughter, was disgusted with the Delays, and took leave of That Duke, the Evening before the Battle of Morat. — Some say, continues he, that he made use of your Advice, my Lord of Vienne; for I have heard him say so, when he came to the King, and also the Duke of

Ascoly, called Count Julio, and divers others, and that you wrote, and said, in Italy, what would happen in the first and second Battle, several Days before they were fought (11). See here how he speaks to him in another Place. 'King A'phonfus — had a Son, who was a fine Man, whose Name was Don Ferrand, aged Twenty two or Twenty three Years, bearing Arms also, and well beloved in That Kingdom; and a Brother, called Don Frederic, since King, after Ferrand, in our Time, a wise Man, who commanded their Naval Forces, having been educated a long time in these Parts, of whom you, my Lord of Vienne, have many times assured me, by Astrology, that he should be King; and he promised me, from that time, Four thousand Livres, yearly Revenue, in the said Kingdom, if it should so happen to him: And That Promise was made Twenty Years before it came to pass (12).

[C] They relate some surprizing Particulars of his Gift of Prophecy. There is a Summary of the Life of Angelo Catto, prefixed to the Pieces, which serve for Proofs and Illustrations to the Memoirs of Philip de Comines. That Summary was found among the Papers of an ancient Man, studious and curious of History; He, who composed it, declares, that he relates there what had been collected and heard concerning him (13), by the Report of three Persons of great Credit, Prudence, and Authority (14). You will find these Words there (15): 'Being in the Service of King Lewis — happened the third Battle, fought at Nancy, in which the said Duke was killed, the Eve of the Epiphany, in the Year 1476; and, at the Hour that the said Battle was given, and at the same Instant that the Duke was killed (16), the said King Lewis heard Mass in the Church of St Martin at Tours, at least ten Days Journey distant from the said Place of Nancy; and, at the said Mass, the said Archbishop of Vienne served him as Almoner, who, giving the Pax to the said Lord, said these following Words to him: 'Sir, God give you Peace and Rest: You have both if you please, quia consummatum est: Your Enemy, the Duke of Burgundy, is just now killed, and his Army defeated. Which Hour, being set down, was found to be the same Hour, wherein the said Duke was really killed. And the said Lord, hearing these Words, was greatly astonished, and asked the Archbishop, whether what he said was true, and how he knew it. To which the Archbishop answered, that he knew it, as the other Things, which our Lord had permitted him to foretell to him, and to the late Duke of Burgundy: and, without any more Words, the said Lord made a Vow to God, and to St Martin, that, if the News he told was true, (as it proved effectually

(11) Philip de Comines, Book 5, cap. 3, pag. m. 266. ad Ann. 1476.

(12) Id. lib. 7, cap. 4, pag. 437, ad Ann. 1494.

(13) That is to say, of Angelo Catto.

(14) They are first John Francis de Cardonne, Lord de la Foiey, the King's Secretary, second Brignonnet, second President of the Accounts at Paris, 3. Renaldo d'Albano, a Neapolitan Gentleman.

(15) Summary of the Life of Angelo Catto, p. 4.

(16) Peter Matthieu, History of Lewis XI, Book 7, pag. m. 302, says, that it was the next Day after the Battle, that the Archbishop of Vienne told the King the News in presenting the Pax to him.

(1) Peter Matthieu, History of Lewis XI, Book X, circa init. pag. m. 522, ad Ann. 1480.

(2) Id. ibid. lib. II, pag. 729.

(3) See Remark [D], at the end.

(4) Naudé's Additions to the History of Lewis XI, pag. 119.

(5) He has placed it before his Latin Translation of Philip de Comines.

(6) Philip de Comines, lib. 6, cap. 7, pag. m. 377, ad Ann. 1480.

(7) Id. lib. 5, cap. 3, pag. 268.

(8) Id. ibid. cap. v, pag. 275.

(9) Juan Vitrian's preliminary Notes on Philip de Comines.

(10) He was the Son of Ferdinand King of Naples.

notice of some Faults of Mr *Moreri* [D], and of Dr *Nicolo Toppi* [E], and of Mr *Varillas* [F].

fectually soon after) he would cause the Bars of St Martin's Shrine (which were of Iron) to be made all of Silver: Which Vow the said Lord performed afterwards, and caused the said Grate to be made, to the Value of an Hundred thousand Livres, or thereabouts.' See two other Predictions: 'Angelo Cattbo met, one Morning very early, Messire William Brignonnet — General of Languedoc, who was going to Lewis XI, to Plessis at Tours. Having been some time without speaking, and looking up to Heaven, and then on the said General, he said at last these Words to him: General, I have told you many times, that the passing and frequenting of Waters is dangerous for you, and that, some time or other, it would prove very dangerous to you, and perhaps the Cause of your Death: I come from du Plessis, where you are going; the Waters are out at Pont-Sainte-Ann, the Bridge is broke; and there is a bad Boat: if you believe me, you will not go thither. Nevertheless the General would not believe him, but went on: and, indeed, he was in the greatest danger in the World of being drowned; for he fell into the Water, and, if he had not taken hold of a Willow-Tree, he had been lost: He was carried back to his House, where he lay a long time sick, as well through the Fright, as the great Quantity of Water, which had got into his Body through his Mouth, Nose, and Ears (17).' In That Sickness, he was visited by Angelo Cattbo, who said, one Day, to him, you will make a great Figure in the Church, and be very near being Pope. Brignonnet was married to Raoullette de Beaune, a young Woman, who had already brought him some Children, and who was not very well pleased with the Prediction; 'For it was as much as to say, that she should should die first (a Thing, which Women do not willingly love to hear): nevertheless the said Lady lived a long time after, and had several Children, and, for that Reason, she, and divers others, said often, that the said Archbishop did not always say true: But, at last, she went off first, and the said General, her Husband, survived her, who lived a long time a Widower without talking

(17) Summary of the Life of Ang. Cattbo, pag. 5, 6.

(18) Ibid. pag. 7. 'of becoming a Churchman (18);' but, at last, having followed Charles VIII to the Conquest of Naples, 'he was made a Churchman at Rome, Bishop of St. Malo, and Abbot of St. Germain des Prez, and then Cardinal, and afterwards Archbishop of Reims, and of Narbonne, and had some Votes in the Election of a Pope, after the Death of Alexander VI (19).' Some Authors report, that Angelo Cattbo foretold to Bajazet's Brother, 'That one of the greatest Kings of Christendom should endeavour to re-establish him; but that it would be without any Effect, and that he had much more reason to fear his private, than his public, Enemies: that he had no need to fear the Sword or the Bowstring; that his Fate was occult, and that his Death was hid (20).' This Brother of Bajazet fled at first to the Island of Rhodes, from whence he passed into France, where he lived some Years. He was afterwards sent to Rome, to be kept by Innocent VIII. He lived there till the Year

(20) Recolles's Life of Sultan Gemes, p. 112.

(21) Taken from the same Life, pag. 176, & seq. him (21).

These are things, which nonpluss Philosophy; for there is no good System to be invented, which can account for them. And therefore most Philosophers deny the Facts of this Nature, which are so frequent in Books, and yet more frequent in common Discourse. But it must be owned, that the denying of all these Things has it's Inconveniences, and does not satisfy the Minds of those, who weigh exactly the Reasons *pro* and *con*. The Reason of a Christian Philosopher will, without any Difficulty, admit the Supposition, that God communicates to some Persons the Quality of a Prophet, when it is requisite to establish or confirm the Truths of great Importance to Salvation, or to stop the over-flowing of Sin, or to strike some very great Blow, necessary for the Good of the Church. If Angelo Cattbo had been in Circumstances of this Nature, it might be comprehended, that God had raised him up to Prophecy; but that was a Courtier, who laboured only to nego-

tiate an advantageous Marriage, according to the World, for his Masters, or to settle himself in a good Post; he was moreover one, who pretended to Astrology. Now nothing seems more unworthy of God, than to reveal Things to come to an Astrologer; I mean, to reward the most impertinent and chimerical Study with so exquisite a Favour. If a Devil, or any disorderly Spirit, should reveal Things to come to Calculators of Nativities, and Makers of Figures of Geomancy (22), such things might be comprehended; for, since he is criminal, nothing hinders him from being capricious and fanciful, and from directing his Conduct by Puerilities, the better to make a Mock at Things. But besides, can a created Spirit see, that, in twenty Years, the Husband of a young Wife shall be a Cardinal? To predict this, must he not know the Series of an almost infinite number of corporeal and spiritual Motions? Can the Knowledge of a Creature contain so many Things at once? And, if it contains them, there is no Free-Will: All the Thoughts of Man are linked, with a natural and indissoluble Tie, to the Tail of each other. These are then Abysses, wherein a Philosopher's Reason cannot but lose itself; it chooses rather to deny whatsoever is said of Predictions; an inconvenient Resource! for who can think, that Philip de Comines would tell a Lie, in affirming, that Angelo Cattbo had told him several times, that Frederic of Arragon should be King, twenty Years before the Event?

I do not deny, but that there is reason to place most of the Stories, which are spread about Predictions, in the Rank of Fables; for it must be owned, that they, who cry them up with the greatest Confidence, have too much neglected to guard against an incredulous Reasoner: They seldom speak of Predictions till after the Event; they take no care to prove them according to judicial Forms: they do not strengthen them with the Authority of an incontestable Monument. Now, as they neglect this, on Occasions, where it would be most easy to oppose an impenetrable Buckler against the Strokes of Incredulity, they ought not to wonder, that their Relations are called in question. One of Those Occasions is the Mais, at which they pretend, that Angelo Cattbo declared to the King the Death of the Duke of Burgundy: They ought to have presented a Petition to That Monarch, to request him most humbly to declare, to his whole Council, what Angelo Cattbo had said to him, and order his Chancellor to draw up an Act of it, which should be inserted in the Archives of the Crown, and among the Records of the Parliaments of the Kingdom. They should have exhorted him to cause some Columns to be erected, with an Inscription, containing the Fact, or to desire him, at least, to cause it to be engraven on the Bars of the Shrine of St Martin, since, in consequence of such a Prophecy, he had vowed a Silver Grate for That Shrine, and had accomplished his Vow. What could incredulous Men have said in such a Case? And what could they have opposed against such cotemporary and authentic Monuments? But, without taking such Measures, if This Adventure had been true, it would have maintained itself against Incredulity. Lewis XI would have told it an hundred times at Table, and before the Embassadors of Princes; and so there would have been some Writings, which would testify, that it came from his Mouth. I am certain, that the Records of St Martin's Church would have contained an Act about it, if it were true, that That Prince had caused a Silver Grate to be made, in Performance of his Vow. Since, then, This Adventure is only supported by the Witnesses of an anonymous Writer (23), who declares, that he does not relate any thing of Angelo Cattbo, but what he heard three Persons say, we may reasonably reject it. Besides, since Philip de Comines does not speak of it, we have reason to decide, that it is a Fable. It is impossible, that he should have been ignorant of That Dialogue between his Friend and Lewis XI, and that, having known it, he should have said nothing of it in his Memoirs, wherein he speaks of some other Predictions of Angelo Cattbo of less Importance than That. His Silence is a negative Argument, which is, in this Case, a good Demonstration, or, at least, of quite another

(22) I have said, in the Remark [D], of the Article RUGGIERI, that, if Astrology be a means of divining, it is necessarily a Part of Magic.

(23) The Author of the above-quoted Summary of the Life of Cattbo.

Weight, than the Affirmation of three Persons named by the anonymous Author. Observe, that the anonymous Author does not say, that those three Persons gave Testimony about that Dialogue; so that it may be pretended, that he heard it but from one of them. Now, when the chief of the three Predictions is a Fable, the other two may be rejected; and so the Author of the Summary cannot reasonably cure any Body of the Spirit of Unbelief.

(24) Amyraut, Of the Elevation of Faith, and the Abatement of Reason, p. 258, 259.

Note, that Mr Amyraut has made use of These three Facts, to shew, that Things to come may be foretold, without being a Prophet (24). His Design is to answer this Argument of the Catholics: There have been some Doctors in the Roman Communion, who have foretold Things to come: It is, then, the true Church, since GOD preserves the Gift of Prophecy in it.

[D] I shall take notice of some Faults of Mr Moreri. I. He says, that Angelo Cattho was born at Benevento; but those, who might very well know the thing, make him a Native of Taranto. II. He makes him Great Almoner of France; but he ought to have known, that That Title did not begin but in the Person of Cardinal de Meudon, in the Reign of

(25) See du Perron's Antiquities of the King's Chapel, Book I, chap. lxi.

(26) Id. ibid.

(27) Claudius Robertus, in Gallia Christiana, pag. 182, in Catal. Praeful. Viennens. n. 60, apud Dionys. Gothofred. in the Proofs and Illustrations of Phil. de Comines, pag. m. 10.

(28) Matthieu, above, Remark [A], Citat. (1).

(29) Nicolo Toppi, Biblioteca Napoletana, pag. 27.

(30) Quintus, according to Pliny, lib. 37, cap. 6.

(31) De Poët. Dial. x.

Francis I (25). Before That Time they used the Title of the King's Great Almoner; and this very Title was unknown in the Time of Lewis XI; It began to take place in the Person of Godfrey de Pompadour, Bishop of Perigueux under Charles VIII (26). III. Claudius Robertus informs us, That Angelo Cattho was buried in his Metropolitan Church. See his Words here: 'Angelus Cato Tarentinus, ex Medico & Eleemosynario Ludovici XI. cujus suavis scriptis commentarios rerum Francicarum Philippus Comineus. Jacet in sua Metropoli. Ejus erat symbolum: ingenium superat vires (27). — Angelo Cattho of Taranto, formerly Physician and Almoner to Lewis XI, by whose Persuasion Philip de Comines wrote an History of the French Affairs. He lies buried in his Metropolis. His Motto was; Ingenium superat vires — The Abilities of the Mind are superior to Those of the Body.' This makes me question what Mr Moreri says; That, in 1494, he went to Benevento, and that he died there, in 1497. We have seen, that another Author (28) affirms, That he was obliged to retire to Rome. This is doubtful. As for Mr Moreri's Omissions, they may be known by comparing his Article with mine.

[E] — And of Dr Nicolo Toppi. He speaks of an Angelo Catone of Benevento, and of an Angelo Catone of Taranto. The first, says he, was very well versed in all Sciences, and for that reason most dear to Charles VIII. His Merit, and that Monarch's Favour, raised him to the Archbishopric of Vienne. The second was Physician and Almoner to Lewis XI, who engaged him to write li *Commentarii delle cose di Francia*, — An History of the French Affairs; as Philip de Comines informs us, quoted by Claudius Robertus, pag. 182 of the *Gallia Christiana* (29). It is plain that the Author of the *Biblioteca Napoletana* has split one Author into two; for the same Angelo Cattho, who was Physician and Almoner of Lewis XI, was Archbishop of Vienne; and That was before Charles VIII ascended the Throne: It is false, that he wrote a Book at the Solicitation of Lewis XI, and that Philip de Comines speaks of it, and that Claudius Robertus alleges Comines for a Proof of such a Thing. How much are Matters of Fact altered, when the Words of an Author are wrong understood! Yet

those of Claudius Robertus are very intelligible. Nicodemo has not criticised Nicolo Toppi upon it.

[F] — And of Mr Varillas. See here what he says (30): 'The Favourers of Judiciary Astrology triumph here upon the Credit of Philip de Comines, who reports, That the famous Angelo Cattho had taken Part with the Duke of Burgundy; either because he had at first preferred That Prince to the King of France, or because he had only followed the Example of other learned Persons of his Time, who were wont to go and seek their Fortune in the Netherlands, for the only reason, that they made it there with more ease, than elsewhere. He continued That Duke's Domestic, till, having exactly cast his Horoscope, he foresaw, that he should die in a pitch'd Battle. From that Time he sought an Occasion to leave him as decently as he could; and, having found it after the Battle of Morat, he laid hold of it, as a Man of Understanding. He made his Treaty before-hand with Lewis XI; who was not contented to honour him with his Confidence; but his Majesty gave him also the Archbishopric of Vienne, and kept him nevertheless at his Court. He said Mass before him in the Church of St Martin of Tours, at the same time when they fought at Nancy; and, when he gave him the Cover of the Chalice to kiss, he said to him: Sir, GOD gives you Peace (31). There are divers Faults in this Narration. I. The Favourers of Judiciary Astrology cannot make any Advantage of what Cattho said to Lewis XI, during the Mass, at the Moment that Duke Charles was killed; for it is plain, that he did not know by Astrology what passed at that time near Nancy. II. It is not true, That Astrologers take Advantage of this, on the Credit of Philip de Comines. How should they do it, since he says nothing of it? III. It is not true, that the learned Persons of Italy, or other Places, were wont to go and seek their Fortune in the Netherlands. IV. Nor that they did it there with more ease than elsewhere. Can any Examples be given of it? Had it not been better to have said, That Angelo Cattho was left with the Duke of Burgundy, to negotiate his Master the Duke of Calabria's Marriage? This was what engaged him first at That Court. V. It is not to be found in the Summary of his Life, that he foresaw, by the Horoscope, that the Duke should die fighting in a pitch'd Battle. This is only to be found there; 'After the Battle of Morat, knowing the Obstinacy of the said Duke, and, it may be, the Misfortunes, which were to befall him and his Family, he civilly took leave of him (32). What a wide Difference is there between this, and what Mr Varillas reports! How enormous is it! The worst is, that Philip de Comines, the Author cited by him, does not so much as advance the Conjecture, which we have just now seen. VI. It is not true, that Angelo Cattho was Archbishop of Vienne, when Duke Charles was killed.

The Spanish Author (33), who commented on Philip de Comines's Memoirs, says, That Angelo Cattho, having conjectured or divined the Death of the Duke of Burgundy, passed into the King of France's Service, a little before it happened, and foretold That Monarch the Loss of That Duke's Battles. This is not exact; for, from the time that This Astrologer was with Lewis XI, the Duke lost but one Battle. I forbear to say, that That Author is too modern, to be believed, when he speaks, without quoting Authorities.

(30) Varillas's History of Lewis XI, Book vii, pag. 150, Edit. of Holland.

(31) The Author relates the Sequel of the Discourse. See it above, Remark [C], Citat. (1), towards the middle.

(32) Summary of the Life of Angelo Cattho, pag. 4.

(33) Juan. Vi-

CATULLUS (CAIUS (a) VALERIUS), a Roman Poet, was born at Verona [A], in the 666th Year of Rome (b). The Beauty of his Verses procured him the Friendship and Consideration of the Learned, and of the fine Wits, who

were

[A] He was born at Verona. St Jerom does not believe what Mr Moreri attributes to him, That our Poet was born in the Peninsula of Sirmio (He does not say so in the least, but names Verona positively); much less has he placed his Birth in the CLXXth Olympiad. Moreri was deceived by these Words of Giraldu (1): 'Natus quidem in Peninsula Sirmione lacus Benaci in agro Veronensi, ut ipsemet ad ipsam Sirmionem cecinit, Olympiade

VOL. II.

ciriter CLXX. ut Hieronymus ex Chronicis Eusebii observat. — Born indeed in the Peninsula Sirmio of the Lake Benacus, near Verona, as he himself declares in Verses to that very Sirmio, about the CLXXth Olympiad, as Jerom, from the Chronicles of Eusebius, observes.' It was easy to perceive two Citations here, and to see, that St Jerom was not alledged for the Place of his Birth.

(b) The second Year of the 175th Olympiad, wherein St Jerom places his Birth, is, according to Calistus, the 666th of Rome.

[B] He

were then at *Rome*, in great Abundance; and, as the ancient *Romans* had not laid down those Rules of Politeness, which at present make those, who compose obscene Verses, and full of bare-faced Debaucheries, fall into public Contempt and Hatred (c), *Catullus* did himself no great harm by the gross Obscenities, and infamous Impurities, with which he poisoned many of his Poems. It is believed (d), that he gave the Name of *Lesbia* to the most famous of his Mistresses, in honour of *Sappho*, who was of the Island of *Lesbos*, and whose Verses pleased him wonderfully. He translated, or imitated, some of them. The true Name of That Mistress was *Clodia* (e). He is very far from the Method of our Poets, who complain always of the Rigour and Insensibility of their fair ones; as for him, he speaks of his *Lesbia*, as of a Woman, who asked him how many Kisses would satisfy him [B], and, which is worse, as of a Woman, who prostituted herself to the first Comer. He composed some satirical Verses against *Cæsar* (f), which served only to shew the Moderation of the offended Person [C]; he was not silent indeed about the heinous Injury he had received from him; but he was contented to oblige the Poet to make him Satisfaction, and the same Day he invited him to Supper. *Suetonius* adds, that *Cæsar* continued to lodge at *Catullus's* Father's House (g); but some learned Men believe, that That Historian did not well observe the Times [D]. All our Poet's Verses are not of an ill Example; in some of them (h), he expresses such inconsolable Grief for the Death of his Brother, as is altogether edifying. He neither made his Fortune by his Verses, nor in his Travels into *Bithynia* with *Memmius* (i), who had obtained the Government of it after his Pretorship. It may easily be known, that he was poor (k). Those who say, that *Furius* and *Aurelius* were his intimate Friends, made but a scurvy Knot of them [E]; for Those two Men

[B] He speaks of his *Lesbia*, as of a Woman, who asked him how many Kisses would satisfy him.] It is in the seventh Epigram;

Quæris, quot mihi basiationes
Tux, Lesbia, sint satis superque?

Lesbia, my Fairest, you require
How many Kisses I desire.

He answers, that he desired as many as there are Grains of Sand in the Deserts of *Lybia*, and Stars in the Heavens. As for this Mistress's prostituting herself, see how he speaks of it:

Cæli, Lesbia nostra, Lesbia illa,
Illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam
Plurquam se, atque suos amavit omnes,
Nunc in quadrivis & angustis
Glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes (2).

Lesbia, my Friend, the beautiful She,
Who more than Life was dear to me,
Now plies in Alleys and in Streets,
And lies with every Man she meets.

It is said, that this filthy Woman was the Sister of the infamous *Clodius*, the great Enemy of *Cicero*. See the Article *METELLUS CELER*, Remark [A], Citat. (3).

[C] His satirical Verses against *Cæsar* served only to shew the Moderation of the offended Person.] I shall set down all that *Suetonius* says of it, whereby it will appear that *Moreri* gave a very erroneous Account of that Action. 'Valerium Catullum, à quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satisfaciendam eadem die adhibuit cœnæ, hospitioque patris ejus sicut confueverat uti perseveravit (3). — Notwithstanding he could not be ignorant, that *Valerius Catullus* had stigmatized him for ever in some Verses concerning *Mamurra*, yet he the same Day invited him to an Entertainment, and continued to lodge with his Father, as before.' *Crininus* confounded the last Part of this Narrative; since, instead of saying, That *Cæsar* continued to lodge at *Catullus's* Father's House, he says, That *Catullus* had Leave to continue in *Cæsar's* House as before, or to make use of the Law of Hospitality, that was between their Families, as before (4). He had reason to conclude from That Law of Hospitality, established between *Cæsar* and the Father of *Catullus*, that This Poet was of no mean Birth; but he should not have said, that *Suetonius* tells us, that the Father of *Catullus* lodged familiarly in the House of *Julius Cæsar*. *Suetonius* says nothing of

it; and perhaps that Person never set his Foot in *Rome*. Father *Briet* (5) has transcribed all these Faults of *Crininus*.

[D] *Suetonius* did not well observe the Times.] *Scaliger* pretended to have surprised him in a notorious Fault (6); but he himself is guilty of a great Mistake. He will have it, that the Reconciliation of *Catullus* with *Cæsar* happened after the Triumph of the latter, and he builds on the satirical Verses of *Catullus*, which make mention of the Spoils of *Pontus*, and of those of *Spain*; consequently they were made after the Victory of *Munda* over the Sons of *Pompey*. Now *Cæsar* went no more into *Gaul* after that last Triumph; so that he could lodge no longer with the Father of *Catullus*, who lived on the other side of the *Po*. This seems convincing, and *Scaliger* would have done well to stop here, as *Casaubon* did in making use of this Remark (7); but he says, that, after the Passage of the *Rubicon*, *Cæsar* went no more into *Gaul*. 'Cæsar non potuit uti ejus (Catulli) patris hospitio nisi ante bellum civile quum proconsulari imperio obtineret Gallias Cisalpinam & Transalpinam. — Post transitum Rubiconis, Cæsar nunquam postea in Gallias suas reversus est (8).' This is manifestly false. He returned thither, when he went into *Spain*, first to drive out *Pompey's* Lieutenants before the Battle of *Pharsalia* (9), and afterwards to drive out *Pompey's* Sons themselves, after the Defeat of *Cato* and *Scipio* in *Africa*. We shall see, in the Remark [I] (10), that it is not very certain, that *Cæsar* did not lodge with his Host at *Verona*, after he was reconciled with *Catullus*.

[E] *Furius*, *Aurelius*, and He, make but a scurvy Knot.] According to *Crininus*, these two Men were *Catullus's* dearest Friends (11). It is true, that, in the eleventh of his Epigrams, he represents them as ready to go to the end of the World, and into the wildest Places, with him; but he says so many disobliging Things of them in other Places, that it cannot be thought their Friendship was of any Continuance. He represents them as open-mouthed Wolves, that, for want of having wherewithal to live, could never free themselves from Hunger.

Aureli pater esuritionum,
Non harum modo, sed quot aut fuerunt,
Aut sunt, aut aliis erunt in annis (12).

Aurelius!
Father of Famine, present, and to come!

He could not have described a Beggar otherwise than he does them (13). On the other side, he represents them as greedy of Sodomy (14), as of

(5) Briet, de Poët. Lat. pag. 14, 15.

(6) Scalig. Animadvert. in Euseb. n. 1960, pag. m. 155.

(7) Casaub. in Sueton. Cæs. cap. 73.

(8) Scalig. ubi supra.

(9) Cæsar infectis iis que agere destinaverat ab urbe proficiscitur atque in ulteriorem Galliam pervenit. Cæsar, lib. 1, de Bell. Civil. cap. 33, fin.

(10) Towards the end of the second Paragraph.

(11) Inter ceteros amicos Furium & Aurelium magnopere dilexit. Crininus de Poëtis, lib. 2, cap. 27.

(12) Catull. Epigr. 21.

(13) Id. Epigr. 23.

(14) Verum a te metuo tuoque pene infecto pueris bonis malisque. Id. Epigr. 15.

Bread

(c) See the News from the Republic of Letters, June 1684, Art. 4, pag. 367.

(d) If. Vossius in Catul. pag. 189.

(e) Apuleius Apolog.

(f) Epigr. 30, 58.

(g) Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. 73.

(h) Epigr. 67, 69, 102.

(i) See how he complains of him in the 28th Epigram, which ought to make but one with the 29th.

(k) Epigr. 13, 26.

(2) Catull. Epigr. lix.

(3) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 73.

(4) Crin. de Poët. Lat. lib. 2, cap. 27.

Men wanted Bread. We have not all his Works [F]: Those which remain have been printed, and commented upon several times [G]. The Poem of the Vigil of *Venus* is falsely attributed to him. His Death is ill placed by St *Jerom* in the last Year of the CLXXXth Olympiad [H], that is, according to *Calvisius*, in the Year of Rome 696. He must then have lived but thirty Years; and he lived longer, but not so long as *Joseph Scaliger* pretended [I]; who makes him live above

(15) *Pædicabo ego vos, & intrumabo, Aureli patrice, & cinede. Furi. Id. Epigr. 16, vide etiam Epigr. 21.*

(16) *Muretus in Epigram. 11. Catulli.*

(17) *Isaac Vossius in Catull. pag. 32.*

(18) See *Dacier* on *Horace*, Tom. VI, pag. 411, Edit. of Holland.

Bread, and threatens them with an horrible Treatment (15), if they they slander him, or debase the Object of his Flame. This goes beyond Railery: No body makes such Verses on the best Friends he has; and, if it was true, that these Persons were ill lodged, ill provided with Household-stuff, and ill fed, it was therefore the more disobliging to jest upon them for it. So that it is very likely, that *Catullus* passed from Friendship to a furious Hatred against those two Persons, and all for an infamous Love. 'Cum horum utroque graves postea inimicitias gessit, eosque acerbissimis versibus insectatus est, tum quod ipsum mollem notassent, tum quod puerum ipsi carum Aurelius quidem tentasset, Furius vero etiam contempnisset' (16). — He had afterwards a grievous Quarrel with these two Persons, and satirized them in the bitterest Verses, both because they had branded him with Effeminacy, and because Aurelius had indeed attempted a Youth, whom *Catullus* loved, and Furius had actually debauched him. But, admire the Fondness of the Poets for their Productions; they rather chuse to let the Public know the Praises they have given to Persons, whom they afterwards defame, than to suppress the Verses, in which those Praises are contained. We have such Examples in the Poems, and also in the Letters, of some modern Authors. When Authors fall out with any one, after the first Edition of a Book, it is usual to leave the Praises, they had given him, out of the second; it must be then, that Poets and Epistolary Writers, who do not so, or who, in Imitation of *Catullus*, insert in the first Editions the good and the bad Things, which they have said, of the same Persons, do it because they are pleased with the manner, in which they have turned their Thoughts. They prefer the Praise, which they hope to draw from it, to the Blame of having blown both hot and cold. When I said, in Imitation of *Catullus*, I considered, that he himself published the Collection of his Poems, as appears by his Epistle Dedicatory to *Cornelius Nepos*. As for what remains, *Vossius* durst not decide, that the *Aurelius* of *Catullus* is *L. Aurelius Cotta*, as some think; but he believes his *Furius* is *Furius Bibaculus*, who was far, says he, from being a starveling; for we learn from *Horace*, that he was thick, and fat, and a great Eater. *Iste nihil minus fuit quam esuritor, erat quippe obesus & vorax, ut ex Horatio constat* (17). The Place of *Horace*, which *Vossius* hinted at, is in his fifth Satire of the second Book:

--- seu pingui tentus omafo
Furius hybernas cana nive conspuet Alpes.
Or, strutting big behind a monstrous Paunch,
Furius with hoary Snow bespews the wintry Alps.

According to some Interpreters (18), *tentus pingui omafo* signifies, that *Furius* was swelled up with the Tripes that he had eaten; as if *Horace* would have said, that *Furius* fed on none but such kind of Meat: But others will have it, that these Words signify, that *Furius* had a great Paunch, a great Belly. *Vossius* adopts both these Significations. He would not get clear so easily of *Catullus*, as of *Horace*, since the *Furius* of *Catullus* was so far from having a great Paunch, that he was so dry, as scarce to have any Spittle.

Atqui corpora sicciora cornu,
Aut si quid magis aridum est, habetis,
Sole, & frigore, & esuritione.
Quare non tibi sit bene ac beate?
A te sudor abest, abest saliva,
Mucosque, & mala pituita nati.
Hanc ad munditiam adde mundiorum,
Quod culus tibi purior salillo est,

Nec toto decies cacas in anno:

Atque id durius est faba & lapillis,

Quod tu si manibus teras, fricesque,

Non unquam digitum inquinare posses (19).

(19) *Catull. Epigr. 23.*

The Substance of these Verses is, that *Furius* was so dry, with Heat, Cold, and Hunger, that he had neither Sweat nor Spittle left, nor could blow his Nose; and that he was so cleanly, as not to go to stool ten times in a Year, &c. I leave it to those, who wrote so many Satires against the Parasite *Montmar*, to judge, whether *esuritor* and *vorax* are Terms so opposite, as *Vossius* pretended: However it be, he cannot be justified, for having taken the *Furius* of *Catullus* for a very fat Man.

[F] We have not all his Works.] *Crinitus* observes, that *Terentianus Maurus* speaks of an *Libyphallic* Poem of *Catullus*, and that *Pliny* (20) ascribes to him a Poem on the Incantments used to make one's self beloved; a Matter, which had been treated of, before him, by *Theocritus*, and which *Virgil* treated of after *Catullus*. As for the *Libyphallic* Verses, or concerning the impure Divinity of *Priapus*, *Crinitus* should not have said, that they are lost.

[G] What remains, has been printed and commented upon several times.] The chief Editions of *Catullus* are those of *Scaliger*, and *Passerat*. The first of those two Critics corrected many Passages, with great Penetration of Mind, and an uncommon Erudition. The oldest Edition, if I am not mistaken, is That of *Venice* 1488, with the Commentaries of *Antony Parthenius*. The Commentaries of *Muretus*, Those of *Achilles Statius*, and the *Lectiones* of *Titius*, are not to be despised. Mr *Grævius*, to whom the Public is indebted for so many good Editions, procured one of *Catullus* at *Utrecht* in the Year 1680, wherein he inserted the entire Notes of a very great number of Commentators. The Edition of *Isaac Vossius*, printed at *Leyden* (21), in the Year 1684, is accompanied with a very learned Commentary. See, upon this, and on the Edition in *usum Delphini*, the *News from the Republic of Learning*, 1684. A *Florentine*, called *Tuscanella*, made a very ample Index to *Catullus*, which was inserted by *John Gebbard* in his Edition *Variorum* of *Frankfort* 1621.

[H] His Death is ill placed, by St *Jerom*, in the CLXXXth Olympiad.] The Britannie Expedition is spoken of in the Verses, which *Catullus* made against *Cæsar*. Now That Expedition was made the first time in the 698th Year of Rome. It is then most certain, that *Catullus* was not dead in the Year 696.

[I] He lived not so long as *Joseph Scaliger* pretended.] Let us examine his four Reasons a little. He says (22), I. That *Catullus* was living, when *Virgil* composed his *Æneid*, and to prove it he alleges these Verses of *Martial*:

Sic foran tener ausus est Catullus
Magno mittere passerem Maroni (23).

(23) *Mart. Epigr. 14, lib. 4.*

Perhaps the best *Catullus* dared to send
His Sparrow to great Maro, as his Friend.

Now *Virgil* did not compose That Work till a long time after the Death of *Julius Cæsar*. II. That the Satire of *Catullus* makes mention of the four Triumphs of *Julius Cæsar*: there passed but little time then between the Poet's Reconciliation with the Emperor, and the Death of the latter, since *Cæsar* was killed a Year after his Triumphs. III. That it seems *Cornelius Nepos* wrote under *Augustus*: Now *Catullus* makes mention of the Chronicles of *Cornelius Nepos*. IV. Lastly, that *Catullus*, aged Seventy one Years, saw the Secular Games celebrated in the 737th Year of Rome: This appears plainly by his *Carmen Seculare*; for why would he have made That Poem, if he had not been living when those Games were celebrating?

It

above Seventy one Years : This is to run into another Extream ; and we shall make it appear, by many Reasons, that this great Critic is wrong in advancing an Opinion so different from every Body else.

Some

(24) Voss. de Poet. Lat. p. 18.
(25) Ramirez de Prado in Martial. Epig. 14. lib. 4.
(26) Nisi forte confugas ad hunc vocem *forjan* que vox dubitantis est non affectantis. — *Unle's perhaps, you have recourse to the Word forjan, which implies a Doubt, not an Affect.* Bried. de Poet. Lat. pag. 15. See also Vossius, ubi supra.

(27) See the Remarks [E], and [R], of the Article DAURAT.

(28) Animadv. in Eusebium, pag. 155. Edit. 1638.

(29) In Catull. pag. 5.

The second Reason is not strong; for it is most uncertain, that Catullus made mention of *Cæsar's* last Triumphs. See how he speaks :

Paterna prima lacinata sunt bona,
Secunda præda Pontica, inde tertia
Ibera, quam scit annis aurifer Tagus :

(30) Catul. Epig. 30.

Hunc Gallie timent, timent Britannie (30).
*His Goods and Patrimony quite consumed,
And next his Pontic, and Iberian Spoils,
Yet Gaul, and distant Britain, dread his Sword.*

I wonder *Isaac Vossius* took no notice of the last of these four Verses, which confirms his Conjectures so powerfully. He will have it (31), that *Præda Pontica* does not signify the Spoils of King *Pharnaces*, conquered by *Cæsar* after the Death of *Pompey*; but the Money, which *Cæsar* drew from *Bitthynia* by the Correspondence he had with King *Nicomedes* (32).

(31) In Catull. pag. 72.

(32) See Suetonius, in Cæsar. cap. 2.

As for the *Præda Ibera*, the same *Vossius* explains it of the Booty made by *Cæsar* in the War of *Portugal* in 693, and laughs at those, who understand it of the Victory of *Munda*; for *Munda*, says he, is above two hundred Miles from the *Tajo*. All this is wonderfully confirmed by the following words; *Hunc Gallie timent, timent Britannie*. Here is the fourth Booty; The *Gauls* and *Britain*, being stripped by this Conqueror, feared him. The Booty of *Spain* had therefore preceded That of *Gaul*; it does not therefore belong to a Triumph later by some Years than the Conquest of *Gaul*, such as was That of *Munda*. Why did not *Vossius* add, that, if *Catullus* had spoken of the Spoils of King *Pharnaces*, he would not have forgot those of *Egypt*, nor those of *Africa*, since it is certain, that *Cæsar's* three triumphal Entries, one for *Egypt*, one for the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and one for *Africa*, were made in three Days successively (33) after the Defeat of *Cato*? The Year following, he triumphed over the Sons of *Pompey* for

(33) Plutarch. in Cæsar. p. 733. Dion. lib. 43. ad Ann. 708. says, that Cæsar entered four Days successively in triumph, 1. for Gaul, 2. for Egypt, 3. for Pontus, 4. for Africa.

the Victory of *Munda*. How could *Catullus* have ended his Catalogue with the plundering of *Gaul*, if he had spoken of the Triumphs, which followed the end of the Civil-Wars; or how could he have forgot the Spoils of *Egypt*, and those of *Africa*, if he would have mentioned Those of *Pontus*, and those of *Munda*? All this persuades me, that he made his Satire a little after the Invasion of *Britain*: for, besides that *Isaac Vossius* (34) shews plainly enough, that the last words, *fecerit generique perdidit omnia*, ought not to be understood of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, but of *Cæsar* and *Mamurra*, it may be said, that, before the breaking out of the War, the Disputes between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had brought Matters to such a pass, that every body might know, that the Republic was upon the brink of Ruin. 'Fortunatus illius (Hor-tensii) exitus quicquid non vidit cum fierent quæ providit futura; sæpe enim inter nos impendentes casus de-flevimus, cum belli civilis causas in privatorum cupiditatibus inclusas, pacis spem à publico consilio esse exclusam videremus (35). — Hortensius 'luckily died, not seeing what he foresaw would happen; for we often lamented in private the impending Misfortunes, when we saw the Ambition of particular Men likely to draw on us a Civil War, and the Hopes of Peace excluded from the Public Councils.' After all, there is no likelihood, that *Catullus* would have dared to make such outrageous Verses against *Cæsar*, when *Pompey's* Party was entirely ruined at the Battle of *Munda*. *Cæsar's* Authority was then too terrible. I should be apt to believe, that That Satire was composed before the Passage of the *Rubicon*, and that therefore *Suetonius* is not mistaken, when he says, that *Cæsar* continued his Commerce of Hospitality with the Father of *Catullus* after his Reconciliation with the Son. The Title of *Imperator unice*, which is given to *Cæsar*, should seem to be contrary to this, by I know not what Allusion to a Decree of the Senate, who gave him that Title (36): but, as *Scaliger* does not insist on that Proof, it ought to be looked upon as weak. He owns that *unicus* may be taken for *eximius*. I believe another Sense may be given to That Word.

Eone nomine Imperator unice
Fuit in ultima Occidentis insula,
Ut ista vostra diffutata mentula
Ducenties comesset aut trecenties (37).

That is to say; *Is it for That you are the only General that has been in Britain? Is it only to the end, &c.* In the Article of *MAMURRA* (38), I shall confute those, who say, that *Cæsar*, at his Return from the last Expedition of *Spain*, heard the News of *Catullus's* Verses at *Cicero's* House.

The third Reason is altogether void; for, under pretence, that *Cornelius Nepos* flourished, according to *St Jerom*, in the 714th Year of *Rome*, it must not be inferred from thence, with *Scaliger*, that he was at that time busy in writing the Chronicle, mentioned by *Catullus*. *Scaliger's* Principle, that an Author is said to flourish or become illustrious, when he publishes a Work, cannot be proved by the Witness he alleges (39), considering the great variety of Ages, wherein Writers publish the Work, which procures them most Honour. Some publish their first Book early, and afterwards write many, which are much better, and are the true Epoch of their Glory; others do not set up for Authors till they are advanced in Years. Who shall tell us after what manner *Cornelius Nepos* governed himself? He composed several Books: Suppose he published many of them under *Augustus*, must it therefore be believed, that his Chronicle did not appear under *Julius Cæsar*, and even before the Passage of the *Rubicon*? Did not *Henry Valois* flourish in the Reign of *Lewis XIV*? Can any one say, that this is no exact Phrase? And yet he had published some excellent Books under *Lewis XIII*.

The fourth Reason must needs have appeared very strong to *Vossius* (40), since, to ward against it, he supposes, of his own Authority, and without the Testi-

(34) In Catull. pag. 73.

(35) Cicero in Bruto, sub fin.

(36) *Scaliger* refers us, concerning this Decree, to Number 1072, which is the fourth Year of the 183d Olympiad, and the 700th of *Rome*; but neither He, nor *St Jerom*, say any thing of it under that Number. See *Dion*, lib. 43.

(37) Catull. Epig. 30.

(38) Rem. [B].

(39) *Diodorus*, *Eusebius*, *Dionogenes Laërtius*.

(40) In Catull. pag. 81.

Some learned Men believe, that Cicero pleaded for Catullus; but I do not find they bring any Proofs for it [K].

mony of any Author whatsoever, that the Secular Games were celebrated in the beginning of the VIIIth Century of Rome, and before the Death of Catullus. As for me, I had rather say, that this Poet, considering that the last Secular Games had been celebrated in the Year of Rome 604 (41), thought that others would be celebrated in the Year 704, and prepared his *Carmen sæculare ad Dianam* before-hand, and published it, although those Games had not been celebrated. How many Poems for Feasts, or for Ceremonies, do we find, whereof the Celebration, which seemed infallible, was not performed? I shall not enquire, whether it be very certain, that Catullus is the Author of the Title of That small Poem, or whether the Praises he gives to Diana may have no relation to the secular Games, as it is commonly believed, that the Twenty first Ode of the first Book of Horace has none. I am willing to believe, what Mr Dacier says concerning that Ode, that it is but preparatory to the secular Hymn, which is to be seen at the end of the fifth Book, and a mere Exhortation to the two Chorus's of young

Maid and Boys (42). If Horace made an Ode, which was but preparatory, might not Catullus make Verses, which were but preparatory? I observe by the way, that those Verses of Catullus are somewhat contrary to this Tenet of Mr Dacier: *There were two Chorus's in the secular Hymn, which were sung to Apollo and Diana, one of young Boys, and the other of young Maids, both singing by turns, the first the Praises of Apollo, and the other the Praises of Diana. Catullus makes the Praises of Diana to be sung as well by the Boys, as by the Girls (43). However it be, and what difficulty soever may be found in the *Carmen sæculare* of Catullus, it seems to me, that there are fewer Inconveniencies in supposing what I do, than in saying, either with Vossius, that there was a Celebration of Secular Games in the beginning of the VIIIth Century of Rome, or, with Scaliger, that Catullus was yet living in the 737th Year. Vossius's Supposition is not only destitute of Witnesses, but also contrary to the Testimony of Dio (44). That Historian declares, that the Secular Games, celebrated in the 737th Year, were the fifth: now we know that the fourth were celebrated a long time before the end of the VIIIth Century of Rome. Scaliger's Supposition is surrounded with a thousand Intricacies: For how can it be conceived, that Catullus was above thirty Years without making any Verses, and that a Reign like That of Augustus, so fruitful in great Events, and so favourable to Poets, should have drawn nothing from his Vein? How can we imagine, that no Poet of that Court spoke of him as of a living Man? Why should not Ovid have placed him in the number of the Poets, to whom he endeavoured to be known in his Youth? Lastly, Should Cornelius Nepos have been of such a depraved Palate, as to place Virgil and Horace, and all the other Poets of that Rank, below Catullus? Now this is what he must have done, according to Scaliger's Supposition. See here the Words of Cornelius Nepos: 'L. Julius Calpurnius, quem post Lucetii Catullique mortem multo elegantissimum Poetam, nostram tulisse ætatem vere videor posse contendere — expedit (45). — He dispatched L. Julius Calpurnius, whom our Age may, I think, boast of as the most elegant Poet, after the Death of Lucetius and Catullus.' This Conjunction of Lucetius and Catullus is already somewhat strange, if it be true, that the latter did not die till after the Year 737; for it is unquestionable, that the first died towards the beginning of the VIIIth Century of Rome. But, not to insist upon this, let us content ourselves with this other Difficulty. Is it possible, that Cornelius Nepos, who, according to Scaliger, lived some Years after the Secular Games of the Year 737, and consequently who saw Virgil and Horace in the Height of their Glory, did not believe, that they were able to dispute the first Rank with Julius Calpurnius, that first Rank, I say, which he did not hold till after the Death of Lucetius and Catullus (46)? How much reason has Vossius to say, that Scaliger's long Dispute concerning the Age of Catullus*

contains nothing but what deserved to be suppressed! 'Hæc si attendisset Scaliger, profecto non institisset longam istam disputationem de ætate Catulli, in qua nihil omnino est quod non melius sit tacuisse. Sane ne semel quidem scopum attigit (47). So true is it, that great Wits sometimes sleep (48).

[K] Some learned Men believe, that Cicero pleaded for Catullus; but I do not find that they bring any Proofs for it.] Mr de Balzac declared himself for the Opinion, which does not seem to me to be solid. I shall transcribe what he has said upon it; and I begin with the Latin Verses, wherein he has spoken of Catullus without naming him:

— — — pestem tamen ille minorem
Scaligeri, Tullique Cliens, & Cæsare læso
Conspicuis sæclis, nigro devovit Averno,
Nec tales Verona tulit sine vindice chartas (49).

He a less Mischief did detest, who boasts
The Patronage of Scaliger, and Cicero,
And famed for stand'ring mighty Cæsar's Name;
Nor could such Papers in Verona claim
Impunity.

There was a Critic, who did not understand, who was spoken of in these Verses. Now here is Balzac's Reflexion on the pretended Obscurity, which he was reproached with. 'Those, who alledge that ancient Poet, without naming him, content themselves with calling him the Poet of Verona: witness,

Veronensis ait Poeta quondam.

'But, as for me, to make him the easier to be known, and to give more light to the Description I give of him, I add the two most remarkable, and the most known, Passages of his Life, to the City where he was born. I have also inserted in it the greatest Honour, that was done to his Memory since his Death. And I maintain, that one, who is no Stranger to Antiquity, and who is not ignorant of the present State of our Republic of Letters, is obliged to know, that Catullus offended Julius Cæsar by a slanderous Epigram; that, in his Lifetime, he was defended by Cicero's Eloquence; that, since his Death, he has been re-established by Scaliger's Critical Observations; that he owes the gaining of a Law-Suit to the one, and the Preservation of his Honour, that is of his Writings, to the other; which is a second, better, and more glorious Life than the first (50). You see, that Balzac supposes, as a certain and known Fact, that Cicero pleaded for Catullus. He is not the only one, who affirms it: Achilles Statius says it also (51). Petrus Crinitus had already said it, and had made use of a Proof, taken from the Thanks, which Catullus gave Cicero in the Epigram: *Disertissime Romuli Nepotum, &c* (52). These are his words: 'Ingenii facilitate & doctrina adeo Romæ acceptus, atque civibus gratus fuit Catullus, ut Marci Tullii patrocinium meruerit: quod ipsum eleganti epigrammate ingenue testatus est, quo gratias Cicroni patrono egit (53). — Catullus had so far ingratiated himself with the Romans by his ready Wit, and Learning, that he merited the Patronage of Cicero; which he in ingenuously confesses in an elegant Epigram, in which he thanks his Patron Cicero.' But it is most false, that Catullus thanks Cicero in his Epigram for having pleaded for him: He thanks him in general, without particularizing any thing. Muretus owns, that the Cause of the Thanks cannot be guessed at: 'Agit gratias M. Tullio, quod ob beneficium ab eo acceptum divinare non possumus. Nam qui ad fundum Tiburtem hoc loco confugiunt, nihil aliud quam inscitiam pateficient suam (54). — He thanks Cicero, but for what favour we cannot guess. They, who have recourse, on this Occasion, to the Estate at Tibur, only discover their own Ignorance.'

(47) Isaac Vossius, in Catull. pag. 73.

(48) Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus. Horat. de Arte Poet. ver. 259.

(49) Balzac Entret. 17, pag. m. 201.

(50) Id. ibid.

(51) Achilles Statius, in Catullum, init.

(52) It is the 50th.

(53) Petrus Crinitus, de Poëtis, lib. ii, cap. 27, pag. m. 671.

(54) Muretus, in Catull. Epig. 50.

(41) According to Zosimus; for Censorinus places the Celebration of them in 627.

(42) Dacier's Remarks on Horace, Tom. I, pag. 264, Edit. of Holland.

(43) Diance fustus in fide Puellæ & pueri integri: Dianam pueri integri Puellæque cinamus. Catull. Epig. 35, pag. 55, 56.

(44) Lib. 54.

(45) In Vita Pomp. Attici.

(46) This Reason might serve to shew, that the Life of Pomponius Atticus was written before Virgil and Horace had acquired their great Reputation.

CAVALCANTE (GUIDO), a noble Florentine [A] of the XIIIth Century. I only add, to what Moreri has said of him, that he was a Man much given to Meditation, and that it was said, that his profound Speculations had no other Aim, than to find, that there was no GOD [B].

(a) By Mr Vossiere la Croze.

(b) In the Remark [B].

I have been informed (a), that the Passage of *Balzac*, which I have cited (b), is to be found in the *Decameron* of *Boccace*, and that I should oblige many Persons, if I gave it more at length. It is for this Reason you will meet with it below, with greater extent [C]. I have been advised likewise to add some farther Particulars to those found in *Moreri*. I shall say then, that our *Guido*, Son of *Cavalcante de Cavalcanti*, having engaged himself in the Party of the *Guelfs*, experienced the Vicissitudes of Fortune: He was banished, and afterwards recalled, and shewed great Constancy in his Misfortunes, and never forgot to cultivate his Mind. He was not only an able Philosopher, but a very good Poet likewise. He composed, in *Italian*, a Work on the Rules of good Writing, and there remain some of his Verses, which are much esteemed. His Song on terrestrial Love has been commented on by many learned Persons [D]. He was married to the Daughter of

[A] A noble Florentine.] We find, in a Letter, written from Rome, the fourteenth of April 1581, by *Alphonso Ceccarelli da Bevagna* (1), that a Chronicle, composed about Two hundred Years before, made the Family of the *Cavalcanti* very ancient. 'Le dico che le posso mostrare — una Cronica manoscritta di un Giovanni, Figliuolo del Conte Nicolo de Barbiano, scritta circa a 200 anni sono, dove si tratta a pieno delle Famiglie di Firenze secondo l'istoria scritta da Piero Canigiano nel 1103, e della Famiglia de' Cavalcanti dice che hebbe la sua prima origine della nobilissima stirpe Steellesia de Gotti, da Ariberto Cavalcante Steellesio, e che furono padroni di Pefcia con titolo di Conte (2). — I advance what I can prove — that a Manuscript Chronicle of John, Son of Count Nicolo de Barbiano, written about Two hundred Years ago, which fully treats of the Families of Florence, according to the History written by P. Canigiano, in 1103, and of the Family of the Cavalcanti, says it is descended from the noble Steellesian Race of the Goths, from Aribert Cavalcante, a Steellesian, and who were Patrons of Pefcia, with the Title of Counts.' The same Chronicle says, that *Ansaldo*, who is the Stock of the House of *Medicis*, settled in the City of Florence in the Year 806, and that he was married to *Irinia Cavalcante*. The Letter, which I have cited, makes mention of another Chronicle (3), which said but little of that Family. *Di casa Cavalcanti dice molto poco, e tocca l'origine di questa casa imperfettamente e con poche parole* (4). Note, that *Michael Poccianus*, speaking of our *Guido Cavalcante*, does not represent him as being of an ancient Extraction; but he observes one thing, which shews, that he was a considerable Person: He says, the Chiefs of the Tradesmen banished him, because he followed the Faction of the White. At last he was recalled, and died in the Year 1300 (5).

[B] It was said, that his profound Speculations had no other Aim, than to find that there was no GOD.] I freely confess, that I borrow the following Passage from *Balzac* only: 'Percioche alcuna volta speculando molto astratto da gli huomini deveniva, si diceva tra la gente volgare, che queste sue speculazioni erano solo en cercare se trovar si potesse che Iddio non fosse (6).

[C] It will be seen below more at large.] *Boccace* relates, that there were at Florence several Clubs, composed of rich Persons, who, in their turn, gave an Entertainment, and that That of *Betto Branleschi* had endeavoured to gain over *Guido Cavalcante*, and not without reason; 'for, besides that he was the best Logician in the World, and a perfect Natural Philosopher (Things which the Company never troubled their Heads about) he was also a very polite Gentleman, of a good Address, and knew better than any one how to do every thing becoming a Gentleman; and with all this he was very rich, and knew how to do honour to those he thought deserved it, as far as Words could express it; but *Betto* was never able to gain him; he and his Companions believing the reason to be, that *Messire Guido*, often buried in Contemplation, became an absent Man in Company; and, inasmuch as he held part of the Epicurean Notions *, the meaner sort said, that all his Spec-

ulations tended only to enquire, whether we might not discover, that there was no GOD (7). One Day *Betto*, and his Company, passing on Horseback by the Piazza of *Santa Reparata*, and seeing *Guido* among the Marble Monuments in that Quarter, said thus. 'Let us go, and teize him. Upon which, spurring their Horses, as if they would attack him, they came upon him unawares, and began to say to him; *Guido*, you refuse to be of our Society; but why? When you have found out, that there is no GOD, what will you have done? To whom *Guido*, seeing himself surrounded by them, replied. Gentlemen, you may make me what you please in your own House: then, laying his Hand on one of the Monuments, he leaped over, with great agility, to the other side. And, thus getting clear of them, he went away. They all stood astonished, looking one at another, and began to say, that he had no sense, and that what he had replied was not to the purpose; for that they had no more to do where they were than other Citizens, nor *Guido* more than themselves. To whom *Betto* said; 'Tis yourselves, who have no sense, if you understood him not; He has, decently and in few Words, said the severest thing in the World on us; for, if you consider it well, these Sepulchres are the Houses of the Dead, because they lay the dead in them, and they continue there: such he says is our House, giving us to understand, that we, and other Ignoramus's, are worse than dead, in comparison of himself, and other learned Men, and, being thus here among these Tombs, we are in our own House. Then every One understood what *Guido* meant, and were ashamed at it, nor ever meddled with him again, and from that time looked upon *Betto* as a subtle and understanding Cavalier (8).

Here we surprize *Balzac* in just such a Fault as we have seen elsewhere (9). If he had cited the *Decameron* of *Boccace*, which is a Book universally known, we should not have had a great Idea of his Reading; but, by not telling us whence he had This Passage, he was in hopes, I. That it would be supposed he had met with it in some Piece of Secret History: II. That he himself should be the Author quoted, when any one should mention this Character of *Cavalcante*; for of a thousand Persons, who read the *Decameron*, scarce two or three remember what is not an Adventure of Gallantry, or Pleasantry. Now the Novel, where *Cavalcante* is spoken of, is not of this Nature.

[D] His Song on Terrestrial Love (10) has been commented on by several learned Men.] The famous *Egidius* of Rome, who was General of the *Augustins*, and Archbishop of *Bourges*, and one of the most consummate School men of his Age (11) wrote a Commentary on This Song (12). Some think, this was the first time any one commented on the Verses of another composed in the vulgar Tongue (13). We find with this Commentary some Notes of *Celsus Cittadini* on the same Song, in the Edition of *Siena*, 1602, in 8vo (14). *Dino del Garbo*, a Florentine, and a great Philosopher, and Physician to Pope *John XXII*, followed the Steps of *Egidius* of Rome, with whom he was almost cotemporary: He likewise commented on this Song of *Cavalcante*.

(7) Boccace, Decameron, Nov. 9, the 6th Day.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Ibid.

* Balzac has suppressed these Words of Boccace. E percio che egli alquanto teneva della opinione de gli Epicuristi.

(c) Taken from Giovanni Mario de Crescimbeni, *Istoria della Volgare Poesia*, pag. 85.

(d) Dante si gloria d'aver goduta l'amicitia di lui, e nella vita nuova suo primiero amico lo chiama. *Id. ibid.*

(e) See the Hell of Dante. Canto 10.

(11) He lived in the 16th Century.

(16) Crescimbeni, *Istoria della volgare Poesia*, p. 85, 296.

(17) *Ibid.* pag. 296.

(18) *Ibid.* pag. 85.

(a) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, *Bibl. Franc.* pag. 519.

(b) Riolan, *Recherch. des Ecoliers de Medecine*, pag. 196, 213.

(c) See Lindenius *Renovatus*, pag. 368.

(1) See Du Verdier, *Bibl. Franc.* pag. 519.

(1) La Croix du Maine, *Bibl. Franc.* pag. 214.

of *Farinata de gli Uberti* (c) [E]. The famous Poet Dante boasts of having had a share in his Friendship (d); but he makes him the Son of one, whom he places in the *Shades*, among the Followers of *Epicurus*, who denied the Immortality of the Soul (e); and thus our Guido followed his Father's Footsteps. I believe, I am not mistaken, in supposing that ANDREW CAVALCANTE (f), the fine Genius, who flourished in the XVIIth Century, was of this Family. *Tbuanus* asserts it, with regard to BARTHELEMI CAVALCANTE, a Person famous for his Writings and his Negotiations, who was born at Florence in the Year 1503, and who died at Padua, the ninth of December, 1562 (g). See his Article in *Moreti*; but give no Credit to *Tbuanus*, when he says (h), that Guido (i) was cotemporary with *Petrarch*, and that we have still the Verses, which *Petrarch* addressed to him. Guido died before the other was born.

Paolo del Rosso, James Mini, Plinius Tomacelli, and lastly *Jerôme Frachetta*, a Philosopher of *Roigo* (15), commented likewise on it (16); and all This has been printed (17). The Author, who informs me of these things, observes, that the Italian Poetry is greatly obliged to *Cavalcante*, who gave it both Strength and Beauty. *La prole che l'a reso immortale, sono i suoi nobilissimi Componimenti, a i quali molto e tenuta la Volgare Poesia, perciocche da essi ricevute non poca robustezza, e splendore* (18). Compare this, if you please, with these Words of a Commentator on Dante. *Cavalcante di Cavalcanti — bad a Son named Guido Cavalcanti, a Man of great Learning, a good Philosopher, and tolerable good Poet; but, for want of having read the Greek and*

Latin Poets, deficient in the Politenses requisite in a complete Poet (19).

Observe, that we find, in a Work of *Marsilius Ficinus* (20), an Explanation of the Doctrine of our *Cavalcante*, touching the Nature of Love. The Author there bellows great Commendations on him.

[E] He married a Daughter of *Farinata de gli Uberti*. He is one, whom Dante lodges, in the *Shades*, in the same Quarter with *Cavalcante di Cavalcanti*, and who became Head of the *Gibeline* Faction, which, by his Counsels, gained a signal Victory over the *Guelphs* of Florence (21). Our Guido was yet alive, when Dante composed the Tenth Canto of his Hell.

(f) See his *Elozy*, pag. 351, of the first part of *Notizie intorno a gli Huomini illustri dell' Accademia Fiorentina* of Mr. Rili.

(g) *Thuan. lib. 34, pag. m. 684.*

(h) *Id. ibid.*

(i) He means without doubt the GUIDO CAVALCANTE of this Article.

(19) *Grangier, Comment. sur l'Enfer de Dante* chap. 10. p. 103.

(20) It is the Commentary on the Convivium Platonis, among the Works of Plato, pag. m. 1167.

(21) See the 10th Canto of The Hell of Dante, and the Notes of *Grangier*.

(d) Riolan, *ubi supra*, pag. 184.

(e) And not in the Year 1499, as *Konig* asserts, *Bibl. pag. 178.*

(f) See *Gesner, Bibl. fol. 286.*

(2) Riolan, *Recherch. des Ecoliers de Medecine*, pag. 213.

(3) Du Verdier, *Bibl. Franc.* pag. 785.

(a) And not *Morcent*, as *Du Verdier* says, *Bibl. Franc.* pag. 666.

(b) Eleven at Amiens, and nine in other Places. *Des Caurres, Moral Works*, Book 6, chap. 43, fol. m. 355, verso.

(c) La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Franc.* pag. 214.

CAULIAC (GUY DE), a Physician of the University of Montpellier (a), and Author of a Book of Chirurgery, which was greatly esteemed [A], flourished in the XIVth Century. He studied, at Paris, under *Henry de Hermondavilla*, chief Physician of *Philip the Fair* (b). He was Physician of Pope Urban V (c), and of Pope Clement VI (d). He was at Montpellier, and pretty old, when he wrote his Treatise of Chirurgery, in the Year 1363 (e). He speaks very modestly of them, and as of a Book, in which he had only collected what he had read in good Authors (f).

[A] He is Author of a Book of Chirurgery, which is greatly esteemed. It would be endless to repeat the Names of all those, who have translated it, or who have procured Editions of it with Notes, or with Supplements (1). Let us be contented to point out some few. *Jobn Tagaut*, a very learned Physician, enlarged and improved the Chirurgery of *Guy de Cauliac*, taken from the *Arabians*, from

the Chirurgery of the Greeks, together with his fine Latin, which is as pure as That of *Cicero*, though the Subject Matter of it be very different (2). They printed, at *Lions*, in 1579, the Chirurgery of *Guy de Cauliac*, newly restored to its dignity by *Laurence Joubert*, who, besides his new Translation, has inserted several fine Remarks in the Margin (3).

CAURRES (JOHN DES), born at *Moræul* (a), in *Picardy*, was Principal of the College of *Amiens*, and Canon of *St Nicolas* in the same Town. He had taught the Youth twenty Years (b), when, in 1575, he published a Work, which I shall speak of below [A]. He published some others, the Titles of which you will find in *La Croix du Maine*, and in *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*. He was yet alive in 1584, and ceased not being of Service to the Public, as well by his learned Writings, as by the Instruction he gave the Youth, whom he had in Charge, at the College of *Amiens* (c). He wrote some French Verses, which were not good. He made some very passionate on the Death of the Admiral de *Coligni*, and on the Punishment of the Count de *Mongommeri*, and was not ashamed to make an Ode in praise of the Massacre of *Paris*. All these Pieces are found in the fourth Book of his Moral Works.

[A] He published a Work, which I shall speak of below. He intitled it, 'Moral Works, diversified with Stories full of fine Examples, enriched with Lessons of Virtue, and embellished with various Sentences and Discourses. The whole taken from the most distinguished and remarkable Authors, Greek, Latin, and French, who have ever wrote, for the instruction of all Persons, who aspire to Virtue, and Christian Philosophy.' He got it printed at *Paris*, for *William Chaudiere*, in the Year 1575, in 8vo. It is a Book of Three hundred and fifty seven Leaves. I have not seen the Edition of the Year 1583, which is enlarged more than half (1). It was difficult for the Author to augment such a Work; for he had not recourse to the Originals; he only copied the modern Compilers, as *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* observes very justly. 'He has borrowed and collected, Word for Word, his Moral Works from several French Authors and Translators, to wit from the Anthology of *Peter Bressay*

the *Angevin*, from the Commentary of *Jobn Coras* on the *Arrêt de Martin Guerre*, from the Translation of the Books of the Imposture of Devils by *James Grevin*, and many others (2).'

We must add, that he is a Compiler, who falsifies things, or who fetches them from a poisoned Source. I will give an Instance. He says, that the cruelty of *Caligula* proceeded from his Nurse; and he proves it thus. 'Dio, a Greek Historian, relates, that this cruel Man, during his Infancy, was suckled by a Nurse of *Campania* in Italy, named *Priscilla*, who contrary, to the Nature of Women, had as much Hair on her Stomach, as a Man has Beard on his Chin; and, besides This, few of the Roman young Gentlemen could equal her in throwing a Lance, in dextrously managing a Horse, and in drawing a Bow with Certainty. It happened, one Day, as she was preparing to give the Breast to *Caligula*, one of her Servants Maids gave her some little Offence, which the took

(2) Du Verdier, *Bibl. Franc.* pag. 666.

Works. He had a good Opinion of his own Merit, and he thought that his fine Qualifications had exposed him to the Persecutions of Envy [B]. He has informed me of a Particular, which I was entirely unacquainted with; namely, that there was a time, when Women carried Looking-glasses over their Bellies [C]. I know not whether he was ever cited among the Roman Catholic Authors, who have related the Story of Pope Joan; but he deserves to have been; for he tells it, without the least Doubt of the Truth of it (d).

(d) Des Caurres, Moral Works, Book 5, chap. 16, fol. 225, verso.

took so ill, that she immediately killed her, and so covered her Breasts with her Blood, that Caligula drank several Times, and very abundantly, of it: imitating in this the Custom of the Women of her Country, who usually wet their nipples with the Blood of a Goat; in order, say they, to render their Children more strong and robust (3).

(3) Des Caurres, Moral Works, Book 2, chap. 25, fol. 73.

It is not true, that Dio relates these things. I suspected, in reading the Book of Des Caurres, that he stole them from Antony de Guevara, and, to satisfy myself, I consulted The *Horloge des Princes*, and found, that my Conjecture was true. This Spanish Impostor (4) relates this pretended Story of the Nurse of Caligula, as if he had read it in Dio, in the second Book of the *Cæsars*. There are many other Things, which Des Caurres has robbed him of, without naming him, and without depriving himself of the liberty of disguising them a little.

(4) Ant. de Guerre, *Horloge des Princes*, lib. 2. cap. 21. pag. m. 703.

[B] He believed, that his fine Qualifications had exposed him to the Persecutions of Envy. He dedicated his Moral Works to Monseigneur Antony, Lord of Crequy, and forgot not the Common Place, that he did so, that, by prefixing so illustrious a Name to his Works, he might make head against, and repel the Attacks of Zoulus's, perpetual Enemies of human Felicity (5). For I can assure you, my Lord, adds he, that if we believe, &c. to moreover exclusively: In Fol. aiii verso, of the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Works Moral and Diversified* of John Des Caurres, Paris, William Chaudiere, 1575, in 8vo. It must be this Edition, the Epistle Dedicatory not being to be found in That of 1583. Compare This with Remark [C] of the Article ANTESIGNAN.

(5) Epistle Dedicatory to Des Caurres's Works, fol. aiii, verso.

[C] He informs me — that there was a Time, when Women wore Looking-Glasses over their Bellies. I believe This Fashion continued not long; but it will not be amiss to take notice, that it made it's

appearance in the World. John des Caurres condemns it with great severity: I am going to quote a long Passage, in which he censures some other Fashions. 'On this occasion (Ladies) give me leave to ask you, whether it be possible you can please God, and be saved, and yet do what he forbids. No sure: and, whether you will or no, you must either no longer wear your Hair, like the Wings of a Bat, or in Fashion of a Net, by which diabolically to catch and ensnare Men, in order to gratify your disorderly Appetite; or you must be lost, and damned. For undoubtedly This is forbidden you in the Old and New Testament. And if the King had so commanded, you would have done it: but for the Commandment, which God gives you, you will not comply; but rather, you will die (as it is said) in your disobedience and Pride, through this Worldly-mindedness, which deceives you; nay, which renders you so ugly and abominable to look at, that, if you knew how ill it becomes you, you would rather set Fire to it, than shew it, for the ill grace it gives you. And I wish to God it were permitted to call all those, who wear these things, Whores, in order to cure them of so doing! Good God! Alas! what an unhappy time are we fallen into, to see such depravity on Earth, as we see, to see our Women carry, even into Church, Looking-Glasses hanging over their Bellies! Read all Histories, Divine, Human, and Prophane; you will not find, that the Immodest, and Harlots, ever wore them in public, 'till this Day, when the Devil is let loose in France: which is still more detestable, before God and Men, than all other Abominations. And, though only Courtisans and Masquerading Ladies make use of them, in time no City Lady, or Servant-Maid, will be without them (6).'

(6) Des Caurres, Moral Works, Book 6, chap. 11, fol. 105.

CAUSSIN (NICOLAS), a French Jesuit, Confessor to Lewis the Just, was born at Troies in Champagne (a), in the Year 1580. He entered himself among the Jesuits at Twenty six Years of Age, and acquired much Glory by teaching Rhetoric in several of their Colleges. Afterwards he betook himself to preaching (b); and, as the Reputation, which he acquired, on that Account, was supported and increased by the Books he published, he was thought worthy to be placed near the King as Director of his Conscience. He did not acquit himself of that Office to the Satisfaction of the Prime Minister [A]; and, according to the most common Opinion, it was because he behaved himself in it as a good Man ought to do. Some have

(a) His Father practised Physic there. *Elogy of Father Caussin, before his Holy Court.*

(b) Alegambe, *Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 351.

[A] He was thought worthy to be placed near the King, as Director of his Conscience: but he did not acquit himself of that Office to the Satisfaction of the Prime Minister. Father Caussin's Disgrace was one of those Events, which occasion much Speculation, and are little spoken of, and whereof the Cause is never plainly known. Nevertheless, something of it is come to the Knowledge of the Public. It is pretended, that this Jesuit, a little before his Death, gave one of his Friends the Original of some Letters, written with his own Hand to the General of his Order, to Father Seguiran, and to the Prince of Condé; and the Public saw, by some Fragments of those Letters (1), that Father Caussin drew that Disgrace upon himself, for having refused to reveal certain things, which he had heard from Lewis XIII, in his Confession, and to consult his Superiors concerning the Direction of that Prince, when, to know their Advice, he must have discovered part of the Secret of the Confession. The same Fragments discover to us, that he disapproved Lewis the XIIIth's Conduct towards the Queen his Mother. Now That was the most proper means to incense the Cardinal. Mr de la Barde has observed, that That Cardinal caused Father Caussin to be turned out, by reason of the Scruples which he raised in the

(1) See the Conversations of Eudoxus and Eucharistus on the History of Ariana, and on the History of the Tomelastes of Father Maimbourg, reprinted in *Harleian*, in the Year 1683. They were burnt at Paris by the Hand of the Hangman, in the Year 1674.

Prince's Mind with relation to the Hardships exercised towards Mary de Medicis. 'Hic postea Ludovici XIII. Regis Confessarius fuit, qui quoniam ei scrupulum iniecerat, de Mariâ Reginâ matre haud satis pie habita, atque Aulâ, & regni finibus abscedere coactâ, Aulâ & ipse Richellii operâ, cui cum Mariâ lites intercessere, facessere pridem jussus fuerat (2).' The Author of Father Caussin's Elogy has reason to say, that he ought to be admired, because he chose rather to draw such a Cardinal's Hatred upon himself, by following the Dictates of his Conscience, than to please That Cardinal in flaying from the right way. 'It must be said, for the Honour of That generous Father, that he behaved himself in such a manner at Court, that he left a Subject for Admiration behind him, and obliged People to confess with wonder, that his Soul was of an extraordinary Magnanimity; since, having such a Power against him, able to load him with Good or Evil in an Instant, he did not seek his Favour, either for himself or any of his Relations, and feared Disgrace very little, choosing rather to suffer all in his Person, than to fail in the Duty of a faithful Confessor. It is indeed an advantageous and very bold Word, which St Augustin spoke in

(2) Labrousse, de reb. Gallicis, lib. 9, sub. fin.

have said, that he suffered himself to be too much surprized by the Artifices of a Jesuit of the Duke of Savoy's Court [B]. There is some likelihood, that he intrigued, to cause Cardinal de Richelieu to be expelled from the Court [C]. How-

ever

* Mirantibus omnibus innotatam Animam, que hominem tantum innumerablem praestandi, nocondique artibus celebratum, vel amicum non optaret, vel non formidaret inimicum — Every one admiring at that uncommon Disposition of Mind, which neither desired to make a Friend of, nor feared to displease, a Man so famous for innumerable Acts of beneficence and hurting. S. Aug. Conf. lib. 6, cap. 10.

(3) Elogy of Father Caussin, before the Holy Court.

(4) This appears from the Conversations of Eudoxus and Eucharistus, cited above.

(5) Arnould, last Page of the Advertisement of the 4th Denunciation of the Heresy of the Philosophical Sin.

(6) Id. ibid.

The Silence of Father Alegambe, and his Continuator, cannot be sufficiently admired. The former, publishing his Book after Father Caussin's Disgrace, did not so much as take notice, that he had been the King's Confessor: the latter, publishing his since the same Jesuit's Death, observes indeed, that he was Confessor of Lewis XIII, but without speaking the least Word of his Disgrace. Mr Moreri has been no less mysterious, than the two Jesuits, who have written the *Bibliothèque* of the Writers of their Order: he neither says any thing of That Employ of Father Caussin, nor of his Banishment from the Court.

[B] It is said that he suffered himself to be too much surprized by the Artifices of a Jesuit of the Duke of Savoy's Court. Let us abbreviate what Mr Aubert published on that Subject (7). Father Monod, Confessor of the Dukes of Savoy, designing to embroil France, laboured vigorously to have the Queen-Mother re-called. For which reason he took care, in the Journey that he made to the Court of France, to contract Friendship with Father Caussin, a Jesuit also, and the King's Confessor, and to have several Conferences with him; wherein he had no great Trouble to persuade him, and to gain all the Credit he desired to have with him, being quite another Statesman and Courtier, than the other was, and having as much Wit and Malice, as we must believe what the Cardinal Duke said in some Dispatch, as Father Caussin had Simplicity and Ignorance. So that, having already that Advantage, he did no longer question the Success of the Business, and that such a Religious Prince, as Lewis XIII was, would follow the Motions and Advice of his Confessor in point of Conscience. And indeed the King shewed some extraordinary Disquiets and Troubles, after that Father Caussin had renewed his Scruples concerning the Removal of the Queen-Mother, and disposed him to re-call her, against his Prime-Minister's Inclination and Opinion. The Duke of Savoy informed the Cardinal of the secret Practices of those two Fathers (8); others affirm, that they were discovered by the Imprudence of Father

Caussin, who, being solicited by the Duke of Angoulême about an Abbey of Nuns, which he desired, insinuated to him, that he should have Patience till the Cardinal was turned out of Employ, as he would infallibly be in few Days, and that he should then have a speedy and full Satisfaction. Which the Duke having acquainted His Eminence with, he was much pleased that he had discovered the Cause of the extraordinary Trouble the King had appeared to be in for some time, and laboured also immediately to find a Remedy for That pressing Evil. That Remedy was a Biller, which he sent to his Majesty against the Confessor. That Father did not find himself proof against so violent an Attack, nor in condition to resist This declared War. Wherefore, being without comparison much the weaker, he was forced to yield, and to receive the Law from the stronger, who had him expelled with some Infamy from the Court, and confined to Quimpercorentin in the Lower Brittany (9). Mr Aubert notes this under the Year 1639; but he himself supplies us wherewith to convince him of not having marked the Year right. The Cardinal, having thus brought one of those two Directors to his Duty, says he (10), had not his end so easily of the other, or at least had not so speedy Satisfaction of him, tho' he had it at last more amply and more exemplarily. Some Pages after (11), he informs us, that the Dukes of Savoy sent Word to the Cardinal of the Detention of Father Monod, the fourth of January 1639. Most Historians (I speak of those, who put the Year in the Margin) fall too often into such like Inconveniencies. See the end of the Remark [G].

(8) The Cardinal wrote this himself, as Mr Aubert assures. Ibid. pag. 48.

It results from this Narrative, how advantageously forever it be turned for the Cardinal, that Father Caussin's Aim was only to re-call Mary of Medicis. His Design might be lawful; for, in short, it does not seem, that a Prince's Conscience can be in a good Condition, when he treats his Mother ill. But it is true, that, in the late France was in, the Prince could hardly keep Mary de Medicis near him, without exposing his Kingdom to great Troubles; she was so much surrounded with Boute-feux; and, after all, it was very difficult to endeavour the recalling of That Princess, without aiming at the Cardinal's Ruin. An Author, whom I have quoted before, informs me, that the Jesuit Caussin undertook, with good Success, to reconcile Lewis XIII with the Queen his Wife, and by that means to take away the Barrenness of That Princess. This seems to me to be the most plausible sense that can be given to That Author's Words. Lewis XIII, says he (12), gave Father Caussin very great Access to his Person; and, having afterwards relished his Conversation, he admitted him very far into his Favour, even so far as to Familiarity, and treated him with so much Confidence, that it might well be judged he observed some excellent Parts in that Father, which had so easily and speedily gained his Heart. And it was no ways questioned but that it was That strong and generous Inclination, which he shewed in his Majesty's Service, and for his Honour, that made him extremely zealous for the public Good, and for the perfect good Understanding of the Royal Family, which his Designs only aimed at. And we have learned, by a faithful and unexceptionable Deposition, that France is partly indebted to his wife Counsels for the rich Present it has received from Heaven, which it enjoys now in the sacred Person of its august Monarch, a most worthy Son and lawful Heir of his Father's Virtues.

[I] It is probable, that he intrigued to cause Cardinal de Richelieu to be expelled from Court. If we may believe the Memoirs of the Abbot Sirey (13), that Jesuit had, in his Conversations with the King, concluded the removing of the Cardinal for four Reasons. I. Because of the Queen-Mother's Exile. II. Because his Eminence left Lewis XIII the Name of King only. III. Because he oppressed the People too much. IV. Because

of

(9) Ibid. pag. 50.

(10) Ibid. cap. 17, pag. 50.

(11) Pag. 63.

(12) Father Caussin's Elogy.

(13) They who cannot consult them in the 8th Tome, pag. 573, and following, need only read the new Life of Cardinal de Richelieu, printed at Amsterdam, in the Year 1604, Tom. II, pag. 312, &c.

ever it be, his Employ was taken from him, and he was confined to a Town of *Britany*. He had leave to return to *Paris* after the Death of That Cardinal, and died there in the *Jesuits House*, the second of *July*, 1651 [D]. None of all his Works did him more Honour, than That, which he intituled *The Holy Court* [E]. He published many others, both in *Latin* and *French* [F]. It is a very singular thing, what is said of his Sympathy with the Sun (c). The *Sieur Bullart* is fallen into some Anachronisms [G].

(c) See Remark [G], Citat. (28).

of the great Services he did the Protestants, to the Prejudice of the Catholic Religion. He even engaged himself to maintain those four Points against the Cardinal in his Majesty's Presence; and he proposed to the Duke of *Angouleme* to take the Cardinal's Place. That Duke, having advertised the chief Minister of This Plot, was the Cause of Father *Caussin's* Disgrace, as the Abbot *Siri* says.

[D] He died the second of *July*, 1651. Mr *Moreri*, who was mistaken in the time that *Caussin* became a Jesuit (14), is moreover mistaken as to the time of his Death; he has placed it in the Year *One thousand six hundred fifty-five*. *Bullart* and *Witte* have noted the time of his Death as they ought, but not the Duration of his Life. One of them will have it, that *Caussin* died the second of *July* 1651, in the *Sixty ninth Year* of his

(14) He says that *Caussin* entered into a Religious Order in 1600. *Alegambe* says it was in 1606; and *Soutwell* that it was in 1596.

(15) *Bullart*, *Academ. of Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 225. (16) *Witte*, *Di-*

ar. Biograph.

Age (15), the other, that he died the second of *July* 1651, in the Eighty first Year of his Life, and in the Fifty seventh of his Profession of a Jesuit (16). This neither agrees with Father *Alegambe*, nor with Father *Soutwell*. According to Father *Alegambe*, the Entrance of *Caussin* among the Jesuits was in the Year 1606, and *Caussin* was then Twenty six Years of Age. He must therefore have died at the Age of Seventy one Years, and in the Forty fifth of Year of his Religious Life. Father *Soutwell* pretends, that *Caussin* became a Jesuit at the Age of Twenty six Years, and in the Year 1596. He died therefore at the Age of Eighty one Years, and must have been but Fifty five Years a Jesuit. I believe we must keep to Father *Alegambe*.

[E] Of all his Works none did him more Honour, than That, which he intituled *The Holy Court*. It has been printed I know not how many times (17), and translated into *Latin*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *High-Dutch*, and *English* (18). The first Edition of the first Volume is of the Year 1625, in 8vo. The other Volumes followed soon after. I shall criticize Mr *Bullart* hereafter (19), who said, that *Caussin* retired from the Court, to compose the *Holy Court*: he ought to have said that he revised and enlarged it, during his Disgrace.

[F] He published several other Books, both in *Latin* and *French*. The first Essays of his Pen were the sacred Symbols; some Pieces of Poetry, which are to be found in the Royal Pomp, and the Parallels of Eloquence (20). His Elogy says, that he made those three Books, when he was yet pretty young. Nevertheless, it is observed, in the *Bibliothèque* of the Jesuits, that the *Eleazarum Symbolorum* & *parabolarum historiarum synagoga*, seu

(17) The Edition on that I make use of, is of *Brussels*, 1664, in 2 Vols in 4to. There is one of *Paris*, 1680, in 2 Vols in folio.

(18) *Sotuel*, *Biblioth. Societ. Jesu*, pag. 627.

(19) *Rem. [G]*, Citat. (30).

(20) Father *Caussin's* Elogy. See the last Remark.

(21) This Book of Mr *Drelin-court* is the second Part of the Church's Triumph under the Cross. The Author informs us, in the Preface, that *Caussin*, in the second Edition of his Book, had sought all ways imaginable to maintain, that the taking of *Rochel* was a Proof, that That City was Heretical. Mr *Drelin-court* confutes him invincibly in his Preface.

(22) Taken from *Soutwell*, *Bibl. Soc. Jesu*, p. 627.

(23) See below, Remark [D], Citat. (15), &c.

de symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia & polyhistoris symbolici lib. 12, was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1618; and that the *Eloquentia sacra & humana parallela* was printed at *le Fleche* in the Year 1619. So that the Author was near forty Years of Age, according to Father *Alegambe's* Account, and near fifty according to Father *Soutwell's* Account, when he published those two Books. Is that to be yet pretty young? Among his other Works, I observe chiefly his Apology for the Society of the Jesuits, printed in the Year 1644; the Answer to the Objections concerning Moral Divinity; the Triumph of Piety, which he published on Occasion of the taking of *Rochel* in the Year 1629; the Answer, which he published three Years after to Mr *Drelin-court* (21), against That Triumph of Piety; the *Angelus Patris*, printed in the Year 1650; the *Regnum Dei seu dissertationes in libros Regum cum aliis tractatibus* printed also in the Year 1650 (22).

[G] The *Sieur Bullart* is fallen into some Anachronisms. I have already noted his Mistake concerning Father *Caussin's* Age (23). Let us say no more of it, but see what remains. Father *Caussin* had not long dedicated himself to God under the Habit and Rule of St *Ignatius*, before he pre-

I have

sent the first Fruits of his Study to the Public. It was That rare Book of the Sacred Symbols, which, penetrating into the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, clears the Enigma's, that an ancient Author hides from us under mysterious Characters (24). We have already seen, that this Book was printed in the Year 1618; that is to say, according to Father *Alegambe*, twelve Years after *Caussin* was entered among the Jesuits. According to Father *Soutwell*, *Caussin* had been Twenty two Years enrolled in the Order of St *Ignatius*. Not having it in my Power to compare the Editions, I desire those, who may have the Convenience of doing it, to see if the Approbation of the Provincial of the Jesuits is well dated in the Edition of *Cologne*. I speak of the Book *de symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia*. That Approbation is dated from *la Fleche*, the nineteenth of November 1627, in my Edition, which is of *Cologne*, in 8vo, in the Year 1631. I do not question, but that the Printers have put 1627 for 1617. Therefore I shall not make use of That Date, to prove, that the first Book, which the Jesuit *Caussin* published, is not the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptians. The Preface of That Work might serve me for a Proof of this; for the Author says there, that, being about his Rhetoric, he thought of this Book. Cum libros de triplici eloquentia & apparatus quendam ex florentissima exemplorum copia ad oratoriam facultatem instruerem, adjecti quoque animi ad symbolica veterum sapientiam.

Bring employed in writing the Book of the three kinds of Eloquence, and an Apparatus to Rhetoric, from a great variety of Examples, I applied my Thoughts likewise to the Symbolical Wisdom of the Ancients. Note, that he had published a Collection of Greek Poems (25) in the Year 1612, and a Latin Translation of one of *Richome's* Works (26) in the Year 1613. So that it could not be said, in Strictness, that the Explication of the Hieroglyphics was the first Essay of his Pen. Those five Works (these are Mr *Bullart's* Words (27), and he speaks, I. Of the Sacred Symbols. II. Of the Royal Pomp. III. Of the Parallels of Sacred and Profane Eloquence) having made his Name known among the Learned at Court, his Superiors desired also that the Prince should know his Person. Father *Gonteri*, one of the most famous Preachers of their Society, brought him to the Louvre, and presented him to Henry IV.

who received him with many Careless, and, seeing the Splendor that shined on his Face, he said, That he would prove, one Day, one of the most distinguished Persons of his Society. This is to confound Chronology; for those Three Works of Father *Caussin* did not appear till after the Death of Henry IV. The Symbols, which, according to Mr *Bullart*, were his first Essay, did not come out till 1618. The Narrative, which is in Father *Caussin's* Elogy, is as much confounded, as the Order of Time. Here are the Words of the Author of That Elogy (28): 'Father *Caussin* had a very particular Sympathy with the Heavens, especially with the Sun; which he called his Planet, and of which he felt very notable Operations, as well on his Body, as on his Mind, according to it's Approach, or Withdrawing, and proportionably as it was clear or clouded. And This Affinity was not only observed accidentally, but appeared constantly in the Fire of his Eyes, and in the lively Colour of his Face, which carried something celestial, and which formerly touched Henry the Great with an extraordinary Emotion. That Prince, so judicious in the Knowledge of Men, looking one Day in his Face, when he was yet but young, accompanied with Father *Gonteri*, one of the most famous Preachers of his Time, having never seen or known him before, went towards him thro' the Crowd, took him by the Hand, and caressed him so much, that he was put to the Blush, and those, who were about him,

were

(24) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(25) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(26) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(27) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(28) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(29) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(30) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(31) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(32) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(33) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(34) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(35) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(36) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(37) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(38) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(39) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(40) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(41) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(42) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(43) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(44) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(45) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(46) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(47) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(48) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(49) *Academ. of Arts and Sciences*, Tom. II, pag. 224.

I have just read a Letter (d), in which it is asserted, that the Queen-Mother caused him to leave *Paris*, and banished him into *Britany*, to oblige Cardinal *Mazarine*, whom he had offended; and that the Reason of this Disgrace proceeded from the Book *De Regno & Domo Dei*, which he had published in the Year 1650, and in which he had said some good things concerning the Qualities of Princes.

(d) Of *Guy* *Latin* printed with those of some other illustrious Persons, at *Amsterdam*, ex *Musaeo Joannis Brant*, Ann. 1702, 8vo. See pag. 200.

were astonished at it, adding, That he had discovered him among all That great Company, and that he must be serviceable to him: and, turning to Father *Conteri*, he said to him aloud, by a remarkable Prognostication: *You have a Companion there (Father) who, I think, will prove in time one of the greatest Ornaments of your Society.* Compare this with Mr *Bullart's* Narrative, and what difference will you not find between the Original and the Copy? for it must not be questioned, but that Mr *Bullart* copied That Elogy, turning what he borrowed from it after his manner. He succeeded no better in what follows. Father *Caussin* accepted, indeed, That difficult Office (29), and exercised it, for some time, with great Prudence and Piety; but, seeing the Royal Family in Discord, he left it with the same Indifference, and returned to his Convent; where, disengaged from the Troubles of a prophane Court, he employed all his Thoughts in the composing of That great and marvellous Work of *The Holy Court.* That

Work was already translated into *Latin*, before This Father left the Court (30); besides, his leaving it was no ways voluntary: He was forced to yield to Persecutions, and to the imperious Desires of the chief Minister; and he did not return to his Convent; for he was confined to the Lower *Britany*.

I am sure, that most of the Elogies of Illustrious Men are full of such like Anachronisms, and that they are often committed in them, than the Sophism *à non causa pro causa* in the Scholastic Books. To avoid this, the form of Annals ought to be given to the History of Great Men: but the Annalsists themselves are not always exempt from Anachronisms; for it often happens that they say nothing of an Affair, till the Year in which that Affair ends. Then they go back to the beginning, and give the Origin and Progress of it, and crowd together five or six Years, without setting down any Date; so that their Readers are put out of the way of an exact Chronology.

(30) See in *Allegambe*, pag. 175, that *Henry Lamormaini* translated most of the Books of the *Holy Court*, in 1635, 1637, and 1638. If I am not deceived, Father *Caussin* was sent from Court in December, 1637.

(29) That of Confessor of *Lewis XIII.*

CEA, or CEOS, an Island of the *Aegean* Sea. Look for ZIA.

CERASI (TIBERIUS) flourished towards the end of the XVIth Century. He was an Advocate, and practised for twenty Years at the Bar of *Rome*, and afterwards became a Consistorial Advocate, in 1589. He was Advocate of the Public Revenues, and of the Apostolic Chamber, and afterwards Clerk of the same Chamber, and, at last, the Pope's Treasurer. Although he wrote many Things, the Public has seen only his *Answers*, among the Counsels of *Farinacius*. He died at *Rome* the seventh of May, 1601, as it is said, of Grief and Vexation, for having been severely reprimanded by Pope *Clement VIII* (a). He was in his Fifty seventh Year. He left all his Estate to the Hospital of the Consolation, and was buried in the Church of our Lady *del Popolo* (b).

(a) *Tiberii mortis causam attulisse dicitur Clementis Pontificis acris quaedam ac vehemens oburgatio. Prosp. Mandosius Bibl. Romana Cent. I, pag. 24.*

(b) Taken from the same, *ibid.*

CERATINUS (JAMES), a learned Man of the XVIth Century, and a good *Grecian*, gave himself this Name, according to the Custom of the Time, because he was of *Hoorn* in *Holland* [A]: We shall explain this [B]. He has been adorned with great Elogies by *Erasmus* [C], not only on the account of his good Life, but also on the account of his Learning. *Erasmus*, having been desired by *George*, Elector of *Saxony*, to make choice of a Person to fill the Place, which the Death of *Mosellan* had left vacant in the University of *Leipsic*, sent him *Ceratinus* (a), who had also an offer of the Professorship of the Greek Tongue in the College of the three Languages at *Louvain*. *Ceratinus* was not very well received at *Leipsic*; and it appears, by some Letters of *Erasmus* (b), that he drew that cold Reception upon himself, by not shewing Aversion enough for *Lutheranism*. This happened in 1525. Before that Time, he had taught the Greek Language privately at *Louvain* (c); whither he retired, when the War, and the Plague, made him leave the Place, which he had in the College of *Tournay*. He died at *Louvain*, the twentieth of April, 1530, in the Flower of his Age (d). He was a Priest; and

(a) *Erasm. Epistol. lib. 29, pag. 994.*

(b) The 42d, and the 44th of the 3th Book.

(c) *Id. Epistol. lib. 17, pag. 756.*

(d) *Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 406.*

[A] He gave himself this Name — because he was of *Hoorn* in *Holland*. Mr *Moreri* ought not to have been in Suspence about it: He does not know whether *Ceratinus* was born at *Hoorn* in *Holland*, or at *Horne* in the Country of *Guelderland*. Properly speaking, *Horne*, which he speaks of, is not in *Guelderland*.

[B] We shall explain This. *Hoorn*, in *Dutch*, is as much as to say a *Horn*. In *Greek*, a *Horn* is called *κέρας*: Thus *James Ceratinus* is the same thing, as *James the Horned*, a Title, which he preferred before That of *Hornamus*, under which This Author is sometimes denoted, and before that of *Teyng*, which was the Name of his Family: I say, he preferred it before all others, as well because it was *Greek*, and that under that Language he discovered but to few People the Infamy, which attended the Word *Horn*, as because his Celibacy sheltered him from ill-natured Allusions, to which his Name might have exposed him, if he had had a Wife.

[C] He has been adorned with great Elogies by *Erasmus*. *Erasmus* thought him learned enough to be Professor in the midst of *Italy*, and much more learned than *Mosellan* had been. *Jacobus Ceratinus* (says he) *homo tam Græcicæ literaturæ callens ut possit vel in media Italia profiteri, nec se ipso inferior in literis Latinis* (1). In another Letter (2), he expresses it yet more strongly: *Græcicæ literaturæ tam exacte callens, ut vix unum aut alterum habeat Italia quicum dubitem hunc committere, nec in Latinis sui dissimilis est.* — So perfect a Master of the Greek Tongue, that *Italy* cannot shew one or two, with whom I should scruple to compare him; nor is he unlike himself in the Latin. See here how he speaks in another Place (3). *Succedit Petro Mosellano, sed decem Mosellanis eruditior, etiam Mosellani doctriam & ingenium baud vulgariter amabam.* — He succeeded Peter *Mosellan*, but more learned than ten *Mosellans*, though I had an uncommon value for the Learning and Abilities of *Mosellan*. As to his Morals, he says, That he was the best Man in the World,

(1) *Erasm. Epistol. lib. 29, pag. 993.*

(2) The 31st of the same Book, pag. 395.

(3) *Epistol. lib. 30.*

one thing happened at the Time of his Ordination, which deserves to be known [D]. He was mistaken, when he wrote to *Erasmus*, that he had seen him at *Deventer* [E]. There is a Treatise of his *De sono Græcarum Literarum*, a Translation of *St Chrysostom's* first and second Dialogue on the Excellency of the Priesthood, and a *Greek and Latin Lexicon* [F], which was printed with a Preface of *Erasmus*, in the Year 1524.

World, without Paint or Art, and so modest, that it went even to excess. *Modestia pene immodica moribusque planè niveis & ab omni fæco prorsus abhorrentibus* (4). — Of excessive Modesty, and of a Character the whitest, and most free from all Paint. *Moribus est sincerissimis & ad amicitiam oppositis; adeo ut non minus videatur natus gratiis quam mustis.*

(4) Ibid. 28, lib. 20, pag. 993.

(5) Ibid. 29, lib. 20, pag. 994.

(6) Ibid. 31, lib. 20, pag. 995, vide etiam Epist. 41, lib. 30, pag. 192.

(7) In the 994th Page.

(8) Adag. IV, cent. V.

(5). — He is a most sincere, and most friendly Man; inasmuch that he seems no less born for the Graces, than the Muses. *Habet unum hoc vicium Ceratinus noster, immodice modestus est, sic verecundus ut pene pudulus sit* (6). — Our Ceratinus has this one Fault; he is modest to excess, and so bashful as even to give disgust. *Valerius Andreas* relates a good part of these Passages; and besides he cites *Junius*, who praised Ceratinus much in his Proverbs, (I shall speak of it hereafter), and in his *Batavia*; In qua à singulari modestia ac virginali quodam pudore commendat. — In which he commends him for his singular Modesty, and girlish Bashfulness. But *Valerius Andreas* has taken no notice, that the Elogy of *Excellissimi viri* *judicii*, which he believes *Erasmus* gave to Ceratinus, is designed for *Henry Stromer*, to whom he was recommended. See the Twenty ninth Letter of the twentieth Book (7).

[D] A Thing happened at the time of his Ordination, which deserves to be known. *Adrian Junius*, Country-man of Ceratinus, after having heaped a great many Praises upon him, adds (8), That he has it from good Hands, that Ceratinus, unwilling to disobey his Father's severe Orders, went to *Utrecht* to be ordained Priest. He was examined according to Custom, and upon his ingenuous Confession, that he did not know one Rule of the Grammar by heart, which they asked him, he was rejected as an ignorant Man, and commanded to go and study his Grammar with more Application. He went away without saying any thing, and was contented to tell the Cause of his Exclusion to a learned Clergy-man, who, going immediately into the Assembly of the Examinators, represented to them the Mistake they had just committed: that there was not a more learned Person in *Louvain*, than he, whom they had turned away to learn his Accidence, and that he had given public Proofs of his Knowledge, by a most pure Latin Translation of *St Chrysostom's* Books concerning the Priestly Dignity. They considered the Matter; Ceratinus was called in again; Excuses were made him from the Necessity of conforming themselves to the usual Practice, and he was ordained Priest. If those Gentlemen had asked Ceratinus, *Per quam regulam?* as they do Scholars, who are examined in their *Declpateur* (or Grammar), and who are obliged to decline their Name by Rule; I say, if they had treated him at that rate, because they had been advertised, that he was a proud Man, they could not have been blamed. There goes a Story, that a young conceited Fellow, ready to be received into Orders, had the Mortification of being first examined in this manner, *Musa quæ pars orationis?* and that having answered, *Aquila non capit muscas*, they

replied to him *Neque Ecclesia superbo*; and that he was sent back without Ordination.

[E] He wrote to *Erasmus*, that he had seen him at *Deventer*. A Letter, which *Erasmus* wrote to him in the Month of April 1519 (9), wherein he calls him *Hornensis*, informs us, I. That Ceratinus had desired *Erasmus's* Friendship, and that, among other things, he had told him, that he had seen him at *Deventer*. II. That he had mentioned to him some Circumstances, which he thought would make him remember it. *Erasmus* answered him, That it was an Illusion, and to prove it, he made use of those very Circumstances; he observed to him, That, when he departed from *Deventer*, the Bridge was not yet made, and that he did not set out so soon for *England* (10). If I am asked, Why I take notice of these Trifles? I answer, That it is to give an illustrious Example of an Illusion, which is very common; and for which one might excuse one's self better than is commonly done, by considering, that some very learned Men fall into it. When an Author becomes very famous, those, who have studied in the same Universities with him, take I know not what Delight, to say, in Companies, where That Author is spoken of, That they knew him a long time before, that they saw him a Scholar, &c. They fancy, that they do thereby participate, in some measure, of That Great Man's Glory: and, on that account, they relate more Facts than are believed, and more are believed than are true (11). I am sure, that many Persons will know themselves by this. However, we see here, by the Example of Ceratinus, that one ought not to trust too much to one's Memory; for it must not be questioned, that he meant it honestly.

[F] We have of his — a *Greek and Latin Lexicon*. *Boxhornius* (12) is mistaken, in pretending that it is the first *Greek Lexicon* that was made. *Valerius Andreas* (13) is not much less mistaken when he says, That Ceratinus is the first, after *Aldus Manucius*, who enlarged and published such a Lexicon. The Preface (14), which *Erasmus* prefixed to This Work of Ceratinus, is sufficient to shew, that it had already been enlarged by several Persons, and re-printed several times. Nay, Somebody had inserted some proper Names in it, which *Erasmus* did not approve. It seems at first, that *Gesner* believed, that This was meant of Ceratinus (15); which is visibly false, if the Preface be never so little examined; but, if *Gesner's* Expression be narrowly considered, he will be cleared. The same *Boxhornius* does not distinguish the manner how Ceratinus taught *Greek* in *Louvain*. He says, *Græcæ (linguæ) Professore egit Lovanii*. These Words are deceitful; they lead all Readers to imagine, that Ceratinus was a Professor of the *Greek Language* in the University of *Louvain*; which is not true. *Swertius* (16), from whom *Boxhornius* took the Epitaph of Ceratinus, with the Fault of Impression *Minoritas*, that is to say, the *Franciscans*, should have informed him, that Ceratinus taught *Greek* only in private, *privatim*. *Valerius Andreas* makes use of the same Word.

(9) It is the 32d of the 5th Book.

(10) Quod extimamus me tibi Daventrie conspectum vel hoc argumento facile deprehendes te vans ludi mentis imaginatione, quod cum ego Daventria discederem, non sum fluvius qui urbem præterfuit ponte junctus erat.

(11) See below, Remark [I], of the Article CAMDEN.

(12) In Theatr. Holland. p. 373.

(13) Bibl. Belg. pag. 406.

(14) It is in the 28th Book of his Letters.

(15) Gesn. in Biblioth. in Ceratino.

(16) Athen. Belg. pag. 353.

CERINTHUS, an Arch-Heretic, cotemporary with the Apostles, attributed the Creation of the World not to GOD, but to Angels (a). He taught, That *JESUS CHRIST* was the Son of *Joseph*, and that the use of Circumcision ought to be retained under the Gospel. He is looked upon as the Chief of the converted Jews, who raised the Tumult in the Church of *Antioch* (b), related by *St Luke* in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*. They raised that Disturbance, by declaring to the Faithful, That, without Circumcision, they could not fail to be damned. It is said also, that he was one of those, who, some Years before (c), had censured *St Peter* for having preached the Gospel to the *Gentiles* (d). *Epiphanius*, who says all this (e), pretends, nevertheless, that *Cerintus* came after *Carpocrates*, which is to pervert Chronology [A]. *Cerintus* passes for one of the chief Heads of

(a) Epiphani. advers. Hæres. pag. 110.

(b) In the Year 51.

(c) That is to say, in the Year 35.

(d) Acts xi.

(e) Epiphani. ubi supra, pag. 111.

[A] Epiphanius — pretends, that *Cerintus* came after *Carpocrates*, which is to pervert Chronology. *Lambert Danæus* censures those very justly, who say, That the *Cerinthians* are a Sprig of the *Carpocratians*.

of the Millenarians; he is accused of having taught, That, after the Resurrection, the Church should continue a thousand Years upon Earth, and that it would be a terrestrial Reign of JESUS CHRIST, a Time of Temporal Prosperity, and Voluptuousness [B]. Upon which some believed, that he was the true Author of the Revelations [C], and that he fathered it upon St John. Every one knows what is said of that Apostle, concerning his Aversion for Cerintus; I say, every one knows, it is reported, that he would not go into the same Bath where that Arch-heretic was. The Ancients have varied on this Subject, and the Moderns have added some Circumstances to it, which might pass for a pious Fraud [D]. Some have applied to Cerintus, what Theodoret said concerning certain Defenders of the Mo-
saical

(1) Lamb. Da-
maus, de Hæres.
cap. 8, fol. m.
25.

(2) Isidor. lib.
8. Etymolog.
cap. 5.

(3) In his first
Epistle, chap. 2,
ver. 19, 22; and
chap. 4, ver. 3.

(4) Damasc. ibid.
cap. 7, fol. 22,
verso.

(5) Euseb. lib. 4.
cap. 7.

(6) Damasc. ubi
supra, cap. 8,
fol. 25.

(7) Caius adver-
sus Proclum, ap-
ud Eusebium, lib.
Hist. Eccles. lib.
3, cap. 28, pag.
m. 100.

(8) Dionysius,
lib. 2, de pro-
missionibus, apud
Eusebium. ibid.

(9) Eusebius,
Hist. Eccles. lib.
3, ex Dionysio,
lib. 2, de pro-
missionibus.

(10) The Trans-
lation, which
was made of these
Greek Words, cit-
ed by Eusebius,
in the 25th
Chapter of the
7th Book, seems
to be better; here
it is. *Et in his
quibus ista be-
nignitas parari
posse existimabat;
scilicet nimium,
&c.*

Carprocatians (1). He says, that *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* assert it, that *St Augustin* affirms it, being deceived by *Epiphanius*; and that *Isidorus* (2) has copied this Error from *St Augustin*. He shews, by Two Reasons, that *Cerintus* lived in the Apostles Time; one is taken from what shall be said hereafter, when we shall say, that *St John* did not go into the Bath; the other is taken from hence, viz. that That Apostle seems to have refuted some Errors of *Cerintus* (3). He maintains, on the other side, that *Carprocatians* lived in the Time of *Antoninus Pius* (4), and he observes, that *Theodoret* places him in the Reign of *Hadrian*, and that *Eusebius* makes him live at the Time when *Saturninus* dogmatized (5). It ought to have been said, That *Eusebius* advances this, quoting *St Irenæus* for it. This would have given some weight to the Proof. *Damascus* does not forget to ob- serve, that *Epiphanius* has confuted himself, having acknowledged, that *Cerintus* opposed the Apostles more than once (6). Let us conclude, that Mr *Moreri* erred, when he said, that *Cerintus* was a Disciple of *Carprocatians*.

[B] He is accused of having taught the Millennium, a Time of temporal Prosperity and Voluptuousness. See here in what manner *Caius* relates this Opinion (7). In some Relations, which *Cerintus* has written, as if he had been some great Apostle, he tells us some monstrous Opinions, which he feigns, the Angels have revealed to him: He affirms, that the Reign of JESUS CHRIST shall be established on Earth after the Resurrection, and that Men shall live in Jerusalem, being again subject to Concupiscence and Voluptuousness, and that it shall be a Marriage Feast, which shall last a thousand Years. Thus *Caius* represents this Fact. *Dionysius*, Bishop of Alexandria, in the Time of *Eusebius*, represents the thing more grossly. *Cerintus*, says he (8), believed, that the Reign of JESUS CHRIST should be ter- restrial; and, as he was much addicted to bodily Pleasures, he feigned, that the Voluptuousness, which he desired, should make up the essential Part of That Reign: he makes it to consist in satisfying the Belly, and the Parts below, that is to say, in eat- ing, drinking, marrying, celebrating of Feasts, and offering of Sacrifices; for under these last Terms, which are more modest, he covered those Voluptu- ousnesses. I shall set down the Greek Words, with the Latin Translation of *Valesius*, that it may be seen whether my Conjecture has any ground (9). *Ἐπίγειον ἔσθαι τὴν τῷ Χριστῷ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔρχεται, φιλοσωματικῶς ὡς καὶ πᾶν σαρκικὸν, ἐν ταῖς οὐνεξπολεῖν ἔσθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστρίᾳ κληρονομῶν: τῆς σιτίου καὶ ποτίου καὶ γάμου, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐφημέτερον ταῦτα οὐδὲν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐορδαῖς καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἱερῶν σφαγῶν. Regnum Christi terrenum futurum. Et quarum re- rum cupiditate ipse flagrabat, utpote voluptatibus cor- poris obnoxius carnique addictus, in iis Regnum Dei situm fore somniavit, in ventris, & earum, quæ in- fra ventrem sunt, partium explenda libidine: hoc est in cibo & potu, ac nuptiis, atque, ut honestior voca- buli ejusmodi voluptates velaret, in festis (10) & sacri- ficiis & hostiarum maculationibus. My Conjecture is, that *Cerintus* did not expressly teach, that the Hap- piness and Glory of the Reign of JESUS CHRIST should consist in indulging Gluttony and Luxury, but that he made use of another turn of Expression; that he had recourse to the Rejoicings, which are proper for Days of Feasting, particular Days de- signed for Sacrifices, and for feasting on them. The Greek Words, which I have cited, insinuate plainly, that he covered his meaning under modest Phrases. But it was thought lawful to withdraw the*

Curtain, and to paraphrase them in such a manner, that all the Deformities of his Opinions might easily be discovered. If my Conjecture was certain, there would be some little Trick in the Proceedings of *Cerintus*'s Enemies; for, in short, what Right has any body to impute Particulars to an Author, which he does not mention? Why may he not enjoy the Benefit he ought to expect from the Generality of his Expressions? For the rest, *Valesius* does not approve, that, instead of ἐφημέτερον we should read ἐνθυμέ- τερον (11); and he alleges for it the Translation of *Rufinus*: 'Nec aliter legisse Rufinum ex versione ejus apparet. Sic enim verit: Et ut aliquid sacratus dicere videretur, legales diebat festivitates rursus celebrandas. Festorum scilicet & sacrificiorum no- mine libidines suas velabat Cerintus, ut honesta- tem quandam in speciem præferret (12). — That *Rufinus* read it no otherwise, is plain from his Tran- slation. For he thus renders it: And that he might seem to imply somewhat more sacred, he said that legal Festivals would be celebrated. That is, Ce- rintus veiled his wanton Gratifications under the Name of Feasts and Sacrifices, that he might keep up an Appearance of Decency.'

[C] Some have believed, that he was the true Au- thor of the Revelations. The same *Dionysius*, whom I have quoted in the foregoing Remark, informs us, that there had been some Persons, who wholly re- jected the Revelations, as a Work, which was not of *St John*, nor of any Apostle, nor of any other Ecclesiastical Person, and which did not deserve to be called a Revelation, since it was covered with such a thick Veil, that nothing could be understood in it; that *Cerintus* had composed it, and put *St John*'s Name to it, to credit his Visions under the Authority of such a venerable Apostle; *Κλεινὸν δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν κλεινὴν ἐνομέ- μενον αἰρεσιν, ἀξιώσαντες ἐπισημῶς αὐτὸν ἀναλίσ- τειν ἐκείνου πλάσματι ὀνόματι. Cerintum enim qui nominis sui sectam conflavit, cum magnæ auctori- tatis nomen ad faciendam fidem commentis suis vel- let præfigere, Joannis titulum operi suo indidisse (13).*

[D] The Ancients have varied on this Subject, and the Moderns have added to it — a pious Fraud. The Variation of the Ancients consists in this, that some pretend, that this Fact concerns *Cerintus*, and others, that it concerns *Ebion*. You will find in *Eusebius*, that *St John*, being entred into the Bath, and understanding, that *Cerintus* was there, went away immediately, and bid his Companions do so too; let us fly from hence, said he to them, for fear that a Bath, wherein the Enemy of Truth is, should fall upon us. *Φύγε- μεν μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπίσῃ, ἐνδὸν οἷοι Κηρίθου τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρῷ. Eusebius inquit, ne Balneum corruat, in quo Cerintus est, inimicus Veritatis (14).* *Eusebius* quotes *St Irenæus*, who says, that *St Polycarp* had been heard to say so (15), and that the thing was done in *Ephesus*. If you consult *Epiphanius*, you will find that *St John*, who never went into the Bath, was prompted, one Day, by the HOLY GHOST, to go thither. But, hearing that the Arch-heretic *Ebion* was there, he apprehended the Cause of the Inspiration he had received: he knew, that the HOLY GHOST had not inclined him to go thither, but to give him an Occasion to shew how much Truth is to be esteemed, and with what Dis- tinction the Friends of GOD, and the Instruments of the Devil, ought to be treated. He groaned then, and spoke these Words loud enough to be heard by all those, who were present, *Haste away, my Brethren, let us go from hence, for fear the Baths should fall, and crush us to pieces, with Ebion, be- cause*

(11) As Christi-
phorus has done.

(12) *Valesius*,
Not. in Eusebi-
um, pag. m. 54.

(13) *Eusebius*,
lib. 7, cap. 25,
pag. m. 273, ex
eodem *Dionysio*.

(14) *Eusebius*,
ubi supra, lib. 3,
cap. 29, pag. 100.
He quotes *St Irenæus* in the third
Book against He-
reses. See the
same *Eusebius*,
lib. 4, cap. 14,
pag. 125.

(15) 'Ὁς ἐν τα-
ραχώσεως Πολυ-
κάρπου, that is
to say, according
to the Translation
of *Valesius*, ait
ita se à Polycarpo
accepisse. But
since *Eusebius*,
lib. 4, cap. 14,
pag. 128, ob-
serves, that *Irenæus* says, that
some Persons
who were yet
living, had heard
Polycarp say so,
it is a Proof,
that *Irenæus* was
one of that Num-
ber.

(f) See Father Garnier, in *Auclario operum Theodoretii apud Itanium de Hæresiarum. seculi 1 & 2, pag. m. 52.*

jaical Law, who would have the Angels to be adored, and who grounded themselves on this Reason, That GOD, not being visible, nor to be touched, or comprehended, the divine Good-will ought to be procured by the Ministry of Angels (f). It is also pretended, that St Paul aimed at This Heretic, when he warned the Faithful to reject those, who, by Humility of Spirit, and by the Service of Angels, meddled with

(16) Epiphanius, *advers. Hæres.* n. 30, pag. 148, 149.

(17) Baron. ad Ann. 74. n. 9.

(18) Tillemont's *Memoirs of Ecclesiastical History*, Tom. I. pag. 1085. Edit. of Brussels.

(19) Id. *ibid.* pag. 924.

cause of his Impiety (16). Baronius, to reconcile Irenæus and Epiphanius, says, that it might happen that Cerinthus and Ebion were together in the Bath (17): but Mr de Tillemont observes, *That it is not necessary to have recourse to this Conjecture, it being no rare thing for St Epiphanius to be mistaken in History* (18). He adds to this, says he (19), *several Particulars; less certain, and of less Importance.* Note here the Progress of Stories: St Irenæus probably was the first, who published the Action of St John; he was contented to relate what he had heard of it: but those, who succeeded him, finding his Narrative too naked, did flourish upon it. They did not think it a glorious thing for That Apostle's Memory, that it should be thought, that he bathed himself in a public Place; for which reason they affirmed that he never did it, and, if he designed it one Day, it was by order from above. Afterwards a Cause of the Inspiration must be sought for; It was found in this, that it was requisite to make the Faithful know, that they ought to abhor the Enemies of Truth, and believe, that the Divine Justice is always ready to shew great Examples of Severity against Herefiarchs. But, because they thought it was not proper, that the Readers should think, that St John was afraid without Necessity, or that the implicate Threatning contained in his Words proved vain, they supposed, that the Herefiarch, with whom he would not bathe, was crushed under the Ruins of the House. This is what the following Ages have added to St Epiphanius's Flourishing.

I confess ingenuously, that I had never read This Addition, before I read it in a Letter of the learned Reinesius; but I have found it since in several Authors, whom he does not alledge. He speaks of it, after he had observed, that the contemporary Writers do not say, that Frederic Barbarossa was trod under Foot by the Pope, but that their Silence has not hindered their Successors from inventing That Circumstance, and affirming it boldly.

(20) Thomas Reinesius, *Epist.* 57. ad Rupertum, pag. 520, 521.

Similis, adds he (20), huic historiae interpolatio temerarie commissa est ab illis, qui five Ebionem five Cerinthum (variant enim) Ephesi ruinâ balnearum, in quibus disputaret unâ cum auditoribus suis, oppressum esse narrarunt. Cum enim legissem apud Iren. l. 3. c. 3. Epiphani. hæ. 30. Euseb. l. 3. Hist. Eccl. c. 23. & l. 4. c. 14. è relatu B. Polycarpi, S. Johannem Evang. & Apostolum, cum in balneis quas loturus intraverat Cerinthum cum suis esse audivisset, Festinate, dixisse, fratres; Egrediamur, ne domus corrumpatur & pereamus cum Cerintho, qui intus est, inimico Veritatis: quod timere ne fieret dixerat Apostolus, id factum sic esse interpretati sunt. In hac culpa est ille qui notas marginales Epiphanius Latino, excuso Basil. an. 1560. intulit; fingit enim miraculum à Joanne editum: & Victor. Strigel. qui Schol. ad Proverb. Salom. c. 22. tanquam Irenæi præv. adfert hæc: *Egresso Joanne domus statim collapsa Cerinthum & turbam reliquam oppressit: quod veterum & proximorum Apostoli & Cerinthi temporibus nemo dixerat.* Plura ejusmodi Oratores, tam Ecclesiasticos quam Politicos, peccasse circa historias sine dubio notasti, (sane observantur quotide) deque iis moneri Juventutem veræ historiae & elegantiorum literarum interest. — *The same kind of Interpolation or Violation is committed by those, who related, that Ebion or Cerinthus, (for they differ as to the Person) while he was disputing, was crushed, together with his Auditor, by the Fall of a Bath.* For, having read, in Irenæus, lib. 3. c. 3. Epiphani. hæ. 30. Euseb. l. 3. Hist. Eccl. c. 23. & l. 4. c. 14. from the Relation of St Polycarp, that St John the Evangelist and Apostle, going into a Bath, and hearing, that Cerinthus and his Followers were there, cried out, *Haste, my Brethren, let us retire, lest the House fall, and we perish with Cerinthus, who is within, That Enemy of Truth; have interpreted as False what the Apostle*

had said he feared would happen. In this mistake is He, who added marginal Notes to the Latin Epiphanius, printed at Basil, ann. 1560: for he pretends, that St John wrought a Miracle; and Victor Strigelius, who, Schol. ad Proverb. Salom. c. 22. produces these as the Words of Irenæus: St John being gone out, the House immediately fell, and crushed Cerinthus, and the rest of the Company; which no one of the Ancients, and near the Times of the Apostle and Cerinthus, ever said. You must have observed many Faults of this kind as well in Ecclesiastical as Political Orators, in regard to History, which it is for the Interest of true History and polite Literature, that Youth should be put in mind of. If I had shortened this Passage, I had robbed many of my Readers of a Piece of Knowledge, which will please them, which is, that the like Falsifications are to be found both in Ecclesiastical and Lay Orators, of which it concerns Youth to be informed. A Fault an hundred times more common than it should be! If an Author says, that certain Things were feared; another will say, that they actually happened. A bad and shameful Imitation of the Novelists (21)! Perhaps Reinesius remembered only the two Authors, whom he quotes; one is He, who put Notes in the Margins of St Epiphanius; the other is Victorinus Strigelius: but here are several others. Brother Bernard of Luxemburg affirms, that the Venerable Bede says, that St Polycarp relates (22) what St John said and did, and that, as soon as the Apostle was gone out, the Fall of the Bath crushed Cerinthus to death. *De isto Cherinto dicit Beda super Epistolam Joan. narrat enim de illo scilicet Joanne auditor ejus sanctissimus vir & martyr fortissimus Polycarpus Smyrnearum antistes, quod tempore quodam cum apud Ephesum balnea lavandi gratia fuisset ingressus, & vidisset ibi Cerinthum exire, continuo discessit non lotus, dicens; Fugiamus hinc ne balnea ipsa nos corrumperent, in quibus est Cerinthus inimicus veritatis. Quo egresso balneum cecidit, & hæreticum cum suis oppressit* (23). — Beda, on the Epistle of St John, says it of That Cerinthus; for Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, a most holy Man, and valiant Martyr, relates of him, viz. St John, that, going one Day into a Bath at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus come out, he immediately departed without washing, saying, *Let us fly hence, lest the very Bath, in which is Cerinthus, The Enemy of Truth, corrupt us. After he was gone, the Bath fell, and crushed the Heretic, and his Followers.* Præteolus asserts, that St Irenæus says, in the third Chapter of the third Book against Heresies, that St John found Cerinthus sitting in the Bath with his Followers, and vehemently disputing, and impudently and blasphemously denying that JESUS CHRIST was GOD: St John rose up, and warned his Friends to retire with him from thence, because GOD was going to punish such impudent Blasphemies. As soon as he was gone out, the House fell, and destroyed Cerinthus and all his Company. You may easily believe, that Præteolus does not leave such a Place, without moralizing against the Authors of Sects. Read all that he says. *Quod vero contemporaneus sancto Joanni Evangelistæ fuerit, testatur divus Irenæus lib. 3. adversus hæreses cap. 3. cum de beato Polycarpo loquens, ait venisse aliquando in balneum Joannem, & illic reperisse Cerinthum hæreticum una cum consortio suorum sedentem, inter quos Cerinthus acerrime disputabat, impudenteque blasphemus negabat Christum Deum esse. Atque furgens Johannes monuit amicos suos qui ei assidebant, ut una secum abirent: nam non velle Deum amplius ferre blasphemias tam impudentes. Illico vero cum egressus esset, collapsa domus Cerinthum cum sua cohorte extinxit. Ex quo licet videre horrendum exemplum divinæ ultionis & vindictæ in eos, qui manifesta impietate nomen Dei & ejus sanam doctrinam blasphemant, non verentes sectas perditionis introducere: & quam ira*

(21) There is a place in this Dictionary [end of the Remark [4], of the Article VIRGILIUS, Bishop of Salzburg] where I have said, that the Novelists, having seen some Letters, which say, the Army of their Party is preparing to lay Siege before a Town, affirm that the Siege is quite formed.

(22) It is not true, that St Polycarp relates that Irenæus says only, that he was heard to say so. Thus we have already an Addition.

(23) F. Bernardus Lutzenburgus in catalogo Hæreticorum, voce Cerinthiani.

with things, which they had not seen; and it is affirmed, that *Cerintbus*, having had some Correspondence with the Jews, Pagans, and Magicians in *Alexandria*, invented an Hypothesis, composed of Judaism, Paganism, and Magic, and spread it chiefly in *Pbrygia* and *Pisidia*, and even that he performed Prodigies by the Invocation of Angels (g). He rejected the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the Epistles of *St Paul*, and admitted only the Gospel of *St Matthew* (b). Neither did he admit of that altogether, if we may believe *Epiphanius* (i).

(g) Garnier *Ibid.* apud eumd. *Ibid.*

(b) Philastr. cap. xxxvi. apud eumd. *Ibid.*

(i) Epiphani. *Hæref. ref.* 23, cap. 5.

(24) Prateolus, in Elencho Alphabet. Hæreticor. pag. m. 128.

divina illos non patiatur tandem inultos (24). — That he was cotemporary with *St John the Evangelist*, *St Irenæus* testifies, in his third Book against Heresies, Chap. 3. when, speaking of *St Polycarp*, he says, that *St John* once came to a Bath, and there found *Cerintbus*, the Heretic, sitting with his Companions, among whom *Cerintbus* was warmly disputing, and impudently blasphemous denied that *CHRIST* was *GOD*. And *St John* rising up exhorted his Friends, who sat near him, to depart with him: for that *GOD* would no longer bear such impudent Blasphemies. But when he was retired, the House fell, and destroyed *Cerintbus* and his Company. Where we may see an horrible Example of Divine Vengeance on those, who with manifest Impiety blaspheme the Name of *GOD*, and his sound Doctrine, not fearing to introduce Sets of Perdition; and how *GOD*'s Anger suffers them not at length to go unpunished. Add to this these Words of Mr de Tillemont (25): 'Peuardentius quotes out of *St Jerom*, against the *Luciferians*, that the Bath fell in effect, and crushed *Cerintbus* to death. I have read this whole Treatise on purpose, without finding any such thing in it. I have a Catalogue of Heretics, composed in the Form of a Catechism, by a German Minister (26): and here is the Answer which I find in it to this Question: 'Quomodo perit (Cerinthus)? Ruina balnei oppressus: Cum enim Johannes Evangelista, cum discipulis suis, Ephesi, lavandi causa, in balneum venisset, ac vidisset intus esse Cerinthum, resiliit inde statim, ac dixit: Discedamus cito, ne ruina

balnei opprimamur, cum intus sit Cerintbus, hostis veritatis. Id quod etiam, discedente eo, factum est. Ut exprimitur in versibus Strigelii:

Impia Cerintbus sancto convitia Christo
Dum facit, & stulta garrulitate furit:
Concidit & rapido blasphemum contudit ictu.
Collapse subito facta ruina domus.

— How did *Cerintbus* perish? He was crushed by the Fall of a Bath. For *St John the Evangelist*, coming into a Bath, at Ephesus, with his Disciples, and seeing *Cerintbus* within, immediately started back, and said, Let us depart quickly, lest we be crushed by the Fall of the Bath, since *Cerintbus*, That Enemy of the Truth, is within. Which happened after his Departure, as is expressed in the Verses of Strigelius,

Whilst uttering Scoffs against the Son of *GOD*,
Cerintbus died by Heaven's avenging Rod.
With sudden Ruin on his impious Head,
The falling Bath crush'd the Blasphemer dead.

Micraëlius was not more exact in consulting Originals, though he cites them; See the Margin (27). Mr *Ittigius* seems to believe, that *Prateolus* is the first, who added what concerns the Fall of the House, where *Cerintbus* was bathing, to the Narrative of *Irenæus* (28). It is certain, that This Flourish is more ancient, than *Prateolus*.

(27) Ephesi, *Irenæus* testis lib. 3, cap. 3. e balneo egressus (Joannes) Cerinthum Hæresiarum vidit ædium ruinam obui. *Micraëli*. Syntag. Hist. Eccl. pag. m. 223.

(28) *Ittigius*, de Hæresarch. 1 & 2. sæculi, pag. 58. Edit. 1690.

(25) Tillemont, Memoirs of Eccles. Hist. Tom. I, pag. 1058.

(26) Johannes Pontanus, Eccles. Regiomontane in Neomarchia Pastor, & Vicinarum Inspector, in catal. Hæreticorum fol. E 3. verso. This Book was printed in 1615, in 12mo.

CERISANTES, a Gentleman of much Wit and Courage, in the XVIIth Century. You will find his Article in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary; but suffer not yourself to be seduced by the Falsities, which may have crept into it, and mind the Observations which I set down. They are taken from a Manuscript Apology, which Mr de Ste. Helene (a) sent me from London, two or three Months before his Death. He composed it for his Brother, Mr de Cerisantes, some time after the Duke of Guise's Memoirs were published. Mr de Cerisantes is much abused in those Memoirs; but the Author of the Apology maintains, that they are Slanders destitute of Truth. He does not believe, that the Duke of Guise is the Author of That Work, and suspects Mr de Saincton (b) to have forged it, or to have set it off with what is fabulous in it, either through an extream Zeal for his Master, or — to make the Piece more pleasing (c), and more deserving to be well paid for by the Bookseller. First he confutes some Expressions of Contempt, which are used in it, and the Reproach of meanness of Birth [A]. He owns the Quarrel

(a) He left France in the time of the last Persecutions, and fled into England. He died in London, the 20th of January, 1697.

(b) That Duke's Secretary, and he who published these Memoirs.

(c) Manuscript Apology, pag. 3.

[A] He is very much abused in the Memoirs of the Duke of Guise. His Brother, who composed an Apology — refutes certain Expressions of Contempt (1), and the Reproach of Meanness of Birth. He says, those Expressions will appear most ridiculous, when it shall be known that Cardinal de Richelieu had such a good Opinion of Cerisantes, as to send him to Constantinople, in the Year 1641, to treat about some important Business there, and that, in 1644, the Chancellor Oxenfern, and the other Regents of Sweden, during the Minority of Queen Christina, judged him worthy to be admitted into the Number of the Counsellors of State of that Kingdom, and to be afterwards sent Resident to the Court of France. — This appears by the Instructions of the Sieur de Cerisantes, by a Letter which the said Chancellor wrote to him at Paris, and by another which the Sieur Chanut, at that time Resident of France in Sweden, wrote to the Sieur Guesnier at Rome, which Pieces are in the Hands of the Sieur de Sainte Helene, as also the rest which shall be spoken of hereafter (2). Note, that the Queen of Sweden had first given Cerisantes a Regiment in the Army of Germany, but, being already gone two Days Journey from Stockholm, to take Possession of it, a Courier, who

(1) They are in the 116th Page of the Duke of Guise's Memoirs, Edit. of Paris, in 4to.

(2) Manuscript Apology, p. 4, 5.

was sent after him, obliged him to return back again; the Regents of the Crown of Sweden having thought it more proper to send him Resident to France (3). Note also, that he had been Lieutenant of the first Company of the Regiment of Navarre — and he performed such fine Actions in the several Posts he had in that Regiment, and shewed so much Vigour, Capacity, and Courage, in several Battles, that the Prince, then Duke of Enguien, and the Marshals de Chatillon, de la Meilleraye, and de Gassion, praised him so much publicly, and in the Presence of all the Officers, that it might have inspired Vanity into the most modest Persons (4). The Author of the Memoirs of the Duke of Guise is told, that, in allowing Mr de Cerisantes but little Merit and Experience, he is fallen into a Contradiction, acknowledging in the same One hundred and seventy seventh Page, that he had Wit and Eloquence; in the following Page, that he was a Man of Courage, and that but few Persons in this Age equalled him in Latin Poetry; in the One hundred and ninety fifth Page, that he made a Lodgment within ten Paces of a Post, where the Enemy had Five hundred Men, wherein he behaved himself as bravely as he had done in the Attack; and

(3) *Ibid.* pag. 15. we are referred to Mr Chanut's Letter.

(4) *Ibid.* pag. 11.

(d) Ibid. pag. 12.

rel of *Cerisantes* with the Duke of *Candale*; but he maintains, that the Circumstances and Consequences of it are falsely related [B]. He does not deny, but that his Brother was a little too haughty, and that *perhaps he carried his Ambition somewhat too far (d)*; but, adds he, *if such a Fault may be excused in any body, it might be tolerated in him — who was a handsome Man, witty, learned, extremely brave, of great Capacity for War, and who, in short, possessed, in a Degree much above the common, the Talents, which may recommend a Man in the World, either in Peace or War.* It is denied, that he was dismissed by the Queen of Sweden, and his leaving the Court

(5) Ibid. p. 6, 7.

(6) Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise*, pag. 178.

(7) Apology, pag. 9. See the following Remark.

and that he put it into so good a posture of Defence, that it was always preserved afterwards. In the Two hundred and fifty fourth Page, that the Duke of *Guise*, having engaged in a Battle only to draw *Ja-como Rousse* out of a great Danger, and seeing him safe, aimed only at his Retreat, the care whereof he gave to the *Sieur de Cerisantes*, who came to him (says the Author of the Memoirs) very fortunately; which he performed, and re-joined the Duke of *Guise*, after a light Skirmish, without the Loss of any of his Men. To all this it is added, that the Command of a Body of Four thousand *Calabrians*, which the Duke gave him, was yet an uncontrollable Proof of the good Opinion he had of his Experience in Feats of Arms. The Three hundred seventy fifth Page testifies this, as also the Count de *Modene's* Memoirs, Tom. iii. pag. 51, and the Commission which the Duke of *Guise* gave the *Sieur de Cerisantes* for that Employ. The Conclusion is, that the Reasons, alleged by the Author of the Memoirs, for the Refusal, which he says the Duke of *Guise* gave the *Sieur de Cerisantes*, of the Office of Colonel-General, are weak, since he granted him another afterwards, much more considerable as to the Functions, though not as to the Dignity (5).

As to the Meanness of his Birth, it is observed, that the Author of the Memoirs says falsely, that Mr de *Cerisantes's* Father was a Minister (6); and the Consequence, which he draws from it, is confuted. It is maintained against him, that this would not prove, that *Cerisantes* was an ignoble Person; and then the Apologist goes on thus: 'His Father, whose Name was *Mark Duncan*, was a famous and celebrated Doctor of Physic, a *Scotchman* by Nation, and a Gentleman by Birth. Being gone to travel into France in his Youth, he settled at *Saumur* in *Anjou*, where he married a Gentlewoman of a good Family. He had not lived there long, before he acquired so great a Reputation in his Art, that King *James I.*, of Great Britain, desired him to serve near his Person, in the Quality of his Physician in Ordinary; and, for that purpose, he sent him a Patent for it, that he might be sure of the Place, which was proposed to him, before he crossed the Sea: but, his Wife being very unwilling to leave her Country, Relations, and Acquaintance, he suffered himself to be conquered by the Tears of a Woman, whom he loved passionately; he would not accept an Employ so honourable, and so profitable to his Family, and continued all the Remainder of his Life in the City of *Saumur*, where he died in the Year 1640, lamented by every body, as well Catholics as Protestants, of what Quality soever they were. He was admirably well versed in Philosophy, Divinity, and the Mathematics, besides Physic, which he exercised with much Honour. What is more to be esteemed is, that he was a Man of great Probity, and of an exemplary Life (7).' Add to this what I shall say in the last Remark.

[B] He acknowledges the Quarrel — — — with the Duke of *Candale*, but he maintains, that the Consequences of it are falsely reported.] See here the Words of the Apology; they clear up a Matter which many Readers will think curious. The *Sieur de Cerisantes* had a Quarrel with the Duke of *Candale*, and challenged him; but the Duke of *Guise*, if he was the Author of the Memoirs, would have less reason, than any body whatever, to reproach him with it, since it was to maintain the Interests of the fair *Mademoiselle de Pons*, his Mistress, who was then one of the Queen-Regent's Maids of Honour, whom the Duke of

Candale had affronted in a full Ring, as she fate at the Boot of a Coach with the *Sieur de Cerisantes*. Moreover, I confess ingenuously, that, being at that time Resident of the Crown of Sweden, the strictest Rules of Prudence did not permit him to carry his Resentment so far: but where are those generous Men, who can follow such an austere Virtue, when they are attacked in their Honour? Without doubt, the ill Usage, which That fair Lady had publicly received, reflected in such a manner on the Person, who had then her Conversation, that he could hardly dispense with himself from undertaking the Reparation of it. His Brother, the *Sieur de Ste Helene*, having freely told him some Months after, on that Subject, that, in his Opinion, he had offended against his Character by such a Proceeding, and in some manner renounced the Privileges, which the Law of Nations gave him, as a public Person: You are in the right, Brother, said he to him; but you must know, that the Ladies of the Court have ever been the Dispensers of Reputation. Had I suffered a Lady to have received an Affront in my Company, I had lost my Honour for ever with the Fair Sex, before whom I had no more dared to appear. But I absolutely deny, that That Quarrel preceded his Residence, and obliged him to leave *Paris*. Many Persons of the Court, at that time, may remember very well, that, when he sent a Challenge to the Duke of *Candale*, he had already exercised his Ministry above a Year, and that he continued in it nine or ten Months after, notwithstanding the Solicitations, which his Royal Highness, the late Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Espernon*, and Mr de *Mets*, at that time Abbot of *St Germain des Prez*, and at present Duke of *Vernueil*, employed with her Swedish Majesty, to have him re-called. For that purpose, they set all Engines at work, and attacked him on account of his Birth (either out of meer Malice, or by the same Argument, which the Author of the Memoirs makes use of, that, being the Son of a Man of Letters, it was probable he was no Gentleman); but it was in vain; for the *Sieur de Cerisantes*, having had notice from Mr de *Lyonne* of all that was contriving against him, sent with all speed a Copy of the Proofs of his Nobility into Sweden, which were collated by a Secretary of State, wherewith the Queen his Mistress seemed to be wholly satisfied, insomuch that she made a Jest of all the Letters, which were sent to her, to the Prejudice of her Resident, whom she not only continued in his Function at the Court of France, as I have said already, but whose Proceedings with the Duke of *Candale* she likewise approved (8).

[C] It is denied that he was dismissed by the Queen of Sweden.] It is another Falshity, to say, that the Queen of Sweden dismissed the *Sieur de Cerisantes*; since it may be made appear, by a Letter, which he wrote from *Stockholm* to his Brother, the *Sieur de Ste Helene*, dated the Twenty eighth of April 1646, and which he has by him, that he dismissed himself, and that he left the Court of France without the Knowledge of the Queen his Mistress. I do not pretend to defend, or excuse, his departing without Order, being most certain, that he might justly have been tried for it. The *Sieur de Cerisantes* was not ignorant of the dangerous Consequence of it; but, being very well informed, that some powerful Friends of the *Sieur Grotius* designed to undermine his Fortune, out of hatred, because the *Sieur de Cerisantes*, as they thought, had supplanted him, he ventured all, and undertook his Journey,

(8) Apology, pag. 12.

Court of France is disapproved. It is insinuated (e) that he left the Service of Sweden, to execute his Resolution of changing his Religion: he accordingly forsook the Protestant Religion, and turned a Roman Catholic. He was sent to Naples to be the King's Agent there, and to observe the Proceedings of the Duke of Guise, who was suspected at the Court of France (f). It is denied, that he assumed the Quality of Ambassador there [D], and that the Reasons and the Circumstances of his Detention have been faithfully related [E]. Complaints are made of some Misrepresentations of the Truth concerning his Death [F]; and That which concerns his last Will is rejected

(c) Ibid. pag. 17.

(f) See Remark [D].

as

Journey, to encourage his Party by his Presence, and to defend a Post, which his Enemies attacked with so much Fury, or to bury himself in the Ruins of it. It is also very evident by the Discharge, which the *Sieur de Cerisantes* obtained of the said Queen his Mistress, that she was very well satisfied with his Care and Negotiations, and that she desired to retain him in her Service; for it is said, in express terms, in the Discharge, that he desired it himself, to try his Fortune another way; and that all the while he had had the Management of the Interests of her Crown, he had acquitted himself of it with all Diligence, Faithfulness, and Industry. The *Sieur Chanus's* Letter, already twice mentioned, proves the same thing, saying, that the Queen had assured him with her own Mouth, that, to keep the said *Sieur de Cerisantes* in her Service, she had offered him a Regiment, or a good Pension, which he pleaded (9).

(9) Ibid. pag. 15, &c.

[D] It is denied, that he took the Quality of Ambassador at Naples. All the Frenchmen, who were at that time at Naples, can testify, that he only made himself known in Quality of the King's Agent; which the very Memoirs in question grant him in the One hundred and sixteenth Page, as also those of the Count de Madene, in the second Tome, pag. 237. As such, then, he had a Right to cause the Council to be assembled, and to make such Proposals, as he should think proper, having particular Orders for it, and general Orders to observe the Duke of Guise's Actions, and to give Advice of his Departments, seeing, even when he was at Rome, his Intentions began to be much suspected by the Ministers of France (10). The Author of the Memoirs says, That *Cerisantes* would place himself on the Duke of Guise's Left-hand at Mass, and at public Ceremonies, and that the Duke would not suffer it, and abused him. The Apologist answers (11), that he never heard any thing about That Dispute, and that *Cerisantes* was so brave, and so nice on the Point of Honour, that, since he did not shew his Resentment by some desperate Action, or by leaving Naples, it ought to be believed, that the Duke of Guise did not give him That abusive Language, which is spoken of in the Memoirs. The whole Two hundred and fifth Page, adds he (12), is full of injurious and outrageous Words, which deserve no Answer, because one may easily know, that Passion only dictated them, and that the *Sieur de Cerisantes's* original Sin is, his having been altogether in the Interests of the Marquis de Fontenai Mareuil, at that time Ambassador of France at Rome, and too clear-sighted to suffer himself to be surprised by the Duke's Artifices. Nevertheless, I shall not forbear to say, that the Calumnies of a very passionate Prince cannot be put in the Scale with the Approbation of the Cardinals Richelieu, Mazarin, and St. Cecil, and of Chancellor Oxenstern, and the other Regents of Sweden, and the Bishop of Angers, the Marquis de Fontenai, the Sieurs de Lyonne and Chanus, and of many other Persons of Quality and Merit, who honoured the *Sieur de Cerisantes* with their Esteem, so far were they from taking him for a whimsical and extravagant Fool.

(10) Ibid. p. 5.

(11) Ibid. pag. 19, 20.

(12) Ibid. pag. 22.

(13) The Author of the Apology says, pag. 19, that he made a Journey to Paris, on purpose to be informed by the *Valet de Chambre* of the deceased, newly returned from Naples, of all that happened to the *Sieur de Cerisantes* his Master, since his Departure from Sweden, as well as at the Courts of the King of Poland, of the Great Duke of Moscow, and of the Emperor, as particularly at Rome and at Naples. He adds, pag. 26, that the same *Valet de Chambre* was a very good Man, and known to be so brave by the Duke of Guise himself, that he made him a Cornet, after the Death of *Cerisantes*.

[E] --- and that the Reason and the Circumstances of his Detention are faithfully related. Here is the History, as I have it from his *Valet de Chambre* (13). The Duke, suspecting that the *Sieur de Cerisantes* did him some ill Offices at the Court of France, and with the Marquis de Fontenai at Rome, went one day, very well accompanied, to his Lodgings, and being come into his Chamber, would oblige him, partly by

fair Words, and partly by Threatnings, to give him his Cyphers, to clear his Suspicions of some Letters that he had intercepted; which the *Sieur de Cerisantes* plainly refused him, saying, that he was not to give him an Account of his Actions, and protesting that he would never part with them but by force. Upon this they came to high Words on both sides; and the Duke, heating himself beyond Measure, caused his Guards to arrest him, with Orders to watch and observe him in such a manner, that he should have no Communication with any body. A few Days after, the Duke's Passion being over, he withdrew his Guards; and, after having made his Excuses to the *Sieur de Cerisantes* for his rigorous Proceedings, and having imputed the Cause of it to some malicious and ill-minded Persons, who had imbibed him against him, he flattered him in such a manner (being a great Master of the Art of gaining the Good-will of People, and of captivating them, when he designed it) that they lived afterwards in good understanding, or at least seemed to do so (14).

[F] Complaint is made of some Misrepresentations --- of the Death of *Cerisantes*. The Duke conceals the Truth very much here (15), as well as in divers other places of the Memoirs; for I have it from good Hands, that the *Sieur de Cerisantes*, having already caused his Baggage to be packed up, in order to repass to Rome, whither he was called to be Chamberlain to Pope Innocent X (16), the Duke earnestly desired him to defer his Departure till after the general Attack, which he designed to make on all the Enemies Posts at the same time; which the *Sieur de Cerisantes* willingly granted, being glad to meet with such a favourable Occasion to acquire Honour. In effect, he signalized his Valour extremely in the Attack on the side of the Gate of *Cbiaie*, by the Report of divers Persons, who were Eye-witnesses of it; which may also be confirmed by a Paris Gazette of the Twenty second of April 1648, the Extract whereof is contained in a Letter, which the *Sieur Rauffin*, Secretary of the *Sieur de Cerisantes*, wrote, to *Saumur*, to the *Sieur de Ste Helene*, the eighteenth of May 1648, from Paris, where the said *Sieur de Cerisantes* had left him on some Affairs, which was afterwards confirmed to him by the *Valet de Chambre* of whom I have spoken before. --- Although Historians are answerable for the Truth of what they write, and though their Mistakes admit of no Excuses, I do not pretend to take much Advantage of the Falstity, which is to be found in the Memoirs, concerning the time of the *Sieur de Cerisantes's* Death, because it bears no great Strefs, and may pass for a very innocent Error. I shall only say, that the Posts were attacked the twelfth of February 1648, as the Memoirs say; and, that he died three days after; which is evidently false, since his Will is of the Twenty seventh of the same Month; and he died the next day, or the day after, that is to say, the Twenty eighth or the Twenty ninth, with which the Gazette, which I have mentioned, does also agree. Those, who have heard of the Funeral Honours, which were done to the Body of the deceased, of the great Number of People who accompanied it, and of the Grief of all the Officers and Soldiers of the *Calabrian* Troops, of the French Gentlemen, and of the People, will draw an infallible Consequence from it of This Gentleman's Merit (17). This last Fact seems to be alleged as a Reproach of a Sin of Omifion: it is true, that the Complaints are not made precisely as in the Words of the Thirty first Page viz. The Memoirs of the Duke of Guise do not

(14) Manuscript Apology, pag. 23.

(15) To wit, at the 374th, and 375th Pages.

(16) The Apologist complains, p. 31, that no mention is made of this in the Memoirs of the Duke of Guise: he reproaches that Silence as a Sin of Omifion.

(17) Manuscript Apology, pag. 25, 26.

as fabulous [G]. Of all the Slanders, which have been published against him, this is, perhaps, the most proper to expose him to the Laughter of all Readers; but at the same time, there is none which can be better refuted: for all those, who relate this Story, may be convicted of Falstity by an Act of a Notary, that is by producing *Cerisantes's* Will. The Apologist does not fail to give us notice (g), that this is sufficient to discredit all the other Slanders; for, whosoever ventures to publish Falstities, disproved by the Acts of a Notary, deserves no Credit. Nevertheless, the Narrations concerning *Cerisantes*, in the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise*, have made great Impression on the Readers. They have passed into other Books. *Du Maurier* has adopted them: The Continuator of *Moreri* has copied *du Maurier*, and it appears by the Book intituled *Menagiana*, that they served the Wits, who met at Mr *Menage's* House, for Conversation [H]. Thus we see how Fortune exercises her capricious Tyranny on the Memory and Reputation of Men: and how dangerous is it to fall into the Hands of an Historian who has a Mind to divert his Reader, and who knows how to please him? I shall communicate to the Public the Particulars, which a Friend of the Apologist of *Cerisantes* was pleased to impart to me [I].

‘ say, that the *Sieur de Cerisantes* was so much beloved by the People of *Naples*, that they gave him a fine Country House some Miles from the City, where his Servants lived some time after his Death.’

[G] *What concerns his last Will is rejected as fabulous*. The Author of the Memoirs, to crown the Work, finishes his Calumnies with the most egregious Falstity, that ever any Man uttered, saying, that the *Sieur de Cerisantes*, to carry his Vanity as far as he could, made choice of the Duke for the Executor of his Will; to which he adds, that he left above five and twenty thousand Crowns in Foundations, Donations, or pious Legacies, though he was not worth twenty Sous (they are the express Words of the Memoirs). This may easily be proved to be false by a Copy of the Will itself, delivered by the Notary, who drew it up, which is in the Possession of the *Sieur de Ste. Helene*. That Will shews, that Signior *Carlo Carola* is named Executor of it, and that the Legacies, Donations, and Foundations, amount only to the Sum of five hundred and fifty Ducats. He ordered besides, that the Price of eighty Pipes of Wine, which belonged to the said Deceased, should be employed by the said Executor in adorning *St Anne's* Chapel in the Church of the *Carmelites* of *Naples*, where he would have his Body buried, and in having an Epitaph made for him; which falls very short of twenty five thousand Crowns (18).

[H] *It appears by the Book, intituled Menagiana, that the preceding Narrations served the Wits at Mr Menage's House for Conversation.* The Apologist informs us (19), that he would not have taken his Manuscript from the bottom of the Chest, where he had confined it, if no One, but the Writer of the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise*, had slandered *Cerisantes*. His first Design was to publish the Apology; but he altered it, upon his Friends representing to him, I. That Those Memoirs, being looked upon as a Romance though very well written, and very diverting, yet were much discredited as to most of the Adventures, which are contained in them. II. That his Brother's Reputation was too well established to need any Defence. But, when he found that other Authors adopted the Facts, mentioned in those Memoirs, and added other things to them, he thought he ought to be no longer silent. Here is another piece of his Manuscript. ‘ In the Book intituled *Menagiana*, they make *Menage* say (20), that Mr *de Cerisantes*, being turned out of the Employ of Resident of Sweden in France, resolved to become a Turk, in hopes to be made Grand Vizier in less than two Years, and thereby to find means to revenge himself of the Swedes. All this is false and ridiculous. The *Sieur de Cerisantes* was sent to Constantinople, in 1641, by Cardinal *Richelieu*, and he was not Resident of Sweden till the Year 1644, as I have said before in the fifth Page of this Manuscript. He says afterwards, that the *Sieur de Cerisantes* died in the Service of the Duke of *Guise*: this is false again. He was the King of France's Agent, and not in the Duke's Service. He adds, that, by his Will, he left his Lands and his Jewels to his eldest Brother, and his

Money and Moveables to another Relation, and two hundred thousand Livres in pious Legacies; and, that he had the Impudence to make the Duke of *Guise* the Executor of his Will. It appears by the *Sieur de Cerisantes's* Will, that he left but five hundred and fifty Ducats in pious Legacies, and that he ordered that the Value of eighty Pipes of Wine, which the City of *Naples* had presented him with, should be applied to the Ornaments of a Chapel in the Church of the *Carmelites*, where he would be buried, and to provide an Epitaph for him. When the *Sieur de Cerisantes* died, he had but one younger Brother, whose Name was *Sainte Helene*. The Duke was not the Executor of his Will, but one whose Name was *Carlo Carola* (21).

[I] *I shall communicate the Particulars, which a Friend of the Apologist of Cerisantes was pleased to impart to me.* Here is an Extract of his Letter: ‘ *Duncan* settled at *Saumur*, where he practised Physic with great Reputation. He was at first Professor in Philosophy, and published an Abridgement of Logic (22). He left that Employ, and was made Principal of the College. He had three Sons, *Cerisantes*, *Sainte Helene*, and *Montfort*, and three Daughters. He wrote a Book concerning the pretended Possession of the Nuns of *Loudun* (23); for which *Laubardemont* would have brought him into great Trouble, had it not been for the Credit of the *Marshall de Brezé's* Lady, whose Physician he was, and who had a great Affection for him. He had a Servant, whose Son, aged twelve or thirteen Years, spit his Tongue out in coughing, and carried it to his Father saying, Here is my Tongue, that I have just now spit out. The Boy spoke as well after that Accident (which proceeded, without doubt, from the Small-Pox, which had eat the Root of his Tongue) as he did before, except that he could not well pronounce the Letter *r*. He was carried up and down all over Europe, and lived a long time. A Surgeon of *Saumur* having composed a Treatise upon it, whereof Mr *Duncan* gave him the Title, viz. *Aglossomatographia*, another Physician of *Saumur* (24), who did not love Mr *Duncan*, caused a Dissertation to be printed, to prove that it ought to be said *Aglossomatographia*, and prefixed to it these Verses:

Lecteur tu t'esmerveilleras
Qu'un garçon qui n'a point de langue
Prononce bien une harangue;
Mais bien plus tu t'estonneras
Qu'un barbier qui ne sçait pas lire
Le Grec, se melle d'en écrire.
Que si ce plaisant épigramme,
Doux fruit d'un penser de mon ame,
Te semble n'aller pas tant mal,
C'est que je l'ai fait à cheval.

No doubt, Reader, but you will wonder,
That a young Boy, without a Tongue,
Can so well pronounce a Harangue;
But you will be yet more surprized,

(21) Manuscript Apology, p. 72.

(22) *Burgersdick* us praises him much in the Preface of his *Institutiones Logicae*, which he made on that Model.

(23) See Remark [B], of the Article *GRANDIER*, in the beginning.

(24) His Name was *Benoist*. It is he who gave a Latin Translation of *Lucian*.

(18) *Ibid.* pag. 27, 28.

(19) *Ibid.* pag. 36.

(20) *Menagiana*, pag. 401, 402, Impression of Holl.

*That a Barber, who cannot read
Greek, will yet pretend to write it.
And if this pleasant Epigram,
The sweet Production of my Mind,
Seems to you to run pretty well,
'Tis because I made it on Horse-back.*

Some malicious Persons altered the last Verse in all the Copies they could find, and put it *C'est que je l'ai fait en cheval*: — 'Tis because I made it like a Horse. There is yet another thing, which I think somewhat singular, namely, that Mr Duncan, his three Sons, and Mr de Sainte Helene's only Son, the five Persons, who made the whole Male Line of That Branch, are all dead, and buried in five different Kingdoms; Mr Duncan in France, Cerisantes at Naples, Montford at Stockholm, Sainte Helene in London, and his Son in Ireland.

I am very glad to find an Occasion here to speak of Mr Duncan, who practises Physic at Bern with

much Glory, and for whom I have always had a great Love and Esteem, since we studied Philosophy together in the Year 1668. He is descended from a famous Professor of Philosophy (25), who was of the same Family with the Physician of *Saumur*. He was born at *Montauban*, where he practised Physic with great Reputation, when the desire of living according to the Dictates of his Conscience obliged him to retire to *Berne*, sometime after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. The Books, which he has published, are excellent, and have done him great Honour. He is Author of the *New and Mechanical Explication of animal Actions*, printed at Paris in the Year 1678: *The Natural Chymistry, or a Chymical and Mechanical Explication of the Nourishment of an Animal*, in three Parts, printed at Paris, the first in the Year 1681, and the other two in the Year 1687: *The History of the Animal, or the Knowledge of the animated Body by Mechanics and Chymistry*, printed at Paris in 1687. The Journalists have spoken of them with praise (26) [* §].

(25) In the Academy of *Montauban*.

(26) See the Appendix ad *historiam literariam* of Mr Van Heugem, pag. 128, and p. 107 of the second.

(*) Mr Duncan, has published several other Works; among others, *Salutary Advice to the whole World, against the ill Use of botchings, particularly Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate*, in 8vo. Rotterdam, 1705, translated into English. And *Chymiae Naturalis Specimen*, in 8vo. Amst. 1719. He resides now (1734) at London. REM. CRIT.]

(a) Ex Thuanus, lib. 129, pag. 1003.

(b) Witte, Diss. Biograph.

CESALPINUS, or CÆSALPINUS (ANDREW), was a very learned Man both in Philosophy and Physic. He was of *Arezzo*, and a Professor a long time at *Pisa*; after which he became chief Physician to Pope *Clement VIII*. He died at *Rome* the Twenty third of *February* 1603 (a), at the Age of Eighty four Years (b). He departed from the common Road of the Peripatetics in several things [A]; and, to speak right, he was a very bad Christian with respect to Opinions. It is said, he believed, that the first Men were formed in the same manner, as several Philosophers imagine, that Frogs are engendered [B]. We shall examine

[A] He left the common Road of the Peripatetics in several things. Do not imagine, that he invented different Principles from those of *Aristotle*; for, on the contrary, he ought to pass for an Innovator, only because he addicted himself to *Aristotle's* true Opinions. He penetrated into the bottom of the Peripatetic System, and maintained it according to the true sense of the Founder, and not as the Schoolmen did, who, under the profession of *Aristotle's* Disciple, taught nothing less than his Tenets. The work is, that *Cæsalpinus* applied himself chiefly to clear the Obscurity of That System in the Articles most opposite to Religion. After the manner, in which he unfolds his Master's Doctrine concerning the first Mover, he not only overthrows Providence, but also the true Distinction between the Creator and the Creature: and yet his Book (1) has not been censured by the Inquisition. He had the Address to declare, at the end of his Preface, that, if *Aristotle* does not agree with the Scripture in some things, he leaves him, and acknowledges, that there are some Paralogisms in his Arguments, but that he leaves it to be examined by those, who profess a higher Theology (2). The Maxim of the Civilians, *Protestatio facto contraria non valet*, might be alledged against him. Dr *Samuel Parker* has very well unfolded *Cæsalpinus's* Opinions and Artifices; he says, that he is the first, and almost the last, of the Moderns, who comprehended *Aristotle's* Opinion, *Quem quid velit recentiorum hic primus & pene postremus copiose videt* (3). What we shall say in the Remark [B] will confirm what I have mentioned elsewhere (4) concerning *Spinoza's* Conformity with *Aristotle*.

[B] He believed, that the first Men were formed in the same manner — as Frogs. Read these words of *Saldenus*: 'Referendus huc — *Andreas Cæsalpinus*, Medicus Romanus; qui primos & vetustissimos homines, instar murium & ranarum, ex putri materiæ factos esse, pronuntiavit: adoptato proculdubio eo errore ex *Democriti* *Aberita* hypothesebus, cui ex aquâ limoque primum visum est homines procreatos esse. Non multum abluente etiam *Epicuro*, qui credidit, limo calefacto uteros nescio quos radicibus terræ increvisse, & infantibus ex se editis ingenuum lactis humorem, naturâ ministrante, præbuisse, hoque, ita educatos & adultos, hominum genus procreasse (5). — *Hitherto we must refer* — *Andreas Cæsalpinus, a Physician of Rome, who pronounced, that the first and most antient race of Men were formed out of putrid Matter, like Mice and Frogs; adopting this error, no doubt, from the Opinions of Democritus the Ab-*

derite, who thought that Men were originally produced from Water and Mud; not very different, in this, from the Opinion of Epicurus, who believed, that Mud growing warm, certain Wombs grew from the Roots of the Earth, and afforded, by the Ministration of Nature, the pure Moisture of Milk to the Infants produced from them: and that these Infants, thus brought up, and becoming Men, begat the rest of Mankind. *Anaxagoras* and *Archelaus* (6), two other great Philosophers, might have been joined with *Democritus* and *Epicurus*: It would have served to make a few of greater Reading, but not have discovered greater Exactness. Good *Saldenus* had not well consulted the Originals; and, in all appearance, he saw what concerns *Cæsalpinus* at a great distance from the Original. I have searched in That Philosopher's Writings, for what might have given occasion to impute this Opinion to him; and I have discovered a great Mistake: I have found, that, by reasoning on *Aristotle's* Principles, he lays down, that whatever is made out of Seed, may be produced without Seed, *quæcumque ex semine fiunt, eadem fieri posse sine semine*. It is the Title of the first Question of the fifth Book. But, at first, he declares, that he does not believe, that the Soul of Man, nor That of Beasts, can have corrupt Matter for their Principle. A little after, he makes a Distinction between the first Production of Animals, and of other Beings, and their Succession. He supposes, that the first Production proceeded from the first Cause, at the Beginning, and that, afterwards, the several Kinds preserved themselves by successive Generations, and that the Production of the Individuals, whether it comes from Seed or from corrupt Matter, belongs to That successive Preservation of the Species, and not to their first Formation; so that, if he has sometimes said, that perfect Animals were engendered by a Worm at the Beginning, it must not be understood, of a first Production, properly so called; it is but the renewing of the Individuals, it being possible, in the course of an infinite time, that all the Individuals of one Species may die; in which case no new ones can proceed from an univocal Generation, and therefore a new Beginning must be sought for in some corrupted Matter. This seems to me to be the true sense of the Latin Words, which I am going to set down. Præterea cum alia sit prima omnium animalium & cæterorum entium creatio, quæ à primo ente in principio effluit: alia eorumdem successio: dignus ortum ex putredine similem esse ei, qui fit ex semine, ad successionem scilicet institutum, non ad primam specierum dependentiam atque productionem:

(6) See Remark [B], of the Article ARCHELAUS the Philosopher.

(1) I mean his Questions Peripateticæ.

(2) Sicubi ab his que in sacris divini modo revelata nobis sunt, discat, minime cum illo sentio, fœtorque in omnibus deceptionem esse: non tamen in presentia meum est hac aperire, sed iis qui altiores theologia profectur.

(3) Parkerus, Disputat. de Deo Sect. 24, pag. 64.

(4) In the Article ARISTOTLE, Citat. (k).

(5) Saldenus in etis Theolog. pag. 64.

examine whether That Opinion ought to have been imputed to him. His Principles differed but little from those of *Spinoza* [C]. Below, you may see the Titles of his Works [D]. A modern Author reckons him among the greatest Genius's that ever were seen (c).

We should deprive *Cesalpinus* of a very valuable Honour, if we did not say, That he knew the Circulation of the Blood [E]: The Proofs of it are so plain, that they cannot be eluded by any Cavils.

(c) Bibliographia
Cariosa apud
Teiffier, Elog.
Tom. II, pag.
330.

(7) *Cesalpin.*
Quest. Peripateti-
corum, lib. 5,
cap. 1, fol. 104,
versio, Edit. 1593.

(8) Species æter-
næ sunt, gene-
rantur autem &
corruptuntur ip-
si singularia. *Ibid.*
ibid. fol. 105.

(9) *Ibid.* fol.
109.

(10) *Ibid.* fol.
108.

(11) *Ovid. Metam.*
lib. 1, ver.
400.

(12) *Ibid.*
ver. 416.

(13) *Ibid.* ver.
434.

nem: Nisi enim hæc præcessisset, nequicquam ne-
que ex femine neque ex putredine ortum esset.
Quod si aliquando meminerim primam perfectio-
rum animalium generationem ex verme fieri, sic
intelligimus primam, quia in tempore infinito,
quod supponitur à Peripateticis, deficientibus in ali-
quo tempore omnibus singularibus alicujus speciei,
primum aliquod ex putredine oriri potest, ex cujus
femine propagetur species, ut quibusdam contingit
ex putredine tantum propagari (7). Observe, that
Cesalpinus, not supposing, that ever all Mankind
perished, cannot be charged with pretending, that
the first Men were engendered out of corrupt Matter.
He will have it, that, according to *Aristotle's* Hypo-
thesis, all Species are eternal (8), and that their Eternity
is a sufficient Cause to restore the Individuals, if there
happen an Interruption in the common Generations;
I say if This Interruption should happen by the
Death of all the Individuals. 'Non est timendum
'ne aliqua species unquam deficiat, quamvis omnia
'singularia contingat aliquando corrupta esse: reman-
'ent enim in agente æternæ virtus æternæ omnium
'specierum (9). — It is not to be feared, that any
'Species will ever fail, though it should happen, that
'all the Individuals should some time or other be de-
'stroyed; for the Eternal Virtue of all Species re-
'mains in the Eternal Agent. I own, he gives us
to understand, that this Interruption might be possible
in human kind (10); but it is not what *Saldenus* im-
putes to him. I shall observe, that it was the cur-
rent Opinion of Antiquity, that all the Species of
Animals might be renewed without the Assistance
of Male and Female. *Ovid*, who only mentions the
common Tradition of the *Greeks*, supposes, that,
after the Deluge, Stones were the Matter, out of
which new Men were formed, and that the Heat and
Moisture of the Earth produced the other Animals,
and even formed new Species unknown to the first
World (11).

Cætera diversis tellus animalia formis
Sponte sua peperit; postquam vetus humor ab
igne
Percoluit solis, cœnumque udaeque paludes
Intumueræ æstu, fecundæque semina rerum
Vivaci nutrita solo, ceu matris in alvo,
Creverunt, faciemque aliquam cepere morando (12).

Ergo ubi diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti
Solibus æthereis altoque recanduit æstu;
Edidit innumeras species, partimque figuras
Reddidit antiquas, partim nova monstra crea-
vit (13).

The rest of Animals, from teeming Earth
Produced, in various Forms receiv'd their Birth.
The Native Moisture, in it's close Retreat,
Digested by the Sun's ætherial Heat,
As in a kindly Womb, began to breed;
Then swell'd, and quicken'd by the vital Seed.
And some in left, and some in longer Space,
Were ripen'd into Form, and took a several Face.

From hence the Surface of the Ground, with Mud
And Slime besear'd (the Faces of the Flood)
Receiv'd the Rays of Heav'n, and sucking in
The Seeds of Heat, new Creatures did begin:
Some were of several Sorts produc'd before,
But of new Monsters Earth created more.

DRYDEN.

A Commentator says, upon this, that *Avicenna* be-
lieved, that human Seeds, re-animated by the Sun
in the Carcasses of those, who perished in the time

of the Flood, produced new Men. 'Sed quis fe-
'rat *Avicennam*? qui, lib. de Diluviis, asserit ex reli-
'quo cadaverum humanorum feminio, à sole anima-
'to, homines post immensas terrarum inundationes
'natos (14).'

I must observe another thing, for the better un-
derstanding of the Doctrine of *Cesalpinus*, ground-
ed on *Aristotle's* Principles, as he pretends. He will
have it, that this Maxim *Man and the Sun engender*
Man (15), doth not signify, that the Concurrence
of the Sun is necessary for the Production of Man;
but that the Sun, without the Assistance of Man;
is a sufficient Cause of the Production of Man. He
pretends, that the Matter of all sublunary Beings,
is but a passive Power, which acquires all it's Actua-
lity by the Motion of the Heavens (16). He as-
cribes the first Formation of Beings to the intelli-
gent Motive Faculty of the Heavens, as to the Prin-
cipal Cause, and to the Heavens as to the Instru-
mental Cause (17). All this would easily agree
with the Doctrine, which the Sect of the *Literati*
has embraced in *China*, that 'there is no other first
'Principle but the material Heaven, or it's most
'subtile Parts, which are it's efficient Virtue.
See what Father *Aleoneffa* (18) represented to the
Pope.

[C] His Principles differed but little from Those
of *Spinoza*.] He admitted, with *Aristotle*, some In-
telligent Motive Beings in the celestial Spheres;
but he reduced them all to one Substance: he ad-
mitted also Angels, or Demons; but he said, they
were only Particles of God, united to a very subtile
Matter: nay, he pretended, that the Souls of Men,
and of Beasts, were part of the Substance of God:
So that, if he acknowledged many Demons, and
many Souls, it was only in relation to Matter; for,
exclusive of Matter, he did not admit the Plural
Number. So that, according to his Principles, there
is but one Soul, but one human Intelligence, which
multiplies proportionably as Men multiply (19). The
Unity, which the *Scotists* acknowledge in the *Genus's*
and in the *Species*, is, in the main, the same Chi-
mera with That of *Cesalpinus* (20), and there want-
ed but a little Method to form *Spinoza's* System out
of it. For the rest, if *Cesalpinus* had been a down-
right *Spinozist*, and had nevertheless admitted of
such Demons, as are commonly admitted, I should
not wonder at it. It seems to me, that there is no
System, built only on the Light of Reason, which
can less dispense itself from acknowledging what is
said of good and bad Angels, among the People,
than the System of *Spinoza*. I shall, perhaps, write
a Dissertation, some time or other, upon it, where-
in I shall shew, that, by arguing consequentially, the
Spinozists ought to be more inclined to acknowledge
Punishments and Rewards after this Life, than to
deny them.

[D] Below, you may see the Titles of his Works.]
Káρον ἐστί, sive Speculum artis Medicæ Hippocrati-
cum. De Plantis Libri XVI. de Metallicis Libri III.
Quæstionum Medicarum Libri II. De Medicamento-
rum facultatibus Libri II. Praxis Universæ Medici-
næ. Dæmonum Investigatio Peripatetica. Quæstio-
num Peripateticarum Libri V. Nicolas Taurin, a
Physician of Mombelliard, wrote against this last
Work (21), and intitled his Book, Alpes cæse,
hoc est Andræ Cesalpini monstræ dogmata discussa
&c excussa (22).

[E] He knew the Circulation of the Blood.] See
here what he says in one of his Works: 'Idcirco
'pulmo per venam arteriis similem ex dextro cordis
'ventriculo fervidum hauriens sanguinem, eumque
'per anastomofim arteriæ venali reddens, quæ in
'sinistram cordis ventriculum tendit, transmissio in-
'terim aëre frigido per asperæ arteriæ canales, qui
'juxta arteriam venalem protenduntur, non tamen
'oculis communicantes, ut putavit Galenus, solo
'tactu temperat. Huic sanguinis circulationi ex
'dextro cordis ventriculo per pulmones in sinistram
'ejusdem

(14) Farnab. in
Ovidium, ibid.
ver. 416.

(15) *Cesalp.* ubi
supra, fol. 105.

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) *Ibid.* fol.
109, versio.

(18) He is a
Franciscan. See
the *Historical*
Mercury, of the
Month of *Aug.*
1690, at the
beginning.

(19) See *Vossius*
de origine &
progr. Idololat.
lib. 2, cap. 40,
pag. 531, Edit.
Francf. 1675.

(20) See Remark
[C], of the Ar-
ticle ABE-
LARD.

(21) It was print-
ed at Venice, by
the *Junior*, in
4to, in the Year
1571, and since
in the Year
1593. The E-
pistle Dedicatory
is dated from *Pa-*
isa, June 1, 1569.

(22) *Teiffier*,
Elog. Tom II,
pag. 330.

ejusdem ventriculorum optime respondent ea quæ ex dissectione apparent. Nam duo sunt vasa in dextrum ventriculum definentia, duo etiam in sinistrum: Duorum autem unum intronit tantum, alterum educit, membranis eo ingenio constitutis (23). — The Lungs therefore drawing the warm Blood from the right Ventricle of the Heart, thro' a Vein, like an Artery, and returning it, by Anastomosis, to the venal Artery, which tends towards the left Ventricle of the Heart, cool Air being in the mean time transmitted through the Channels of the Alveolar Arteries, which are extended near the

venal Artery, yet not communicating with the Arteries, as Galen thought, tempers with a touch only. With this Circulation of the Blood, from the right Ventricle of the Heart through the Lungs into the left Ventricle of the same, exactly agrees what appears from Dissection. For there are two Receptacles ending in the right Ventricle, and two in the left. But of the two one only intronits, the other lets out; the Membranes being constituted accordingly. What he says elsewhere (24), and which I content myself to point at, is not less exprest.

(24) Id. Quest. Medicarum, lib. ii. cap. xvii. fol. 234. Edit. 1593.

CESAR, or CÆSAR, (CAIUS JULIUS) the first Emperor of Rome, had all the Qualities necessary for a great Conqueror; and it would be wrong to believe, that there was more good Luck, than Conduct, in his Fortune. He did not gain Battles, only to employ the Couriers, who carried the News of them; but he knew how to improve his Victories; which distinguishes him from so many warlike Princes, who know how to conquer, but not to make use of their Victory [A]. I believe he found some Dispositions in Rome, which facilitated the Execution of his

[A] His Conduct — distinguished him from Princes, who know how to conquer, but not how to make use of their Victory.] They may comfort themselves for This Defect, since one of the greatest Captains in the World (1) was subject to it, and much to his Cost. They may find also Matter of Consolation in their great Number: for few Victories, as to the Consequences, are like That, which Gustavus obtained near Leipzig. We meet with some of them, from time to time, and at distant Intervals, in reading the History of all Ages, and Nations. We must also except the Wars of the first Successors of Mahomet, Those of a Tamerlane, a Gengis-Can, and such other Founders of great Empires, who appear three or four times in the Space of a thousand Years, more or less. Except Those, All Battles are almost incapable, by their Consequences, of deciding the Disputes of Gazetteers. Each Party attributes, either the whole Victory, or the Reality of it, to itself. When they cannot deny the Loss of the Field of Battle, they maintain, that they lost but few Men, and that the Number of the Enemies killed and wounded cannot be exprest. The Party, which put the Enemy to Flight, are not satisfied with the Advantage they are allowed to boast of: They sing *Te Deum*; they make a great Noise of their Victory; they make Bonfires; but, notwithstanding, the Enemy pretends, that there is nothing in it but a vain Shew, and that the so much cryed up Victory has no real and solid Advantage; they are positive, that the Victorious have more reason to sing *De Profundis* than *Te Deum*, and that, if they should obtain such another Victory, at the same Price, they would be undone. This does not please those, who remain Masters of the Field of Battle; they pretend, that they have the Advantage in all respects. The right way to end these Disputes of the News-Writers, would be to act like Conquerors, after the Battle. If those, who, disclaiming the Name, attribute the thing to themselves, did speedily carry Fire and Sword into the Enemy's Country, the Cause would soon be decided in their Favour: but it would be decided to their Shame, if those, who pretend to the Name and the Thing, should overflow the Enemy's Country like a Torrent, and take strong Places therein. In a Word: One must say, on this Occasion, what an Apostle (2) said on another Subject, *Faith without Works is dead*. You think you have obtained the Victory; but to what purpose is This Faith without Works? Shew your Faith by your Works. It is remarkable, that neither Party can say to the other, *You have Faith, and I have Works*: Shew me your Faith without your Works, and I will shew you my Faith by my Works. It must not be said, in Vindication of a General, who has all the Honours of the Day, the Field of Battle, the Artillery, a great number of Prisoners and Colours, without drawing any other considerable Advantage from it, that he acts with a wonderful Disinterestedness; that he is satisfied with the Honour, and does not care for the Profit; that he does not make War, like a Merchant, to get an Estate, but like an Hero, to acquire Glory, *præter laudem nullius avari* (3). I say, this would

be a pitiful Apology; for, in these sort of Things, the Useful Part is not separated from the Glorious. Nothing contributes more to the Glory of a great Commander, than the Activity, Diligence, and Ability, he shews, in improving to his own Advantage the Enemy's Defeat, and following the Business close, while they are yet confounded by their first Misfortune. At Rome, where they were good Judges of the Merit of Warriors, They made a great Difference between Those, who only gained Battles, and those who finished a War (4). They were much more praised, who made triumphant Entries, with the Effigies of several Provinces, or of many conquered Towns, than Those who could only boast of having killed many Men. This was good Policy in the Romans, though it was attended likewise with some Inconveniencies. They did not commonly continue the Generals of their Armies two or three Years, successively, in their Offices; for, almost every Year, the new Consul went to relieve the Consul of the foregoing Year: for which reason every one did his Endeavour to finish the War, and not to leave the Honour of crowning the Work to another (5). Every one aspired to the Glory of the *Debellare*. But, when a General is sure of the Command till the end of the War, he is not always in an Humour to make too much haste; he is glad to delay the Peace; and, if he follows, in his Victories, the Maxim, *That a Golden Bridge must be made for the vanquished Enemy*, it is not because he is disinterested, and does not seek for Profit, but, on the contrary, it is his particular Interest, which inclines him to give the flying Enemy leave to recover again, and to prolong the War (6). A King, who commands his Troops in Person, and does not make use of his Advantages, has not the same Motive: He does, without doubt, (generally speaking) his utmost Endeavour to improve his Victories: but a *Cæsar*, an *Alexander*, a Prince, in a word, that can make the best use of his Victories, is a great Rarity. A General, who only gains Victories for the Profit of those, who deal in Mourning Cloaths, may be found every where.

The great Captain, of whom I spoke in the beginning of this Remark, is Hannibal. Read here what Adherbal said to him: 'Dubium deinde non erat quin ultimum illum diem habitura fuerit Roma, quintumque intra diem epulari Annibal in Capitolio potuerit, si (quod Pœnum illum dixisse Adherbalem Bomilcaris ferunt) Annibal quemadmodum sciret vincere, sic uti victoria scisset (7). — Rome must have been conquered, and Hannibal might have feasted in the Capitol within five Days, if (as the Carthaginian Adherbal, the Son of Bomilcar, is reported to have said) he had known as well how to improve, as to gain, a Victory.' In Livy it is *Maherbal*; who, seeing that, after the Battle of Cannæ, Hannibal rejected the Counsel he gave him, to go directly to Rome, tho' he assured him, that in five Days they should sup in the Capitol, said to him; 'Non omnia nimirum eisdem Diis dederunt: vincere scis Annibal, victoria uti nescis (8). — The Gods have not given every Qualification to the same Man; you, Hannibal,

(4) That is to say, between *intercere* and *debellare*.

(5) Finis habet laudem, meta coronat opus.

(6) It is the most common Cause of the Uselessness of Battles: The Commander of the Victorious Army fears Peace, and will not reduce the Vanquished to the Necessity of asking for it.

(7) Florus, lib. 2, cap. 6.

(8) Livius, lib. 23, cap. 51.

VOL. II.

5 M

(23) Casalp. Quest. Peripatetic. lib. 5, cap. 4, fol. 125, verso.

(1) Hannibal. See the End of this Remark.

(2) St James, ii. 20.

(3) Horat. de Arte Poetica, ver. 324.

his ambitious Designs; but with the Qualities he was Master of, he was a Man fit to procure to himself favourable Opportunities [B]: I mean, to convert into these kind of Opportunities what would have been, of itself, very unfit to serve him, or to concur with the Enterprizes of another. Readiness, Vigilance, and a certain Ardour, which does not allow any Remissness, whilst something remains to be done, were fit Qualities in him to make him what he attained to. The Victory of *Pharsalia*, which was a decisive Blow, and, as one may say, a Decree pronounced from Heaven on the Civil-Wars of *Rome*, did not dazzle him so much, but that he remembered that *Pompey*, the Head of the opposite Party, was still living; and that therefore there would never be an end of it, if he should give him Time

to know how to conquer, but not to improve a Victory. *Antigonus* found the same Fault in *Pyrrius* (9).

(9) Plutarch. in *Pyrrius*, pag. 450. A. I quote his Words lower, Citat. (14).

(10) See Remark [B], of the Article MACE-
DONIA.

(11) Pâquier Recherches de la France, lib. 3, cap. 11, pag. 198.

(12) These two Popes had the Surname of Great.

[B] He knew how to procure to himself favourable Opportunities. It is a great Illusion, to believe, that *Alexander* owed his Conquests to the Circumstances of the Times, and Places where he was, and that many others would have done no less than he in the like Situation (10). See what *Pâquier's* Thoughts are upon this. 'I believe, says he (11), that the Surname of Most Great belonged to *Pope Nicolas I*; not that he exceeded *Leo*, and *Gregory I*, in Sense (12); but he had as much both natural and acquired Abilities as they, in things he undertook. And besides, he found a proper and favourable time to put his Designs in Execution; which is what makes us seem greater among Men. For it must not be supposed, that *Pyrrius* and *Hannibal* had less Courage or Conduct, than *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, or *Julius Cæsar*: but, when the two first miscarried in their Designs against *Rome*, there were a great many Reasons for it, which did not hold in the Time of *Julius Cæsar*, and *Alexander*. Neither do I question, but that, if *Leo* or *Gregory* had lived in the Age of *Nicolas*, when the Affairs of our Church were in disorder, they would have done what *Nicolas* did, and he in their Times what they did, and no more.' If *Pâquier* had only kept to the general Thesis, he might have advanced an Opinion as certain as an Aphorism in Mechanics. Suppose, on one side, that two Men have the same Talents; and, on the other, that the same Opportunities, which concur with the one, concur also with the other, it is plain, that what shall be performed by the one, may be performed by the other. By the same Talents, and the same Opportunities, I do not mean the same things in number, but things, which (all Compensations being made) may be equivalent. On this Supposition, *Pyrrius* would as necessarily have subdued *Rome*, as *Cæsar*, as it is necessary, that two Weights should be in Equilibrium, when the one, three times less than the other, is three times more distant from the Point of Support. The general Thesis is therefore certain; but the Hypothesis, or the Application of This Position to *Pyrrius* and *Cæsar*, to *Pope Leo* and *Pope Nicolas*, has nothing of Certainty in it; because we do not exactly know the reciprocal Proportions of their personal Talents, and of the Opportunities they had. The Knowledge, which History gives us, is more proper to refute, than to justify *Pâquier*. Every one knows the Compliment, which was made to *Hannibal*, that the Gods, in granting him the Gift of obtaining Victories, had refused him That of making good use of them (13). It is well known, that, when he was told so, he had just before rejected the most favourable Opportunity, that could be offered, to take *Rome*. It is well known, that *Pyrrius*, in the Judgment of a great Captain, was like Those Gamesters, to whom Chance gives a fair Game, but who know not how to make use of it (14). So that here are two great Captains, who neither equal *Alexander*, nor *Cæsar*. The latter have wonderfully improved the Opportunities, which fell into their Hands. The Event speaks for them: And there are only Conjectures for the other; besides, those Conjectures are very much weakened by the Faults, which they committed. Let us not believe then, that *Pâquier* argued right.

I believe there are unknown Persons, who, in a chief Minister's Place, would perform greater Things than he does. And I believe, that a chief Minister, who does not succeed in a certain Time, might perform wonders in another Age (15); but I am

also fully persuaded, that, if *Pyrrius* and *Hannibal* had dared to say, that *Alexander* could not have done in *Italy* what he did in *Asia*, they ought to have been answered, that they could not have done in *Asia* what he did. An Inhabitant of *Scrippus* said one Day to *Themistocles*: 'You are not become famous by yourself, but by the Glory of your Country. You say right, answered *Themistocles*, 'I had not been a famous Man, if I had been born at *Scrippus*; but you would not have been so, although you had been born at *Athens* (16). This is a Model of an Answer to those, who make no other difference between *Cæsar* or *Alexander*, and the other Princes, whom they pitch upon in History, but in that the Opportunities of conquering a great Empire fell into the Hands of That other Prince: It ought to be said to these Men; 'Without those Opportunities, they would not have conquered such a great Empire; but your Prince would not have conquered it with the same Opportunities.' See some of *Cæsar's* Warlike Qualities in the following Remark.

[C] Activity, Vigilance, and a certain Ardour, were in him Qualities — fit to make him what he attained to. These admirable Qualities gave occasion for the great Praises, which are in one of *Cicero's* Speeches. Though they are somewhat hyperbolical, they are not groundless. See here what That illustrious Orator said to This great Warrior: 'Soleo saepe ante oculos ponere, idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum Imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas cum tuis nec contentiorum magnitudine, nec numero praeliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec dissimilitudine bellorum posse conferri: nec vero dissimulatas terras citius ejusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quam tuis non dicam curibus sed victoriis illustratae sunt (17). — I am wont to set before

Mens Eyes, and with great Willingness frequently to declare in Speech, that all the Actions of our Generals, all those of foreign Nations, of the most powerful People, and most renowned Kings, are not to be compared with yours, for the Greatness of Contests, the Number of Battles, the Variety of Regions, the Expedition in performing, and the Diversity of the Wars engaged in: and that others would be longer in travelling through the most distant Countries, than you, I will not say in passing through, but, in conquering them.' No Man ever better apprehended how much it concerned a General of an Army to be diligent (18). How many times has his Victory been owing to his speedy Marches? He did not give the Enemy time to recover, and take care of themselves; he ran like Lightning, and prevented Fame; his Enemies did not know, that his Troops were marching, till he fell upon them. 'Acie triplici instructa, & celeriter octo millium itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit, quam quid ageretur Germani sentire possent. Qui omnibus rebus subito perterriti, & celeritate adventus nostri, & discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi, neve arma capiendi spatio dato, perturbabantur, copiasne adversus hostem ducere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere praestaret (19). — Drawing up his Army in three Columns, and marching eight Miles with great Expedition, he arrived at the Enemy's Camp, before the Germans knew any thing of the Matter; who, being on a sudden astonished at the Quickness of our Arrival, and the Desertion of their own Men, and wanting time either to call a Council of War, or to take Arms, were at a loss whether to face the Enemy,

(16) Plutarch. in *Themist.* pag. 121.

(17) Cicero Orat. pro Marcello cap. 2.

(18) Ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret, quae plerumque erat consecutus. *Cæsar*, de Bello Gall. lib. 7, cap. 15. Unum communis salutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nervorum fines. Id. ibid. lib. 4.

(19) Id. ibid.

to gather the broken Remains of his Army. Wherefore his first Care was to pursue the flying Enemy; which was the Cause of Pompey's tragical End; for it is very likely, that they would not have put him to death, if they had not been assured, that *Cæsar* pursued him. When we consider, in general, the Wars, which he gloriously ended, we cannot but admire him; but when we reflect upon the prodigious

'my, or betake themselves to Flight.' Nothing could stop him; the Mountains, covered with Snow, deceived those, who looked upon them as a safe Rampart against his Marches. 'Et si mons Gebenna, qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, durissimo tempore anni, altissima nive iter impendebat: tamen discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum, atque ita viis patefactis, fummo militum labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit: quibus oppressis inopinantibus, quod se sic Gebenna ut muro munitos existimabant, ac ne singulari quidem unquam homini eo tempore anni semitæ patuerant, equitibus imperat, &c (20). — Though Mount Gebenna, which separates the Arverni from the Helvii, stopped his March by a very deep Snow, it being the most rigorous Season of the Year; yet, digging through the Snow to the Depth of six Feet, and thus, with great labour of his Soldiers, opening a Passage, he arrived at the Borders of the Arverni: whom falling upon unexpectedly, as thinking themselves secured by Mount Gebenna as by a Wall, and no single Person having ever passed it at that Season of the Year, he commands the Horse, &c.' Being arrived with This Speed on the Frontiers of Auvergne, he stopped there but two Days; he went with the same Diligence to another Place, to prevent the Designs of Vercingetorix. 'His continuis rebus, omnibus suis inopinantibus, quam maximis potest itineribus Viennam pervenit; ibi nactus recentem equitatum, quem multis ante diebus eo præmiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere intermisso, per fines Heduarum in Lingones contendit, ubi dum legiones hyemabant, ut si quid etiam de sua salute ab Heduis iniretur consilii, celeritate præcurreret. Eo cum pervenisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit, priusque in unum locum omnes cogit quam de ejus adventu Arvernus nunciari posset (21). — Having settled these Things, he arrived, unexpectedly to every one, by long Marches, at Vienne; there taking with him the new Cavalry, which he had sent thither many Days before, and marching Night and Day, he arrived, through the Country of the Hedui, at the Lingones, where two Legions wintered, that he might prevent, by his Expedition, any designs of the Hedui against his Safety. At his Arrival, he sends to the rest of the Legions, and assembles them all together, before the Arverni had notice of his Arrival! Plutarch relates a very singular Thing of the Defeat of That General of the Gauls. The Inhabitants of Alexia, besieged by Julius Cæsar, impatiently expected Vercingetorix to come and raise the Siege with Three hundred thousand Men: They knew not, that Cæsar was marched to fight That great Army, nor did they know it, till they saw him, from the Top of their Walls, return victorious to the Siege. Their Cries and Complaints gave the Roman Soldiers, who kept the Lines of Countervallation, the first News of Cæsar's Victory (22). This is yet more singular, as Plutarch observes. He has reason to say, that Vercingetorix's great Army vanished like a Dream, and like an Apparition. *Ὁντος ὁ ζωὴς ἡ τοσαύτη δύναμις ὡς περ εἰδωλόν ἢ ὄνειρον ἠφανίσθη καὶ διεπαρῆτο. Τὰν βρεῖν χρόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνου. Τὰν βρεῖν χρόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνου. Τὰν βρεῖν χρόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνου.* *Tam brevi momento adeo immensa manus sicut spectrum vel somnium evanuit & dissipata est (23).* Thus he describes admirably the Speed, where-with Julius Cæsar executed great Designs. He could march an hundred Miles a day, in case of necessity; he swam over Rivers, or was carried over them, upon swelled Hides; and so he arrived before the News of his March. Longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confectis expeditis, meritoria redita centena passuum millia in singulos dies: si flumina morarentur, nando trajiceris, vel innixus inflatis utribus, ut persæpe nuntios de se præveniret (24). If I have compared him to Lightning, it is after Florus: 'Hunc (Pharnacem) Cæsar aggressus, sibi (25), uno, & ut sic dixerim non toto prælio, obtrivit, MORE FULMINIS, quod

(20) Id. *Ibid.* lib. 7, cap. 8.

(21) Id. *Ibid.*

(22) Plut. in Cæsar, pag. 721.

(23) Id. *Ibid.*

(24) Sueton. in Cæsar, cap. 57.

(25) Florus lib. 4, cap. 25, n. 63.

'uno eodemque momento venit, percussit, abscessit. Nec vana de se prædicatio est Cæsar's, ante victum hostem esse quam visum. — Cæsar, attacking Pharnaces, conquered him in one, and that not a complete, Battle, if I may so say: after the manner of Lightning, which, at one and the same Instant, comes, strikes, and is gone; nor did Cæsar boast in vain, that the Enemy was conquered, before seen.' See here how Suetonius speaks concerning the Speed, wherewith Pharnaces was conquered. 'Pontico triumpho inter pompæ secula trium verborum prætulit titulum VENI, VIDI, VICI, non acta belli significantem sicut ceteri, sed celeriter confecti notam (26). — In his Pontic Triumph, among other Ornaments, he had carried before him an Inscription containing these three Words, I CAME, SAW, and CONQUERED, not signifying the Actions of the War, as other Generals did, but expressing the Expedition with which it was concluded.' Plutarch says, that Cæsar writ these three Words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, to a Friend, to signify the Shortness of this War (27). Cicero, even at the time that he spoke of Cæsar, as of an Enemy, looked upon him as a Prodigy of Speed and Vigilance; *sed hoc regis horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est* (28). Give me leave to insert here the fine Elogy, which he made upon him, in his Speech against *Pisæ*. He considered Cæsar's great Actions as a Thing, which rendered, for the future, the Ramparts, Nature had given Italy, useless and superfluous. I wish he had had the same Thought also concerning Cæsar's Valour and Diligence: 'Dicam ex animo, Patres Conscripti, quod sentio, & quod vobis audientibus sæpe jam dixi, si mihi nunquam amicus C. Cæsar fuisset, semper iratus, si aspernaretur amicitiam meam, seseque mihi implacabilem inexpiabilemque præberet, tamen ei, cum tantas res gessisset, gereretque quotidie, non amicus esse non possem: cujus ego imperio non Alpium vallum contra aditum, transgressionemque Gallorum, non Rheni fossam gurgitibus illis redundantem Germanorum immanissimis gentibus obijcio, & oppono: perfecti ille, ut si montes resedissent, amnes exaruisissent, non naturæ præsidio, sed victoria sua, rebusque gestis, Italiam munitam haberemus (29). — I will freely declare, Fathers Conscrip, what I think, and what I have said in your hearing; if Caius Cæsar had never been my Friend, if he had ever bore me a Grudge, if he had despised my Friendship, and had been inexorably bent against me, yet, when I consider the great Actions he has performed, and those he is daily performing, I cannot but be his Friend: under whose Conduct, I oppose not the Alps against the Ascent and Passage of the Gauls, nor the overflowing Rhine against the most barbarous Nations of the Germans: were the Hills to subside, and the Rivers to dry up, Italy, destitute of the Defence of Nature, would yet be guarded and secured by his Victory and Exploits.'

(26) Sueton. ubi supra, cap. 37.

(27) Plut. in Cæsar, pag. 731, E.

(28) Cicero, Epist. 9, ad Attic. lib. 8.

(29) Cicero in Pison. fol. 225, C.

This Activity was not a Fire, that soon exhausted his Strength; it was attended with a constant Application. Cæsar looked upon what he had done as nothing, if any thing remained to be done: He was for finishing altogether the Wars, wherein he was engaged: He was not willing, that Fortune should have any Opportunity to undo all that he had not finished. This is very nobly expressed in these Latin Verses.

At nunquam patiens pacis, longæque quietis
Armorum, ne quid satis mutare liceret,
Assequitur, generique premit vestigia Cæsar.
Sufficerent aliis primo tot mœnia cursa
Rapta, tot oppressæ dejectis hostibus arces:
Ipsa caput mundi, bellorum maxima merces,

Roma

prodigious Number of Men, whose Death, Poverty, or Slavery, he occasioned, we can hardly forbear abhorring him [D]. The greatest Crime of all is, That, to revenge private Quarrels, which he had drawn upon himself by his too ambitious Conduct, he made use of the same Arms, for the Oppression of his Country, which

Roma capi facilis; sed Cæsar in omnia præcepit,
Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agen-
dum (30).

(30) Lucanus,
Pharſ. lib. 2,
ver. 650.

But Cæsar, never patient long in Peace,
Nor trusting in his Fortune's present Face,
Closely pursues his flying Son behind,
While yet his Fate continu'd to be kind.
Such Towns, such Fortresses, such hostile Force,
Swept in the Torrent of one rapid Course;
Such Trains of long Success attending still,
And Rome herself abandoned to his Will;
Rome, the contending Party's noblest Prize,
To ev'ry Wish, but Cæsar's, might suffice.
But He, with Empire fir'd, and vast Desires,
To All, and nothing less than All, aspires:
He reckons not the past, while ought remain'd
Great to be done, or Mighty to be gain'd.

Rowe.

He pressed the Enemy chiefly, during the precious Moments in which Fortune smiled upon him: *Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror* (31). From hence it happened, that he never gained a Battle without making himself Master of his Enemy's Camp immediately: *Nullum unquam hostem fudit quin castris quoque exueret: ita nullum spatium perterritis dabat* (32). He did not act like Pompey, who, to spare Blood-shed, lost the Opportunity of putting an end to the War (33). But nothing stopped him; a Resistance half conquered animated him no less than a Resistance yet entire. We shall see his Picture and Character in these Verses of the *Pharſalia*.

(31) Id. lib. 7,
ver. 34.

(32) Sueton. in
Cæs. cap. 60.

(33) Dolet heu
semperque dolebit
Quod scelerum
Cæsar proleſti
bi summa tuorum
Cum genero pug-
nasse pio. Lucan.
lib. 6, ver. 303.

----- sed non in Cæsare tantum

Nomen erat, nec fama ducis: sed nescia virtus
Stare loco: solusque pudor non vincere bello.
Acer, & indomitus: quo spes, quoque ira vocasset,
Ferre manum, & nunquam temerando parcere ferro:
Successus urgere suos; instare favori
Numinis: impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti
Obstaret: gaudenque viam fecisse ruina (34).

(34) Id. lib. i,
ver. 143.

But Cæsar's Greatness, and his Strength, was more,
Then past Renown, and antiquated Pow'r.
'Twas not the Fame of what he once had been,
Or Tales in old Records and Annals seen;
But 'twas a Valour, restless, unconfin'd,
Which no Success could ſate, nor Limits bind;
'Twas Shame, a Soldier's Shame, untaught to yield,
That blas'd for nothing but an ill-fought Field:
Fierce in his Hopes he was, nor knew to stay,
Where Vengeance, or Ambition, led the way;
Still prodigal of War, whene'er withstood,
Nor spar'd to stain the guilty Sword with Blood;
Urging Advantage, he improv'd all odds,
And made the most of Fortune and the Gods:
Pleas'd to return whate'er with-held his Prize,
And saw the Ruin with rejoicing Eyes.

Rowe.

[D] When we reflect upon the prodigious number of Men, whose Death he occasioned, we can scarce forbear abhorring him.] He fought, in Gaul, against Three Millions of Men, whereof only a third Part escaped; for he killed a Million, and took a Million Prisoners. This is *Plutarch's* Account (35). That of *Appian* is the same as to the Slain and Prisoners, but not as to the number of the Enemies; for he says, they were Four Millions (36): He adds, that Cæsar took above Eight hundred Towns in Gaul. *Plutarch* says it also.

(35) Plut. in
Cæsare, pag. 714.

(36) Appian. in
Celticis.

But Cæsar, in the Speech, which *Julian* the Apostate ascribes to him (37), speaks but of Three hundred Towns taken, and of Two Millions of Men conquered. *Velleius Paterculus*, who intended rather to heighten, than to lessen, This Conqueror's Glory, says, the number of the Slain amounted only to Four hundred Thousand (38). It is true, he had said, in the foregoing Chapter, that the number of the Dead, and of the Prisoners, was innumerable. 'Cum deinde immanes res vix multis voluminibus explicandas C. Cæsar in Gallia ageret, nec contentus plurimis ac felicissimis victoriis, innumerabilibusque caesis & captis hostium millibus (39). When afterwards Cæsar performed wonderful Exploits, scarce to be described in many Volumes, nor contented with many the most successful Victories, and innumerable Thousands of Enemies slain and made Prisoners.' *Pliny* goes farther than all the rest; he makes the number of the dead amount to One Million One hundred and ninety two thousand; but he takes in all the Wars of Cæsar, except the Civil-War. Let us see his Words: we find in them, that Cæsar fought fifty Battles. 'Sig-

(37) *Julian*. in
Cæsaribus. See
Mr. Spanheim's
Edition in 4^{to}.
Pag. 172.

(38) Per hæc
insequente &
que prædiximus
tempora amplius
quadringenta mil-
lia hostium à C.
Cæsare caesa sunt,
plura capta.
Vellej. Patercul.
lib. 2, cap. 47.
Lipſius reads
Octingenta in-
stead of Quadringenta. Father
Hardouin, in
Plin. lib. 7, cap.
25, pretends
that *Paterculus*
says only forty
Thousand, am-
plius XL milium
bominum à C.
Cæsare caesa esse.

(39) *Paterc. lib.*
2, cap. 46.

'nis collatis quingagies dimicavit: solus M. Marcellum transgressus qui undequadrages dimicaverat. Nam præter civiles victorias undecies centena & XCII. M. hominum occisa præliis ab eo non equidem in gloria posterum, tantam etiam coactam humani generis injuriam, quod ita esse confessus est ipse, bellorum civilium stragem non prodendo (40). He came to an Engagement with the Enemy fifty times: in this exceeding M. Marcellus only, who had fought Thirty nine Battles. For, besides his Victories gained in the Civil Wars, the Slaughter of One Million one hundred ninety two Thousand Men, occasioned by him, is not to his Honour, even though he could not have avoided it, as he himself confesses, by not declaring the Slaughter attending the Civil Wars.' *Salmaſius* pretends, that these Words are inexplicable, and that they must be corrected in this manner, tanta etiam coacta in humani generis injuria (41). The Thought he attributes to *Pliny* comes to this: I am so far from thinking it a Glory to *Julius Cæsar*, to have destroyed so great a multitude of Men, that I believe it had been very prejudicial to Mankind, if such a number of People had been gathered from divers Places. Father *Hardouin* would not so much as mention this Criticism; he only observes, that there is no difficulty in those Words. *Pliny*, says he, meant, That he did not look upon a Slaughter, so prejudicial to Human kind, as a glorious Thing, tho' it may seem, perhaps, that Cæsar was forced to make That great Slaughter, by reason of the Injury which he had received. 'Querit *Salmaſius* pag. 49, qui hæc verba sibi explanet. Non opus est vate in re planissima. Ait *Plinius* minime se in laude aliqua positurum occisa tot hominum milia ob tantam humani generis chdem: licet ad hanc inferendam coactus videri fortassis aliena injuria queat (42). It is plain, that the Explication of This Jesuit is incomparably better, than That of *Salmaſius*. Nevertheless I cannot believe, that *Pliny* would insinuate the Excuse, mentioned by Father *Hardouin*, in Favour of *Julius Cæsar*. Indeed Cæsar could only colour his War with Pompey, and the other Civil Wars, which proceeded from thence, with that Excuse. Now *Pliny* says expressly, that the One Million one hundred ninety two Thousand Men, whom Cæsar killed in his Battles, differ from those he killed in the Civil Wars; so that there is no likelihood, that *Pliny's* Aim was what Father *Hardouin* supposes. I had rather say, that the Sense of That Author is this. The Slaughter of a Million one hundred and ninety two Thousand Men is such a considerable detriment to Human kind, that I should not think it glorious, although it had been made by Con- strain, as in defensive Wars; and, since Cæsar suppressed the Slaughter of the Civil Wars, he must have acknowledged the Truth of my Prin-

(40) *Plinius*, lib.
7, cap. 25, pag.
44.

(41) *Salmaſ.* in
Solinum. pag. 49.

(42) *Hardouin*
in *Plin. lib. 7,*
cap. 25.

his Sovereigns had put into his Hands to subdue their Enemies. It is a pity, that a Man, guilty of such an enormous Attempt, should have had so many noble Qualities. He was no less qualified for Intrigues, than Battles [E], and had no less Wit, than Courage [F]. He was learned, and so eloquent, that the Desire alone of possessing the chief Post of the Government hindered him from contending for the first Place with the most famous Orators (b). We have two of his Works [G], the

(b) Plutarch. in *Cæsar*, pag. 708. Sueton. in *Cæsar*, cap. 55.

ciple. This does an Honour to *Pliny*; and I could name some great Captains, who have extremely dreaded the Sovereign Judge of the World, on their Death-bed, remembering the Blood, which they had shed in religious Wars, which they thought most just, and which they had managed (43). The Necessity, to which a Man is reduced, of doing certain Things, would sometimes incline one to look upon a Prince rather as an unhappy Man, than as one covered with Glory.

[E] He was no less qualified for Intrigues, than for Battles. No Man could dissemble or flatter better than He, when there was occasion for it (44).

He managed his Intrigues so well, when he sued to be *Great Pontif*, that he carried That Office from two illustrious Competitors (45), who were much older, and much more deserving on account of the Services done to the Republic, than he was. His great Courage, and natural Pride, became so pliant, that he condescended to the meanest Flatteries towards those, who could be favourable to him (46); and, to obtain his Aim the better, he borrowed very great Sums of Money, to buy Votes. By this means he gained over the Poor and the Rich to his Interests; the first, because they thought themselves obliged to favour a Man, who had given them so much Money, and the last, because they feared they should never be re-paid, if *Cæsar* failed of his Designs (47). And, indeed, if he had not been elected *Pontifex Maximus*, he must have left the City, and become Bankrupt. For this reason he told his Mother, when he was going to the Place where the Election was to be made, *This Day you will either see me Pontifex Maximus or a Fugitive* (48). Could any one devise a more cunning way, than he made use of, to support his own Interest in his Absence? He chained, if one may so say, all those, who were promoted to any Offices; for he laboured, by his Intrigues, and his Credit, to exclude from them all such as would not promise to support him whilst he should be absent: so that the only way to attain to Offices, by his Recommendation, was to engage oneself in his Interests, and to promise him in a manner a blind Obedience. Neither was he always satisfied with verbal Promises, but exacted an Oath, and a Promise in Writing, from some. Was it difficult to foretel, that a Republic, where such Disorders reigned, would not continue long? 'Ad securitatem ergo posteritatis temporis in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus, & de petitoribus non alios adjuvare aut ad honorem pati pervenire, quam qui sibi receperint propugnatos absentiam suam, cujus pacti non dubitavit à quibusdam jururandum atque etiam syngrapham exigere (49).' *Sylla* had a good Foresight, when, yielding to the repeated Desires of divers Persons of Quality, he told them, They would repent one day for having hindered him from making away with That young Man, who had many *Marius*'s in his Bosom. 'Satis constat Syllam cum deprecantibus amicissimis & ornatissimis viris aliquamdiu denegasset, atque illi pertinaciter contenderent, expugnatum tandem proclamasse (five divinitus, five aliqua conjectura) vincerent, ac sibi haberent; dummodo scirent, eum, quem incolumem tanto opere cuperent, quandoque optimatum partibus, quas secum simul defendissent, exitio futurum: nam *Cæsari* multos *Marios* inesse (50).'

[F] He had no less Wit than Courage. I shall make use of *Pliny*'s Words, to represent the vast Extent and Activity of This Wit. 'Animi vigore præstantissimum arbitror genitum *Cæsarem* dictatorem. Nec virtutem constantiamque nunc commemoro, nec subtilitatem omnium capacem, quæ cælo continentur: sed proprium vigorem celeritatemque quodam igne volucrum. Scribere aut legere, simul dictare & audire solitum accepimus.

Epistolæ vero tantarum rerum quaternas pariter, librariis dictare: aut si nihil aliud ageret, septenas (51). --- No Man, I think, ever equalled *Cæsar*, the Dictator, in Strength of Mind. I say, nothing at present of his Courage and Constancy, or of That sublime Genius, which could grasp every thing contained in Heaven; but only of that peculiar Strength of Mind, and surprising Quickness of Thought. We are told, that he could write or read, and at the same time dictate, or attend to another's Discourse, and that he could dictate four Epistles, or, if he had nothing else to do, seven at once, to his *Ammanenses*. *Cæsar* could read, write, and dictate to several Persons, at one time. As for his Undauntedness and Courage, see *Suetonius* (52).

[G] We have two of his Works. Viz. Seven Books of the Wars of Gaul, and three Books of Civil Wars. They are properly Memoirs. There is a great neatness of Style in them, and all the careless Beauties, which such a happy Genius as That of *Julius Cæsar* could diffuse in a Work of That Nature, which he composed in haste (53), and without Art. What *Hirtius* said of them, might well be taken for a flattering Elogy, if there were not a like Elogy in a Work, wherein *Cicero* did not set up for a Panegyrist, as he did in some Orations (54). *Hirtius*'s Words are these: 'Constat inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur: qui sunt editi ne scientia tantarum rerum gestarum scriptoribus defuit, adeoque probantur omnium judicio, ut præcepta non præbita facultas scriptoribus videatur (55). --- It is agreed on all Hands, that the most laborious Works of others are surpassed by the Elegance of these Commentaries; which are published, that Writers might not be unacquainted with such great Actions; and which are so universally approved, as to surpass, rather than afford Materials, to other Writers.' And these are *Cicero*'s Words: 'Commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum, valde probandos: nudi enim sunt, recti, & venusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detracta: sed dum voluit alios habere parata unde fumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit qui volunt illa calamistris inungere, sanos quidem homines à scribendo deteruit: nihil enim est in historia pura & illustri brevitate dulcius (56). --- He wrote Commentaries of his own Actions, highly worthy of Commendation: for they are unadorned, just, and beautiful, all Ornament of Language, as a Garment, being thrown off; but, whilst he intended to prepare Materials for those, who would write History, perhaps he obliged those, who love to garnish such things with Words, but discouraged Men of Sense from writing: for nothing is more pleasing in History than neat and perspicuous Brevity. Every one did not judge of them as *Cicero* and *Hirtius*; for we read, in *Suetonius*, that *Asinius Pollio* found too much Negligence, and many Lies, in These Commentaries: whether it be, that *Cæsar* believed some false Reports, or that, as to the Things performed by him, Self-love, or want of Memory, made him write several Falsities. 'Pollio *Asinius* parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat, cum *Cæsar* pleraque & quæ per alios erant gesta temere crediderit, & quæ per se vel consulto, vel etiam memoria lapsus perperam ediderit, existimatque rescripturum, & correcturum fuisse (57).'

A modern Critic (58) has greatly censured this Judgment of *Pollio*; but the Author of *News from the Republic of Letters* declared against That Critic. 'It would be difficult, said he (59), to convict *Asinius Pollio* of Having falsely accused *Cæsar*'s Commentaries of Falseness: for why should we not believe, that a cotemporary Author, who was in all respects of the

(51) *Plinius*, lib. 7, cap. 25.

(52) *Suetonius* (52).

(53) That of *Julius Cæsar* could diffuse in a Work of That Nature, which he composed in haste (53), and without Art.

(54) *Hirtius*'s Words are these: 'Constat inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur: qui sunt editi ne scientia tantarum rerum gestarum scriptoribus defuit, adeoque probantur omnium judicio, ut præcepta non præbita facultas scriptoribus videatur (55). --- It is agreed on all Hands, that the most laborious Works of others are surpassed by the Elegance of these Commentaries; which are published, that Writers might not be unacquainted with such great Actions; and which are so universally approved, as to surpass, rather than afford Materials, to other Writers.'

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(56) *Cicero* in *Bruto*, pag. 379.

(57) *Suetonius* (52).

(58) *Morhofius*, de *Patavinitate*, Liviana, pag. 45.

(59) *Month of June, 1685*, pag. 629.

(51) *Plinius*, lib. 7, cap. 25.

(52) *Suetonius* (52).

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(56) *Cicero* in *Bruto*, pag. 379.

(57) *Suetonius* (52).

(58) *Morhofius*, de *Patavinitate*, Liviana, pag. 45.

(59) *Month of June, 1685*, pag. 629.

(43) See, in the Article of the Duke of *Weimar*, what shall be said of *William*, the First of that Name, Prince of *Orange*.

(44) *Appian*, lib. ii, *Bell. Civil.* pag. m. 227.

(45) *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, & *P. Servilius Isauricus*.

(46) *Dion*, lib. 37.

(47) *Appian*, lib. 2, *Bell. Civil.*

(48) *Plutarch*, in *Cæsar*, pag. 710. *D. Suetonius* in *ejus Vita*, cap. 23, speaks thus, *Pontificatum maximum petiti non sine profusissima largitione, in qua reputans magnitudinem reris alieni cum mane ad comitia descenderet, præfixisse matris oculanti fertur, domum se nisi Pontificem non reverfurum.*

(49) *Suetonius*, in *Cæsar*, cap. 23.

(50) *Id. Ibid.* cap. 1.

(c) See the Titles of them in *Suetonius* *ibid.* cap. 55, 56.

(d) See *Suetonius* *ibid.* cap. 49, & *seq.*

the rest, to a pretty large Number, are lost (c). If he was an *Epicurean*, it was only in Practice; for he gave himself up to Voluptuousness (d); but he performed Acts of Religion; and it would be wrong to take him for a speculative *Epicurean*, with respect to Providence [H], on Pretence of a Passage of *Salust*, and one of *Lucan*.

(60) Voss. de *Hist. Latinis*, pag. 62, 63.

(61) See Remark [D], of the Article METELLUS (Lucius).

(62) *Salust. de Bello Catilin.* cap. 51.

(63) *Id. ibid.* cap. 52.

(64) Non vulgaris sacra figuris Numina sic mutant: tantum terroribus addit Quos timeant, non nosse Deos. *Lucan Phars. lib. 3, ver. 415.*

same Trade with *Cæsar*, a Captain, an Historian, and an Orator as well as he, informed himself of a thousand Things, which shewed, that *Cæsar* had published many Fables? For the rest, it is most certain, that the Memoirs of That Conqueror are written too carelessly; and, if the Prince of *Condé* does ever think of writing the Relation of his Campaigns in such a manner, he may be sure, that his Book will not be admired by good Judges; but, without doubt, they would prove quite another thing. I am sure, there are few Partizans of Antiquity so prepossessed, as to maintain, That the Memoirs of the Duke de la Rochefoucault are not better than Those of *Cæsar*. Consult *Vossius* (60), who shews two Things with the utmost Clearness. I. That *Cæsar* is the true Author of the Commentaries, which go under his Name. II. That he has often disguised the Truth (61). See below the Remark [S].

[H] It would be wrong to take him for a speculative Epicurean, with respect to Providence. Three Things may be objected to me on this Point. The first is this Passage of *Salust*: 'De pœna, possum equidem dicere id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseris mortem ærumnarum requiem non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curæ neque gaudium locum esse (62). — As for the Punishment, I for my part can speak the Truth; that, under Affliction and Calamities, Death is a Repose from Misery, not a Torment, that it puts an end to all the Ills of Mortals, and that beyond it there is no room either for Anxiety or Joy.' *Cæsar* speaks thus in the Senate, in giving his Vote concerning the Punishment, which was to be inflicted on the Accomplishers of *Catiline*. He decides plainly, and without the least Exception, that Death puts an end to all our Happiness and Misery: This is flatly to deny the Immortality of the Soul. One may very well wonder, that a Senator durst speak in this manner before the whole Senate. *Cato* did not let this Doctrine pass without notice taken of it; but he censured it only indirectly, and with Moderation. 'Bene & composite Caius *Cæsar* paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita & morte disseruit, credo falsa existimans ea quæ de Inferis memorantur, diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda, atque formidolosa habere (63). — Caius *Cæsar* discoursed but a little while ago, in this very Assembly, in an apt manner, on Life and Death, not believing, I suppose, what is said of another World, that the wicked are separated from the Good, and allotted to dismal and horrible Mansions.' The second Objection is taken from *Lucan*. That Poet says, that *Cæsar*, having besieged *Marcellis*, ordered a Wood to be cut down, which was consecrated to a Deity, so much the more respected by the Inhabitants, because they did not know that Deity (64). The Soldiers durst not obey; they feared their Axes would turn against themselves. *Cæsar* was obliged to set his hand to the Work first of all, and to encourage them, not only by the success of the Blows with a Hatchet, which he gave to one of those consecrated Trees, but also by declaring, that he charged himself with all the Fault and Impiety they might commit. He was obeyed, not so much because they were no more afraid, but because, all things well considered, they chose rather to expose themselves to the Wrath of Heaven, than to his.

Sed fortis tremere manus, motique verenda
Majestatis loci, si robora sacra ferirent,
In sua credebant reditura membra securæ.
Implicitas magno *Cæsar* terrore cohortes
Ut vidit, primus raptam librare bipennem
Ausus, & æriam ferro proscindere quercum,
Effatur merfo violata in robora ferro:
Jam ne quis vestrum dubitet subvertere silvam,
Credite me fecisse nefas. Tunc paruit omnis

Imperii non sublato securo pavore

Turba, sed expensa Superorum, & *Cæsar*'s ira (65). (65) *Id. ibid.* ver. 429.

But lo! The bolder Hands, that soon'd have struck,
With some unusual Horror trembling shook;
With silent Dread and Reverence, they survey'd
The Gloom majestic of the sacred Shade:
None dares with impious Steel the Bark to rend,
Left on himself the destin'd Stroke descend.
Cæsar perceiv'd the spreading Fear to grow,
Then eager caught an Ax, and aim'd a Blow.
Deep sunk within a violated Oak
The wounding Edge, and thus the Warrior spoke;
Now let no doubting Hand the Task decline:
Cut you the Wood, and let the Guilt be mine.
The trembling Bands unwillingly obey'd;
Two various Ills were in the Balance laid,
And *Cæsar*'s Wrath against the Gods was weigh'd.

Rowe.

If all that I want of *Lucan*'s Narrative did not end here, I would add, that he remarks, that the Inhabitants of *Marcellis* were so far from being grieved for the loss of their sacred Wood, that they rejoiced extremely at it, thinking so great an Impiety would not remain unpunished; but, says *Lucan*, they experimented, that the Gods are only angry with the Unfortunate (66). This is to speak too profanely: It is to impute That Fault to Providence, of which the Judges of the Earth are accused, when it is said, that Gibbets are only made for the Unfortunate. The third Objection is furnished by *Suetonius*, who says, that Religion, that is to say, the ill Prefages of Victims, or such other divine Warnings, could never deter *Cæsar* from beginning or pursuing his Undertakings. 'Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absteritus unquam vel retardatus est. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia professionem adversus Scipionem & Jubam non distulit (67). He gave a remarkable Example of it, the Day of his Death; since he went to the Senate, although the Victims, which he caused to be offered, prefaged no good to him (68). These are three Arguments, which I am going to answer.

I say against the first, That it proves too much; for, if the Passage of *Salust* be a Proof, that *Cæsar* did not believe the Providence of the Gods, it must be said, that *Cicero* did not believe it neither; for, in a full Audience, he affirmed, as plainly as *Cæsar*, that Death puts an end to all our Miseries and called all that was said concerning the Torments of Hell, Fables and Dreams. 'Huic mortem maturabat inimicus, quod illi unum in malis periculum erat calamitatis? qui si quid animi, ac virtutis habuisset (ut multi sæpe fortes viri in ejusmodi dolore mortem sibi ipse conscisseret: huic quamobrem id vellet inimicus offerre, quod ipse sibi optare deberet? Nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi fortè ineptis, ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus, illum apud inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, ac plures illic offendisse inimicos, quam hic reliquisse: a socris, ab uxorum, a fratris, a liberum pœnis actum esse præcipitem in scelera torum sedem, atque regionem. Quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit, præter sensum doloris (69)? — Did an Enemy hasten his Death, which to him was the only Refuge from Calamity? who, if he had been a Man of any Resolution and Courage (like many brave Men under the same Misfortune) would have died by his own hand: wherefore would an Enemy offer him That, which he himself ought to have wished for? For what Evil did Death bring him? unless we are led by silly Stories to believe, that he suffers below the Punishments of the wicked, and that he has met with more Enemies there, than he has left behind him: and that the Punishments of his Father-in-law, his Wives, his Brother, and his Children,

(66) *Muris* sed clausa juvenos Exultat: quis enim lætos impune putaret? Effic deos? servat multos fortuna nocentes, Et tantum miseri irasci numina possunt. *Ibid.* ver. 446.

(67) *Sueton. in Cæsar.* cap. 59.

(68) Deinde pleribus hostiis cæcis cum litare non posset, introit curiam spectra religionis. *Ibid.* cap. 81.

(69) *Cicero, pro Cluentio*, fol. 119, cap. 61. Note, that *Cicero* speaks after quite another manner, in the Oration pro C. Rabirio.

Lucan. He was not the first, who leaped out of his Ship on the *Britannic Shore*. He was made to say so in a Speech (c); but he said quite the contrary in his Writings. In all likelihood, he might have enjoyed the Usurpation of the Empire longer, if he had not been fond of the Name and Grandeur of a Sovereign. His Friends, who should have supported him in such a slippery Station, ruined him, by too hastily endeavouring to procure him the Regal Ornaments. He and his Friends should have considered, that free Nations easily accustom themselves to Servitude, provided it be not called so; and that having lost the reality of their Privileges, without appearing to be concerned for it, they make a great Clamour, and vehemently oppose a Title, and an Ornament for the Head. If any thing made the Conspirators resolve to hasten the Execution of their Design, it was the

(c) *Julianus in Caesaribus*, pag. m. 170.

Fear

'Children, have plunged him headlong into the Seat and Region of the wicked. If these things are false, as all understand them to be, what more has Death deprived him of, than a sense of Pain?' It would be very wrong to conclude from this Passage, that *Cicero* neither believed another Life, nor the Providence of the Gods; his Writings testify the contrary too plainly. Moreover, every One does not agree, that there is a necessary Connexion between the Immortality of the Soul, and the Providence of God. The *Sadducees* denied the first of these two Doctrines, and admitted the last. I make use of a like Answer to the second Objection. *Sylla*, of all Men in the World, was farthest from Atheism. He would have the greatest regard be paid to the Orders, which God gives by way of Dreams; he ascribed his Victories to the favour of Fortune, much more than to his own Prudence (70); he believed

Εἰ δὲ ὁρᾷ τις αὐτοῖς καθεζομένοις, νῦν μὲν ἀπαλλὰτ' εἶναι, παρῆναι δὲ αὖθις ὅταν ἐν ὕπνῳ βελήσιν ὀνείρεσι Καλπυρῖα, τίνες ἔσονται λόγος παρὰ τῶν φρονούντων; *Quibus si quis confidentibus dicat, in praesentia ut descedant, redeantque ubi nata fuerit Calpurnia letiora somnia; quales futuri sint apud invidios sermones* (76)? He therefore believed Presages: We know moreover, that he composed divers Books concerning the Auspices (77) and that he was encouraged by a Prodigy to pass the *Rubicon*: *Eatur*, said he (78), *qua Deorum offensa et inimicorum iniquitas vocat: jacta alea est.* — Let us go where the Omens of the Gods, and the Iniquity of our Enemies, call: The Die is cast. We know, that he prayed to the Gods, when he was about to fight a decisive Battle with *Pompey*. *Παρηχρῆς γυνόμενος καὶ ἐνέδμενος τοῖς θεοῖς παρέτατ' ἐ τὴν φάλαγγα.* *Ibi laetis et Deos precatus aciem ornata* (79). We know, that he had an extraordinary Confidence in his Fortune, as it appeared, when he encouraged his Pilot; *Quid times? Caesarem visis* (80). — Fear not, thou carriest *Caesar*. His Words are more expressive in *Plutarch* (81). We know that he acknowledged Fortune concerned herself with every thing, but that she prebids more visibly in War, than in any other thing. 'Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari fortuna potest' (82). *Fortuna quæ plurimum potest tum in reliquis rebus, tum præcipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit, ut tum accidit* (83). I need not observe, that nothing is more opposite to the System of *Epicurus*, than the Hypothesis of Presages and Fortune. Thou speak never so ill of Fortune, though you make her blind, unjust, fickle, capricious, &c. you necessarily admit a Principle distinct from Atoms, endowed with Direction and Will, and which concerns itself with our Affairs (84).

(76) *Id. ibid. C.*

(77) *Macrobi. Saturn. lib. I. cap. 16. pag. m. 267, cites the fact.*

(78) *Suet. in Caesar. cap. 32.*

(79) *Plut. in Caesar. pag. 728. E.*

(80) *Florus lib. 4. cap. 2. n. 37.*

(81) *Παρηχρῆς τῇ σύγχῃ γνῶς ἐστὶ Κλυτάρη παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.* — *Eide fortune sciens te, Caesarem vehere. Tristi Fortune, knowing that you carry Caesar.* *Plut. in Apoph. pag. 206. C.*

(82) *Caesar, de Bello Gall. lib. 6. pag. 139. See also pag. 142.*

(83) *Id. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. pag. 347.*

(84) See the Article T I M O L E O N, Remarks [F] and [K].

(85) *Plut. in Apoph. p. 720. E.*

(86) *Dion. lib. 42. pag. m. 234.*

(87) See, above, the Article A U R E L I A N, Remarks [D].

(88) *Dio, lib. 42. pag. m. 234.*

(70) *Plut. in C. jul. vita, p. 454.*

(71) *Ibid.*

(72) *Ibid. pag. 474.*

(73) *Ibid. pag. 459.*

(74) *Dein pluri- bus hostiis caesis cum litare non possit. Sueton. in Caesar. cap. 81.*

(75) 'Ος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ καταθύσαντες οἱ μὲν τὰς ἱφασάν αὐτὸ δυσίερὸν ἔγνω πῦρ. Ἀντώνιον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον. Ut vero multis jam caesis hostiis remanuerunt ei auspices litari non posse, statuit missio Antonio senatum dimittere. *Plut. in C. jul. vita, pag. 738. B.*

of the Republic, till your Wife dreams fine Dreams?

(f) Nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum evaduntur factus est. Quo saepius vicisset, hoc minus experiendos casus opinans: nihilque se tantum acquisitum victoria, quantum auferre calamitas posset. Sueton. in *Cæsare*, cap. 60. See Florus's Words in the Remark [K], Citation (96).

(g) It was that of Munda in Spain against the Sons of Pompey.

(h) Plut. in *Cæs.* pag. 754. A.

(89) Plin. lib. 28, cap. 2, pag. m. 561.

(90) Except out of it the pleasure of good cheer. See Suetonius in *eius vita*, cap. 53, where he mentions what *Cato* said, *Unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evictendam rempublicam febriam accessisse*. --- That *Cæsar* alone set soberly about ruining the Commonwealth. See also *Paterculus*, lib. 2, cap. 41.

(91) Compare this with what is reported of *Cromwell*, in the *History of the Works of the Learned*, Jan. 1699, pag. 7, in the Extract of *Ludlow's Memoirs*.

(92) Plut. in *Cæs.* pag. 736.

(93) We may suppose they said to one another, *Hæc ferent, si fœdali vena ulla paterni Vivet in nobis*, *Perfusus*, Sat. 1, ver. 103.

(94) Sueton. in *Cæsare*, cap. 26.

(95) Id. cap. 77.

Fear that *Cæsar* would openly assume the Name of King. This Fear was not ill-grounded [I]. Observe, that, tho' he was naturally bold, and tho' Fortune was very favourable to him, yet he became at last very circumspect; as if he had apprehended, that she would take him for an insatiable, importunate, Man, who deserved to be a little mortified (f). The last Victory, he obtained (g), was That, which cost him most [K]. He had like to have lost it, and was already thinking of killing himself, that he might not fall into the Enemies hands. He gained it during the *Bacchanalia* (h). That Circumstance puts me in mind of four Verses, which will be seen in the Remark [K].

Perhaps no one has better succeeded, than *Salust*, in representing *Cæsar's* Character, which he compared with that of *Cato of Utica*. He says, among other things, that *Cæsar* fought great Dignities, noble Enterprizes, and the Command of Armies, to shew the Brightness of his Merit; but that *Cato* was contented to signalize himself by his Modesty and eminent Virtue, desiring rather to be an honest Man, than seem so [L], and attaining to Glory more surely by the Indifference

and this he did to procure himself a good Journey; nor did he begin to make use of this Devotion, till his Coach had like to have been over-set. 'Cæsar rem Dictatorem, post unum ancipitem vehiculi casum, ferunt semper, ut primum confedisset, id quod plerisque nunc facere scimus, carmine ter petito securitatem itinerum aucupari solitum' (89). I infer from all this, that, at most, he could but be a practical Epicurean (90).

[I] The Fear that he would openly assume the name of King --- was not ill grounded. *Cæsar's* Favourites were proportionably more covetous and insatiable than himself: they designed to procure him the Title of King, only because they hoped to enjoy a greater Power under That new Form of Government. The first thing they did, was to set the Machine of Religion to Work: to feel the Pulse of the People, they spread among them, that the Verses of the Sibyl declared expressly, that, if the Romans sent an Army against the *Parthians*, commanded by a King, they should subdue them, but that otherwise they would find them always invincible. Afterwards the Favourites tried whether the Romans were sufficiently prepared; for, one Day, when *Cæsar* returned into the City, they gave him the Name of King. The People murmured at it; then *Cæsar*, like a wise Man, rejected This Title (91); but he retired, much vexed to see that the People had not contradicted him, when he rejected the Salutation of his Flatterers. The latter were not discouraged; for, during the *Lupercalia*, *Marc Antony*, who was Consul, came near *Cæsar*, and would have put the Diadem upon his Head. Some few suborned Persons gave a Shout, but the People were silent. *Cæsar* thrust *Marc Antony* away; then the Applauses of the People made the Place resound. This Attempt of *Marc Antony* was repeated a little while after, with no better Success. What could not be done on the Original, was done on the Copies. Diadems were put on the Heads of *Cæsar's* Statues: Two Tribunes of the People caused these Diadems to be taken off, informed against those, who had first given *Cæsar* the Title of King, and carried them to Prison: The People blessed them for it, and followed them with great Applauses: But *Cæsar* deposed them from their Offices (92): Therefore all those, who had any drop of Roman Blood in their Veins (93), thought, that no time was to be lost, and desired *Brutus* to remember, that he bore the Name of him, who expelled *Tarquin*. See, in *Suetonius*, to what *Cæsar* had reduced the Liberty of the Common-Wealth (94). It is certain, as we are told *Cæsar* himself said, that it was a meer Name: It was a dead Body, or a Skeleton. 'Nec minoris impotentia voces propalam edebat, ut T. Amplus scribit, nihil esse Rempublicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Syllam necesse literas, qui Dictaturam deposuerit: debere homines confiderat jam loqui secum ac pro legibus habere quæ dicat' (95). --- Nor with less impotency of Words did he publicly declare, as T. Amplus informs us, that the Common-Wealth was nothing, a Name without a reality: that it was extreme weakness in Sylla to lay down the Dictatorship; and that Men ought to speak now with more caution before him, and receive his Words as Laws.

[K] The last Victory --- was That which cost him most. Fortune shewed herself irresolute in her Conduct: One would have thought, that she examined, whether she should except *Cæsar* from the general Rule, she is wont to follow; which is, to forsake her Friends, when she has railed them, and to make them pay in one Day for all the Good she did them in many Years. Let us hear *Florus*: 'Omnium postrema certaminum Munda. Hic non pro cetera felicitate, sed anceps, & diu triste prælium: ut plane videretur nescio quid deliberare fortuna. Sane & ipse ante aciem moerit non ex more *Cæsar*, five respectu fragilitatis humane, five nimiam prosperorum suspensam habens continuationem: vel eadem timens, postquam idem esse cœperat, quod Pompeius (96). --- Munda was the last of all his Battles. Here, contrary to his former Success, The Fight was long doubtful: inasmuch that Fortune seemed to be in suspense how she should act. And indeed *Cæsar* himself, at the Head of his Troops, seemed unusually melancholy: whether he considered the uncertainty of human Events, or suspected the continuance of his good Fortune; or that, beginning to be, what Pompey had been, he feared the same Catastrophe. He relates afterwards how *Cæsar's* Troops began to give way. Novissime illud insitutum *Cæsar*is oculis (nefas) post quatuordecim annos, probata veteranorum manus gradum retro dedit. Quod etsi nondum fugerat, apparebat tamen, pudore magis, quam virtute, resistere. Itaque ablegato equo, similis furenti, primam in aciem procurrit. Ibi prensare fugientes, confirmare; per totum denique agmen oculis, manibus, clamore, volitare. Dicitur in illa perturbatione & de extremis agitalle secum, & ita manifeste vultu fuisse, quasi occupare manu mortem vellet (97). --- At last, the approved Band of Veterans began to give Ground; a fight, which *Cæsar's* Eyes had been unacquainted with for fourteen Years; and though they did not fly, it was plain they resisted more through shame, than Courage. Quitting his Horse therefore, he ran like a Madman into the foremost ranks; laid hold of, and encouraged, the flying; and flew through the whole Body with his Eyes, Hands, and Voice. He is said, in the midst of That Confusion to have discovered in his Looks a settled Resolution of killing himself. The four Verses, which I am to cite here, were made by Mr *Pellissier*. I take them out of his Dialogue with *Pegasus*.

Mais ce fameux Cæsar, qui presque sans combattre
Venoit, voioit, vainquoit, ne le suivois tu pas?
Jamais il n'eut quitté la belle Cleopatre,
Pour aller prendre Dole un jour de Mardi gras.

Did not you follow the famed Cæsar, who, almost
without fighting, came, saw and conquered? He
would never have left the beautiful Cleopatra, to go
and take Dole on a Shrove Tuesday.

Why would he not have left her on such a Day, to take a Town, since, on such a Day, he gave a Battle, which was an hundred times more dangerous than the Siege of a Town would be?

[L] *Salust* compared the Character of *Cæsar* with That of *Cato* --- who desired rather to be an honest Man, than seem so. I am going to copy That Historian's Words. 'His (*Cæsari* & *Caton*) genus, ætas, eloquentia prope equalia fuere: magnitudo animi

(96) *Florus*, lib. 4, cap. 2, n. 78e

(97) *Ibid.* n. 81g

(i) See Dion. Cassius, lib 44, c. 13 init.

(k) *Id. ibid.* pag. 276. See the Remark [N], *Citat.* (110). and *Plut.* in *Cass.* pag. 754, who observes, that Caesar's Enemies contributed as much as his Flatterers, to Those Decrees of the Senate. Οἱ δὲ οὖν συνηγοροῦσιν ἐν τῇ κοινότητι Καίσαρα τὰς μυστίας in quibus non minus inimicus Caesaris quam adulatoribus putant elaborasse.

(1) Plutarch. in
Cæs. pag. 754.

in an Epistle Dedicatory (102), which is otherwise stuffed with nonsense.

[M] He took extraordinary Care to accumulate Riches, and to raise Money under any pretence whatsoever.] Sometimes he exacted several Sums of Money, under pretence, that they had been promised to Pompey. He took the Treasure out of the Temple of Hercules at Tyre, under pretence, that the Tyrians had received Pompey's Wife and Sons in their City. He made Kings and Princes present him with Crowns of Gold, as a Conqueror (103). In a word, when one Reason failed, he knew how to invent another. This Conduct, and These Exactions, did not proceed from a bad Disposition, if Dio thought this was a good Excuse, he argued more like a Warriour and a good Politician, than like a good Citizen. These are his Words: Τῷ τε σύμ- παν εἰπεῖν, χρηματοποιεῖν ἀνὴρ ἐργάζεσθαι, δύνα- τε εἶναι λέγειν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις παρασκευ- αζοῦν καὶ φυλάσσειν καὶ πεινάζειν, σε- λήναι καὶ χρηματίζειν καὶ ταῦτα ἑὶ ἀλλή- λων συνεκτείνειν. Τῇ τε γὰρ τετρὴ καὶ σεξ- τῷ μάλιστ' ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ συλλέγεσθαι καὶ δάτεσιν ἐπιτελεῖν αὐτῶν εἰδέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐπεὶ συγκαταβῆ- ναι. Uique summam ditam, pecuniarum coactio- erat Cæsar, duas esse res dicens quibus et pararentur, et conservarentur et augeretur imperia, nempe milites et pecunia. Eorum alteram per alteram confidere, nam et annona contineri exercitus et eam armis parari, atque alterutro deficiente, reli- quum simul considerare (105). This Historian ob- serves, that Cæsar, being returned into Italy, after the Defeat of Pharnaces, continued his Exactions, sometimes under the Name of a Gift, and some- times under That of a Loan. He borrowed of private Men and Cities, but without any Design to repay, and compelled them to give him Money, as if he had exacted the Payment of a Debt (106)

[N.] Once — *he did not vouchsafe to rise to the Senate.* — *This Incivility was one of the chief Causes of his Ruin.*] Two Passages, one Suetonius, and the other of *Dion Cassius*, shall prove this. ‘*Præcipuum & inextinguibilem fibi invidiam*’ hinc maxime movit: *adeuntes eum cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis, univerſos patres conscriptos sedens pro æde Veneris Grænitricis cepit. Quidam putant retentum à Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur affurgere; alii ne conatum quidem omnino, sed etiam admomentem Caium Trebatium, ut affurgeret, minus familiari vultu reflexisse* (107). — *The greatest Offence he gave,* was:

(102) That of his Oriental Histories, printed at Paris in the Year 1575, and dedicated to the Duke of Alençon, Brother to Henry III.

(103) See Dion
Cassius, lib. 42,
pag. 234.

(104) Τῷ το δὲ
ἐχ' ὑπὸ κακίας
ἐποίει. Quae
omnia non impro-
bitate faciebat.
Id. ibid.

b- (105) Id. *ibid.*

(106) Id. *ibid.*

(107) Suet. in
Julio, cap. 78

He rightly lives, who is, what he appears.

Poſſel has made a very ſolid Remark on This Verſe,
VOL. II.

(98) Sallust, de
Bello Catalin.
cap. 54.

(99) Consult Lukan Pharf. lib. 2, ver 380, & seq. *I have read in the Mercure Volant, printed in 1705, pag. 93 that it was said of Cato 3; Nunquam recte fecit ut facere videtur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat. He never acted right, though he might seem to do so, but because he could not do otherwise.*

(100) In Rem.
[H], of the Ar-
ticle AMPHIA-
RAUS.

(101) Horat. Epist. 16, lib. 1.
Ver. 17.

(m) See, above, Remark [F], of the Article BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS).

the fifteenth Day of March 710 [O]. I have observed elsewhere (m), that, tho' it

'was, in receiving the whole Senate, who came to present him with several Decrees very much to his Honour, sitting before the Temple of his Mother Venus. Some think, he was kept from rising up by Cornelius Balbus; others, that he made no attempt to rise, and even frowned on Caius Trebatius, who put him in mind of getting up. Dion Cassius relates the Matter with all it's Circumstances. One

(108) Dio, lib. 47, pag. 255.

Day, says he (108), as they were deliberating in the Senate about great Honours, which they designed to decree to Julius Caesar, all the Senators Voices, except That of Cassius, and some others, concurred to That Decree; after which, the Company rose up, to carry the News of it to That Emperor, who was sitting in the Porch of the Temple of Venus. He stayed there, that no one should say, his Presence had deprived the Senators of the Liberty of giving their Votes. He did not arise, upon seeing the Senate come to him, but heard what they had to say to him sitting. This made, not only the Senators, but the other Romans, so angry, that it was one of the chief Pretences of those, who formed the Conspiracy against his Person. The Historian does not know whether this Incivility was a fatal stroke of Providence, or the Effect of Caesar's great Joy: Καθήμενος ὁ σπᾶς εἴτ' ἐν θεοβλαβείᾳ τινι εἴτε καὶ περιχαρίᾳ περσσομένης Sedens Senatum excepit, sine fatali quodam errore, sine nimio gaudio correptus (109); but he observes, that no Credit was given to those, who endeavoured to justify it, by saying, that Caesar had then a Looseness upon him, which made him fear to disturb the retentive Faculty by rising up. This Excuse was not admitted; for it was known, that, a little while after, he walked home on foot. So that the Posture, which he had kept, was attributed to his Pride. The Honours, that had been conferred upon him, had made him proud; and, when he was become proud, he was hated. I shall set down the Passage of Dio in Latin only. 'Quod enim nonnulli purgandi Caesaris causa postea attulerunt, profluvio cum ventris laborasse, veritumque, ne inter assurgendum alvum dejiceret, confedisse; id propterea creditum non est, quod paulo post pedibus ipse domum rediit: sed saltu elatum hoc fecisse suspicabantur, eumque superbia nomine odio prosequerantur, quem immo-dicos honores deferendo ipsi superbum reddiderant (110).' The Historian discovers, in these last words, the same desire of criticizing the Senate, that he had already shewn. He had said, that, among the things, which exposed Caesar to the mortal Hatred and Envy that ruined him, the Fault of the Senators was greater, than That of Caesar himself (111). They decreed new exorbitant Honours for him, and then censured him for accepting of them, and growing more proud upon that account. Doubtless he was to blame in not refusing part of them, and in believing, that they were really persuaded, he deserved them (112); but the Senate was yet more to blame: they, who, by conferring those Honours upon him, opened a Precipice for him; for, if he had refused them, he would have passed for a disdainful Man, and he exposed himself to Vanity by accepting of them; since the modestest Persons suffer themselves to be corrupted by That Poison, and fancy they are what they are said to be (113). Τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβαλλόν των τε τιμῶν καὶ των ἐπαίνων χαυνώσκει πῶς καὶ τὸς πάντων σώζοντας, ὥς καὶ των ἐπαίνων ἀλμυρῶς γίνεσθαι δοκᾷσι, ποιεῖ. Nam immoderati honores laudeque levitatem animi etiam modestissimo cuique afferunt, ut se jam talis esse, quales prædicantur, existiment (114).

(110) Ibid. pag. 277.

(111) Id. Ibid. pag. 274.

(112) Id. Ibid.

(113) See the

News from the

Republic of Let-

ters, June, 1616,

Art. 1, pag. 631,

where you will

find the Words

of the fourth Sa-

ture of Juvenal.

Nihil est quod

credere de se

Non possit cum

laudator

Diis æqua potes-

tas. See also in the

16th Epistle of

Horace, the Sed-

verore ne cui de

to plusquam tibi

credas, &c.

(114) Dio, lib.

47, pag. 274.

Let us examine the reason, why they would not believe, that Caesar kept sitting, for fear his Looseness should play him an ill Trick. It seems to me to be groundless; for, though he returned home a little while after on foot, it does not follow, but that he might feel some violent Gripings, at the very moment the Senate came to him. A Looseness is not always equally troublesome. But if this Excuse were well grounded, we should have great reason to admire the oddness of human Events: we might say, that the most considerable, and the most fatal, depend upon Trifles, and are put in motion by the vilest Springs. Caesar would have hastened his

Ruin, because he could not put himself in a civil Posture, by reason of a little Disorder in his Bowels, which, on another occasion, would have been of no consequence, but at that time was of great Importance. The Accident he feared, if he had risen, would have been attended with bad Consequences: he would have been a laughing-stock to all the People of Rome; and the ill-affected would have put a strange Construction upon it. What a Contempt of Religion, and of the Senate! What! in the very Temple of Venus, and in the Presence of the most august Body in the World! The thing might have been rendered so odious in several respects, that it might have caused even a Man, who had well considered all the Consequences of his sitting still, to resolve not to stir out of his Place. Did not Constantine Copronymus draw a most odious and despicable Epithet upon himself, which stains his Memory to this very Day? Did he not become the Object of a hundred Invektives, and injurious Reflections, for having fouled the Baptismal Font without knowing what he did. Impio patri scelestissima successit proles Constantinus cognomento Copronymi, quod infans baptizmi lavacro admotus, mediis sacris alimentis excremento aquam polluerat (115). It would have been much worse, if such a thing had happened to him in a Church, whilst he made War against the Protectors of Images. Such a thing has been at all times looked upon as a great piece of Contempt, or a Subject of Raillery (116). However it be, Caesar's Apologisms might have been better confuted, than by the Reason mentioned by Dion Cassius. They might have been told, that, if that bodily Infirmary had been the Reason, why Caesar did not rise, he should have alleged That Excuse to the Senators. The not having done it, is a sign that he cared but little whether they should think he was wanting in civility towards That august Body, or not; which makes him fall again into the first Inconveniency. We may imagine, that the Senators would have been satisfied with That Reason. Laban, though he was very angry, was satisfied with almost such a like Excuse, when his Daughter received him without rising (117). See here another way of excusing one's self (118). 'One time Cardinal du Perron found himself much perplexed, speaking for the Clergy to the late Queen-Mother; for, being in a Chair, where the Gout forced him to remain before a Princess so full of Majesty, he had a mind to pass a Compliment on her about it, which he had not prepared. Madam, said he to her, I am upon my Knees in my Heart, though you see me sit. — At that Word, perceiving that it was not respectful to name the Part on which he sat, he for a good while sought for some more honourable Expression, and finding none added on my Legs (119).

I have just now read a thing, which may make us doubt of Dio's Discernment: The thing is this. Plutarch observes, that Caesar was very much concerned for the Incivility he had shewed the Senate, and which displeased the People so much (120). 'Nevertheless it is said, adds Plutarch, that, to excuse that Fault, he alleged his Distemper, because the Senses of those, who are subject to the Falling-sickness, when they speak standing before a Company, do not always remain sound, but are easily troubled, and suddenly taken with a dazzling: but this was false (121).' We must believe, for Dio's Honour, that he had read Plutarch. How comes it then to pass, that he says nothing of this Excuse, and alleges another much more unlikely, and somewhat ridiculous?

[O] He was murdered in the Senate, the fifteenth Day of March, 710. Authors do not agree, concerning this Point of Chronology, as to the Year: Some, as Sigonius, Calvisius, &c. say, that Caesar was killed in the Year 709. I have followed their Hypothesis in the Article of Brutus (122), and perhaps also in some other places; but I find Petavius's Opinion more reasonable, that Caesar was killed in 710. It is now the current Opinion. He was Fifty six Years of Age, more or less. They gave him twenty three Blows (123); each of the Conspirators strove to wound him, and in that haste some of them wounded each other (124). They

(115) Jo. Bapt. Egnatius in Roman. Princip.

(116) Καὶ βάλοιαι ἀνταποκρίσιν πρὸς τὰς βροτὰς. Voluere oppedere vestris tonitruis. Apophth. in Nabis. lib. 1, Sc. 4. Vin' tu curis judicis oppedere? Horat. Sat. 9, lib. 1, ver. 69. See the Catibolicon d'Esperges, at the place where the sitting of the Deputies of the States is mentioned, pag. 37. Edit. 1699.

(117) And Rachel said to her Father, Let it not displease my Lord, that I cannot rise up before thee, for the custom of Women is upon me. Genesis xxxi, 35.

(118) Caesar might have said, I stand in my Heart, though I am sitting, &c.

(119) Caesar. Continuat. of the Defence of Virtue, pag. 189.

(120) Plut. in Cæs. pag. 72.

(121) Id. Ibid.

(122) See above in the Article BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS), in the Text, where I place the Battle of Philippi in the Year 711.

(123) Suet. in Cæs. cap. 82.

(124) Plut. in Cæs. pag. 72.

it should be granted, that there was some Justice in this Act, it cannot be denied but that it was performed at a very improper Time. *Seneca*, who, because he saw the two greatest Ornaments of the Sect of the Stoics (n) among *Cæsar's* Enemies, must have been very much inclined to condemn This Usurper, yet blames those, who killed him, and condemns the Blindness, which hindered them from seeing, that, in the state wherein things were (o), they could not hope for the Restoration of Liberty. Ambition and Luxury had so long made *Rome* a Stage of Disorders and violent Confusions (p), that a Monarchical Government was become a necessary Evil. The wisest Men had foreseen, that such a Corruption of Laws and Manners would end in a Crisis, which would be a Revolution of State. The same *Seneca* observes, that *Cæsar* had united and incorporated himself in such a manner with the Republic, that no Separation could be made, without spoiling and ruining all [P]. It is very certain, that he alone could repair the Evils which the Roman People had suffered; and, if it be pretended, that *Cicero* did not consider what he said, when he affirmed it; it must also be acknowledged, that he ought to have considered of what he said on this Occasion [Q]. Something must be said

(n) *Cato of Utica*, and *Brutus*, the first of whom died before *Cæsar*, and the last was one of *Cæsar's* Murderers, and died afterwards in maintaining the Cause.

(o) See Citation (14), of the Article *BRUTUS* (*MARCUS JUNIUS*)

(p) See the Description of them, in *Lucan*, Book 1 of the *Pharsalia*, ver. 160, & seq. Compare with this Citat. (35) of the Article *CATULUS*.

thought their Action would have been approved by the People; but they had reason to question it the very next Day; for the People kept a very profound Silence, when they heard what had been done. The Senate removed their Fears, since, by conferring on the one hand divine Honours upon *Cæsar*, they granted on the other many Advantages to the Conspirators: but *Cæsar's* Funeral Pomp spoiled all. *Marc Antony* made a Speech, which exasperated those, who were present, to such a degree, that they went to burn the Conspirators Houses, and fought after them all over the Town, to cut them in pieces. That, which affected them most was, that he shewed them *Cæsar's* Tunick full of Holes, and bloody (125). *Plutarch*, and his Copier *Appian*, affirm it: but other Historians do not mention That Circumstance. *Cicero*, reproaching *Marc Antony* for That Day's Proceedings, says nothing of That Particular. 'Etsi tum cum optimum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni illius sceleratissime præfuiti. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio, tu illas faces incendisti, & eas quibus semivultus ille est, & eas quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagavit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum, & ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manique repulimus, in nostras domos immisisti (126). — Though even then, when I had the best Opinion of you, you had the Balaenae, against my Consent, to appear at the Head of the Tyrant's Funeral. It was you, who spoke his Funeral Oration, who pitted his Fate, who excited the Populace to revenge his Death, who blew up That Fire, by which he was half consumed, and which destroyed the House of L. Bellienus. It was you, who spirited up the Mob, consisting of the most profligate Persons, and chiefly of Slaves, whom we forcibly repelled, to pull down our Houses.' And note, that *Suetonius* is so far from mentioning it, that he gives us to understand, that *Marc Antony* made no Funeral Oration. 'Laudationis loco consul Antonius per præconem pronuntiavit S. C. quo omnia ei divina simul atque humana decreverat: item iurjurandum, quo secundi pro salute unius adstrinxerant: quibus perpaucæ a se verba addidit (127). — Instead of a Funeral Oration, the Consul *Antony* pronounced, by a public Crier, the Edict of the Senate, decreeing him all human and divine Honours: as also the Oath, by which they had all bound themselves, for the safety of one: to which he added a very few words of himself.' Is it not strange, that he could doubt of a thing, which *Cicero* had affirmed in full Senate, whilst the thing was yet fresh? Many Observations might be made on the Differences, which are found among Historians. I am much surprised, that *Cassiodorus* (128) pretends to confirm *Suetonius's* Narrative by the Testimony of *Appian*; for it is plain, *Appian* says, that *Marc Antony* made a very long Speech (129).

[P] *Seneca* remarks, that *Cæsar* had so united and incorporated himself with the Republic, that he could not be separated from it, without — ruining all. These are his Words: *Olim ita se induit Reip. Cæsar ut seduci alterum non possit, sine utriusque perniciæ, nam ut illi viribus opus, ita & huic capite* (130). This is the Conclusion of several fine Maxims, which he had just before laid down about the Obedience of Subjects. They were mentioned in a Book, which a French Royalist published against the Leaguers in the Year 1593. 'Nec solum propter iram, id est metu pœnæ, illis obediendum est, sed propter conscientiam, quia nimirum omnes scire oportet, id ex divina voluntate & constitutione fieri debere. Quod etiam Ethnici agnoverunt, inter quos illo sæculo quo D. Paulus scripsit, hæc sapiens Philosophus dicebat. Principes Regesque & quocunque alio nomine sunt, tutores status publici, amandos etiam ultra privatas necessitudines. Et olim, inquit, ita se induit Reip. Cæsar, &c. (131). — Ille enim est vinculum per quod Reipubl. coheret: ille spiritus vitalis, quem hæc tot millia trahunt, nihil ipsa per se futura, nisi unus & præda, si mens illa imperii subtrahatur. — Nor are we to obey for Wrath only, that is through fear of Punishment, but for Conscience sake: since every one ought to know, that the Will and Institution of God has made it our Duty. This the very Heathens acknowledged, among whom a learned Philosopher, at the time when St Paul wrote, said, that Princes and Kings, and Governors of all Denominations, as being Guardians of the Public Weal, are intitled to our Affection, even beyond the private Ties of Friendship. And formerly, said he, *Cæsar* so incorporated himself with the Republic, &c. — For this it what connects and keeps together the several Parts of a Common-Wealth: This is the vital Spirit, which so many thousands breathe, who would of themselves be nothing but a burden and a Prey to each other, were this Soul of Government withdrawn.' These Words are found in the Seventy fifth Page of a Book, intitled, *Vindiciæ secundum libertatem Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, & Regii status Gallofrancorum, sub Henrico IV. Rege Francorum & Navarra. L. S. A. R.* It is thought, that these four Letters signify, *Ludovicus Servinus Advocatus Regius*.

[Q] He alone could repair the Misfortunes of the Roman People. — *Cicero*, who affirms this, ought to have considered what he said on this Occasion. I shall set down some Passages of his Oration for *Marcellus*. 'Quis est omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in republica, tam nihil unquam nec de sua nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat tua salute contineri suam, & ex unius tua vitam pendere omnium? — si ad humanos casus incertoque eventus valetudinis, sceleris etiam accedat insidiarumque consensus: quem deum, etiam si cupiat, optulari posse reip. credamus? Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Cæsar, uni, quæ jacerent sentis, belli ipsius impetu, quod necesse fuit, perculsa, atque prostrata: constituenda judicia, revocanda fides, comprimendæ libidines, propaganda soboles: omnia, quæ dilapsa jam defluerunt, feveris legibus vincienda sunt. Non fuit reculandum in tanto civili bello, tantoque animorum ardore, & armorum, quin quassata resp. quicunque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet & ornamenta dignitatis, & præsidia stabilitatis suæ, multaque uterque dux faceret armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri prohibuisset. Quæ quidem nunc tibi omnia bellivulnera sananda sunt: quibus PRÆTER TE ME

(125) Taken out of *Plutarch*, *ibid.* pag. 740.

(126) *Cicero*, *Philipp.* 2, cap. 36, pag. 710.

(127) *Suet.* in *Cæs.* cap. 84.

(128) *Cassiodorus*, ad *Sueton.* in *Cæs.* cap. 84.

(129) *Appian*, de *bellis civil.* lib. 2, pag. m. 285.

(130) *Seneca* de *clementia*, lib. 1, cap. 4.

(131) Note that, in *Seneca*, this precedes what concerns *Cæsar*.

of *Cæsar's* Family, and against those, who are not well acquainted with the Reason why he bore that Name [R]. The Reader will find here a Supplement concerning

DERI NEMO POTES. — For who is so totally ignorant, so little versed in public Affairs, and so regardless of his own, and the common Safety, as not to be sensible, that his own Security is contained in yours, and that the Lives of all depend on yours alone? — Should Villany and Treachery conspire with the Uncertainty of human Events, and of Health, what God can we think powerful enough, though he should be willing, to save the State? You alone, C. Cæsar, must raise us from the fallen Condition, to which the Violence of War has necessarily reduced us, must settle our Courts of Justice, restore public Credit, suppress Vice, increase the number of our People, and restrain the dissoluteness of our Manners by wholesome Laws. In so great a Civil-War, and during such violent Commotions, the shattered Commonwealth must necessarily, be the Event what it will, lose many Ornaments of her Dignity, and Support of her Security; and both Generals must necessarily do, when in Arms, what they would both prohibit when in Peace. All which Wounds of War are now to be healed by you; for YOU ALONE CAN HEAL THEM.

(112) See Suetonius, in *Cæsar*, cap. 44, and Plutarch, in *Cæsar*, pag. 735.

(113) The Words of Pliny, l. b. 7, cap. 9, have deceived them. Augustus eneca parente gignitur: scilicet Scipio Africanus prior natus, primulque Cæsarum à Cæso matris utero dictus. — They are more likely born than the death of the Parent: as Scipio Africanus the Elder, and the first Cæsar, so called from being cut out of his Mother's Womb. They have applied to Cæsar the Dictator, what Pliny had only said of the first who was surnamed Cæsar. Note that Solinus did not well understand this: He believed, that Pliny had said, that Scipio Africanus was the first, who was surnamed Cæsar.

(114) In one of the Remarks of the Article TROY.

(115) See, below, in Citation (139), the Passage of Suetonius.

(116) Plinius, lib. vii, cap. lili. pag. 88.

(117) *Wb* was afterwards called Julius (July) in Honour of Julius Cæsar.

(118) Contoed by Joannes Glandorpius, and introduced d Familie Gentis Julis. It was printed at Basil, in 1576, in 8vo, by the Care of Ambrase Glandorpius, the Author's Son, and inserted afterwards, in 1589, in the Ono nation Historie Romanæ of the same Author.

In all likelihood, if *Cæsar* had lived ten Years longer, he would have done the finest Things in the World for the Glory and Prosperity of the Roman People. He was killed in the midst of the greatest Projects, that a sublime Genius, and an heroic Courage could undertake (112).

[R] Something must be said of *Cæsar's* Family, and against those who are not well acquainted with the Reason why he bore That Name (113).] He was of the Family *Julia*, which pretended to be descended from *Venus*, by *Æneas* the Son of *Anchises* and of That Goddess. We shall see, elsewhere (114), the Care that was taken to keep up the Tradition of This Original of *Julius Cæsar*. The Posterity of *Æneas*, the Son of *Æneas* and *Creusa*, and surnamed *Julus*, subsisted in *Alba*, till that Town was ruined by *Tullius Hostilius*, King of *Rome*. That Prince transported it to *Rome*, where it prospered. It does not appear, that it formed above two chief Branches there; the first bore the Surname of *Tullius*, the other That of *Cæsar*. The Persons of the first Branch, who begin to appear in History, are *Caius Julius Tullus*, and *Vapiscus Julius Tullus*. The first was Consul in the Year of *Rome* 265, and *Decemvir* in the Year 300. The last was Consul in the Year 271. The most ancient *Cæsars*, that are to be found, had some Dignities in the eleventh Year of the first *Punic* War, that is to say, in the Year of *Rome* 546. From that time *Cæsars* appear very frequently in the Offices of the Republic, till *Caius Julius Cæsar*, the Emperor's Father. He was the Son of another *Caius Julius Cæsar*, whose History is unknown; it appears only, that he was married to *Martia*, who descended from the Family of King *Ancus Martius* (115). He had three Children, two Sons and one Daughter, who was the Wife of *Marius*: The two Sons, *Caius Julius Cæsar*, and *Lucius Julius Cæsar* did not rise above the Pretorship, dying in the Flower of their Age, and in a singular manner: for both of them died as they were putting on their Stockings in the Morning, *Caius* at *Pisa*, and *Lucius* at *Rome*, where he exercised the Dignity of Pretor. 'Nullis evidentibus causis obiere, dum calciantur matutino, duo Cæsares, Prætor, & prætura perfunctus Dictatoris Cæsaris pater, hic Pisis exanimatus, ille Romæ (116). *Caius* married *Aurelia*, and had one Son and some Daughters by her. The Son is He, who makes the Subject of this Article. He was born at *Rome*, the twelfth of the Month *Quintilis* (117) 653, and lost his Father in the Year 669. I have taken this from a Book, which contains a large Account of the Family *Julia* (118). You will not find the Passage of *Suetonius* there, which shews from what Nobility this Family pretended to be descended, and with what Eloquence *Cæsar* knew how to express it. Here is the Passage: 'Questor *Juliam* amitam, uxoremque *Corneliæ*, defunctas laudavit è more pro Rostris: sed in amitæ quidem laudatione, de ejus ac patris

sui utraque origine sic refert: Amittæ meæ *Julia* maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis immortalibus conjunctum est. Nam ab *Anco Marcio* sunt *Marcii Reges*, quo nomine fuit mater: à *Venere Julii*, cujus gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere & sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent: & ceremonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges (119). — During his Questorship, according to custom, he pronounced the Funeral Orations of his Aunt *Julia*, and his Wife *Cornelia*: but, in the Elogy of his Aunt, he gives this Account of his own and his Father's Origin on both sides. The maternal Race of my Aunt sprung from Kings, the paternal from the Immortal Gods. For the *Marcii*, being Kings, descended from *Ancus Marcius*, which Name my Mother bore; The *Julii* from *Venus*, of whose Race is our Family. There are therefore in our Race both the Sanctity of Kings, who have the greatest Power among Men, and the Ceremonies of the Gods, to whose Power Kings themselves are subject. *Suetonius* speaks here of the Death of *Cornelia*, *Cæsar's* Wife. On this Occasion, let us say something of This Emperor's Marriages. He had been betrothed to a very rich Maid, whose Name was *Cossutia*, while he yet wore the *Toga Virilis*; but he soon repudiated her. Afterwards he married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Lucius Cornelius Cinna*, and would never put her away, tho' it was dangerous for him not to yield to the pressing Solicitations of *Sylla*, who desired it (120). He had a Daughter by her, who was *Pompey's* Wife. His third Wife's Name was *Pompeia* (121): and she placed him in the same Category, where in he had put so many other Husbands. She was beloved by *Clodius*, and loved him reciprocally; but *Cæsar*, and his Mother *Aurelia*, a Lady of great Virtue, watched her Conduct so narrowly, that *Clodius* was obliged to seek an Opportunity to come to her, whilst the Mysteries of the *Bona Dea* were celebrating in *Cæsar's* House: He disguised himself in Women's Cloaths, and got in with the Crowd; but he was discovered. This Business made a great Noise: *Cæsar* divorced his Wife, under Pretence, as he said (122), that he would not have his House so much as suspected; but, at the bottom, he did not question, but that his Wife had plaid the Trick (123). Οὐτὸς ἡρα Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναῖκος, ἐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀκούσης. Ἀλλὰ φυλάκας τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀκριβῆς ἦσαν, ἢ τε μήτηρ τῆς Καίσαρος, Ἀυρηλία, γυνὴ σώφρων, περικύσασα τὴν νύμφην αὐτῇ, χαλεπὴν καὶ παρασκευασμένην ἀνδρὶ τοιοῦτον τὴν ἐκσωθῆναι. Hic (*Clodius*) uxorem *Cæsaris Pompeiam* amabat neque invitam. Verum mulierem *Cæsar* acriter sequebatur: custodia, ejusque mater *Aurelia*, famina honesta, perpetuo lateri adherens *Pompeia*, arduum & periculosum ejus congressum efficiebat (124). After this he married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*, and died before her.

(119) Sueton. in *Cæsar*, cap. vi.

(120) Id. ibid. cap. i.

(121) Daughter of *Quintus Pompeius Rufus*.

(122) Plut. in *Cæsar*, p. 712.

(123) Sueton. in *Cæsar*, cap. vi.

(124) Plut. in *Cæsar*, p. 711, D. and also in *Cicerone*, pag. 874.

(125) Virgil. *Æn.* lib. i. ver. 236.

(126) That is to say, *Æneas*, the Son of *Æneas*; for Virgil, ibid. ver. 267, had said At puer *Æneas* cui nunc cognomen Iulo Additur.

(127) Servius in *Æn.* lib. i. ver. 286.

Nasceetur pulchra *Trojanus* origine *Cæsar*, *Julius*, à magno demissum nomen Iulo (126).

He thought the Surname of *Cæsar* was given to our *Caius Julius*, the Dictator, either because he was taken out of his Mother's Womb, by a surgical Operation, or because his Grand-father had killed an Elephant. 'Vel quod avus ejus in Africa manu propria occidit Elephantem, qui Cæsar dicitur.' Penorum lingua (127). — Or because his Grand-father, being in Africa, with his own hand had killed an Elephant, which, in the *Punic* Language, is called *Cæsar*. Neither of these Reasons are of any force, since there were some *Cæsars* in *Rome* among the Ancestors of our *Cæsar*, from the time of the first *Punic* War. Note, that *Cædrenus*, the Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Maldala*, *Suidas*, *Glycas*, and *Constantin Manasses*, affirm, that they were forced to make an Incision, in order to take *Cæsar* out of his Mother's Belly. *Zonaras* refuses this

ing his Commentaries [S]. I have observed, in another Place (q), some Circumstances of his Deification.

(p) See Remark [D], of the Article DOLABELLA, and the *Divers Thoughts on Comets*, n. 82, 83.

(162) At the third Page.

(a) See the *Memoriana*, with the Notes of Mr de la Moynie, Tom. III, pag. 157, & seq. E. 8. Paris, 1715. R. 2. M. 17.

(163) See his Preface to the Edition of *Cæsar*, 1697.

(164) Orosius, lib. 6, cap. 7, fol. 246, verso.

(165) Savaro, in Epi. 14. lib. 9. Sidon. Apoll. p. 606.

(166) Above, Citat. (157).

(167) In the Life of *Julius Cæsar*, which he inserted in the second Tome of his *Augmentation of the Roman History*, p. 239, & seq.

(168) See Rem. [B], of the Article AQUÆUS.

(143) See Dr Bentley's Not on the Chronicle of Malala. See also *Grævius's Suetonius*, Edit. 2, in 4^{to}.

(149) See R. 1. m. [E], Citat. (4. 9).

(150) Tacitus, de Orat. cap. 20.

(151) Glandorp. Onomast. p. 426.

(152) Suetonius, in Cæsar. cap. 26.

(153) In the Marginal Note (153).

(154) See the end of Remark [C].

(155) Fr. Floridus Sabinus Sub. ciar. Lect. lib. 2, cap. 3, & lib. 2, cap. 2, apud Vossium de Hist. Lat. p. 62.

(156) Ludov. Carrio apud Vossium, ibid.

(157) He should have said *Caduceus*. See below, Citat. (165).

(158) Suetonius in *Æn.* lib. 11, ver. 743.

(159) Plut. in Cæsar. p. 718. D.

(160) Strabo, lib. 4, init.

(161) Appian. in Excerpt. Legat. pag. 359.

this Falsity (148). How could any one be ignorant that That Lady was yet living, when her Son was married to *Pompeia*? Had they not read what he said to her on the Day of the Election of the *Pontifex Maximus* (149). Were they ignorant, that she had taken very great care of his Education (150)? for she was a learned and eloquent Woman (151). She died, whilst her Son made War against the *Gauls* (152). I have observed the Cause of This Mistake (153).

[S] A Supplement concerning his Commentaries. I was contented to observe, in the first Edition (154), that *Vossius* has shewed, that *Julius Cæsar* is the true Author of the Commentaries, which are attributed to him; but, at present, I intend to enlarge on this Subject. *Francis Floridus Sabinus* maintained, that the three Books of the *Civil-War* were not written by *Julius Cæsar* (155). Another maintained the same thing, concerning the seven Books of the War against the *Gauls* (156). *Vossius* observes, that *Lewis Caduceus* (157) ascribed them to *Suetonius*. But these are groundless Opinions, which we can solidly refute by the Authority of ancient Authors, without insisting on the Answer that might be given, viz. that Those Books of *Cæsar* are lost since the ancient Writers have cited them. They, who think, that besides the Commentaries, that are still extant, *Cæsar* had composed *Ephemerides*, which are lost, are much more in the right: It was a Journal of his Life. *Servius* has extracted from it a very singular Event. 'Caius Cæsar, says he (158), cum dimisit caret in Gallia, & ab hoste raptus equo ejus portaretur armatus, occurrit quidam ex hostibus, qui eum nosset, & insultans ait, Cecos Cæsar: quod Gallorum lingua, Dimitte, significat: & ita factum est, ut dimitteretur. Hoc autem ipse Cæsar in *Ephemeride* sua dicit, ubi propriam commemorat felicitatem. — Cæsar, during the War in Gaul, being taken by the Enemy, as they were carrying him away, armed, on Horseback, one of the Enemy, who knew him, came up, and, insulting, said, Cecos Cæsar; which, in the Language of the Gauls, signifies Let go; and by this means he was let go. Cæsar himself mentions this in his *Ephemerides* wherein he gives an Account of his good Fortune.' It is very likely, that, when *Plutarch* quoted *Cæsar's Ephemeris* (159), he did not mean the Commentaries, but the same Work, to which *Servius* refers us. I know what he alludes in that Place, is to be found in the fourth Book of *Cæsar's* Commentaries; but it was impossible for That Warrior not to mention very often the same Things both in his Journal, and, in his Commentaries. We may therefore affirm, that *Plutarch* had at that time the *Ephemeris* in View, and that, if he intended to have alleged the Commentaries, he would have made use of the Word *ὑπομνήματα*, as *Strabo* had done (160). We may likewise affirm, that *Appian* cited the same *Ephemeris* in these Words: *Καίσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγεγραμμέναις τῶν ἐπὶ μέσων ἐργῶν ἐν τοῖς* (161). It is besides very likely,

that *Polyænus* had perused them; for he mentions divers Stratagems of *Cæsar*, which are not contained in the Commentaries. The same may be said of *Frontinus*. See the Remarks of *Dionysius Vossius* (162), printed in 1697, with *Cæsar's* Commentaries, and with a Book, entitled, *Julius Cæsar de vita & rebus gestis C. Julii Cæsaris* (a), and which was printed in the Year 1473. It was so scarce, that the Author of the Notes on *Cæsar's* Commentaries in *usum Delphini*, could find no Copy of it in Paris. Mr *Grævius* thinks that the Author of that Book lived in the XIIIth or XIIIth Century (163). Note, that some believe that *Orosius* ascribes *Cæsar's* Commentaries to *Suetonius*, in these Words: 'Hanc historiam de Cæsaris bello Gallico Suetonius Tranquillus plenissime explicuit, cujus nos competentes portunculas decerpimus (164). — This History (of Cæsar's War in Gaul) has been fully explained by Suetonius Tranquillus, from which I have borrowed large Passages.' It is *Savaro's* Opinion, as appears by his manner of commenting on the *Quis opera Suetonii* of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, 'Id est, says he (165), vitam Julii Cæsaris, & libros de bello Gallico quos Suetonius asserit Orosius lib. 6. cap. 7. & ex eo Hist. Miscell. lib. 6. ita visum est Lodoico Caduceo mihi propter eruditionem & humanitatem amicissimo, in cujus commilitio multum me profecisse libere fateor. — The Life of Julius Cæsar, and the Books de Bello Gallico, which Orosius ascribes to Suetonius; as also does Lewis Caduceus, whom I greatly esteem for his Learning and Humanity, and in whose Company I freely profess to have greatly improved.' Perhaps it were better to say, that *Suetonius* had written a particular Book concerning the War against the *Gauls*, and that it is from thence that *Orosius* took what he had collected. The Abbot de *Marolles* has not reported right what he had read in *Vossius*, from whom, nevertheless, he very faithfully copies the Fault, which I have observed (166). *Lewis Caduceus* — bolds, that the seven Books, of the Wars of Gaul, are the Work of *Suetonius*, which he proves by these Words, in the seventh Chapter of his sixth Book. *Suetonius*, says he, has fully explained This in his History of the Wars of *Cæsar* in Gaul. This is what the Abbot de *Marolles* says (167). Do not his Words signify, that his pretended *Lewis Caduceus* published a Work which contains at least six Books? Is it not to put the Bibliographers upon a fruitless Enquiry? I know but three French Translations of *Cæsar's* Commentaries; That of *Stephen de l'Aigue*, That of *Blaise de Vigenere*, and That of Mr d'*Abblancourt*. The first was printed in the Year 1531 (168). The second appeared in 1576, and was accompanied with a pretty learned Commentary. It was re-printed in the Year 1609, with some marginal Notes of *Antony de Baudouin*, who also added his Parallel of *Cæsar* and Henry IV to it. Mr d'*Abblancourt's* Translation was printed the first time about the Year 1651, if I am not mistaken.

CETHEGUS, a Roman Family, and a Branch of the Family *Cornelia*, produced several Persons, whose Memory has been preserved. I shall speak of some of them. *Cornelius CETHEGUS*, created Consul with *Quintus Flaminius*, distributed mixed Wine to the People after his Election was over (a). These two Consuls were obliged to lay down their Offices, because there was some Irregularity in their Creation. This happened in the Year of Rome 421 (b). *Marcus Cornelius CETHEGUS* was raised to the Office of Censor in the Year 544, before he was Consul: which was against the common Practice [A]. He obtained the

(b) See Father Harduin upon this Passage of *Pliny*.

(a) Invenio mutuum rutatum populo datum à Cornelio Cethego in Consulatu collega Quintii Flamini comitis peractis. *Plinius*, lib. 19, cap. 8, pag. 612.

(1) The Year 543.

(2) Titus Livius, lib. 27, cap. 6.

[A] M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS was — Censor — before he had been Consul: which was against the common Practice. This may be inferred from these Words of *Pliny*: 'Censores hic annus (1) habuit L. Veturium Philonem, & P. Licinium Crassum, pontificem maximum. Crassus Licinius nec Consul, nec Prætor ante fuerat quam Censor esset factus: ex ædilitate gradum ad censuram fecit (2). — This Year, L. Veturius Philo, and P. Licinius Crassus, Pontifex Maximus,

were Censors. Licinius Crassus had neither been Consul, nor Pretor, when he was elected Censor; he rose from the Edileship to the Censorship.' It seems to me, that *Livy* would not have made this Observation, if it had not been an extraordinary thing for a Man to obtain the Censorship, before he had been Consul. The following Year, they were obliged to proceed to the Creation of other Censors; for, one of these being dead, his Colleague laid down his Office (3). They, who were chosen,

(3) Id. ibid.

(c) Titus Livius, lib. 31, sub. fin. pag. 588.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Sigonius in Fastis, ad Ann. 556.

(f) See Livy, lib. 32, cap. 27, and lib. 33, cap. 23.

(g) Appian de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 1, pag. m. 204.

(h) Id. ibid. pag. 196.

(i) Id. ibid. pag. 197.

(j) Id. ibid. pag. 204.

the Consulship five Years after. He was a great Orator [B]. Caius Cornelius CETHEGUS, who, before he was Ædile, was Pro-Consul in Spain, obtained a signal Victory there (c). Soon after, he was made Ædile, during his Absence, in the Year 555 (d). Sigonius confounds him with Cneius Cornelius CETHEGUS (e), who was Consul in 556, and triumphed over the *Insuæres* (f). He supposes falsely, that Cicero and Livy give That Consul the *Prænomen* of Caius; for they give him That of Cneius. I come now to Publius Cornelius CETHEGUS, who zealously followed Marius's Party against Sylla (g), and who was declared Enemy of the Roman People upon That Account (h), when That Party was destroyed. He fled into Africa to Marius (i), and afterwards implored Sylla's Mercy, and offered to serve him in every thing (k). He was received into Favour; and perhaps he is not to be distinguished from That CETHEGUS, who had so great a Credit in Rome, that nothing could be obtained without him: Now, as he had a Mistress, to whom he could refuse nothing, it happened that an unchaste Woman had the whole Town at her Disposal. Lucullus was obliged to make his Court to this Woman [C], to obtain the Commission of making War against *Mitridates*; for, without

(4) Id. ibid. cap. 13.

had not yet been Consuls; Livy says so in express Words. 'Creati censores ambo qui nondum consules fuerant, M. Cornelius Cethegus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus (4). — M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, were chosen Censors, neither of whom had been Consul.' [B] He was a great Orator.] Considering the Time he lived in; for, if he had been compared with the Orators of the following Ages, he would have appeared an unpollite and barbarous Orator. See here what Cicero said of him: 'Quem vero extet & de quo fit memorie proditum eloquentem fuisse & ita esse habitum, primus est M. Cornelius Cethegus; cujus eloquentie est auctor, & idoneus quidem mea sententia, Q. Ennius, præsertim cum & ipse eum audiverit, & scribat de mortuo: ex quo nulla suspicio est, amicitie causa esse mentium: Est igitur sic apud illum in nono, ut opinor, annali (5). — M. Cornelius Cethegus is the first, whom we certainly know to have been an Orator; of whose Eloquence Q. Ennius is a proper Evidence, having been his Hearer, and writing concerning him when dead: whence we cannot suspect him to have falsified through Friendship. Thus therefore he writes, in the ninth Annal, if I remember right.' The Verses of Ennius, quoted by Cicero, and which I dif-tingle from what he inserts between them, are these:

Additur orator Cornelius suaviloquenti
Ore Cethegus Marci Tuditano Collega,
Marci filius, is dictus popularibus ollis
Qui tum vivebant homines, atque ævum agitabant,
Flos delibatus populi, suadæque medulla.

— Add to these the Orator M. Cornelius Cethegus, Son of Marcus, and Colleague of Tuditanus, called, by the Men of those Times, The Flower of the People, and Marrow of Persuasion.

He observes in another Place, that This Orator, when grown old, continued to employ his Talent with an extraordinary Application (6).

[C] One of the Cethegi — had a Mistress, to whom he could refuse nothing — Lucullus was obliged to make his Court to That Woman.] To know the Character of This Cethegus, we need only read these Words of Plutarch (7); 'Lucullus — thought, that, if Cæsar (8) returned to Rome — he could easily do, and obtain, what he would; especially considering, that Cethegus, who had at that Time all the Credit and Vogue in the Management of Affairs in Rome, because he humoured the Common People in every thing, had a Peek against him, who hated his Behaviour, and way of living, as being a Man abandoned to all manner of Vice and Dissoluteness (9): for which reason he was a professed Enemy to This Cethegus.' Plutarch adds, that the Government of Cilicia being vacant, divers Persons made Interest for it, and courted Cethegus as the Man, who could, better than any One else, procure it to whom he pleased. Lucullus, hoping that, if he obtained it, he should also have the Commission of making War against *Mitridates*, resolved to use all his Power, and to try every thing, to prevent any other from obtaining it besides him-

self: and, after having tried all other Expedients, he was at last forced, against his Nature, to have recourse to a Method, which was neither fair nor honest, but indeed the most proper, he could have found, to attain the end he desired. At that Time, there was a Woman in Rome, whose Name was *Præcia*, very famous, as well for her Beauty, as for her genteel and pleasant way of Talking, but otherwise as little chaste, as those, who made a public Trade of their Body: but, so far as the made use of the Credit and Favour of those, who kept her Company, and discoursed with her, to promote the Affairs, and the Party of those, whom she loved, she was commonly reported (besides the other Charms and commendable Qualities she had) to be a courtly Woman, and fit, by her secret Practices, to bring a Design to a happy Conclusion; which gave her a great Reputation. But, when she had gained Cethegus, who had at that time all the Vogue, and managed all the Affairs of the Public at his Pleasure, and who grew so much in love with This Woman, that he could not live without her; then all the Power and Authority of the City of Rome was in her Hands; because nothing was done by the People but what Cethegus desired, and Cethegus desired nothing, but what *Præcia* commanded him. Wherefore Lucullus resolved to gain her, and to insinuate himself into her Favour by Presents, and all sorts of Caresses he could devise; besides that it was already a great Advantage to an ambitious and haughty Woman, as she was, to see herself courted by such a Person as Lucullus, who by that means came to have Cethegus immediately at his Command; for he made it his Business afterwards to praise him in all the Assemblies of the People, and to procure him the Government of Cilicia, which being once granted him, he stood no more in need of *Præcia*'s Assistance, nor of That of Cethegus; for all the People, of their own accord, unanimously conferred upon him the Office of making War against *Mitridates*, as one, who could discharge it better than any other Captain.

Is it not a melancholy consideration, that so Illustrious a Man, and so worthy to command the Roman Army against *Mitridates*, and who acquitted himself of it with so much Glory, could not obtain That Employment, without stooping to court a Lady of Pleasure! If there had been a *Juvenal* at that Time, would he not have found it a sufficient Reason to exercise his satirical Wit? Would he not have said;

Difficile est Satiram non scribere, nam quis inique
Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se (10)? (10) Juven. Sat. 1, ver. 30.

'Tis difficult from Satire to refrain,
When such vile Practices Rome's Glory stain.

The worst of all is, that such Disorders have been revived a thousand times in all Parts of the World. This way to Preferment has always been practised: It has raised to a great Fortune those, who were unworthy of it, and even those, who deserved it.

Many

(6) Id. de Senectute, cap. 14, pag. m. 425.

(7) Plutarch, in Lucull. pag. 494.

(8) He commanded at that time in Spain.

(9) Here is Plutarch's Greek: Κεθυγος ὁ ἑταῖρος τῆς Πρίαιας, βέλτερος τῶν ἄλλων, αὐτὸν τὸν βίον, αἰσχρῶς ἠρώων καὶ ὑβριστὴς καὶ πλεμμελίας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, Cethego simulatas intercedebat cum Lucullo, qui illius detestabatur vitam infamibus amoribus, et omni improbitate delibatam. Id. ibid.

out it, he could not have obtained That noble Employ. Several other great Men did a thousand mean Things, to get Preferments by the Recommendation of this *Cethegus*; for doubtless it is He, whom *Cicero* speaks of in one of his Paradoxes [D]. He mentions one *Cethegus* an Orator, who, probably, does not differ from This Woman's Gallant [E]. *CAIUS CORNELIUS CETHEGUS* was convicted of

Many have carried an unjust Cause by this means; and some, who had a just Cause, would have lost it without such a Support. People sometimes wonder to see some Men rise fast to eminent Dignities: They do not ascend by Degrees, but fly from the lowest to the middle, and from that to the highest. For what reason? will People say; What has he done? Though he be a deserving Man, he neither equals, nor excels, such and such, who remain a long time in the same Stations? The Solution of all this is, that some powerful Woman protects him, by the Credit she has gained, and which she preserves at the Expence of her Virtue. The same Complaints will be made a thousand Years hence, if the World continues so long; and, as a private Man is not able to reform this Confusion, it will be found (11), that Prudence may permit him to make use of it, as *Lucullus* did; and, if an Ambassador scruples to take Advantage of it, he will be blamed. Mr *Leti*, speaking of the Caprices, which may hinder an Ambassador from serving his Prince well, relates two Examples of it. A Spanish Ambassador, at the Court of Rome, under Urban VIII, having received Orders to discover the Intrigues of Cardinal Antonio, learned from a Roman Abbot, that there was but one way to lead him to it. He would not take it, because he must have flattered a Mistress of That Cardinal; and he gained but little light into the Secret. I shall set down Mr *Leti's* own Words. 'Ad ogni modo stimava difficile di penetrar quelle del Cardinal Antonio, e perche era ben servito da' suoi Domestici, e perche non mancava di precautioni; ma come questo Cardinale era idolatra delle Femine, che credeva potesse assai servire il mezzo della Cadora gran Favorita allora del Cardinale, & accio meglio facilitasse l'Abbate all' Ambasciatore il cammino, gli mostrò i mezzi per ottenere da questa Cortegiana quanto si voleva. Turbosi non poco di questa proposta l'Ambasciatore, rispondendo che questa non era proposizione a farsi da un' Abbate Romano, ad un' Ambasciatore Spagnolo; che vi andava della sua coscienza, e della grandezza della Monarchia, Pincenjar le Puttane, e ch'era per abbracciare ogni altro mezzo fuori che questo, e così il Cardinale fece il fatto suo con la Francia, nè mai all' Ambasciatore venne in cognizione che la scorta de' trattati (12). — Particularly, he conceived it difficult to penetrate the Intrigues of Cardinal Antonio, both because he was faithfully served by his Domestics, and used Precaution: but, as this Cardinal idolized Women, the Abbot thought, that by the help of Cadora, at that time in great Favour with the Cardinal, he might facilitate the Ambassador's Affair, and he put him in a way of obtaining what he pleased from that Mistress. The Ambassador was not a little shocked at this Proposal; answering, that this was not a Proposition to be made from a Roman Abbot to a Spanish Ambassador; that it was inconsistent with his Conscience, and the Grandeur of the Monarchy, thus servilely to court the favour of an Harlot; and thus the Cardinal did his business with France, without the Ambassador's being able to come at the Secret.' The other Example is of a fresher Date; it is That of a Spanish Ambassador in England in the Reign of Charles II. You will find, in the following Words, what Advice was given him, and his Answer to it. 'Parlando questo con un Milord suo grande Amico, e d'antico tempo divoto à quella Corona, sopra i mezzi che fossero più propri à tirare il Rè d'Inghilterra ad abbracciare all' aperta con pronti soccorsi la protection della Fiandra, il Milord si lasciò dire, che tutti i rimedi eran buoni, ma che stimava quello della Porcbemouth Favorita del Rè il migliore: l'Ambasciatore con certe Radomontate Spagnole che tal volta gli saltano addosso quasi sdegnato gli rispose: Milord amarei meglio che il mio Rè perdesse la metà del corpo della sua Monarchia, che di conservarne un membro col favore d'una Cortegiana. Il medesimo Milord me lo riferì à me, anzi mi

disse, che gli aggiunse, e per me dà risoluta più tosto di non far niente, che molto con questo mezzo. E veramente niente egli ha fatto: ma però il Barillon Ambasciatore Francese non ha lasciato di far tutto, e con qual mezzo non voglio saperlo, so bene ch'egli è saggio, e prudente (13). — This Person, talking with an English Lord, his great Friend, who had formerly been devoted to That Crown, about the most proper means of drawing the King of England openly to espouse the Protection of Flanders, by an immediate Assistance; the Lord answered, that all Methods were good, but that he looked upon that of the Duchess of Portsmouth, the King's Mistress, to be the best. The Ambassador, with a sort of Spanish Rhodomontade, answered in disdain; My Lord, I had rather my King should loose half his Dominions, than preserve any part of them by the favour of a Courtezian. And indeed he did nothing. However Barillon the French Ambassador succeeded in every thing. What means he employed, I do not concern myself about: I know him to be a wise and prudent Man.'

We shall see hereafter (14) in a fine Passage of *Cicero*, how the Unhappiness of those Times is to be lamented, wherein Justice is obliged to be supported by the Credit of a Courtezian.

[D] *Cicero* speaks of him in one of his Paradoxes. It is in that, wherein he shews that none but wise Men live free from Servitude (15). He observes, that the ambitious did many Things, which were true Slavery. They made Presents to *Cethegus*; they went to him by Night, and made Supplications to him. 'Illa cupiditas quæ videtur esse liberalior honoris, imperii, provinciarum, quam dura est domina! quam imperiosa! quam vehementis! Cethego homini non probatissimo servire coegit eos, qui sibi esse amplissimi videbantur; munera mittere, noctu venire domum ad eum, precari, denique supplicare; quæ servitus est, si hæc libertas exstimari potest (16)? — That Thirst (which seems the more generous) of Honour, and Power, how hard, how imperious, how vehement a Mistress is it! It compelled those, who thought themselves of the noblest, to cinge to *Cethegus*, to send him Presents, to wait on him by Night, to petition, and even supplicate him: if this can be thought Liberty, what is Servitude? This whole Passage is so fine, that it could not be abridged without Prejudice to the Reader.

[E] — and of one *Cethegus* an Orator, who, probably, does not differ from This Woman's Gallant. See here how *Cicero* speaks of him. 'Ejus (17) æqualis P. Cethegus, cui de republica satis suppetabat Oratio: totam enim tenebat eam, penitusque cognorat; itaque in senatu consularium auctoritatem assequatur, sed in causis publicis nihil, privatis satis, veterator videbatur (18). — At the same time with him, (the Orator Julius Cæsar) lived P. Cethegus, who spoke well on Public Affairs; for he thoroughly understood them: in the Senate therefore he had the Influence of Consular Persons; but, in public Causes, he was thought no crafty Advocate; in private Causes, enough so. If I am not mistaken, it is the same *Cethegus*, whom he mentions, in his Plea for *Cluentius* (19), as having endeavoured to remove one *Stalenus* from Public Affairs, or who for other Reasons had given him ill Advice. *Africanus Peditanus* confirms what *Cicero* observes concerning This Man's Credit; for he pretends, that *Marc Antony*, (he, who obtained so general an Authority over all the Sea-Coasts) was promoted by the Consul *Cotta*, and by the Faction of *Cethegus*. 'Hic est M. Antonius, says he (20), qui gratia Cottæ Consulis & Cethegi factione in senatu curationem infinitam nactus totius oræ maritimæ, &c. I do not think that this whole Passage is true; for, according to *Paterculus* (21), That Commission was conferred, two Years before *Pompey* obtained one like it, Now *Pompey* obtained it in the Year of Rome 686, and no *Cotta* is to be found in the Consulship,

(11) Note, that I do not say, it would be right to do so.

(12) Leti, Ceremoniale Politico, Parte I, lib. 2, pag. 76, 77.

(13) Id. ibid. pag. 78, 79.

(14) In the Article CHELIDONIS, Rem. [A].

(15) Solum sapientem liberum esse.

(16) Cicero, in Paradoxo 5, p. 573.

(17) That is to say, of the Orator Julius Cæsar.

(18) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 48.

(19) Id. in Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. 31.

(20) African. Peditan. in Verrin. pag. m. 113.

(21) Vell. Paterculus, lib. 2, cap. 31.

(7) Sallust. in
Bello Catilin.
cap. 55, fin.

(m) Ammian.
Marcellin. lib.
28, cap. 1, pag.
m. 511.

(22) Epitome Li-
viana 97.

(23) Sallustius
de Bello Catilin.
cap. 43. See also
Cicero Orat. 3,
in Catilinam &
Orat. pro Sylla.

(24) Cicero, O-
rat. 3, in Catili-
nam, cap. 3.

(25) See the
Commentary Va-
riorum on Sallu-
st. pag. 41,
163. Edit. Lugd.
Batav. 1654.

(26) Cicero, O-
rat. pro Sylla,
cap. 25.

(27) Ignoscite
Cethegi adoles-
centie nisi iterum
jam patrie bel-
lum inferet. Sal-
lust. de Bello Ca-
tilin. cap. 52.

of having conspired against his Country, with *Catiline*; and, as such, he was strangled in the Prison (l). He was the most furious of all his Accomplices [F], and always advised the making all imaginable Haste. *CETHEGUS*, a Roman Senator, was beheaded for the Crime of Adultery, in the Reign of *Valentinian*, in the Year 368 (m). Note, Those of this Family affected a particular manner of Drefs [G].

fulship, till you go back to the Year 679. Besides, according to *Paterculus*, That great Authority was given to *Marc Antony* the Pretor, who died in his Pretorship, according to the Abridgment of *Livy* (22), after having succeeded very ill in the War against the Inhabitants of the Island of *Crete*, about the Year 682. So that either the Chronology of *Paterculus*, or That of the Summaries of *Livy*, deceive us.

[F] *CAIUS CORNELIUS CETHEGUS* was convicted of having conspired with *Catiline*. — He was the most furious of all his Accomplices.] It was

He, who was designed for the Murder of *Cicero*.
• *Cethegus* *Ciceronis* januam obfideret, eumque vi
• aggrediretur — Inter hæc parata atque decreta,
• *Cethegus* semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum:
• illos, dubitando, & dies prolatando, magnas op-
• portunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in
• tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent,
• languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum.
• Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat: ma-
• ximum bonum in celeritate putabat (23). — — —
• *Cethegus* was to watch *Cicero's* coming out of his
• House, and to assassinate him. — During these Pre-
• parations, and Resolves, *Cethegus* was ever com-
• plaining of the Slowness of his Accomplices; he
• said, they lost the most favourable Opportunities by
• their hesitations, and delays; that, in so dangerous
• an Enterprize, Action, not Deliberation, was neces-
• sary; and that he himself, if but a few would assist
• him, would attack the Senate, while the rest conti-
• nued irresolute. He was by Nature fierce, vehe-
• ment, and ready to execute any thing: he thought
• the greatest Advantage was in expedition. He had
• reason to believe, that no Time was to be lost; for
• if, in most Matters of Importance, Loss of Time in
• deliberating must be avoided, it is chiefly necessary
• in a Conspiracy. If the Execution be never so little
• delayed, some false Brother discovers it, to obtain
• his Pardon, and a good Reward. It is true also, that such
• a Design may be spoiled by too much Precipitation.
• The Accomplices, whom *Catiline* left in Rome, were
• Men of very different Characters. Some were not
• slow enough, and others were too slow. *Cethegus*
• was one of the first; and for that reason *Cicero* did
• not fear him. He says, 'Quem quidem ego cum ex
• urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites,
• remoto *Catilina*, nec mihi esse P. *Lentuli* somnum,
• nec L. *Cassii* adipem, nec C. *Cethegi* furiosam
• temeritatem pertimescendam (28). — In expel-
• ling *Catiline* from Rome, I considered, that I need
• be under no apprehensions of the sleepy P. *Lentulus*,
• the bulky L. *Cassius*, or the furiously rash C.
• *Cethegus*. Some believe, that This *Cethegus* is
• the same, who had recourse to *Sylla's* Clemency (25);
• but I believe they are mistaken; for, if he had had
• a Share in the enormous Troubles, and Murders,
• which the Faction of *Marius* committed in Rome,
• *Cicero* would not have passed it over in Silence,
• when he was speaking of his Journey into Spain,
• and of *Metellus Pius's* Wound. 'Quis de C. Ce-
• thego, atque ejus in Hispaniam profectio, ac de
• vulneribus Q. *Metelli* Pii cogitat, cui non ad illius
• poenam carcer ædificatus esse videatur (26)? — — —
• Who is there, that reflects on C. *Cethegus*, and his
• Journey into Spain, and the Wound of Q. *Metellus*
• Pius, who does not think he sees a Prison built for
• his Punishment? If I am not mistaken, *Cato* pointed
• at That Journey, when he said, that *Cethegus*,
• in conspiring with *Catiline*, made War against his
• Country a second time (27). Whoever has read
• this, will, without doubt, understand this Passage of
• *Juvenal*:

Quis cælum terris non misceat, & mare cælo,
Si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni,

Clodius accusat mæchos, Catilina Cethegum (28)? (28) *Juven. Sat.*
2, ver. 25.

'T'wou'd make you swear the Planets from their
Spheres,

Shou'd Verres peach Thieves, Milo Murderers,

Clodius tax *Bawds*, Cethegus *Catiline*.

TATE.

[G] Those of this Family affected a particular man-
ner of Drefs.] You will find this explained in Mr
Dacier's Note on this Verse of *Horace*:

Fingere cinctus non exaudita Cethegi (29).

(29) *Horat. de*
Arte Poetica,
ver. 504.

He represents the *Cethegi* here as stout and labo-
rious Men, who had retained the ancient Manner
of their Fathers in their Cloaths, who, slighting
the Tunic, as too troublesome, wore only a kind
of an Apron, which served them for Drawers from
the Girdle downward; and wore their *Toga* over
it; so that the Lappet, which they threw over
the left Shoulder, and which reached behind the
Back, served them for a Girdle, and left the right
Arm quite naked; and this is what was properly
called *Cinctus Gabinus*, which was common to
the Consuls and the Pretors, when they performed
their Functions (30). We learn from *Silius*
Italicus, that it was a thing peculiar to That
Family.

(30) *Dacier, on*
Horace's Art of
Poetry, pag. 120,
121. Edit. of
Holland.

Parebat legio audaci permixta Cethego

Ipse humero exertus, GENTILI MORE paren-
tum,

Difficili gaudebat equo, roburque juventæ

Flexu cornipedis duro exercebat in ore (31).

(31) *Silius Itali-*
cus, lib. 8, pag.
374.

The bold *Cethegus* led his Legion on.

With right Arm bare (for so his Fathers wont)

The Rein he govern'd, and, elate in Youth,

Manag'd his fiery Courser, as he rode.

The Note of *Dausqueius* will not be useless to us.
Cethegi, says he (32), amicum ex papillato brachio
depugnare, notum illud *Lucani*,

(32) *Dausqueius*,
in *Silius Itali-*
cum, pag. 376.

--- exertique manus vesana Cethegi (33).

Ut enim habilius valentiusque telum evibrarent, sub-
striatius erant. Inde *Horat*.

(33) *Lucan. says*
this, *Pharf. lib. 2*,
ver. 543, speak-
ing of *Catiline's*
Accomplice. Add,
that he says, lib.
6, ver 704, num-
dique *Cethegi*,
etc named *Cethegi*.

--- cinctus non exaudita Cethegi.

Ubi Porphyrio à cinctu qui tunice aptatus esset infra
pectus, *Acron* melius exposuit *Horatium*. Tales olim
Exilati dicebantur. — That the *Cethegi* used to
fight with their right Arm bared as high as their
breast, witness *Lucan*, *Exertique*, &c. for, in order
to brandish their Weapon with the more Ease and
Strength, they were more girt than usual, whence *Ho-*
race, cinctus, &c. where *Porphyrio* explains *Ho-*
race by a Girdle fitted to the Tunic below the Breast;
which is truer, than the Explication of *Acron*.

CHABOT

CHABOT (PETER GUALTHERUS) a learned Humanist, born at *Sainloup* in *Poitou*, in 1516 [A], was the Son of an Oil-man. He studied *Latin* at *Sainloup*; and, at Twenty four Years of Age, he went to *Poitiers* to study *Greek* there. He was soon re-called to instruct the Youth in his Country. He taught six Years there; after which he went to *Paris* (a), to perform his Course of Philosophy in the College of *Préle* under *Omer Talom*. Having spent three Years and a half in that Study, he took his Degree of *Master of Arts*, and began to teach. He had many young Men of good Families for his Scholars, and acquired such a Reputation of a good Tutor, that the Chancellor de l'*Hospital* resolved to have him at his Country-House, to entrust him with the Education of his Grandsons (b). The Thing was proposed to him by *Peter Ramus*, and *John Mercerus*, Royal Professors. Chabot accepted That Place, and held it Twelve Years; Five Years in That Chancellor's Life-time, and Seven after his Death (c). His chief Employment was the Explication of *Horace* [B]. He bestowed all the Fruits of his Studies on That Poet. He was a good moral Man, and bore patiently the plundering of his Goods three times during the Civil Wars. He always dearly loved a very solitary Life [C], and lived above eighty Years (d). He died about the Year 1597. I have read in a good Author (e), that he had been Professor in the University of *Paris*; but *Boissard's* Silence makes me question it.

(a) He went thither in the Month of *October*, 1546.

(b) They were six: their Father, called *M^r de Be-lebat*, was of the Family of *Hu-rant*, and had married that Chancellor's Daughter.

(c) He died in the Year 1573.

(d) Taken from *John James Boissard*, in *Iconibus Virorum Illustrum*.

(e) In the Preface to the *Greek Method of Dom Lancelot*, p. 22.

[A] He was born in 1516. *Boissard*, who held a very intimate Correspondence with him, could not, however, inform us of the Day or Month, wherein he was born. He enquired for exactly about it, that he had a mind to know the very Hour, to insert it in his Elogys, as the *Germans* use to do (1). But he could only discover, that Chabot's Relations and Neighbours had been heard to say, that he was born in the Year 1516. *Fando tantum à propinquis multisque vicinis est receptum, ipse ortum sub 1516 cecidisse* (2). Note that some call him *Gualtherus*, as if it was his true Name, and not *Chabotius* (3). But he is more known by the last Name, which was that of his Mother, than by the other, which was That of his Father.

[B] His chief Employment was the Explication of *Horace*. The Method of his Commentary is not very common. It contains the Analysis of the Text, as well according to the Rules of Grammar, as according to Those of Rhetoric and Logic. I shall repeat here, what I have said in my *Proleg*, on occasion of a Passage, which may be seen above (4), and is somewhat confused. The like Confusion is often to be found in This Commentary of *Petrus Gualtherus Chabotius on Horace*, of the Edition of 1615, in Folio. They must not be imputed to the Author, who was a very learned Man, and who not only wrote on That Poet, with a long and a strong Application, but also in a very singular and useful Method. The *Mischief* proceeds from this: Having lived nine or ten Years after he had published his Commentary at *Basil* in 1587, he was continually collecting Notes for a second Edition, without being able to effect his Design. After his Death, *James Grassus*, having those Collections, inserted them in their Place, as well as he could, in the Edition of the Year 1615. But, not having always distinguished, as the Author himself would have done, the Citations from the Remarks, which Chabot added to them, he has often given us Chabot's Thought, as the Citation of an ancient Author. In other places the Reader easily perceives, that the Author's Reflections are only first Thoughts, which Men write down in their Collections, that they may not escape their Memory, and which they intend to digest

before they be published. But when another Man lights on such things, he does not always perceive what is wanting in them: therefore it is no wonder, if the posthumous Works of an Author, enlarged by means of his undigested Memoirs, are faulty. The Errors of the *Preis* are too frequent in This Commentary, and the *French* Expressions, which the Author has inserted in it, to make his Countrymen understand those of *Horace* the better, are generally disfigured. I wonder, that *Draudius* knew nothing, either of the Analytic Exposition of *Horace*, published by Chabot, at *Paris*, in 1582, in 8vo, as an Extract of his great Commentary, or of the two Editions of That Commentary. He has only mentioned a Letter, which Chabot wrote concerning his present Circumstances, and the Life he had led (5). It is also somewhat strange, that the *Theatrum of Paul Freberus*, wherein we find an Abridgment of Chabot's Life, mentions only the small Analysis of *Horace*. It is a great Absurdity, to say, that Chabot copied almost the whole Commentary of *Torrentius* on *Horace* (6); for Chabot was dead, when That Commentary was printed, in 1607 (7).

[C] He always dearly loved a very solitary Life. He was so sober, that it is literally true, that he eat only to preserve Life; which was the Reason, that, even when he was young, he would never be at any great Feasts. 'Tale porro temperantiae studium exitit illi: causa, cur semper vel juvenis interesse sodalitatibus epulisque amplissimis pertinaciter recusavit (8). He was scarce ever seen in public Places or Walks, where so many People meet to tell or hear News (9). In a word, he lived at a great distance from the Pleasures of the World, without a Wife, without Society, without walking and feasting. This did not proceed from a misanthropic Humour, but from four bodily Infirmities, which were, 'Crebra melendi orexis, audiendi gravitas, mandendi imbecillitas, frequens alternatio deambulandi & conquefcenti propter ramices inguinum (10): — A frequent Inclination to make Water, a difficulty of bearing, bad Teeth, and alternate walking and sitting on account of a Rupture: Which did not hinder him from living above eighty Years.

(c) *Draudius*, *Bibliotheca Classica*, pag. 1083, 1289. Edit. 1625.

(6) Yet this is said in the *Decadum of Albert Fabri*, n. 99, printed at *Leipsic*, 1689.

(7) *Valerius Andrens* *Bibl. Belg.*, pag. 610.

(8) *Boissardius*, in *Iconibus*.

(9) *Id. ibid.*

(10) *Id. ibid.*

CHALVET (MATTHEW DE) in *Latin Calventius*, President of the Inquests in the Parliament of *Toulouse*. His Article, taken from the Elogies of *Sammarthanus* (a), is to be met with in *Moreri's* Dictionary: however I will give it entire, because I can supply it with a greater detail of Circumstances. I say then, that *Matthew de Chalvet*, descended from the Family of the *Chalvets*, of *Roche-Montez* in the *Upper Auvergne*, was born in the Year 1528, in the Month of *May*. He was brought to *Paris* in the Year 1539, by *Mr Lizet*, his Uncle, who was at that time Advocate-General in the Parliament of *Paris* (b), and who made him study polite Literature for six Years under *Orontius Finaeus*, under *Tusan*, under *Bucbanan*, and some other learned Persons. He went to *Toulouse* in the Year 1546, there to learn Civil-Law; and he lodged with *Turnebus*, *Mercerus*, and *Govea* (c). He took a Journey into *Italy* in the Year 1550, there to continue his Studies, and became a Disciple of *Alciatus* of *Pavia*, and of *Socinus* at *Boulogne*. Being returned into *France*, he went and finished his Course of Law at *Toulouse*, and associated with the

(a) *Lib. 5*, page m. 130, & seq.

(b) He was afterwards first President of the same Parliament. See the Article *LIZET*.

(c) And not *Goudan*, as it is in the Writing, whence I borrow this Article.

VOL. II.

5 Q

Sieurs

Sieurs Roaldus and Bodin, reading Law-Lectures together in the public Schools with Reputation. Having taken his Doctor's Degree in That University, he resolved to go to Paris, there to make his Fortune; but, tho' he was induced to this Resolution by the Letters of Mr Lizet, he did not execute it: he thought it better to fix at Toulouse, where he married, in 1552, Jeanne de Bernuy, Daughter of the Lord de Palicat, Baron of Villeneuve. He was admitted Counsellor in the Parliament of the same Town, in the Year 1553, afterwards created Judge of the French Poetry, and Maintainer of the Floral Games. He was made President of the Inquests by Nomination of the Parliament in 1573. As he was of a calm and innocent Mind, he retired to his House in Auvergne, during the first and last Ragings of the Civil-Wars, that he might not be witness of the Disorders, which he foresaw would happen in Toulouse. It was in this Retreat, that he set about reading and translating Seneca [A], to comfort himself under the Public Misfortunes, and to employ his leisure to good purpose. Without reckoning his bodily Qualifications, he had, besides other Talents, a great Fidelity towards his Prince [B]. This is what gained him the particular Esteem of King Henry IV, who, in 1603, made him his State and Privy Counsellor. The following Year, he resigned his Dignity of President to Francis Chalvet, Lord de Fenouillet, one of his Sons, and retired home, to give himself up to Prayer, and gently to pass the Remainder of his Days amidst Repose and Books. He lived two Years after this happy Retreat, with so much Satisfaction, that he often said to his Relations, that, during the whole of his past Life, he had by no means lived [C] — He died like a true Christian, at Toulouse, the 20th of June, 1607, aged Seventy nine years (d). Several Authors have bestowed Elogies on him [D].

(d) Taken from the Summary of his Life, prefixed to his Translation of Seneca.

[A] He set about reading and translating Seneca. He dedicated this Translation to Henry IV, in 1603. It was reprinted in Folio, at Paris, for William Leyson, in 1624, and for John Richer, in 1634. Sammarthanus says, that he discovered his Industry, Fidelity, and Application, in the Translation of Seneca. Huetius nevertheless testifies, that he was not very solicitous to subject himself to his Author, and to render him word for word; and that, whereas nothing can be more dry and concise than Seneca, we meet with nothing more prolix and ample than this Version. It is Mr Baillet, who expresses himself thus (1).

† Sammarth. Elog. lib. 5, pag. 150.

‡ Huetius, de claris Interpret. lib. 2, pag. 185.

(1) Baillet, Jugem. des Scavans, Tom. IV, pag. 535, 536.

(2) Summary of the Life of Matthieu de Chalvet, prefixed to his Seneca.

(3) See, on all this, the Latin Verses of Crito, Royal Professor, before his Translation of Seneca.

[B] Without reckoning his bodily Talents, he had, among other good Qualities, a great Fidelity to his Prince. During the Studies of his Youth, he often unbent his Mind by the most decent bodily Exercises, which he had learned in Italy: being a very good Horseman, a fine Dancer, and the best Tennis-Player of his Time. He likewise tempered the Austerity of the Study of the Law by the Sweets of Latin and French Poetry, in which he had no bad Success, as will appear by his Verses, if his Heirs think fit to publish them (2). — He had many Friends: he likewise knew how to cultivate them; but, above all, there was a singular and perfect Friendship between Mr du Faur de St Jory, first President of Toulouse, and him, as well on account of Learning, as of their near Affinity. He was tall, and well-set, had a laughing Eye, white Hair, a sweet and venerable Countenance, a grave Deportment, modest, and full of Majesty: and the most entertaining Companion in the World (3). Scarce any one approached him, without remaining charmed; for he was of a Disposition affable, courteous, beneficent, and open, without Hypocrisy, without Ambition, without Avarice, employing himself more readily in serving others, than himself, fearing God, abhorring and condemning all Vices, particularly violent Practices and Innovations, even Those of Religion. He loved Order, Regularity, and Peace. — Amidst the Confusions of France, he constantly persevered in Obedience to his Prince, whose Party, as esteeming it the only just and lawful one, he ever faithfully followed. Therefore, when the Parliament was removed from Toulouse to Castelarras, he was pitched upon to go and compliment the King in their Name, at Lyons, in the Year 1594, which gave the King the utmost Satisfaction, as he shewed by the gracious Reception he gave him, and a Present, which he made him: and as for him, he thought himself

very happy in being the first Officer of the Parliament of Toulouse, whom the King had seen since his Accession to the Crown, and since the beginning of the Reduction of Languedoc to his Service. Again, in 1603, he was deputed by the same Parliament to wait on his Majesty on several important Affairs: upon which Journey, the King, of his own meer Motion, as an honourable Recompence of his long Services, made him his State and Privy Counsellor, for which he took the Oath before the Chancellor de Belliere, to whom he was some way related (4).

[C] He found so much Satisfaction from the time of his Retreat, that he often said, that, during the whole of his past Life, he had by no means lived. He might therefore compare himself to an illustrious Person, who was Prefectus Pretorii under the Emperor Adrian. I speak of Similis, who was promoted to that Office against his Inclination, and who voluntarily quitted it; after which he retired into the Country, and died at the end of seven Years. He ordered this to be written on his Tomb; Here lies Similis, whose Age was very long, but who lived only seven Years (5). See several Collections concerning such things in the Historical Meditations of Camerarius, in the fifth Chapter of the third Book of the first Volume.

(4) Summary of the Life of Matthieu de Chalvet.

(5) Xiphilin in Hadriano, pag. m. 266.

[D] Several Authors have bestowed Elogies on him. For a Proof, I shall only give the four first Verses of a Latin Epigram, which Peter le Loyer addressed to him.

Cum sua quisque tibi culto munuscula versu
Offerat, & genio dedit illa tuo,
Haud ego postremos inter numerabor amicos,
Et levis, at saltem munera grata dabo.

Whilst each hand strives in polish'd Verse to raise
A Monument, O Chalvet, to thy Praise,
Not last, amidst thy Friends, thy Worth to sing,
A small, but grateful, Offering will I bring.

This Epigram follows the French Verses, by which The Author dedicates his Comedy of The Dumb Man to this President of the Inquests. Thus he praises him. Though I had as much Gold — down to Muse, inclusively: and again, My dear Chalvet — down to receive then, exclusively; in the Works and Poetical Miscellanies of Peter le Loyer, fol. 122. verso, Edition of Paris 1579.

CHAM, the youngest of *Noah's* three Sons [A]. We know nothing of him, but that he told his Brothers, that he had seen *Noah* stark naked in his Tent (a). A great many ridiculous Stories have been invented upon this single Fact. A little Leaven, on this occasion, has leavened a great Lump. Some believe, that, since *Cham* shewed so much Indiscretion towards his Father, he was a cursed Soul, guilty of all sorts of Abominations. They make him the Inventor of Magic [B]; and many things are reported about it: It is also said, that he gave an Example of Incontinency but little edifying [C]; I mean, that he got his Wife with Child in the very Ark. Some say, that the Fault he committed against his Father was infinitely more heinous, than it is represented to be in Holy Scripture. Some will have it, that he gelt him [D]; others, that he made him impotent by the Virtue

[A] *The youngest of Noah's three Sons.* This is plain and incontestable, since the Scripture says expressly, after having mentioned *Cham's* Action, that *Noah* awoke from his Wine, and knew what his younger Son had done unto him (1). Nevertheless, many Commentators maintain, that *Cham* was *Noah's* second Son: they prefer the words, where the three Brothers are placed in this manner, *Sem, Cham, and Japhet* (2), before such a plain Declaration: and there are some, who, to elude the Twenty fourth Verse, which I quote, pretend, that the Scripture does not speak of *Cham* there, but of *Chanaan*, *Noah's* Grandson: Others pretend, that *Cham* was only called the younger, because he behaved himself less prudently than his other Brothers (3). Is not this to open a Door to such Glosses, as would obscure the clearest Expressions of the Scripture?

[B] *They make him the Inventor of Magic.* In this Sense, that he alone preserved and transmitted it to the new World: so I call *Noah's* Descendants. For otherwise it was not *Cham*, who invented That black Science: The Angels, who fell in love with the fair Sex, taught it Men (4); but, because *Cham* durst not carry the Books relating to this matter into the Ark, he engraved the chief Doctrines of it on some very hard Bodies, which were able to resist the Waters of the Deluge: he hid This Treasure carefully: and, when they came out of the Ark, he took it from the Place, where he had put it. We read these silly things in *Cassian*. 'Quantum, says he (5), antiquæ traditiones ferunt, Cham filius Noë, qui superstitionibus istis, & sacrilegis fuit artibus & prophanis infectus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorabilem librum in arcam prorius inferre, in quam erat una eum patre iusto, & sanctis fratribus ingressurus, scelestas artes, & prophana commenta diversorum metallorum laminis, quæ scilicet aquarum non corrumperentur injuria, & durissimis lapidibus insculpsit. Quæ diluvio peracta, eadem qua illa claverat curiositate perquirens, sacrilegiorum ac perpetuæ nequitie seminarium transmissit ad posterum.' It is pretended, that *Miriam*, the Son of *Cham*, learned all these abominable Secrets of his Father; and that therefore the Sectors of This Science looked upon *Cham* as their first Founder, and called him *Zoroaster*, that is to say, the living Star, and honoured him as a God. 'Chamum eundem esse volunt cum Zoroastre Mago. Hujus sententiæ primus author quod quidem sciam est Pseudoclemens, qui lib. 4. Recognitionum Magiam scribit hominibus ante diluvium à mulierosis illis Angelis traditam: Ægyptiorum conditorem Mesuraimum didicisse à Chamo patre, & Chamum à posteris hujus artis admiratoribus Zoroastrem, seu vivum astrum, propterea fuisse dictum & pro Deo habitum (6).' See, below, the Remark [E].

[C] *It is pretended, that he gave an Example of Incontinency, but little edifying.* St *Ambrose* thinks, that the Expressions of *Moses* seem to intimate, that the matrimonial Functions were superseded and suspended in the Ark. At that time, says some Interpreters, it was requisite to think of the Maxim, which *Solomon* published a long time after; *To every thing there is a Season, and a time to every purpose under Heaven*; — a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing (7). The terrible Judgment, which God exercised on Mankind, ought not to have inspired any other Thoughts in *Noah*, and his Family, than those of Fasting and Penitence. 'Qui (Ambrosius) etiam notavit tam in ingressu, quam in egressu arcæ, seorsim viros omnes ab uxoribus nominari; ut ex ipsa descriptione insinuaretur

perseverans conjugum continentia ab ingressu ad egressum usque: idque admodum verisimiliter. Nam, ut ait Salomon, Tempus amplectendi, & tempus longè fieri ab amplectibus. — Et verò lachrymarum potius, & orationum id tempus fuit ad placandam divinam iram, horribilem in modum sævientem (8). Nevertheless it is believed, that *Cham* did not contain himself, and that his Wife became the Mother of *Chanaan* in the very Ark. It is also said, that *Chanaan* proved a wicked Man, because he was the Fruit of an Incontinency exercised out of Season. He first saw *Noah's* Nakedness, as is pretended, and told his Father of it in a jeering way. If so, one might better apprehend, why *Noah's* Curse fell upon *Chanaan*, and not upon *Cham*. When some Doctors are asked, how That Patriarch came to know, that *Cham* had discovered his Nakedness? they answer, that he inferred it from the Impudence *Cham* had to prophane the Ark by approaching his Wife. Conjecturam Hebræi comminiscuntur ejusmodi. Nempe Noachum in ipsa adhuc arca Chami libidinosum animum arcam intempestiva Venere polluentis notasse. Hinc exasperatum statim culpam libidinis hujus in eundem conjecisse (9). Let us mention, on this occasion, the Answer, which others give: they say, that, as soon as *Cham* had satisfied his Sight with such an Object, he felt some extraordinary Alterations in his Body. His Eyes became red; his Hair and Beard were burnt: his Lips were distorted; he knew so little what he did, that he striped himself stark naked, and walked in that posture. *Noah*, seeing all this, concluded from it, that *Cham* had dishonoured him: but some say, that he knew it only by the Light of Prophecy. St *Cyril* is very reasonable, when he believes, that *Noah*, finding himself covered with a Mantle, which was none of his, asked the Reason of it, and understood by his two good Sons how the thing happened (10).

[D] *Some pretend, that he gelt his own Father.* Some Jewish Doctors tell us (11), that he committed this violent Action, to hinder *Noah* from begetting him other Brothers. Did he fear, that his Portion in the sharing of the whole World would be too little? Some grave Authors have taken the Pains to refute this very seriously by these words of the Scripture; *Noah awoke from his Wine, and knew what his younger Son had done unto him.* If such a painful Operation had been performed on him, say they, as This in question, he would soon have awaked, before he had slept out his Wine, by reason of the Pain he would have felt; and he would have surprized the Malefactor in the very Act, and there had been no necessity from him to ask who it was. Id Scriptura satis refellit, quæ ait Noë cum ex vino evigilasset didicisse quæ fecerat ei filius suus. At non evigilasset è vino, consumptis scilicet vaporibus, sed ingenti dolore somnus excussus fuisset, nec opus fuisset discere quid fecisset Cham, sed eum in ipso facinore deprehendisse (12). Here the Hebraicians triumph, who pretend, that it cannot be denied, that all the Gods of the Pagans were taken from the Jewish Tradition. Do not you see, say they, that *Noah* is the Saturn of the Heathens, and that the Story, which the Poets feign, that *Jupiter* caltreated his Father Saturn, is taken from The Adventure of *Cham*? The Count de *Gabalès* must divert us here with a Fragment of his Comedy. He supposes, that, after the Deluge, *Noah* yielded his Wife *Vesta* to the Salamander *Oromasdes*, Prince of the Fiery Substances, and persuaded his three Sons to yield their Wives also to the Princes of the three other Elements (13). He adds, that *Cham* proved rebellious

(1) Gen. ix, 24.

(2) Ibid. ver. 18, & passim alibi.

(3) Heidegger, Histor. Patriarchar. Exercitat. 20, n. 4, names some Authors of these various Opinions.

(4) See Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 4, cap. 1.

(5) Collat. 8, cap. 21.

(6) Bochart. Geograph. Sacra, lib. 4, cap. 1.

(7) Ecclef. iii, 2, 5.

(8) Salustius, Tom. I, pag. 202, n. 7. He quotes St Ambrose de Noë & Arca, cap. 21.

(9) Heidegger, ubi supra, pag. 627. He quotes Rabbi Solomon Ephraim, who said it was the Tradition of some Masters.

(10) See Heidegger, loc. cit.

(11) Referente R. Levi in cap. 9. Genesios apud Salianum, Tom. I, p. 237.

(12) Salustius, ibid.

(13) Entretiens sur les Sciences Secrètes, pag. 204.

of some Magical Charms [E]; others, that he committed Incest with *Noah's* Wife [F]. It is somewhat strange, that the Scripture does not take any notice, that this Patriarch did any thing to *Cham*; he did not so much as reprove him for it, and only cursed *Chanaan* the Son of *Cham*: but this Curse was only a Prophecy of the Victories, which the Descendants of *Sem* should obtain over the Descendants of *Chanaan* under *Josua*, that is to say, seven or eight Ages after *Cham's* Fault. This was all the Punishment of This wicked Son: for, what is commonly said, that he became black, and communicated his Blackness to his Posterity, which continues to this day in the Nations of *Africa*, is a chimerical Story. It is very probable that he settled in *Egypt* (b), and that he was worshipped there after his Death under the Name of *Jupiter Hammon*. Pleasant things have been answered to the Question, How *Noah* knew, that *Cham* had dealt so ill by him (c). *Moreri* should not have said, either that *Cham* mocked his Father, when he saw him naked, or that *Chanaan* was the first, who perceived *Noah's* Nakedness, and that he told his Father what he had seen; for neither the Scripture, nor any Author, who could know it, have said any such thing. If *Moreri* had mentioned these two things as the Conjecture of some Commentators, he could not be re-proved for it; but he gives them as part of *Cham's* History taken out of the Scripture. There lies the Fault.

(b) See Bochart
Geograph. Sacra,
lib. 4, cap. 1.

(c) See Remark
[C].

rebellious to *Noah's* Counsel, and could not resist his Wife's Charms; but his want of Complaisance marked all his Posterity black: the horrible Complexion of the People, who inhabit the Torrid Zone, is the Punishment of the prophane Lust of their Father. — As for example, continues he (14), you believe, that the Injury, which *Cham* did to his Father, is such as it literally seems to be; truly it is quite another thing. *Noah*, being come out of the Ark, and seeing his Wife *Vesta* grow more beautiful every Day by the Commerce she had with her Lover *Oromasti*, grew passionately in love with her again. *Cham*, fearing his Father was going to People the World again with as black Children as the *Ethiopians* were, took his Opportunity, one Day, when the good old Man was drunk, and unmercifully castrated him.

(14) Ibid. pag. 206.

[E] — others, that he made him impotent by the Virtue of some magical Charms. The supposititious *Berosus* of *Annius Viterbiensis* relates this foolish Story. He says, that *Noah*, not being able to suffer the irregular Life of his Son *Chem*, who had acquired the Surname of *Zoroast*, by addicting himself to Magic, became odious to This Son, and so much the more, because he had a great Tenderness for his other Sons, younger than *Chem*. The latter, having found an opportunity to revenge himself, made use of it. Finding his Father sleeping out his Wine, he took hold of his privy Parts, and muttered some words, which made him impotent the remaining part of his Life. 'Nactus opportunitatem cum Noa pater madidus jaceret, illius virilia comprehendens taciteque submurmurans, carmine magico patri illufit, simul & sterilem perinde atque castratum effect, neque deinceps Noa scemellam aliquam fecundare potuit (15). Yet this did not incline *Noah* to drive This Son from him; but it was for his other Vices. This wicked Man taught, that Men ought to live as they did before the Flood, by committing all sorts of Incests, and something worse; and he practised those abominable Lessons. 'At vero Chem cum publice corrumperet mortale genus, afferens & re ipsa exequens congregiendum esse, ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, sororibus, filiabus, masculis, brutis, & quovis alio genere, ob hoc ejectus à Jano piissimo & castissima atque pudicitia referatissimo (16). Let not this pre-

(15) Berosus,
lib. 3, p. m. 80.

(16) Id. ibid.

judge us against *Cham*; the Author whom I quote contains nothing but Fictions and Chimeras. The Rabbins are not more to be credited, when they vent their idle Fancies concerning *Cham's* Behaviour. Consider these words of *Gabriel Naudæus* (17); According to Rabbi *Samuel**, he committed 'such a filthy and abominable Action against his Father, that I will say nothing of it, for fear of offending chaste Ears, but what was formerly said by *Larentius Valla* about a word of the like filthy Signification; *Malo ignorari, quam me docente cognosci*.'

(17) Apology for
great Men, lib.
1, cap. 8, pag.
m. 153.

* In Fortalisio
Fidei, lib. 3, p.
204.

[F] — others, that he committed Incest with *Noah's* Wife. It is the Opinion of Mr *Von der Hardt*, Professor of the Oriental Languages in the University of *Helmstadt*. He believes, that the Injury, which That Patriarch received from *Cham*, consisted in the infamous Temerity of This brutal Son in lying either with his own Mother, or at least with his Step-mother. He proves this Explication by several places of Scripture, where the Phrase of *discovering the Nakedness of a Woman* signifies to lie with her. It is said, in the same places of Scripture, that the Nakedness, or the Shame, of a Woman is the Nakedness, or the Shame, of her Husband; consequently, according to This Style, to have seen *Noah's* Nakedness is a covert Expression, which signifies to have lain with *Noah's* Wife. This Author supposes, I. That *Cham* took his Opportunity to do this Business, when *Noah* was sleeping out his Wine. II. That some body, having seen the Action, went and told *Noah's* two other Sons of it. III. That the latter, being angry at the outrageous Affront offered to That Patriarch, went with all speed to the Place; and, having surprized their Brother in the Fact, they threw their Cloaks over him and his Accomplice. IV. That they reported to their Father what they had seen. V. That *Noah*, being very angry, ordered, by his Will, that *Chanaan*, who was to be born of That incestuous Commerce, should be totally deprived of the Inheritance (18). These Hypotheses are learned and ingenious; but, if it be once allowed to suppose, that *Moses's* Narratives are so much disguised, it is to be feared, that This Method will be carried as far as the History of the Temptation and the Fall of *Adam*, as some have ventured do.

(18) See the Book
intituled, Ephe-
meridum Philo-
logiarum Do-
mus, in the Jour-
nal of Leloue,
Month of October,
1693, pag. 466.

CHAMIER (DANIEL) one of the greatest Divines of the Protestant Party, was born in *Dauphiné*. He was a long time Minister at *Montellimart* (a); whence he went, in the Year 1612, to be Professor of Divinity at *Montauban*. He was killed there by a Cannon-Ball, during the Siege in the Year 1621 (b) [A].

(a) History of
the Edict of
Nantes, Tom. II,
pag. 86. See Re-
mark [D].

(b) The 16th of
October.

[A] He was killed by a Cannon-Ball during the Siege of *Montauban*, in 1621. Some Historians say, he was killed being in Arms; that is to say, with a Pike in his Hand, and in his Armour, and that, at the end of the Sermon, he had preached that Day, he had three times repeated, They shall not enter. 'Chamier - - - - - quamquam propugnaculo tegebatur, tormentaria pila in frustra dicer-

pitur, vix agnito unde globus, & qua immiffus; in utrumque paratus homo audax, thorace ferreo, hastaque ad manum venerat in locum, additurus militi animos, postquam eademmet die concione in templo pathetice habita, de regis loquens, finierat in hæc ipsa verba, quæ distincta ter voce repetierat, non ingredientur (1). The Relation of the Siege of *Montauban* does not inform us,

(1) Barthol.
Grmondus,
Hiftor. Galliar.
lib. 10, pag. m.
502.

It is strange, that no body has written his Life. None but the *French* are capable of such a Negligence. If *Chamier* had been of another Nation, his History (large enough to be bound) would appear in all Libraries, especially considering, that he left Sons, who were of his Profession, and whose Posterity is in the Ministry to this day (c). He was no less a Minister of State in his Party, than a Minister of the Church. Never was any Man more stiff, more inflexible [B], and more untractable, with respect to the Artifices, which the Court made use of to weaken the Protestants, than he. It is said, that it was he who drew up the Edict of *Nantes* [C]. He was honoured with several Deputations [D], and presided in some Synods (d). The Time he spent in the Political Affairs of the Party, did not hinder him from acquiring great Learning. He gave Proofs of it in his Dispute against

(c) I write this in 1694.

(d) Among others, in the National Synod of Gap, in the Year 1603.

us, that he had taken up Arms, but only that 'he was killed by a Cannon-shot at the Entry of the Bastion du Paillas, and that, in his Sermon of the foregoing Day, on the Thirty fourth Verse of the Thirty seventh Chapter of *Jsaiah*, he applied to *Montauban* the Promise of a Deliverance, which the Prophet made from God to *Jerusalem*, besieged by *Rabshakeb*, General of *Sennacherib's* Army; repeating, with great Vehemency, these Words, No, no, they shall not enter into it, they shall return the same way they came.' The Relation adds, that 'some of his Friends had heard him say, that he believed he should die in that Siege by a Cannon-shot - - - and, upon that Sunday in the Morning, he prophesied accidentally what happened to him in the Evening. His Colleague *Jofon* asked him, if he was not to preach that Afternoon? Not at all, said he: Do not you know, that this Day is the Day of my Rest (2)?' The Catholic Writers have severely reflected upon the Death of this famous Minister, and taken an Occasion from it to cry him down as a *Boutefeu*, who was not contented to preach up Rebellion, but took up Arms himself; without considering, say they, that, as the Laity are not permitted to encroach on the Authority of the Church, so the Ministers of the Gospel ought not to be permitted to take up the Sword. They are answered, as in the case of *Zwinglius*, that they may expose themselves in War, to recommend the Cause to God, and to comfort and strengthen those, who stand in need of that Assistance.

[B] Never was any Man more stiff, and more inflexible. The Historian of the Edict of *Nantes* is very happy in the Character he gives us of *Chamier*. 'He waited in vain at Court, says he (3), whether the Synod of *Roche* had deputed him. - - - After he had been there six Months, he could not obtain the Honour to speak with the King. His Person was not acceptable, because he was one of those Fools of the Synod (4), whom the King did not love, one of those untractable Men, who cannot be prevailed with, and one of those stiff Persons, who are proof against Fear and Hope, the strongest Engines of the Court.' He had said in another place (5), speaking of the Deputies on the Affair of the Edict of *Nantes*, that *Chamier* was one of the stiffest, and therefore as odious to the Courts, as he was beloved by the Churches. We shall say, in the Remark [B] of the Article *FERRIER*, that, in 1611, in the Assembly of *Saumur*, he was at the head of those, who would have the Affair concerning the Edict of *Nantes* vigorously contended for. But, if you would know the Humour of *Chamier*, and of those like him, read what *d'Aubigné* said of him in a jocose Stile.

'Now there appeared more Sauciness in these People, says he (6), at the last Treaty of Peace, and in the Assemblies, which lasted four Years, where, in these stiff-necked Men not only impudently resisted the honestest Deputies the King could choose in his Council of State, but also the greatest Lords of their Party, when, considering the Affairs of the Kingdom, they would have had them shew some Civility. One of them started up with a brazen Face, and answered freely, These Propositions do not answer the good Opinion, which those, who sent us, have of us. He was desired to explain this: *La Valliere* advanced, and, explaining it, said, Gentlemen, this is to betray the Churches of God. I heard, within these few Days, *M. de Villeroi* relate, how he, with Messieurs *de Rosny* and *de Thou*, and others, being at

a Conference with four of these ill-bred Men, whilst *Calignon*, in the King's Name, endeavoured to mollify these Men by his Eloquence, huge *Chamier*, having put his Cloak under his Backside, leaned with his left Elbow on the middle of the Table, and, with his other Hand, cut his Nails with a Pair of Scizars; and the Clippings flew into the Orator's Beard and Mouth: one of them flew into *Rosny's* Eye; and this Posture reproved all that could be said of him.'

[C] It is said, that it was he, who drew up the Edict of *Nantes*. I have read this in an Epistle Dedicatory of *Varillas*. 'As the Heretics, says he (7), are not likely ever to find any Security, which may seem sufficient to them, the Calvinists had obtained by their Importunities, that whatever was advantageous for their Party, in the Edicts of Pacification, might be included in That of *Nantes*. *Daniel Chamier*, the ablest of their Ministers, had the Commission to draw it up. He spent three whole Months in it, and boasted to have forgot nothing, that might serve for the Establishment of the Quiet of his Sect.'

[D] He was honoured with several Deputations. What *Varillas* has just said may be false; but it is certain, that *Chamier* was one of the chief Men of the Protestant Assemblies, wherein the last Pacification with *Henry IV* was discussed and concluded. *La Trimouille*, *du Plessis*, *d'Aubigné*, and he, were chosen, 'To debate about the Matters, which could not, without Confusion, be digested by the Body of the Assembly, which consisted then of seventy, and sometimes of eighty Heads (8)'. He appeared no less in the Assembly of *Saumur*, in the Year 1611. 'He had the first Voice in it, as being Assistent to the President; and, because he understood Business, the Conclusion depended very much on the turn which he gave to things in voting (9)'. The Author, from whom I borrow these Words, tells us a thing, which deserves to be mentioned here: 'They bethought themselves, says he (10), of bringing some personal Trouble upon him, in order to make him weary of the Assemblies, wherein he had too much Authority. The Consistory of *Montelimar*, where he was Minister, took the Opportunity of his Absence and Deputation to give his Place to another. This was done without consulting or hearing him, by I know not what Intrigues, wherein it is likely *Lesdiguières* had a Hand; since it was done in his Province, in his Sight, and in a Town, where he could do what he pleased. But, to make the Injury yet more odious, the Consistory sent to search his Library, with some violence, under pretence of looking for Papers which belonged to the Church. The Proceedings of the Consistory had something so offensive in them, and shewed so much Contempt of *Chamier*, that he was very much offended at it, and so much the more, because both his Interest and his Honour were concerned in it. - - - He made his Complaints to the Assembly about it, as being an Affront to them, as well as to him; and he seemed ready to leave *Saumur*, to go and settle his Affairs at home. This was just what the Court would have desired, to deprive the Party (whose Resistance it feared) of a good Head - - - but *Chamier* was stopped by having Justice done him. The Assembly maintained him in the Ministry at *Montelimar*. I find, that he had quitted That Church in 1606, to profess Divinity in the Academy of *Die* (11). I do not know the Reason, which obliged him to return to his first Post.

(7) *Varill*. Epistle Dedicatory of the first Volume of the History of Heresy.

(8) *D'Aubigné* Univers. Hist. Tom. III, lib. 5, cap. 1, pag. m. 623.

(9) History of the Edict of *Nantes*, Tom. II, pag. 55.

(10) *Ibid*. pag. 56.

(11) *Simon Goulart* wrote so to *Scaliger*. See the French Epistles written to *Scaliger*, Book 3, pag. 447.

[E] He

5 R

VOL. II.

Father Coton [E], and in his Books [F]. The Thought of those, who make him the Head of a Party, the Head of the Metaphorists [G], does not deserve to be confuted. It is more absurd, than the Boldness of those, who have given us the Sect of the pretended Bezanites.

[E] He gave Proofs of his Learning, in his Dispute against Father Coton. Here is what a modern Author, and a good Protestant, says of it. In the Year 1600, Chamier had a Conference at Nîmes with That Jesuit; 'in which each Party boasted to have the Advantage, according to the usual Custom. The Truth is, that the Jesuit dazzled the Hearers by some eloquent Digressions, which put the Subject of the Dispute every Moment out of fight; and that Chamier, being more solid, and more scholastic, had obliged the Jesuit, by his Arguments, to get off by this Artifice. They, who have written That Jesuit's Life, do sufficiently discover, that Chamier's Dryness would have confounded their Hero, if he had not warded the Blow by eloquent Discourses, which were beside the Business, and which cost him nothing (12).

[F] - - - - and in his Books. His Treatise de Oecumenico Pontifice, and his Jesuitical Letters, deserved Scaliger's Esteem (13). Sharp Complaints were made, that he had published some Jesuits Letters, with his Glosses and Remarks. 'If the Ministers are mildly treated, it is to invite them to do worse, and to give them an Opportunity of turning Sugar into Poison. It has appeared so, within these few Years, by the Ministers of Dauphiné, and chiefly by Chamier, to whom Father Coton, and Father Ignatius Armand had privately written concerning some Points of Faith, by way of Conference, with Letters full of Humanity: but how did he make use of them? He caused them to be printed without their Knowledge, and against their Intention; and, putting his Glosses upon them, publicly exposed what they had communicated to him alone: which is a perfidious Affront; for several things are written in private, which one would not so willingly publish (14).'

With Chamier's fair side, in the Quality of a Writer, is his *Catholicæ Panstratia*, or, *The Wars of the Lord* (15), wherein he learnedly treats of the Controversies of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, and sets himself particularly to refute Bellarmine. This Work contains four Volumes in folio, and is not complete. The Controversy concerning the Church is wanting in it, which is a wide Subject; and would have made the fifth Volume. The Author's Death hindered him from finishing it. See here what was written from Geneva (16), concerning This *Panstratia*, in the Year 1606. 'Monsieur Chamier is very intent upon Controversies. If he goes on as he has begun, and finds ready Printers, he will give us as many Volumes, as Baronius in his Ecclesiastic Legends, which he firmes *Annals*.' This Body of Controversies was printed at Geneva in the Year 1626 (17). Hadrian Chamier, Minister of Montelimart, and the Author's Son, dedicated it to the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France, as a Work due to them, not only because it was composed at their Desire, but also because they had bestowed several Gratifications upon Daniel Chamier, to encourage him to set about That Work, and because, after his Death, they had given to his Family several Marks of their Liberality, and had contributed to the Charges of the Impression. Benediç Turretin, Professor of Divinity at Geneva, took care of the printing of the *Panstratia*, and added a short and good Preface to it. An Abridgment of the *Panstratia* appeared at Geneva, in the Year 1643, under the Title of *Chamierus Contrabitus*. Frederic Spanheim is the Author of That Abridgment, in one Volume in folio. They who

know, that the *Panstratia* comprehends four great Volumes, will scarce believe, that the Author of the *Bibliothèque of Dauphiné* knows what it is, since he calls That Work a *Panstratia*, or *Discourse on the controverted Points of the two Religions*. A Pocket-book might be called so; as for Example, That which our Chamier published against Father Tolosain, Abbot-General of St Antony (18), or the Considerations, which he published, in 1600, against the Advertisements of Porfan.

His *Corpus Theologicum* was printed at Geneva in 1653. It is a small folio, which contains also his *Epistolæ Jesuiticæ*.

[G] Some make him - - - - Head of the Metaphorists. A Jesuit, whose Name is James Gaultier, who, of all Men, made the least Scruple to multiply the Sects of the Protestants, found seven of them in the first Years of the XVIth Century. The first is That of the Metaphorists, whose Errors he attributes only to Daniel Chamier. He says, that the chief Error of the Metaphorists, and That, which gave them That Name, consists in saying, that Jesus CHRIST is not properly the Word and Image of God the Father, but metaphorically. He adds, that Daniel Chamier uttered this Blasphemy several times, in the Conference, which he had with him in the beginning of January 1601. 'Hoc speciatim ineunte Januario anni 1601. notatum fuit in Daniele Chamierio Montiliensi Ministro, quum illi mecum Alani esset disceptatio, in qua ille non semel sed multoties in pleno confesso hanc ipsam blasphemiam enuntiavit, dictavit, suaque manu subscript (19).' We have here an Example of what strong Prejudices can do: for, in the first Place, there never was any Sect of Metaphorists among the Protestants of France: their Synods never had any thing to discuss on that Subject, nor with any such Persons. In the second place, where did this Jesuit learn, that it is an Heresy and Blasphemy to say, that the Terms Word and Image are not taken in the proper but in the figurative Sense, when they are spoken of Jesus CHRIST in relation to God the Father? In the proper Sense, the first of these two Words signifies only the Action of a Man, who speaks; the second only signifies a Figure, that represents a Body. It is most certain, that, in this Sense, nothing can either be the Word or the Image of God the Father. But does it follow from thence, that Jesus CHRIST is only the Word and Image of his Father figuratively? Not at all. A Man, blinded by his Prejudices, fancies there is nothing real in Metaphors (20), and will no longer hearken to Reason. Did not he, who said, that the *Scipio's* were two Thunderbolts of War (21), attribute to them all that was most real, most active, and most solid in Military Virtue? Nevertheless it is very true, that he made use of a Metaphor; and a Man must be senseless, if he says, that the *Scipio's* were only Thunderbolts in a metaphorical and figurative Sense. An Author, mentioned in the foregoing Remark, tells us very gravely, that Chamier was one of the chief Seſſaries of the Faction of the Metaphorists (22). How many Persons will repeat this Fallhood, without informing themselves of the thing, without suspecting that This Faction of the Metaphorists is a Chimera of James Gaultier, and without knowing, that Themſelves, and That Jesuit, and All the most rigid Orthodox in general, are Metaphorists in the sense that Chamier was one? I have said something elsewhere (23) against the ridiculous Illusion of those, who have so much enlarged the List of Sects.

(18) See Father Gaultier's Chronographical Table, pag. 822.

(19) Gualter. Tab. Chronolog. pag. m. 822.

(20) Do but read *Vaugelas*, Father Bouhours, Menage, &c. in their Remarks on the French Tongue; and you will see by the Difference of the proper and figurative Sense, that the latter does not signify less real Objects than the former.

(21) Geminus duo fulmina belli Scipiadæ, cladem Libyæ. Virg. Æn. lib. 6, ver. 543.

(22) Ann. Marcellin. lib. xxiv. cap. vi. pag. m. 499. *ſaid*, Longæ loquantur ætates Sophanem, & Aminum, & Calimachum & Cynegeirum Medicorum in Græcia fulmina illa belorum. Lucetius, lib. 3, ver. 1047, furnished Virgil with That Thought. See Mr Drelincourt, in Indice Achilleo, pag. 44, n. 119, and pag. 46, n. 124.

(23) Allard, Bibliothèque de Dauphiné, pag. 62.

(24) In the Article BEZANITES.

(12) History of the Edict of Nantes, Tom. I, pag. 447.

(13) Chamierus de Oecumenico Pontifice & Epistolæ Jesuiticæ edidit, bona opera! O que Chamier écrit bien en Grec, & mieux que Coton.

How well Chamier writes in Greek, and better than Coton. Scaligerana, pag. 48.

(14) Richerius, A Letter to a Gentleman of France, before his Categorical Examination of the Anticoton.

(15) This is the Title Mr Savin uses, citing Mr Chamier's Book in his *Examen de la Théologie de Mr Furieu*, Tom. II, pag. 573.

(16) By Simon Goulart, to Joseph Scaliger. See the French Letter written to Scaliger, lib. 3, pag. 445.

(17) In the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, it is 1606, which is a Fault to be corrected.

(a) See at the end of Remark [M], of the Article ST ALDEGONDE, the Judgment of Flamin on this Version.

CHANG Y (PETER DE) Esq; lived in the XVIth Century. He translated into French the Latin Book of Ludovicus Vivés, *Of the Institution of a Christian Woman, as well in her Infancy, as married, and a Widow. Likewise the Office of a Husband* (a). The Edition I have of it is neither the first, nor the second: it is of Paris, for James Kerver, 1542, in 8°, and was unknown both to La Croix du Maine, and Du Verdier Vau-Privas (b). To it was newly added, a very short and fruitful Institution of the Virtue of Humility: with an Epistle of St Bernard, touching the Business and Management

(b) La Croix du Maine knew of none of the Editions. Du Verdier Vau-Privas mentions only That of Puteus, in 1544, in 16; and that of Paris, 1579, in 16.

Management of a Family. The Author had been some time dead. He had dedicated the Work to his Daughter *Margaret*. He was above Sixty Years of Age, when he set about this Version, and was severely afflicted with the Gout (c). He had born Arms in his Youth, and had translated six Books of *Pliny* into French [A], amidst the Fatigues and Interruptions of War. He had Sons, who were learned Men, as I observe in the Remark.

(c) See, before the Book, the Latin Verses *Simonis Romyglat Andegavensis*.

[A] He had - - - translated into French six Books of *Pliny*.] See how they introduce him speaking, in some Verses (1), prefixed to his Translation of the Work of *Ludovicus Vives*.

(1) Simonis Romyglat Andegavensis.

Me miserum (aiebat) qui bella ferocia gessi
Pro Patria, corpus dum juvenile foret.
Qui Plinū bis tres in Gallica verba libellos,
Mars, verti in castris, sanguinolente, tuis.

— Unhappy me! who, in my Youth, waged cruel War, for my Country's Sake; who translated six Books of *Pliny* into French, fighting, O bloody Mars, under thy Banners!

Neither *La Croix du Main*, nor *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, say any thing of the Translation of the six Books of *Pliny*; but they observe, that his Summary of the sixteen first Books of *Pliny* was printed at *Lyons*, for *John de Tournes*, in the Year 1551, in 16mo. It was *BLAISE DE CHANGY*, one of his Sons, who published it (2). He was Curate of *Dépoisses*, as I learn from a Stanza of ten Verses, prefixed to his Translation of *Ludovicus Vives*. Peter

(2) *La Croix du Maine*, Bibl. Franc. pag. 385.

Pessallier, a Native of *Auxerre*, is the Author of it. *JAMES DE CHANGY*, another of our Author's Sons, was an Advocate: the Land of *Changy* is, I believe, in *Burgundy*; for thus the Epistle Dedicatory of this Translator begins:

To my Daughter MARGARET.

YOUR Brother James, Doctor of Laws, has brought me, to Changy, from the Library of the *Sieur St Anthot*, Counsellor in our Sovereign Court of *Dijon*, a Book in Latin, composed by an eloquent Man, containing the virtuous Education of a Christian Woman.

Du Verdier ascribes to *James de Changy*, Doctor of Laws, and Advocate at *Dijon*, a French Translation of the Book of *Johannes Ludovicus Vives*, Of the Institution of a Christian Woman, &c (3). He says, that it was printed at *Lyons*, in 16mo, for *Salpicius Sabon*, and that *Lewis Torquet* (4) had likewise made a newer Translation of the same Book. It is plain, that he gives to the Son, in Page 597, what he ascribes to the Father, in Page 1000. Why does he not mark the Year of the Edition of *Lyons*?

(3) *Du Verdier*, Bibl. Franc. pag. 597.

(4) It should be *Turquet*, as in pag. 321.

CHARLES V, Emperor and King of Spain, born at *Ghent* the Twenty fourth of February, on *St Matthias's Day*, 1500, was the greatest Man that the August House of *Austria* produced. He was qualified for the Field and the Cabinet; so that, finding himself Master of so many Kingdoms and Provinces, he might have subdued all Europe, if the Valour of *Francis I.* had not been an Obstacle in his way [A]. There was a continual Rivalship between these two Princes, wherein Fortune declared most times against *France*; which was partly to be attributed to the Superiority of the Forces on one side of *Charles V.*, and partly to the ill Conduct of the Council of *France*, in which more Faults were committed, than the Valour of the French Troops was able to repair. All this did not hinder *Charles* from receiving several Checks in his Expeditions against *France*. It is said, that he was one of those dull-witted Men, who promise nothing less in their Youth, than what they shall one day prove. It is even said, that this was of great Use to him in gaining him the Preference to *Francis I.*, with respect to the Imperial Crown [B]. Altho' he had an excellent Preceptor (a), yet he learned but little Latin

(a) He was afterwards Pope under the Name of *Adrian VI.*

[A] He might have subdued all Europe, if the Valour of *Francis I.* had not been an Obstacle to it.] He was almost the only Prince, who opposed the Torrent; and, if History be well examined, we shall find, that the Emperor had commonly more Allies, than *Francis I.*; and *England* was so far from thinking of keeping the Balance even between these two Princes, that it often joined with the Emperor. Is it not known, that, in 1544, *Charles V.* and *Henry VIII.* had already divided *France* between them, and that their Treaty imported, that they should join their Armies, before *Paris*, to plunder That great City (1)? They set about the Execution of This Project at the same time: since, whilst the Emperor made an Irruption into *Champagne*, the English made a Descent into *Picardy*. Thus was the King of *France* paid for all his Cabals, to favour the Love of *Henry VIII.* for *Anne Boleyn*. Thus *Charles V.* was pliant enough to forget the Affronts offered to his divorced Aunt, and the Promises he had made to the Court of *Rome* (2). It is pretended, that it was one of the Things his Conscience checked him for afterwards, and for which he forsook the World. 'Esse non pauca quæ Caroli vellicarent animum pietatis omnino non furdum. Icisse fœdus cum Henrico Angliæ Rege, à fidelium societate, diris Pontificiis, in Caroli gratiam, expunctio. In quo ille & injuriam, quam ab Henrico acceperat, repudiata Catharina uxore, Cæsaris matertera, & constantiam promissi, nunquam se cum hæretico Rege, nisi in Pontificiæ dignitati satisfaceret, in gratiam rediturum, nimis quam impotenter posthæuerat atroci inexpugnabile in Gallum indignationi

(1) *Mezerai*, Chronol. Abregé Tom. 4, pag. m. 623.

(2) The Emperor made no Scruple of being allied to a Prince, struck with the Thunders of the Church, a mortal Enemy of the Holy See, and who had treated his Aunt most rigorously. *Mezerai*, ibid. pag. 620.

(3) *Famianus Strada de Bello Belg.* Dec. 1, lib. 2, pag. m. 19.

of *Charles*, not altogether deaf to the suggestions of Piety: That he had made a League with *Henry*, King of *England*, who, to oblige *Charles*, had been excommunicated by the Pope; in which his fierce and implacable indignation against the French King got the better of the injury he had received from *Henry*, in the Divorce of his Wife *Catharine*, the Emperor's Aunt, and the Promise he had made, never to be reconciled to an Heretical King; till he should make satisfaction to the Papal Dignity. What I am going to say is a more remarkable thing than it is thought to be. *Charles V.* had more Forces than *Francis I.*, and yet, by his Address, or because his Superiority was not so much feared as That of the French, he commonly formed more numerous Confederacies in his Favour, than Those of his Enemies. I shall observe, by the way, that *Brantome* spoke with too much Disdain of the other Princes, who opposed the Ambition of *Charles V.* 'That Emperor (says he (4)) would easily have compassed his Design, if it had not been for our great King *Francis*, or his Shadow only. And he would have beat down all petty Princes and Potentates like Nine-pins; and their Power would have signified no more than That of Those little Devils of *Rabelais*, who can only hail on Cabbages and Parsley in a Garden: The Pope could not have resisted him, seeing he was taken in his Fortresses of *St Angelo*, which was pretended to be impregnable.'

(4) *Brantome* Capit. Etrangers, Tom. I, pag. 24.

[B] It is pretended, that he was one of those dull-witted Persons - - - and that this was of great use to him in obtaining the Preference to *Francis I.*, with respect to the Imperial Crown.] It is certain, that, after the

(b) See Remark [F], of the Article ADRIAN VI.

Latin (b); he succeeded much better in the living Languages. He had the French so perfectly, that he made use of it to compose his own Annals [C]. Nevertheless it is pretended, that he esteemed the Spanish most [D]. He made Speeches on several Occasions; but he forgot himself most terribly in the Speech which he made in Spanish before the Pope, in the Year 1536 [E]. They had no reason, in

the Death of the Emperor Maximilian, which happened the 22d. Day of January 1519, Francis I. openly canvassed for the Empire, and bought some Voices, who, having received the Payment, turned on his Competitor's side. The Glory, which already surrounded That Monarch, was one of the Causes of his Exclusion. The greater Merit he seemed to have, the more it was feared he would reduce the Princes of Germany by Degrees, as his Predecessors had reduced those of France; and, if Oppression was to be feared on either side, it did not seem so near on Charles's side, who was five Years younger than he, and, in Appearance, of a very mean Genius. In fine, by all these Considerations, and with 300000 Crowns, which were brought into Germany the foregoing Year, and very properly distributed, Charles carried it, and was elected at Frankfurt the twentieth of June, being at that time in Spain, where he had been near two Years (5). This confirms what I have said already more than once (6), that, on some Occasions, the Superiority of Forces, or Merit, serves rather to frustrate a Design, than to make it succeed.

[C] He had the French Language so perfectly, that he made use of it to compose his Annals. I have read only in *Jerom Ruscelli*, that Charles V. composed the Memoirs of his Reign in French; and he is also the only Author, whom *Valerius Andreas* alledges (7), where he speaks of That Work of Charles V. I wonder Those Memoirs have never appeared, since there were Copies of them, and *William Marindo* had translated them into Latin, with a Design to publish them immediately. *Ruscelli* affirms it. *Egli stesso il predetto Imperator Carlo Quinto era venuto scrivendo in lingua Francese gran parte delle cose sue principali, come già di molte delle sue proprie fece il primo Cesare, & che s'aspetta di hora in hora d'averle in luce fatte Latine da Guglielmo Marindo* (8). *Brantome* had reason to say, that they would have sold well; but he ought not to have doubted, as he did, of *Marindo's* Version, under Pretence that it remained in Obscurity. He believed, that the Author, whom he quotes, spoke of That Translation as of a Work already public: This he ought not to have believed. Let us see now what he says: 'I have seen a printed Letter (9), among Those of *Belleforest*, that he translated out of Italian into French; which certifies, that Charles V. wrote a Book like That of *Cæsar*; and which had been translated into Latin at Venice by *William Marindre*; which I cannot well believe; for every one would have bought it, like Bread in a Market in time of Famine; and certainly the Desire of having such a fine and rare Book would have set it at another Price than it has been set at, and every body would have had one (10). *Ghilini* has placed This Prince among Authors, and pretended, that the Work, which I have mentioned, had been printed. 'Opere sue, says he (11), che publicate, accrescono non poca fama al suo per altro celebratissimo nome, e sono, *Istoria delle cose da lui fatte*, la qual scrisse in lingua Francese ad imitazione di C. Giulio Cesare. — He acquired no small reputation by the History of his own Actions, which are published, and written in French, in imitation of Julius Cæsar.' Afterwards he gives the Titles of some of This Emperor's Letters and Manifestos; Which is a new Fault; for Those Writings were drawn up by his Secretaries. I imagine, that, if *Father Bouhours* had thought of what *Ruscelli* relates, he would have mentioned it in That Place of his Conversations, wherein he says, that Charles V. had a great Idea of our Language: He thought it fit for great Affairs, and called it a Language of State, according to the Testimony of Cardinal du Perron †. It was perhaps for this reason, that he did it the Honour to make use of it in the most famous Actions of his Life. The History of the Wars of Flanders ‡ informs us, that he spoke French to the States of *Brussels*, in resign-

ing all his Kingdoms to Philip II (12). To which these Words of *Brantome* may be added: Among all Languages, he thought the French to be more Majestic than the rest — and he loved to speak it, though he understood some others very well (13).

[D] It is pretended however, that he esteemed the Spanish most. Let us cite *Father Bouhours* again. 'If Charles V. were to return into the World, he would not be pleased, that you should prefer the French Language to the Castilian; for he used to say, that, if he was to speak to Ladies, he would speak Italian; that, if he was to speak to Men, he would speak French; that, if he was to speak to his Horse, he would speak High-Dutch; but that, if he was to speak to God, he would speak in Spanish. He ought to have said, without any more ado, replied *Eugenius*, that the Castilian was the natural Language of God, as a learned Cavalier of that Country said one Day, who maintained, in a good Company, that, in the Terrestrial Paradise, the Serpent spoke English, the Woman Italian, the Man French, but that God spoke Spanish (14). This differs much from what was said by a Spaniard to a German: The Germans, said he, do not speak, but thunder, and I believe, that God made use of their Language, when he thundered the Sentence of Condemnation on Adam. He was answered, That the Serpent had made use of the Affections of the Castilian Language to deceive Eve. *Petrus Royziz Mauræus Hispanus*, Poeta illo seculo celebratus, consiliarius regius, & ob eruditionem Langorum acceptissimus; etiam in quotidiano convictu: sed qui velut *diva loquens* Germanicam linguam ridere soleret. Itaque famulos Langi Oratores, mensæ aliquando adstantes, atque dura pronunciatione & accentu affectate voces Germanicas exasperantes, isto scommate jocove illudit: *Germani*, inquit, non loquuntur, sed fulminant. Et credo ego, mi Lange Orator, Deum ex indignatione hoc sermonis fulmine usum, cum primos parentes extruderet Paradiso. Cui Langus, Ego rursus, inquit, verisimile censet, serpentem suavi & blando vocis Hispanica suco usum, cum imposuit Evæ. Hoc argutulo responso Royzizium & convivis & adstantibus propinavit deridendum: quod & ipsum regem hoc audientem mirè delectavit (16). I have lengthened this Citation, to shew, that the King of Poland himself was entertained with these Jest. But here is another Division, which does not altogether agree with That of Charles V. and which pleases a Spanish Doctor very much. The German Language, says he, is for Soldiers, the French for Women, the Italian for Princes, and the Spanish for God. 'De præstantia — illarum (linguarum) quæ Europæis frequentiores sunt, sic *Tympius* † distinguendum putat, ut si quispiam cum Deo locuturus esset, Hispanice deberet loqui, ob linguæ Majestatem; si cum aliquo Principe, Italice propter hujus elegantiam; si cum fœminis, Gallicè ob suavitatem; si cum militibus, Germanicè quod fit omnium robustissima; ac sic omnes suo encomio evexit, sed Hispanicam cæteris superiorem merito extollit (17). There is yet another Division, according to which the Spanish Language is fit to command, the Italian to persuade, and the French to excuse one's self. From whence it comes, said a Spaniard, that God made use of the Castilian to forbid the first Man to eat of a certain Fruit; that the Serpent made use of the Italian to deceive Eve, and that Adam spoke French to justify his Fault (18).

[E] He forgot himself most terribly, in a Speech which he made — before the Pope in 1536. It was a considerable Cause, which he would plead himself before the Pope, the Cardinals, the Ambassadors of Princes, many Prelates, and great Lords. He dexterously mentioned all that he thought most fit to justify his own Conduct, and to condemn That of Francis I. He declared the Conditions, on which he was ready to conclude a Treaty of Peace with France,

(12) Bouhours, Entret. 2. d'Arifte & d'Eugene, pag. m. 82.

(13) Brantome, ubi supra, p. 19.

(14) Bouhours, ibid. pag. 81.

(15) It was John Langus, Ferdinand's Ambassador in Poland.

(16) Melch. Adam, in vita Jurisconsulti, pag. 81.

† In Menis Theophilus, p. 2.

(17) Gaspard à Ries, Elysio jucund. Quest. Campo, Quest. 55. sub fin. p. m. 695.

(18) See la Mothe le Vayer's Sceptic Problems, ch. xv. p. 259. Tom. XIIII.

(c) Mezerai, Abregé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 493.

(6) In Remark [A], of the Article ANTONY (MARCE) Crest, and Remark [X], of the Article BELLARMIN.

(7) Biblioth. Belg. pag. 123.

(8) Ruscelli's Letter to Philip II, among the Letters of Princes, Tom. III, fol. 219.

(9) It is That of *Ruscelli*, which I have quoted.

(10) Brantome, Capit. Etrange. Tom. I. pag. 42.

(11) Ghilini, Teatro, Parte 2. pag. 51.

† Perroniana at the Word Language.

‡ Strada de Belg. lib. i.

in France, to be satisfied with the French Embassadors, who were present at that Act [F]. Many Persons have accused him of having committed a great Fault, when he trusted to the Honesty of Francis I [G]. One must be very satirical to call this a Fault [H]. The Flemish Historians were either very simple, or very dishonest, in relating what passed on that Occasion [I]. The raising of the Siege

of France. He said also, that, if this did not please Francis I, he offered him other Terms, upon which he expected an Answer in twenty Days; which were, that, to avoid the Effusion of human Blood, 'they should end their Quarrels between themselves in their own Persons — by fighting in an Island, or on a Bridge, or in a Boat on some River; and that, as to the Weapons, they might easily agree to have them equal, and that, for his Part, he would like any of them, were it either to fight with a Sword, or a Dagger, in his Shirt (19).' If this Proposal did not please, he offered another, which was War. He declared, that, if it came to that, he would take up Arms 'in such a manner, that nothing in the World should divert him from it, till one of the two should be the poorest Gentleman in his Country. Which Misfortune he hoped, and was sure, would fall on the King, and that God would assist him, as he had done hitherto (20).' See the Margin (21). He added, That his assurance of conquering was grounded on three Reasons. I. On his Right. II. On the Junctures of the Times, being as favourable to him as could be imagined. III. 'On his finding his Subjects, Captains, and Soldiers, so well disposed, bearing such a Love and Affection towards him, and so well experienced in the Art of War, that he might entirely rely on them. A thing which he certainly knew to be quite otherwise with the King of France; whose Subjects, Captains, and Soldiers were such, that, if his were like them, he would tie his Hands, put a Rope about his Neck, and go in that Condition to the King of France, and beg his Mercy (22).' Here one may ask the Question, which Ulysses put to Agamemnon;

Ἀτρεΐδην, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φέρον ἐρκος ἰδούτων (23);

What Word, Atrides, has escap'd thy Lips!

Here one may justly wonder, that a Discourse, more becoming a Braggadocio on a Stage, or a Spanish Knight, than an Emperor of Germany, should come from the Mouth of This wise Prince, before such an august Assembly. 'Sane mirati fumus vehementissime cum hanc orationem legimus apud Bellaium & alios, potuisse ejusmodi verba & alia quam plurima non minus ferocia, quæ iidem auctores recitant, excidere in tali conventu adeo sapienti ac prudenti ab omnibus habito Principi, quæ magis Pyrrhopolines Militi glorioso Plautino convenire videntur (24).' But, as a Modern Historian observes, Good Fortune, and the Panegyrists, and Prophets, had concurred to fill This Emperor's Mind with vast Designs. 'Ever since he had seen himself at the Head of two great Armies, and made Solyma retreat, and Barbarossa fly, his Mind ran altogether upon War. The Flatterers, who spoil the wisest Princes by their excessive Praises, promised him nothing less than the Empire of all Europe: The Poets and Panegyrists impudently assured him of it, and the Diviners and Astrologers, who are as bold Liars, had spread the Belief of it in such a manner by their Predictions, that they made an Impression on weak Minds (25).' It was at this same time, that the Emperor, being swelled up with the Victories he had obtained, and with those he held already for certain, said to Paul Jovius, *Make good Provision of Paper and Ink, for I have cut out Work enough for you (26).* But never was the Providence of God more visibly seen to mortify the Presumption of Man. Charles V, at the Head of Ten thousand Horse, and above Forty thousand Foot, supported by a good Fleet, commanded by the famous Andrew Doria, fell upon Provence, and caused at the same time an Army of Thirty thousand Men to fall into Picardy (27). But it proved like the Mountain's bringing forth; *Porturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus (28).* The Army of Provence miscar-

ried before *Marsilles*, and was reduced to a pitiful Condition, without giving Battle; and That of Picardy miscarried before *Peronne* (29).

[F] They had no reason, in France, to be satisfied with the French Embassadors, who were present at This Solemnity.] The Bishop of Mâcon, who was at that time at Rome in the Quality of Embassador of Francis I, and the Sieur de Velli, who performed the same Function at the Court of his Imperial Majesty, were present at the Speech. The first could answer but little, because he did not understand Spanish; and neither of them had time to say much. The worst is, that they did not give their Master a faithful Account of all that Charles V had proposed. They suppressed the Offer of a Duel, as also the Praises, which he gave his Soldiers, and the Contempt he shewed for those of France. They suppressed all this, at the Pope's Request, and that they might not retard the Treaty of Peace, by exasperating their Master (30). Brantome is very diverting, when he describes the Postures, which an Embassador, who was a Sword-man, made, during That Speech, and Those, which the Sieur de Velli, a Gown-man, made (31).

[G] Many accuse him of having committed a great Fault, when he trusted to the Honesty of Francis I.] The City of Ghent revolted in the Year 1539, and offered to deliver themselves up to France. The King not only refused such Offers, but also gave the Emperor notice of it, who, finding no better Remedy for an Evil, the Consequences of which were to be feared, than running to it in Person, desired a Passage through France, any other way seeming long and dangerous to him. He obtained what he desired, and received extraordinary Honours all over the Kingdom, and chiefly at the Court. The Conduct of Francis I was doubtless very fine and generous; but it is a great Illusion to praise him for not attempting against the Emperor's Liberty. Is a Man to be praised for not committing a notorious Perfidy?

[H] — one must be very satirical, to call this a Fault.] Most of those, who blamed Charles V for the Trust he put in the Generosity of Francis I, did not design to reflect upon that Emperor, but to give a frightful Idea of That King: For, if it was an offence against the Rules of Prudence, to rely on the Word of Francis I, it is a Sign, that it was very probable he would commit a base and treacherous Action as soon as he could. I own that some Authors ground themselves on the continual Tricks, which they impute to Charles V, in relation to the King of France; and they argue thus: That Emperor should have feared, that Francis I might find many specious Pretences, after having suffered so many Injuries, to violate the Laws of Hospitality; Prudence therefore did not allow him to trust That Monarch. They may say what they please; their Thoughts will certainly tend more to the disreputation of Francis I, than Charles V; and it cannot be said, without blasting That King's Honour, that he deliberated in his Council, whether he should make Charles V a Prisoner, or not. Camerarius, a German Author, finds no likelihood in it (32).

[I] The Flemish Historians were either very simple, or very dishonest, in relating what passed on that occasion.] The Belgic and Germanic, &c. Candor of Historians, generally speaking, is but a Chimera; perhaps there are no Nations that afford more equitable Pens, or more passionate Writers than These. Their Slanders are as keen and biting as Those beyond the Alps; and besides, they are sometimes built on very gross Fables. I do not mention all those, which they have published concerning Charles the Vth's Passage through France; I shall content myself to quote these Words of a French Annalist (33). 'Nec ullo modo audiendus infidus quidam Belgicus Chronologus * dum scribit, Cæsarem paucis illis quibusdam totam per urbem Lutetiam diffeminatis præsentissimum sui periculum cum vitasset, perniciosissimo

(29) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 595. 596.

(30) Du Bellai's Memoirs, pag. 519, 520. Brantome's Illustrations Men, Tom. I, pag. m. 246.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Méthast. Historiques, Vol. III, cap. 3. I quote the French Translation, published by Simon Goulart.

(33) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1545, li. I.

* Locri, hoc an-

of *Mets* was one of the greatest Mortifications that he met with in all his Life-time, and they make him say a witty thing on the Ascendant that the Star of *Henry II* had over him [K]. Notwithstanding his great Successes in his Undertakings, it is certain, that his History is but a Mixture of good and bad Fortune [L]. His Abdication is a thing very singular: It was a noble Subject for the Makers of Reflexions. They said very different Things about his Motives [M], and the Occupations of his Solitude [N]; and some pretended, that he soon repented of

pernicissimo cursu primum Cameracum, hinc Gandavum concessisse. Infusiora namque sunt ista quam ab homine mente sobrio proferantur. At sic lubet plerisque Belgis, cum de Francis agitur, futuri & ineptire, qualia per multa apud Maierum, Massæum, & alios ejus generis homines, reperire liceat. — Nor are we to give any Credit to an insipid Belgic Chronologer, when he writes, that the Emperor, having been lampooned all over Paris, and having escaped the most imminent Danger, fled as fast as he could, first to Cambray, and from thence to Ghent. For such Stories are too ridiculous for a Man in his Wits to relate. Yet most of the Germans take a pleasure in venting such idle Tales, when they are speaking of the French Affairs: of which kind we meet with great numbers, in Maierus, Massæus, and such like Authors. The long Wars of France, with the House of Burgundy, had so much incensed the Flemings, that those, who could not commit Hostilities with Sword in Hand, exercised them with their Pen, or with their Tongues. Now in these several kinds of War, many Persons make use of the Maxim, *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?* An Historian, who dares say, that Charles V ran away Post, and who does not know, or pretends not to know, that That Prince was accompanied by two Sons of France to the very Frontiers, and received in all the Towns as the King himself, what kind of Man must he be?

[K] They make him say a witty thing on the Ascendant that the Star of *Henry II* had over him. I perceive very well, said he, that Fortune is like Women; she prefers Young Persons to the Old. Strada mentions this Thought of Charles V in general (34): Scioppius is in the wrong to censure him for it (35), and it is by a Spirit of Contradiction that he questions whether the Emperor said it. He acts the Part of a Divine unreasonably, and is mistaken in believing, that this Saying of Charles V ascribes all Things to meer Chance. Is it blind Chance that makes Women love a young Husband better than an old one? There is nothing more opposite to Fortune than an Affection, whatever it be, of favouring one thing more than another. If the Maxim of Charles V was true, it would much better prove the Doctrine of Providence, generally speaking, than it would prove the opposite Opinion. Scioppius is more in the right, when he says, that This Maxim is to be found in *Machiavel*; for we find the following Words in the Twenty fifth Chapter of the *Prince* of That Florentine Author. 'Jo giudico ben questo, che sia meglio essere impetuoso che riservato, perche la Fortuna è donna: & è necessario volendola tener sotto, batterla & urtarla. Et si vede che la si lascia piu vincere da questi, che da quelli che freddamente procedano. Et pero sempre (come donna) è amica de' giovani, perche son meno rispettivi, piu feroci è con piu audacia la comandano. — It is better, in my Opinion, to be impetuous, than respectful; because Fortune is a Woman; and, if you would get the better of her, you must use her ill: and it is plain, that she oftner submits to such Persons, than to those, who go coolly to work: for this reason, like a Woman, she favours the young, because they are less respectful, more fierce, and command her with more boldness.'

[L] His History is but a Mixture of good and bad Fortune. He confesses himself, in the Speech he made, when he resigned all his Dominions, That the greatest Prosperities, he ever had in the World, were mixed with so many Adversities, that he could say he never had any Contentment (36). It is pretended, that, after his Abdication, he was used to say, that one Day of his Solitude made him relish more Pleasure, than all his Triumphs had given him (37).

[M] Very different Things are said about the Motives of his Abdication. Strada observes, that the Abdication of This Emperor became a Subject of Declamation in the Schools. Non ignoro eam rem

vario tunc hominum sermone fuisse disceptatam: bodieque declamatorum in Scholis (38), politicorum in aula, argumentum esse, Cæsarem abdicantem (39). Some have said, that, finding himself no longer able, by reason of his Infirmities, to support the Weight of his Glory, he wisely prevented the Shame of a greater Decay of his Reputation. It has been also said, that Spite at seeing his Fortune inferior to That of so young a Prince, as *Henry II*, though she had so often triumphed over That of *Francis I*, obliged him to forsake the World. I shall say, in the following Remarks, that the Spite at not being able to become a Pope, and the Desire he had to serve God according to the Rites of the Protestants, have passed for the Causes of his Retreat. But every one has not looked upon this great Action with a critical Mind. Some have said, that a sincere Desire to meditate on the Nothingness of this World, and on the solid Treasures of Heaven, inclined him to seek a Solitude, that, by the Exercise of Penance, he might expiate the Evils, which he had occasioned in Christendom, and prepare himself early and usefully for Death, by an intire Application to Things relating to his Salvation. See most of all these Things, and several others, nobly represented in Strada (40).

[N] — and the Occupations of his Solitude. He made choice of it in the Monastery of *St Justus*, situated near *Placentia*, on the Frontiers of *Castile* and *Portugal*. The Monks of That Monastery call themselves *Hieronymites*. He caused a little House to be built next to That Convent, made up of six or seven Rooms, and shut himself up in it in the Month of *February*, 1557. He kept only twelve Servants, and a Horse. He did not employ himself so much in the Exercises of Devotion, but that he amused himself with many other Things, as in taking the Air on Horse-back, in cultivating his Garden, in making Clocks, and Mechanical Experiments with a famous Engineer (41). Some Days before his Death, he caused his Funeral to be celebrated, and assisted personally at it (42). Some have said, that he endeavoured to make several Clocks agree together, with so much exactness, that they should all strike at the same Moment; and that this Design was not so difficult to execute, as the Agreement of Religions, which he had in his Head in the Time of the *Interim*. He had not so absolutely renounced the World, but that he enquired how the War went, and gave his Opinion about it; as appears from what he said and did, after he had heard this his Son, who was victorious at *St Quintin*, knew not how to make use of his Advantage. The Thing is related thus: 'Though he was a Monk, and half a Saint, yet he could not forbear (as it was said at that time, when the common Report of it ran every where) having heard, that the King his Son had gained the Battle of *St Quintin*, to ask the Courier, who brought him the News of it, if he had pursued his Victory as far as the Gates of *Paris*? And, being told that he had not, he said, that, at his Age, and in that Fortune, he would not have stopped in so fair a way, and would have run much better; and he was so vexed at it, that he would not see the Dispatches the Courier brought him (43). We must not forget what a young Monk said to him. 'The Emperor going one Morning, in his turn, to awake the other Monks, he found this, who was but a Novice, so fast asleep, that he could hardly awake him: The Novice getting up at last, against his Will, and being yet half asleep, could not forbear saying, that he ought to be satisfied with having disturbed the Quiet of the World, as long as he was in it, without coming to disturb the Quiet of those, who had left it (44). I have read a thing, that seems to me worthy to be mentioned. It is an Extract of a Piece, which *Balzac* had received from *Rome*, about the Retirement of Charles V.

(38) This puts me in mind of Juvenal's Words, Sat. 1. ver. 13. which shew, that the Scholars of his Time declaimed on the Abdication of Sylla. Et nos ergo manum ferule subduimus, & nos

Confilium decimus Sullæ prius ut altum Dormiret.

(39) Strada, ubi supra. pag. 16.

(40) Strada, ibid.

(41) Strada Id. ibi. pag. 13, 14, calls him, *Jannellus Turrianus*, and tells very singular Things of him.

(42) Ex Strada, ibid.

(43) Brantome, *Memoires des Capitaines Etrangers*, Tom. I, pag. 12.

(44) *St Real's History of Don Carlos*, pag. m. 21, 22.

(34) Quin & vultus credebatur, Cæsaris fortunam fastidio ac fatis jam captam retrocedere incepisse: felicemque Imperatoris haletus invicti genium in Henricum Gallie Regem immigrasse. Ipse Cæsar non dissimulante, quem auditum se rebant, quum diceret, *Nempe FORTUNAM esse Juvenum Amicam*. Strada, de bello Belg. lib. 1, dec. 1, pag. m. 17. He quotes a Letter of Hippolytus Chizala, which is in the third Book of the Letters of Princes, fol. m. 212, verso: I say, he quotes it for the first Part of this Passage.

(35) Infam. Fam. Strada, pag. m. 36.

(36) *Memoirs of Beauvais Nangis*, pag. 120.

(37) Camerarius, *Hist. Mediat.* Vol. I, Book 3, chap. 5.

of having resigned his Dominions, and especially to a Son, who shewed so little Acknowledgement for it [O]. It is said, he did not forget to discipline himself [P]. And, in general, some Authors speak very advantageously of his Piety [Q]. Others pretend, that he had more Ambition than Religion [R], and that

(45) *Conversat.*
1, pag. m. 10.

Balzac (45) relates the beginning of it thus: 'When Charles, weary of the World, resolved to die under the Empire of his Brother, and under the Reign of his Son.' The Author of This Piece, after several moral Reflexions, tells this Story. 'Nevertheless, as there is nothing so clean, but slander may soil it, and nothing so good but that it may be misconstrued; some say, that This Prince repented of his Retirement, and was so much vexed at it, that it had even a little distracted him. For proof whereof, they tell this fabulous Story: They say, that he had Five hundred Crowns in a black Velvet Purse, which he would never part with, but carried it every Night to Bed with him: If we will believe them, he kissed, he caressed, he idolized, This Purse. And, after having displayed the Riches of the World, the Pearls and the Diamonds of so many Crowns, that he had wore, he became covetous of Five hundred Crowns. One of the King of Spain's natural Subjects formerly told me this Story; but I laughed at it, and put it among the apocryphal Tales. It is much more likely, that, if the Emperor repented of any thing in his Solitude, it was of having retired no sooner from the World; or, as an Italian Author speaks of it, of not having sooner cut short the Game of Fortune. For thereby, says he, he over-reached Fortune, though he is so strong, and knows so well how to bubble Men (46).

(46) *Ibid.* pag.
12, 13.

[O] Some pretend, that he soon repented of having resigned his Dominions to a Son, who shewed so little acknowledgment for it.] We are told of an Answer, which Philip II made to Cardinal de Granvelle; from which one might infer, that Charles V did not defer his Repentance till the next Day, and that his Desire to renounce Authority and Government, did not exceed the Twenty four Hours. 'It is this Day a Year, said Cardinal de Granvelle to King Philip, that the Emperor divested himself of all his Dominions. It is also this Day a Year, answered the King, that he repented of it.' They, who are not so malicious, pretend, that he did not begin to be sorry for the Loss of his Crowns, till, going through several Provinces of Spain, in his way to Burgos, he saw so few of the Nobility come to meet him. Besides, being come into That Town, he was obliged to wait no little time for the Sum, which he had reserved for himself. He had occasion for part of it, to reward his Domesticks, whom he was to discharge; and he was put off from Day to Day for the Payment of it; which displeased him much. I shall tell down a long Passage of *Strada* (47), where we meet with these Particulars, and wherein we shall see, that he affirms nothing about the Repentance in question (48). 'Quum in Cantabrigiam appulsus, ac profectus inde Burgos, raros admodum sibi obvios vidit Hispanos Procures, (quos nempe solus incomitatusque titulis suis Carolus non allegerat) sensit tum primum nuditatem suam. Accessitque illud, quod ex centum nummum aureorum millibus, (quem sibi reditum ex imensis opibus tantummodo seposuerat, quum eorum parte opus tunc esset, qua famulos aliquot donaret, dimitteretque; expectandum ei plusculum, nec sine stomacho Burgis fuit, dum ea videlicet summa aliquando redderetur. Quam ille offensionem sicut dissimulante haud tulit, ita occasionem nonnullis forte praeibit affirmandi, Regnis vix ejuratis, cepisse Carolum iniri consilii penitere. Quamquam alii ipso ejurationis die mutasse illum sententiam ex eo narrant, quod aliquot post annis, quum Cardinalis Granvellanus ex occasione Philippo Regi revocasset in mentem, Anniversarium illum esse diem, quo Carolus pater Imperio Regisque cesserat; responderit illico Rex, & hunc quoque diem Anniversarium esse quo illum cessisse penituit. Quod incerto rumore prolatus facile percipiebat apud homines, non sibi in tam inaudito facinore constantem vel unius diei persuadentes. Nisi forte Philippus non putavit in parente laudandum, quod

(47) *Strada*, Dec.
1, lib. 1, pag.
10, 11.

(48) After the Words, which I quote, he rejects this Repentance as a very ill grounded Report.

'imitandum sibi non statueret.' It has been pretended, that King Philip did much worse than not being punctual in the Payment of the Pension; for it is said, he lessened it by two thirds. Let us hear *Brantome*. 'I have read a strange thing in a little Book wrote in Flanders, intituled, *The Apology of the Prince of Orange*, which I neither will nor can believe, being published by the King of Spain's Enemies; though it may possibly be true: I affirm nothing but what I have seen and do certainly know, that out of a Hundred thousand Crowns, which he had reserved to himself, or other Revenues, the King his Son cut off two Thirds, so that most times he had not wherewith to maintain himself and his Servants, nor to give Alms, and exercise Charity towards his old Servants, and faithful Soldiers, which was a great Heart-breaking to him, and which hastened his Death (49). It may be said in general, that Ingratitude chiefly appears in the Behaviour of Children towards their Fathers.

(49) *Brantome*,
Capit. Etrang.
Tom. I. pag. 39.

[P] It is said, he did not forget to discipline himself.] *Strada* affirms it positively. 'Quin etiam plexo e funiculari tormento — exigere a sese anctas vitae pœnas perseverare cepit. Quos inde funiculos a Philippo Rege reverenter habitos, ab eo que morti proximo afferri ad se jussos, & ut erant cruore Caroli patris aspersi, filio Philippo Tertio traditos, inter Austriacæ monumenta Pietatis asseruari fama est (50). — Besides which, making a Scourge of small Cords — he began very severely to punish himself for his past Life. Which Scourge, being had in great Reverence by Philip II, and being ordered to be brought to him on his Death-bed, and delivered, stained, as it was, with his Father's Blood, to his Son, Philip III, is said to be kept among the Monuments of the Austrian Piety.' He is not the only Author, who says, that The Scourge, which Charles V made use of, and which is stained with his Blood, is kept as a kind of Relic. What he says, that King Philip II caused his Father's Scourge to be brought to him, and gave it to his Son, is confirmed by other Historians. You will find it in the *Memoirs of Ciboerni* (a) (51), and in Those of *Brantome*: I shall only quote the last. 'He caused also a disciplining Whip to be taken out of a little Chest, which was bloody at the ends; and, holding it up, he said; This Blood is of my Blood, yet not properly mine, but That of my Father, whom God absolve, who made use of this Whip: This I am willing to declare (52). Scioppius boasts to have handled This Whip in the Monastery of the *Escorial*. *Quod ego in Monasterio Laurentiano manibus tractavi & Car. V. sanguine, ut aiebant, adhuc oblitum vidi*. He rallies *Strada*, for having observed, that the same Whip is yet stained with Charles's Blood; for it is a Proof, says he, that the Descendants of That Emperor have let his Whip hang on a Hook, without lashing their Shoulders with it; which *Scioppius* would not have thought amiss. What he says there against Flagellation, is curious enough. 'Vereor ne Austriaci Principes pietatem suam frigide laudatam putent, cum flagellum illud adhuc Caroli sanguine notatum prædicetur: quod argumento est, id ipsos jam octoginta annos ferreatum de parietibus clavo pependisse, nec vel filii ejus vel nepotis ac pronepotum dorso molestiæ multum creasse (53).'

(50) *Strada*, Dec.
1, lib. 1, p. 14.

(a) [All these Facts are taken from a little Book in 8vo, printed in 1600, at Maastricht, for Zachary Durant, under the Title of *The Life Will and Testament of Philip II. R. M.* C. 17.]

(51) Page 294. Edit. of Paris, 1636, in 4to.

(52) *Brantome*, Capit. Etrang. Tom. II, pag. 105.

(53) *Scioppius*. *Inim. Fam. Stradae*, pag. 19.

[Q] Some Authors speak very advantageously of his Piety.] *William Zenocarus* affirms, that Charles V composed Prayers for each Expedition he undertook, that he wrote them with his own Hand, that they were as long as the seven Penitential Psalms, and that, having caused them to be approved by his Confessors, he repeated them every Day in the midst of his Armies. Sometimes, when he felt devout Emotions and Compunctions, he stepped aside, under pretence of some natural Necessity, that he might be longer in the Fervour of Prayer. He gave *Adrian Sylvanus* these Prayers to keep, with order to tear them to Pieces, and throw them into the Air, if any Misfortune should happen to him. Many, having

that he died almost a Lutheran [8]. The first of these two things is more probable

ing observed the Time, which This Emperor employed in his Prayers, said, that he spoke often to God than to Men (54).

[R] — *others pretend, that he had more Ambition than Religion.* They maintain, that the desire he had to aggrandize himself, to the Prejudice of Francis I, was the Cause that he suffered *Solyman* to take *Belgrade* and *Rhodes*, and that he did not make use of the favourable Occasions, which God put into his Hands, against the *Turks*, either in *Hungary*, or *Africa*. He would rather ravage *France*, than make use of the Advantages he had gained over the Infidels. He is accused of having encouraged Lutheranism, which he might easily have extirpated. He found his Advantage in the Divisions, which That Sect caused, and made use of them sometimes against the Pope, sometimes against *France*, and sometimes against *Germany* itself. It is said, he rejected the Offers, which the Protestants made him, to serve him against the *Turks*, if they might have Liberty of Conscience; but he granted it to them, when they promised him to renounce their Alliance with *France* (55). If it be so, it cannot be denied, that This is an Example of what I have said in other Places (56) concerning THE RELIGION OF SOVEREIGNS. As Men, they are zealous for their Religion; they pray to God; they go devoutly to Church; but as soon as they consider themselves invested with the Quality of Sovereigns, they think only of conquering their Enemies, and vigorously attack, not those, who are most opposite to their Belief, but those, whom they hate most, out of Fear or Jealousy, though they were the greatest Support of their Religion. For the rest, a great Falshood has been published in the Life of *Charles V* (57). It is This: 'Being obliged to avoid Duke *Maurice* (for he was only attended with six fixeremen); the Princes of *Germany* proposed to him, that, if he would but command, that their Opinions should be examined, they would supply him with a Hundred thousand Men, to oppose the *Turks*, who invaded *Hungary*, and that they would maintain them, till he had made himself Master of *Constantinople*. He answered, that he would purchase no Kingdoms at so dear a rate, nor *Europe* itself on such a Condition; but that he only desired *JESUS CHRIST* crucified (58). It is certain, that, after the Flight of *Charles V* before *Maurice*, the Protestants obtained almost every thing they asked for. See *Maimbourg's* History of Lutheranism (59). I refer you thither, because it is a Book an hundred times more common than *Sleidan*, *Ibuanus*, and *Cytreus*, quoted by *Maimbourg*.

[S] — and that he died almost a Lutheran.' This Brantome shall be the first, that I quote: 'This Book (60) even says, that it was once decreed by the Inquisition of *Spain*, the King his Son being present, and consenting to it, to take up his Body, and cause him to be burnt as an Heretic, (What Cruelty!) for having in his Life-time spoken slightly of Religion; for which reason he was unworthy of Burial in holy Ground, and deserved to be burnt like a Faggot; and also, that he had too much adhered to the Opinions of the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who was held a Heretic, and was for that Reason kept a long time Prisoner in the Inquisition, and rendered incapable, and deprived of his Bishopric, which was worth a hundred or sixscore thousand Ducats: This was indeed the ready way to make it believed, that he was an Heretic, and to have his Estate and his Spoils (61).' The other Author, whom I shall quote, gives a more curious detail of all this. 'The strangest of all the Reports, says he (62), spread abroad about the Emperor's Retreat, was, that the continual Correspondence, which he had with the Protestants of *Germany*, had given him some Inclination for their Opinions, and that he had hid himself in Solitude, to have the Liberty of ending his Days in the Exercises of Piety, agreeable to his secret Dispositions. He made choice of Persons, all suspected of Heresy, for his spiritual Guides, as, Dr *Caçalla* his Preacher, the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and chiefly *Constantine Pontius*, Bishop of *Dresse*, and his Director. It

was known afterwards, that the Cell, in which he died at *St Justus*, was filled on all sides with Writings of his own hand about Justification and Grace, which favoured of the Doctrine of the Innovators (63). But nothing confirmed this Opinion so much as his Will. There were almost no pious Legacies in it, or Foundations for Prayers; and it was made in such a different manner from Those of the zealous Catholics, that the Inquisition of *Spain* thought they might very well be offended at it. Nevertheless, they durst not break out before the King's Arrival: but that Prince having signalized his Arrival in That Country by the Punishment of all the Partizans of the new Opinion, the Inquisition, being grown bolder by his Example, attacked first of all the Archbishop of *Toledo*, then the Emperor's Preacher, and, lastly, *Constantine Pontius*. The King suffering them to be imprisoned, the People looked upon his Patience as a Masterpiece of his Zeal for the true Religion; but the rest of *Europe* saw, with Horror, the Confessor of the Emperor *Charles*, in whose Arms That Prince died, and who had as it were received That great Soul into his Bosom, delivered up to the most cruel and shameful Punishment by the Hands of his own Son. In effect, in the Sequel of the Process, the Inquisition, bethinking themselves of accusing these three Persons of having had a Hand in the Emperor's Will, they were so audacious, as to condemn them to be burnt with the Will. The King awaked at this Sentence, as at a Clap of Thunder. At first, the Jealousy of his Father's Glory made him take some Pleasure in seeing his Memory exposed to That Affront; but afterwards, having considered the Consequences of That wicked Attempt, he hindered the Effect of it by the mildest and most secret means he could pitch upon, to save the Honour of the Holy Office, and to make no breach in the Authority of That Tribunal. — In the mean time, Dr *Caçalla* was burnt alive, with a Phantom representing *Constantine Pontius*, who died some Days before in the Prison. The King was constrained to permit This Execution, to oblige the Holy Office to consent, that the Archbishop of *Toledo* might appeal to *Rome*, and to speak no more of the Emperor's last Will. If these things be true, the Emperor must have been the greatest Hypocrite that ever was, or the Historians, who speak of his Devotions (64), and Hatred of Heretics (65), have greatly imposed upon us. It is pretended, that he reckoned it one of his Crimes, that he had not caused *Luther* to be burnt, notwithstanding the safe Conduct he had granted him (66).

Turn to the Remarks of the Article of *Carranza*, where you will find several things concerning this Matter. What follows may pass for a Supplement, and will point out some Faults of the Author of *Don Carlos's* History. I. The *Spanish* Historians do not agree, that *Constantine Pontius* (67) was *Charles's* Director, or Confessor; they allow, that he had been his Preacher. II. He was not Bishop of *Dresse*. I find no Bishopric in *Spain*, or any where else, of that Name. It is true, *Ibuanus* speaks of an *Episcopus Drossensis* (68) (it is doubtless what deceived the Author of *Don Carlos's* History), but he does not say, that That Bishop was *Constantine Pontius*; he was a Preacher of *Seville*, whose Name was *Giles*, who held the same Opinions, and underwent the same Fate, with *Constantine Pontius*; for they both died before the *Auto de Fé* was held, and were both burnt in Effigy (69). This *Giles* was nominated by the Emperor to the Bishopric of *Tortosa* (70). It is not true, that the Inquisition did not begin to attack Dr *Caçalla*, and *Constantine Pontius*, till *Philip* came into *Spain*; he did not arrive there till the beginning of September 1559; and those two Persons were in the Prisons of the Inquisition before the Death of *Charles V*, which happened, as every one knows, the Twenty first of September 1558. The Count de *la Roca* relates what was said by the said Emperor on occasion of the Sentence against *Caçalla* (71) and the Imprisonment of *Constantine* (72). Another Historian (73) says,

(54) Guill. Zencarous, lib. 5, de Vita Caroli V, apud Matthiam Castitium de virtutibus Principum Germanie lib. 1, cap. 34.

(55) See La Motte le Vayer, Tom. II, pag. 113, 114, 115, Edit. in 12mo, 1681. See also Maimbourg's History of Lutheranism, Tom. I, pag. 247, 248, and Tom. II, pag. 159.

(56) In Remark [H], of the Article AGESTLAUS II, and Remark [C], of the Article ARISTIDES.

(57) Composed by John Antony de Vera and Figueroa, Count de la Roca.

(58) The Count de la Roca's History of Charles V, pag. 335, Edit. of Bruffels, 1663, in 12mo.

(59) Tom. II, pag. 158, ad Ann. 1552.

(60) That is to say, the Prince of Orange's Apology. I have not found this in my Edition, which is that of 1587, nor what is cited above in the Remark [O], Citat. (49). See the Rem. [7].

(61) Brant. Capit. Etrang. Tom. I, pag. 39.

(62) The Abbot of St Real, in his History of Don Carlos. He cites Thuanus, d'Aubigné, &c.

(63) Apply here a thing true or false, which is to be read in Melancthon, in cap. 25. Matthæi pag. m. 488. Carolus V. iussit amoveri monachos a conjugio mortuorum, & iussit præceptorem filii sui proponere conjugii consolationes de Christo. — Charles V. ordered the Monks to be removed from his Wife, when dying, and commanded his Son's Tutor to propose to her the Comforts of the Gospel.

(64) See Strada, Decad. 1. lib. 1. pag. 14, 15.

(65) See the Count de la Roca, pag. 334.

(66) See La Motte le Vayer, Tom. II, p. 199. Edit. in 12mo.

THE Abbot of St Real criticized.

(67) His Name was not Pontius. I have already observed it above, in Citation (20), of the Article CARRANZA. See also the beginning of the Article PONTIUS.

(68) Thuan. lib. 23, pag. 470. ad Ann. 1559.

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) He should therefore have been called Episcopus Tortosensis, or Dertossensis, or rather Dertossensis.

(71) History of Charles V. pag. 354.

(72) Ibid. pag. 335.

(73) Herrera, Historia General. l. 6, cap. 165, pag. m. 4. o.

probable than the last. The Apology of the Prince of *Orange* is improperly alledged upon this Occasion [T]. *Charles V* was not free from human Infirmities

say, that *Caçalla*, in whose House the Assemblies of the Protestants were held at *Valladolid*, was executed the Twenty first of *March* 1559, whilst *Philip* was still in the *Netherlands*. IV. *Constantine Pontius*, having been imprisoned by the Inquisition, in *Charles's* Life-time, did That Monarch no Service on his Death-bed; so far was he from receiving That Great Soul into his Bosom. *Thuanus* deceived the Author of *Don Carlos's* History: which ought to be a Warning to all Authors not to trust blindly to any body. *Constantinus qui a sacris confessionibus diu Caesari eique in solitudine sua post imperii ac regnorum abdicationem, ac postremo animam agenti semper praesto fuerat, ad idem mox tribunal raptus, &c* (74). — *Constantine, who was long Confessor to the Emperor, both before, and after, his Abdication, and at the time of his Death, was soon after called to the same Tribunal.*

(74) Thuan. ubi supra.

If one goes astray in following *Thuanus*, what may not one fear in following mean Historians? V. Any Reflexion against *Philip*, by virtue of a pretended Permission granted by him to imprison *Caçalla* and *Constantine*, after his Return into *Spain*, is chimerical: for those two Persons were in Prison before the Emperor's Death. VI. Some Historians (75) say, that *Caçalla* repented, and endeavoured in vain to convert one of his Accomplices, whose Obstinacy was so great, that he suffered himself to be burnt alive: This is to say plainly enough, that *Caçalla* was not burnt till after his Death.

(75) Herrera, Historia General. ubi supra.

VII. However, he was not burnt alive with a Phantom representing *Constantine Pontius*; for the Execution of *Caçalla* was performed in the *Auto de Fé* of the Twenty first of *March* 1559, at *Valladolid*, and That of *Constantine Pontius* in another *Auto de Fé* at *Seville* (76).

(76) Ibid.

VIII. The King did not oblige the Holy Office to consent, that the Archbishop of *Toledo* should appeal to *Rome*; for, in the first place, That Archbishop's Cause was not brought to the Court of *Rome* by an Appeal; but the Pope ordered it to be brought before him; and the same Pope, who would have had the Inquisition of *Spain* send him That Prisoner at first, and who found himself obliged to consent to the Proceedings of That Tribunal, always reserved the definitive Sentence to himself (77). In the second place, King *Philip* was so far from desiring, that *Carranza* should appeal to *Rome*, that he opposed a long time the Instances, which the Pope made, to refer That Archbishop's Case to him. The Fathers of the Council of *Trent* complained several times to the Legates of what the Inquisition of *Spain* practised toward *Carranza*; the Legates wrote to the Pope about it; the Pope charged his Nuncios to act vigorously; and you will see, in *Palavicini* (78), that They, who believe, that his Holiness did not shew all the necessary Vigour in it, must be such, as do not consider the necessity, he was in, to yield to *Philip's* Opposition, through a Principle of Prudence.

(77) Palavic. Hist. Concilii Trident. lib. 21. cap. 7. n. 7.

You will find none of these Remarks in the *Thoughts of a Man of Wit on the Novel intitled Don Carlos* (79); and yet That witty Writer does his best to criticize That Novel in every thing. This surprises me; for, should a Man set up for a public Censor of a Book, without knowing whether it offends against History?

(78) Ibid.

[T] The Apology of the Prince of *Orange* is improperly alledged.] *Brantome* boasts to have read in it, that King *Philip II* consented, that the Body of *Charles* should be taken up, and burnt as a Heretic. He is mistaken; and perhaps I have discovered the cause of his Error. I conjecture, that he had read That Apology, bound with some other small Pieces, published against *Philip II*, in favour of Prince *William*. He either thought, that all those Pieces belonged to the Apology; or he did not remember, in which of those Pieces he found what he relates: and, as the Idea of the Apology had more strongly affected him, he persuaded himself, that he had read This strange Fact in the Apology. The Truth is, This Reproach is not to be found there (80), but we meet with it in an anonymous Piece, published in the Year 1582, under this Title, *A Discourse on the Wound of his Highness the Prince of Orange*. Wherein we read these Words: "Can

(79) The Edition, I have, is of Amsterdam 1674.

(80) Note, that the Prince's Silence is a Sign, that he found no ground for it: for he does not spare *Philip II* any where, but reproaches him with shocking crimes: he would have as freely reproached him with this, if he had thought it true.

there be a more wretched Creature than such an ungrateful Son, and so unnatural towards such a Father as the Emperor *Charles* was; an Emperor of such great Renown and Authority, who had in his Life-time given such great Riches to a wretched Son, and had reserved but Two hundred thousand Ducats of Income on *Spain*, and who nevertheless received nothing of it after he deprived himself of his Kingdoms. A Son, I say, who let such a Father pass the rest of his Days with Monks, and suffered him to live on the Remainder of his Jewels, and upon his Goods, which he was forced to sell and pawn for his Subsistence? An ungrateful Son, who suffered the Inquisitors to deliberate, whether they ought to dig up his Father's Bones and burn them as of an Heretic, for having conselt, at his Death, on the Remembrance of the Archbishop of *Toledo*, that he depended on the sole Merits of *JESUS CHRIST*, and had no hopes in any other. An unnatural Son, who deprived That good Archbishop of his whole Estate, for having assisted the Emperor till his Death, and for having instructed him in the way to Salvation; and who kept him Prisoner, till he was forced to let him go to *Rome*; where, after That good Archbishop had gained his Cause, he was poisoned by This King's Ministers, for fear he should enjoy again the yearly Income of Two hundred thousand Ducats, which the Archbishopric of *Toledo* is worth. If this were found in the Apology of the Prince of *Orange*, there would be some reason for inserting it in a History; for the Name of so great a Prince, and the Authority wherewith his Manifesto was clothed, are good Securities: but as for those many Pamphlets, which were published in those times, without the Authors or Printers Names, they deserve no more to be quoted, than those, which have overflowed *Europe* within these thirty or forty Years, printed by *Peter Marteau*. Not but that there are some Truths in this kind of Writings, whether they were dispersed abroad in the time of the Duke of *Alba*, and during the Remainder of the XVIth Century, or whether they did not appear till our times; but, after all, whilst it is not known from whence they come, Prudence will not permit us to depend on them; and much less can a grave Author adopt what he finds in them. Commonly these Pamphlets are the Drainings of the Newfongers; those that forge them, being sure they shall never be accountable for them, rashly advance any thing upon Hear-say. We see a plain Falshy here concerning the Archbishop of *Toledo*. He did not gain his Cause, but was obliged to abjure; he was suspended for five Years (81), and he was Seventy three Years of Age: could it be imagined, that he could live above five Years after such a long Imprisonment? However, they would not have made away with him, till the five Years were near expiring. One may even maintain, that all that is given out in the Apology of the Prince of *Orange* is not true. *Gratius* affirms, that both He who drew it up, and He who drew up the Decree of Proscription of this Prince, mixed Truth and Falshood in their Digressions (82). 'Adversus novi moris Edictum Arausionensis apud Ordines Belgicos & Christianos Principes libello se defendit, adjuvante Petro Villerio (83), homine Gallo, qui subactum rebus forensibus ingenium, ad religionem docendam, & hinc ad intima Arausionensis consilia transfulerat, Extat Scriptum utrumque pari acerbitate, qua post crimina ad causam pertinentia, hinc animum in gratum & perduellem, inde seavam ac perfidam Dominationem, VERIS FALSISQUE NARRATIONIBUS PERMIXTIS, porro ad alia, rixantium more, prolabantur. — Against this Edit of a new kind, the Prince of *Orange* defended himself before the States of *Holland*, and the Christian Powers, in a Book, written with the Assistance of Peter Villiers, a Frenchman, who had turned the Bent of his Mind from following the Law to teach Religion, and from thence had gained the Confidence of the Prince of *Orange*. Both Pieces are extant, written with equal Bitterness, in which, after Accusations, which were to the Purpose,

there be a more wretched Creature than such an ungrateful Son, and so unnatural towards such a Father as the Emperor *Charles* was; an Emperor of such great Renown and Authority, who had in his Life-time given such great Riches to a wretched Son, and had reserved but Two hundred thousand Ducats of Income on *Spain*, and who nevertheless received nothing of it after he deprived himself of his Kingdoms. A Son, I say, who let such a Father pass the rest of his Days with Monks, and suffered him to live on the Remainder of his Jewels, and upon his Goods, which he was forced to sell and pawn for his Subsistence? An ungrateful Son, who suffered the Inquisitors to deliberate, whether they ought to dig up his Father's Bones and burn them as of an Heretic, for having conselt, at his Death, on the Remembrance of the Archbishop of *Toledo*, that he depended on the sole Merits of *JESUS CHRIST*, and had no hopes in any other. An unnatural Son, who deprived That good Archbishop of his whole Estate, for having assisted the Emperor till his Death, and for having instructed him in the way to Salvation; and who kept him Prisoner, till he was forced to let him go to *Rome*; where, after That good Archbishop had gained his Cause, he was poisoned by This King's Ministers, for fear he should enjoy again the yearly Income of Two hundred thousand Ducats, which the Archbishopric of *Toledo* is worth. If this were found in the Apology of the Prince of *Orange*, there would be some reason for inserting it in a History; for the Name of so great a Prince, and the Authority wherewith his Manifesto was clothed, are good Securities: but as for those many Pamphlets, which were published in those times, without the Authors or Printers Names, they deserve no more to be quoted, than those, which have overflowed *Europe* within these thirty or forty Years, printed by *Peter Marteau*. Not but that there are some Truths in this kind of Writings, whether they were dispersed abroad in the time of the Duke of *Alba*, and during the Remainder of the XVIth Century, or whether they did not appear till our times; but, after all, whilst it is not known from whence they come, Prudence will not permit us to depend on them; and much less can a grave Author adopt what he finds in them. Commonly these Pamphlets are the Drainings of the Newfongers; those that forge them, being sure they shall never be accountable for them, rashly advance any thing upon Hear-say. We see a plain Falshy here concerning the Archbishop of *Toledo*. He did not gain his Cause, but was obliged to abjure; he was suspended for five Years (81), and he was Seventy three Years of Age: could it be imagined, that he could live above five Years after such a long Imprisonment? However, they would not have made away with him, till the five Years were near expiring. One may even maintain, that all that is given out in the Apology of the Prince of *Orange* is not true. *Gratius* affirms, that both He who drew it up, and He who drew up the Decree of Proscription of this Prince, mixed Truth and Falshood in their Digressions (82). 'Adversus novi moris Edictum Arausionensis apud Ordines Belgicos & Christianos Principes libello se defendit, adjuvante Petro Villerio (83), homine Gallo, qui subactum rebus forensibus ingenium, ad religionem docendam, & hinc ad intima Arausionensis consilia transfulerat, Extat Scriptum utrumque pari acerbitate, qua post crimina ad causam pertinentia, hinc animum in gratum & perduellem, inde seavam ac perfidam Dominationem, VERIS FALSISQUE NARRATIONIBUS PERMIXTIS, porro ad alia, rixantium more, prolabantur. — Against this Edit of a new kind, the Prince of *Orange* defended himself before the States of *Holland*, and the Christian Powers, in a Book, written with the Assistance of Peter Villiers, a Frenchman, who had turned the Bent of his Mind from following the Law to teach Religion, and from thence had gained the Confidence of the Prince of *Orange*. Both Pieces are extant, written with equal Bitterness, in which, after Accusations, which were to the Purpose,

OBSERVATION concerning the Books printed by *Peter Marteau*.

(81) See *Varillas's* Preface to the fifth Tome of the History of Heresy.

(82) *Gratius*, Annal. Belgic. lib. 3. sub. fin. pag. 99. 100.

(83) We shall say, in Remark [E], of the Article LAN-GUET, that this Apology of the Prince of *Orange* was drawn up by *Langau*.

ties as to Women; and he was much more sober, than chaste [U]. He died the Twenty first of September 1558, in the Monastery of the *Hieronymites*, which he had pitched upon for his Retreat. His Body was left deposited there, till the Arrival of King Philip II in Spain. A magnificent Funeral was made for him some time after. That, which was made for him at *Brussels*, in the Church of *St Gudule*, was very sumptuous: none of his Exploits were forgotten in the Inscriptions, which adorned the Church (c); and I do not believe, that so many Titles were ever given to any Prince in the World, as were given him at that time. If the Subject was great, the Imagination and Rhetoric of the *Spaniards* were so likewise; and certainly the Historians of This Prince would have done more Honour to his Memory, if they had not been so excessive in their Praises. One Page of *Tbuanus* (d) is to be preferred before a Volume of *Sandoval*, because *Tbuanus*, a good Frenchman, is not suspected of Flattery. They have not failed to observe, that divers Prefaces distinguished This Emperor's Death (e). It is also reported, that his dead Body was preserved from Putrefaction [X]. His Life was published in Italian in the Year 1559, by a *Spaniard*, whose Name was *Alphonfus Ulloa*; and since that time many other Pens have been exercised on this noble Subject [Y]. I have forgot to observe, that, it has been said, that,

(c) See Brantome, *Memoires des Capitains Etrangers*, Tom. I. pag. 44.

(d) It is the 430th in the 21st Book, of the Edition of Frankfurt, 1625.

(e) See, upon this, the *Pensées diverses sur les Comètes*, pag. 265; *livres* pag. 279; 294.

(84) Brantome, ubi supra, pag. 18, 19.

(85) Horat. lib. Epod. Od. 12.

(86) Zencarus, in vita Caroli V. lib. 3. apud Castitium, de Viribus Princ. Germanicis, pag. 224.

(87) Id. lib. v. apud eundem.

(88) Ea (conjuges) vivente servasse Carolum perquam sancte conjugalem fidem fama est. *Strada* Dec. i. lib. x. pag. m. 612.

(89) *Tbuanus*, lib. xxi. p. 431.

(90) Jacob. Wilhelmus Imhofius, Notitia Germanicæ Procerum, pag. 11. Edit. Tübing. 1693.

(91) In Rem. [C] of the Article AUSTRIA (Don John of).

(92) Bunellus, Epist. xxviii. pag. 111, 112. Edit. Töls. 1687.

posse, such as Ingratitude, and a treacherous Disposition on one side, and a tyrannical and perfidious use of Power on the other, WITH A MIXTURE OF TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD, like Persons that quarrel, they were insensibly led to other matters.' [U] He was much more sober than chaste. 'It is reported - - - that he always drank three times at his Dinner and Supper; and he was very sober in his eating and drinking. When he lay with a fair Lady (for he loved Women, and indeed too much considering his Gout) he never left her, till he had enjoyed her three times (84). Here is a great Inequality in the same number; three Draughts of Wine at Table, and three Draughts of Love in Bed, do not deserve the same Qualification; the first is an Act of Moderation, the last of Excess. It was the way not to expose himself to this Reproach:

Inachia langues minus ac me. to vindi
Inachiam ter nocte potes: mihi semper ad unum
Mollis opus (85).
Inachias thrice you may enjoy,
Once does my feeble Passion cloy.

That my Readers may have wherewith to exercise themselves, by examining whether Brantome is more to be credited than others, I shall say, that William Zencarus not only praises Charles's Frugality, but also his Chastity. This Emperor, says he (86), often shut his Windows, when he saw fine Women coming, or when he knew they were to pass by. The Author, who relates this (87), says, that this Prince did so in the Emperor's Life-time. Others have observed, that he was true to his Empress (88), and that he concealed his amorous Intrigues (89), as much as he could; *Si non capis, saltem cautes*.

Commonly they give him but two natural Children, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, and Don John of Austria; but Mr Imhofius says, that Bernard Justiniani, in his History of Spain, gives him two more, to wit, Priamus Conrad of Austria, and another John of Austria, who died in the Year 1530, at seven Years of Age (90). I believe, that this Priamus Conrad, is the same with a certain Priamus Conrad, whom I have mentioned in another place (91), who passed for an uterine Brother of Don John of Austria. Note, that a Report was spread, that Charles V had the Pox. 'Imperator, ut nonnulli confirmant, ex morbo Gallico laborat. Accedit ad morbum hujus belli (Turci) impendentis metus. Hanc ego in malis voluptatem capio, quod eum qui in nos tam crudelis fuit, non solum copore ægrotare, verum etiam animo angere videre mihi videor (92).' This is what we find in a Letter of Bunel, dated from Venice in the Month of June 1532. And here is the Remark, which Mr Graveler made on That Passage: 'An illud (ex morbo Gallico) καλὰ ῥέστα, an in sensu mystico intelligendum sit, disquirant multi: sane quæ sequuntur, Imperatorem ex morbo venerico laborasse confirmant: utatur quique hac in re judicio suo. Hoc unum scio, non omnes qui gravius sunt supercilii, rigidæ virtutis esse sequa-

ces: amavit Franciscus I. amavit & Carolus V. & ne quid tam strenuo rivali in ludo amatorio exprobraret, morbo etiam Gallico laboravit. Felix! & nimium felix, si gravius non laborasset, sed non runt Hispani quid sit el remedio de Carlos quinto.

[X] It was given out - - - that his dead Body was preserved from Putrefaction. Some Spanish Authors maintain, that it is preserved whole (93); and, because it was not embalmed, they attribute this Exemption from Corruption to his Sanctity and the admirable Candor, which they say were eminent in This Prince's Conduct. 'Cum nullis balsamis aut medicamentis pollinctum fuerit regale cadaver, quæ à corruptione præservare potuissent, ipso Imperatore sic ante obitum jubente; quid aliud dicere possumus, nisi eximium illius animi candorem & virtutis splendorem, cujus ingens semper dedit specimen, posteris Deum ostendere voluisse? cujus adhuc multo antea certissima indicia præstolatos fuerat: nam cum anno 14. ab illius obitu, in cenobio S. Justi corpus exhumaretur, non solum integrum & incorruptum inventum est, sed thymi quoque ramusculi, quibus monachorum more respersum fuerat, virides & optimum odorem adhuc spirantes apparuerunt (94). — Since the Royal Corps had not been embalmed, to preserve it from Putrefaction, according to the Emperor's dying Command, what can we say, but that God intended to let Posterity see the remarkable Candor, and exemplary Virtue, which always shone forth in This Prince? Of this we have a remarkable Instance: for, when his Body was interred in the Monastery of St Justus, fourteen Years after his Death, it was not only found entire and uncorrupted, but even the Sprigs of Thyme, with which, after the Monks' Manner, it was firewed, appeared still green, and of a most excellent Scent. — Anno 1656, cum potentissimi Regis nostri PHILIPPI justis antecessorum suorum regia cadavera ad insigne illud Pantheonis monumentum traducerentur, invictissimi Imperatoris Caroli V. cadaver adhuc incorruptum repertum est, labe nulla, nulla temporis edacitate, aut patredinis carie infectum; spectaculum sane mirificum, & plane admirandum, post annos 96 incorruptum permansisse, ut tradit P. F. Franciscus de los Sanctos, in Descriptione Fabricæ D. Laurentii & Pantheonis (95). — In the Year 1656, when, by Command of our most potent King PHILIP, the Royal Bodies of his Ancestors were translated to the famous Monument of the Pantheon, the Body of the most invincible Emperor Charles V was found uncorrupted, and uninjured by Time, or Putrefaction; a surprising thing, that it should continue uncorrupted after Ninety six Years; as we read in Franciscus de los Sanctos, in his Description of the Fabric of St Laurence, and the Pantheon.

[Y] His Life was published — in 1559 by Alphonfus Ulloa; and, since that, many other Pens have been exercised on this Subject. Lewis Dolce wrote This Emperor's History. William Zencarus of Schawenburg wrote it also (96). La vida del Emperador Carlos V. por Don Antonio Figueroa was printed at Brussels, in 4to, in the Year 1656. La vida

(93) See Citat. (9).

(94) Caspar à Reies, in Elysio Jucundar. Quest. Campo, Quest. 34. n. 26, pag. m. 413.

(95) Id. Ibid.

(96) In Latin, printed at Amsterdam, 1526, Folio.

in order to taste of all sorts of Government, he aspired to be Pope [Z]. If he had been treated, in that Station, as he treated *Clement VII*, he would have been very sorry: his Withes had been heard. It is pretended, that the Ravages of *Alaric* and *Totila*, and, in general, all that the most barbarous People ever did in *Rome*, does not come near the Excesses, which the Army of *Charles V* committed there. There was a remarkable Circumstance attending it: This Prince put himself in Mourning for That Victory: he forbade the Ringing of Bells (f), and ordered Processions, and public Prayers, to be made in all the Churches, for the Pope's Deliverance, who was his Prisoner (g), and yet he did not punish any of those, who treated the Pope and the City of *Rome* so basely (h). These Arts of deep Policy have not been less taken notice of, than Those, which he made use of in the Rebellion of *Naples* [AA]. They, who prefer him to the greatest Men of Europe since the Romans (i), flatter him; for what did he finish? Did not the War, which he made in the Empire for his Religion, end to the Advantage of the Protestants? And he was so far from having conquered any thing from *France*, that he had not Strength enough to recover what That Crown had conquered. If his Successor recovered the chief part of it, it was by a Treaty of Peace, in which *France* suffered herself to be bubbled, and shamefully betrayed.

The Historians of *Charles V* have too much imitated the Poets: They often heap together many Prodigies, by which they pretend his Victories were preceded. This they did chiefly as to the Battle of *Mulberg*, which he gained the Twenty fourth of *April* 1547. They say, that the Sun stopp'd its Course [BB], and that God wrought the same Miracle in favour of his Catholic Majesty, as he had done for *Jesuba*. A Prophecy was spread abroad, which promised This Emperor the

Defeat

Hechos del Emperador Carlos V. por Prudencio de Sandoval, came out at *Pampelona*, in the Year 1614, in two Volumes in Folio (97). I omit the rest; and, if one were to reckon up all those, who have written some parts of this History, it would be endless (98). I shall only speak of *William Godeleweus*, who wrote the History of the Abdication. But let us not forget *James Masenius*, a German Jesuit, who published, at *Cologne*, in the Year 1672, in 4to, *Anima biforiae hujus temporis in juncto Caroli V. & Ferdinandi I. fratrum imperio representata*. This Work deserves to be mentioned by the Jesuit, who continued *Allegambe*.

[Z] It has been said, that — he aspired to be Pope. Brantome, whom I have already quoted several times, is the only Author, in whom I have read this Particular. — If he had been able, says he (99), to have accomplished the Design he had to be Pope, he would have enlightened the World better, as being a divine Man; but he could not be elected by the Votes of the Cardinals, as *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy* was, who retired afterwards to his Monastery of *Ripaille*, as the Emperor retired also to his. Nevertheless I have heard say, that, if he had had as much Strength of Body as of Mind, he would have gone to *Rome* with a powerful Army, to get himself elected, for Love, or by Force; but he attempted it too late, not being so brisk as formerly. Neither did God suffer it; for he would have made the Papacy hereditary (a thing never heard of) in the House of *Austria*. What Ambition! Failing of this Design, he turned Monk; this was great condescension. If he had tasted of the Papacy, as the above-mentioned Duke did, it would have been better for him; and, when he was dying, he might have said, that he had gone through all the Orders of good Fortune, and taken all the Degrees of Grandeur. The Chancellor de *Chiverni* observes (100), that it was believed, King *Philip II* would resign his Dominions, and take a Cardinal's Hat, that he might be elected Pope on the first occasion.

[AA] He made use of Policy, in the Rebellion of *Naples*. He rewarded the Chiefs of the Rebels, and gave nothing to those, who had served him faithfully. Omnes qui *Cæsarem* adjuverunt, qui bona, qui vitam pro eo deposuerunt, irremunerati remanserunt; qui adversæ factionis hostes illius nati sunt, qui arma contra illum tulerunt, omnes fuerunt optime & secundum vota sua expediti. This is what we find in *Agrippa's* Letters (101). This Conduct seems at first imprudent; for it may disgust good Subjects, and embolden the Factious. But Experience must have taught the contrary; for the greatest Princes have, and do still make use of this Method. They neglect

those, whom they think themselves sure of, and labour chiefly to gain those, whom they distrust. Complaints, like those of the Prodigal Son's Brother, are frequent among loyal Subjects, when Troubles are pacified. In the time of *Henry the Great*, the Leaguers obtained more Preferments (a), than the old Servants (102). It is a Policy, which serves for a present Remedy, which Princes stand in need of: they expose themselves thereby to a future Danger; but they hope God will prevent it; and, after all, it is not a certain Evil.

[a.] Let us here produce what *John Nerizian* has said on the same Subject. 'Quandoque, says, this factious Writer, Principes, ut inimicum vincat obsequio — eum plus extollit servitorem suo; adeo quod quandoque boni servitores indignati dicant; Si quispiam a Principe nostro velit quicquam obtinere, oportet quod in eum aliquam committat prodicionem. — Sometimes a Prince, that he may conquer his Enemy by Obsequiousness, extols him more than his own Servant; inasmuch, that his faithful Servants may sometimes, through indignation, say; whoever would obtain any thing of our Prince, must betray him. — The Discourse of La Ruffia seems to have these Words in view.' REM. CRIT.]

[BB] His Historians — have heaped together many Prodigies — they say, that the Sun stopp'd its Course. I have not *Lewis d'Avila's* Relation in Spanish; but here is a Passage out of it, according to the Latin Translation (103). The Author speaks as an Eye-witness: 'Fæderico etiam futura clades evidenti prodigio denuntiata est. Sol enim velut sanguinolentus apparuit, & quod mirabilis est, perinde ac si corium tardasset, spatiumque diei addidisset, quum intentius intueremur, aliorum, quam pro horarum ratione, ferri visus est. Constant omnium hac de re opinio est, nec ego certe resellere ausim (104). — A manifest Prodigy foretold the impending Defeat of *Fæderic*. For the Sun appeared as it were bloody, and, what is more wonderful, as if it had retarded its Course, and lengthened the Day, when we looked more intently on it, it was seen bigger, than it should have been. This Event is universally believed, nor dare I contradict it.' *Florimond de Remond* mentions the same Passage (105), according to the French Translation, of this Spanish Work. He sets down also the Italian words of *Baptista Gribaldi*, who was present at the Action, and the Spanish Terms of *Gonzalo de Illesca*, taken from the second part of his Pontifical History, and the Latin Verses of an anonymous Author, and endeavours to prove, that the Fact is true. He has taken advantage, among other things, of *Sleidan's* not refusing *Lewis d'Avila* on this Stop of

(f) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. II, pag. 178.

(g) Maimbourg's History of Lutheranism, Tom. I, pag. 163.

(h) La Mothe le Vayer, ubi supra.

(i) Baurd did it. See in St. Evremont's Works, Vol. II, pag. 182, Lond. Edit. 1728, the Dissertation on the Word *Vaj*.

(102) See that Prince's Apology, attributed to the Dukes of *Roban*. It is printed with the Journal of *Henry III*, in the Edition of 1693. I speak of it in the Article *PARTHENAI* (CATHERINE). Remark [F]. See also Remark [P], of the Article *HENRY IV*.

* Lib. 4, n. 102, of the Sylva Nuptialis.

† Lib. 1, chap. 5, of the Confession of *Sancy*.

(103) Done by *William Malinæus*.

(104) Ludov. ab Avila & Zonniga, Commentar. de Bellis Germanicis, lib. 2, fol. 126, Edit. Antwerp. 1550.

(105) Flor. de Remond's History of Heresy; Book 3, ch. 16, pag. m. 362.

(97) They had been printed already, one after another, at Valladolid: the first in 1604, the second in 1606.

(98) See *Michael Herzius*, in Bibliotheca Germanica, printed at Erfurt, in the Year 1679, n. 811, & seq.

(99) Capit. Etrang. Tom. I, pag. 36.

(100) Memoirs, pag. 293.

(101) In the 10th Book, pag. 1010. It was written to *Agrippa*, by a Friend, and is dated from Ratibon, the 17th of July, 1532.

Defeat of the *French*, That of the *Turks*, the Conquest of *Palestine*, &c [CC.] We shall speak a word concerning a Lilly, that he had planted in the Garden of his Solitude [DD]. I cannot tell whether any Reflexion was ever made on a remarkable

the Sun, though he appears to be very angry with him. But Father Maimbourg laughed at this Spanish Vision, and at some others relating to the same Battle, and confuted them by some Arguments (106). He has not forgot to say, that 'the Duke of Alba, a very solid Man, who paid no regard to Trifles, made it appear, that he did believe any thing of what was said of this pretended Miracle, when, being come into France, to marry the Princess Elizabeth Daughter of Henry II, in King Philip's Name, he pleasantly answered That Prince, who asked him some Questions about it, *That he was so busy that Day about what passed on Earth, that he took no notice of what was done in Heaven.* Florimond de Remond mentions this Answer of the Duke of Alba, and tells his Readers, that he had it from a Gentleman of Biscay, Governour of Aegs, who spoke and lived after the old manner, in those times, being very familiar with the King, and his Favourite (107). Observe this well: This Historian had not met with this Particular in any Book; he had it from a Gentleman, who was then at the Court of Henry II. Perhaps he is the first Author, who published it, and from whom all the rest have taken it; and perhaps, if he had not mentioned it, we should not find it in the History of the Duke of Alba (108), lately published in French, as a Translation of a Latin Book, printed at Salamanca in the Year 1669, under the Title of *Vita Ferdinandi Toletani Ducis Albani*. The Author of the Translation protests he has made it with all possible exactness, and that he has added nothing of his own, nor curtailed it.

[CC.] A Prophecy was spread abroad which promised This Emperor the Defeat of the French, That of the Turks, The Conquest of Palestine, &c.] Antony Pontus, who bore Arms in the Expedition of Tunis under Charles V, wrote an Account of it, which was not published till a Year ago (109). He says, in his Preamble, that he will relate two things, to raise the Soldier's Courage; the one is an old Prophecy; the other is the Discourse of an Apparition, at the time of the Expedition of Odet de Foix in the Kingdom of Naples. Let us omit what concerns this Apparition, and content our selves with what relates to the Prophecy. 'Duo hæc ante præbentur, non quod historici interserunt, sed ut animi nostrorum militum alacres nunc his auditis ad arma fiant alacriores. Quorum illud unum imprimis subvenit, & ut vulgissimum ita quoque antiquissimum vatis illius, quæ propheta dicitur, verbum divinum, quod quidem tale circumfertur, Carolum Philippum filium ex natione Lillii, ut ejus verba præstingam, post Gallos Hispanosque domitos Romam quoque & Florentiam congregato magno exercitu Regem Græcorum vocari, indeque post victos Turcas, Chaldaeos, Palæstinofque, sanctam Hierusalem recuperaturum, atque inibi à Dei nuncio coronatum in summi Principis sinu vitam expiraturum, facietque prius edictum, ut qui sanctæ Crucis signum non adoraverit morte puniatur (110). Take these two Particulars by way of Specimen; not that the History requires them, but to enflame the Courage of our Soldiers by these Relations. The first that occurs, is, *That well known and ancient Prophecy, which foretold, that Charles, the Son of Philip, of the Nation of the Lilly, to use the Prophet's expression, after having conquered the French and Spaniards, as also Rome and Florence, with a mighty Army, would be called The King of the Greeks; and that, having subdued the Turks, Chaldaeos, and the Inhabitants of Palestine, he would recover the holy City Jerusalem, and, being there crowned by the Messenger of GOD, would give up his Soul in the bosom of the Supreme Prince, having first decreed, that whoever shall not adore the sign of the holy Cross should be punished with Death.* Compare this with a Prophecy, which David Pareus inserted in his Commentary on the Revelations in the Year 1598, and you will find a Specimen of the Frauds, which are committed in such cases. The Sieur Comiers relates (111), that, being at Orange in the Year 1660, they lent him this Work of Pareus, printed at Heidelberg, and that he read a Prophecy,

in the 930th Page, which the Authors had found in *adibus Præpositi Salezziani*, and which contained these words: 'Surget Rex ex Natione illustissimi Lillii, habens frontem longam, supercilia alta, oculos longos, nasumque aquilinum: Is congregabit Exercitum magnum, & omnes Tyrannos Regni sui destruet, & morte percutiet omnes fugientes in montibus, & cavernis sese abscondentes à facie ejus. Nam ut Sponsus Sponsæ, ita erit justitia ei associata; cum illis usque ad quadragesimum annum deducet bellum, subjugando Insulas, nos, Hispanos, & Italos. Romam & Florentiam destruet & comburet, poterique sal seminare super terram illam. Clericos qui Sedem Petri invaserunt morte percutiet: eodemque anno duplicem Coronam obtinebit. Postremum, mare transiens cum exercitu magno, intrabit Græciam, & Rex Græcorum vocabitur. Turcas & Barbaros subjugabit, faciendo Edictum: Quicumque Crucifixum non adoraverit, morte morietur. Et non erit qui resistere poterit ei, quia brachium sanctum à Domino semper cum eo erit, & dominium Terræ possidebit. His factis Sanctorum requies Christianorum vocabitur, &c. — A King shall arise, of the most illustrious Nation of the Lilly, having a long forehead, lofty Eye-brows, large Eyes, and an aquiline Nose. This King shall gather together a great Army, and destroy all the Tyrants of his Kingdom, and shall smite with Death every one flying to the Mountains, and hiding themselves in Caverns from his Face. For as a Bridegroom to a Bride, so shall Justice be united to him: with them he shall continue to wage War to the Fortieth Year, subduing the Islanders, the Spaniards, and Italians. He shall destroy, and burn, Rome, and Florence, and it shall be that Salt may be sowed on that Land. He will put to Death the Clergy who have usurped the Seat of St Peter, and the same Year he will obtain a double Crown. Afterwards, passing the Sea, with a great Army, he shall enter Greece, and shall be called The King of the Greeks. He shall subdue the Turks and Barbarians, making an Edict, that whoever will not adore JESUS CHRIST crucified, shall die. And no one shall be able to resist him, because the holy Arm of the LORD shall be always with him, and he shall possess the Dominion of the Earth. When these things are done, it shall be called the Rest of the holy Christians, &c.' Comiers gives a French Translation of this in Prose and Verse, and adds (112), 'That he found the same Prophecy, but in different terms, in the ninth Volume of St Augustin's Works, in the middle of the Treatise concerning Anti-Christ (113), pag. 454, of the Impression of Lyons, in the Year 1586.' And note, that he applies both these Prophecies to Lewis XIV. 'As the Conquest of the World, says he (114), is not the Work of one Day, we ought at least to hope, that, in the next Year 1666, our Great Monarch will lay the first Foundations of That Universal Empire.' But take more particular notice of the Fraud of Charles V's Flatterers; they took hold of the first of these two Predictions, and to make it square with that Emperor; they curtailed it on the one side, and enlarged it on the other; they inserted his Father's and his own Name in it, as also the Conquest of France, and left out the aquiline Nose, and some other Features of the Face. I have seen some good People, infatuated with Prophecies, who, during the last War (115), applied all this pretended Oracle, as well as they could, to his Britannic Majesty King William. Observe, in the last place, the Confession of Pontus, that he published the Prophecy, to give more Courage to Charles V's Soldiers, and be persuaded, that most of These Inventors, or Promoters, of Predictions, propose nothing to themselves, but to amuse the Mob, and to inspire them with such Passions, as they wish them to be filled with; and, to succeed the better in it, they make use both of Subreption and Obreption.

[DD] We shall speak a word concerning a Lilly, which he had planted in the Garden of his Solitude. He planted it the latter end of August 1558; and he died the twenty first of September following. At

(106) Maimb. History of Lutheranism, Tom. II, pag. 57, & seq. Edit. Holl. See the Thoughts on Comets, p. 274, 275.

(107) Flor. de Remond, ubi supra.

(108) In Book 3, chap. 11, pag. 218, Edit. of Paris, by John Guignard, 1669.

(109) At Leyden, 1698, in the Vetus et Antiqua of M. Martini.

(110) Anton. Pontus Confectus in Haridæno Barbarossa, pag. 2.

(111) Claud. Comiers, a Priest, & Provost of the Collegiate Church of Carcan of the Cathedral of Ambrun, Of the Nature and Precepts of Comets, pag. 460, Edit. of Lyons, 1665.

(112) Id. ibid. pag. 478.

(113) See, concerning this Treatise, Mr. Augustin, of the Origin of the French, and their Empire, Tom. II, pag. 465, & seq.

(114) Comiers, ibid, pag. 430.

(115) I write this in 1699.

markable Circumstance of the Siege of Metz. He formed no Enterprize more just than That, and of which the Success proved more unfortunate [EE]. I must not pass over in silence what he said to Francis I; *You and I reign over Men so hot, so fierce, so boisterous, that, if we do not make War with each other by intervals, to amuse them, and to cool their Martial Impetuosity, our own Subjects will fight against us, which will be much worse (k).* He left an Instruction to his Son, wherein, among other Advices, he gave him this; 'to strike fail when the Storm is too great, not to oppose the violence of angry Fate; dexterously to ward off the Blows, which one cannot bear; to let them pass; to lye by, and observe the opportunity of some favourable Revolution, and a better time (l).' He practised this Advice at the Peace of Passaw, which would have been disgraceful to the Empire, if Necessity, rather than the Emperor's Inclination, had not made it. He practised it also at the Peace of Soissons, where a Scarcity of Money interrupted the Success of his Arms; and he was compelled to offer himself as an Hostage to the Germans, who otherwise formed a design to seize him (m). Both he and his Son thought themselves capable of making good use of Opportunities; for it was one of their Sayings, *To y el tiempos para dos otros*, I, and Opportunity, against two Others (n). The Author, whom I quote (o), relates a thing, which equally shews This Emperor's Curiosity for Astronomy, and his Intrepidity. The Magnificence, with which the Fuggers received him in their House at Augsburg, ought not to be forgotten [FF].

(k) Matthieu's History of the Peace, Book 1. Narrat. 2. pag. m. 66, 67.

(l) Silhon, Ministre d'Etat. Tom. I. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. m. 301.

(m) Id. ibid.

(n) Ibid.

(o) See Melchior Adam, in the Life of Philippus Apianus, at the 349th Page of the Vitæ Germanorum Philosophorum.

the moment of his Death the Root of this Lilly shot forth a Stalk two Cubits high, with a marvelous Flower, as full blown and as odoriferous as those kind of Flowers are used to be in Spain in their usual Season. I make use of the Terms, which the Superior of the Fathers of the Oratory of Paris employed in haranguing the Queen of Spain, in the Year 1679 (116). I omit the ridiculous Preface, which he found in this Vegetation (117); but I must observe, that the Count de la Roca does not relate the Fact with the same Circumstances. Let us see his words; 'An impartial Author writes, that there was a Root of Lilly in a little Garden, into which a Window of the Emperor's Apartment looked, which, in the beginning of the Spring, put forth two Stalks, one of which broke it's Tunic, opened it's Flower, gave a pleasant Odour, and at last died, and the other, though of the same standing, which was not so forward, kept inclosed in it's Button; which made several People wonder, because it wanted neither Water nor Sun; and, the same Night that the Emperor's Soul left the Prison of his Body, That fine Flower opened, and was cut with Respect and Admiration, and placed on the great Altar (118). All that is wonderful in the Speech of the Superior of the Fathers of the Oratory of Paris, vanishes almost as soon as the Narrative of the Spanish Historian is attentively examined. I do not know the impartial Author, who is cited; but I fancy, that either he, or the Count de la Roca, have been transcribed by *Famianus Strada*. You will easily believe it, if you compare that Count's words with this Latin Passage: 'Nec illud admiratione caruit. In Caroli, quem dicebam, hortulo, binos eodem tempore stylos emiserat candens lilium. Alter Maio mense, uti assoleo, calyce dehiscens floruit: alter quamvis eadem culturâ provocatus tumorem tamen ac partus signa vere toto atque æstate sustinuit: eademque demum nocte, quâ Caroli animus integumentum sese corporis evolvit, ille explicato repente folliculo, intempestivâ nempe atque insperatâ germinatione promissit florem. Id verò & observatum ab omnibus, & lilio super Arâ templi maximâ ad spectandum proposito, fausti candidique ominis loco acceptum est (119). — Nor did This pass without Admiration. In Charles's Garden, a white Lilly shot forth two Stalks at once. The One, in the Month of May, was, as usual, in Blossom. The Other, though raised by the same culture, was seen to swell, and give signs of production, during the whole Spring and Summer: at last, on the same Night, in which the Soul of Charles threw off the covering of the Body, This Stalk, on a sudden unfolding itself, and untimely and unexpectedly shooting forth, promised a Flower. This was observed by all, and The Lilly, being placed on the great Altar of the Church, was received as a propitious Omen.' I remember an Observation, which I

have read in a Work of Mrs Schurman. She relates (120), that, when du Lignon, one of the Disciples of Labadie, was endeavouring to establish his Sect at Herford, there happened three Prodiges. The first was, that the Trunk of a Tree, which had been dry four Years, shot forth on a sudden some Sprigs, four or five foot long, full of Leaves: This was in Autumn, and in a close place near the Church, which was afterwards assigned to the Labadists. The second Prodigy was, that all the Trees in the Prince's Garden bloomed during the Autumn, when she promised to protect their small Congregation. The third was, that a Swarm of Bees settled in the same Garden, and no body knew from whence they came. According to the Hypothesis of Presages, all these things promised a glorious and lasting Settlement; and yet That Sect was soon compelled to leave Herford.

[EE] He formed no Enterprize more just than The Siege of Metz, and of which the Success proved more unfortunate. Henry II, being confederated with some Princes of Germany, had been declared Protector of the Liberties of Germany (121), and boasted to act only according to that Quality (122). Nevertheless, he made himself Master of Metz, an Imperial City, and deprived it of it's Liberty, by a most egregious Cheat. The pretended Stratagem, which was made use of to subdue That little Republic, which looked upon This Monarch only as a Guardian, cannot be read without Horror. One might have said, upon that Occasion,

— Sed quis custodiet ipsos Custodes — (123)?

Charles V had therefore all the Reasons in the World to re-unite That City to the Body of the Empire, which had been divided from it in such a manner. He employed his greatest Forces in it, and miscarried shamefully (124); and at last, at the Peace of Munster, the Empire renounced That City, and left it to France. This Emperor had succeeded admirably well in some Enterprizes altogether unjust.

[FF] The Magnificence, with which The Fuggers received him — ought not to be forgotten. We shall speak below (125) of their Riches: we have here a remarkable Token of it. 'Mr Felibien (126) relates a very curious Particular concerning the Fockers, those famous German Merchants, who, to shew their Acknowledgment to Charles V, who, on his Return from Tunis, had done them the Honour to lodge with them, as he passed thro' Augsburg, one Day, among the Magnificences, with which they regaled him, caused a Faggot of Cinnamon to be laid on the Hearth, which was a Merchandize of great Price, and set fire to it with a Promissory Note they had of the Emperor's own Hand for a considerable Sum (127).

(120) Anna Maria à Schurman, in cap. 2. part 2. Eucherian.

(121) Mezerai, Chron. Abrège. Tom. 4. p. 670. ad Ann. 1552.

(122) See Sleidan, lib. 24. fol. m. 695.

(123) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 345.

(124) There were at that time a thousand Pieces dispersed in Verse and Prose, as glorious for France as injurious to the Emperor; and Slanders took occasion from thence to change the plus ultra of his Motto into plus citra. History of the Duke of Alba. lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 284.

(125) In the Article FUGGER, Remark [4].

(126) Journal des Savans, of the 8th of Jan. 1685, pag. m. 12, in the Extract of the 4th Part of the Dialogues on the Lives and Works of the Painters.

(127) See the Article ADRIAN (Emperor), Citation (22).

(116) His whole Speech is in the second Part of the *Mercur Galant*, of the Month of October, 1679. See the *Thoughts on Comets*, pag. 294.

(117) See the *Thoughts on Comets*, ibid.

(118) The Count de la Roca, History of Charles V. p. 349, 350.

(119) Famian. Strada de Bello Belg. Decad. 1, lib. 1, pag. m. 16.

(*) His Christian Name was Hercules.

CHARNACÉ (*a*) (THE BARON *de*) acquitted himself happily of several Embassies under the Reign of Lewis XIII [*A*]. He was no less a brave Soldier, than a skillful Negotiator; and, in *Holland*, he had the Character of an Ambassador, and the Employment of a Colonel, at the same time. He was killed in performing the Functions of the latter, at the Siege of *Breda*, in the Year 1637 [*B*]. It is not true, that the Loss of his Wife produced in him the fatal Effect, which is spoken of in the *Mercur Galant* [*C*].

[*A*] He acquitted himself happily of several Embassies in the Reign of Lewis XIII. He was chosen by Cardinal Richelieu; which must at first give a very advantageous Idea of the Ambassador. But He, of whom I speak, had no need of such a Prepossession. The Negotiations he carried on with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, which produced the Treaty of *Berswald*, the Twenty third of January 1631, and so good an Effect in Germany, are very convincing Proofs of it, tho' there should be no other. It was he, who induced the Swedes to pass into the Empire, and who laid the first Foundations of the Alliance, which has been so useful and so glorious to the two Crowns, and which is yet so to That of Sweden. He continued to negotiate with the same King, and with the Chancellor Oxenstern, till after the Battle of *Lutzen*, which made him retire into France. He had also negotiated with the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munich*; but with little Success, because of the ill Humour of *Sainte Etienne* (1), a Relation of Father *Jeseph's*; who, being jealous at seeing a more able Man than himself at That Court, thwarted all his Negotiations, to the great Prejudice of the King their Master. It was Charnacé who signed the Treaty of the *Hague*, the Twenty fifth of April 1634, after which it was judged proper to make That of the eighth of January, of the Year following, in which he had a Hand, as one of the King's Commissioners. By the Treaty of 1634, the King promised to raise and maintain a Regiment of Foot, and a Troop of Horse, for the Service of the States, the Command whereof was given to Charnacé, who, joining the Profession of a Colonel with the Function of an Ambassador, resolved to be at the Siege of *Breda*, where he was killed in the Trenches (2). We see not the Occasion of This Embassy into *Holland*, in these Words of *Wicquefort*; and therefore another Book must supply us with it. Read the Life of Cardinal de Richelieu, and you will find there, that Charnacé went into *Holland*, to hinder the States from listening to the Proposals of a Truce, which the *Spaniards* made to them. He managed the Inclinations of the Directors and Deputies of the States so dexterously, and represented the Artifices and ill Designs of the *Spaniards* so well — that they resolved at last — as much through Necessity, as Reason, to prefer the Continuation of the War before the Truce. To which the Order contributed not a little, which was given to Charnacé, not only to solicit the Prince of *Orange*, who was known to be inclined to the Continuation of the

War out of Interest, but also to offer the States a Succour of Ten or Twelve thousand Swedes, a warlike Nation, and confederated with France, which had made a good use of them for three Years, or thereabouts, when Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, made a Descent into Germany, and filled That great Empire with Terror (3).

[*B*] He was killed in performing the Functions of a Colonel, at the Siege of *Breda*. We have seen, in the foregoing Remark, what Mr de *Wicquefort* said of him; let us add to it these Words of another Author (4). Mr de Charnacé did his Endeavours to persuade the Prince of *Orange* to besiege another Place, which was of more importance to the common Good of the Allies, than That. Wherein This Ambassador was more concerned than he thought, since That Siege was fatal to him, having been killed at it with a Musket-shot in the Head, which he received in the Attack of a Horn-work. He was much lamented at Court for his good Qualities, and the great Services he did to the State, and also because he was related to the Marshal de *Brezé*, by his Wife *Jean de Brezé*. His Heart was carried into France, and is buried in the Church of the *Carmelites* at *Angers*, with an Epitaph, wherein he is said to have died the first of September.

[*C*] It is not true, that the Loss of his Wife produced in him the fatal Effect, spoken of in the *Mercur Galant*. The Abbot *Deslandes*, Great Archdeacon and Canon of *Treguier*, caused a Letter to be inserted in the *Mercur Galant* (5), wherein he says, that Charnacé, being in Germany with Gustavus, was so touched with the News he heard of the Death of his Wife, of the Family of *Brezé*, that he lost his Speech for ever after. Every body sees that this is a meer Story: Gustavus was killed at the Battle of *Lutzen*, in the Year 1632, and, in the Year 1634, Charnacé was displaying his Rhetoric in *Holland*, to hinder the Dutch from concluding a Truce with the *Spaniards*. Was That the Business of a dumb Man? This false Story cannot be rectified, by altering the Time and Place, where Charnacé heard of the Death of his Wife; for we have seen, that he endeavoured to persuade the Dutch not to besiege *Breda*, but another Place, whose Loss would be more pernicious to Spain. His Counsels proved ineffectual; *Breda* was besieged, and he lost his Life there. Where shall we then find the Time, when he lost his Speech? We shall see in another Place (6), that the Abbot *Deslandes* has related a Story concerning *Fernel*, which is no less apocryphal than this.

(3) Aubert's History of Cardinal Richelieu, Book 4, chap. 42, pag. m. 390, 391.

(4) Aubert, *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 52. pag. 596, 597.

(5) In the Month of November, 1693.

(6) In Remark [G], of the Article *FERNEL*.

(1) *Wicquefort*, pag. 780, of the first Tome of his *Traité de l'Ambassadeur*, says this: Charnacé and *Sainte Etienne*, being at the Court of *Bavaria*, on the part of France in the Year 1632, came to such great Extremities, that they would fight a Duel; so that their Division rendered them useless at the Elector's Court.

(2) *Wicquefort*, *Traité de l'Ambassadeur*, Tom. II, pag. 442.

(*) *Thuanus*, lib. 53, pag. m. 1092, col. 2.

(b) *Id.* *ibid.*

(1) Called Father *Denis* de *Sainte Marthe*.

(2) *Thuanus* Hist. Book 53, pag. m. 1092, 1093. ad Ann. 1572. Mr *Jurieu* has quoted that Passage in his Book intitled, *The Religion of the Jesuits*, printed at the *Hague* 1689, pag. 329, & seq.

CHARPENTIER (PETER) in Latin *Carpentarius*, a Native of *Toulouse* (*a*), in the XVIth Century, made Profession of the Reformed Religion; but he published a Piece, which made him be considered as a furious Enemy of the Reformed [*A*]. He taught the Civil-Law for some time at *Geneva* (*b*), and left that Town much discontented, and without taking leave of his Creditors. This appears by a Letter, which

[*A*] He published a Piece, which made him be considered as a furious Enemy of the Reformed. This Piece was almost lost; but a *Benedictine* Monk (1), having inserted it in his *Dialogues concerning the Prince of Orange's Enterprize upon England*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1689, it has been much spoken of since. Mr *Jurieu*, to discredit this Piece, thought himself obliged to publish what *Thuanus* said of it; and, because it was looked upon as a very proper thing, I shall set down the Narrative (2) of That Historian. One Peter Charpentier, a Native of *Toulouse*, who had publicly taught the Civil-Law at *Geneva*, being very familiarly acquainted with *Bellicore*, fled to his House, with some other Persons of less Note, during the Massacre; for it would have been too dangerous for a Courtier to

give Retreat to Persons of Note upon such an Occasion. To comply with the Times, and thro' an Effect of his Humour, which made him defend the Party, with which his Interest obliged him to side, he began to inveigh most bitterly, not against the Authors of the Massacre, nor against the horrible Slaughter they had made, but against what he called the Cause, that is to say, against the Faction of the Protestants, for which he expressed a great Horror, and which, he said, God had justly punished for all their Irregularities, because they had made use of Religion, as a Pretence to cover their Spirit of Sedition, and Revolt; and because those pretended devout Men had taken up Arms against their Countrymen, instead of making use of Tears, Prayers, and Fasts,

which *Beza* wrote to him, the First of April, 1570 (c). The same Letter testifies, that he had a Wife and Children. He published some other Books [B]; he was yet living in the Year 1584, and the King's Advocate in the Great Council (d). *Rivet*, who was so well versed in all kind of Authors, had but little Knowledge of this [C].

(c) It is the 52d Letter of *Beza*.

(d) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Franc. pag. 389.

'Faits, for their Weapons: that they had seized divers Cities of the Kingdom: that they had put a great number of People to death, and carried their Insolence so far, as to make open War against their Sovereign. He said, that their Assemblies, where formerly they only prayed to God, were become Conventicles, and seditious Conferences, wherein they neither spoke of Piety, nor of the Mysteries of Religion, nor of the Correction of Manners, but of heaping up Money, of assembling of Troops privately in the Provinces, and of holding Correspondence with foreign Princes. He added, that they entertained seditious Persons in all the Cities of the Kingdom, to endeavour to disturb the Peace, which the King had granted to the Protestants, by his Goodness, and that nothing but the Sword of God, which Princes bear, could repress their Audaciousness; that he acknowledges, that it was God, who had inspired the Design of repressing it by the most severe ways, which a King, naturally very mild, was obliged to make use of. At first *Charpentier* was contented to speak thus in the private and familiar Conversations, which he had with *Bellevue*; but, because afterwards he said the same Things in public, he was judged to be a very fit Man for the Design the King and Queen had to justify the Massacre as well as they could. He accepted That Commission very willingly, and, having received a Sum of Money, which was given him, and great Promises that were made him to raise him to great Offices, which Promises were afterwards religiously kept, how unworthy soever he was of them, he departed from *Paris* with *Bellevue*, whom he left in *Switzerland*, and went to *Strasbourg*, where he had also formerly taught, that he might the better spread the Reports he was to disseminate in *Germany*. Being come thither, he wrote a Letter to *Francis Portes* (3), a *Candiote*, who was very learned in the Greek Language, and who had formerly been educated in *Italy*, in the House of *Renata*, Princess of *Ferrara*. In that Letter, which was dated the fifteenth of September, he said, that there were two Parties among the Protestants; one that was peaceable, and acted honestly out of a Principle of Religion, and who followed those Maxims they professed; the other consisted of those, who supported the Cause, a factious People, and Enemies of Peace: That Those two Parties had their Pastors; that the first had for them *d'Espina*, *Sorel* (in *Charpentier's* Letter, published by *Sainte Marthe*, is *des Roisiers* (4) instead of *Sorel*), *Albrac*, *Capel*, *la Hoya*, and *Mercur*; but that the other Ministers could not suffer the Moderation of these, and chiefly *Beza*, whom he calls the Trumpet of *Seba*, [§ (a)], and against whom he chiefly exclaims in his Book. He not only excuses the Massacre, but proves at length, and with much cunning, that it was lawful and necessary, in order to suppress an impious Faction, who made it their Business to overthrow the Royal Authority, to dissuade the Cities of the Kingdom from the Obedience due to their Sovereign, to disturb the public Tranquillity, and which seemed to have been formed for the very Ruin of the Protestant Religion, by turbulent Persons, and Enemies to their Country. An Answer was published to this Letter, under the Name of *Portes*, dated the first of March of the following Year, which was full of very sharp Expressions. *Tuannus* adds, that the Duke of *Anjou* earnestly solicited *Francis Baudouin*, a Civilian, who, having formerly embraced the Protestant Religion in *Germany*, suffered himself to be gained by the moderate Advices of *Cassander*, and returned to the Catholic Religion, and who taught then at *Angers*, to set about the same Design as *Charpentier*, (that is to say, to justify the Massacre) but that this Civilian excused himself modestly upon the Account of the Contest he had had with the *Genevois*, who, as he said, would discredit what he should say on that Subject; but

that, in truth, he would not justify the Massacre, because he detested it, and, having read *Charpentier's* Letter, he observed in it great Faults of Memory, and great Mistakes in what he alleged out of ancient History. The *Benedictine* Monk published the Continuation of his Discourses, wherein he eludes this Testimony of *Tuannus* as much as he can (5). You will find the Substance of the same Letter of *Charpentier* in the third Volume (6) of *Mezerai's* Great History. That Historian pretends, that This Letter served for a Reply to *Wolfgangus Prischtrachius* [(6 §) a *Polander*, who had answered very sharply *Bellevue's* Speech (7). *D'Aubigné* (8) will have it, on the contrary, that *Wolfgang Prischtrach*, and *Portus* of *Crete*, whom *Charpentier* took to witness (9), wrote against *Bellevue* and *Charpentier*. He expresses himself ill; for he ought to have said, that *Portus* wrote against the latter, and *Prischtrach* against the former. It does not appear, that *Charpentier* had in view *Prischtrach's* Work. So that I believe *Mezerai* is mistaken. This Letter of *Charpentier* to *Portus* serves a *Roman Catholic* (10) by way of Epitome, for his Preface to a Book of Controversy, published in the Year 1585 (11). He inserts it almost entire, and advertises his Readers of it in another Book (12). I must add, that it is found in the first Tome of the Memoirs of the State of *France* under *Charles IX* (13), together with a *French* Translation of a *Latin* Answer, which *Francis Portus* made to him. This Answer contains many Particulars of the Life of *Charpentier*, little honourable, not to say shameful to him. [(a §) An ALLUSION of *Seba*, the Anagram of *Beza*, to *Seba*, the Name of That seditious Person, of whom it is said, in the second Book of *Samuel* *, that he founded a Trumpet, to raise the People against *David*. For the rest, the Letter of *Charpentier* is dated the fifteenth of September 1572: the Answer of *Francis Portus*, and the Extract of the Remarks of *Francis Baudouin* on the Letter of *Charpentier*, are found in the Memoirs of the State of *France* under *Charles IX* †. REM. CRIT.] [(6 §). We read it *Prischtrach*, in the Memoirs of the State of *France* ‡. REM. CRIT.] [B] He published some other Books.] According to *la Croix du Maine* * he has wrote several Books both in *Latin* and *French*, which have been most of them printed: but I do not know, whether he would own all those, that came out under his Name; for several Pieces have been ascribed to him, of which he was not the Author — I have seen a *Latin* Treatise of his concerning the bearing of Arms; but I cannot tell whether the *French* Translation was made by him. It is printed at *Paris* in both Languages (14). The Title of That Work of *Charpentier* is, *Pium & Christianum de armis consilium*, and was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1575. I have spoken elsewhere (15) of an Answer, which was made to it. [C] *Rivet* had but little Knowledge of *Charpentier*.] The *Romish* Controversists reproach the Protestants continually with the Civil-Wars of *France*, as if it was a thing approved of by the Ministers. They make use sometimes of *Charpentier's* Testimony (16). The Jesuit *Petra Sancta* had the Confidence to set forth, in a Piece, which he published against *du Moulin*, that Measures were taken at *Geneva* to destroy *Francis II*, *Catherine de Medicis*, his Mother, *Mary Stuart*, his Wife, his Brothers, &c. all at one time (17). He cites *Sarius lib. 4. ad. ann. 1561*. *Petrus Carpentarius*, *Genebrardus* in *Chronol. Rivetus*, refuting the Book of That Jesuit, says, among other Things, that Those three Witnesses were not to be credited; that *Sarius* was convicted of Calumny by *Baronius*, for having defamed *Victorinus*, Bishop of *Poitiers* (18); and that *Charpentier* and *Genebrard*, two obstinate Leaguers, incurred the King's Hatred. *Carpentarius & Genebrardus* qui inter regis perduelles vixerunt, & justam ejus indignationem incurrerunt, inter eos qui ultimi steterunt in adver-

(5) See the Journal des Savants, Nov. 12, 1601, pag. 651, Edit. of Holl.

(6) At pag. 264.

(7) Made before the Assembly of the Swiss Cantons, at *Baden*, to justify the *Paris* Massacre.

(8) *D'Aubigné*, Hist. Univers. Tom. II. Book 1. chap. 7. pag. 565, ad Ann. 1572.

(9) He ought to have said, that *Charpentier* addressed That Letter to him.

(10) *Cornelius Schultingius*.

(11) See the Preface of the 4th Tome of his *Conjessio Hieronymiana*.

(12) See pag. 266 of the 4th Tome of his *Biblioth. Catholica*.

(13) Pag. m. 600, &c. * Chap. 20.

† From fol. 322 of Tom. I. 368, of Edit. 1579.

‡ Tom. II. fol. 20. verso, where this Piece is inserted.

(14) *La Croix du Maine*, pag. 389.

(15) At the end of this Dictionary, in the Dissertation on *Junius Brutus*, n. 18.

(16) See *Berleus*, Apolog. Protestantium pro Romana Ecclesia, pag. 642.

(17) *Sylvester Petrasanta* nota in Epistolam Petri Molinai ad Balzicum, pag. 102.

(18) *Bran. Tom. III. Ann. 324. n. 226. apud Rivet. Oper. Tom. III, pag. 558.*

(3) It should be *Portus*. Mr *Jurieu*, at the 81st Page, was much mistaken, having spoken of a Letter of one *Charpentier*, directed to *Candiote*, against the Protestants.

(4) My Article *ROSIER* will inform you, that *Sainte Marthe* and *Tuannus* say the same thing; and therefore, that this Parenthesis is useless, or that it ought to contain something else.

(19) Rivetus, in
Jesuita vulpante
cap. 11, n. 12.
pag. 538. Tom.
III. Oper.

'*sis partibus, an digni sunt quorum testimonio contra tales habeatur fides (19)?*' If Rivetus had known, that they alleged against him the same Peter Charpentier, who had written an Apology for the Paris Massacre, and whom Thuanus had, as it were, branded with a red hot Iron, would he have been silent about such Things? I fancy he found

himself at a loss, by reason of the loose Quotation of That Author, and, not daring to take him for That Advocate, who was broken on the Wheel, for his Intelligences with Spain, about the Year 1596 (20), and who was the Son of Jacobus Carpentarius, a great Adversary of Ramus, he explained himself weakly.

(20) See the
Great History of
Mazarin, Tom.
III. pag. 1189.

(a) I set down
the very Words
of the Elogy,
which I shall cite
hereafter, Cita-
tion (1).

(b) His Name
was John Michel;
he died Prior-
General of the
Great Charter-
house in Dau-
phin.

(c) See the Re-
mark [A].

(d) It was held
at Paris.

(1) Peter Char-
ron's Elogy, by
G. M. D. R.
(that is to say,
George Michael
de Rochemaillet)
prefixed to the
Books of Wisdom,
Paris Edit.
1607.

CHARRON (PETER) Author of a Book which made a great Noise, intitled, *Of Wisdom*, was born at Paris in the Year 1541, where he made a great Progress in Classical Learning, and went thro' a Course of Philosophy. He studied afterwards the Civil and Canon Law at Orleans and Bourges, and took his Doctor's Degree in That Faculty, in the last of Those Two Universities. Then he returned to Paris, and, having been admitted Advocate in the Parliament, he frequented the Bar five or six Years with great Assiduity; but, foreseeing, that it would be difficult to raise himself that way, because he found himself incapable of stooping to make his court to Attornies and Solicitors, he applied himself in earnest to the Study of Divinity, and became so great a Preacher, that several Bishops strove to have him in their Dioceses. Arnaud de Pontac, Bishop of Bazas, having heard him preach in St Paul's Church in the Year 1571, conceived a great Affection for him, and carried him with him to Xaintes, and to Bourdeaux, and into his Bishopric, and some other Places of Gascogne and Languedoc (a). Charron acquired such a Reputation by his Eloquence, that every body was desirous to have him, and the Bishops of several Dioceses, where he had preached, offered him the Theological Canonships of their Churches, and other Dignities and Benefices, and made him several - - - - - Presents. He was successively Theologal of Bazas, Acqs, Lethoure, Agen, Cahors, and Condom, Canon and Schoolmaster in the Church of Bourdeaux, and Chanter in the Church of Condom. Queen Margaret made him her Preacher in Ordinary - - - - - He was also in the Retinue of Cardinal d'Armagnac, Legate of Avignon. He did not affect to take the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, nor That of Licentiate, or Doctor, or Professor, in That Science, but was contented with the Character of Priesthood. He was 17 or 18 Years absent from Paris; and, being returned thither in the Year 1588, he had a desire to end his Days there among the Carthusians. He had made a Vow to embrace their Order, and he opened his Mind about it to the Prior of the Charter-house (b). They had some Reasons to refuse him [A]: He addressed himself to the Prior of the Celestins, and found the same Obstacles; after which some Casuists declared him free from his Vow (c). Whereupon he resolved to end his Days under the Character of a Secular Priest. He preached the Lent-Sermons, at Angers in the Year 1589, and afterwards went to Bourdeaux, where he contracted a very strict Friendship with Michel de Montagne [B]. He published there his Book of the Three Truths in the Year 1594 [C], for which he had the Dignity of Great Vicar of the Bishop of Cahors bestowed upon him, together with a Theologal Canonship. He was deputed to the General Assembly of the Clergy in the Year 1595 (d); and That Assembly made him their First Secretary. Being returned to Cahors, he staid there till the Year 1600, where, among other Works, he composed the

[A] They had some Reasons to refuse admitting him a Carthusian. Least it should be thought, that Those Reasons were grounded on some Irregularity of Peter Charron, or that he renounced his Vow too rashly, I must comment the Text of this Remark with these Words: 'He made his Application to the Prior of the Charter-house of Paris. - - But could not be admitted into it, how earnestly soever he desired it, only because he was too far advanced in Years, being at that time Forty seven or Forty eight Years of Age; and their Excuse was, That one must be used, from his Youth, to bear the Austerity of That Religious Order. Being refused there, he addressed himself to the Provincial of the Celestins of That City, to be likewise received into their Order, and met with the same Obstacles. So that, having done all that lay in his Power to perform his Vow, he was assured by Messieurs Faber, Dean of the Sorbonne, Tyrius, a Scotish Jesuit, and Feuardent, a Franciscan, all very learned Divines, that, in Conscience, he was free from such a Vow, and might freely continue as a Secular in the World, and that he was not obliged to enter into any other Religious Order (1).'

[B] He contracted a very strict Friendship with Michel de Montagne. Charron had a wonderful Esteem for That Author's Essays, and adopted several of his Maxims. It may be said, without Rashness, That he, of these two Friends, who should have instructed the other, was his Scholar, and that

the Divine learned more from the Gentleman, than the Gentleman from the Divine. There are a great many Thoughts in the Books of Wisdom, which had appeared in Montagne's Essays. No doubt but This Docility of Charron contributed much to the intimate Affection, which Montagne had for him, and that it was the reason, why he permitted him, by his last Will, to bear the full Arms of his Noble Family, because he left no Male Issue behind him (2). Charron shewed a very solid Gratitude by his Will; for he left Five hundred Crowns to the Lady Leonora de Montagne, the Wife of the Sieur Camien, Counsellor in the Parliament of Bordeaux, the good Sister of the late Sieur de Montagne, Knight of the King's Order, and his Gossip. And he made the said Sieur de Camien his sole and universal Heir, provided he should pay the Legacies contained in his Will, amounting to near the Sum of Fifteen thousand Livres (3).

[C] He published, at Bourdeaux, his Book of the Three Truths in the Year 1594. He did not put his Name to it. See here what these Three Truths are: I. That there is a God, and a True Religion. II. That, of all Religions, the Christian is the only True One. III. That, of all the Christian Communions, the Roman Catholic is the only True Church. By the first he opposes the Atheists; by the second the Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans; and by the third, the Heretics and Schismatics. This Work is very methodical. In the last Part, he attacks the Treatise of the Church, which Mr du Pleffis

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

Three Books of *Wisdom*. He caused his *Christian Discourses* to be printed at *Bordeaux* in the Year 1600 [D]. He had left *Cabors*: He was already settled at *Condom*, where he had accepted the Theological Canonship, and the Dignity of Chanter, which the Bishop had offered him. He published his Treatise of *Wisdom* at *Bordeaux*, in the Year 1601. Two Years after, he took a Journey to *Paris*, to thank a Bishop, who had offered him the Theological Canonship of his Church [E], and to publish a new Edition of That Treatise. He did not live long enough to see above three or four Sheets re-printed: He died suddenly in the Street, the sixteenth of *November* 1603. The Impression of that Work was finished, notwithstanding the many Obstacles, which were to be surmounted (e) [F]; for the Author having said many Things according to the Light of Philosophy, he could not write against popular and superstitious Opinions, without advancing some Maxims, which seemed to contradict the Doctrines of Religion. For which reason, many Persons exclaimed against this Book, and cried it down as an impious Work. But some Persons of great Understanding opposed This Persecution, knowing how to distinguish Things. It fell out very luckily for *Charron's* Memory, and for his Book, that some Statesmen, as Illustrious by the Force of their Genius, as by their Authority, concerned themselves with this Affair: Had it not been for that, he would have been ignominiously branded, and his Book had been entirely suppressed.

(e) Taken from the Elogy of Peter Charron, before the Book of *Wisdom*.

Plessis Moray had published sixteen Years before. A Writer of the Protestant Religion published soon after, at *Rebel*, an Answer (4), in vindication of That Treatise of *du Plessis*. The Work of the *Three Truths* was applauded by the Catholics; it was printed two or three times at *Paris* from the *Bordeaux* Edition; and afterwards it was published in *Flanders*, under the Name of *Benedict Vaillant*, Advocate of *Sainte Foy* (5). The Publication of This Work brought *Charron* acquainted with Messire *Antony d'Ebrard de St Sulpice*, Bishop and Count of *Cabors*, who, without having seen the said Sieur *Charron*, from the sole Relish of his Book, sent for him, made him his Vicar-General, and gave him the Theological Canonship of his Church: which he accepted; and, being there, he caused his Book to be printed, the second time, at *Bordeaux*, in the Year 1595, putting his Name to it, and added to it a Reply to the Answer, which has been printed at *Rebel* against his Third Truth (6). *Francis du Jon*, or *Junius*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, wrote an Answer (7) to This second Edition of the *Three Truths*, and published it in *French*, in the Year 1599: he inserted therein the Work of his Adversary intire. Note, That *Charron* had revised, and very much enlarged, This Work, since the Edition of the Year 1595, and that he had made another Reply to the second Answer made to the Third Truth (8). All this, being ready for the Press, was found in his Study, after his Death. The Universal Heir gave hopes that this Manuscript should be published, and dedicated to the Cardinal of *Joyeuse* (9).

[D] He caused his *Christian Discourses* to be printed in the Year 1600.] They are sixteen in number: The eight first treat of the Eucharist; the rest concern the Knowledge and Providence of God, the Redemption of the World, and the Communion of Saints (10).

[E] He took a Journey to *Paris*, to thank a Bishop, who had offered him the Theological Canonship in his Church.] *Claudius Dormy*, Bishop of *Boulogne*, and Prior of *St Martin's* in the Fields at *Paris*, was the Person he was to thank: He had received very obliging Letters from him, which shewed, that his Books pleased That Prelate, and that he would take it kindly, if he would accept of the Theological Canonship of his Cathedral (11). Note, That the Approbation of That Bishop concerned the three Books of *Wisdom*, as well as the sixteen *Discourses*. He did not accept these Offers, and he told one of his intimate Friends, That he would willingly enough have accepted That Canonship for some Years; but that a cold Climate, near the Sea, was not only unpleasant and melancholy, but also unwholesome; and that he loved the Sun, that the Sun was his sensible God, as God was his insensible Sun, and that therefore he feared he could not live healthfully and pleasantly at *Boulogne* (12). He is not the only Man of Letters, to whom cold and moist Climates are inconvenient, and to whom the Sun is a sensible God.

VOL. II. No. XLV.

[F] The Books of *Wisdom* were printed, notwithstanding the many Obstacles which were to be surmounted.] Let us set down the Narrative, which is found in his Elogy. He had affectionately recommended This Work, and the *Christian Discourses*, to one of his most intimate Friends, an Advocate of the Parliament (13). This Friend took so much care of them, that they were published, notwithstanding the Opposition of some malicious or superstitious Men, who had mean and weak Souls, and were perquam similes *Noctui quorum oculi tantum splendorem ferre non poterant, & ad ipsius Solis lumen caligabant*, not being able to bear the Brightness of That rare, sublime, and divine Wit. For they undertook to prevent the Impression of his Books of *Wisdom*, and, for that end, they had recourse to the Authority of the Rector of the University, and of some Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and even of the King's Council, both in the Parliament, and in the *Chatelet*; besides, they caused *Simon Millanges*, a Printer of *Bordeaux*, to interpose in it, for his particular Interest. Complaints were made about it at the *Chatelet*, in the Court of the Green-Cloth, in the Court of Parliament, and in the Privy-Council; and they came also to the King's Ear: The Sheets, which were already printed, and the Author's Copy, were seized three times. But, as This faithful Friend had two or three Copies of That Work, and desired to make it appear by good Proofs, that the Love he had for the deceased Sieur *Charron* did not end with his Death, he got, at last, with much ado, all the Books printed; and, before they could be sold, there was a Suit in Law about it. Finally, The Chancellor, and the King's Attorney-General, shewed them to two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, who wrote down what they had to say against Those Books, which speak only of human Wisdom, treated Morally and Philosophically. And all was put into the Hands of the President *Jeannin*, Counsellor of State, one of the most judicious and experienced Men of That Time; who, having seen and examined them, plainly said, that Those Books were not written for common Readers; that none but solid and sublime Wits could make a Judgment of them; and that they were truly Books of State; and, having made his Report to the Privy-Council, the Sale of them was permitted to the Bookfeller, who had printed them, and he had a full Replevy of all the Seizures, which had been made; after it had been remonstrated and proved, that Those Books had been corrected and enlarged by the Author, since the first Impression made at *Bordeaux*, in the Year 1601, and that by those Additions and Corrections, he had cleared, and confirmed, and in some Places softened, his *Discourses*, without making any Alteration in the Sense: Which he had done, to stop the Mouths of malicious People, and to satisfy the Ignorant; that he had shewed them to some of his best Friends, clear-sighted Persons, and no ways pe-

(13) Called George Michael de Rochemaillet.

(4) Which was reprinted at Geneva, by Gabriel Cartier, in the Year 1595, in 8vo.

(5) Charron's Elogy.

(6) Ibid.

(7) It is a large Quarto.

(8) Charron's Elogy.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Ibid.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid.

suppressed. Indeed, he always wished to have Persons of that Character for his Judges [G]; for he did not expect the same Equity from those, whose Profession engages them to be passionate, and who have contracted a Habit of condemning, with Precipitation, whatever does not agree with their prejudicated Opinions. Some believe, that it is a glorious thing for France to have permitted the Publication of this Book, notwithstanding the Oppositions and Murmurs of many People. This made it appear, that wise Men did not approve, that a tyrannical Yoke should be put upon the Mind, and that they approved the Liberty of Philosophising, when it is confined within due Bounds. The most violent Declaimer, that appeared against the Book of *Wisdom*, was *Garasse*, a Jesuit. He has placed *Charron* in the Catalogue of the most dangerous and wicked Atheists [H]. He was too narrow spirited (f), to know, that a great difference is to be made between what a Man believes by the Efficacy of Faith, and what he ingenuously owns that Reason suggests to him about the Doctrines of Religion. One of the things, which this Jesuit most haughtily and maliciously censured, is at the bottom very reasonable; and, if it be read with Attention, it will appear so, and the Reader will be full of Indignation against the Ignorance or Dishonesty of That Caviller. It relates to a certain degree of Strength, which *Peter Charron* attributed to those, who fully shake off the Belief of a Deity [I]. His Censurers did not regard

(f) My Friend Garasse, que supra nos nihil ad nos; Charron's Books are a little too much above the reach of such mean and popular Souls as yours. Ogier Jugement & Censure de la Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 155.

dantic, who were well edified and pleased with them; and that, above all, he submitted himself and his Books to the Censure and Judgment of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.

You may easily perceive, by this Narrative, that the Edition of Paris, 1604, is not the same in all respects with the Edition of Bourdeaux 1601. The latter contained some things, which were suppressed, or softened, and rectified in the former; which was the Reason why the Bourdeaux Edition was more esteemed by the Curious; and therefore the Booksellers caused the Book to be re-printed in several Places, according to That Edition (14); which made a Bookseller of Paris publish an Edition, wherein he added, at the end of the Book, all the Passages of the first, which had been castrated, or corrected, and all those, which the President Jeannin, appointed by the Chancellor for the Censure and Examination of That Book, had judged ought to be altered (15). This Edition, which is of Paris 1607, has been followed in the re-printing of This Work, at Rouen, 1622, and elsewhere: It is, doubtless, to be preferred before the first; for the Book appears there such as it had been corrected and enlarged by the Author for a second Edition, and, besides, we find in it, apart, what was peculiar to That of Bourdeaux. By this means all the Proceedings became needless.

[G] He always wished to have Persons of great Genius for his Judges.] 'He was sensible, in his Life-time, that his Book of *Wisdom* would not be acceptable to weak and superstitious People, and that it would be censured by presumptuous, proud, positive, and opinionated Men, who fancy they know every thing, and that they are the wisest Men in the World; whereas, for the most part, they are most impertinent and ignorant, and some of them are infected with an almost incurable Distemper.' For which reason he drew up a small Treatise of *Wisdom*, a few Months before his Death, containing a Summary of his Book, together with an Apology, and an Answer to the Complaints and Objections, which were made against him; which was printed by itself in the Year 1606, with some Christian Discourses, by David le Clerc; and he desired it should be dedicated to Monsieur de Harlay, First President of the Parliament of Paris, knowing very well, that none were able to judge impartially of his Book, but such Men as That Lord, that is, such as have a bold, generous, sublime, and no ways superstitious or mean Soul; which was done according to his Desire and Intention (16).

[H] Garasse placed Charron in the Catalogue of the most dangerous and wicked Atheists.] Never was such a furious Writer seen: It would fill a Book, to copy all the abusive Language he gave Charron, in his *Somme Theologique*, and in his *Doctrines Curieuses*, &c. Let us be contented with this Passage: 'I have defined, says he (17), the brutish, drowsy, or melancholy Atheism, to be a certain fantastical Humour, which has introduced Diogenism into the Christian Religion; by which Humour a Man,

besotted with his languishing and lazy Melancholy, laughs at every thing, through a dull, ridiculous, and pedantic Gravity. They, who have read the *Wisdom* and the *Three Truths*, will understand very well what I mean by these words; for here is That Writer's Humour naturally represented — In our time the Devil, who is the Author of Atheism, and the Ape of the Works of God, has raised two profane Men, Christians in appearance, and Atheists in reality, to imitate Solomon in writing *A WISDOM*, the one a Milanese (18), who wrote in Latin, the other a Parisian, who wrote in his Mother Tongue, both equally pernicious, and great Enemies of Jesus Christ, and of good Manners, as we shall see in the Relation and Examination of their wicked Propositions. In a word, These two Prevaricators have endeavoured to shew, that true Wisdom consists in despising Religion and good Manners. — Tertullian has a good Saying, in the Fourteenth Chapter of his Apology, which may here be my Authority: Speaking of Marcus Varro, who was accounted the *Wisdom* of Rome, he shews, that, in his Writings, which, by good Fortune and by God's Favour, are lost, he was more an Atheist and Cynic, than Menippus and Diogenes, so far as he had published several Atheistical Notions with a kind of Modesty and Probability; whereas others, having written some impious things, have made them suspected by their way of writing. I say the same of those melancholy and languishing Writers, who under the Title of Wisdom, Truths, and Catholic Discourses, have stifled all sense of Religion.' The Abbot de St Cyran would not suffer this violent Critic to blast Charron's Reputation; he took his part, when he censured the Faults of Garasse's *Somme Theologique* (19). I remember, among other things, that he complains of This Censurer's Injustice, who, taking advantage of an Error of the Press, had carried on his Invektives in a strange manner. The Series of Charron's Discourse shews, that he meant, that God acts temporally; but the Printers, instead of putting *temporellement*, put *temerairement*. See what I shall cite below out of the Prior Ogier.

[I] — This relates to a certain degree of Force, which Peter Charron ascribes to those, who entirely shake off the belief of a Deity.] To judge well of his Doctrine on this point, all his words must be weighed, and nothing must be left out that he says. Here is the whole Passage: 'This first, habitual, and universal kind of Atheism (20), cannot lodge but in a very strong and bold Soul;

illi robur & æs triplex
Circa pectus erat †.

Sure he — — —
In barden'd Oak his Heart did bide,
And Ribs of Iron arm'd his Side.

DRYDEN.

(18) That is to say, Cardan.

(19) See the 2d Volume of the Book intitled, *Somma des fautes & fautesz capitales* contenues en la *Somme Theologique* du Pere Garasse, p. 346, & seq.

(20) That is to say, of those who absolutely deny the Deity, and pretend to prove that there is no God.

† Horat. lib. 7. Od. 3. ver. 9.

(14) See the Advertisements to the Readers, in the Edition of Paris, 1607.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Elogy of Peter Charron.

(17) Garasse, *Somme Theologique*, pag. 66, 67. In his Apology against the Prior Ogier, pag. 251, 262, he says Charron is more dangerous to Youth, and to others, who have but little Learning, than the Books of Theophile, and Lucilio Vanini, for as much as he has published more impious things than they, and with some Modesty; that is to say, he is so much the more dangerous, because he stands on his Guard, and because his *Wisdom* is read as a pious Book.

regard the Advices he had given, which were sufficient to prevent their rash Judgments

It must be furious and maniac. Surely there must be as much (and perhaps more) strength and stiffness of Soul, to reject and resolutely lay aside the Belief of a God, as constantly to adhere to him, which are the two opposite Extreams, and very rare and difficult: but the first more. A Medium between them proceeds from an ordinary Strength and Virtue, and consists in not being able to cast God off, and yet faintly and remissly adhering to him: which is the case of most Men, more or less, in an infinite number of degrees. — To adhere resolutely and inviolably to God, requires very great strength and application of the Soul, which must be always intent and attentive; a special divine Favour and Grace, and a continual Assistance of the Holy Ghost. On the contrary, to get loose from, and cast off the Sense and Fear of a Deity, a thing interwoven in our Nature, requires a monstrous and furious Strength of the Soul, and such as is hardly to be found; although those great and notorious Atheists, who, thro' an extreme and furious Insolence, had a mind to withdraw their Allegiance to the Deity, and to shake off a superiour Being, did what they could to acquire it. But the most ingenious of those, who have attempted it, could never compass their Design: For although, being undisturbed, and at liberty to speak their mind, they seemed to have gained this point, by laughing at the Notion of a God and Religion; yet, when they were followed close, they Child-like yielded. Whenever an unexpected and remarkable Prodigy and Token of God's Wrath happened, they were more frightened, and looked paler than others, hiding themselves at a Clap of Thunder, or at the Noise of a Storm. Thus, unwilling to acknowledge a God, lest they should stand in fear of him, the fear of the least thing forced them to acknowledge him (21).

Now let us see the words of the Censurer (22). 'He lays down for a Maxim, That the first kind of Atheism cannot be harboured but by a very strong and bold Soul, and that it requires more Strength and Stiffness of Soul to reject and lay aside the Belief of a God than constantly to adhere to him. And though he endeavours to mollify this Proposition by a deceitful Expression, I maintain that it is wicked and dangerous, because it encourages many young People of a loose Life, whose Minds are floating, and who are not yet come to that pitch of Madnels, as wholly to cast off the Belief and Fear of a Deity. For every one being naturally desirous to be thought a Man of great Parts, and of a sound and strong Judgment; if any young, heedless, and wavering Persons happen to read this Proposition, as it happens but too often, they become downright Atheists. All Charron's Discourse inclines the Mind of his Readers to That furious Rage of shaking off the Belief of a God, which is nevertheless base Cowardice, as it appears by all Atheists, who die either mad or Cowards: We have some Instances of it in Fontanier and Vanini, who, after having uttered insolent Bravadoes against the Deity, were not tired with making feigned and sacrilegious Confessions, whilst in Prison, in order to appear good Men.' Note, that Garasse, in his *Somme Theologique*, which came out after the Apology, which I have just now quoted, bestows a whole Section (23) upon the Confutation of This Opinion of Charron. He alleges the Example of some Fathers of the Church, who shewed an unshaken Courage: He maintains, that Atheism proceeds only from Cowardice; I say he maintains it, considering things another way, and according to a different view, in which he does not directly oppose Charron's Notions: and he mentions again the timorous dissembling of the two Atheists, who were punished with Death some time before. This Refutation is not solid, since Charron had plainly and precisely owned, I. That a very great strength of Soul is required to be firm in the true Faith of God. II. That the greatest and most notorious Atheists, when they are followed close, do yield child-like. So that it may be said, that Garasse fought with his own Shadow: he proved what his Adversary did not deny, and what he formally acknow-

ledged. I shall therefore leave That Chapter of the *Somme Theologique*, and the last part of the Passage, which I have related, and shall only consider the other half of That Passage.

I find several Faults in it; for, I. This Jesuit suppresses every thing, which shews Charron's Orthodoxy, and which may serve to discover the true sense of his Words, and to remove the bad Impressions, which his Maxim, proposed in general, and without any Explanation, might produce in the Reader. II. He calls all this a *deceitful Expression*. Now this is such base and foul dealing, that it ought to be referred to the cognizance of criminal Judges: nay, severe Tribunals should be set up against Authors, who, by such perfidious Tricks, blast the Honour, Reputation, and Memory of a Writer. You suppress a thing, and yet you say it is *deceitful*. You should have produced it at length, and then you might have denominated it: but you thought it would be better for you to deceive the Readers, by interposing your Judgment about a thing, which you do not shew them, and which you are sure most of them will not look for. I say, III. That Garasse builds on a wrong Foundation; for he builds on this Principle: *Though Atheism should be the effect of a great strength of Soul, yet this should not be acknowledged; such a Truth ought either to be suppressed, or the contrary Opinion be boldly asserted, lest it should make presumptuous Men desirous to fall into a condition, that is the Criterion of a strong Mind*. It plainly appears from this Jesuit's Objection, that he reasons after this manner (24). Now let any equitable Person judge, whether this be fair dealing? and whether it will not introduce meer human Policy, and the grand Secret of the Military Art, into Religion? In short, whether this is not to decide, that, provided Orthodoxy triumphs, it is no matter by what means, or how. Ought not a Man to be contented with behaving himself in such a manner? Must he also require from every Author, that he tread in the same Steps? Shall not Peter Charron be permitted to prefer Sincerity before Utility? I go farther, and say, that he followed the Ideas of what is honest, without bringing the Useful Part into any hazard. Did he not assert, that Atheism requires a strong, but a *furious and maniac* Soul, and that That Force was *monstrous and furious*, and a very great and furious Insolence? Is there any thing in this, that can tempt an ambitious Person? And, if it could allure any One, must it not be the worst of Men, and a Soul depraved to the highest degree? Do such profligate Wretches, so spoiled and so incorrigible, deserve, that, in their favour, things should not be delivered according to the Ideas, which are thought the most just? When Cicero owned, that *Marc Antony* had great Strength of Body (25), when *Tacitus* acknowledged the same quality in one of *Augustus's* Grandsons (26), had they any reason to fear, that their Readers would wish to acquire such a Strength? Was it not so characterized, as to create a Disgust? Now I ask, whether Charron did not make use of a Corrective, yet more proper to inspire, I will not say Disgust, but Horror? Observe here *St Augustin's* Maxim, that great Piety, and great Impiety, are equally uncommon. *Insania ista paucorum est; sicut enim magna pietas paucorum est, ita & magna impietas nibilo minus paucorum est* (27). This comes very near to one of Peter Charron's Propositions.

Perhaps, some will think, that he has contradicted himself, having acknowledged both a great strength of Soul, and a childish Weakness, in Atheists; but certainly he did it without falling into Contradiction, since he considered them under different Circumstances. He believes them strong in Prosperity, and weak in Adversity: So that the contrary Qualities, which he attributes to them, are two things, that succeed each other. It is not therefore a Contradiction to admit of them in one and the same Subject: A Contradiction supposes, that both the Terms should subsist together at the same time: It requires also, that they should be affirmed of the same Subject, according to the same Notion: thence it comes, that, without departing from the Rules of contradictory Propositions, it may be affirmed, that the

(24) Compare with this the Addition to the Penées diverses sur les Cometes, page 83, 84. Edit. 1694. See also page 74, 75.

(25) Tu istis sanctibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate. — Tu, with those Jaws, those Sides, and that gladiatorial Strength of the noble Body. Cicero Philipp. 2. page m. 738.

(26) Rudem sane bonarum artium, & robore corporis stolidie ferocem. — Ignorant of polite Arts, but in strength of Body foolishly fierce. Tacit. An. lib. 1. cap. 3.

(27) Augustin. Sermones 10, de verbis Domini.

NOTABLE Differences of the Strength of the Soul, and Observations upon it.

(21) Charron, chap. 3, of the Three Truths, page m. 13, 14.

(22) Garasse Apolog. cap. 21. page m. 263, & seq.

(23) It is the third Section of the second Part of the first Book, page 48, & seq.

ments [K]. However it be, *Charron* was a Man of an unblameable Life; and, I think,

same Persons are fearful and bold at the same time; fearful with respect to certain Objects, and bold with respect to others. We have daily Instances of it. Some Men of extraordinary Intrepidity would not lie, upon any account, in a Chamber, if they were told, that it is haunted with Spirits: others would boldly lie there alone, though their Cowardice is so great, that a drawn Sword makes them tremble. The Uneasiness that troubles the former, about a Trifle, which they have taken for an ill Omen, I say, That Uneasiness, which no Reason can remove, will not hinder them from fighting like Lyons. The latter, laughing at all sorts of Prefaces, will run away like a Hare, if they are attacked by an equal number. Such a one, who has not the Courage to see a Man let blood, or to kill a Pullet, endures the sharpest Pains with all imaginable Constancy, and expects Death in his Bed with an heroic Firmness. Another, who is unconcerned in the most frightful Dangers of War, trembles for fear, when a Physician tells him he must die. It has been said, that a steady Mind is neither moved with the Threatnings of a Tyrant, nor with the Danger of Shipwreck, nor with Thunder or Lightening; and that the Ruins of the World would fall upon him without making him afraid:

Iustum, & tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quæsit solida: neque Ausfer,
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus:
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ (28).

(28) Horat. Od.
3. lib. 3. ver. 1,
&c.

*Nor Civil Rage, nor Tyrants Frowns, controul
The steady Purpose of the Just Man's Soul.
Tho' Storms and Ruin are around him burl'd,
Fearless he meets the Shock, nor dreads a falling
World.*

But such a Steadiness is scarce any where to be found in it's full extent: we seldom see more than some Parts of it. There are some noble Souls, which no Promises, nor any Flattery, can divert from the Paths of Virtue; but they are not Proof against the Threats of a Dungeon, or such other ill Treatment. Some form the most noble and magnanimous Resolutions for the Good of their Country. Their Notions are great, and shew a generous and steady Soul; but they could not put them in Execution: they would perform their Duty very ill in a besieged Town, if they were placed in the Breach: an involuntary Fear would seize them, and make them run away, even before they should distinctly perceive it. The Body of these Men does not second the Soul: a certain Disposition of the Organs, which mechanically produces Fear, dejects the superior Part, and puts it out of countenance (29). There is, without doubt, a Courage, or Intrepidity of Mind, which is sometimes attended with great bodily Fear. Mr *Hobbes's* Courage and Steadiness related only to the Objects of the Mind. There was scarce any Proposition, or Paradox, which astonished him, or troubled his Confidence; but the least danger of his Body frightened him. *Montagne*, who seems to be so much above Prejudices, and so well furnished with the pretended force of Incredulity, had a Softness of Soul, which would not permit him to see a Pullet's Throat cut without uneasiness, nor could he patiently hear a Hare groan under the Teeth of his Dogs (30). This Difference proceeds from the Difference of Mens Tempers: we must not therefore wonder, that a Man, who has the boldness to shake off the most general, and the most sacred Opinions, should be so weak as to tremble at the sight of an Executioner, and to dissemble his Belief, in order to avoid the Pains of the Torture. The Strength of his Soul does not respect the Objects of the Body, but those of the Mind. A mean Soul, capable of all sorts of Villainy and Infamy, a Slave of *Capadocia* (31), the greatest Coward and the greatest

(29) We may say of it, as of *Debauchery*, Quin corpus onustum Hæternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una, Atque affigit humi divine particulam aure.
Horat. Sat. 2, lib. 2, ver. 77.

(30) *Montagne*, Essays, lib. 2. cap. 11. pag. m. 171.

(31) See above, the Article *CAPADOCIA*. 61A.

Rogue in the World, has sometimes surprising Strength to bear the most violent Torments; the Rack, ordinary and extraordinary, the most terrible, will not make him confess any thing: but how many Men of great Virtue, and of admirable Probity, would rather accuse themselves falsely, than expose themselves to the Torture? How many Persons, who were true Lovers of their Religion, have had recourse to all manner of Shifts and Equivocations, and left no Stone unturned, to save their Lives, whilst they were in the Prisons of the Inquisition (32)? The fear of capital Punishment disordered their Souls, and suspended all the Strength of their Piety. Thus the Laws of the Union of the Soul and the Body produce a great Diversity in Men.

I observe all these things, to reconcile *Peter Charron* with Mr *de la Bruyere*. 'Do your Men of strong Minds (*Esprits forts*), says this latter (33), know, that they are called so ironically? What greater Weakness, than to be uncertain what is the Principle of one's Being, Life, Senses, and Knowledge, and what will be the end of them? What greater Discouragement, than to doubt whether one's Soul be not material, as Stones and Reptiles, and whether it is not corruptible like those vile Creatures? Is it not a nobler thing, and which requires greater Strength, to have the Idea of a Being Superior to all other Beings, &c.' They are both in the right; and their Difference lies only in the different Relations of the Word *Strength*; and I do not think, that Mr *de la Bruyere* would have denied to *Charron*, that the Atheists have Strength, in the same Sense as the Demoniac, who broke all the Chains, wherewith he was loaded, and whom no one could master (34). For the rest, the Precaution, which *Garrasse* would have us use, would be of no great Advantage; for it is no easy thing to correct the Ideas, by which we judge, since the fear of over-turning a Salt-steller is a Weakness, it requires some Strength to overcome That Fear, and so gradually with other things. It would be no easy thing to correct these Notions, tho' all Authors should carefully abstain from giving the Name of *Strength* to That Turn of the Mind. The Impious would appeal to their Patriarch *Lucretius*:

Humana ante oculos sedere cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione.

Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, primusque obfiteri contra:
Quem nec fama Deum, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compressit Coelum, sed eo magis acrem
Virtutem irritat animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.

Quare religio pedibus subjecta vicissim
Obteritur, nos exæquat victoria cœlo (35).

(35) *Lucret. lib. 1, ver. 63.*

*Long time Men lay, oppress'd with slavish Fear;
Religion's Tyranny did domineer.*

*At length a mighty one of Greece began
To assert the natural Liberty of Man,
By senseless Terrors, and vain fancies, led
To Slavery; strait, the conquer'd Phantoms fled.]
Not the fam'd Stories of the Deity,
Not all the Thunder of the threating Sky,
Cou'd stop his rising Soul; thro' all he pass,
The strongest Bounds, that pow'rful Nature cast.*

*Wherefore by his Success our Right we gain;
Religion is our Subject, and we reign.*

CREECH.

[K] His Censors did not regard the Advices he had given, which were sufficient to prevent their rash Judgments.] *Charron* being not the only Man, who has occasion to make the Critics know, what they ought to distinguish, if they will be equitable, I shall

(32) I understand by this Word, all the Tribunals which have condemned any one to Death on account of Religion.

(33) *La Bruyere*, Caractères de ce Siècle, pag. 664. Paris Edition, 1694. See also the Pensées diverses for les Comètes, pag. 412.

(34) *Mark 7, 4.*

I think, it may be easily proved, both by his Writings and Actions, that he did not doubt of the Truth of Christianity [L]. But it falls out unluckily, that, of a Hundred thousand

I shall set down the Advice he gave them. 'I am willing to advertise the Reader, who shall undertake to judge of this Work, that he must have a care he does not fall into any of these seven Mistakes, as some have done as to the first Edition; which are, to take for a Duty what is only a Matter of Fact; for a thing to be done what is only a Judgment; for a Resolution and Determination what is only proposed, discussed, and problematically disputed; for my own Opinions, what others believe; for an outward State, Profession, and Condition, what belongs to the Mind, and is internal; for Religion and divine Belief, what is but an human Opinion; for a supernatural Grace and Operation, what is only a natural and moral Action. A Reader, free from Prejudices, will find, in these seven Points, well understood, wherewith to resolve his Doubts, to answer all the Objections, which himself and others may raise, and inform himself of the Design of this Work. But if, after all, he is not satisfied, and does not approve of it, let him attack it boldly and briskly, (for meer slandering, biting, and reviling, is an easy thing, though shameful and pedantic); and then either I shall yield, and ingenuously confess that I was mistaken; (for this Book makes it's boast to shew the Sincerity and Ingenuity of it's Author); or I shall examine his Impertinency and Folly (36). What he had said, just before, is too fine not to be inserted in this Remark: A great many Readers will learn their Duty from it: They will see there, with what Disposition of Mind they ought to judge of a Book, which is not written according to the Humour or Prejudice of the Multitude, that is to say, where the Author lays down his Thoughts as they arise in his Mind, without dogmatizing, or designing to form a Sect. 'Some find, says Charron (37), that this Book doth too boldly and too freely shock the common Opinions, and are offended at it. To whom I answer these four or five words; First, that Wisdom, which is not common and popular, has the Liberty and Authority, *Jure suo singulari*, to judge of every Thing; (it is the Privilege of a spiritual wife Man, *Spiritualis omnia judicatur, & à nemine judicatur*) and to censure and condemn the common and popular Opinions, as being most of them erroneous. Who shall do it then? Now, in doing this, it must needs incur the Displeasure and Envy of the World. Moreover, I complain of them; I tax them with a popular Weakness, and an effeminate Softness; which makes them altogether unfit to understand any good and wise Thing: The strongest and boldest Propositions are most becoming a strong and elevated Mind; and nothing is strange to him, who knows what the World is: It is a Weakness, to wonder at any thing; we must stiffen our Courage, strengthen our Soul, harden and steel it, to enjoy, know, understand, and judge of all Things, though they seem to be never so strange. There is nothing above the Reach of the Mind, if it be not wanting to itself: but it ought not to do, or consent to, any thing, but what is good and honest, though all the World should talk of it. A wise Man does equally shew his Courage in these two Things: Those nice Persons are neither capable of the one, nor of the other; they are weak in both. Thirdly, I do not pretend to impose my own Opinion upon any body: I only offer my Thoughts to the Reader's Consideration. I shall not be angry if I am not believed; none but Pedants will be out of Humour upon such an account. Passion and Reason do not go hand in hand; and they, who are governed by the one, are not by the other. But why are they angry? Is it because I am not of their Opinion in every thing? I am not angry with them, because they differ from me. Is it because I say several Things, which do not agree with their or the ordinary Palates? That is the very reason why I publish them. I say nothing without giving some Reasons for it: If they have any thing to say to the contrary, which is grounded upon better Reason.

VOL. II.

sons, I shall willingly hear it, and make my acknowledgment to them.' I exhort all my Readers to consider seriously these two Passages.

[L] It is easy to prove, both by his Writings and Actions, that he did not doubt of the Truth of Christianity.] 'His Innocence, his Candor, and his Probity, have at last overcome the Slanders and Calumnies of his Adversaries.' Thus speaks the Author of Charron's Elogy (38). And then he goes on: 'As to his Morals, Conversation, and Actions, as well in private as in public, I shall only say, that he conformed himself altogether to the Rules and Duties contained in the twelve Chapters of his second Book of *Wisdom*, and practised them very exactly. And as for his Religion and Belief, they may be seen in his Books of the *Three Truths* — and in his *Christian Discourses*, printed after his Death, which make a moderate Volume — His good Conscience appeared also in the manner, in which he possessed, or left, his Benefices. His Piety discovers itself in the Will, which he wrote with his own Hand, the thirtieth of January 1602; — wherein, after having returned Thanks to GOD, for the Benefits he had received from him in his Life-time, and having most ardently supplicated him, through his infinite and incomprehensible Goodness, and through the Mercy of his well-beloved Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus CHRIST, and through all his Merits, multiplied and spread over all his Members, the holy Elect, to grant him the Pardon and Remission of his Sins, to take and hold him for his, to assist and direct him with his Holy Spirit, so long as he should be in this World, to preserve, and make him persevere with a sound Mind in his Love and Service, and, at the Point of Death, to receive his Soul among the rest of his beloved Children, and to inspire all his holy Elect with a desire of praying and interceding for him; he left, among other things, a Legacy of Two hundred Livres to the Church of *Condom*, if he should be buried there, upon Condition, that, on the Day of his Decease, a high Mass should be said for him, every Year, and an Absolution on his Grave: Moreover, he gives Two thousand Four hundred Crowns to poor Scholars, and Maids, who are to be married, the Revenue of which shall be yearly and perpetually distributed, one half to three or four Scholars, and the other half to three, four, or five, poor Maids.' Add to this, I. The fervent Desire he had to confine himself to a Monastery, according to the Vow he had made. II. The care he took to consult three Casuists, before he held himself free from That Vow (39). Is it not an amazing thing, that such a Person should be defamed as an Enemy to Christianity, and an Atheist? Is it not a manifest and deplorable Effect, either of the Malignity, or of the Weakness of Mens Minds? Here are some Verses of the Prior Ogier, against Father Garasse, in Favour of Charron:

Damnatur sic Charro Pius doctusque, Garasso
Execratore, atque puer cunabula fandi
Vix habet, & primæ lallat documenta Minervæ,
Quamvis sancta ejus tot adhuc Ecclesia verbis
Perfonet eloquii, Verique in triplice libro
Fortiter hæreticæ frangat mendacia sectæ (40).

Thus pious Charron, if Garasse says true,
Scarce the first Elements of Learning knew;
Tho' still the Church his Eloquence reſounds,
Which lying Heresy so strongly wounds.

This Writer's Prose is yet more glorious to Peter Charron. Read the eleventh Chapter of his Judgment of the *Doctrines curieuses*, where you will find the Confutation of Garasse's pretended Proofs of Charron's Atheism. Read also Garasse's Reply (41); it will serve, as much as any thing, to shew his Temerity; for all that he quotes out of Charron is either true, or unfaithfully related, or may bear a good Sense.

5 Y

(38) Charron's Elogy. See also the Epistle Dedicatory of the small Treatise of *Wisdom*.

(39) See Remark [A].

(40) See the Censure of the *Doctrines Curieuses*, printed at Paris, 1623, pag. 169.

(41) That is, his Apology against the Author of the Censure of the *Doctrines Curieuses*, chap. 21, 22, pag. But, 259, & seq.

(36) Charron's Preface to his *Wisdom*, Edit. 2. See also the Preface prefixed to his small Treatise of *Wisdom*, where you will find the same Words. The Prior Ogier, in his Censure of Garasse's *Doctrines Curieuses*, pag. 151, 152, alleges them in justification of Charron.

(37) Id. *ibid.* fol. B. verso.

thousand Readers, there are hardly Three to be found in any Age, who are well qualified to judge of a Book, wherein the Ideas of an exact and metaphysical Reasoning are set in Opposition to the most common Opinions. I wonder that *Moreti* has taken *Charron's* Part [*M*]; for he might have found himself involved in the Censure, which the Print, prefixed to the Book of *Wisdom*, exposes to the Eyes of the Public. It is a Figure, which seems to favour the *Sceptics* [*N*]. I must say something of what *Sorel* observes concerning our Author [*O*]. This will give me

But, it will be said, did not *Charron* say, that all Men boast wrongfully to have a Religion, which comes from God? These are his Words: 'Religions must be brought in, and given by an extraordinary and heavenly Revelation; they must be received by divine Inspiration, and as coming from Heaven: and, indeed, all say, that they receive them, and believe them. All use this Jargon, that they have them not from Men, nor any Creature, but from God. To speak the Truth, without any Flattery or Disguise, there is no such thing; they have received them by human Hands and Means (42).' I answer, that in the second Edition he excepted the true Religion. He goes on thus: 'Which is true in all respects as to false Religions; they are meer human, or diabolical, Inventions; but the true ones, as they are of another resort, so they come, and are received from another Hand: Nevertheless, we must make a Distinction. As to the Reception, The first and general Publication of them was, *Domino co-operante, sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis*, divine and miraculous.' Had he not said a little before, 'That Unbelievers and irreligious Men are such, because they consult and rely too much upon their own Judgment, being willing to examine and judge of Matters of Religion according to their Capacity, and handle it with their own and natural Tools. A Man must be simple, obedient, and meek, to be well qualified for Religion; he must believe, and submit his Judgment out of Respect and Obedience to the Laws, and suffer himself to be directed and governed by public Authority: *Captivum intellectum ad obsequium fidei* (43). These Words may serve him for a Shield against all the Darts of his Enemies; for, if you object against him, that he makes some Remarks, which strike at Religion, and shew, that he was more persuaded of the Force of his Remarks, than of the Truths, at which those Remarks are levelled, he may answer you: 'I should be such a one as you say, if I were directed by the weak Light of my Reason; but I do not trust such a Guide; I submit myself to God's Authority, I captivate my Understanding to the Obedience of Faith.'

[*M*] I wonder, that Mr *Moreti* has taken *Charron's* Part. He has done it with great Warmth: so far as to say, that *du Pleix* is *brutishly passionate* (44), according to his Custom. This Expression seems to me too harsh. *Du Pleix*, speaking of the *Bergards*, says (45), 'That they believed there could be no Sin in following Nature, and that, in his Youth, he had familiarly known Peter Charron, Theologal of Condom, who was possessed with such Errors, and preached them in his Sermons; and that he held many other dangerous Opinions, some of which he had inserted among the Follies of his WISDOM.' Here is a great Affront put upon Charron by this Author. There had been perhaps a Quarrel between them, which made him speak with so much Animosity. These are *Sorel's* Words (46): He is also too angry, not considering, that *du Pleix's* Design was rather to advance an *Antithesis*, and a Quibble, than to use very offensive Words. Note, that *Moreti* gives a very wrong Account of what concerns Charron's Desire to become a *Carthusian*. He does not explain, why the Age of Forty seven Years was an Obstacle to it, and he supposes, that Charron did not dedicate himself to the Ecclesiastical State, till after his useless monastic Vow: which is very false.

[*N*] A Figure, prefixed to his *Wisdom*, seems to favour the *Sceptics*. Charron caused *Wisdom* to be represented, in the Title-Page of his Book, 'by a Woman stark naked — with a healthful, manly, and smiling Face — standing, with her Feet joyed on a Cube: having on her Head a Crown of Laurel and Olive, representing Victory and Peace; and an empty Space about her, signifying Liberty. On her right Side, these Words, *I know not*, which is her Motto; and on her left Side, these other Words, *Peace and little*, which is the Author's Motto. — Beneath are four little, ill-favoured, vile, and wrinkled Women chained; and their Chains are fastened to the Cube, which is under *Wisdom's* Feet, who despises, condemns, and tramples upon them, two of which are on the right Side of the Title of the Book, to wit, *Passion* and *Opinion*. *Passion* is lean, and has a disordered Face; *Opinion* appears with wild Looks, fickle, heedless, supported by many Persons, which are the Mob. The other two are on the other Side of the Title, to wit, *Superstition*, with a chilled Face, joining both Hands, like a Servant trembling for Fear. And false Science, an artificial, acquired, and pedantic Virtue, a Slave to Laws and Customs, with a Face puffed up, proud, and arrogant, with lofty Eye-brows, reading in a Book, wherein are these Words, *Yes, No* (47).

[*O*] We must say something of what *Sorel* observes concerning this Author. He says, among other things, that some Persons affirm, 'That Charron is more dangerous than Montagne, who was a Cavalier, because, being a Divine and a Preacher, his Book is read as a Piece that may serve for Christian Instruction, and yet he has very bad Notions of Religion' (48). *Sorel* mentions two of them; but, because he abridges the Words of the Original too much, I will set them down at large at the end of this Remark. To this some answer, continues he, that Charron was a Man, who professed to speak freely, according to his Thoughts, and that if, notwithstanding his good Intention, every thing he says is misinterpreted, it is not his Fault. I shall observe, by the way, that a Layman, who is an Author, and has no Character, ought to enjoy a greater Liberty of speaking what he thinks, than a Doctor of Divinity, a Preacher, or a Professor; for it is presumed, that such Persons say nothing but what they design for Instruction, and what they desire others should believe. Therefore it is supposed, that they have well examined their Doctrines, and their Character will easily persuade the Hearers to yield to their Authority. But when a Layman, without a Title, speaks, he makes no great Impression; his particular Opinions are looked upon as Things spoken at random, and consequently his Pyrrhonism is of no dangerous Consequence. It is therefore certain, that the Venom, which might be in Montagne's Writings, would be a great deal less dangerous, than That, which should be found in Charron's Books. I have mentioned, somewhere else, an Observation of *Sorel*, which is, that a Physician, whose Name was *Cbanet*, maintained, against Charron, that Beasts do not reason. He adds, that 'Some body said (49), that Charron was only Montagne's and du Vair's Secretary. In effect, Charron has taken many Philosophical Sentences, Word for Word, out of Montagne's Essays; and his Description of the Passions is wholly Mr du Vair's.' He observes, that 'many Persons of Honour and Probity have taken Charron's Part (50). The learned Naudé said, in his *Bibliographia*, That he esteemed him so much, that he preferred him before Socrates; that Socrates spoke to his Scholars confusedly, and according as there was occasion for it; whereas Charron had reduced *Wisdom* into an Art, which was a divine Work, and that, if he spoke like Seneca and Plutarch in some Places, he carried them always further, than they intended to go. In short, it must not be thought, that a Man of an unblameable Life, and of an exemplary Moderation, as Charron was, had any ill Design in his Writings.' This Conclusion is a great deal better than the Translation of *Gabriel Naudé's* Latin Words. 'Petrus Charondas vel hoc ipse

and an empty Space about her, signifying Liberty. On her right Side, these Words, *I know not*, which is her Motto; and on her left Side, these other Words, *Peace and little*, which is the Author's Motto. — Beneath are four little, ill-favoured, vile, and wrinkled Women chained; and their Chains are fastened to the Cube, which is under *Wisdom's* Feet, who despises, condemns, and tramples upon them, two of which are on the right Side of the Title of the Book, to wit, *Passion* and *Opinion*. *Passion* is lean, and has a disordered Face; *Opinion* appears with wild Looks, fickle, heedless, supported by many Persons, which are the Mob. The other two are on the other Side of the Title, to wit, *Superstition*, with a chilled Face, joining both Hands, like a Servant trembling for Fear. And false Science, an artificial, acquired, and pedantic Virtue, a Slave to Laws and Customs, with a Face puffed up, proud, and arrogant, with lofty Eye-brows, reading in a Book, wherein are these Words, *Yes, No* (47).

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(47) Taken from the Explication of that Figure at the end of the Preface to Charron's *Wisdom*.

(48) *Sorel*, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 92.

(49) It is Balzac, if we may believe *Moreti*, in the Article of CHARRON (PETER).

(50) *Sorel*, *ibid.* pag. 95. 96.

(41) Charron of *Wisdom*, Book 2. chap. 5. pag. m. 386.

(43) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 385.

(44) This Word was left out with great Reason in *Moreti's* Dictionary, printed in Holland.

(45) *Sorel* Biblioth. Franc. pag. 94, quoting *Du Pleix's* History of France, under Charles the Fair.

(46) *Moreti* took from him the greatest part of Charron's Article.

me occasion to set down the two Passages, which raised the greatest Clamours against our Divine; the one concerns the Immortality of the Soul; the other relates only to Religion. I believe I may very well say, that the Candour of this learned Man, in representing the Objections of the Libertines, contributed greatly to make People doubt of his Christianity. It is certain, that he did not enervate the Objections. I shall give an Instance of it, which related to the Divisions of the Christians [P] and their mutual Hatred. It is remarkable, that, in the Year 1607 (g), there remained no Male Issue of *Thibaut Charron* (h), the Father of him, who

(g) *Charron's* Eulogy, at the beginning.

(h) He was a Book-seller at Paris.

• ipso Socrate sapientior æstimandus venit, quod sapientie ipsius præcepta primus, quod sciam, admirabili prorsus methodo, doctrina, judicio, in artem reduxerit. Sane ejus liber & Aristotelem nobis exhibet & Senecam, & Plutarchum, ac divinius etiam aliquid præ se fert, quam antiquioribus cunctis & recentioribus fuerit concessum (51). It is manifest, that *Sorel* has misrepresented *Naudé's* Thought.

(51) *Naudéus*, Bibliographia Politica, pag. m. 13.

Let us set down the two Passages, which I have promised. It happens sometimes, that Things, which are not good, and even those, which are bad, ought to be authorized; as if, to be honest, one ought to have a Tincture of Dishonesty. This is to be seen, not only in the Administration of Policy, and of Justice, but also in Religion; which plainly shews, that the whole Conduct of Men is a crazy Structure, and very weakly built. This is the first Passage; you will find it in the fourth Chapter of the first Book of *Wisdom*, pag. 25, of the *Bourdeaux* Edition, 1601. The Author struck out the last Lines in the *Paris* Edition, 1604. He stopped, after having said (52), *And this is to be seen every where, in Policy, Justice, Truth, and Religion.* But note, that he did not curtail what he had said for the Proof of his Thesis. After all, said he, is there any thing, which discovers human Weakness better than Religion? He had proved it by the Scripture, and by evident Notions. This whole Passage was preserved in the Edition he corrected, and which was examined after his Death. From whence we may infer, that, upon several Occasions, a Man appears to be an Heretic, only by his manner of expressing himself. Take away certain Words, which seem too harsh, and make use of others, which signify the same thing, but are not so blunt, and, whereas you was accounted an Heretic, you will be looked upon as Orthodox; the printing of your Work shall be no more forbidden, and the Sale of it will be permitted. At the bottom, *Charron's* Assertion, proved and explained as it is in his Book, is most true. Here is the second Passage: 'The Immortality of the Soul is a thing most universally, religiously, and plausibly received all over the World (I mean an outward and public Profession, and not an inward, serious, and true Belief, which shall be spoken of hereafter) the most usefully believed, and the most weakly proved, and grounded upon human Reasons. These Words are to be read in the fifteenth Chapter of the first Book of *Wisdom*, of the *Bourdeaux* Edition: They were rectified in this manner. 'The Immortality of the Soul is a thing the most universally, religiously (it is the chief Foundation of all Religion) and plausibly entertained by all the World: I mean, with an outward and public Profession, but not so much with a serious, inward, and true one; as it appears from so many Epicureans, Libertines, and Scoffers. Nevertheless, the Sadducees, who were the most considerable Men among the Jews, did not scruple to deny it. It is most usefully believed, though not sufficiently proved by Natural and Human Reasons; but it is properly, and better, grounded upon Religion, than upon any other thing (53).'

(52) Chap. 38, of the first Book, pag. m. 188.

• Book 2, chap. 5.

(53) *Charron* of *Wisdom*, Book 1, chap. 7. Edit. of Paris, 1604. It is pag. 63, of the Edit. of Rouen, 1623.

whose Faith, as to This Doctrine, is only founded on Revelation (54), but in relation to the Libertines, who might take Advantage of the Authority of so famous an Ecclesiastic. After all, This Prejudice, I think, was not to be feared; for the learned Libertines care but little, whether or no a Divine owns, that the Philosophical Proofs of the Immortality of the Soul are not strong. They are not ignorant, that such a Confession is of no Advantage to them, so long as the Proofs, taken from the Scripture, are so demonstrative, as they are. They know very well, that *Aristotle's* Hypotheses (55) concerning the Mortality and Materiality of the Souls of Beasts, and concerning a real Distinction between Matter and Extension (56), enervate all Arguments, taken from Reason, for the Spirituality of our Souls. Whether this be owned or not, they suppose the Thing is not the less clear for it. To this very Day, they persist in their Prepossessions, because they see, that the strong Proofs, which the new Philosophy affords, for the Immortality of the Soul, are liable to these two Inconveniencies, either that the Souls of Beasts are immortal, or that Beasts are meer Machines.

(54) The common people are ignorant of the Philosophical Arguments for the Immortality of the Soul.

(55) As they were explained in *Charron's* time, in the Protestant and Catholic Universities, they acknowledged *Aristotle's* Categories; they believed therefore that Quantity is distinct from Matter, as Accidents are distinct from Substance.

(56) The Peripatetic Protectors have indeed maintained, that actual Quantity is inseparable from Matter, but not that it is the Essence of it.

[P] He did not enervate the Difficulties of the Libertines. I shall give an Instance of it, which relates to the Divisions of Christians.] 'In truth it is a strange thing, that the Christian Religion, which, being the only true one, as coming from God, ought to be indivisible, since there is but one God, and one Truth, should nevertheless be torn into so many Parts, and divided into so many contrary Opinions and Sects; inasmuch that there is not any one Article of Faith, or Point of Doctrine, but what has been differently debated and contradicted by Sects and Heresies. And That, which makes it to appear more strange, is, that such Divisions or Partialities are not to be found in the false Religions of the Heathens, Jews, and Mahometans. For their Divisions are either few and inconsiderable, as in the Jewish and Mahometan Religions; or, if they have been many, as in the Pagan Religion, and among the Philosophers, they have not produced very great Disturbances in the World; whereas there have been great and pernicious Divisions from the beginning of Christianity; and they have continued ever since. For it is a terrible thing to consider the Effects, which the Divisions of Christians have produced. In the first place, as to the Political State of the World, many Alterations and Subversions of Republics, Kingdoms, and Kingly Races, and Divisions of Empires, have happened, so far as to disturb the whole World with cruel, furious, and more than bloody Exploits, to the great Scandal, Shame, and Reproach of Christendom: in which, under the Name of Zeal and Affection to Religion, each Party hates the other mortally, and thinks it lawful to commit all manner of Hostilities. A thing, which is not to be seen in other Religions. The Christians alone are permitted to be Murderers, Perfidious, and Traitors, and to exercise all sorts of Cruelties against one another, against the Living, and the Dead, against the Honour, Life, Memory, and Minds, Graves, and Ashes of Men, with Fire and Sword, with sharp Libels, Cursings, Banishments, both from Heaven and Earth, taking dead Bodies out of their Graves, burning of Bones, and removing of Altars, without any Composition, with such a Rage, that all consideration of Kindred, Friendship, Merit, and Obligation, is thrown off. He that was yesterday extolled to the Skies, and called a great, learned, virtuous, and wise Man, if he happens to change sides this day, is preached and wrote against, and proclaimed an ignorant, and

(i) She was Peter Charron's Mother.

who makes the Subject of this Article, although he had had twenty five Children; four by his first Wife, and twenty one by the (i) second (k).

(k) Peter Charron's Elogy, *ibid.*

and a wretched Man. In this they shew their Zeal for Religion; but, in all other things, relating to the Practice of religious Duties, they appear very indifferent. Moderate and discreet Men are noted and suspected as being lukewarm, and wanting Zeal. It is an abominable Fault, to be kind and civil to those of the contrary Party. Some are scandalized at these things, as if the Christian Religion taught Men to hate and persecute others, and was designed to indulge our Passions of Ambition, Avarice, Revenge, Hatred, Spight, Cruelty, Rebellion, and Sedition: which are elsewhere more quiet, and less violent, when they are not set on by Religion (57).

(57) Charron, in the first chapter of the third Book of his *Three Truths*.

This great Scandal might at this day be represented in more elegant Terms; but I defy our best Writers to express it with greater Force, and to paint the Shamefulness of it in more lively Colours. Charron employs all his Skill to remove this Scandal (58); and whoever should call him a Prevaricator in this respect, would be as unjust as Garasse was, who called him so upon another Account. Let us set down the Words of this Jesuit; they are most unjust. 'There likewise (59) he openly declares, tho', according to his usual way, with a treacherous and smooth train of Words, That

(58) *Id. ibid.*

Religion is a wise Invention of Men, to keep People to their Duty: and, although he seems to expose this as an Atheistical Tenet, yet, like Lucilio Vannini, he betrays his Cause; for he mentions their Arguments, explains and comments upon them, and then leaves them unanswered: A Prevarication common to these two Writers (60). It is

(59) That is, in the first Book of the *Three Truths*.

(60) Garasse, Apologie contre la Censure de la Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 266.

false, that Charron does this; for, after having faithfully proposed the Objections of the Atheists, he refutes them with great Application and Solidity. But this displeases vulgar Authors, and even great Authors, who have more Wit and Learning than Sincerity. They would always have the Enemies of the good Cause represented in a languishing and ridiculous Equipage, or at least their strong Objections confuted by stronger Answers. Sincerity does not allow of the first, and sometimes the nature of the Subject makes the other impossible. I have been a long time surpris'd to see, that Those are looked upon as Prevaricators, who propose great Difficulties to themselves, and refute them weakly. What! would you have the Answers of a Divine about Mysteries, which are above Reason, to be as clear as the Objections of a Philosopher? From this very thing, that a Doctrine is mysterious and incomprehensible to the weakness of human Mind, it results necessarily, that our Reason will oppose it with very strong Arguments, and that it can find no other good Solution but God's Authority. However it be, Charron did not flatter his Party. He had a penetrating Wit; he discovered at a great Distance all that could be said by two Disputants. He took his Measures accordingly, explained himself ingenuously, and made use of no Cunning to obtain the Victory. But he found himself the worse for it; for the World dislikes such Candour.

I shall give elsewhere (61) another Example of his Candour in setting forth Difficulties.

(61) In Remark [G], of the Article *SIMONIDES*.

CHASTEL (JOHN) Son of a Woollen-Draper of Paris, made a wicked attempt upon the Life of Henry IV, the Twenty seventh of December 1594. That Prince, having taken a Journey towards the Frontiers of the Country of Artois, was, that day, returned to Paris; and, being in the Apartment of his Mistress (a), who was lodged at the Hotel du Bouchage, as he was coming forward to embrace Montigny, he received a Blow with a Knife on his Under-Lip, which broke one of his Teeth (b). John Chastel, who gave the Blow, and who had designed to have carried it to his Throat (c), was but 18 or 19 Years of Age. Having missed it, he let fall his Knife, and retired amidst the Croud - - - Every one was astonished, and - - - uncertain on whom to lay the blame; and this unhappy young Wolf had like to have escaped - - - Some one of the Company cast his eyes on him, and he was seized at a venture (d). 'His Wild Looks discovered that he had given the Blow (e). The King commanded the Captain of the Guards, who had secured him - - - to let him go, saying, that he pardoned him. Afterwards, understanding that he was a Disciple of the Jesuits, he said, Must the Jesuits, then, be convicted by my mouth (f)? This Parricide, being carried to the Prison of For l'Eveque (g), was interrogated by the Provost de l'Hôtel, and declared the Reasons, which had induced him to this Attempt [A]. He was conveyed the next day to the Conciergerie du Palais, and repeated what he had said at

(a) Gabrielle d'Estree.

(b) Mezeral, Abreg. Chronol. Edit. Amst. for Wolfgang, in 1676, Tom. VI, pag. 127.

(c) Cayet, Chron. Noven. ad Ann. 1594, fol. 42. verso.

(d) Pasquier, Catechisme des Jesuites, liv. 3, ch. 8, pag. 375.

(e) Mezeral, ubi supra.

(f) Cayet, ubi supra.

[A] He made an Attempt on the Life of Henry IVth — and declared his Reasons for it. I cannot alledge an Author, less to be suspected, than the Historian, whose words I am going to cite. 'This Parricide (says he) (1) carried to the Prison of For l'Eveque, — there confessed, that he had a long time resolved within himself upon this Blow, and that, notwithstanding he had failed in the Attempt, he would yet perform it, if he should have it in his Power, believing it to be for the Service of Religion. That, eight Days before, he had taken this enterprise again into consideration, and, at about eleven o'Clock in the Morning, when he had determined to do what he had done, having seized on a Knife, which he had found on the Dresser, in his Father's House, he carried it into his Study, and returned from thence to dine with his Father and some other Persons. Being examined as to his Quality, and where he had studied, he said, that it was principally among the Jesuits, with whom he had been three Years, and the last time under Father John Gueret the Jesuit: That he had seen the said Father Gueret the Friday or Saturday before the Blow, having been carried to him by Peter Chastel, his Father, on a case of Conscience; which was, that he despaired of the Mercy of

(1) Cayet, Chron. Noven. ad Ann. 1594, fol. 432. verso.

God on account of the great Sins he had committed: That he had been inclined to commit many enormous Sins against Nature, of which he had several times made Confession: That, to expiate these Sins, he was persuaded, that he ought to perform some signal Action: That he had often had an inclination to kill the King, and had discovered his disposition to his Father; on which his said Father had declared, that it would be a wrong Action. This was his Answer, when he was examined before the Provost de l'Hôtel: what he replied, the next Day, to the Officers of the Parliament is as follows. 'Being asked, what the signal Action was, which he said he had thought himself obliged to perform, to expiate the great Crimes, with which he felt his Conscience burthened, he said — That, believing himself forgotten of God, and being convinced that he should be damned as much as Antichrist, he was willing of two Evils to avoid the worst, and, being damned, he had rather it should be *ut quatuor*, than *ut octo*. Being asked, whether, falling into this Despair, he expected to be damned, or to save his Soul by this wicked Act, he said, That he believed the performance of this Act would serve to lessen his Punishment, being convinced, that he should be

(g) *Id.*

more

at the former Examination (b). He was condemned to Death, by an Arrêt of Parliament, the Twenty ninth of December 1594 [B], which Sentence was put in execution the same day by Torch-light. The same Arrêt banished all the Jesuits from France (i). The Father of John Chastel, and the Jesuit Gueret, under whom the Assassin had performed his Course of Philosophy, were tried the tenth of January following (k). We will mention, below, the Sentence passed on them [C], and give a short Analysis of a Work, which was printed some time after, and intitled, *An Apology for John Chastel* [D]. The Author of this Book relates, that a Lay-man, disguised as a Priest, was sent to confess John Chastel, in order by

more punished, if he died without having attempted to kill the King, and less so, if he should make an effort to take away his Life: inasmuch that he thought the least degree of Punishment was a kind of Salvation in comparison of the most grievous. Being asked, where he had learned this new Divinity, he said, That he had acquired it through Philosophy. Being interrogated, whether he had studied Philosophy in the Jesuits College, he said, yes, and That under Father Gueret, with whom he had been two Years and a half. Being asked, whether he had not been in the Chamber of Meditations, into which the Jesuits carry the greatest Sinners, who there see the Figures of several Devils, in diverse frightful Shapes, under pretence of bringing them back to a better Life, to deter them, and to excite them by such admonitions to the Performance of some great Action, he said, that he had been often in that Chamber of Meditations. Being asked, by whom he had been persuaded to kill the King, he said, he had heard in several Places, that it ought to be held as a true Maxim, that it was lawful to kill the King, and that They, who said so, called him a Tyrant. Being asked, whether the Discourse about killing the King was not common among the Jesuits, he said, he had heard them say, that it was lawful to kill the King, and that he was out of the Church, and that he was not to be obeyed, or held as King, till he should be approved of by the Pope. Being again examined in the great Chamber, The Presidents and Counsellors thereof, and of the *Tournelle*, being assembled, he gave the same Answers, and laid down and maintained This Maxim; *That it was lawful to kill Kings, even the reigning King, who was not within the Church, because, as he said, he was not approved of by the Pope* (2).

[B] He was condemned to Death, by an Arrêt of Parliament, the Twenty ninth of December 1594. To know the Particulars of the Punishment, to which he was condemned, you must read what follows. 'The Court — has condemned, and does condemn the said John Chastel to make the *amende honorable* before the principal Gate of the Church of Paris, naked in his Shirt, holding a lighted Wax Candle of two Pound weight, and there, on his knees, to say and declare, that wickedly and traitorously he had attempted the said most inhuman and abominable Parricide, and wounded the King in the Face with a Knife; and that, through false and damnable Instructions, he had said, during the said Process, that it was lawful to kill Kings, and that King Henry IVth, now reigning, is not within the Church, till he procures the Approbation of the Pope: of which he repents, and asks Pardon of God, of the King, and of Justice. This done, to be led and conducted in a Sledge to the Grevé: There the Flesh of his Arms and Thighs to be torn off with Pincers, and his right Hand, holding the Knife, with which he attempted to perpetrate the said Parricide, to be cut off; afterwards his Body to be torn and dismembered by four Horses, his Body and Limbs thrown into the Fire, and burned to Ashes, and the Ashes to be cast into the Air. It has declared and does declare all his Goods confiscated to the King. Before which Execution, the said John Chastel shall be put to the Torture both ordinary and extraordinary, to discover the Truth of his Accomplices, and of any Circumstances resulting from the said Process (3).

Let us observe, that this Arrêt of the Parliament of Paris was put, at Rome, in the Index of the prohibited Books. The Author of the *Anticodon* does not forget this Circumstance; but This Answer was

made to him. 'As to what he adds, that The Arrêt of Chastel was censured at Rome, it is replied, that it is false, speaking thus absolutely; for Answer was sent from Rome to the late King, that the Censure related only to the Matter of Right, not the Matter of Fact: assuring him, that they detested the Attempt of Chastel, as much as France itself; but that there was, in the Arrêt, a Clause definitive of Heresy, which they looked upon as belonging to the cognizance and determination of the Church: and this was the subject of the Censure (4). One of the Authors, who wrote against the Mystery of Iniquity (5), had recourse to the same Distinction. Rivetus, who replied, agreed with him as to the Fact; but he maintained, that the Censure deserved nevertheless to be condemned (6). Let us observe likewise, that the Jesuits published in Flanders, as well at Douay as in other Towns, an Advertisement to the Catholics, on the Arrêt given against them. This Advertisement, both in Latin and French, was spread over several Kingdoms of Christendom (7). It was answered. You will find, in *Victor Cayet* (8), the principal points of these two Pieces.

[C] The Father of John Chastel, and the Jesuit Gueret — were tried — we will relate, below, to what Punishment they were condemned. 'The Court has banished and does banish the said Gueret and Peter Chastel from the Kingdom of France; to wit, the said Gueret for ever, and the said Chastel for the term and space of nine Years, and for ever from the City and Suburbs of Paris; has enjoined them to observe their Exile on pain of being hanged and strangled without other form or manner of Process. It has declared and does declare all and every the Goods of the said Gueret confiscated to the King, and has condemned and does condemn the said Peter Chastel to a Fine of two thousand Crowns to the King, to be applied to purchase Bread for the Prisoners of the Conciergerie, to be imprisoned till the full payment of the said Sum, and the time of Banishment not to commence till the Day when the said Sum shall be paid. The said Court orders, that the House, in which the said Peter Chastel lived, shall be pulled down, demolished, and razed, and the Place applied to the Public, never to be again built on: in which place, to perpetuate the Memory of the wicked and detestable Parricide, attempted on the Person of the King, shall be erected an high Pillar of Free-Stone, with an Inscription, containing the causes of the said demolition, and erection of the said Pillar, which shall be raised with the Money arising from the demolition of the said House (9). The Historian, whom I copy, immediately adds; 'This Arrêt was accordingly executed, and the House pulled down, in the room of which was set up a Pillar, on the four Faces of which were engraved on Tables of black Marble, in Letters of Gold, viz. on one the Sentence of John Chastel, and the Jesuits; and on the three other Faces, Verses and other Inscriptions. This Pillar has been since pulled down, and to the Place, where it stood, they have brought a Spring, as I shall observe in the continuation of my History of the Peace (10).

This Writer has forgot one Circumstance, which ought not to have been omitted; to wit, that Gueret was put to the Torture, and confessed nothing.

[D] We shall give a short Analysis of a Work — intitled *An Apology for John Chastel*. The whole Title is as follows: *An Apology for John Chastel of Paris, put to Death, and for the Fathers and Scholars of the Society of JESUS, banished the Kingdom of France*;

(b) Ibid. fol. 433, verso.

(i) See the last Remark of the Article GUIDONARD.

(k) Thuanus, lib. 112, pag. 653.

(4) Apologetical Reply to the Anticodon, pag. 45, of the second Edit. of 1611. See also Richerome, pag. 170, of the Examen Categor. of the Anticodon.

(5) It is a Book of Mr du Pleissier Mornai.

(6) Rivet's Defence of two Epistles, and the Preface of the Mystery of Iniquity, against the Cavils and Calumnies of Pelletier and du Bray, pag. 23, 24.

(7) Cayet, Chron. Novem. ad Ann. 1594, fol. 437, verso.

(8) Ibid. fol. 438, &c.

(9) Ibid. fol. 437.

(10) Ibid.

(2) Cayet, Chron. Novem. fol. 433, verso, &c.

(3) Cayet, ibid. pag. 434, verso.

this means to discover the whole Secret of the Affair; but that this pretended Confessor

France, against the Arrêt of Parliament, given against them at Paris, the Twenty ninth of December, Anno 1594. Divided into five Parts. By Francis de Verone Constantin.

The First Part contains seven Chapters, which tend to undeceive those, who judge of things only by the exterior conformity which one often sees between Good and Bad. If you consider the bare action of *John Chastel*, and the appearance of the Persons, you will find him to have committed a most abominable Parricide; for you will believe, that a private Person attempted to cut the throat of his lawful Prince: 'But whoever shall see likewise (adds the Author (11) not what is said, but what actually is, and with the Judgment, not of prejudiced Judges, but of the Church and the Estates, and of all Laws, Divine as well as Human, and the fundamental ones of the Kingdom, received, published, revered, practised, and held, time out of Mind, in France, to wit, an Excommunicated, Heretical, and Relapsed Prince, a Profaner of Things sacred, a declared public Enemy, an Oppressor of Religion, and as such excluded from all Right of coming to the Crown; and therefore a Tyrant instead of a King, an Usurper instead of a natural Lord, a Criminal instead of a lawful Prince; will take care (if he has not lost all sense and apprehension of Humanity, and Love towards God, the Church, and his Country) to affirm no otherwise, than that an Attempt to rid the World of him is a generous, virtuous, and heroic Act, comparable to the greatest and most praise-worthy to be met with in ancient History, both sacred and profane: There being but one thing to be said against it; that it was not accomplished, to send the wicked to his own place, like *Judas*, whose Followers, which are the *Calvinists*, he supports. And, whereas the Blow failed, the former will say, that it was a manifest favour of Heaven, and that whoever doubts it is an *Atheist* (as some prating Fellow has written): the latter will likewise say, and with too much Judgment, that it is a Demonstration, not of Favour, but of Wrath: not of Compassion, but of the Indignation of God against his People, over whom he would not yet cause the Rod of Affliction to cease, (whom he hath otherwise cursed) nor break the Yoke of his burthen, nor the staff of his Shoulder, nor the Rod of his Oppressor, as in the Day of Midian. And, as for the Tyrant himself, it is not so much Preservation, as deferring to a proper Season and Hour, which God has chosen, to punish him more severely in another World, when the measure of his Guilt shall be full, and the People chastised.' Note, that, at Ch. xii. Part v. p. 249, he gives hopes, that another Assassin will succeed better: 'if, what lately happened, says he, The first Blow, given to the Prince of the Beggars, (he speaks of William Prince of Orange) aimed only at the Jaw, the second has not failed afterwards. Of which the first was the Preface, as the same will happen to the Person that has been smitten on the same place.' My Reader will hereby perceive, that this Writer builds his Apology only on the Supposition, that *Henry IV* was not a King, but a Tyrant and Usurper.

He endeavours to prove, in the second Part, that the Action of Chastel is a just one. He grants, that the Persons of Kings are sacred (12); but he maintains, that 'the Intention of Chastel was not to offend or kill a King, tho' in his own Account such, and in whom is the Semblance of a King, no farther than the Gravity and Merit of the Person, at least his being reputed as sprung from the Blood of the Kings of France, and being served as King. Although otherwise he is by no means one, as being an Inheritor, neither of the Faith, nor the Virtue, nor the Merit of the Kings of France. And that, being on that account, that is to say on account of his Impiety and Heresy, most justly excluded by the Church and the States, he cannot be so at all, except in Fact and not in Right; which is called Tyranny, and Tyranny in the highest Sense (13).' He says, that the pretended Conversion of *Henry IV* cannot confer on him the Title of King (14), in Prejudice

of the Excommunication as well of Right as Fact, which binds him ever bound, and which always works its Effect, in order to deprive him of the Royalty (15). He even affirms (16), that the Absolution

of the Pope would not be sufficient to re-instate a Person, who has been condemned not only by the Church, but likewise by the States; for the Pope can remit Ecclesiastical Condemnation, but not Civil (17). He goes farther; he disputes his Right of Succession (18): he cites various Examples, which prove, that, even in France, the immediate Heirs of the Crown have been excluded, to make way for the Election of the most distant. 'And, as to the special Regulation of the Succession, adds he (19), when we consider, that, by the Confession of Doctors, all Right of Consanguinity ceases at the tenth Degree, we may judge how weak, 'yea, how null is his Right, who claims but from the Twenty second Degree.' He reckons differently from Mr de *Perefixe*, who places but ten or eleven Degrees of Distance between *Henry III*, and *Henry IV* (20), as I have said elsewhere (21). He says, in Chap. 11, that superior Commands set aside inferior, and that, according to this Rule, if it be forbidden in general to kill, yet that it is lawful to do it, as to certain Persons, and particularly Heretics and Tyrants (22). He cites hereupon some Passages of Scripture, and Canon-Law; and he maintains, in Chap. 12, that Heretics ought to be executed by private Persons, if it cannot be otherwise done. He alleges (23) an Arrêt of Parliament of the Year 1560, pronounced 'by the late

President le Maître, against the Huguenots, by which any one is permitted to kill them. And 'This not without thoroughly considering, that there is no Beast more dangerous, than That which devours Souls; no Thief more pernicious than He, who robs Men of their Faith and Religion; no Aspic more venomous than That, which, in fawning, goes directly to the Heart; nor a more dangerous Poisoner than he, who corrupts the Waters of Jacob's Well * (which is the Word of God, or the Scripture), as did formerly the Phisicians.' In the thirteenth Chapter he collects together what has been said by various Authors on the Lawfulness of killing Tyrants. He says, that *Lycanus* †, *Cajetan*, *Soto*, *Sylvestre*, *Fumus*, and others after *St Thomas*, - - - *Fernandus*, *Vasquius*, *Covarruvias* ‡, and others, agree in the same Decision, and, even without taking Religion into the Question, 'that, with regard to Tyrants, who usurp, by Arms, or other unjust ways, an unjust Dominion, and to which they have no Right, and where there is no recourse to any Superior, to obtain Justice on them, nor any means to remove Tyranny, it is lawful for any one of the People to kill them; Even, adds *Cajetan*, by Poison, and treacherously. And *St Thomas*, in this respect, justifies an Expression of *Cicero*, alleged above in his Book of Offices: Adding as a reason; that, in as much as the Tyrant wages an unjust War against the People, both in general and in particular, and the People, on the contrary, have a just cause of War against him, they may do, against his Person, whatever the Right of War permits to be done against a real Enemy. And that, if he is thus killed, it is by Authority, not private, but public (24). The Heretics themselves, continues he (25), though they change their Discourse according to the Success of their Affairs, and according as they have a Prince, contrary or favourable to them, have filled their Books with it. Witness the Author of the Questions, under the Name of *Junius Brutus: George Buchanan*, in his Book de Jure Regni, &c. where he ranks Tyrants among savage Beasts, and who ought to be treated as such: *Bodin* likewise, in his *Repub.* who condemns a Tyrant, using Violence, to undergo the Law *Valeria*, which orders such Persons to be executed without Form, or Manner of Process: And, in consequence, the Executions, which, on that Account, they have done on great part of the Nobles, in France, Scotland, England, and Germany, by the Advice of Ministers, on pretence of their being Tyrants,

(11) Apology for John Chastel. Part I, chap. 7, pag. 21.

(20) We find no more between Robert of France, the Stem of the Bourbon Family, sixth Son of St Lewis, (the common Stem of *Henry III*, and *Henry IV*.) This Robert was born in the Year 1250, and *Henry IV*, in 1553. But the Difference between Mr de *Perefixe*, and the Author of the Apology of Chastel, arises from the different manner of reckoning these degrees in the Civil and Canon Law.

(21) In Remark [E], of the Article HENRY IV.

(22) Apology, Part 2, chap. 11, pag. 75.

(23) Ibid. chap. 12, pag. 81.

* Gen. xxvi.

† Lyr. in 31. Num.

‡ Covarruv. Disp. de Matrim. n. 6. *Fumus* in Armill. Cajet. 22. q. 64. Art. 3. Th. 2. Sent. Dist. ult. q. 2. Art. 2. ad ult.

(24) Apology, Part II, pag. 84, 85.

(25) Ibid. pag. 85, 86.

(12) Ib. Part II, chap. 2.

(13) Ibid. chap. 3, pag. 31.

(14) Ib. chap. 4.

Confessor knew not how to act his Part [E]. We have room to wonder, that the Accounts

* because they were Catholics: And even on the
* Persons of Kings, as *Charles IX*: And, particu-
* larly, the Elogium of *Beza*, which canonizes *Pol-*
* *trot*, and makes a Saint of him, for the Murder
* committed by him on the Person of the Great
* *Francis of Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, whom above
* all they stile Tyrant: There being, in this re-
* spect, no difference between them and us, ex-
* cept as to the particular Determination of a Ty-
* rant, to know who is, and who is not one.* He
ends this second Part with a long Detail of the
particular Advantages of this Enterprize of *John*
Chastel; and thereupon he throws out the most
satirical and extravagant Reflexions on *Henry IV*.

He maintains, in the third Part, that the *Action*
of *Chastel* is *Heroic*. He raises him above *Ebud*, and
Phineas, and *Matatbias* (26); and he forgets not
to compare his Courage with That of the two *Assas-*
sins of the Prince of *Orange* (27), and That of *James*
Clement. Nor does he forget the *Pious Poet*, *Corn-*
elius Musfus (28), martyred in *Holland*, whose *Execu-*
tioner, adds he, *de Lumay*, was afterwards paid as
he deserved, being torn to pieces, and eaten by his
own Dogs. Our Apologist describes particularly the
Constancy of *Chastel*, in his Confession, his Exa-
mination, the Torture, the *Amende Honorable*, and
his Death. He was pressed to declare, at the time
of the *Amende Honorable*, that he repented, and
asked Pardon of God; but, all maimed as he was
by the Torture he had endured, he said, that 'he
'cried to God for Mercy for all the Sins he had
'committed in the whole course of his Life, and
'particularly that he had not accomplished his De-
'sign of delivering the World from the worst Ene-
'my the Church has at present upon Earth (29).'
A deplorable Thing! that *Assassins* of this sort should
discover as much Constancy, as the most illustrious
Martyrs of the Primitive Church.

In the fourth Part, he criticises the Arrêt of the
Parliament of *Paris* against *John Chastel*, and he
pretends to discover in it some notorious Falsehoods,
and a manifest Herey, and Impertinencies in the
Censure of the Fact, and the Condemnation to the
Amende Honorable, and the Prohibition to speak of
the Designs of *John Chastel*. He insists, that they
are neither scandalous, nor seditious, nor contrary
to the Word of God.

The fifth Part is taken up in shewing the *Vices*
and *Impertinencies*, which he pretends to find in
the Arrêt against the Jesuits. Here he breaks out
into brutal Rage against *Acilles de Harlat*, First
President, and *Servin*, Advocate-General of the Par-
liament of *Paris*. He maintains, that there are Cal-
umnies and Impostures in this Arrêt, he launches
out in praise of the Jesuits, he replies to the Plea
of *Antony Arnauld*, he takes pains to vindicate the
two Jesuits, one of whom was put to the Torture
(30), and the other hanged (31). He makes
a Martyr of the latter. He concludes his Book
with a forcible Exhortation to exterminate the En-
emy of God and his Church.

This Apology of *John Chastel* was printed in the
Year 1595. Some body reprinted it in the Year
1610, after the tragical Death of *Henry the Great*,
and added to it four other small Pieces. I. The
first was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1589, for
Nicolas Nivelle, in *St James's Street*, at the two
Pillars, and *Rolin Thierry*, in the *English Street*,
near the Place *Maubert*, Bookseller and Printer of
the Holy Union, and is intituled, *The terrible*
Effects of the Excommunication of HENRY DE VA-
LOIS, and of HENRY DE NAVARRE, in which is
contained an authentic Account of the Death of
Henry de Valois, and that Henry de Navarre is
disqualified for the Crown of France. II. The se-
cond is, *A Letter of the most illustrious Cardinal*
Montalto, written by Order of our Holy Father the
Pope, to the General Council of the Holy Union.
It had been printed at *Paris*, with Privilege, in
the Year 1589, for the same Booksellers as the other.
III. The third is intituled, *A Discourse, wherein is*
shewed, that it is not lawful for a Subject to speak
evil of his King, much less to attempt on his Per-
son. IV. The fourth is intituled, *The Groans of*
France on the Death of King Henry IV, and the

Fidelity of the French. The Collection of all these
Pieces comprehends Three hundred and twenty three
Pages in 8vo, of which the Two hundred and
fifty six first are for the Apology of *John Chastel*.
This second Edition has not prevented this Book
from becoming very scarce; for which Reason I
believed my Readers would be pleased to find here
an Analysis of it.

The Publisher, in 1610, confesses, that what
principally induced him thereto, was, among other
things, that the World might clearly see, that it is
from the School of the Jesuits, that *Assassins*, such
as *Ravillac*, proceed. He says, that This Parricide
was confirmed in the Design of assassinating his King,
following, among others, the damnable Doctrine of
this Apology of *John Chastel*, in which it is im-
pudently denied, that *Henry IV*, even though
he were absolved, could be King; and besides it
is taught in express Terms, that Heretics and their
Abettors, doomed to death by Divine and Human
Laws, and principally Relapsed Heretics, may be
executed by private Persons, if it can no otherwise
be done; as may be seen in Chapter viii, and fol-
lowing, of the second Part (32). Note, he observes,
that 'the Jesuits had found out an Expedient to
'cover and suppress the said Apology, not thro'
'Shame or Repentance, which they might have,
'on account of such abominable Crimes and Par-
'ricides, but only lest the Horror, which Kings
'and Princes might thence conceive against them,
'should hinder them from entering into their
'Courts and Councils, to execute there the Will
'of the Pope (33). The Author of the *Anti Coton*
affirms, that the Apology of *John Chastel* came
from the Jesuits Forge (34); but the latter main-
tain, that it was an Imposture, and that no Je-
suit had a hand in it (35). Every one knows,
'they are the Words of Richeome (36), that the
'Jesuits are by no means the Authors of a Book,
'*De Justa Henrici Tertii Abdicatione*, nor of *Veron*
'*Constantine's* Apology for *John Chastel*; and the
'late King (37), being fully satisfied as to our In-
'nocence, would not listen to any of the Calumnia-
'tors, who accused us before his Majesty.'

It is highly probable, that those two Books were
composed by *John Boucher*, who, as has been seen
in his Article (38), was the most seditious and furi-
ous Preacher, that ever breathed a Spirit of Revolt
against the lawful Powers.

[E] — the Author of this Book relates, that a
Layman, disguised as a Priest, was sent to confess
John Chastel — but that this pretended Confessor
knew not how to play his Part.] The following are
the very words of the Author of the Apology:
'And, to mention Artifices, the good Lieutenant
'*Lugoly*, who played his Part therein so well, can
'give a good account of it: As also Those, who
'shared with him in the Sacrilege committed by
'him, disguising himself in the Habit of a Priest,
'and pretending to be a Confessor, in order to
'draw from, or to be able to say he had drawn
'from, the Penitent, by way of sacramental Con-
'fession, something, which might be made use of,
'both against him, and Those, who partook with
'him in the Martyrdom (39). — Could he (39)
'infamous a Cheat impose upon the Penitent?
'This Line is too weak to pull up so large a Fish.
'It is Childrens Play, and too gross an Artifice: so
'strong a Fly is not to be taken in such a Spider's
'Web: such Hares are not caught with such a
'Drum; nor such Birds in sight of the Nets. To
'play the Farce, they should have better understood
'mimickry: And the poor Animal, who under-
'stood not the Trade of confessing, like him,
'who frequents this Sacrament but once in a Year
'(as the Englishman answered, after the Treason
'of *Paris*), and therefore not being cunning in
'this Matter, as he is in the Courts of Justice,
'and at deceiving Women and young Girls, how
'grave soever he then looked, and how dark soever
'it was, did not fail of being immediately dis-
'covered, by one, who understood it better, and
'had been more conversant in it, than himself.
'To have this Reverend Father in God, newly
'printed, mistake in saying the Prayer, and the
'ordinary

(32) Apology for
John Chastel,
fol. A 3, verso.

(33) Ibid. fol.
A 2, verso.

(34) *Anti cotton*,
pag. 18.

(35) Apologetical
Reply to the
Anti cotton, pag.
45.

(36) Exam. Ca-
tegor. of the
Anti-cotton, pag.
183.

(37) *Henry IV*.

(38) See Remark
[B], of the Ar-
ticle *BOU-*
CHER.

(39) Apology,
Part III, chap. 3,
pag. 127, 128.

(26) Ibid. Part
III. chap. I. pag.
117.

(27) The one
was *John de*
Faureguy, by
Birth a *Biscayan*,
aged 18 Years,
who hit him on
the Jaw with a
Pistol, in the
Town of *Ant-*
werp, the 18th
of March, 1582;
and the other
Baltazar Ge-
rand, a Gentle-
man of *Burgun-*
dy, aged 34
Years, who with
another Pistol,
charged with
three Balls, shot
him dead in the
Town of *Delft*,
in *Holland*, the
10th of July,
1584. Apology
for *John Chastel*,
pag. 119.

(28) Ibid. pag.
120.

(29) Ibid. pag.
123.

(30) *John Gueret*.

(31) JOHN
GUIGNARD.
See his Article.

Accounts of this horrible Affassination vary so much [F]; nor is this the most scandalous

ordinary Blessing, which the Confessor says to the Penitent before Confession. Whence, being discovered by *Chastel*, not to be a Priest, as a Rat by his Noise, and an Ass by his braying, and as fit for this Trade, as a Child to be an *Hercules*, or a Fool a Philosopher, and standing in need of a Precedent Book, like a young Conveyancer, the Mine being discovered, before it could take Fire, the Invention came to nothing, and the Wretch in as great Confusion, as his impious Ignorance, and ignorant Impiety required. Saving however his Redress, in impudently spreading the vile Reports as above, against him, from whom he had heard no other Discourse, than a severe Reprimand, and Detestation of his Sacrilege (40).

(40) Ibid. chap. 6. p. 137, 138.

The Apologist declaims with all his Might against this Abuse of the Sacrament of Penitence, and calls it Impiety and Sacrilege, and pretends, that no preceding Examples can excuse it. 'Though the like Action, *says he*, had been before done by two others of the same Faction, the one an open Enemy and an Heretic, the other a Traitor and a Hypocrite. The first of whom was *Sautour* of *Champagne*, in the Person of the Doctor and Preacher *Mauclerc*, whom he took on the Road from *Treys*, where he had been preaching the Lent-Sermons, as he was returning to *Paris*, in the Year 1589: on whom he played this Trick, after giving him all the Fears of Death, and upon his desiring to have a Confessor. The other was *Marins* of *Gascogne*, Nephew of the *Sieur de Belin*, one of the Ministers of the Treason of *Paris*, and left for this purpose in the Town, in quality of a Surgeon, Domestic of the *Sieur le Bailleur*, in the Year 1594, a little before the Treason, on account of a stray Ring, at the House of a poor Woman too well known, and whom, as well as others, and even her nearest Relations, he imposed upon, and on a Suspicion he had, that the Surgeon, who came there to dress him, had taken it. After having on this occasion squeezed his Thumbs, and abused him several other ways, he led him by Night, with his Eyes bound, to the River in order to throw him in, and, upon the poor Wretch's demanding Confession, imposed upon him in the same manner as the other, pretending himself to be a Priest. And the next Day the Ring was brought back to the Woman, by one of her other Lovers, who had taken it by way of Pass-time (41). But, if this be worthy of a Rover, a Robber, and a Heretic, (as it is an Invention of the Stews, and of a Heretic, to impose on Women, and to make a jest of the Church), why is it of a Man of the Law, of a Lieutenant of the Provost of the Hostel, and the long Robe, and of one, who, with his Cassock and Beads, counterfeits the Jesuit? If Heresy joined to Arms, and the Rashness and Fury of *Mars* to the Brothel of *Venus*, have given the Rein to this Sacrilege, how is it, that the Discretion and Wisdom of those, who are called Gods, and call themselves Catholics, carries them to the same Crime, and to so great an Impiety? What Agreement, between War, which hears not the Laws, and the State Gravity of those, who discourse of the Laws? Between the Barbarity and Licentiousness of Arms, and the Majesty of Justice? To counterfeit a sacred Character, &c. (42). He refutes likewise those, who may say, that it was following the Example of the Heads of this Parliament, who, at the extraordinary Sessions of *Poitiers*, named the Priests, who were to confess, forbidding to apply to others, and requiring them, on pain of Death, to reveal the Confessions: which they have since continued, and seem willing at present to continue, at *Paris*, after the same manner, to name the Confessors, whom they still make use of; under pretence, that it is for a good end, that they may not err in distributing Justice, nor the Guilty escape, and the Innocent suffer, and thus pass it gently into a Custom, maintaining, that is right so to do: O ridiculous Hypocrisy, and damnable Impiety (43)!

(41) Ibid. Part III. chap. 3. pag. 128, 129.

(42) Ibid. chap. 3. pag. 130.

(43) Ib. p. 131.

He maintains, that Priests ought never to reveal Confession, on any account, or in obedience to the

Command of any one whatever, and that they are bound rather to suffer Death, which will be a true Martyrdom (44). And thereupon he expels the *Jacobin Antony Antonine Temermans*, Native of *Dunkirk*, who was strangled at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1582, for refusing to reveal the Confession of *Jaureguy* (45).

(44) Ibid. pag. 133.

(45) The Affassination of the Prince of Orange.

The Relation, which I shall speak of in the following Remark, does not report the Fact in the manner we have seen above. It supposes, that, *John Chastel* being taken, some of the principal Courtiers tried all imaginable means to make him confess, who set him on; and that they threw him on the Ground, and held a Dagger to his Breast, threatening immediately to stab him to the Heart, if he did not discover the Truth; that he replied, that no one had urged him to this Act, and that he demanded a Priest, to whom he might confess; that this favour was granted him; but that they suborned a Layman, who, disguising himself as a Priest, came near him, to hear his Confession; that *Chastel* represented to this counterfeit Priest the Confusion of Mind, which hindered him from recollecting his Sins, and begged that he might have a Paper, in which he had written his general Confession, a few Days before; that the Paper was found in the House of his Father, and not the least Hint concerning any other Person found in it. See the Margin; you will there find a Narration, very different from this, as to the Paper, in which the Affassin had written his general Confession (46).

I cannot believe, on the Testimony of the Apologist, that they endeavoured to discover the Secret by a pretended Confessor: but I know not whether it be right absolutely to deny it; for, if, in a common Process, and of no great Consequence, Judges think it allowable to employ a thousand Falsehoods, to extort the Truth, either from the Accused, or the Witnesses, why should we think, that, when the Life of *Henry IV.*, on which at that time depended the public Safety, was in question, the Judges should scruple to make use of the means of a Confessional? They know, that the Weakness of Mind, which exposes a Man to suffer himself to be induced to such an Affassination, renders him susceptible of the greatest Courage. They, who, by the Motive of the Church's Good, suggest to him the design of killing a Prince, suggest to him likewise, by the Expectation of the Glory of Martyrdom, a firm Resolution to suffer all kind of Torments, and persuade him, that he will lose all the Merit of his Action, if he reveals his Accomplices; but that, if he can keep the Secret, his Constancy will procure him a thousand and a thousand Benedictions in this World, and an high Degree of Glory in Paradise. They ought therefore to believe, that *John Chastel* would hold out against the Torture, and that the only means of discovering whence proceeded those fatal and pernicious Counsels, which exposed the Life of the King to so many black Attempts, was to suborn a pretended Confessor. If the Paper, which was found in his Father's House, had contained what they wanted, they would, no doubt, have taken it for one of those convincing Proofs, on which a Sentence of Condemnation may justly be founded. The Judges of the *Lady de Brinvillier* acted in this manner (47), without any regard to the Reasons of her Advocate. See the Factum or Case of *Mr Nivelles* for this *Lady* (48).

(46) *Thuanus*, lib. 112, pag. 652, says, that they, who were sent to the House of *John Chastel's* Father, found, in examining every corner of the House, the Paper, in which this Wretch had written his general Confession: he did not deny this Writing. In it he acknowledged himself guilty of Sodomy, and of attempting to commit Incest with his Sister.

(47) But observe, that they had many other Proofs, besides those which were found in a Paper, in which she had written her Sins, in order to confession.

(48) Printed at *Paris*, in 1676.

(49) Printed at *Ingolstadt*, in 1596, 8vo.

(50) It is a Mask, under which the Jesuit *Ricobene* concealed himself. See *Allegambe*, pag. 308.

scandalous Circumstance of that Accident. *Du Pleix* was in the wrong to say, that *John Chastel* replied to his Judges, that the Devil had pushed him on to this wicked Attempt (1).

on them. He perpetually insists on *Chastel's* naming no Person, who suggested to him the Resolution of killing *Henry IV*; and he says not a word of what I relate in the Remark [A], and which was thought sufficient to render the Jesuits suspected. Sincerity does not allow of these sort of Suppressions; there is in them a very scandalous Artifice. *Richeome* could not avoid discussing the Answers, which *John Chastel* made to the Judges (51): it was a very unlucky Step for him; though, as to the rest, he has very artfully taken advantage of the Circumstances, favourable to his Order, which are found in the Prologs (52). Let us not forget, that he undertakes to

prove the falsehood of the Interrogatory (53), which I have taken from *Cayet* (54), and which *Tuanus*, and an hundred other Writers, alledge. And note, that this Plea of Falsehood is in a Book, in which a Writer is refuted, who had made use of these Words. 'These are the express Terms of the Interrogatory of *Chastel*, the Original of which your Majesty may see, which shall be attested by more than thirty Presidents, or Counsellors, more credible a thousand Times, than all that the Parties can say in their own Cause. Being asked, where he had learnt this new Divinity, he said, it was by *Philosophy*, &c.'

(1) *Du Pleix*, Hist. d'Henri IV. pag. m. 163.

(53) *Richeome*, Apolog. Reply to the *Anti-edon*, n. 43. pag. 149.

(54) In Remark [A].

(51) See the *Apologetical Complaint*, n. 41. pag. m. 157, &c.

(52) See the same Book, n. 38, &c. and his Answer, under the name of *René de la Fon*, to the Plea of the *Sieur Marion*, chap. 14.

(a) *Eques Gandensis. Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg.* pag. 262.

CHASTELAIN (GEORGE) in Latin *Castellanus*, a Flemish Gentleman (a), understood the French Language very well, and composed some Treatises [A], which have not been so long esteemed, as *Olivier de la Marche* said they would [B]. He died in the Year 1475 (b). He had been educated in the Family of the Dukes of Burgundy (c).

(b) Obiit eo ipso tempore, quo Carolus audeax Novesium obsidebat. *Id. ibid.* pag. 263.

(c) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 118.

(1) La Croix du Maine, pag. 118.

(2) *Valer. Andree Bibl. Belg.* pag. 263.

(3) La Croix du Maine, pag. 118.

(4) *Du Verdier*, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 447.

(5) *Valer. Andree*, *ibid.* pag. 262.

(6) *Pontus Heuterus*, *Rerum Burgund. lib. 4.* pag. m. 151.

[A] He composed some Treatises. He wrote (1), in French Verse, a Collection of the wonderful things, which happened in his time, printed with the Works of *John Moulinet*, his Disciple (2). The Temple of the Ruin of some unhappy Noblemen both of France, and of foreign Nations, in imitation of *Boccaccio*, printed at Paris by *Gallot du Pré*, in the Year 1517. The Instruction of a young Prince, containing eight Chapters, printed with the other Works (3). The Epitaphs of *Hector* and *Achilles*, with the Judgment of *Alexander the Great*, printed at Paris, 1525, in 8vo (4). The History of *James de Lalain*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, printed at Brussels, in 4to, in the Year 1634, and many other Pieces, which are to be found in Manuscript in the Abbey of *St Vast*, at Arras (5). He wrote the Life of *Philip the Good*, Duke of Burgundy, in French. I do not believe, that it was printed. *Pontus Heuterus* had read it, and has borrowed something from it (6).

[B] — which have not been so long esteemed, as *Olivier de la Marche* said they would. These are his Words: 'I am sorry — I cannot have the Stile and subtil way of speaking of *Messire George Chastelain*, deceased, a Knight of my Acquaintance,

who, though a Fleming born, wrote in the French Language, and did so many fine things in my time, that his Works, and the Subtlety of his Speech, will make him a more glorious and considerable Man, an hundred Years hence, than at this present time (7). This Prediction proved false: The Memory of this Writer was lost by degrees, and few People knew him by his Writings, fifty Years after his Death. *Olivier de la Marche* calls him, *The Pearl and Star of all the Historiographers*, that, in his time, or long before, have made use of Pen, Ink, and Paper (8). *John le Fevre*, Lord of *St Remi*, was, without doubt, in great hopes, that the Writings of this Author would be immortal. He declares, 'That, having written some short Memoirs, he had sent them to the noble Orator *George Chastelain*, to make use of them, at his Discretion, in the noble Histories and Chronicles, made by him, although they are but of little value, if compared with his Work. — I shall speak of the great and noble Actions of the Dukes and Knights of his Order, but not an hundredth part so much at large, as the notable Orator *George le Chastelain* has described them (9).'

(7) *Olivier de la Marche*, in the Preface to his Memoirs, pag. m. 3.

(8) *Id.* in the Preface to the first Book, pag. 74.

(9) *John le Fevre*, Lord of *St Remi*, in the Prologue of the History of *Charles VI*, published by *M. de Laboureur*, at the end of that of the Monk of *St Denis*.

CHASTELUX (CLAUDIUS, Sire de) Viscount d'Avalon, Baron de Quarré, Counsellor of State, and Chamberlain to the Duke of Burgundy, was created Maréchal of France, the second of June, 1418. He was sent into Guienne in the Year 1419, and deprived of his Office of Maréchal, the Twenty second of January, 1421. He sustained the Siege of *Crevant* against the Constable of Scotland, in the Year 1423, and acquired by it a very particular Privilege in Auxerre [A]. He assisted, in 1431, on the part of the Duke of Burgundy, at the Assembly, which was held in the same Town, to treat of Peace with the Embassadors of the Kings of France and England, and died in the Year 1453 (a). He was of a very ancient Nobility: his Posterity remains to this Day [B].

[A] He sustained the Siege of *Crevant* — and acquired by it a very particular Privilege in Auxerre. Let us recite the words of *Mr de Vize*. 'You know without

(1) *Mercurius Galant*, Sept. 1701, pag. 364, &c.

(2) Or rather after the beginning of the XVth.

doubt, says he (1), the Privilege of the Eldest Son of this Family in the Cathedral Church of *Auxerre*. It was acquired them, about the end of the XIVth Century (2), by *Claudius Sire de Chastelux*, — for having defended at his own expence the Town of *Crevant*, belonging to the Chapter, against the *Scots*, whom he drove off and defeated, having, with his own Hand, taken Prisoner the *Sieur Count de Doukan*, Constable of Scotland, who commanded them. As he liberally restored the Possessions of the Church of *Auxerre*, the Chapter, by a juridical Act, granted him — for himself, and Posterity Male, possessing the Estate of *Chastelux*, the Privilege in question. That is, to have the Precedency in the Choir, and to sit in it in a warlike Habit, a Surplice over it, a Belt, and an Amice on his Arm, a Hawk on his Fist, a seat and deliberative Voice in the Chapter, and a Right of distribution as a Canon.

VOL. II.

[B] He was of a very ancient Nobility: his Posterity remains to this Day. Father *Anselme* goes back no farther than the Father of our *Claudius de Chastelux* (3); but *Mr de Vize* assures him, that this Family is one of the most ancient of the Kingdom, that it has no other Name, or Origin, than That of *Chastelux*, and that from the end of the Xth Century, where we begin to know the Successors in a direct Line, to the present time, *Mr le Comte de Chastelux*, who died in the Month of September, 1701, is the 20th in a direct Line from Father to Son, and that his Ancestors have possessed all the military Employments of the State. You will find them among the Maréchals of France, among the Admirals, Governors of Provinces, Lieutenants-General, Gentlemen in ordinary of the King's Bed-Chamber, Chamberlains of the Dukes of Burgundy, Pages of Honour to the Kings, Captains of the hundred Men at Arms of the Ordonnances, at the time when those Companies were so considerable (4). Let us add, what the same Author relates concerning the present State of this Family. He says (5), that

(a) Taken from Father *Anselme's* History of the Great Officers, pag. 140, 141.

(3) *Anselme's* History of Great Officers, p. 141.

(4) *Mercurius Galant*, Sept. 1701, pag. 363.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 33.

that PHILIBERT PAUL, Count de CHASTELUX, who was killed at the Attack of Chiari, in Italy, the first of September, 1701, at the Age of thirty three, 'had three Brothers, and three Sisters: his younger Brother served in Germany, where he died. ANDREW DE CHASTELUX, who is at present the eldest, is Ensign of one of the King's Ships. The Third is WILLIAM ANTONY, an Abbé. The eldest Sister is BONA DE CHASTELUX, married to Francis, Count de St Chamans, Marquis de Mercy. The second is JUDITH DE CHASTELUX, Lady and Canoness of Poussangy in Champagne. The third is ANNE DE CHASTELUX, married to Charles de Vienne, Count de Commerin in Burgundy, Head of the Illustrious Family of Vienne (6). The Father of these seven Children was CÆSAR PHILIP DE CHASTELUX,

(6) Ibid. p. 362.

Captain-Lieutenant of the *Geni d'Armes* of the Prince of Condé (7). His Widow, who is yet alive (8), is called *Judith de Barillon*, and is Daughter of *John James de Barillon*, President in the Parliament of Paris. This *Cæsar Philip*, nineteenth Baron or Count de *Chastelux*, had three Brothers, who died in the King's Service. The eldest was killed at the Battle of *Nortlingen*, as he was executing the Office of *Maréchal* of the Battle. The second had been killed a little before, in *Rouffillon*, by a Cannon-Ball, being commanded to hinder the descent of the *Spaniards*. The third, who was a Knight of *Malta*, died likewise in the King's Service (9). Note, that the other Branches of this Family were extinct in the Person of *Philip de Chastelux*, Baron de *Coulanges*, Major-General, who was killed at the Battle of *Zintzheim* in Germany, in the Year 1624 (10).

(7) Ibid. p. 359, &c.

(8) That is, in Sept. 1701.

(9) *Mercur Galant*, Sept. 1701, pag. 361.

(10) Ibid.

CHATEAU-BRIAND (The Countess of) Wife of the Count of that Name, Daughter of *Phœbus de Foix*, and Sister of *Lautrec*, and of the *Marshal de Foix*, was Mistress of Francis I, as some Authors say [A]. *Varillas* has reported the History of this amorous Intrigue the most at large, and has not forgotten to say, that the Count caused his Wife to be put to Death. Others pretend, that This History is a meer Romance, and have published a Piece about it against *Varillas*. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (a).

(a) In *January*, 1686, *Art. 2.*

[A] She was Mistress of Francis I, as some Authors say.] *Brantome* relates very particular Circumstances of these Amours. 'I have been told, says he (1), and have it from good hands, that, when King Francis I had left his much favoured Mistress *Madam de Chateau Briand*, to take *Madam d'Esampes* — as one Nail drives out another, *Madam d'Esampes* desired the King to take all the finest Jewels from the same Lady de *Chateau-Briand*, that he had given her, not by Reason of their great value, for at that time Jewels were not so much in vogue, as they have been since, but because of the fine Devices, which were engraved upon them, which his Sister, the Queen of *Navarre*, had made and composed; for she was a very good Lady.' *Brantome* adds, that, when the Gentleman, who was sent by the King, asked for those Jewels of *Madam de Chateau-Briand*, she pretended to be sick for that time, and put him off for three Days; that, in the mean time, she caused those Jewels to be melted, out of spite, and gave them to the Gentleman in Ingots, when he came for them again, and that she sent the King word, that she could not suffer any body else to enjoy those Devices; that the King sent her those Ingots back again, (for he wanted those Jewels only for the Devices) and said, that she had showed more Courage and Generosity in it, than he could have expected from a Woman. *Brantome* adds his Reflexion to That of the King: *The Heart of a generous Woman, says he, provoked and slighted, can do great things.* He tells us, in another place of his Memoirs (2), that *Mr de Chateau-Briand gave his fine House of Chateau-Briand to the Constable de Montmorency to get the Order.* See here what *Mr le Laboureur* (3) observed upon this: *It was to have the Government of Bretagne, and also to secure him-*

(1) *Brant. Memoires des Dames galantes*, Tom. II, pag. 394.

(2) In the *Dif-* courtie concern- ing the Con- stable de Mont- morency.

(3) Additions to *Castellau's* Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 346.

self from the Proceedings, which were carried on against him for the Death of his Wife, of which he was accused.

The Author of the *Gallantries of the Kings of France*, lately printed (4) in several Places, relates the Amours of Francis I with the Countess de *Chateau-Briand* in the same manner as *Varillas*; and concludes thus (5): 'Some Critics have pretended, that *Monfieur de Varillas*, from whom I have taken these Memoirs, had been mis-informed; that the Countess de *Chateau-Briand* was reconciled to her Husband, and that she did not die till ten Years after the King's Return; but he has so well replied to it, that I believe the Countess's tragical End ought not to be questioned; and I made no Difficulty to follow That famous Historian word for word.' Take this for an Imposition. I desired one of my Friends to inform himself of this Answer of *Varillas*; and here is, word for word, what he wrote to me, in a Letter, dated from Paris, the tenth of June 1695. 'Whatever the Author of the *Gallantries of the Kings of France* may say, we have not seen any Writing here of *Mr Varillas*, in answer to what the late *Mr Heven*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Rennes*, wrote against him, concerning the Countess de *Chateau-Briand*: and *Mr d'Hozier* told me, upon this, that *Mr de Caumartin*, one of our six Intendants of the Finances, has, in his Library, the *Cafe*, which the Constable *Anno de Montmorency* caused to be drawn up against the Heirs of *Mr de Chateau-Briand*, to maintain the Grant he had made him of That Seat, and that That Piece begins with these words: *The Misfortunes, which have accompanied the Life of Mr de Chateau-Briand, are so well known in France, that it is needless to mention them.*'

(4) In the Year 1694.

(5) *Tom. I*, pag. m. 192.

CHATEL (PETER du) Great Almoner of France under Henry II. Look for CASTELLAN.

CHATEL (TANNEGUI du) a Gentleman of *Bretagne*, was one of the brave Men of the XVth Century. He commanded, in Italy, the Troops of *Lewis of Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, and defeated the Army of *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, in the Year 1409. He was afterwards Provost of *Paris*; and, in 1419, and 1420, he took upon him the Quality of Marshal of the Wars of the Dauphin, Regent of the Kingdom (a). He did That Prince great Services (b) [A], and rid him of his most dangerous Enemy, who was *John Duke of Burgundy* [B]. But there was a signal Perfidiousness

(a) *Anselme's History of Great Officers*, p. 142.

(b) It was King Charles VII.

[A] He did the Dauphin great Services.] The Burgundian Faction having possessed themselves of Paris, the Night of the Twenty eighth of May, 1418, would have seized on the Dauphin, if *Tanne-gui du Chatel* (1) had not run, and taken him out of his Bed, and, wrapping him in his Night-gown, carried him into the Bastille, and from thence brought him to *Melun* (2). We shall see,

in the following Remark, with what Zeal he acted against That Prince's Enemy on the Bridge of *Montreuil-faut-Yonne*.

[B] ----- and rid him of his most dangerous Enemy ----- *John Duke of Burgundy*.] If the French Monarchy found itself on the Brink of Ruin, in the Reign of *Charles VI*, and in That of *Charles VII*, it was the Fault of the Princes of

(1) He was at that time Provost of Paris.

(2) *Mezerei. Abregé Chronol.* Tom. III, pag. 201.

business in that Action. 'Tis to be wondered at, that Father *Anselme* has said nothing of it (c): his Silence occasioned That of *Moreri*. The Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* was not the only one, that *Tanneui du Chatel* committed: he also killed the Dauphin of *Auvergne* [C] in the Year 1424, in the King's Presence, and in full Council. That Action occasioned many Persons of the greatest Quality to leave the Service of *Charles VII*; and *Du Chatel* was obliged to retire from the Court, whither, according to some Authors, he never returned any more. Others pretend, that

(c) *Anselme*, ubi supra, pag. 142.

of the Blood, and an effect of the immoderate Ambition of the Branch of *Burgundy*, which from that time expressed as little Tenderness for the Blood, from whence it sprung, as for the *Ottoman* Family. It has been always confederated with the greatest Enemies of the French Name, till it ended in the Person of *Mary*, who transmitted all That Hatred to her Descendants. *John* Duke of *Burgundy* was not contented to cause the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother of *Charles VI*, to be murdered (3); he added also several other wicked Attempts to That; but, at last, he himself perished in the Year 1419. The Servants of the Duke of *Orleans*, and particularly our *Tanneui du Chatel*, and the President *Louvet*, negotiated Interviews between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, with a design to murder the first; and they executed it on the Bridge of *Montereau-faut-Yonne*, where those two Princes had agreed to have a Conference. As *Duke John* comes to the Interview (I make use of *Palquier's* Words (4), *Tanneui du Chatel* begins to pick a Quarrel with him, saying, that he did not honour the Dauphin as he ought, and gave him such a Blow with his Battle-axe on his Head, that he died of it.

(3) In 1407.

(4) *Palquier*, Recherch. de la France, liv. 6, cap. 3, pag. 452.

(5) Ibid. chap. 4, pag. 453.

[C] He killed also the Dauphin of *Auvergne*. I shall again make use of *Palquier's* Words (5); 'The two chief Ministers of *Charles* the VIIth's Actions, and perhaps of his Ruin, were *Tanneui du Chatel*, and *Louvet*, President of *Provence*; for they were the cause of *Duke John's* Death. They enjoyed the King's Favour more than the rest of his People for a long time, particularly *Tanneui du Chatel*, with great Arrogance, who, abusing his Master's Indulgence, killed the Count Dauphin of *Auvergne*, in the Year 1424, in his Presence, and in the Presence of his Council; at which the Princes and Lords being angry, the Queen of *Sicily*, the King's Mother-in-law, the Constable of *Richmont*, and other Lords of note, forsook him. Which was the reason, why *Tanneui* was obliged to leave his place, *Louvet* remaining alone in his stead. But *Louvet*, seeing himself exposed to the same Hatred, and not being able to resist the great Lords, retired to *A vignon*; and afterwards neither of them was seen any more.' *Mezerai* says, that *Charles VII* promised to dismiss all those from his Presence, who had a hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*; I say, he promised it, when, in 1424, he gave the Sword of Constable to the Earl of *Richmont*, who had quitted the King of *England's* Party; and that, thereupon, *Tanneui*, generously sacrificing his Fortune to serve his King, desired his Dismissal as a Reward (6). *Varillas* pretends, that *Charles VII* was forced, by the Treaty of *Arras*, to forsake *du Chatel*, who fled into his Country, and did not return to the Court, till he heard, that no body took care to see That Prince buried (7). According to this Account, he did not leave the Court till 1435. What I am going to say, seems to be the most probable Account: I take it from an Historian (8), who, having confined himself to the Enquiries relating to *Bretagne*, is more to be credited in what he says of *Tanneui du Chatel*, an illustrious *Breton*, than those, who only speak of him in general Histories. I except what is apologetic; for the particular Historians of a Province are less to be relied upon in such a case than others: and therefore I pay but little regard to what *Bertrand d'Argentré* (9) tells us concerning *Tanneui du Chatel's* Innocency with respect to the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Let us see what he says about other matters of Fact.

He says, that the Earl of *Richmont*, having received the Constable's Sword, the seventh of *March* 1425, was sent to raise Soldiers in *Bretagne*. At the same time, *du Chatel* was sent thither as Ambassador of *Charles VII*, to ask Leave of the

Duke of *Bretagne* to raise Men in his Dominions. This was the Condition of the Kings of *France* at that time: They were surrounded with many petty Sovereigns, who played them a thousand Tricks. So that it is a great Mistake, to say, that the *English* have formerly almost conquered *France*. It should be said, that, with the Assistance of the greatest and most considerable Provinces of *France*, they were near conquering all the rest. But this is not the matter in hand. *Du Chatel* brought no other Answer, but that Assistance should be given, after the King had put all those Persons from him, whom he was desirous to remove. He was himself one of them, and resolved to retire, though the King was desirous to keep him. 'Sir, said he, I am a Gentleman, and have done you Service; but you must not lose the Service of great Persons, who may serve you so much against your Enemies, for such mean Persons as we are; tho' the Opinion they entertain of us is very groundless: however it be, you must not suffer for it. And since it is so, Sir, be pleased to provide for the old Age, which I have attained to in your Service, and give me some means to live the rest of my days: I desire, by no means, that you should lose, upon my Account, your Relations and Servants, whom you stand in need of, at this time. The King was obliged to consent to this, much against his Will, and said to him, My good Father and Friend, I shall always look upon you as my Father. I know that I am indebted to you, and shall remember, as long as I live, the Services you have done to me and to my Kingdom. It is much against my Will and Heart, that you must leave me: but, since things are brought to this pass, that I must receive Laws from others, I desire you to bear this Misfortune patiently till this Storm be over, and I may see, whether those, who will leave me on your Account, will do something to make amends for what they take from me. I have thought on this matter: go in the mean time to *Beaucaire*; I make you *Senéchal* of that Place: You shall keep the Office of Provost of *Paris*, of which you shall not be wronged: You shall have such Pensions assigned you, that you need not fear Poverty: You shall have fifteen Archers for the Security of your Person; and I will give Orders for their Payment. If any thing should happen to you, let me know it, and I will look to it; and will also lay hold of the first Opportunity, that shall offer itself, to see you again. With this Messire *Tanneui* retired to *Beaucaire*; but he came several times into *France* afterwards (10).

I think it may be inferred from this Passage, that all those, who do not place the Retreat of *Tanneui du Chatel* in the Year 1425, or who say, that he never returned, or that he was sent Ambassador to the Pope, or that he was made Great Master of the Horse, or *Maréchal* of *France*, or that he had the Generosity to bury *Charles VII*, are mistaken: They do not distinguish the Uncle from the Nephew: both of them had the Name of *Tanneui du Chatel*. But, if it were true, that the Uncle had been an Ambassador beyond the Alps in the Year 1446, and in the Year 1448, as Father *Anselme* is going to tell us, the Negligence of *Argentré* could not be excused; for he says nothing of it here; and, when he speaks (11) of the Embassy of *Rome*, he does not tell us, whether *Tanneui du Chatel*, who was one of the Ambassadors, was the same, who retired from the Court in the Year 1425.

We read, in the History of *Marseilles* (12), that, in the Year 1531, this Man was one of those, who negotiated a Truce between Those of *Marseilles* and the *Catalans*. He was at that time Captain General of the Militia of *Provence*.

[D] He

(10) *Argentré*, ibid. pag. 531, ad Ann. 1425.

(11) Liv. II, chap. 4, pag. m. 562, ad Ann. 1448.

(12) *Ruffi*, Hist. de la ville de *Marseilles*, liv. 6, chap. 9.

that he returned thither [D], and that he suffered another Disgrace, which did not hinder him from taking care of the Funeral of Charles VII [E], neglected by the Courtiers. He had a Nephew, whose Name was *Tanneui du Chatel* [F], who made a great Figure at the Court of France in the Reign of Lewis XI. Some, by an egregious Mistake, have confounded him with him, who killed the Duke of Burgundy [G]. An Italian Author has committed some great Mistakes here [H], as will appear in the last Remark.

[D] He was obliged to retire from Court, whither, according to some Authors, he never returned. Others pretend, that he returned thither. Father Anselme, having said, that *Tanneui* retired from the Court for the good of the Affairs of King Charles VII, in the Year 1425 (13), goes on thus: 'Afterwards he was made Senéchal of Provence, and dispatched to Genoa, in 1446, to endeavour the Reduction of That City to the Obedience of the King, whom they would have to be their Lord; and, in the Year 1448, he was sent, in Embassy, to Rome, with the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishop of Aleth, and others, to Pope Nicolas V, to pay him a filial Obedience, according to Berri Herault (14). He died soon after, without leaving Children by his Wife *Isabella le Vayer*. Moreri has not transcribed all this, because he believed, that *Tanneui du Chatel* took care of the Obsequies of Charles VII. If Father Anselme had also believed it, he would not have said, that *Tanneui du Chatel* died, soon after his Embassy of the Year 1448: which cannot agree with what is observed by so many other Historians, that he was at the Expence of the King's Funeral, who died in the Year 1461. They are mistaken.

[E] It is pretended - - - that he took care of the Funeral of Charles VII. Some Authors say, that *Tanneui* was in Disgrace, when Charles VII died; others say, that he was actually Great Master of the Horse. 'Funus suis sumptibus curavit Taneguius Castellus, summus Regionum Eorum Magister, (nam ceteri Caroli Domestici metu Ludovici filii se diversi subdlexerant) (15). - - - *Tanneui du Chatel, the King's Great Master of the Horse, buried him at his own Expence; the rest of Charles's Domestics being fled different ways, for fear of his Son Lewis.* In the first case, his Action would be more commendable; nevertheless, it deserves to be praised in the second case. His persisting in his Duty, when every one else neglected it, and laying out his Money for his King's Funeral, will always be esteemed a good Action. It is said, that Lewis XI let many Years pass, before he re-imbursed the Sums, which *Tanneui* advanced (16). The latter would have been very old, at the Death of the King his Master, if he had been General of an Army in Italy in the Year 1409. If we believe *Thuanus*, those Sums amounted to thirty thousand Crowns (17). He does not agree with *Beaucaire*, as to *Tanneui's* Office. He makes him Great Chamberlain, and is one of those, who say he was out of favour. 'Castellus is perillatris in Armorica prognatus gente biculariorum nobilium Princeps sub Carolo VII fuerat: & quamvis optime de rege ac regno meritis cum domum relegatus esset, mortuo hero statim in aulam accurrit, & in funus regium ab omnibus neglectum de sua pecunia 30 millia aureorum egregio grati animi exemplo dependit (18). - - - *This Chatel, born of a very illustrious Family in Bretagne, was Great Chamberlain under Charles VII: and, though banished to his own Country, notwithstanding his great Merits towards his King and Country, yet, upon the Death of his Master, he immediately repaired to Court, and gave a remarkable Instance of Gratitude, in expending Thirty thousand Crowns on the King's Funeral, neglected by all.* We shall consult *d'Argentré*, in the Sequel of these Remarks, for the better understanding of all these Circumstances. See the end of the Remark [G].

[F] He had a Nephew, whose Name was *Tanneui du Chatel*. This Nephew had been educated with his Uncle at the Court of France, and was a Man of Parts. He attached himself to the Service of the Duke of Bretagne, and became High-Steward of his Household. He gave him very good Advice in the Year 1464, in a very nice Conjunction; for it concerned the avoiding of the

Snares, laid by King Lewis XI (19). For the rest, he was a Man of Probity, who in no wise flattered his Master in his Amours. The Duke of Bretagne, being about thirty Years of Age, neglected his Wife, Daughter of the King of Scotland, and carried a Mistress every where with him, with whom he was passionately in Love. Her Name was *Antoinette de Maillezé*; and she was the Wife of the Lord *Villequier*. *Tanneui* often and freely represented to That Duke the Punishments, which the divine Justice inflicts on unchaste and adulterous Princes; but he only made himself odious by it. Perceiving his Master's Anger, and being unwilling to be any longer exposed to it, he retired to his House. The Lady *Villequier* sent him word, that she would reconcile him with the Duke, if he would leave off making Remonstrances to him. He rejected these Proposals: and, though the Lady was more inclined to make use of her Credit, in order to advance Men of Merit, than to revenge herself, yet he dreaded her (20). Lewis XI, being informed of the Disposition *du Chatel* was in, offered him some noble Employments. These Offers were accepted; and thus our *Tanneui* came into the Service of the Court of France (21). He had the Government of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* given him. We shall see, presently, that a Civilian, who did not want Learning, took the Country of *Cerdagne* for the Island of *Sardinia*. *Tanneui du Chatel* was employed, in 1475, about the nine Years Truce (22). He was killed at the Siege of *Bouchain* in the Year 1478 (23). If we believe *Peter Matthieu* (24), he, who buried Charles VII, was the same *Tanneui*, who so christianly exhorted the Duke of Bretagne to Chastity. He was the Nephew of *Tanneui*, who killed the Duke of Burgundy. Being vexed, because he was not reimbursed the Charges he had been at for the King's Funeral, he went over to the Duke of Bretagne. This deserves to be examined.

[G] Some - - - have confounded him with him, who killed the Duke of Burgundy. I found this Error in *Forcatulus*, with some Facts, that concern *Tanneui du Chatel*, the Nephew, and which deserve to be related here. *Forcatulus* says (25), that *Tanneui* was one of the Thirty six Knights of the Order of St Michael, who were first instituted by Lewis XI (26). He deserved it very well, continues *Forcatulus*; since, in the Reign of Charles VI, he had exercised the Government of Paris with so much good Fortune and Prudence. Here lies the Mistake. *Tanneui du Chatel*, Knight of the Order of St Michael, and Governor of *Roussillon* in the Year 1469, negotiated a Truce in the Year 1475. He is not therefore the same with him, who was Provost of Paris under Charles VI; for the latter commanded an Army in Italy in the Year 1409, which shews that he was then at least thirty Years of Age. So that he must have been born about the Year 1380. Had he been a Plenipotentiary at the Age of Ninety five Years, would not some Historians have taken notice of a Wit of so long standing, a much rarer thing than a Man of an hundred Years of Age? We have seen above (27), that, in 1425, *Tanneui*, the Provost of Paris, looked upon himself as an old Man; he was therefore above thirty Years of Age, and at least forty or forty five, when he commanded in Italy. *Forcatulus* observes, that *Tanneui* was one of Cardinal *Baluzé's* Judges, and that the King gave him That Cardinal's Goods, and fine Hangings. He makes an advantageous Description of the good Order, which *Tanneui* established in the Province of *Roussillon* (28). He does not forget his Journey to the Monastery of *Roncevaux*, nor his fine Exhortations to the Monks, nor the Question he put to them, after he had seen their Library, Whether they had not any piece of *Orpheus's* Lyre, or Head. If any one should ask, why This Civilian speaks at large of

(19) See *Beaucaire, Book 1, c. 15, & Varillas Histoire de Louis XI, liv. 3, pag. 188.*

(20) This does not well agree with what I shall say in the following Remark, quoting *Argentré*.

(21) *Beaucaire, lib. 2, n. 72. Varillas, ubi supra, lib. 4, pag. 289.*

(22) *Matthieu, Hist. de Louis XI, liv. 2, pag. m. 747.*

(23) *Mezerai, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 737.*

(24) *Matth. ib. liv. 2, pag. 37.*

(25) *Forcatul. de Gallor. Imperio & Philo'phia, lib. 7, pag. m. 1111. & seq.*

(26) In the Year 1469.

(27) In Remark [C], Citat. (10).

(28) He was somewhat unwilling to accept of that Government; Dubitans ne non Hispanica gens Imperium suum ferre possit, ut ipse moris ejus & licentiam. - - - Doubting whether the Spaniards could bear his Government, or be their Manners and Licentiousness. *Forcatul. ubi supra, pag. 1112. Argentré, ubi supra, agrees in many things with Forcatulus.*

(13) History of Great Officers, p. 142.

(14) The Chronicles of France, by *Belleforest*, taken from *Monstrelet, Nic. Gilles*, &c. say so likewise.

(15) *Belcarius, lib. 1, n. 1.*

(16) *Quam quidem pecuniam non statim repræsentavit Ludovicus, sed multis post annis Castillonius, Paciacque fundi atque aliorum aliquot venditione dissolvit. Ibid. In the 20th Book, n. 20, he says, The Payment was made soon after, non multo post.*

(17) *Mezerai, Hist. de France, lib. 4, pag. 414. of the third Vol. in Folio, says, three hundred thousand Livres. Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX, pag. 4, says an hundred and sixty eight thousand Livres. Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, liv. 12, cap. 17, says, above fifty thousand Livres.*

(18) *Thuan. lib. 25, pag. 524.*

(29) Audierat
Verò Polumus
Insulam crebra
ominorum mu-
tatione impac-
tam & turbis de-
ditam. — Polumus
had heard
that the Island,
through the fre-
quent Change of
it's Masters, was
reflex'd and given
to Tumults. Id.
ibid. pag. 1120.

THE Uncertain-
ty we are left in
by the Historians.

Tanneui du Chatel's Journey? I would answer, He did it, because his Great-Grand-father had a great share in the favour of This Governor of *Rouffillon*; but not so much as a Gentleman, whose Name was *Polerme*, descended from the Family of *Grammont*, who was *Tanneui's* Lieutenant in *Cerdagne*. To which purpose, *Forcatulus* gives us some Verses of *Claudian* and *Martial*, relating to the bad Air of *Sardinia*, and tells us, that *Polerme*, being well informed of the Disorders of That Island, accepted the Government of it much against his Will (29). This is what I had promised at the end of the foregoing Remark.

The Variations, we have just now read, may make my Readers sensible of the Negligence of Historians in relating the Circumstances of Things. Their Disagreement makes us uncertain of the Time when *Tanneui du Chatel* retired from the Court of *Charles VII*; whether he returned thither before That Prince's Death; whether he was Great Master of the Horse, or Great Chamberlain; what Sum he laid out for his Master's Funeral; whether he, who killed the Duke of *Burgundy*, is the same, who caused *Charles VII* to be buried; and whether he, who censured the Amours of the Duke of *Bretagne*, retired from the Court of *France*, because they did not pay him the Money he had laid out for That King's Funeral. We find abundance of such Variations about the Lives of all Great Men; which is a surprising thing, since it would be very easy to characterize the Facts, mentioned in a History, that an indifferent Reader might avoid confounding the one with the other.

(30) Histoire de
Bretagne, liv. 12,
chap. 3. pag. 592.

Here is another Passage of *Argentré* (30), which will give us a little more light into this matter. 'The officers, seeing the End of the said King *Charles* draw near, and knowing, that they should fall into a very suspicious Prince's Hands, they all left King *Charles*, one after another, before he was dead; so that there was scarce any, who remained to attend him, besides one faithful, loyal, and steadfast Servant, who was *Messire Tanneui du Chatel*, Great Master of the Horse, who would not forsake him, whatever Danger he might be exposed to by it, but staid with him till he died; and there was not a Man in *France*, who would defray the Charges of, or stir a Foot for, the King's Burial. *Du Chatel* undertook to do it, making all the Preparations, usual upon such an Occasion, and was at the Charge of the Funeral, things being in such a Condition, that there was no hopes of recovering any thing of it. He laid out above Fifty thousand Livres of his own, for which he was not re-imburshed 'till ten Years after, when, by good luck, they assigned for his Payment the Castles and Lordships of *Cbantillon* on *Andely*, *Pacy*, *Oisy*, and *Nonancourt* in *Normandy*, which have been since redeemed of his Heirs, because they made Part of the King's Demesnes. And, finding no place in the succeeding King's House, after his Master's Death, he retired into *Bretagne*, where he was very kindly received by the Duke, who made him his Great Steward, and Captain of *Nantes*, and married him to the

second Daughter of the Family of *Maletroit*, the *Maréchal de Rieux* having married the eldest; but this Favour did not continue long, though he had very well deserved it, as we shall say hereafter.' These last Words relate to the History of *Tanneui's* Disgrace. The Author speaks of it in the 603d and 608th Page, and seems to contradict himself. He says, pag. 603, that *Tanneui*, during the Duke of *Bretagne's* Journey, which he made into *Normandy* against his Advice, obtained leave to go and see his Wife; and that the same Duke, having found, that the Distrusts, which *Tanneui* had endeavoured to inspire him with, were but too well grounded, thought he had a hand in the Plot; so that he would never see him. But, pag. 608, he informs us, that *Tanneui* could not endure the Life, that the Duke led with the Lady *Villequier*; which was the Reason, why she began to hate him mortally, and that he went in great haste into *France* to secure his Person. He was very welcome to *Lewis XI*, who advanced him to great Honours, and particularly to the Government of *Rouffillon* (31). Note, that the Lady *Villequier* was debauched by the Duke after his Journey into *Normandy* in the Year 1465 (32). *Tanneui* must therefore have appeared at Court after that Journey; for, if he had been quite out of Favour, what could he have done with the Duke against the Lady *Villequier*?

(31) Ibid. pag. 612.

(32) Ibid. pag. 608.

However it be, we may be sure, thanks to *Bertrand d'Argentré* for it, I. That *Tanneui du Chatel*, who buried *Charles VII*, is not the same, who killed the Duke of *Burgundy*. II. That he is the same, who retired from *Bretagne* into *France*, in the Reign of *Lewis XI*, and who was Governor of *Rouffillon*. III. That he did not return from his House, to take care of the Funeral, but that he was actually in Possession of the Office of Great Master of the Horse, and that he enjoyed the Affection of *Charles VII*, when That Prince died.

There are but few Articles in this Dictionary, which, for their Length, are made up of so many different Pieces as this; however, it will make my Readers easily know how the two *TANNEUI's* *DU CHATEL* must be distinguished.

[H] An Italian Author has committed some great Mistakes here.] See a Book, printed at Rome in the Year 1646, intitled, *Ritratti & Elogii di Capitani illustri*, and you will find there (33), that *Tanneui du Chatel*, Provost of *Paris*, and afterwards Lieutenant to the Dauphin, was magnificently adorned with military Rewards by *Lewis XI*, and by *Charles VIII*, and one of the first Knights of the Order of *St Michael*; and, that he died in the Year 1468. The first Fault is, that he confounds the Uncle with the Nephew; for, the Dauphin's Lieutenant, and the Provost of *Paris*, is not he, who was the Knight of *St Michael*. II. He, who was Knight of *St Michael*, did not die in the Year 1468; since, in 1475, he was employed to negotiate a Truce of nine Years (34), and he was at a Siege in 1478 (35). III. If he had died in the Year 1468, he could not have received any Office, nor any Reward from *Charles VIII*; for That Prince did not begin his Reign till 1483.

(33) Pag. 144, 145.

(34) Matthieu, Histoire de Louis XI, liv. 11. pag. m. 747.

(35) That of *Bouchain*, where he was killed.

CH EDERLES is, among the Turks, what *St George* is among the Christians. The *Dervises* told *Busbequius*, when we went to *Amasia* in *Cappadocia*, that *Chederles* was a great Hero, who, having killed a furious Dragon, saved a Maid, who had been exposed to That hideous Beast. They added, that, after having wandered a long time in unknown Countries, he came at last to the Banks of a River, whose Water made those immortal, who drank of it; that this River is always covered with a dark Night, and that, since *Chederles*, it was never seen by any Body. This Hero, who is immortal, and mounted on a fine Horse, to which the Waters of that River procured the same Advantage, runs up and down the World, loves Battles, assists the Warriours, who have the best Cause, or who invoke him, of what Religion soever they be. They say he was one of *Alexander's* Captains [A]; and yet they will not have him to differ from the *St George* of the Christians,

[A] He was — one of *Alexander's* Captains.] This is not granted, in the Supplement to *d'Herbelot's* *Bibliothèque Orientale*; for it is affirmed there, that, according to the Traditions of the Eastern Nations, *Khedher* was the Companion or Counsellor,

and General of the Army, of *Dhoulcarnein*, who is not *Alexander* the Macedonian, but a more ancient Monarch than he, who first bore the Name of *Alexander* *Dhoulcarnein*, *Alexander* the Great having had that Name only in Imitation of him, and by reason

6 B

Christians, so great is their Ignorance of Chronology. They have a Marble Fountain in their Mosque, the Water whereof is very clear; and they say it owes it's beginning to the Urine of *Cbederles's* Horse. The *Hippocrene*, mentioned by the Poets, was not so foolish an Imagination. Very near that place, they shew the Tombs of his Groom, and of his Nephew (a), where, they say, Miracles are continually wrought in favour of those, who invoke them (b). They say also, that, if any one swallows an Infusion of the Scrapings of the Stones of the Earth, where *Cbederles* stooped, when he staid for the Dragon, it cures the Fever, Head-ach, and sore Eyes. The *Turks* cannot forbear laughing, when they see the Image of St *George*, their pretended *Cbederles*, in the Christian Churches; for the *Greeks* paint him with a little Child riding behind him, who fills him Wine (c). This is a piece of Parallel for any one, who has a mind to enlarge the Books, which have already been published, about the Conformities of Religions.

The Passage which I shall set down, of *Postel Cosmopolite*, twice returned from *ibence*, and truly informed (d), will serve as a Supplement to what I have just now said [B].

(a) Biblioth. Orientale, p. 997, 993.

(b) Ibid. pag. 993. col. 1.

(c) Postel, Histories Orientales, Part 2. pag. 231.

(d) In Remark [C], of the Article CETHESUS, at the end.

reason of his great Conquests (1). Many Musulmen confound *Kbeder* with the Prophet *Elias*; but the Author of the *Tarikh Montekheb* distinguishes them very well, and adds, that *Khedher* lived in the time of *Caikobad*, an ancient King of Persia; and that, having found the Fountain of Life, and drank of it's Water, he is not to die till the Sound of the Trumpet; that is, till the Day of the last Judgment (2).

[B] A Passage — of *Postel* will serve for a Supplement to what I have been saying. This Author relates, that there are numberless Saints in Turkey, who work Miracles, and have each of them a particular Office. 'One comforts afflicted Persons — another assists the Travellers, who invoke him. Another, near *Suria*, not very far from *Adena*, whose Name is *Sedi Cadi*, Sir, or Lord Judge; where they say all Wishes are accomplished, and where the Soldiers recommend themselves to him, being persuaded, that whoever has been to see him shall not die in War. Others discover things that are lost (3): and there is a great one in *Natolia*, near *Cariafar*, who is called *Guzel Mirsin*, or *Gotel Mirsin*, the good Bringer

back, who finds all lost Cattel. Another, who calls himself *Bassa Effie*, the God of Love, or the Prince, to whom they apply for success in Marriage, for Children, and to be reconciled. There is yet another, who is the Captain-General of them all; for he discharges the Offices of all the others; and they say, that he relieves all who ask any thing of him: he has no dedicated Place, but walks on a Grey Mare, throughout the Country of *Natolia* only, and appears every where to all those, who invoke him: They call him *Cbederelles*, and think him to be St *George*; for they call St *George*, *Cbederelles*, and a great many Persons say, they belong to him, and know also at what time the Christians observe his Festival Day; and they come, before, or on that Day, to beg Alms for his Sake: for, when they ask any thing of these Saints, they promise them, according to their Ability, to eat a hot Loaf for their Sake, or a Capon, or a Sheep, or an Ox, with the Poor, and the Pilgrims; which they perform carefully. They eat with the Poor for the Love of their Saints (4).

(4) Compare with this the *Penitence* diversifies fur les Cometes, n. 31.

CHELIDONIS, a Woman of an ill Life, whom I only mention, to have an opportunity of relating what I promised above (a), and which is to be found in *Cicero*. This Woman loved *Verres*, and had a very great power over him. All those, who were at Law, had Recourse to her, when he was Pretor; and, there being no other way to succeed, some Persons of Honour, and whose Causes were good, were forced to go and sollicite him, at the House of *Cbelidonis*. This *Basenesis* is eloquently described by *Cicero* [A]. He observes, that a young Man of

[A] This *Basenesis* is eloquently described by *Cicero*. The Father-in-law, the Uncle, and one of the Tutors of a Pupil, seeing him threatened with a great Law-Suit, applied themselves to *Marcus Marcellus*, another of the Youth's Tutors. *Marcellus* went to desire *Verres* to protect the Pupil's Innocency, but did not obtain any Promise. It was then, that, all other Means failing, they had recourse to *Cbelidonis*. 'Quum sibi omnes ad istum allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos ac potius interclusos viderent, apud quem non jus, non æquitas, non misericordia, non propinqui oratio, non amici voluntas, non cuiusquam autoritas pro precio, non gratia valeret, statuunt, id sibi optimum esse factum, quod cuius venisset in mentem, petere auxilium à *Cbelidone*: quæ isto prætoris, non modo in iure civili, privatorumque omnium controversiis populo Romano præfuit, verum etiam in his fartis tectis dominata est. Venit ad *Cbelidonem* C. *Mullius* eques Romanus publicanus, homo cum primis honestus: venit M. *Junius* patruus pueri, frugalissimus homo, & castissimus: venit homo summo honore, pudore, & summo officio spectatissimus ordinis fuit P. *Potitius* tutor. O multis acerbam, ô miseram, atque indignam præturam tuam, ut mittam cætera, quo tandem pudore tales viros, quo dolore, meretricis domum venisse arbitramini? qui nulla conditione istam turpitudinem subsistent, nisi officii necessitudinisque ratio coëgisset (1). — Finding it difficult to lay before him any Proof, and that all Access to him

(1) Cicero Orat. in Verrem. lib. 2, cap. 51. &c.

was denied them, since neither Right, nor Equity, nor Pity, nor the Request of a Neighbour, or Desire of a Friend, could prevail on him, they determined to apply to *Cbelidonis*, as the properest means they could think of; who, during his Pretorship, decided all the Law-Suits of the People of Rome. *Caius* *Mullius*, a Roman Knight, and Farmer of the Revenues, a Man of distinguished Honour, comes to *Cbelidonis*, together with M. *Junius*, the young Man's Uncle, a most frugal and chaste Man, and P. *Potitius* his Tutor, a Man of the greatest Honour, and Modesty, and the most distinguished of his Rank. How ungrateful to many, how wretched, how unworthy a Pretorship was your's! to say no more, with what Confusion, think you, must such Men apply to an Harlot: Men, who would, upon no terms, have complied with such Meanness, had not Duty and Necessity obliged them to it? They found her surrounded with Persons, who were at Law, and, before they could be heard, they were obliged to wait till she had dispatched them. At last it came to their Turn; the Business was proposed to her; her good Offices were desired, and Money was offered her. She answered them, like a Courtisan, I will serve you with all my Heart, and will speak earnestly to him about it; but, the next Day, she declared, that she could not prevail with him, and that he expected a good Sum of Money. Veniunt, ut dico, ad *Cbelidonem*. Domus erat plena, nova jura, nova decreta, nova judicia petebantur. Mihi det possessionem, mihi ne adimat, in

of Quality could not name this Creature without great Reluctancy [B]. She made her last Will in favour of *Verres* (b).

(b) Cicero, in *Verrem* II. cap. 47.

* in me iudicium ne det, mihi bona addicat. Alii nummos numerabant, alii tabulas obsignabant. Domus erat non meretricio conventu, sed prætoris turba referta. Simul ac potestas primum data est, adeunt hi quos dixi, loquitur Mustius, rem demonstrat, petit auxilium, pecuniam pollicetur. Respondit illa, ut meretrix, non inhumane, libenter ait se esse facturam, & se cum isto diligenter fermocinaturam, reverti iubet, tum discedunt: postmodum revertuntur. Negat illa posse hominem exorari, permagnam cum dicere ex illa re pecuniam confici posse (2). The Chamber Counsellors had nothing to do; no one went any more to them; but all applied to *Chelidonis*: she regulated the judgments; the Pretor revoked his Sentences, and gave quite contrary ones, according as she suggested to him. *Cicero* describes this excellently well. Quæso redite in memoriam, iudices, quæ libido istius in iure dicendo fuerit: quæ varietas decretorum, quæ nundinatio, quam inanes domus eorum omnium, qui de iure civili consuli solent, quam plena atque referta *Chelidonis*:

(2) Id. ibid.

* à qua muliere quum erat ad eum ventum, & in aurem ejus insufurratum, aliàs revocabat eos inter quos jam decreverat, decretumque mutabat; aliàs inter alios contrarium sine ulla religione decernebat, ac proximis paulò ante decreverat (3).

(3) Id. ibid. cap. 46. See also *Orat. v. in Verrem*, cap. 13.

[B] A young Man of Quality could not name this Creature without great Reluctancy.] *Cicero* did not fail to cry out, What a Shame is it, that a Pretor should perform the Functions of his Office, as it pleased a Woman, whom *Domitius* thought he could not name without offending Modesty? 'L. Domitius — de *Chelidone* reticuit, quoad potuit, aliò responsonem suam derivavit. Tantus in adolescente clarissimo ac principe juvenutis pudor fuit, ut aliquandiu, quum à me premeretur, omnia potius responderet, quàm *Chelidonem* nominaret. Primo necessarios istius ad eum allegatos esse dicebat, deinde aliquando coactus *Chelidonem* nominavit. Non te pudet, *Verres*, ejus mulieris arbitratu gessisse præturam, quam L. Domitius ab se nominari vix sibi honestum esse arbitrabatur (4)?'

(4) Id. ibid. cap. 53.

CHELONIS, Daughter of *Leonidas* King of *Lacedemon*, and Wife of *Cleombrotus*, also King of *Lacedemon*, found her self in a nice and difficult Juncture, from which she freed herself, not like an able Woman, but like the Heroine of a Romance. So formidable a Faction arose in *Lacedemon* against *Leonidas*, in favour of *Cleombrotus*, that the former was obliged to retire to a place of Refuge, and the latter was placed on the Throne. *Chelonis* was so far from sharing in her Husband's Fortune, that she retired into the same Temple, where her Father was, and where she appeared, like him, under the sad and melancholy Figure of those, who fled to those places of Refuge. They cannot be better compared, than to Penitents, clothed with Sackcloth, and covered with Ashes. Some time after, *Leonidas* was permitted to retire to *Tegea*. *Chelonis* went with him, as the inseparable Companion of his Misfortunes: *Cleombrotus* stood in need of a privileged place, in his turn; for *Leonidas* was recalled, and set on his Throne again. Then *Chelonis* left her Father, and went to her Husband. It was a Spectacle, very worthy of Admiration, to see her intercede with her Father for her Husband, being fully resolved to share in his Disgrace, though she had not been Partaker of his good Fortune, and not to partake of her Father's Prosperity, though she had shared in his Misfortunes. *Leonidas* came with armed Men to the place of Refuge, where his Son-in-law was, and very severely upbraided him with the Injuries he had received from him, with the Loss of the Throne, with his Exile, and the Consequences of it. *Cleombrotus* had nothing to answer. His Wife spoke for him, and did it with so much force, and so pathetically, even protesting that she would die before her Husband, if her Tears and Prayers could not prevail, that she saved his Life, and obtained for him the Liberty to retire where he pleased. Among other things, she represented to her Father, that he made his Son-in-law's Apology, and that by her Conduct she had made a Manifesto against her Husband [A]. After *Leonidas* had granted her *Cleombrotus*'s Life and Liberty, he earnestly desired her to live with him, *Leonidas*; but she excused her self from it; and, giving her Husband one of her Children to hold, whilst she held the other, she went to say her Prayers near the Altar: after which, she set out with her Husband for the place of their Exile (a). The Passage, in which *Montagne* praises her, deserves to be consulted (b).

(a) Taken from *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*.

(b) *Montagne's* Essays, Book iii. chap. 13. pag. m. 578.

[A] She represented to her Father, that he made his Son-in-law's Apology, and that she had made a Manifesto against her Husband.] If my Husband, said she (1), had any specious Reasons to take your Crown from you, I refused them, I was a Witness against him, by leaving him, to follow you; but, if you put him to death, will you not shew,

(1) *Plut. in vita Agis. & Cleomenes*. pag. 802.

that he was excusable, and make the World believe, that a Kingdom is a Thing so great, and so worthy of our Desires, that one ought to spill the Blood of a Son-in-law, and not value the Life of one's own Children, in order to secure it to one's self?

CHESNE (JOSEPH du) in *Latin Quercetanus*, *Sieur de la Violette*, Counsellor and Physician of the King, was of *Armagnac* in *Gascogne*, and died at *Paris* in the Year 1609. Some give him the Title of *Baron* (a). He became famous for his Skill in Chemistry [A], and he published Books, which were well received, and often

(a) See Remark [B].

[A] He became famous for his Skill in Chemistry.] The Passage of *Gaffarel*, which may serve me as a Proof, contains a remarkable Particular, which hinders me from reducing it to the bare words, which relate to the Capacity of our *du Chesne*: The whole

will be read with Pleasure. 'Mr. du Chesne, *Sieur de la Violette*, one of the best Chemists our Age has produced, relates, that he had seen a very skillful Polish Physician of *Cracow*, who kept in Phials the Ashes of almost all the Plants we have

often reprinted [B]. I believe he was a Protestant, as is affirmed in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (b). He married Margaret de Trie (c), whose Mother was Daughter of the learned William Budeus. He had by her one Daughter, of whom I shall speak in another place (d). Patin has greatly abused him [C], and no wonder, if we consider the Hatred he bore to Chemists, and Antimony. The *Sieur de la Violette* did not prescribe Antimony; but he became in some manner it's Patron (e). This, and some other branches of his Practice, raised Enemies against him. He was obliged to answer some Books of *Riolan*, where he was abused. He might comfort himself under these light Persecutions; for he found himself honoured with the Favour of the Great. Mr de *Setteri*, who had been Chancellor of France, was one of his Patrons. He carried him with him into Switzerland, when he was sent thither as Ambassador, to renew the Alliance of 1601; and, it being much talked of at that time, that there was a young Woman, who had lived a long time without eating, he sent him to Berne to examine into the Matter. He reported, that the Story was true (f). I shall observe a small mistake, which has crept into the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library [D].

(b) At pag. 660, of the Edition of Geneva, 1667.

(c) See Remark [C], of the Article SPANHEIM.

(d) In the same Remark.

(e) See his Dieteticon, fol. m. 438, & seq.

(f) Taken from the Dieteticon, of Du Chesne, fol. 31.

‘ have any Knowledge of; so that, when any one out of Curiosity would see, for example, a Rose in these Phials, he took that, in which the Ashes of a Rose-Bush were kept, and putting it over a lighted Chandle, after it had a little felt the Heat, you might see the Ashes begin to move; afterwards, mounting up, and being dispersed about the Phial, you might observe a small dark Cloud, which, dividing itself into several Parts, came at last to represent a Rose, so beautiful, so fresh, and so perfect, that you would have thought it palpable, and odoriferous, as That which comes from a Rose-Bush. This learned Man says, that he had often endeavoured to do the same, and not effecting it by Industry, Chance at length presented him with this Prodigy; for, as he was amusing himself with Mr de *Laynes de Formetiers*, Counsellor of Parliament, with the Sight of some curious Experiments, having extracted the Salt from some burnt Nettles, and set out the Lie after Sun-set, in Winter, in the Morning he found it frozen, but with this surprizing Circumstance, that the several kinds of Nettles, their Shape and Figure, were so perfectly represented on the Ice, that the live ones were not more so. Being thereupon in a sort of Rapture, he called the Counsellor, to be witness of this Secret, the Excellence of which made him conclude in these Terms:

*This Secret shews us, tho' the Body dies,
The Form entire within it's Ashes lies.*

At present this Secret is not so uncommon; for Mr de *Claves*, an excellent Chemist of our Time, shews the Experiment every Day (1).

[B] He published some Books, which were well received, and often re-printed. We need only see the Number of Editions, mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus* (2). I refer my Readers thither, both for this, and for the Titles of his Books. I will only say, I. That, as far as I can discover, The first Book he published is *Apologia pro Chymicis*. Thus *du Verdier* entitles it (3): he mentions particularly the Edition of 1575, at Lyons, in 8vo. It is doubtless the same Book with the *ad Jacobi Auberti, Vindonis, de ortu & causis Metallorum contra Chymicos Explicationem, brevis Responso. Et de Exquisita Mineralium, Animalium, & Vegetabilium Medicamentorum spagyrica preparatione & usu perspicua Tractatio*: at Lyons, 1575, in 8vo. *Du Verdier* ascribes to him *A Treatise of St Augustin of the Christian Life, with the Treatises of Charity, and of the Vanity of this Age, and inferior World of Obedience and Humility. And the Ladder of Paradise*, at Paris 1542. But I cannot conceive this Work to be his, if the Year 1542 be rightly marked. I am of Opinion, that his Cut, prefixed to his *Dieteticon*, printed in 1606, was made this Year. Now it informs us, that he was sixty Years of Age. In this case, he would be born after the Impression of This Treatise of St Augustin. II. I will say, in the second Place, that, in the *Bibliothèque of du Verdier*, it is only *Sieur de la Violette, Counsellor and Physician in Ordinary to Monsieur the King's only Brother*; but that, in That of *la Croix du Maine*, he is simply *Baron and Lord of Morencé and Lyserable*. It is certain, that these two Writers speak of the same Person: for they ascribe to their *Joseph du Chesne, A Treatise of the general and particular Cure of Gun-shot Wounds*, printed at Lyons in 1576. It was printed there in Latin and French the same Year. Mr *Bailliet* mentions a *Baron de Morencé, called Joseph du Chesne* (4). He speaks of him only as a Poet, and he is certain, that this Physician wrote Verses. *Du Verdier* ascribes to him *The Microscop, or of the Folly, Vanity, and Inconstancy, of the World, in a hundred Odonaries, with two Doric Odes on Celestial Love, and the Sovereign Good*, at Lyons, in 4to. I believe this Edition is not the first: for the Author, citing this Work in his *Dieteticon* (5), printed in 1606, observes, that it was Twenty six Years since he published it.

[C] Patin has greatly abused him.] ‘ This same Year, 1609, died here a rascally Quack, who killed many People, during his Life, and after his Death by the wretched Writings he has left us under his Name, which he got composed here and there by chymical Physicians; I mean *Josephus Quercetanus*, known at Paris by the Name of the *Sieur de la Violette*. He was a great Drunkard, and a meer Ignoramus, who knew nothing of Latin, and who, having been originally but a Chirurgeon's Man of the Country of *Armagnac*, a mean and wretched Country, passed at Paris, and particularly at Court, for a great Physician, because he had learnt something of Chymistry in Germany. The best Chemist, that is to say the least bad, never did any good in the World; and ‘ This Man has done a great deal of Harm (6). There is much spleen in these Words of Patin.

[D] I shall observe a small Mistake — in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.] Mention is made in it (7) of *John du Chesne*, to whom it ascribes the *Treatise of the Cure of Gun-shot Wounds*, printed at Lyons, 1576, in 8vo, and the *Great Mirrour of the World*, printed in the same Town, in 1587, in 4to. These two Works certainly belong to our *Joseph du Chesne*. Mr *Mercklinus* says nothing of the latter (8); but the Author himself cites it, at Fol. 398. of his *Dieteticon Polybistoricon*. I observe farther, that the *Bodleian Catalogue*, in giving a long List of the Latin Works of *Josephus Quercetanus* (9), takes no notice, that he had already been mentioned under the Word CHESNE.

(4) Bailliet, Jugem. for les Poëtes, Tom. III. n. 1332. p. 363.

(5) Fol. 17.

(6) Patin. Lett. 31, pag. 142, of Tom. I. Edit. Genev. 1691.

(7) At pag. 158. Part I.

(8) In *Lindenius renovatus*.

(9) At Pag. 88, Part II.

(1) Gaffarel, Curiosit. Inouyes, chap. 5. n. 9. pag. m. 100.

(2) At Pages 710, 711.

(3) Du Verdier, Bibl. Franc. pag. 773.

(a) See the Article B A R T. L A S, Remark [F].

(b) Months of March and April 1701, pag. 241. Edit. Amst.

CHEVREAU (URBAN) Native of Loudon, and Author of several Books, and among others of an Universal History (a), of which there have been many Editions, died in the place of his Birth, the fifteenth of February 1701, at the age of Eighty seven Years, and some Months. See his Elogy in the *Journal de Trevoux* (b): the Author has not mentioned all his Works; for he has said nothing of his Romance of *Hermiogenes* printed at Paris, in 1648, in 8vo; nor of a Volume of Letters, which he published in the same Town, in 1642, in 8vo.

CHIGI,

CHIGI (a), a noble Family of Siena, which had made a Figure a long time in that Country, when it began to raise itself at the Court of Rome in the Pontificate of Julius II (b). Indeed, it was not promoted to the Prelacy, but had considerable Employments in the Apostolic Chamber. Julius II. gave the Intendance of the Finances to AUGUSTIN CHIGI, and was very well pleased with his choice. No one is ignorant of that Pope's martial and restless Temper, nor of the Expences, which such a Humour necessarily occasions. Augustin Chigi was forced to display his utmost skill, to find out sufficient Funds for so many Expences, and shewed as much Activity, Contrivance, and Fidelity, as were necessary for such a Design [A]: so that Julius II., being very well pleased with his Financier, honoured

(a) Chigi is the true Name.

(b) See, below, Remark [F].

(1) Relazione della Corte Romana, fatta dal Signor Angelo Corrado, pag. 9. The Journal de Trevoux informas, (Month of July, 1702, pag. 45. French Edition) that Mr du Tot, Counsellor of the Parliament of Rouen, is Author of this Relation of the Court of Rome. See also il Sindacato di Alessandro VII. pag. 39. Edit. 1668.

A PRODIGIOUS Sumptuousness in a Feast.

(2) Hadrianus Junius Animadv.

verbi lib. 4. c. 8.

(3) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

(4) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

(5) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

(6) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

(7) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

(8) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

(9) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

(10) Augustin Chigi, Farmer of the Pope's (Julius II.) Salt-pits, having complained

of it to his Holiness, Mezerai, Abregé Chronol.

Tom. IV. p. m.

45, ad Ann.

1510.

[A] AUGUSTIN CHIGI, Intendant of the Finances of JULIUS II. — had — the requisite Fidelity.] I have exactly followed my Original, which says, That there was never any Occasion to suspect the Integrity of This Financier. *Non hebbe mai Giulio che ombra di delli integrità di che l'asservitava* (1). I am not ignorant, that very strange Things have been published concerning Augustin Chigi's Luxury. One Day, he treated the Pope, and all the Sacred College, with so much Magnificence, that one would have thought he had a Design to exceed the extravagance of Vitellius. The Plenty, Exquisite, and choice of the Dishes, would have been sufficient to cause That Feast to be admired; but That was not the Thing by which he desired to distinguish himself: All that was taken from the Table, at every Course, was thrown into the Tiber, though every thing was served in Silver Plate; and, in the last Place, a great number of Parrot's Tongues were served up, dressed several ways. A Financier, who acts thus, may well be suspected of having enriched himself unlawfully. I wish that the Author, who informs me of this, had had the goodness and equity to have told us in what Author he had read it. It is not my Fault, if he shall be believed on his Word. However, here is what he says: 'Privatum hominem ad prodigiosi luxu enormem licitationem non macelli unius, sed peregrini quoque orbis conturbatricem aspirasse quis non merito maximo demiretur? Is fuit Augustinus quidam Chigiensis, Romanus Trapezites, qui Leoni X. Pontifici Maximo totique purpurei Senatus cœtui, exterorumque Regum Legatis, ob filium ab illo baptismi lavacro tinctum, splendidissima, ut ita dicam, repotia constituit, in quibus non satis fuit edulorum omnis generis missuumque exquisitissimorum apparatus modum omnem ademisit, nisi etiam lances, pinaces, cæteraque cum escaria vasa, tum potus instrumenta ex argento affabre facta omnia, in Tiberis præterlabentis alveum inani luxu ostento præcipitarentur, idque non una modo, sed pluribus quoque vicibus, quotiescunque scenicum illud scelerum et mensarum choragium mutandum foret. Atque ista parvo constituisse æstimandum erat, nisi & alieno ex orbe petitarum immani pretio avium (quas Pſittacos nominamus) solæ linguæ variis in patinis conditæ, ultimo sculo omnem luxu ostentationem longè superassent (2). — Who does not, with the greatest reason, wonder, that a private Man should aspire to such a prodigious Luxury, as ransacked, not a single Market, but the foreign World? Such was one Augustin Chigi, Financier of Rome, who entertained, in the most splendid manner, Pope Leo X, the whole College of Cardinals, and the Embassadors of foreign Kings, at the Christening of a Son; in which, not satisfied with exceeding all bounds in preparing the most exquisite Delicacies, he even ordered all the Dishes, and Plates, which were curiously wrought of Silver, to be thrown into the Tiber, through an empty ostentation of Luxury; and That not once, but many times, as often as the Courses were changed. And, as if the Expence would have been otherwise too small, Parrot's Tongues, fetched from abroad, at an immense Price, were served up, as the last Course.' This Author makes use of the Word Trapezites, a Banker, in describing the Qualities of our Chigi. It is as good as Mezerai's Expression (3).

They, who understand Latin, may read here a Story, which I met with in Paul Jovius, and which confirms what we have just now seen concerning the Luxury of our Chigi. They will see likewise, that he had a Mistress, to whom he made a Present

VOL. II.

of the Head of a Fish, which Cardinal San Severino, his Debtor, had sent him. A famous Parasite of those Times followed This Head to That Whore's House, and satisfied his Gluttony, after having tired himself by running after That good Bit. This narrative is very graceful in the Original. I shall set it down at length (4). *Eam (Umbram) hodie Romani Umbrinam vocant. Capita Umbrarum, sicuti & Silurorum, Triumviris rei Romanæ conservatoribus dono dantur, qui piscatores inveterata quadam consuetudine eorum caput tributum nomine vestigales fecerunt. — Extat adhuc in ore quorundam factorum ridenda fabula de T. Tamisio, qui Romanis aulicisque salibus erat insignis, sed gulæ adeo proficitæ, ut infamis haberetur. Is quum per servum, qui in foro piscario in eam curam intentus esse solebat, ingentis Umbræ caput Triumviris delatum esse cognovisset, in Capitolium protinus ascendit, ut simulato apud magistratum negotio, sermoneque de industria protracto, prandium capteret. Verum illud Triumviri jam Riario Cardinali donandum decreverant: ita Tamisius, quum lime curiæ offerri ingenti coronataque patina caput illud nobile conspexisset, primo deceptus consilio, illud subsecutus est præmissis servo, qui vestigiis deferentium ministrorum insisteret. Nec multo post quum Riarianis ædibus inferretur, bene habet, salva res est, inquit Tamisius, opipare excipiemur: erat enim in primis mensæ Riarianæ, quæ longè omnium semper lautissima fuit, familiaris. At Riarius, ut erat natura munificus, maximum, inquit, hoc Triumvirale caput maximo debetur Cardinali, statimque Federico Sanseverino proceritatis administrandæ Cardinali transmittitur. Colligit extemplo togam Tamisius, Riarium intempestivæ munificentiae incusans, in mulamque refilit, & munus ad Sanseverianam domum consequitur. Idem pari liberalitate facit Federicus, caputque ipsum splendidè exornatum verbis (5), aurataque illatum patina Ghisio publicano ditissimo deferri jubet, quod ei multo ære alieno, gravibusque usuris obstrictus erat. Voluit tertia jam spe avidam frustratus gulam æstusans Tamisius, festinabundusque incalente jam die in Transiberinos hortos, quos ipse Ghisius magnificè exstruxerat, contendit: ibique sessus admodum & multo sudore madidus, quod gravissimum abdominis, quarto à Fortuna decipitur: quippe qui Ghisium caput illud recentibus floribus redimitum adamato scorto, cui ab forma eruditique illustribus Imperiæ cognomen fuit, ut extemplo deferretur, curantem reperit. Fleat itaque indignabundus habenas retro, nec tamen subitatus gulæ, quæ Herculeos labores attulerat, & ad Imperiam jam multo sole Sixtini pontis semitam exurente adequitur. Ad extremum anhelantis gulæ ea vis atque libido fuit, ut qui per totam urbem fuerat raptatus, idem & togatus & senex, cum scorto admirante novi hominis adventum, nullo pudore discubuerit. — The Romans call That (Umbram) at present Umbrina. The Heads of the Umbræ, as also of the Siluri, are given, by way of Present, to the Triumvirs, Conservators of Rome, who, thro' custom immemorial, have obliged the Fishermen to pay these Heads by way of Tribute. — The Jesters still relate a diverting Story of one T. Tamisius, a Man famous for Wit, but gluttonous even to infamy. This Man, being informed by his Servant, who used to wait in the Fish Market for that purpose, that the Head of a large Umbræ was carried to the Triumvirs, posts away to the Capitol, that, by pretending business with the Magistrate, and industriously protracting his Discourse, he might get a Dinner. But the Triumvirs had designed the Head as a Present to Cardinal Riarius: Thus Ta-*

6 C

(4) Paulus Jovius, de Piscibus Romanis, cap. 5, pag. 47, & seq. Edit. Frobenianæ 1531.

(5) It is so in the Edition of Basili, which I cite; and in that of Basili, 1661, in 8vo, apud Henricum Petri; and in that of Basili, 1577, in Folio, apud Petrum Pernam, but it is doubtless an Error of the Press for heris.

[* The Original Edition, printed at Rome, in 1524, in Folio, has also verbi; and with-out having recourse to Mr Bayle's Criticism, we may, I think, understand by Splendidi exornatum verbi, attended with a handsome Compliment. REM. C. II.]

milis,

honoured him with a kind of Adoption: he would have *Augustin Cbigi*, and his Posterity, reputed to belong to the Family of *Roveri*. Under the Pontificate of *Paul III*, the Family of the *Cbigi* declined, and was forced to leave *Rome*, and return to *Siena*. They had a very fine Garden on the *Tiber*, near the Palace *Farnese*: That Neighbourhood proved fatal to them: the Imbellishments of That Palace required, that This fine part of the Inheritance of the *Cbigi* should be added to it. From That Reign, till That of *Urban VIII*, their Family kept retired at *Siena*; but, at that time, *Fabio Cbigi* went to seek his Fortune at *Rome*, and succeeded so well, that, in 1655, he was raised to the Papacy, under the Name of *Alexander VII*. I speak of him in the following Article. That Pope took great care to enrich and aggrandize his Family. *Mario Cbigi*, his eldest Brother, Governour of *Rome*, concerned himself but little with Politics or Matters of State; but, on the other side, he was extraordinarily addicted to heap up Money (c), and found effectual Contrivances for it, which made the People complain much. *Donna Berenice*, his Wife (d), who was come to *Rome* very ignorant of the ways of the Court, soon became such a Proficient, that she was able to instruct others. She went very rarely to the Pope's Audience: They took care at first, that she should concern her self with no other Business than her own: They made a good use of the Complaints, which still continued against *Donna Olympia*, Sister-in-law to *Innocent X*. *Flavio Cbigi*, the Son of *Don Mario*, was made Cardinal Patron. He loved his Pleasures too well [B], and was as yet too young to gain esteem by State Intrigues [C]. He did not trouble himself about heaping up Money, either be-

(c) Ne di altro si compiace che di trovar modi di accumular denari. *Angelo Corraro, Relazione di Roma*, pag. 15.

(d) She was a *Sienese*, of the Family della *Gizia*.

misus, being disappointed in his first Design, and seeing the noble Head carried out in a large garnished Dish, followed it, ordering his Servant to follow those who bore it. When it entered the Cardinal's House, Al's well, we are safe, cries Tamisius; I shall be splendidly entertained: for he was a very frequent Guest at Riarius's Table, which was always the best. But Riarius, who was naturally generous, said, This greatest Triumvir Head deserves to be sent to the greatest Cardinal: immediately it is dispatched away to *Federic Sansverin*, a Cardinal of surprizing Tallness. Tamisius immediately tucks up his Gown, and, accusing Riarius of an unseasonable munificence, mounts his Mule, and follows it to the House of Sansverin. *Federic*, by a like liberality, does the same thing, and orders the Head, attended with an handsome Complement, and laid in a Golden Dish, to be carried to the rich Banker Chigi, to whom he was greatly in Debt. Away flies Tamisius, his greedy Appetite a third time disappointed, all in a sweat, and hastens in the Heat of the Day to Chigi's magnificent Gardens, crosses the Tyber; where tired, and in a great sweat (for he had a great Paunch), he is a fourth time deceived by Fortune; for he finds Chigi giving orders to carry the Head, adorned with fresh Flowers, to his Mistress, whom, for her Beauty and attractive Charms, he surnamed Imperia. With indignation, therefore, he turns the Reins, not yet angry at his gluttonous Appetite, which had occasioned him Herculean Labour, and rides to Imperia, the Noon-day Sun now scorching the Path of Sixtus's Bridge. At last, such was the force and eagerness of his insatiable Appetite, that, after burrying all over the Town, he was not abated to sit down, notwithstanding his Age and Character, with an Harlot, who wondered at the arrival of a Stranger.

[B] Flavio Chigi - loved his Pleasures too well. One may easily understand what *Angelo Corraro* meant, when he said, that That Cardinal kept his Bed more than his Youth seemed to require; and that he defired his Physicians not to tell the Pope the Reason of it, for fear his Holiness should imagine, that he loved good Cheer, and the Fair Sex, too well. Goderebbe assai migliore sanita se fosse piu temperato nel mangiare, nel che eccede ogni precetto di viver sano, con largo e succoso pasto. Vogliono anco che non sia sobrio quanto dovrebbe ne' piaceri del senso, onde e che piu spesso di quello che doverebbe aspettarli dalla sua gioventu, viene obbligato al letto. I medici però non riportano al Papa le vere ragioni della sua decumbenza, così avvertiti dal Cardinale, accio sua Santita non concepisca sinistra opinione di lui, como di crapulone e incontinente (6). — He might have enjoyed better health, had he been more temperate in eating, in which he exceeded every Precept for the preservation of health, by extreme Gluttony: some say

(6) Ang. Corraro, Relat. della Corte Romani, p. 16.

likewise, that he was not so moderate, as he ought to have been, in sensual Pleasures; whence it happened, that he was often confined to his Bed, than one would have expected from a Person of his Age. The Physicians however did not acquaint the Pope with the true Reasons of his Confinement, being so instructed by the Cardinal, that his Holiness might not conceive an ill Opinion of him, at of one given to Drinking and Incontinence. It has been said, That the Insult offered (7) to the Duke of Crequi, Ambassador at *Rome*, proceeded originally from a Passion of Gallantry, that the Cardinal Patron had in his Head. The Count de *Buff-Rabutin* built on that Foundation (8), as appears by his Satires. However it be, Cardinal Chigi was much cried down for his Venerable Pleasures, when he was in France in the Year 1664 (9); and a great many Ballads were sung about him, all over the Kingdom. The long Diseases he had in the last Years of his Life, and which have been so much spoken of in the Gazettes, are but ambiguous Proofs of a debauched Youth. See the Remark [C] of the following Article.

[C] He was yet too young, to gain esteem by State Intrigues. *Angelo Corraro* speaks contemptibly of him on that Account. Nothing but Compliments and empty Promises could be had from him; which was the reason why Corraro applied himself no more to him, but directly to the Pope. Di quel che vaglia, says he (10), nel negotio non mi dà l'animo d'affermare cosa certa, perche s'egli non fa fare più di quello che fa, bisogna dire che vaglia poco, già che da esso non riportano fe non complimenti, gentilezze di concetti, e speranze di voler far affari, che in fine si risolvono in nulla: terminando le risposte in repugnanze trovate in S. S. e in qualche motivo delle cause, o della negativa, o della prolatione. Onde io hò ritrovato meglio ne' negozi importanti, andarmene di primo tratto al Papa medesimo, che valerli dell'interposizione del Cardinale. He takes notice of two or three Faults, that hindered him from being a Man of Business. I. His too great Attachment to Pleasures. II. His Forgetfulness of the fittest Circumstances to procure what is desired. III. His readiness to slacken, as soon as he perceived that a Thing troubled the Pope's Mind (11). It is certain, that these are three capital Obstacles to the Success of a Negotiation, which one is intrusted with. This Cardinal must needs have mended as he grew older; for he maintained his Credit in the Conclaves, a the Head of his Uncle's Creatures. Few great Affairs have been seen at the Court of *Rome*, in which he has not appeared with Authority. This because he had well provided himself in his Uncle's Life-time: Now, when a Man has his Hands well filled, he may intrude any where; he may speak high, and Clients are never wanting. See here what has been said of this Cardinal in a Book, printed at *Amsterdam* (12): Many

(1) Relazione della Corte Romani, p. 15. (2) Relazione della Corte Romani, p. 15. (3) Relazione della Corte Romani, p. 15. (4) Relazione della Corte Romani, p. 15. (5) Relazione della Corte Romani, p. 15. (6) Relazione della Corte Romani, p. 15. (7) In 1662.

(8) Supposing he is the Author of the *Amours du Palais Royal*, which he did not own. See, at the end of this Dissertation, the Dissertation on defamatory Libels, Remark [D].

(9) He went thither with the Character of Legate à Latere, to make Satisfaction for the Insults which the Duke of Crequi had received.

(10) Pag. 17.

(11) E bene spesso divertito da suoi passatempi, o si scorda delle circostanze essenziali dell'affare, che possono facilitare l'intento, o caglia alle prime perplessità che scuopre nel Papa. Ibid.

(12) L'éc de Conclave present (1676), pag. 74.

cause he was an expensive Man, or because he thought it of but little importance to get an Estate for another Branch; for he had no Brother. We speak more amply of him in the Remarks. AUGUSTUS CHIGI, the Brother of *Don Mario*, had left two Sons, of whom Pope *Alexander VII* took great care. The Eldest, AUGUSTIN CHIGI, designed to be the Head of the Family, married (e) one of the greatest Fortunes of *Rome*, (viz.) the Niece of Prince *Marc Antony Borgbese*. She had an Estate of 180 thousand Crowns. She was handsome, and had been educated by a Lady of excellent Virtue (f). Perhaps this Marriage would not have been effected, if the Uncle had lived; I say the Uncle, who, hearkening very civilly to the first Proposal, enquired nevertheless what Estate and Dignities *Don Augustin* might expect. This was to waver, and to think, that the Pope's Alliance was not singly worth the Lady: which did not please his Holiness. On the other side, the Son of the Constable *Colonna* made his Addresses to the fair Lady, and pleaded her better than *Don Augustin*. But Prince *Marc Antony Borgbese* happening to die, the matter was concluded with an extraordinary haste, by the good Offices of the Princes of *Rossano* [D], the Lady's Mother. Such an advantageous Marriage in so many respects did not settle *Don Augustin's* Love [E]. The Pope bought him the Principality of *Farnese*, which is a Fief of the Empire in the Province of the *Patrimony*, and which cost him 170 thousand Crowns. SIGISMUND CHIGI, *Don Augustin's* Brother, was gratified with many great Pensions by Pope *Alexander VII* (g), and promoted to the Cardinalship by Pope *Clement IX*, in 1667 (h).

(e) In the Year 1653.

(f) By her Grandmother.

(g) Taken from the Relation of the Court of *Rome*, of the Cavalier *Angelo Corrao*, Ambassador of *Venice*, printed at *Leyden*, in 1673. See also *Il Nepotismo*, Part. I. lib. 3.

(h) L'Idée du Conclave précédent. *Amsterdam*, 1676.

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Many Cardinals, capable of being made Popes, are in *Chigi's* Faction, of whom the Chief, *Flavio Chigi*, is powerful, and has known so well how to manage himself, since the Death of *Alexander VII*, his Uncle, that he has already had one Pope at his Devotion; because he did not obstinately desire to have one of his Creatures in the two last Conclaves, but thought it enough to join with other Factions, as much as his Interest suffered him. And, because *Barberini* did not do so, he never had a Pope, who was obliged to him for his Exaltation. The Conclave of *Clement IX* informs us, that, although Cardinal *Chigi* did not desire, that Cardinal *Rospigliosi* should be created Pope, yet it was impossible to give the Papacy to the latter, before the other had suffered himself to be persuaded to concur with it. The Conclave of *Clement X* (13) shews, that Cardinal *Chigi* had almost as much Credit under *Clement IX*, as under *Alexander VII*. That Cardinal was so strong in the Conclave, where *Clement X*, was elected, that Cardinal *d'Este* said one Day to him, Well, Cardinal *Chigi*, what do we here? Why do not you give us a Pope (14)? And, indeed, the Election of *Altieri* would never have succeeded without the Influence of *Chigi*. Let us say, by the way, that, in the Conclave of *Clement IX*, Cardinal *d'Arach*, the Head of the Spanish Faction, told Cardinal *Chigi*, That he was not very much experienced in the present Affairs; that, since it was the first Conclave he had been in, he could not have all the possible Experience in it, and that, before one undertakes a matter of that importance, one ought to make one's self capable of it (15).

(13) By *Annot de la Houffaye*, pag. 14.

(14) *Mémoires des Intrigues de la Cour de Rome*, printed at Paris, 1677, pag. 19.

(15) Conclave de *Clement IX*, printed at Paris, 1669, pag. 59.

(16) See the Book intitled, *Il Nepotismo*, Part. I. lib. 3. pag. 143, 193.

[D] The Princess of *Rossano*. Her Name was *Donna Olympia Aldobrandina*. She was grand Niece of *Clement VIII*; and her first Husband was Prince *Borgbese*. This Lady's Ambition had been known a long time: being a Widow in her Youth, and having Beauty, Birth, Wit, and a great Estate, she was courted by several Princes: but she preferred *Don Camillo Pamphilio*, Nephew of *Innocent X*; to all the Matches that were offered her, in order to have a share in the Government. The same Reason made her prefer a Pope's Nephew to the Constable *Colonna's* Son, for her Daughter (16): she did it only per guadagnare l'affetto della casa pontificia, e per haver parte al Vaticano, che e tutto quello che sempre ha cercato questa Signora. — To gain the affection of the Pope's Family, and to have an Interest in the Vatican, which That Lady had ever desired. She found herself much deceived under *Innocent X*; for, instead of coming into Favour by her Marriage with *Don Camillo*, she was forced to follow him in his Exile. The Instruction of the French Embassadors at *Rome*, attributed to the *Bailly de Valençay*, gives an ill Character of That Princess. As God resists proud and haughty Persons, the Princess *Rossano* sees herself abased, humbled, mor-

tified, and fallen from that supreme Grandeur, and high degree of Glory and Honour, of which she had made a vain-glorious Shew, and so great an Ostentation on the Stage of this august and glorious City of *Rome*; and at present she is so much the farther distant and removed from the Scene, indulging and pleasing herself only with some melancholy and Romantic Fancies, which are never satisfied with present things, but indifferently speculate and look on things past and gone a long time ago, and on those that may happen hereafter. As for me — I cannot imagine that this can bring any trouble, or never so little importance — although that Lady should confine her Ambition within the narrow Limits of Doors and Chambers, rather than to make it visibly appear and break out by ridiculous and superfluous Ostentations in the Corners of the Streets, public Places, Passages and Walks of the City (17). The Author of the Travels of the Queen of *Poland*, (18) having spoken of *Aldobrandin's* famous Garden, most justly called *Belveder*, which is at *Frescati*, goes on thus (19): 'Prince *Pamphilio*, the Pope's Nephew, heretofore a Cardinal, is at present Possessor of That Place, as also of the Princess, Heiress of the Family of the *Aldobrandini*, whose first Husband, Prince of *Rossano*, presumptive Heir, and the only hopes of That of the *Borgbese*, died some Days before our Arrival (20), in that same place, being under Twenty two Years of Age, like her, and had left her two Sons and two Daughters. It is That Cardinal's Happiness to have so soon found such an advantageous Match, both for Riches and Beauty: for she is the finest Princess in all the Country, and, besides, one of the most witty.

(17) See the Recueil de diverses Relations des Cours de l'Europe, printed at Cologne, 1681, pag. 332.

(18) Le Labourr, Voiege de la Reine de Pologne, Part. III, pag. 222.

(19) Ibid. pag. 225.

(20) Their Arrival falls on the 18th of July, 1646. The Author published his Relation the next Year.

[E] Marriage — did not settle *Don Augustin's* Love. His Wife had brought him vast Riches; she was handsome, well-educated, and fruitful, and yet he loved other Women. What a Disorder! — Essendo la sposa di non ordinaria bellezza, e allevata sotto la disciplina dell'Ava, Signora di santissimi costumi, non restava che desiderar più in questo genere di contentezze, & già s'è cominciato a goderne i frutti, havendo la Principessa già data segno di fecondità, co'l parto di una figliuola. Non resta però che il Sig. D. Agostino non vada vagando in altri amori, come lo lusinga la sua natura proclive al gusto del senso, e la facilità di pascersia quando gliene possa mai venir voglia (21). He had no great Tenderness for his Wife, since, after his Wedding, he could not forbear saying, that he rejoiced more for the Victory he had obtained over his Rival, than for the Enjoyment of the Princess, whom he possessed. The Constable *Colonna*, hearing this, answered, that his Son had courted the Princess, because he had Merit enough to demand her; but that *Don Augustin* had obtained her by the Credit and Authority

The Relation of *Angelo Corraro*, which I have cited, imports, that this Family began to advance itself at the Court of *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Julius II*: but we must correct this; for it appeared with distinction under *Alexander VI* [F].

(22) Taken from a Book intitled, *Il Nepotismo*, Part. I. lib. 3. pag. 194.

thority of his Uncle the Pope. Some Years after, the Constable's Son married a Niece of Cardinal *Mazarin* (22). The Match, as to Riches, was much better; but they lived badly together. The Public has seen the History of it.

[F] This Family appeared with Distinction at the Court of *Rome* under *Alexander VI*. *Tomaso Tomasi*, in the Life of the Duke de *Valentinois*, remarks, that *LAURENCE CHIGI*, a Gentleman of *Siena*, was crushed to death, when a Storm overthrew a Chimney in one of the Chambers of

the *Vatican*, on *St Peter's Days* (23). This Accident had like to have been fatal to Pope *Alexander VI*. This Author adds (24), that, when the Duke de *Valentinois* prepared himself for the Expedition of *Romania*, in the Year 1500, *Augustin Chigi*, Brother of *Laurence*, one of the rich and magnificent Gentlemen, who were then at the Court (25), lent him not only many thousand Crowns, but even went so far, as to cause all his Silver Plate, which was considerable, to be coined into Money, of

(23) *Tomaso's* Life of the Duke de *Valentinois*, pag. 302.

(24) *Ibid.* 315.

(25) See Remark [A].

(a) *Angelo Corraro*, Relation de la Cour de *Rome*.

(b) He was since a Jesuit and a Cardinal.

(c) *Angelo Corraro*, ubi supra.

(d) Conclave d' *Alessandro VII*. See also The History of the Peace of the Pyrenies, by *Gualdo Priorato*.

(e) The eighth of April, 1655.

(f) See the Conclave of *Alexander VII*, in Latin, by *John Schwarzkopfius*, apud *Heideggerum* Histor. Papatus, pag. 404, & seq.

(g) Egli da principio pian'te-tenendo agl'occhi la mano, e dopo fatti animo ringraziava tutti del loro buon affetto. Conclave de *Alessandro VII*.

(h) Gratulationes except Chifus profusus lacrymis, subinde orans ut digniorem alium eligerent. *Heidegger*, pag. 406.

CHIGI (*FABIO*) born at *Siena*, the sixteenth of February 1599 (a), was Pope under the Name of *Alexander VII*. His Family, seeing him a hopeful Young-man, sent him early to *Rome*, where he contracted a very useful Friendship with the Marquis *Pallavicini* (b); for that Marquis recommended him in such a manner to Pope *Urban VIII*, that, in a little time, he procured him the Place of Inquisitor at *Malta*. *Chigi*, having shewed, in that Employment, that he was capable of greater things, was sent to *Ferrara* in the Quality of Vice-Legate, and afterwards Nuncio into *Germany* (c). He had the most favourable Opportunity, that a Man of That Character could desire, to shew his intriguing Genius; for he was Mediator at *Munster*, during the long Conferences that were held there for the Peace of *Europe*. He acted his Part very well there [A]. Before he went to *Munster*; he had the Nunciature of *Cologne*, and exercised it some Years after the Conclusion of the Peace. He exercised it in 1651, when Cardinal *Mazarin* fled to the Elector of *Cologne*; and he was ordered to complain, in the Name of Pope *Innocent X*, a great Enemy of That Cardinal, that That Elector permitted that Eminence to raise Troops (d). Cardinal *Mazarin* bore some Repentment for it against *Fabio Chigi*, who was soon after promoted to the Cardinalship, and to the Office of Secretary of State, by *Innocent X*; but That Repentment was sacrificed to Politic Interests, at the Election of a Pope in 1655. Cardinal *Sacchetti*, a good Friend of Cardinal *Mazarin*, seeing no likelihood to obtain the Papacy, by reason of the great Obstacles of the Spanish Faction, advised That Eminence to consent to the Exaltation of *Fabio Chigi*. His request was granted. When the Dispositions of *France* were known in the Conclave, all the Partizans of That Crown united their Voices in favour of *Chigi*. The flying Squadron, who looked upon him as their Master-piece, resolved to be favourable to him. The Faction of the *Medicis* and *Spaniards* had their particular Reasons to choose him; inasmuch that he was created Pope (e) by the Voices of all the Sixty four Cardinals that were in the Conclave (f). There are but few Examples of such an Unanimity in the Election of Popes. Cardinal *Chigi* deserved, that Day and the following Years, the Elogy that the Duke of *Guise* gave to *Innocent X* [B]. It being known, the day before the Election, what Choice the Holy Ghost had resolved to inspire the next day, the Cardinals went to congratulate That Eminence, who answered them at first only with Sighs and Tears in his eyes (g), desiring them to make a better Choice (h): but afterwards he took Courage, and thanked them for their Good-will. After the Election, he was carried, according to custom, to *St Peter's* Church, to receive the Adoration of the Cardinals on the great Altar. He would not be placed in the middle of that Altar, but on one of the Corners of it; because, as he said, he did not think himself worthy of the Place that his Predecessor had. During all the Ceremony of the Adoration, he continued prostrate on the Ground

[A] He was Mediator at *Munster* — He acted his Part very well there.] A modern Author observes, that the Mediation of *Denmark*, which was at first accepted, for the Peace of *Munster*, having been afterwards rejected by *Sweden*, the whole Mediation remained to the Pope, and in some manner to the Republic of *Venice*, who made use of the Talents of *Fabio Chigi*, and *Aloysio Contarini*, to perfect such a glorious Work. The first had, among many other great Qualities, That of perfectly dissembling his bad ones; and he did it so artificially, that the whole College of Cardinals could not discover it, till they had made him Pope. The other was a Man of Honour, and had discharged, with great Reputation, so many Embassies, that he had acquired That of one of the best Negotiators of his Time (1). The Cavalier *Angelo Corraro* observes, that, though *Fabio Chigi* could not well support the Catholic Interest, because the Influence

of the Protestants was superior to That of the Catholics in the Assembly of *Westphalia*; yet he did not fail to do his Duty (2); so far, that he had the Ability to preserve the Esteem of the Spaniards and Imperialists, though he reproved them very sharply for having consented to a Peace so prejudicial to the Catholic Church.

[B] He deserved — the Elogy that the Duke of *Guise* gave to *Innocent X*.] The Discourte, which Cardinal *Grimaldi* had with him, and the manner of negotiating of Monsieur de *Fontenay*, and of the Abbot de *Saint Nicolas*, affected him very sensibly, and were insupportable to him, publishing, as he said, every where, that he was a Cheat, and that no one ought, or could, trust to his Word; which he was so vexed at, that the Tears stood in his Eyes for Anger; which nevertheless did not much affect me, as knowing very well, that he shed them, when he pleaded, and that he was a very great Dissembler (3).

(1) Fecit almenno, le parti sue eggeramente. *Corraro*, pag. 11.

(2) *Memoirs* du Duc de *Guise*, pag. 6, of the Paris Edition, 1681, in 12^{me}.

[C] He

Ground with great Humility, with a Crucifix in his Arms. Being come to his Apartment at the *Vatican*, before thinking of any thing else, he ordered his Coffin to be made, wherein his Body was to be laid after his Death, and to be placed under his Bed, to excite him the more to Holiness by a continual Idea of Death. When they clothed him with his Pontifical Habits, they found a Hair cloth under his Shirt. He continued to fast twice a Week, as he had done when he was Cardinal. The Day after his Election, he repulsed *Signora Olympia* rudely, who was come to wish him joy, saying to her, that it was not decent for a Woman to set her foot in the Palace of the Head of the Church. He forbid his Relations to come to *Rome* without his leave (i). His subsequent Behaviour shewed, that this was only Dissimulation and Cunning; and many *Roman Catholics* made no scruple to complain of his Artifices. Afterwards he became civil and obliging to his Nephews [C], and heaped many Favours upon them; which was a sad Disappointment to the famous Antagonist of Father Paul [D]. What *Moreri* says, that *Alexander VII* promoted, with a true fatherly care, the Conclusion of the Peace between France and Spain, by the Marriage

(i) Ex Conclavi Alexandri VII. apud Heideggerum, ubi supra.

[C] He became civil and obliging to his Nephews.] No Pope better deserved the Palquil, & homo factus est, nor took more advantage of the Privileges of *Nepotism*, than He. It is said (I know nothing of it) that he had sworn never to receive his Relations in *Rome*, and that, being perplexed with the Sacredness of his Oath, he knew not how to satisfy the Affection he had for his Family; that Father *Pallavicini* removed those Scruples, by advising him to go and meet his Relations, some Leagues from *Rome*, and made him understand, that his Holiness's Oath did not forbid him to receive his Relations on the Road from *Siena* to *Rome*, but only to receive them at *Rome*; that the Pope, grounded on such an ingenious Distinction, went to meet his Family, and received it upon the Road, in the very high way. Afterwards he poured Dignities and Benefices on his Relations. His Brother, Don *Mario*, was made Governor of the Ecclesiastical State. *Flavio Chigi*, the Son of Don *Mario*, was made Cardinal Patron. *Sigismund Chigi*, the orphan Son of another of the Pope's Brothers, was gratified with several good Pensions, till he came to be of Age to be made a Cardinal with some Decency (4). *Augustin Chigi* (5), designed to be the Pillar of the Family, was married to a very rich Niece of Prince *Borghese*. 'Augustinum futurum Chisianæ familiæ columen, cui Principis Borghesi neptim opulentissimam conjugem, dote centum millium ducatorum & viginti insuper millibus duplionum loco margaritarum expensis, denique sexaginta millibus duplionum in manus ipsius sponsi resignatis, impetravit (6). — Augustin, the future Support of the Family of Chigi, for whom he obtained the Niece of Prince Borghese, a very great Match, with a Fortune of an Hundred thousand Ducats, and Twenty thousand Doubloons over and above, instead of Jewels, and lastly, Sixty thousand Doubloons delivered up into the Hands of the Husband.' One of the Pope's Sister's Sons (7) was made a Cardinal; the other, who was a Knight of Malta, was made General of the Gallies. *Dona Berenice*, the Wife of Don *Mario*, and her Daughters, had also rich Presents (8). *Flavio Chigi*, who was Cardinal Patron, and who was sent Legate à latere into France, to make Satisfaction concerning the Business of the *Corse*, made himself much spoken of. He died (9) loaded with Riches and Titles, Vice-Dean of the Sacred College, Bishop of *Porto*, Arch-Priest of St *John of Lateran*, Prefect of the Signature of Justice, &c. He made his Nephew Don *Livio Chigi* his chief Heir, and left ten thousand Crowns, and the Enjoyment of the Estate, which he had at *Siena*, to his Brother-in-law the Marquis *Zandadari*, whom he charged to take the Name and the Arms of the House of *Chigi* (10). See the Remark [B] of the foregoing Article.

[D] This was a sad Disappointment to the famous Antagonist of Father Paul.] I mean Father *Sforza Pallavicini*, Author of an History of the Council of Trent, designed for the Refutation of Father Paul, and which was rewarded with a Cardinal's Hat. He prefixed a pompous Elogy of *Alexander VII* to his Book, wherein he had very much praised the Design, which the holy Father had persisted in, not to suffer his Relations to come to *Rome*. Every body sees, that many fine things may be

said on that Subject, and that it affords noble matter for an excellent Panegyric in the Hands of a good Orator. But it fell out unluckily for Father *Pallavicini*, that the Pope altered his Resolution, and desired to aggrandize his Relations, according to the Practice of *Nepotism*: nay, it is said, that That Father was obliged to remove the Scruples of his Conscience. After all, it was more advantageous to please the Pope and his Family, than to be fond of a Prologue already printed, though the Panegyric, which it contained, was never so fine. Nevertheless, this was not agreeable to an Author; but there was no help for it; he was forced to suppress what was already come out of the Press, and to adjust things as well as he could. If what I have just now said be not true, it must not be laid to my Charge; but those, from whom the Author, quoted by me, has it, ought to be blamed for it. Thus he speaks: 'Jamque Cardinalis Pallavicinus in ejus laudes effusissimus Historiæ Concilii Tridentini galeatum prologum præfixerat, quo Alexandri ceu Angeli ἀπερσσωπολήπης heroicum isthuc neglecti Nepotismi facinus tertium uique in Cœlum tulit: quem tamen, cum res alium longè eventum sortita esset, non sine pudore & impensarum iactura (plurima enim folia jam impressa, laudes has fictitias ebuccinantia, suppressi debuerant) ceu abortivum scetum tollere, & cum nescio quo Epilogo operis (qui ipse tamen post mortem Alexandri, saltem in Latina editione Baptistæ Giattini, omisus etiam fuit) commutare necesse habuit (11). — And now Cardinal Pallavicini, who is extravagant in his Praises, had prefixed a pompous Elogy to his History of the Council of Trent, in which he extolled to the third Heaven the heroic Conduct of Alexander, in declining the Practice of *Nepotism*; which however, when Affairs took another turn, he was obliged, not without Shame and Loss, (for he was forced to suppress many Sheets, sufficed with those fictitious Praises, already printed off) to destroy as an abortive Production, and to change it for I know not what Epilogue of a Work, which likewise, after the Death of Alexander, was left out, at least in the Edition of Baptistæ Giattini. The Author pretends, that Cardinal *Pallavicini* was Confessor of *Alexander VII*, and that he was a Cardinal before That Pope's Relations came to *Rome*; but it is certain, that he was not promoted till after the Edition of his History; from whence it results, by the very Narrative of That Author, that the Cardinalship of the Historian followed the Pope's Reception of his Family. I do not believe, that ever any Cardinal was the Pope's ordinary Confessor, nor that Father *Pallavicini* was ever so to *Alexander VII* (12). Yet the Author of the *Nepotism* affirms it (13), and perhaps he did so only to set off the Story he had a mind to tell of That Jesuit's Book. He does not say, that a Panegyric was prefixed to the History, but only that some Praises had been inserted in several places about the Pope's not permitting the Family of the *Chigi* to come to *Rome*. Above twenty Sheets, which contained something on that Subject, were reprinted. This, however, would seem to me more likely, than the other Story.

(11) Heidegger. Hist. Papatus, pag. 431.

(12) To be better informed of it, I have consulted a Person, who might well know it; and he told me, that Father *Pallavicini* never was Confessor to *Alexander VII*.

(13) *Nepotismo*, Part. I. lib. 3. pag. m. 19. 176. See also Il Sindacato d' Alessandro VII. pag. 83. &c.

[E] What seq.

6 D

VOL. II.

(4) Heidegger, pag. 432, affirms, that he was made a Cardinal, by *Alexander VII*, at 17 Years of Age; but I find that he was only promoted in the Year 1667, by *Clement IX*, Successor to *Alexander VII*.

(5) *Sigismund's* Brother.

(6) Heidegger. Hist. Pap. pag. 432.

(7) She had been married at *Siena*, to Mr *Bicchi*.

(8) Heidegger. ibid.

(9) The 13th of Septemb. 1693, at 63 Years of Age.

(10) *Mercurio Historico*, Octob. 1693, pag. 364.

Marriage of Lewis XIV with the Infanta, stands in need of a Correction. [E]. He was in the wrong to praise him on occasion of the Pyramid, that was raised at Rome after the Affront, which the *Corfes* offered to the Duke of Crequi. This Pope deserves no Praise for the Satisfaction he made to France in that Business; for he did it much against his Will, and to avoid a War, which would have obliged him to leave Rome in a little time. France was never well persuaded, that he was free from Partiality against her. The Spaniards were not always satisfied with his Conduct [F]. For the Curiosity of the Thing, I shall observe, that there are some printed Books, wherein it is asserted, That he had a mind to abjure his Religion, and to turn Huguenot [G]. The Dutch Gazettes praised him much [H], and informed the Public, that

[E] What Mr Moreti says, stands in need of a Correction. There was nothing in the Pyrenean Peace, so much attended to by the Public, as it's being concluded without the Pope's Intervention. Some Cardinals would not have given their Votes for Fabio Chigi, had it not been for the Hopes, that he would apply himself to pacify the two Crowns, and that he would succeed better in it than any body else: And yet the thing succeeded in such a contrary manner, says Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato (14), that several People have published, that That Peace was shameful for the Holy See, and that many have spoken ill of it in Rome itself. And indeed it was only looked upon as the effect of the Care and Diligence of the two chief Ministers alone, who concluded it when his Holiness was no more concerned about it, and, it may be, thought no more of it. I do not deny, but that Priorato adds, (15), that Alexander, at his first coming to the Pontificate, performed very earnestly the Office of a common Father, to bring the two Crowns to a Peace, and even to obtain, that the Conferences might be held at Rome in his Presence; but he says also, that, during the Offices, which the Cardinal caused to be done with the Pope, for the Peace, by Father Donelli the Jesuit, the Pope shewed such Jealousies, and such a Coldness, as were a sufficient Excuse for France to exclude him from the Treaty of Peace (16). He was not named in the Preambles of the Articles of the Treaty, which vexed him; nay it has been known, that Cardinal Mazarin was disposed not to make any mention at all of the Pope. The bad Intelligence, that had been between them, increased, because the Peace was concluded without the Mediation of the Court of Rome; and That was the Reason why the Pope was vexed at That Peace. And indeed the Cardinal would say sometimes, in common Conversation, that the Pleasure, which the general Peace afforded him, was mixed with some Bitterness, because it did not appear, that his Holiness rejoiced at it; and the Pope, on his Part, might have said the Spanish Proverb, *Provided the Miracle be done, I care not but little whether God or the Devil does it* (17). Let us conclude from all this, that Moreti did not exactly consider the things he has mentioned. If he had read the Relation of Angelo Corrado, he would not have so much praised the Assistance, given to the Venetians, by the Pope, for the War of Candia; for two things are complained of in that Relation: I. That the Pope obstinately refused all the Favours, that might be useful in the War against the Turks: II. That he had no Zeal for the Peace of the two Crowns. 'Chi havebbe mai pensato che un Cardinale, che prima anche d'essere Cardinale, spirava tutto zelo, e mon- strava di languire su la considerazione dello stato miserabile, in che si andava riducendo il mondo Christiano, con una guerra così ostinata tra le maggiori corone di esso, non dovesse assunto al pontificato inservorarsi per la pace universale (18)? — Who would ever have thought, that a Cardinal, who, before being so, breathed nothing but Zeal, and seemed to languish under the Consideration of the miserable State, to which the Christian World was like to be reduced, by so obstinate a War among it's chief Princes, should not, when elected Pope, have interested himself in favour of an universal Peace?' [F] The Spaniards were not always satisfied with his Conduct. Mr Wicquefort supplies me with the Proof of it in this manner. 'Don Pedro of Ar-

ragon, the Spanish Ambassador at Rome, in the Year 1665, having let fall some Words of Resentment against the Court, which favoured the Affairs of the King of Portugal, in what concerned the Churches of That Kingdom; Pope Alexander VII, being informed of it, told him, That he was a wicked Man, and a Minister unfit to serve the King his Master. The Ambassador replied, That the Pope had reason to accuse him of Negligence and Incapacity, since he had not been willing to perform the King's Order, when there was a Treaty carried on, to his Prejudice, with the King of Portugal: That the Pope, by making such a Reproach, reproached him also with his Goodness; but that he was in the wrong to say, that he was a wicked Man; and that he could more justly tell him, That Fabio Chigi was a wicked Man, since he forced him to execute the King his Master's Orders, and to desire the College of Cardinals to consider, whether the See of Rome was more concerned to do something for four Bishopsrics of Portugal, than to hazard an hundred and thirty Bishopsrics and sixty Abbies in Spain. The Pope told him also, That the Meetings, which he held at his House, were very dangerous, and might give an Opportunity to plunder the City. The Ambassador answered, That, if That was his Intention, he had nothing to do but to retire with all the Subjects of the King his Master, because those that should remain, being not able to submit, would commit the Disorder, which could not be feared from him (19).

[G] There are printed Books, wherein it is asserted, that he had a mind — to turn Huguenot. The Book, which informs me of this, is a Journey into Switzerland, printed at Geneva in the Year 1686, though the Title says at the Hague, by Peter du Glaffen. The Author of That Journey is a French Minister, and a Refugee in Holland, called Mr Labrun. I shall recite what he says concerning the Religion of Alexander VII. The Thing cannot but belong to this Dictionary. If it be true, it takes it as being an Historical Dictionary: If it be false, it seizes on it as being a Critical one. Fabio Chigi — was sent Inquisitor to Malta, Vice-Legat to Ferrara, and afterwards the Pope's Nuncio to Cologne, when the Peace of Munster was made. The Affairs of the Princes of Europe were ended happily enough, after two Years Negotiation at Munster and Osnabrug. Chigi, who was sent thither as the Pope's Nuncio, and who was obliged to converse daily with Protestant Princes, or with their Ministers (20), gained an Idea of their Religion, and, though he had almost at the same time published That Judgment of a Divine, under the supposititious Name of Ernestus Eusebius, wherein the Protestants are so much abused, yet he remained convinced, that there was nothing heretical in their Doctrine. But he went no farther. Count Pompey, one of his near Relations of Italy, at last opened his Eyes. That Count lived on an Estate in Germany, which was fallen to him by his Mother's side. — Chigi — would not return to Rome, without seeing That Relation — he went to him, with two of his Nephews, who had accompanied him to Cologne, and staid all that Winter with him. — They discoursed of Religion, and, after many Conversations, they resolved to read the Bible with Diodati's Notes. The Count had already read those learned Notes, and knew also the strongest Observations therein. They both examined the matter, and were surprized to find themselves convinced

(19) De l'Ambassadeur, Tome II, pag. 168.

(20) Wicquefort, in the first Volume of his Embassy, pag. 648, says, that That Nuncio declared, he would have no Communication with the Heretics, and that he pretended to be a Mediator only for the Catholic Princes. Wicquefort calls this a strange Fantasticalness in Fabio Chigi, and in the two employed him; which he opposes to the Conduct of Bevilacqua, who was Nuncio at the Conference of Nimwegen, and who was so far from abhorring the Company of the Ministers of the Protestant Princes and States, that he offered to prevent them with his civilities, if they would promise to return them.

(14) Priorato, Histoire de la Paix, pag. 119, Edit. Cologne, 1667.

(15) Id. ibid. pag. 120.

(16) Ibid. pag. 125.

(17) Ibid. pag. 124.

(18) Corrado, pag. 13.

that he did not approve of the Violences, which were committed against the *Vaudois* in *Piedmont*. What he said to some Protestant Gentlemen, who came to kiss his Feet, has been much talked of [I]. It has been said, in other Books, (not without

convinced every Moment. They knew not what Party to take: but, at last, after having well considered it — they agreed, that the Protestant Religion was the True one, and, from that Time, *Chigi* engaged himself with his Kinsman to forsake his Errors, as soon as he should have given an Account of his Nunciature, and to come to him again at his Country Seat, conjuring him to make forthwith an Abjuration of the *Romish* Religion, since God had given him Grace to know the Truth, and to be free. *Chigi* departed with his Nephews, being fully resolved to forsake the Court of *Rome*, and never wrote to the Count without exhorting him to execute his Design. His Journey was longer than he thought. The Sickness of one of his Nephews, which ended with his Death, was the Cause of it. In the mean time, Count *Pempey* disposed himself to do what he had resolved. — He went to *Orange*, where he made a public Profession of our Religion. He was also some time at *Nîmes*, and made himself known there. This Conversion made a Noise. It was spoken of all over *Europe*, and even too much; for, as he retired to *Germany*, he was poisoned at *Lyons*, where he died. This News sunk *Chigi* down. The Death of That Count — broke all his Measures. He imagined, that he might have the same Fate: He found himself deprived of a Place of Refuge; but, while he was wavering, he was made a Cardinal, and First Secretary of the Apostolic Chamber. There needed no more, to stifle those Seeds of Truth in *Chigi's* Heart, which were not yet deeply rooted: the Splendor of the Purple dazzled him. — He was made a Pope by the Tricks that every body knows. As soon as he was a Cardinal, he affected to be always sick. He caused his Apartment to be hung with Mourning, and adorned his Chamber with a Coffin, and a dead Man's Head (21). — He was a Calvinist in his Heart. He endeavoured, in vain, to hide himself, in the Affair of the *Janfenists*; for he was discovered. In the time of his Pontificate, some Books were printed in *Flanders*, wherein he was accused of being a Heretic. They are Books which every body has seen. One Day Mr *Amyraut* had a Conversation with the Duke of *Longueville*, in his House of *Plessis Belleau* (22), which agrees very well with what we have said. Mr *Amyraut* was a sincere Man. He related, that That Prince, whom he had the Honour to see very often, told him, That, when he was Plenipotentiary at *Munster* for his Most Christian Majesty, he knew That Pope to the bottom, who held at that time the Pontificate; that he had very much inclined to a Reformation; and that, if the Huguenots would make any Concessions, there never was a better Opportunity to be re-united, since they might be assured, that the Head of the Church would not be against them.

I am persuaded, that the Author of this Narrative will not take it ill, if I impart to my Readers what Mr *Amyraut*, the Son, has communicated to me. He has assured me, that he knows nothing of his Father's having had any Conversation with the Duke of *Longueville* about the Nuncio *Chigi*, nor about Pope *Alexander VII.* That it is very true, that the Duke of *Longueville* had a Seat three Leagues from *Saumur*, but that it is not true, that it was called *le Plessis Belleau*; for it was called *Monstreuil-Bellai* (23). When he went thither, he did not fail to send and enquire of Mr *Amyraut's* Health, who, on his part, was very punctual to go and pay his Respects to him, and that he was always very kindly received by him; so that his Highness ought to be added to those Great Lords, who expressed their Esteem for that Minister (24). Now, since Mr *Amyraut*, the Son, never heard any thing of those Conversations of Monsieur de *Longueville*, concerning *Alexander VII.* it must be concluded, without Hesitation, that Mr *Amyraut*, the Father, never learned any such thing in his Conversations with Monsieur de

Longueville. And here we have an Instance, which shews us how distrustful we ought to be of Stories, which are only grounded on *Hear-says*. I believe the Author of this Journey into *Switzerland* is now fully persuaded, that one ought to stand upon his Guard against those kind of Traditions.

[H] The Dutch *Gazzettes* praised him much. This is what I find in a Letter, which *Curcellæus*, Professor of the *Arminians* at *Amsterdam*, wrote to *Sorbiere*, the Twenty fourth of *December*, 1655 (25). 'I am willing to believe, says he, that *Alexander VII.* deserves a good part of the Praises that the Public gives him. The *Amsterdam* Courants, that are not used to celebrate the Praises of the Popes, as the *Paris* *Gazzettes* often do, have spoken so well of him, that there must be something in it. They have also testified, that he disapproved the Cruelties, which were lately exercised on the poor *Vaudois* of the *Vallies of Piedmont*, saying, One ought not to proceed in that manner, to bring into the Bolom of the Church those, who are gone astray. If it be true, that this Pope disapproved the Duke of *Savoy's* Conduct, the *Vaudois* might glory in it with much more reason, than the Reformed of *France* could boast of the Judgment, which, it is said, *Innocent XI.* made of *Dragooning*: for That Pope's ill Humour against the Court of *France* was sufficient to make him say, That he did not approve of such a way of converting People.

[I] What he said to some Protestant Gentlemen, who came to kiss his Feet, has been much talked of. *Sorbiere* (26), being to answer a Letter, wherein some body had wrote to him, That his Journey to *Rome* would make him return again to the Reformed Church, declared, That he had seen nothing at *Rome*, but what edified him, 'and that the *Roman* Court, notwithstanding its Pomp, had a great deal of Affability and Modesty. 'For my part, he goes on, I can assure you, Sir, that I could not observe so much Haughtiness in any of the Cardinals, whom I had the Honour to approach, as there is in some Ministers of our Acquaintance; and, in all the Audiences that I have had of our Holy Father, I spoke to him with the same Liberty as I converse with you, his Goodness requiring it so from all those, who approach him. I shall tell you a remarkable Particular on this Occasion, that you will not be displeased to know. A little before my Departure, some *English* Gentlemen, who had a mind to be Witnesses of what I tell you of his Holiness, got in among those, who went to pay their Respects to him on their Knees. He asked them what Countrymen they were, and, afterwards, if they were not Protestants, which they owned. Whereupon his Holiness replied, with a smiling Countenance, *Rise therefore, I will not have you to commit an Idolatry, according to your Opinion. I shall not give you my Blessing, since you do not believe me to be what I am; but I pray God to make you fit to receive it.*

A famous Protestant Controversist relates this Story wrong. These are his Words, which I take from the One hundred fifty eighth Page of his Answer to a Book of Mr *Brueys* (27). 'I must refer Mr *Brueys* to a Convert like himself, which is *Sorbiere*; who says somewhere, That some *Englishmen*, being at *Rome*, had a mind to see Pope *Alexander VII.* to salute him, and to kiss his Toe. That Pope, having heard, that they were *Englishmen*, asked, what Religion they were of. They were afraid, and made some Difficulty to confess, that they were Protestants. *Alexander VII.* having encouraged them, they confessed; and thereupon he told them, That their Religion would not permit their Conscience to do him the Homage of kissing his Feet. I do not receive it as a Temporal Prince of *Rome*, said he, which is all you acknowledge in me; but as the Vicar of *JESUS CHRIST*, a Quality that you do not acknowledge in me. I will pray to God to convert you, and I give you my Blessing; but,

(25) It was at first printed by itself in 8vo. You will find it in the *Præstantium ac eruditorum virorum Epistola Ecclesiastica*, pag. 876, of the Edition in Folio, 1654.

(26) His Letter is printed with That of *Curcellæus*, in 8vo.

(27) Intituled, Suite du preservatif contre le changement de Religion. At the Hague, 1683.

(21) Mr *Hidiger*, *Hist. Rep.* pag. 411, mentions the Coffin only as to the Time that followed the Pope's Election. But as to the Time preceding it, he only says that *Chigi* lay on the Ground, and fasted twice a Week.

(22) Compare with this what has been said in the Article *AMYRAUT*, Rem. [D], and see whether there be not a Mixture of different Facts in these Narratives.

(23) He sold it to the Marquis de la Mailleterie.

(24) See above, the Article *AMYRAUT*, in the Text.

out finding some Mystery in it) that he was related to the Grand Signior *Mahomet IV* [K]. This is a greater Singularity, than that which I am going to speak of. *Alexander VII* was an Author [L]; we have a Volume of his Poems. He loved Literature, and to discourse of Poetry, History, and Politics, with learned Persons. He loved stately Buildings; and it was not his Fault, that the whole City of *Rome* did not become equally magnificent and regular as to the Streets, Squares, and Houses. The Mischief was, that Those Expences exhausted the Apostolic Chamber, and that, by ordering the demolishing of many Houses, which were not according to the Rules of Symmetry, he ruined the Proprietors (k). There is something great in the Design of the College *della Sapienza*, the Building whereof he finished, and which he adorned with a very fine Library. The Confiſtorial Advocates raised him a pompous Inscription on that Subject (l). He died the Twenty second of *May 1667*, much more lamented by the Jesuits, than by the Janſenists.

(k) Angelo Cor-
raro, ubi supra.

(l) It is to be
found in Spizeli-
us in Differtat.
Praelimin. Speci-
minis Biblioth.
Univerſ. See the
Museum Itali-
cum of F. Ma-
billon, Tom. I,
pag. 150.

'till you receive the Illumination which is to
'come from above, I do not exact any thing from
'you, by way of Complaisance, against your Re-
'ligion and Inclination. I cannot tell whether
'*Sorbiere* contrived this Story to honour Pope *Alex-
'ander VII*, or not. However it be, they are the
'Sentiments of an honest Man, and our Conduct
'ought to be regulated by That Maxim in point
'of Religion.' By comparing these two Relations
together, it appears plainly, that our Controversit
had never read *Sorbiere's* Writing, or at least that
he had it not before him, when he answered *Mr
Brueys*. He heard the thing in general, and
took the flourishing of it upon himself. Prudence
will not permit this; One ought to distrust his
Memory. When a Man falsifies a Narrative in these
two Points; the one, That the *English* Gentlemen
were afraid; and the other, That the Pope gave
them his Blessing; he may falsify it in many others;
and it is a great Chance if he does not alter some
essential Part of it. I could make many Reflexions
on the Fate of Controversits; but they would be
unreasonable. The Author of the *Preservative* did
not foresee, when he praised the Maxims of *Alex-
ander VII*, that he should write a Book about the
Rights of an erroneous Conscience, that he should
confute himself, and lay down Principles, according
to which That Pope would have been much in
the wrong to oppose the Kneeling of the *Eng-
lishmen*.

[K] It is pretended, that he was related to the
Grand Signior. I have not the Book, wherein
this is proved; so that I can only serve my Reader
with these Words of *Heidegger*: 'Mahometem
'eo ipso tempore Imperatorem Turcicum quinto
'gradu consanguinitatis, ex Alanc Moruglio, com-
'muni stirpe & atavo utriusque parentis Pontificii
'& Turcici, pessimo utique omine contigit, uti
'quidem Pastorius in Henninge redidit pag. 157
'demonstravit (29). — He was a-kin to Mahomet,
'at that time Emperor of the Turks, in the fifth
'Degree, by Alanc Moruglio, the common Stem
'and Ancestor of the Fathers, both of the Pope
'and the Grand Turk, as Pastorius, in Henninge
'redidit, has demonstrated.' I have since met with
a Book, which sets forth in a Table the Parentage
of *Alexander VII*, and the *Great Turk*. It is pre-
tended, that *Margaret Marfili*, Daughter of *Nani
Marfili*, a Noble *Sieneſe*, was the Wife of *Solyman*,
and the Mother of *Selim II*, whose Son *Amu-
rath III* was the Father of *Mahomet III*. The
latter was the Father of *Achmet I*, who was the Fa-
ther of *Amurath IV*, whose Son *Ibrahim* was the
Father of *Mahomet IV*. On the other side, *Leon-
ard Marfili*, Brother of *Margaret*, had a Son,
whose Name was *Cesar Marfili*, who was the Fa-
ther of *Alexander Marfili*, and of *Laura Marfili*,
the Mother of *Fabio Chigi*, who was Pope by the
Name of *Alexander VII*. The Author, whom I
cite (30), alleges the Account, which *Francis Niger*
gives of the taking of a Castle, in the Territory
of *Siena*. The *Turkish* Pirates, who plundered That
Castle about the Year 1525, found *Margaret Mar-
fili* there, and, because she was very handsome,
they kept her for *Solyman*.

(29) Heidegg.
Hist. Pap. pag.
413.

(30) Joh. Ulri-
cus Wallichius,
in Tractatu de
Religione Turci-
ca, Mahometis
Vita, & Orien-
talis cum Occi-
dentali Antichri-
sto comparatione.
pag. 329, & seq.

[L] *Alexander VII* was an Author.] The finest
Edition of his *Latin* Poems is That of the *Louvre*,
in Folio, in the Year 1656. It consists of Heroic,
Elegiac, and Lyric Verses: the last exceed the o-
ther in number. There is also a Tragedy, intitled

Pompey. The Author made it in the Country, in
the Year 1621. *Seneca* was his Model, both for
the Disposition of the Piece, and the Measure of
the Verses. A Letter, prefixed before this Collec-
tion, inform us, that he unwillingly consented to
the printing of his Poems, and that he would not
suffer his Name to be put to them, nor any other
Title, than That which discovers, that they are on-
ly the Fruits of his younger Years (31). But there
are many Pieces in it, that he composed when a
Man, and in great Offices. Read Pages 65 and 66 of
Mr (32) Kortbol's Treatise de Poëti; Episcopis, printed
at *Keil*, in 1699. *Borrichius* finds, that Pope
Urban VIII was better qualified, both by Nature
and Art, for Poetry, than Pope *Alexander VII*,
but that the latter laboured his Poems more than
the other (33). He finds some Harshness in the
Heroic Verses, wherein *Alexander* described his
Travels from *Rome* to *Ferrara*, from *Ferrara* to
Cologne, from *Malta* to *Rome*. That is but Part
of his Travels; he described moreover Those from
Cologne to *Munster*, from *Munster* to *Aix la Chapelle*,
from *Aix la Chapelle* to *Triers*, &c. If all the Praises,
which the Authors of the *Poetical Acclamations* (34)
have bestowed upon This Pope's Verses, were true,
one could not forbear to say, That he was the most
accomplished of all the Poets. But, because Those
Authors made Part of the *Pleias*, that flourished at
Rome under This Pontiff, their Elegies are not much
to be relied upon (35). I dare not affirm, That a
Piece, which came out in the Year 1646, under
the Title of *Judicium Theologicum super quæ-
stione an pax qualem desiderant Protestantes sit se-
cundum se illicita* — — — opera ac studio *Ernesti de
Eusebii civis Romani*, was written by the Nuncio
Fabio Chigi; I only believe, that it was printed
under his Auspices and by his Order. The Author
of it endeavoured to persuade, that the Peace, de-
sired by the Protestants, was too disadvantageous
to the Catholic Church, to be granted in Confi-
dence by the Emperor. But all those Remonstrances
were useless; they were forced to grant the Prote-
stants many Things, that vexed the Court of *Rome*,
and against which the Nuncio *Chigi* protested in
a most violent manner, shaking the Dust from his
Feet. The Pope thundered a Bull of the same Stile
against the Treaty of *Munster*. All which was Time
and Paper lost. Here I must observe, that there are
many Manuscripts in Cardinal *Chigi's* Library, a-
dorned with Notes written with *Alexander VII's*
own Hand, and a great Collection of Authentic Acts
and Pieces, drawn up and compiled by That Pope,
and which shew his Application to Study (36). In
the Book, which informs me of this, I have read one
thing (37), which shews his Inclination for Learn-
ing; he got three Bookfellers from *Holland* to
Rome, who deceived him basely about the *Polyglot
Bible of Paris*; for they made him believe, that it
was an Edition, which they undertook under his
Auspices, and to his Honour; they caused a new
Title to be printed to it, with an Epistle Dedicato-
ry, as flattering as if some good Papists had been
the Authors of it; but they could not hide their
Fraud long. 'Ab ultimis Belgarum, Urbem Do-
'minam, sedem vestram Romam divinarum litera-
'rum sarcina instructi magis quam onuli, multiplice
'Sanctitatis vestre Illicio, ceu potentiore quodam
'magnete fortiter suaviterque Protrahi, anhelis non
'tam fatigatione quam exultatione animis passibusque
'subintramus desideratissime terris & nobis Pontifex
'Maxime.

(31) The Title is
Philomathi Ma-
ſſe juveniles.

(32) Sebastian.

(33) Borrich. de
Poët. Latin. pag.
108.

(34) They are
printed at the
end of the Edi-
tion of the *Phi-
lomathi Muſa Ju-
veniles*.

(35) See Mr
Baillet, Jugem-
sur les Poët.
Tom. V. n.
1506, 1527.

(36) See Father
Mabillon's Mu-
ſeum Italic.
Tom. I, p. 94.

(37) Mabillon,
ibid. pag. 99.

(38) *Id. ibid.*

'maxime (38). — From the farthest Belgæ, (Holy Father! Delight of the Earth, and U!) we enter the Powerful City, Seat of your Residence, Rome, furnished, rather than laden, with the burthen of the sacred Writings, strongly and sweetly drawn by the Influence of your Holiness, as some more power-

'ful Magnet, and we come with panting Hearts and Steps, not through fatigue, but joy.' The new Title was BIBLIA ALEXANDRINA HEPTAGLOTTA auspiciis S. D. Alexandri VII. anno sessionis ejus XII. feliciter inchoata.

CHOCQUET (LEWIS) a famous French Poet, about the middle of the XVIIth Century, and Author of a very rare and uncommon Work, some Extracts of which we shall give below [A]. He was unknown to *La Croix du Maine*, but not

(1) Sir Hans Sloane, a celebrated Physician of London, who has many curious Books in his large Library, did me the Favour to lend it me, and Dr Sibthorp took the trouble of conveying it to me.

[A] He is Author of a very uncommon Work, of which we shall give Extracts. The Copy, which was lent me (1), consists of Three Parts; the first of which is intituled, *Le premier volume des Catholiques œuvres & Actes des Apostres redigez en escript par saint Luc Evangeliste & historiographe, depute par le saint Esprit. Iccluy saint Luc escriptuant a Theophile, avecques plusieurs histoires en iccluy inferrez des gestes des Césars. Et les demonstres des figures de L'apocalypse veues par saint Jeban Zebedee en l'Isle de Patmos sous Domitian césar, avecques les cruantez tant de Neron que d'icelluy Domitian. Le tout veu & corrigé bien & deurement selon la vraye verité, & joué par personnages à Paris en l'hôtel de Flandres l'an mil cinq cens XLI. Avec privilege du Roy. On les vend en la grand Salle du Palais par Arnoul & Charles les Angeliers freres, tenans leurs boutiques au premier & deuxiesme piliers devant la Chappelle de Messigneurs les Presidents. —* The first Volume of the Catholic Works, and Acts of the Apostles, reduced to writing by St Luke Evangelist, and Historiographer, deputed by the Holy Ghost. This St Luke writing to Theophilus. With many Stories of the Césars inserted in it. And the demonstrations of the Figures of the Apocalypse, seen by St John the Son of Zebedee, in the Isle of Patmos, under César Domitian, with the cruelties, as well of Nero, as of the said Domitian. The whole seen and thoroughly corrected according to the true Truth, and acted by Personages at Paris in the Hôtel de Flandres, in the Year one thousand, five hundred, XLI. With the King's Privilege. Sold in the great Hall of the Palace, by Arnoul and Charles Angelier, Brothers, keeping their Shops at the first and second Pillars of the Chapel of Messieurs the Presidents. This first Volume contains, in Two hundred and ten Leaves, five Books of the Acts of the Apostles. Let us see the Title of the Second Part. *Le second volume du Magnifique Mystere des Actes des Apostres continuant la narration de leurs faits & gestes selon l'escripture sainte, avecques plusieurs histoires en iccluy inferrees des gestes des Césars. Veü & corrigé bien & deurement selon la vraye verité, & ainsi que le mystere est joué à Paris ceste presente année mil cinq cens quarante & ung. Avec Privilege. —* The second Volume of the Magnificent Mystery of the Acts of the Apostles, continuing the Narration of their Actions, according to the Holy Scripture, with many Stories inserted in it of the Actions of the Césars. Seen and thoroughly corrected according to the true Truth, and as the Mystery is acted at Paris, this present Year One thousand, five hundred, and forty One. With Privilege. This second Volume contains One hundred and sixty five Leaves, and ends at the ninth Book of the Acts of the Apostles. The Third Part is, *l'Apocalypse saint Jeban Zebedee, ou sont comprinses les visions & revelations que iccluy saint Jeban eut en l'Isle de Patmos, le tout ordonne par figures convenables selon le texte de la sainte escripture. Ensemble les cruantez de Domitian César. Avec Privilege M. D. xli. —* The Apocalypse of St John the Son of Zebedee, in which are comprised the Visions and Revelations, which the said St John had in the Island of Patmos, the whole disposed with Figures, suitable to the Text of the sacred Writings. Together with the Cruelties of César Domitian. With Privilege. M. D. xli. It contains Forty six Leaves, and was printed off the Twenty seventh of May 1541. The Work is in Folio.

Lewis Chocquet has prefixed his Name only to the Third Part. He has prefixed it two ways, first by a Latin Epigram on the back side of the first Leaf (2), and afterwards on the Top of the second Leaf; Here follows the Mystery of the Revelations of VOL. II.

'St John, with the Cruelties of Domitian, Emperor of Rome, composed by Master Lewis Chocquet.' We find no mention of him in the Licences for Printing. It was William Alabat, a Merchant residing at Bourges, who obtained the Privilege of Francis I, at Lyons, the Twenty fourth of July 1536. He obtained it for six Years. He sets forth, that, 'to the Honour and Praise of God, of our Holy Mother Church, and the Holy Catholic Faith, and for the Consolation of good and true Christians, he would willingly publish the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, in five or several Volumes which he had by him, and which had been composed in French Rime, and corrected at great charge and expence.' He and his Booksellers (3) had a suit before the Parliament of Paris, in the Year 1540, against Master Francis Hamelin, Francis Potrain, John Louvet, and Leonard Chollet, Masters and Undertakers of the Acts of the Apostles, at Paris, this Year. The Court forbid these four Undertakers to cause to be printed the Mystery of the said Acts of the Apostles by others, than those, who had the Privilege to print them, whatever addition they should make to them. We see, in a Ballad at the beginning of the Second Volume, the Names of these four Undertakers, and their Profession in these Terms.

Au Plafmateur rendent grace les quatre
De bon vouloir entre Parisiens
Les quels ont fait apparoir le Theatre
Bien ensuyvant les Rommains anciens
—
François de nom les deux, nen fant debatre
Lung Hamelin, l'autre Potrain, sciences
Lung en pratique, & l'autre pour sembrate
Tixtre tapis sous rethoriciens
Sçait assez bien, puis pour l'exploit parfaire
Leonard Chovelet boucher voulut bien faire
Et Jehan Louvet operateur aux fleurs
Bien congnoissant des bons grains les meilleurs.
A iceux quatre honneur royal desire
Donner faveur abolir les erreurs
Qui sont humains a vertu contredire.

The Four return thanks to the Creator, and wishing well to the People of Paris, they have opened the Theatre, exactly following the ancient Romans. Two of them are Francis Hamelin, and Francis Potrain, The former a Practitioner in Law; the other a Tapestry Maker; the third is Leonard Chovelet, a Butcher, and the fourth John Louvet, a Gardener and Florist. The Royal Honour favours these four, that they may abolish the Errors, which make Men contradict Virtue.

I report all these minute Particulars, because they may serve to illustrate some Circumstances of the Comedy of That Age. Some of these Circumstances are not in Moreri (4): for instance, we do not find in him, that the Hôtel de Flandres was the Place, where they exhibited, at Paris, Drammatical Representations of the Stories of sacred Scripture. But, the better to shew what the French Stage was at that time, I will cite some Fragments of our Chocquet's Pieces. They will suffice to inform us, that, at the same time that the People were forbidden to see the sacred Stories in the Book, which contains them faithfully and in purity, they were allowed to see them on the Stage, sullied with a thousand gross inventions, most part of which were expressed after

(3) Arnoul and Charles Langellier.

(4) In the Edition of Paris, 1699, at the Word Comedy. Remark, by the way, that a very gross Mistake in the preceding Editions is corrected in this, but not without letting an Error of the Press creep in. There was in the foregoing Editions, *sur quoi l'on peut voir Boccolini & Ragguaglio*; and, in the Edition of 1699, they have put it *sur quoy on peut voir Boccolini dans son Ragguaglio di Parnaso*. It should be *dans les Ragguagli di Parnaso*.

(2) Ludovici Chocquet, ad magistrum Antonium le Coq, Doctorem Medicum perdoctum Epigramma. This Epigram consists of 16 Hexameter and Pentameter Verses.

(a) Pag. 796.

not to *Du Verdier*, who has mentioned him in his *Bibliothèque* (a) as Author of a Folio,

a low manner, and in the Style of a Farce-Player.

The first Story, described in this Volume, is the Election of an Apostle in the room of Judas. The Author meanly supposes, that the Apostles caused Lots to be drawn; for so I may call the Expedient, which he relates (5):

(c) First Book of the Acts of the Apostles, fol. 3.

Baillez les festus preparez
Ainsi que l'avons assigne.
Lung en y a qui a ung signe
Comme il appert, signe lavons
Pour lamour de nos compaignons.
Le second de signe na point,
Dont pour acheuer nostre poinct
Pierre, tenez les en uos mains,
Et eulx deux, qui font incertains
Ou le signe est, n'en quelle espee,
Viendront tirer chascun sa piece,
Et celluy auquel escherra
Le signe, subroge sera
Au lieu qui est ja devise.

Deliver the prepared Straws, as we have marked them: One of them, as it appears, is marked; we have marked it for the sake of our Companions; the other has no Mark; now, to accomplish our Design, you, Peter, hold them in your Hands: and let those two, who do not know where the Mark is, or of what kind, come and draw each his Piece; and he, to whom the marked Piece shall fall, shall be chosen into the Place.

After drawing the two Straws, the Apostles examined who had the sign, and all together cryed out,

C'est Mathias:

It is Mathias:

upon which St Peter expresses himself thus:

Loue soit dieu,
Ca Mathias, entre nous autres
Faites nombre des douze Apostres.
Joyeux en suis, proficiat,
Conferme soyez en l'estat (6).

(6) Ibid.

Blessed be GOD; Mathias makes up, among us, the number of the Twelve Apostles: I rejoice at it; Success attend him; may he be confirmed in that Place.

Our Author very often brings Devils upon the Stage; and it is upon those Occasions the Poet exerts himself the most and chiefly uses his skill; but he ill supports the Characters, and, instead of inspiring Horror, he is more fit to excite Laughter. He gives himself up to Burlesque; so bad a Taste reigned at that time. He introduces Lucifer, who summons all the Devils; and he makes him say:

Dyables meschans destinez en terre estre,
Clos a jamais dans le centre terrestre,
Viendrez vous point a mes cris & aboys,
Sortez au feu de nostre infernal être
Par mes haulx cris vous puez bien congnoistre
Que c'est a droict que complaindre me doibs:
Haro, haro, nul de vous je ne veoyz,
Si ne venez desespérer m'en voys.
Dyables maudicts, Dyablesses, Dyabletons,
Courez en lair, traversez champs & boys
Fouldre geëlez, accordante a ma voix
Approchez tost dyaboliques luytons: &c (7).

(7) Ibid. fol. 3. verso.

Ye wicked Devils, doomed to inhabit the Earth, shut up for ever in it's Center, will not you come at my Call; quit the infernal Fire: By my loud cries you may be assured I have reason to complain. Haro,

Haro, I yet see none of you: If you do not come I shall go mad. Ye Devils, Male and Female, great and small, fly in the Air, traverse the Fields and Woods, with Thunder and Lightning, obedient to my Voice. Approach immediately, ye Hobgoblins.

Satan answers:

Prince denfer tes cris as fait estendre
Si trefavant qu'ils font venus descendre
Jusques au sons des noires regions
Nos vils manoirs tu as presque fait fendre
Que te fault-il? Es tu prest de te pendre
Dyables font hors par grandes legions (8).

(8) Ibid. fol. 4.

Prince of Hell, your Cries have penetrated to the very bottom of our gloomy Regions: You have almost split asunder our vile Mansions. What's the matter? Are you ready to hang yourself? The Devils are abroad by whole Legions.

Another Speech of Lucifer:

Haro, haro, approche toy grant Dyable,
Approche toy notayre mal fiable.
Fier Belyal procureur des enfers
Si tu ne fais ung faulx trait desuoyable
Nous perdons tout le genre humain saluable
Et demeurons seuls enchainez en fers.
Sur terre auons des ennemis peruers
Encontre nous machinans prescherie
Ce sont villains yssus de pescherie.
Voulans noncer de dieu la paix cherie.
Mais si vostre art a mort ne les ruïne
Ravis ferez tous a la boucherie
Si gay n'aura de qui la bouche rie
S'il le convient laisser metre en ruïne.

Haro, Haro, approach thou great Devil, approach thou Notary not to be trusted. Fierce Belial, Attorney of Hell; If you do not some treacherous enticing thing, we lose all the saveable part of human Kind, and remain alone chained in Irons. --- On Earth we have perverse Enemies, who have contrived Preaching against us; they are the villainous issue of Filibery, pretending to bear tidings of GOD's dear Peace. But if your art destroys them not, you will be all carried by force to the Butchery.

Another Answer of Satan:

Prince dampne de tenebre & bruyne
Loup ravissant, ton hurlement ne fine
Que te fault-il, as tu la rage au cueur?
Prens plomb fondu, chaulx, soufre, & poix re-
fine
Metail bouillant qui seront drogue fine
Pour destouper ta maudicte rancœur.

Damned Prince of Darkness and Rain, ravenous Wolf, your Outcry has no end: What is the matter? Have you rage in your Heart? Take melted Lead, Chalk, Brimstone, and Pitch, a boiling Metal, which will be a fine Drug, to uncork your cursed Rancour.

Another Speech of Lucifer:

Après que Christ fut au tombeau rendu
Trois jours après de mort ressuscita
Et qui plus est tout vif se presenta
A ses amys qui ne sont pas des nostres,
Douze coquins qui se nomment Apostres,
Grans seducteurs de la loy Judaïque
Auxquels il dit le texte Evangelique
Soit soutenu & presche de par vous

Après

Folio, printed at Paris in the Year 1541. He is satisfied with observing, that it

Après es cieulx il monta devant tous
En les laissant tous douze sur la terre,
Lesquels present nous meinent dure guerre
En la cite Hierusalem nommee
Et tout autour du pays de Judee
Qui est pour nous grande perplexite.
Dyables obscurs chacun soit incite
Pour ces maraulx a la mort faire rendre :
Si dessus nous les laissez entreprendre
Dieu pis yra pour nous dessus les rens
Pour ce Sathan vers eulx le chemin prens
Pense souldain de leur liurer bataille
Pour mettre a fin la maudicte canaille
Transporte toy aux prestres de la loy
Lesquels tousjours ayent lor & aloy
En recordant leur maudicte avarice
De ces coquins donne bien la notice, &c (9).

(9) First Book of
the Acts of the
Apostles, fol. 5.

Three Days after that CHRIST was laid in the Tomb, he rose from the Dead, and, what is more, presented himself alive to his Friends, who are not ours, Twelve Knaves, who call themselves Apostles, great Seducers from the Jewish Law, to whom he said, The Gospel must be maintained and preached by you: Afterwards he mounted up to Heaven before them all, leaving them all twelve on Earth; who, at present, wage hard War against us, in the City called Jerusalem, and all about the Country of Judea; which greatly perplexes us. Ye obscure Devils, be each incited to get these Varlets put to Death. If you suffer them to go on, it will be much worse for us. For this purpose, you Satan, go towards them, and give them Battle: To put an end to this cursed Rabble, transport yourself to the Priests of the Law, who are always wealthy, and, stirring up their cursed Avarice, give them notice of these Rascals.

Satan replies:

De tous les droicts assez entends l'affaire
Pour exploicter sans long temps pretendu
Au fonds d'enfer je puisse estre pendu
Si en brief temps je ne fais des merveilles
Puis qu'il convient que je souffle es oreilles
Bien tost mourront les coquins de Jesus.

I understand the business perfectly well, so as to finish it in a very short time, and may I be banged up at the bottom of Hell, if I do not speedily perform Wonders, and, since I must prompt them, the Knaves of JESUS will presently die.

Lucifer having divided among the Devils his Commissions, Satan speaks to him thus :

Voy Lucifer tous Dyables sont enclins
Par tours souldains mouvemens & declins
Dessus les champs leur deuoir tres bien faire,
Mais au depart pour mieulx nous satisfaire
Ta patte estends sur nos groings dyabolicques
Pour confermer nos esprits drachonicques
Que recevons pour benediction (10).

(10) Ibid. fol.
5. verso.

See, Lucifer, all the Devils are ready, with Tricks and sudden Motions, to discharge well their Duty. But, before we depart, for our farther Satisfaction, stretch out your Paw over our Diabolical Snouts, and, to confirm us in our Dragon-like dispositions, let us receive your Benediction.

Lucifer replies :

Dyables damnez en malediction
Dessus vous tous par puissance interdite
Ma patte estends qui est de Dieu maudicte
Pour de tous maulx & malvaisies vous abouldre
Couverts foyez de fulminante fouldre.

Ye damned and accursed Devils, I stretch out my Paw, accurs'd of G O D, over you, by a forbidden

2

Power, to absolve you from all mischief and evil Actions; and may you be covered from the force of Thunder.

Is not this to turn into ridicule, and indirectly to burlesque the Holy and Apostolical Ceremony of laying on of Hands?

After these Dialogues of Devils, we meet with others which are worse in their kind; for the discourses, which the Author supposes to be holden between GOD and JESUS CHRIST, are utterly unworthy of the Majesty of the Subject. The Constables, who imprison the two Apostles, that healed a lame Man, speak in such burlesque terms, that it is a perfect Farce.

AGRIPPART.

Prends moy ce galland par le poing
Et le me lye d'une corde.

GRIFFON.

Si je luy fais misericorde
Beau Sire je veul qu'on me tonde.

AGRIPPART.

Est il lye ?

GRIFFON.

Le mieux du monde.
Allons les cacher pour la pluye
Vous ferez enfans de la pye
Gallans, car vous ferez en cage (11).

(11) Ibid. fol. 6.

AGRIPPART.

Take this Spark by the fist, and tie him with a Rope.

GRIFFON.

If I shew any mercy to him, good Sir, may I be truss'd up.

AGRIPPART.

Is he bound ?

GRIFFON.

The best in the World. Come on, let us hide them from the Rain. You shall be a Mag-pye's young One, Sparks, for you shall be caged.

Slow-pace, Messenger of the high Priest Annas, exceeds in Burlesque, as follows:

C'est rage comme je chopine
De chanter ne me puis tenir,
Toutes les fois que je chemine
Il n'est chose qui ne se mine
J'ay huy si bien tire lauraille
Puis le matin a ma bouteille
Que tout est pieca mis en vente
Je n'ay garde quelle sefuente,
Car plus ny a raisin ne moult (12).

(12) Ibid. fol. 7.

I am mad, whilst I tittle; I cannot forbear singing; whenever I walk, every Thing wafts away; I have so well tipp'd to Day, that there is nothing left in my Bottle; I am not afraid it should take vent; for there is neither Grape, nor Must, left.

Let us produce some Fragments of the Dialogue between Annas and Catphas.

ANNE.

Je les ai veus tres bonnes gens (13)
Loyaulx & de bonne fasson

(13) He speaks of the two Apostles, Peter and John, in Prison.

Et

it is a Volume, in which the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of *St John* are put into French Rime, &c. (§ a). He has neglected to give Extracts of it, tho' it be not usual with him to omit doing so, when a Book contains things a little uncommon. He has even frequently recited long Passages, which have nothing curious. We have reason therefore to wonder, that he has cited nothing of the Poetry of *Lewis Chocquet*; for we find in it very strange and surprizing Scenes. We will supply this defect, and make this Work a little better known, than it is in *Du Verdier*.

[§ a) The *Acts of the Apostles*, of which Mr Bayle gives here some extracts, were not written by *Lewis Chocquet*, but by *Arnoul* and *Simon Greban*, Brothers; as *la Croix du Maine* informs us in his *Bibliothèque*, p. 24, 456, and 391. Mr Bayle was deceived by *du Verdier*, who, in his *Bibliothèque*, p. 796, ascribes to *Chocquet* both the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Apocalypse of St John*, tho' he is only the Author of the *Apocalypse*. See in the *Letters of Mr Bayle*, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1729, the Remarks on the CCXLVth Letter, Tom III. p. 921, & seq. Concerning these pious Comedies, see Mr *Rymer's Short View of Tragedy*, Chap. V. p. 53. & seq. REM. CRIT.]

Et mont apporte du poisson
Cent fois a vendre en mon hostel

CAYPHAS.

Est il vray ?

ANNE.

Par Dieu il est tel

Mes gens en ont bien souvenance :
Mais pour mieulx vivre a leur plaïfance
Ils ont delaisse leur mestier
Dont ils n'auoient pas mestier,
Car tres bien ils en pouoient viure
Et depuis ont voulu ensuyure
Jesus le mauvais Scismaticque
Qui leur a apprins la magicque
Et nygromance on le scait bien,
Car il estoit magicien
Le plus grand qui fust jusqu'a Rome (14).

ANNAS.

*I have seen them ; they are very honest Fellows, faith-
ful, and of good Behaviour. They have brought Fish,
an hundred times, to sell at my House.*

CAYPHAS.

Say you so ?

ANNAS.

*By God, it's true: My People remember them very
well. But, to live more at their ease, they left off
their Trade, and from that time would needs follow
JESUS the wicked Schismatic, who taught them
Magic; and they understand Necromancy: for he was
a Magician, and the greatest that was, even as far
as Rome.*

The Questions, which the high Priest puts to the
lame Man, deserve to be recited.

ANNE.

----- mais je te vueil demander
S'il est vray ce qu'on a compte,
On nous a icy recite
Que pour trouuer moyen de viure
Tuy qui estoys fort & deliure
Faignoys d'estre tout contrefaict.
Dy hardiment si tu las faict
Je le te feray pardonner
Avecques ce te feray donner
De l'argent pour toy bien pouruoir
Plus qu'ils nont: On peut bien scavoir
Qu'ils ten ont donne & promis
Afin que dies qu'ils tont mis
En bon estat & en sante

Pour avoir bruyt par la cite
De faire miracles patens (15).

ANNAS.

*But I'll ask you, if what is related be true: we are
told here, that, in order to get a livelihood, you,
who wer't strong and well limbed, pretended to be
quite the contrary. Tell me freely, if you did so; I will
procure you a Pardon; and besides, I will get for you
some Money, to provide well for yourself, more than
They have: We are sure they bribed you with Money,
to say, that They restored you to Strength and Health,
that they might be talked off over the City as workers
of undeniable Miracles.*

By these Specimens of the first Book, you may
judge of the whole Volume; but it must be remem-
bered, that they are not so grotesque as a multitude
of other Passages.

Observe, that the Author carefully follows the
popular Traditions. He foists in (16) a long *Episode*
concerning *Dionysius the Areopagite*, and his Ordina-
tion to the Episcopacy. He foists in (17) another
much longer concerning the Death, Resurrection,
and Assumption of the Holy Virgin. These Theatri-
cal Performances were applauded in the former times;
but at present they are looked on as wretched things.
Here I must cite the following Verses of *Boileau*.

Chez nos devots Ayeux le Théâtre abhorré
Fut long-tems dans la France un plaisir ignoré.
De Pelerins, dit-on, une troupe grossiere
En public à Paris y monta la première,
Et söttement zélée en sa simplicité
Joüa les Saints, la Vierge, & Dieu, par piété.
Le Savoir à la fin dissipant l'Ignorance
Fit voir de ce projet la dévöte imprudence.
On chassa ces Docteurs préchant sans mission,
On vit renaitre Hector, Andromaque, Iliön (18).

*In pious Days of Yore, a barbarous Stage,
In France, gave Pleasure to an ignorant Age.
Pilgrims for Players wou'd, at first, go down,
Their monstrous Farces follow'd by the Town.
The Company, religiously severe,
Made Saints and Martyrs in the Scene appear;
The Holy Virgin, and ev'n GOD was there.
Knowledge at length put Ignorance to flight;
A Zeal so indiscrete exposed to light;
Drove th' uncommission'd Doctors from the Stage;
Andromache reviv'd in Tragic Rage,
And Troy and Hector charm'd once more the Age.*

If you would have a Comment on this, read these
words (19). 'It is certain, that *Pilgrimages* intro-
duced these devout Representations. Those, who
' returned from *Jerusalem* and the Holy Land, from
' *St James of Compostella*, *St Baume of Provence*, *St*
' *Reine*, *Mount St Michael*, *Notre Dame du Puy*,
' and other places of Piety, composed Songs on their
' Travels, mixing with them a Recital of the Life
' and Death of the Son of GOD, or of the last
' Judgment,

(15) Ibid. fol. 8,
verso.

(16) In the fifth
Book.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Boileau's
Art of Poetry,
Cent. 3, vers. 81,
&c.

ORIGIN of this
kind of theatri-
cal Piece.

(19) Taken from
*Monsieur's An-
cient and Modern
Musical Repre-
sentations*, pag.
153, 154.

Judgment, after a gross manner, but which the singing and Simplicity of the Times seem to render pathetic; they sung the Miracles of Saints, their Martyrdom, and certain Fables, to which the Credulity of the People gave the Name of Visions and Apparitions. These Pilgrims, who went in Companies, and who took their Stands in Streets, and public Places, where they sung with their Staves in their Hands, and their Hats and Mantles covered with Shells, and painted Images of divers Colours, formed a kind of Spectacle, which pleased, and which excited the Piety of some Citizens of Paris, to raise a Fund for purchasing a proper place to erect a Theatre, on which to represent these Mysteries on Holy-Days, as well for the Instruction of the People, as their Diversion. Italy had public Theatres for the Representation of these Mysteries; one of them I saw at *Veletri*, in the Road from *Rome*

to *Naples*, in a public Place, where it is not forty Years since they left off to represent the Mysteries of the Life of the Son of God. These pious Spectacles appeared so fine in those ignorant Ages, that they made them the principal Ornaments of the Reception of Princes, when they made their Entry into Cities; and, as they sung a Christmas Carol instead of the cries of *Long live the King*, they represented in the Streets the good Samaritan, the wicked rich Man, the Passion of *JESUS CHRIST*, and several other Mysteries, at the Reception of our Kings. The Psalms and Pious Devotions of the Church were the Opera of those times. They walked in Procession before those Princes with the Banners of the Churches; they sung to their Praise Hymns composed of several Passages of Scripture, tacked together, to make Allusions to the principal Actions of their Reigns.

CHRYSEIS, the Daughter of *Chryses*, Priest of *Apollo*, is more known by This Patronymic Name, than by That of *Astynome*, which was her proper Name. She was taken by *Achilles*, when he plundered *Lyrnessus*, and some other Places near *Troy*. She was married to the King of that Country (a). *Agamemnon*, finding her to his Taste, kept her for himself, and was so far from restoring her to good *Chryses*, who was come to redeem her, clothed with his Priestly Ornaments, and furnished with a very great Ransom, that he drove him unworthily from him (b). We learn from *Homer*, why he would keep This Concubine [A]. *Chryses* prayed to *Apollo* to revenge him, and was heard; the Plague infected the Greek Army, and did not cease, till, by the Advice of the Diviner *Calchas*, *Chryseis* was restored to her Father (c). She was with Child, and yet she boasted that no one had touched her; but, when she could hide it no longer, she maintained, that it was not the Work of a Man, but of the God *Apollo* (d). The Son she was delivered of was called *Chryses*. He learned his Extraction somewhat late; but it was soon enough to do good Service to his Brother *Orestes* [B]. Some say, that

(a) *Diogenes*, lib. 2. pag. m. 172.

(b) *Homer*, lib. ad. lib. 1.

(c) *Id.* *ibid.*

(d) *Hygin*, cap. 121.

Iphigenia

[A] We learn from *Homer*, why he would keep This Concubine. He declared, in the Council of War, that he preferred her before his Wife *Clytemnestra*, whom he had married a Maid, and that *Chryseis* did not yield to *Clytemnestra* either in Beauty, Wit, or Handy-work.

----- Ἐπει πολὺ βύλαμαι αὐτὴν
Οἶκοι ἔχειν καὶ γὰρ ἴσα Κλυταμένηστρῃ
περὶ βέλεια
Κλειδὶν ἀλόχῃ, ἔπει δ' ἔθεν ἐπὶ χερσίων,
Οὐ δέμας, εἰδὲ φωνήν, ὅτ' ἀρ' ὄφρα εἴτε
τι ἔργον.

Quoniam valde cupio ipsam
Domum habere. Etenim Clytemnestrae praeposui.
Uxori, quam virginem duxi, quoniam non ipsa
est inferior
Neque corpore, neque indole, neque mente,
nec operibus (1).

(1) *Homer*, II. lib. 1, ver. 112.

A Maid unmatch'd in Manners as in Face,
Skill'd in each Art, and crown'd with every Grace.
Not half so dear were Clytemnestra's Charms,
When first her blooming Beauties blest'd my Arms.

POPE.

He had already told *Chryses*, that he would detain *Chryseis* till she became old, and that he pretended to keep her to make Linnen-Cloth for him, and also to lie with him.

Τὴν δ' ἐγὼ εἰ λύσω, πρὶν μιν καὶ γῆρας
ἔπεισιν
Ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεὶ τηλόθι πατρὸς,
Ἴσθ' ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχον ἀνείωσαν

Hanc autem ego non liberabo antequam ipsam
vel senectus adeat
Nostra in domo Argis, procul à patria,
Telam percurrentem & meum lectum participantem (2).

(2) *Id.*, ver. 29.

VOL. II. N^o. XLVI.

Mine is thy Daughter, Priest, and shall remain,
And Prayers, and Tears, and Bribes shall plead
in vain,
Till Time shall rifle every youthful Grace,
And Age dismiss her from my cold Embrace,
In daily Labours of the Loom employ'd,
And doom'd to deck the Bed she once enjoy'd.

POPE.

Mr *Perrault*, laughing at this Place of the *Iliad*, mistook one Name for another: Let *Agamemnon*, says he, keep *Briseis*, the Daughter of the Great Priest, to make him Linnen-Cloth (3). I must observe, that *Agamemnon*, though never so well pleased with *Chryseis*, declared to the Council of War, that, if they would make him amends for her, he would restore her, if it was necessary to prevent the Destruction of the Army. He actually restored her, but made himself amends at the Expence of *Achilles*, from whom he took *Briseis* (4). *Achilles* left off fighting, from whence proceeded an infinite number of Evils; and thus the Misfortunes of That War were always occasioned by Women. If three or four Persons could have lain without Women, it might have saved the Lives of Two or Three hundred thousand Men. The Case was not so deplorable, nor so base, when it was said:

(3) *Parallele*, Tom. II. pag. 344.

(4) See *Arrianus*; *Epicetus*, lib. 2, cap. 24.

Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia conjux,
Nos animæ viles inhumata infletaque turba
Sternamur campis (5).

(5) *Virgil*, *Æneid*, lib. 11, ver. 374.

A Base, ignoble, Crocod, without a Name,
Unwept, unworthy of the Funeral Flame;
By Duty bound to forfeit each his Life,
That Turnus may enjoy a Royal Wife.

DRYDEN.

[B] Her Son — did good Service to his Brother *Orestes*.] By helping the Matter a little, we find, in the Hundred and Twenty first Chapter of *Hyginus*, that *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*, being fled from the *Chersonesus Taurica*, with the Statue of *Diana*, landed in the Isle of *Smintha*, where *Chryses* was the Priest of *Apollo*. Young *Chryses*, I mean the Son

6 F

(e) Tætes in Lycophr. & Magn. Etymolog. cum in voce Χρυσεΐδης.
(f) Didys, ubi supra, pag. 180.

Iphigenia was the Daughter of *Agamemnon* and of *Chryses* (e). Others relate, that *Chryses*, being informed of the good Treatment that his Daughter had received from the *Greeks*, brought her back again to their Army, and returned her to *Agamemnon* (f). We have shewed, in the Remarks of the Article *BRISEIS*, that *Horace* reasoned ill, when he made use of That *Greek* Prince's Example, to prove that his Friend ought not to be ashamed to love his Servant-maid. I shall remark here, that *Briseis* and *Chryseis* were first Cousins [C].

Son of *Agamemnon* and *Chryseis*, had a mind to send these two Persons back again to *Thos* King of *Taurica*; but his Father acquainted him with the Fraternity, that was between him and those two new Comers. Then young *Chryses* joined with *Orestes*, and both returned into *Taurica* to kill *Thos*; which having performed, they went to *Mycenæ* with the Statue of *Diana*. This is ill enough related in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary; they have added some Circumstances to it which are in *Hyginus*, and forgot those, which are in That Author, and yet he is the only one that is cited. *Stephanus Byzantinus* informs us, that the City of *Chryseopolis* took its Name from *Chryses*, the Son of *Agamemnon* and of *Chryseis*. Those who

say, that This Woman maintained, she had brought her Chastity sound and whole from the *Greek* Army, say no improbable thing; for it is the common Talk of almost all the Women, who are carried away, or who are in Towns taken by Assault (6). It was a very convenient Thing, for a Woman, at the Time of the Siege of *Troy*, to be allowed to say, that she was with Child by a God.

[C] *Briseis* and *Chryseis* were first Cousins.] For *Bryses* and *Chryses* were Brothers. Εἰς τὸν γὰρ καὶ Χρύσης ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, παῖδες Ἀδρύου. They are *Eustathius's* Words (7). The learned and obliging Mr *Drelincourt* gave me notice of This Passage.

(1) *Lewis Gayon*, in his *Dicerces* *Leges*, Tom. III. liv. 4. cap. 14, 15, approves that Women should say so, and advises them to it. (7) In *Iliad*. A. pag. 53. lin. 28.

(a) *Hygin*. cap. 85, 272.
(b) See Remark [B].

(c) Taken from *Plotarch*. in *Parallelis*, pag. 113. *He quotes* *Dositheus* in *Pelopidis*.

(d) Scholiast. *Euripidis* in *Orestis*. Tætes *Histor*. 18. chil. 1. See also *Hygin*. cap. 85.

(e) A Part of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*.

(f) *Pausan*. lib. 6, p. 502, Edit. 1696.

(g) A Town in *Argos*.

(h) *Hygin*. cap. 85.

CHRYSIPPUS, the natural Son of *Pelops* [A], was of an incomparable Beauty (a). *Laius* became passionately in love with him, and carried him away (b); but he was so speedily pursued, that they took his Prey from him, and carried him Prisoner to *Pelops*, who pardoned him that Action, considering that Love had drove him to it. *Pelops's* Affection for *Chrysippus* was greater than That which he had for his Legitimate Children; for which reason his Wife *Hippodamia*, animated with all the Spite of a Step-Mother, exhorted two of her Sons, *Atræus* and *Thyestes*, to take away this Bastard's Life: She did not question but that one Day he would aspire to the Crown. They refused to perform that base Action; upon which she resolved to do it her self: for which purpose, she took *Laius's* Sword, while he slept, and killed *Chrysippus* with it. The Suspicions fell on *Laius*, because of his Sword; but *Chrysippus* had time enough, before he died, to clear him. *Pelops* was contented to turn away *Hippodamia* (c). Some Authors (d) say, That she did not kill *Chrysippus* with her own Hand, but that she caused *Atræus* and *Thyestes* to commit that Murder; and that, after they had killed *Chrysippus*, they threw him into a Well. Their Father would see them no more; and they retired into *Triphylia* (e). Some say (f), That he was not indulgent enough to be satisfied with banishing his Wife, and that he was resolved to revenge the Death of *Chrysippus* chiefly upon her, but that he could not do it, because she fled to *Midea* (g). Others say, That, seeing her self accused by her Husband, she killed herself (h). We learn from *Thucydides*, that *Atræus* fled to his Nephew *Euristheus*, King of *Mycenæ* (i). We must not think, that this *Chrysippus* differs from him, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and *Firminus Maturnus*, have associated with *Ganymede* [B]. This Son of *Pelops* has not been mentioned yet in *Moreri's* Dictionary,

(i) *Θαλίνορα* τὸν πατέρα δὲ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον. *Patrem fugienti* (*Atræo*) propter *Chrysippi* necem. *Thucyd.* lib. 1. See also *Plato* in *Cratylus*, pag. m. 272. C.

[A] He was the natural Son of *Pelops*.] Some say, that the Mistress, by whom he had This fine Child, was the Nymph *Danaë* (1). Others call her *Acte* (2) or *Apsyche* (3); but the Scholiast upon *Homer* pretends, that *Chrysippus's* Mother was *Pelops's* lawful Wife. Consult him upon the Hundred and fifth Verse of the second Book of the *Iliad*. He speaks, as others do, of *Hippodamia's* Jealousy, and of the Murder committed by *Atræus* and by *Thyestes*, and he quotes *Hellanicus*.

[B] We must not imagine, that this *Chrysippus* differs from him, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius* - - - have associated with *Ganymede*.] *Clemens Alexandrinus* upbraids the Pagans with the Pederasty of their Gods, and makes use of these Words: Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδὲ παῖδων ἀπέσχετο οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν θεοί. ὁ μὲν τις, Τάλλε, ὁ δὲ Τάκινος, ὁ δὲ Πέλοπος, ὁ δὲ Χρυσίππου, ὁ δὲ Γανυμήδης ἐραῖντες. τίς τις ὅτων αἱ γυναῖκες περσχυνοῦσιν τὸς θεούς, τοῖς τε δὲ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι τὸς ἀνδρας τὸς ἐαυτῶν, οὕτω σώζοντας, ἵνα ἴσιν ὁμοιοὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, τὰ ἴσα ἐμμελῶτες. Nam nec à pueris quidem dii vestri abstinere: unus quidem *Hyllam*, alius verò *Hyacinthum*, alius *Pelopem*, alius *Chrysippum*, alius autem *Ganymedem*, amantes. Hos deos vestre uxores adoret, tales autem suos esse maritos precentur, adeo temperantes, ut sint diis similes, familia consecantes (4). — For your Gods abstained not even from Boys; One being in love

with *Hylas*, another with *Hyacinthus*, another with *Pelops*, another with *Chrysippus*, and another with *Ganymede*. Let your Wives worship these Gods, and let them pray that their Husbands may be such, so temperate, as to be like Gods, following the same things. *Arnobius*, who copies this Passage, and a great many others, out of the same Father, expresses himself likewise in an indeterminate manner: 'Quid, quod non contenti feminei generis attri- buisse diis curas, etiam sexus adiungitis adamatos ab his mares? *Hylam* nescio quis diligit: *Hyacintho* est alius occupatus: ille *Pelopis* desiderii flagrat: hic in *Chrysippum* suspirat ardentius: *Catamitus* rapitur delictum futurum, & poculorum cultus: & ut *Jovis* dicatur pullus, in partibus *Fabius* aduritur mollibus, obignaturque posticis (5). — What! is it not enough that you make your Gods enamoured with the Female Sex, but you must make them in love with the Male likewise. One of them is in love with *Hylas*; another is taken up with *Hyacinthus*: This God burns with desire of *Pelops*: That sighs more ardently after *Chrysippus*: A *Catamite* is carried away, to be a favourite and a Cup-bearer; and, that he may be called *Jove's* Young-One, *Fabius* is burnt in the soft Parts, and marked behind. *Firminus Maturnus* is a little more particular: he not only names *Jupiter* in relation to *Ganymede*, but also *Hercules* in relation to *Hylas*, and *Apollo* concerning *Hyacinthus*: Only he has not named the Lovers of *Chrysippus*.

(5) *Arnob.* lib. 4, pag. 145.

tionary, nor CHRYSIPPUS of Tyana [C], Author of a Book teaching how to make Bread (k); but CHRYSIPPUS, a famous Physician born at Cnidus [D], and CHRYSIPPUS, the Disciple of *Erasistratus*, have not been omitted in it. It is not true, that this Disciple of *Erasistratus* composed *Georgics*; for it is a Work, which *Diogenes Laërtius* ascribes to another *Chrysippus* (l).

(k) Athenæus, lib. 3, pag. 113, and lib. 14, pag. 647.

(l) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 186.

sippus and *Pelops*. 'Puerorum aliquis delectatur amplexibus, Ganymedem in sinu Jovis quærat, Herculem videat Hylam impudenti amore quærentem, Hyacinthi desiderio captum Apollinem disecat. Chrysippum alius, alius Pelopem videat, ut per Deos suos sibi licere dicat, quicquid hodie severissime Romanis legibus vindicatur (6). — The

(6) Firmicus Maternus, de Error. Profanar. Relig. lib. 1, p. m. 24.

Pederast may find Ganymede in Jupiter's Arms, may see Hercules with all the Impatience of a Lover seeking after Hylas, and may learn that Apollo was in love with Hyacinthus. Another may see Chrysippus, another Pelops; inasmuch that he may say, he is authorized by his Gods to do, whatever is at present most severely punished by the Roman Laws. His Commentator (7) has nothing to say. I have looked in vain for some Note, in *Theodorus Canterus*, in *Godefridus Steucrius*, in *Gebhartus Elmenhorstius*, and in *De-fiderius Heraldus*, four famous Commentators on *Arnobius*: I have found them all as dumb as Fishes, as to what concerns our *Chrysippus*, and the God, or the Hero, who loved him criminally. But what may be the Reason, why the three ancient Authors, whom I have cited, keep to such indeterminate Expressions on this last point, and even that the first did not name the Lovers of *Hyacinthus* and *Ganymede*? It would be rash and unjust to suspect him of Artifice, as if, knowing that he, who loved *Chrysippus*, was a meer Man, he durst not name him; and that, lest it should be thought, that there was some Design in this Forgetfulness, he, at the same time, suppressed the Names of the rest. Let us say, that either his Memory deceived him, and that, having confused Ideas, he mixed *Chrysippus* with the Boys, whom the Gods had loved; or rather let us say, that he remembered, that certain Authors (8) attributed to *Jupiter*, what almost all the rest attributed to *Laius*. Let us keep to this last Tradition, and let us say, that the Lover of this fair Youth was neither a God, nor a Demi-God; he was a *Theban* (9), the Son of *Labdacus*. Consult *Athenæus*, who will inform you, that *Laius*, being lodged with *Pelops*, fell in love with *Chrysippus*, the Son of his Host, and fled away with him to *Thebes* (10). That Author adds, that it was said, that *Laius* was the first, who loved in this manner. *Ælian* says the same thing, and that it was the reason, why the *Thebans* thought it a fine and laudable thing to make love in that manner

(8) Athenæus, lib. 13, pag. 603, 604, quotes *Praxilla* Sicynia.

(9) He was King of Thebes.

(10) Athen. lib. 13, pag. 603, 604.

(11) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 13, cap. 5. & *Histor. Animal.* lib. 6, cap. 15, pag. m. 339.

(12) Hygin. cap. 272.

(13) In notis ad hunc locum, referente *Thoma Munckero*.

(14) Propter formæ dignitatem, *Nemeis* ludis rapuit. *Hygin.* cap. 85.

(15) *Munckerus* in *Hygin.* ibid. pag. 140.

(11). Note, that, according to *Hyginus*, it was *Thebes*, who ran away with *Chrysippus* (12); but it is probable the passage is corrupted: See the ingenious Conjecture of Mr *Perizonius* (13), by which, instead of *quem Thebes ludis rapuit*, he will have it to be read *quem Nemeis Laius rapuit*. In effect, *Hyginus* had said, in his Eighty fifth Chapter, that *Laius* had carried away *Chrysippus* at the *Nemean Games* (14). Note, that he adds, that *Pelops* recovered him, having made War with the *Ravisher*. Note also, that *Pisander* was of Opinion, that the young Man was so ashamed of his Adventure, that he killed himself. *Pisander apud Eurip. Scholiast.* pag. 402. Edit. *Steph.* ipsum (*Chrysippum*) præ pudore intulisse sibi manus autumat (15).

[C] *Moreti's Dictionary* says nothing of CHRYSIPPUS of Tyana.] *Jonfius* pretends, that *A-*

thenæus gave him the Elogy of most venerable Writer (16); but it is meer Irony in the Mouth of one of the Interlocutors of *Athenæus*; and we may justly compare this with the *Docte Cati*, mentioned above (17). There is more reason to say, that *Athenæus* called him an ingenious Talker about Tarts and Cakes. Σοφός περὶ μαζῶν λόγος. Sapiens ille Pemmatum Scriptor (18).

[D] *Chrysippus*, a famous Physician, born at Cnidus.] *Pliny* spoke of him as of a Man, who had made great Innovations in Physic: 'Horum placita, says he (19), *Chrysippus* ingenti garrulitate mutavit, plurimumque & ex *Chrysippo* discipulus ejus *Erasistratus*, *Aristotelis* filia genitus. — *Chrysippus*, a greater Talker, deviated from their Opinions; and *Erasistratus*, his Disciple, Son of a Daughter of *Aristotle*, varied greatly from *Chrysippus*. Let us observe the two Qualities, which are here ascribed to *Erasistratus*. The first is That of *Chrysippus's* Disciple; the second That of the Son of *Aristotle's* Daughter. This does not agree with what we read in *Sextus Empiricus* (20), that *Pythias*, *Aristotle's* Daughter, was married three times. I. To *Nicanor*; II. To *Procles*, by whom she had two Sons, who studied Philosophy under *Theophrastus*; III. To the Physician *Metrodorus*, who had been a Disciple of *Chrysippus* the *Cnidian*, and who taught *Erasistratus*. From this third Marriage proceeded a Son, who was named *Aristotle*. Perhaps *Erasistratus* was adopted by *Metrodorus*, and by *Pythias* (21); and, if it be so, *Pliny* would be only guilty of having not properly used the Word *genitus*. We see, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that *Erasistratus* acknowledged he had learned many Things of this *Chrysippus* (22); but the Expression being equivocal, it cannot be determined, whether he had learned those Things by Word of Mouth, or by Reading. *Galen* looks upon *Chrysippus*, the *Cnidian*, as *Erasistratus's* Master, and as the chief of those, who disapproved Bleeding (23). Father *Hardouin* observes, that This *Chrysippus* composed a Treatise de *Brassica*, and a whole Work περὶ λαγνῶν, de *Oleribus*. He (24) cites *Pliny* and *Diogenes Laërtius*, concerning the first of these two Things, and the Scholiast upon *Nicanor* (25) concerning the second. But *Camerarius*, in the Catalogue of the Authors de *Re Rustica*, which he added to his Treatise de *Re Rustica*, printed at Nuremberg, 1595, in 12mo, ascribes the Book de *Brassica* to one *Chrysippus*, a Disciple of *Erasistratus*. See *Jonfius*, who mentions nineteen *Chrysippus's*, but without pretending that they are all distinct (26). His Collections are good and curious. The Author of the Treatise, de *Brassica*, pretended, that Cabbages were a Remedy for all Diseases. *Chrysippus medicus peculiarem brassicæ librum dicavit, omnium morborum ex ea remedia continentem* (27). We must not forget, that *Chrysippus*, the *Cnidian*, was the Father of another *Chrysippus*, who was King *Ptolemy's* Physician, and who, being oppressed by *Calurnny*, was whipped, and punished with Death (28). Lastly, let us observe, that *Moreri* was in the wrong to say, That it is not well known in what Time *Chrysippus*, the *Cnidian*, lived. It is easy to infer, that he lived in the Time of *Alexander the Great*, and of the first *Ptolemy*.

(16) Σαμνέτα-τος συγγρα-φεύς dicitur apud Athenæum xiv. 16. *Jonfius de Script. Hist. Phil.* pag. 157.

(17) Rem. [E], of the Article CATIUS.

(18) Athen. lib. 14, cap. 15, pag. 648.

(19) Plin. lib. 29, cap. 1, pag. m. 663.

(20) Sext. Empiricus advers. Mathemat. cap. 12, pag. 51.

(21) See Father Hardouin upon that Passage of *Pliny*.

(22) Diog. Laërt. 1, 7, n. 186.

(23) *Galen* de Venæ Sect. contra Erasistrat. cap. 2, 7, item alibi.

(24) *Hard.* in Indice Autor. *Plin.* pag. 104.

(25) Ad Theophrast. pag. 39.

(26) *Jonfius* de Hist. Script. Phil. pag. 157.

(27) *Plinius* Valerianus, de Re medica, lib. 4, cap. 29. See also *Pliny*, lib. 20, cap. 9.

(28) Diog. Laërt. ubi supra.

CHRYSIPPUS, a Stoic Philosopher, was of Soli a Town of Cilicia (a). Some say, that he was a Disciple of *Zeno* (b); it is more certainly known, that he studied under *Cleanthes*, *Zeno's* Successor (c); but, as he had a very subtle Wit [A], and a great Talent at Reasoning, he departed from the Doctrine of those two great

(a) *Valerius Maximus*, lib. 1, cap. 7, n. 11, ext. *Jonfius*, ibid. *Cleanthes* was *Chrysippus's* Disciple: he is grossly mistaken.

[A] He had a very subtle Wit.] Let us see what *Seneca* said of him; but, to understand his Thought the better, let us remember that he had just before censured several trifling Things, advanced by the Ancients, concerning the *Three Graces*; and then he adds (1); 'Chrysippus quoque, penes quem

subtile illud acumen est, & in imam penetrans veritatem, qui rei agendæ causa loquitur, & verbis non ultra, quam ad intellectum fati est, utitur, totum librum suum his ineptiis replet: ita ut de ratione dandi, accipiendi, reddendique beneficii pauca admodum dicat: nec his fabulas, sed hæc

(1) *Seneca* de Benefic. lib. 7, cap. 3, pag. m. 6.

(d) Diog. Laërt.
ubi supra.

great Philosophers, and opposed them in many Points (*d*). He wrote many Books: they are reckoned above 705; among which were many that concerned Logic [*B*]; for he applied himself zealously to cultivate and refine That part of the System. Such a great number of Compositures will not be so much wondered at, when it is known, that he wrote several times on the same Subject; that he made use of any thing that came in his Way; that he cared but little to correct his Works [*C*]; that

hæc fabulis inferit. — Chryſippus *likewiſe*,
coarſe Wit is ſubtle, and penetrating to the very
 bottom of Truth, *who ſpeaks to the purpoſe*, and uſes
 Words no farther than to be underſtood, fills his
 whole Book with theſe Trifles: to inform that he ſays
 but little of the manner of conſerring, receiving, and
 returning a Kindneſs: nor does he intermix Fables
 with Theſe, but Theſe with Fables. And, fearing to
 be blamed for having cenſured ſuch a Philoſopher, he
 makes uſe of theſe Words in his own Vindication:
 Tu modo nos tuere, ſi quis mihi obijciat, quod
 Chryſippum in ordinem coegerim, magnum me-
 hercule virum, fed tamen Græcum, cujus acumen
 nimis tenue retunditur, & in ſe sæpe replicatur:
 etiam cum agere aliquid videtur, pungit, non per-
 forat. Hoc vero quod acumen eſt? — Ad hanc
 honeſtiſſimam contentione, beneficii beneficia
 vincendi, ſic nos adhortatur Chryſippus, ut dicat
 verendum eſt, ne quia Charies Jovis filius tuus,
 parum ſe gratè gerere, ſacrilegium ſit, & tam
 bellis puellis fiat injuria. Tu me aliquid eorum
 doce, per quæ beneficior, gratiorque adverſus
 bene merentes ſiam, per quæ obligantur, obli-
 gatorumque animi certent, ut qui præſtitent,
 oblivifcantur, peritæſque ſit memoria debentium.
 Itæ vero ineptiæ poetis relinquuntur: quibus aures
 oblectare propoſitum eſt, & dulcem fabulam ne-
 ſcere. At qui ingenia fanare, & fidem in rebus
 humanis retinere, memoriam officiorum ingerere,
 animis voluti, ſerio loquantur, & magnis viribus
 agant: niſi forte exitiſſimas, levi ac fabuloſo fer-
 mone, & anilibus argumentis, prohiberi poſſe mer-
 pueruloſiſſimam, beneficiorum novas tabulas (2).

— I on desire you would stand by me, if any one shall object to me, that I endeavour to bumble *Chryippus*; a Great Man indeed, but a Grecian, whose Edge, too fine, is blunted, and often bent back on himself: even when he seems to be doing something, he only pricks, but does not perforate. But what kind of Edge is This? — *Chryippus*, when he would exhort us to this virtuous Contentment, to wit, of conquering Kindness by Kindness, tells us, it is to be feared, since the Graces are the Daughters of Jupiter, least Ingratitude should be Sacrilege, and an Injury to such fine Ladies. Instruct me in those Points, by which I may become more beneficent and grateful towards those who deserve well of me, and which excite an Emulation between the Obliging and Obligated, so that They, who confer Benefits, forget them, They, who are indebted for them, constantly remember them. Leave these Trifles to the Poets; whose Design is to please the Ear, and to work up an entertaining Fable. But let Those, who would better our Minds, keep us to the Practice of Honesty, and put us in mind of our Duty, speak seriously, and act with great Force: unless perhaps you think, that a general Discharge for Benefits received, a most pernicious thing, can be prohibited by a light and fabulous Discourse, and old *Wives Arguments*. Nothing can be more judicious than This Criticism of *Seneca*: he did very well to shew the Ridiculousness of those Poetical Reasons, set forth in a Work, relating to some of the principal Duties of civil Life. However, he was so equitable as to discover, in his Censure, one of the finest Strokes of *Chryippus's* Character, which was his Subtlety. We shall see the Epithets *Cicero* made Choice of in speaking of This Philosopher: ‘*Chryippus, qui Stoicorum somniorum valerrimus habetur interpres, magnum turbam congregat ignotorum Deorum, atque ita ignotorum, ut eos ne conjectura quidem informare possimus, cum mens nostra quidvis videatur cogitatione posse deprinare*’ (1.)

Chrysippus, the most artful Interpreter
of the Dreams of the Stoics, collect together a
vast Crowd of unknown Gods, and so unknown,
that the Mind, which seems capable of represent-
ing any thing to itself in Thought, can attain to no

Idea of them, even in conjecture. 'Chrysippus quidem, quamquam eff accerrimo ingenio, tamen ea dicit, ut ea ab ipsa natura didicisse, non ut ipse reperire videatur (4). ---- Chrysippus, tho' (4) *Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 6.*
of the acutest Wit, says such things, as seem to be, not the result of Enquiry, but the Dictates of meer Nature. 'Et Chrysippus tibi acute dicere videbatur, homo sine dubio versutus & callidus. Versutus eos appello quorum celeriter mens versatur: callidos autem quorum tanquam manus opere, sic animus usu concalluit (5). ---- You thought Chrysippus argued very subtilly, a Man, no doubt, of great Quickness and Craft. I call those Quick, whose Minds turn about with great Celerity, and Those Crafty, whose Minds are grown callous thro' use, as their Hands thro' any Work or Craft.' Chrysippus's Application to Logic, which I am going to mention, is a very strong Proof of his Subtily.

[B] He wrote many Books - - - among which were several that concerned Logic.' Diogenes Laërtius makes them amount to the Number of Three hundred and eleven (6). Which makes me find some Obscurity in what Valerius Maximus says, that This Philosopher began his Thirty ninth Treatise of Logic at eighty Years of Age. ' Citeriores ætatis mætas, sed non parvi tamen spatii Chrysippi vivacitas flexit: nam octogesimo anno ætatum, undequadragiesimum *λογικῶν* exactissimæ subtilitatis volumen reliquit. Cujus studium in tradendis ingenii sui monumentis tantum operæ laborique fuit: ut ad ea quæ scripsit penitus cognoscenda longa vita sit opus (7). - - - Chrysippus retained the Springliness of his Genius to extreme old Age; for he left behind him the Thirty ninth Treatise of Logic, a Work of the greatest Subtlety, which he began in the eightieth Year of his Age. Whose Industry and Labour in delivering down the Monuments of his Wit was so great, that it requires a long Life to be acquainted with all his Writings.' There are some Examples, which shew, that Authors do not publish every Part of a Work according to it's Order. We know, that Julius Cæsar Scaliger published the fifteenth Book of his *Exotericæ Exercitationes*, without the fourteen that should have preceded it, and which, if I am not mistaken, have never appeared. You will find such an

ther Example in the Article MORISON. One might therefore think, that *Corysippus*, having divided a Work of Logic into many Treatises, skipped the Thirty ninth, and referred it to another time (8), and wrote it only in the eightieth Year of his Life. Perhaps, it may be supposed, that all his Works of Logic were so divided, that the Thirty ninth Book was almost the last. By this means we might reconcile *Valerius Maximus* with *Diogenes Laërtius*. Note, that *Moxer* mistakes prodigiously here. *Valerius Maximus*, says he, relates, that *he finished a Treatise of Logic at Four-score Years of Age, which he had begun at Forty*. Mr Menage committed the same Fault (9). *Lucian* did not fail to jest upon the Dialectical Subtilities of This Philosopher (10). For the rest, he makes him live Eighty one Years (11); which confirms the Testimony of *Valerius Maximus*, concerning *Corysippus's* long Life; and therefore I did not think I ought to depend on *Diogenes Laërtius*, who makes him die at the Age of Seventy three Years (12).

[C] *He cared but little to correct his Works.*] I pretend to say this after *Diogenes Laërtius*, tho' the quite contrary is to be seen in the Editions of That Author. Ἐπιλύνει δὲ αὐτὸ, πολλὰ-
κις ὕπερ τῆ αὐτῆς δόγματι ἐπιχειροῖ, καὶ
πάν το ὑποσέτον γραφῶν καὶ διορθούμενων
πλεονακίαι. Πάσις τις τῶν μαρτυρίων παρὰ διότι
χρησόμενος. *As vero tam multa conscripsit, quod da-
cendæ re sæpe scribere aggrederetur, omneque quod
incideret mandaret literis, ac sæpe emendaret, magis*

(2) Id. ibid. cap.
5, pag. 9. *Con-
fer quæ* Plutar-
chus de audien-
dis Poëtis, pag.
31. E.

(3) Cicero de
Natura Deor. lib.
I, cap. 15.

(4) Id. *ibid.* lib.
2, cap. 6.

(5) Id. ibid. lib.
3, cap. 10, in
the second Book de
finibus, cap. 14,
he calls him homo
acutus & diligens.

(6) Diog. La-
ërt, lib. 7. n. 198.
pag. m. 485.

(7) Val. Maximus, lib. 8, cap. 7. num. 10. de Stud. & Industr.

(8) Diog. Laërt.
lib. 8, n. 198,
observes that the
Work περὶ τῶν
καταλεγομένων
ζητημάτων, con-
tained 39 books.

(9) Menag. in
Laërt. lib. 7, n.
189.

(10) Lucian. in Vitar. Auctione, pag. 374, & seq. Tom. I. See also his Icaromenippus, pag. 295.

(11) Id. in Macrobiis, pag. 641, Tom. II.

(12) Diog. La-
ert. lib. 7, a.
184.

(e) Id. *ibid.* n.
180.

(f) Id. *ibid.*

he was full of Quotations (e); that he was, besides, very laborious (f); and that he lived to above the Age of Fourcore Years (g). He was of a very small Stature (b), but his Presumption was very great [D]. He associated himself for some time with the Academic Philosophers, and reasoned, after their manner, *Pro* and *Con* (i). Nevertheless, he is looked upon as a true Stoic, and even as one of the most illustrious Ornaments, and the most zealous and able Defenders, of That Sect (k). *Scioppius* has abused him very much [E], and this in a Work, wherein

(g) See Remark [B], Citat. (c).

(b) *Diog. Laërt.* ubi supra, n. 183.

(i) Id. *ibid.* n. 184.

(k) See Remark [L].

(13) Id. *ibid.* n.
180.

naque testimoniorum nube uteretur (13). You see a very bad Reasoning in this Passage; for it imports, that the reason, why *Chrysippus* wrote so many Books, was, that he wrote often on the same Subject; that he made use of all that came into his Hands; that he often corrected his Works; and that he cited many Witnesses. Here are four Reasons: the first, the second, and the fourth are very good; but the third is good for nothing, and even contrary to the Author's Design; for the Trouble of revising a Work often, and polishing it from time to time, is the fittest Thing in the World to hinder a Writer from giving many Books to the Public. But, if he writes down whatever comes into his Mind, and every thing that he finds in other Writings, and if he corrects his Works but little, he may overflow the Republic of Letters with his Writings: and therefore I believe *Diogenes Laërtius* said, That, most commonly, our *Chrysippus* did not correct his Performances. I believe the Transcribers have forgot the privative *Alpha* in the Word *διόρθωσεν* (14). That, which confirms me in my Conjecture, is, that *Diogenes Laërtius* observes, in another Place, That *Chrysippus*, having a mind to publish as many Books as *Epicurus*, used frequent Repetitions, and published all that offered itself to him, without correcting it: he did not read his Writings over again; he made too much haste, and was full of Citations (15).

(14) Or perhaps *διόρθωσεν*.

(15) *Diog. Laërt.*
lib. 10. pag. 724.
Edit. Genev.
1616.

(16) *The Amster-*
dam Edit. 1602.
has here τῶ μὴ
ἐπιλαβῆναι καὶ
ἀδιόρθωτα, &c.
Eo quod non re-
legeret, & in-
mendata adjun-
xit, eo quod fe-
stinaret.

Εἰ γὰρ τι γράψαι ὁ Ἐπικύρου, οἰκονομῶν τὸ σῶτον γράψαι ὁ Χρύσιππος. καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον πολλὰς ταῦτα γράφει καὶ τὸ ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀδιόρθωτον (16) εἰλε τὸ ἐπεργασθαι, καὶ τὰ βιβλία. Nam siquid *Epicurus* scriberet, tantum scribere & *Chrysippus* contendebat. Atque ideo saepius eadem scripsit. Unde & tumultuarie scribere ac parum emendatū illi ex festinatione contingebat, totque testimonia inserit, ut ex iis illi libri pleni esse videntur. It is plain, that the Historian meant the same thing in these two Places, and therefore the one must be corrected by the other. The great Desire of publishing many Books did not only engage our Philosopher to cite much, and to repeat, but also to contradict himself; for sometimes he copied, and sometimes he refuted himself (17). None of his Works are extant: we have only the Titles of them; and, besides, it is thought, that we have lost part of the Passage, wherein *Diogenes Laërtius* had mentioned them. It is *Jonstius's* Opinion. See his *Treatise de Scriptoris Historiae Philosophicae* (18), where he endeavours to repair, in some manner, the Loss of That Place. Note, That *Chrysippus* never dedicated any thing to any King (19). Some will have it to be a Sign of his proud and contemptuous Humour, and add, That he refused to go to *Ptolemy*, who had desired *Cleanthes* either to come to him, or to send him some of his Disciples (20); but *Chrysippus* is so far from being to be blamed for either of those two Things, that, on the contrary, he deserves to be praised for it: Nothing was more worthy of a Philosopher, than to act in that manner. We are going to give better Proofs of his Pride.

[D] His Presumption was very great. He said often to his Professor, It is sufficient to shew me the Doctrines; I want no more; I shall find the Proofs myself (21). A Person asked him, one day, To whom shall I recommend my Son? To Me, answered he; for if I knew any one that exceeded me, I would go myself and philosophize under him (22).

(21) Id. *ibid.* n.
179.

(22) Id. *ibid.* n.
183.

(23) *Scioppius*
Element. Philo-
soph. Stoicæ mo-
ralis, fol. 165.
versio.

[E] *Scioppius* abused him much. He looks upon him as the Head of those Stoics, who had dishonoured the Sect, by making an ill use of their Wit, and running after vain Subtilties, that were only fit to expose the Gravity of the Stoics to laughter. Neque tamen, says he (23), defendere ac negare

velim fuisse Stoicorum non paucos, qui specie ingenii illecti, inanibus argutiis ludibria quadam excitando, dignitatem severissimæ & gravissimæ rationis in contemptum adduxerint: quorum Princeps jure dici possit *Chrysippus*, qui cum esset magna quadam ingenii vi præditus, mireque ad quidvis excogitandum celer & acutus, nihil æque solebat laborare quàm ut non reliquarum tantum sectarum inventoribus contradiceret, sed à Magistris etiam suis *Zenone* & *Cleanthe* perisque in rebus dissideret. — Nor will I deny, that there were not a few Stoics, who, seduced by an appearance of Wit, wrote in a ludicrous manner, and thereby brought Contempt on the Dignity of severe and weighty Reasoning: the chief of whom we may justly say was *Chrysippus*; who, having a great Strength of Genius, and a wonderful Quickness of Thought, took the greatest pains, not only to contradict the Founders of other Sects, but even to dissent, in most things, from his Masters, *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*. His Pride, adds he, moved him to dispute *pro* and *con* on most Subjects, and to write much, out of Envy to *Epicurus*, who had written more Books than any other Philosopher; but he could never equal That Competitor: He often repeated the same Things, and said many more that refuted each other (24). Wherefore *Plutarch* had some reason to attack This Stoic particularly, and to curb his Temerity and Audaciousness. This is what happens, continues *Scioppius*, when a Man thinks more on Victory, than on the Truth, in a Dispute. Sed solet hoc fieri, quoties victoria majorem, qui disputant, quam Veritatis rationem ducunt, verumque est illud poetæ:

(24) Sæpe enim scripsit eadem, saepius sibi contraria ac repugnantia. Id. *ibid.* fol. 166.

Nimium altercando veritas amittitur.

Quod *Carneadi* quoque evenisse *Cicero* testatur, ut odio scilicet Stoicorum in constituendo bonorum fine, plurimum à reliquorum Academicorum, suaque ipsius sententia discederet (25). — And that of the Poet is true;

(25) Id. *ibid.* fol. 166. versio.]

In too much wrangling Truth is often lost.

Which, *Cicero* tells us, happened likewise to *Carneades*, who, through dislike of the Stoics in adjusting the Bounds of Good, departed greatly from the rest of the Academics, and even from his own Opinion. It cannot be denied, that these Reflexions of *Scioppius* are judicious. It is a very great Misfortune for a Sect to have a Writer for their Apologist, who has a vast, quick, ready, and proud Wit, and who does not only aspire to the Glory of a fine, but also of a fruitful Pen. The main and only Aim of such a Writer is to confute any Adversary whatsoever, whom he undertakes to oppose; and, as he labours more for his own Reputation, than for the Interest of the Cause, he attends chiefly to the particular Thoughts, which his Imagination suggests to him. He regards but little whether they are agreeable to the Principles of his Party, or not; he is well enough pleased, if they serve to elude an Objection, or to tire out his Adversaries. Dazzled with his Inventions, he does not see the wrong side of them; he does not foresee the Advantages, which the same Enemies, or another kind of Antagonists, will draw from them. He is only for a present Advantage, and does not trouble himself with Things to come. Moreover, heaping Book upon Book, sometimes, against one Sect, and sometimes against another, he cannot avoid contradicting himself; he cannot argue coherently. By this means he betrays the Interests of his Party, and, by striving to run from one Extrem, he falls into another, and successively into both. The Saying of an ancient Poet, alledged by *Scioppius*, That we lose the Truth by disputing too much, will make several People believe,

wherein he extolls, as much as he can, the Opinions of the Stoics. He uses him so, because he considers him as proud even to contradiction, and having done much Injury to the whole Party, by his extravagant and audacious Conduct. The Stoics complained, that *Chrysippus* had collected so many Arguments for the Hypothesis of the Academic Philosophers, that he could not confute them afterwards [F]; which supplied their Antagonist *Carneades* with Weapons. This seems to shew that he acted honestly, and that he was not willing to obtain a Victory by the trick of representing weakly the Reasons of the other Party. But then, if it be considered, that he disapproved those, who took as much care to improve the Arguments of their Antagonists, as their own, one might think, that there was more Vanity, than fair dealing, in his Conduct: however, he might have been reproached with this, that his Counsels and his Actions did not agree together [G]. The Stoics might have complained more justly still of the Temerity, wherewith

(26) In his second Epistle.

(27) In Fable 9, of Part IV, Book 3, pag. m. 44.

(28) In Remark [E].

(29) Cicero Academicus, Quest. lib. 4, cap. 27.

(30) Plutarchus de Repugnant. Stoicorum, pag. 1036, according to the Version of Amiot.

lieve, that the Disputes of Philosophers resemble That about the Oyster, which Mr Boileau (26), and Mr de la Fontaine (27), have so well described. But there is a great Difference to be observed; for, if the Oyster, that was contended for, was not adjudged to either of the contending Parties, it was at least the Share of a third Person: The Disputes of Philosophers have another Effect; They make both the Spectators of the Combat, and the Combatants, lose the Truth: no body lays, or can lay, hold of it, in the Sequelstration it is left in during the Process. I shall dwell a little more on this Subject, in one of the Remarks of the Article EUCLID (28).

[F] The Stoics complained that *Chrysippus* had collected so many Arguments for the Hypothesis of the Academic Philosophers ----- that he could not refute them afterwards.] The Words I am going to set down are very remarkable. Cicero introduces an Academic Philosopher, who speaks thus: 'De quibus volumina impleta sunt non à nostris solum, sed etiam à Chrysippo, de quo queri solent Stoici, dum studiose omnia conquirit, contra sensus & perspicuitatem, contraque omnem consuetudinem, contraque rationem, ipsum sibi respondentem inferiorem fuisse: itaque ab eo armatum esse Carneadem (29). ----- With which whole Volumes have been filled, not only by our own Writers, but even by Chrysippus; concerning whom the Stoics are wont to complain, that, while he is industrious in collecting Arguments, against the Senses, and Perspicuity, and against all Custom and Reason, he falls short in answering himself; therefore that he furnished Carneades with Arms.' Plutarch enlarged much upon this: 'He says, that Chrysippus has not only sometimes, but often and in several places, confirmed and corroborated Opinions, which are contrary to his own Opinion, and That strenuously, and with so much Earnestness and Contention that it was not for every one to understand what he most approved: they themselves, who admire the Man's Acuteness, affirm it, and think that Carneades said nothing of his own, but, laying hold of those Arguments, which Chrysippus alledged for the contrary Opinion, turned them against him. He often cried out, to him, while disputing, in the Words of Homer,

Wretch! thy own Strength will thee undo ----

'As if he had given great Advantages, against himself, to those, who would overthrow or calumniate his Doctrine. But as to those things he has advanced against Custom, they are so proud of, and set such a value on them, that they fear not to affirm, that all the Sayings of all the Academics together, if they were collected into one Body, are not comparable to what Chrysippus has written in disparagement of the Senes: which is an evident Sign of the Ignorance or Self-love of the Speakers. But this indeed is true, that, being afterwards desirous to defend Custom and the Senses, he was inferior to himself; and the latter Treatise was much weaker than the former. So that he contradicts himself, &c (30).'

Note, by the way, a Mistake of Amiot: these words, he often cried out to him aloud in disputing, too plainly insinuate, that Chrysippus and Car-

neades often disputed between themselves personally.

Now this is not true (31): Chrysippus was dead, before the other was capable of opposing him. The Greek of Plutarch, καὶ πολλὰς παρεχόμενος, Δαίμονι φησὶν ὅτι τὸ οὐ μόνον, signify, according to Xylander, not that Carneades said this; but that it was customary to make such Exclamation to Chrysippus; & Chrysippo solent exclamare: infelix, tua te vis perdet. I would rather say, this Expression relates to Carneades, and that it signifies, that That Philosopher, in refuting Chrysippus, turned his Discourse to him, applying to him This Verse. For this purpose, it was not necessary, either that Chrysippus should be present, or even still alive: and observe, that Plutarch remarks, in another place not far from this, that these two Philosophers were not contemporaries. He introduces a Stoic, who remarks, that 'it was not by Accident, but by divine Providence, that Chrysippus came after Arcefilaus, and before Carneades, of whom the one is Author and Promoter of the Injury and Outrage done against Custom, and the other had more Credit than all the rest of the Academics. And Chrysippus, being between the two, by his Writings contrary to the Doctrine of Arcefilaus, stopped and shut up the Eloquence of Carneades (32). This Stoic did not agree, that our Chrysippus furnished Carneades with Arms; for he compares him to a General of an Army, who places a good Garrison in a Town ready to be besieged by the Enemy, and assigns to each Soldier the Post he is to defend, with great Order and Prudence (33).

[G] He might have been reproached with this, that his Counsels and his Actions did not agree together.] I have said (34), that he does not seem to have acted deceitfully, and that he did fairly represent the Objections of his Adversaries. He preserved all their Force so faithfully, that it was not possible for him to refute them so easily as he had proposed them. He is accused to have in this contradicted his own Principles; and this is one of the things, for which Plutarch taxes him with Contradiction. Here is the Sequel of the above quoted Passage (35). 'So that he contradicts himself; for, having always directed the proposing of an Adversary's Opinions, not with Approbation, but by shewing in some Measure their Falsity, he has shewed himself more acute in opposing, than defending, his own Doctrines; and, having admonished others to beware of contrary Arguments, as preventing Comprehension, he has been more sedulous in framing such Proofs, as take away Comprehension, than such as confirm it. And yet he plainly shews, that he himself feared this, writing thus in his fourth Book of Lives: Repugnant Arguments, and Probabilities on the contrary side, are not rashly to be proposed, but with Caution; lest the Hearers, distracted by them, should let go their Conception, not being able sufficiently to apprehend their Solutions, but so weakly, that their Comprehensions may easily be shaken. For even those, who have, according to custom, preconceived both sensible and other things, quickly forego them, being distracted by Megarian interrogations, and others more numerous and forcible (36). Plutarch presses him very hard, and maintains against him, I. That his Maxim is wrong: II. That, not having followed it, he has contradicted himself most grossly. As to the first Point, read these

(31) See Remark [E], of the Article CARNEADES, Citations (39), and (40).

(32) Id. de Communibus Notionibus adversus Stoicos, init.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) In the Text of this Article.

(35) Citat. (30).

(36) Plut. de Repugnant. Stoicorum.

wherewith he maintained several Doctrines, which might render their Sect odious ;

these words: 'As for disputing on both sides, he says, that he does not universally reject it, but exhorts us to use it with Caution, as is done in Pleadings, not with Approbation, but to dissolve their Probability. For to those, says he, who endeavour a Suspension of Assent concerning all things, it is convenient to do this, and it co-operates to what they desire; but, as for those, who would work in us Science, according to which we are professedly to live, they ought to lay down the contrary, and to conduct those, who are entered, from the beginning to the end; and, where there is occasion to make mention of contrary Discourses, to dissolve their Probability, as is done in Pleadings. For this he has said in express words. Now, that it is absurd for Philosophers to think, that they ought to set down the contrary Opinion, not with all it's Reasons, but, like Pleadings, disabling it, as if they contended not for Truth, but Victory, we have elsewhere spoken against him (37). As to the second Point, here is work for Chrysippus. One of his Books is cited against him (38), wherein he had spoken of the Arguments of *Stilpo* and *Menedemus* (39) with the utmost Contempt. And yet, good Sir, you fear lest these Arguments, which you deride, and term the Disgrace of their Proposers, as having a manifest Faultiness, should divert some from Comprehension: And did not you yourself, writing so many Books against Custom, in which you have added whatever you could invent, ambitiously striving to exceed *Arcesilaus*, expect, that you should perplex some of your Readers? For neither does he use slender Arguments against Custom; but, as if he were pleading, he, with some Passion in himself, stirs up the Affections of others, telling his Opponent, that he talks foolishly and labours in vain. And that he may leave no room to deny his speaking of Contradictions, he has, in his *Natural Positions*, written thus: *It may be lawful for those, who comprehend a thing, to argue on the contrary side, applying it to the Defence, which is in the thing itself; and sometimes, when they comprehend neither, to discourse of what is alleged for either.* And, having said, in his Book concerning the use of Speech, that we ought no more to use the Force of Reason, than of Arms, for such things as are not fitting, he subjoins this; *For they are to be employed for the finding out of Truth, and for the Alliance of them, and not for the contrary, though many Men do it.* By the many, perhaps he means those, who withhold their Assent. But they indeed, comprehending neither, argue on both sides, as may be perceived: for thus only, or chiefly, does Truth afford a Comprehension of itself. But you, who excuse them, and do yourself write contrary to those things, which you comprehend, concerning Custom, and exhort others, with Approbation, to do the same in unprofitable and hurtful things, confess, that, using the Faculty of Disputing, You, through Ambition, act like a young Scholar.

It is no easy thing to apprehend, how Chrysippus, notwithstanding the Subtlety of his Wit, could have come off; for his Maxims are very unworthy of a Philosopher: and, if he could have justified them, he would by that very thing have pronounced a Sentence of Condemnation against his own Conduct, because he had infringed them, by maintaining the Cause of the Academics, which he believed to be most opposite to Truth, with all his Force, and better than *Arcesilaus* himself. They seem to me to have been in the right to tell him, that the Vanity of a young Man had seized him, in such a manner, that he had sacrificed his own Maxims to the Desire of taking advantage of a favourable Occasion to shew the Subtlety of his Thoughts, to the Prejudice of the Truths, which the Stoics taught. The Glory, that he promised to himself, if it should be said, that he had out-done *Arcesilaus*, and carried the Objections of the Academy much farther than he, transported him in such a manner, that he troubled himself but little about the rest. Thus we have seen a Controversist, in our Days, make no difficulty to contradict himself on all occasions, and dangerously to expose the Interests of his Church,

and even such Truths as are generally received among Christians, provided he might acquire the Reputation of having found out new Ways, or new Methods of attacking and defending. What was the Idol, to which he sacrificed? When the world comes to the worst, said he to himself, it will be confessed, that I have a vast Wit, and an happy Imagination.

Let us lay open the Fallacy of Chrysippus's Maxims. He would have those, who teach a Truth, to take but little notice of the Reasons of the contrary Party, and to imitate the Advocates. It was the general Spirit of the Dogmatists: there were but few, besides the Academics, who proposed the Arguments of both Parties with the same force. Now I maintain, that That Method of the Dogmatists was a bad one, and that it differed very little from the deceitful Art of the Rhetorician Sophisters, which made them so odious, and which consisted in transforming the worst Causes into the best (40); for one of their chief Artifices was, to conceal all the Advantages of the Causes, which they opposed, and all the weak Sides of those, which they maintained; only they proposed some Objections to themselves for form-sake, which were chosen among the easiest to be refuted. This is, at the bottom, what Chrysippus would have Philosophers do: he would have them to touch slightly upon the Reasons of the contrary Party, which were able to shake the Persuasion of the Hearers or Readers, and to imitate those, who plead at the Bar. Why did he not say plainly, that they must do like Shop-keepers, who cry up their own Wares, and cunningly decry those of their Neighbours? Why did he not say, also, that they must do like those, who, having quarrelled, carry their Complaints before the Judges? Every one tells his own Story so much to his Advantage, that, if you believe him, he is not at all in the wrong (41), because he suppresses all that is against him, and all that is favourable to his Enemy. Chrysippus was not only to blame for the dishonest and unfair way, by which he would have the Victory obtained, but also for his Indiscretion in revealing that Practice. It was not a thing, to be communicated to the Public; he ought to have kept it in secret, as the Politicians do their Designs or Maxims of State, *Arcana Imperii*: he ought, at most, to have whispered it in the Ear of some wise and learned Disciple.

Note, That Antiquity had two sort of Philosophers; some were like the Advocates, and others like those, who report a Cause. The former, in proving their Opinions, hid the weak side of their Cause, and the strong side of their Adversaries, as much as they could. The latter, to wit, the Sceptics or Academics, represented the strong and the weak Arguments of the two opposite Parties faithfully, and without any Partiality. This Distinction has been very seldom seen among Christians, in the Schools of Philosophy, and less still in the Schools of Divinity. Religion does not admit of the Character of an Academic; it requires either a Negative or an Affirmative. No Judges are found there, but what are Parties at the same time: there are a great many Authors, there, who plead a Cause according to Chrysippus's Maxim, I mean, who keep to the Function of an Advocate: but there is scarce any Reporter to be seen; for, if any one represents the whole Strength of the contrary Party faithfully, and without any Disguise, he becomes odious and suspected, and runs the hazard of being treated as an infamous Prevaricator (42). Human Prudence, Policy, the Interest of the Party, are not always the Reason why a Man acts merely like an Advocate. A charitable Zeal likewise inspires this Conduct: and, upon this, I shall alledge what was said to me, the other Day, by a learned Divine, and a very honest Man. I maintained to him, that an Author, who, without dogmatizing, keeps within the bounds of History, may, and ought, faithfully to represent the most specious things, that the worst Sects can alledge, in their own Vindication, or against Orthodoxy. He denied it. I suppose, said I, that you are a Professor of Divinity, and that you make choice of the

(40) Τὸν ἄριστον λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν. Custom infirmissem potorem efficeret. See Cicerolius, Theatr. Sophistar. lib. 1, cap. 11, pag. 79, & seq.

(41) Compare what has been said above, in the Article BLONDÉL (DAVID), Remark [2], concerning the Narration of Facts in the Disputes of the Learned.

(42) See the Article CHAR- RON, Remark [P].

(37) Plut. ubi supra.

(38) Plut. ibid.

(39) The same thing with what he had called *Megarian Interrogations*.

(1) Diog. Laërt.
lib. 7, n. 188.
See also Sextus
Empiricus, Pyr-
rhon. Hypotyp.
lib. 3, c. 24, 25

(m) Id. lib. 7,
n. 188. See also
Empiricus, Pyr-
rhon. Hypotyp.
lib. 3, cap. 24.
I speak not of
a Community of
Wives among the
Sages; but among
it, but when Phil-
osophers flew
him the way:
ἐπεὶ τὸν, ἐν-
τροχῶν τῶν
ἐντροχῶν, ὅτι
ὅτι, ut quilibet
illi congregiatur
que sibi occurrit.
Diog. Laërt. lib.
7, in Zenone, n.
131.

(n) See his Treatise, de Repugnantiis Stoicorum, and his other Treatise de Communibus Notitiis contra Stoicos.

(o) See Praefationem & Eruditionem. Viri. Epist. Ecclesiasticae ac Theologicae, pag. 610, 659, Edit. 1684.

(p) See above, Remark (1), of the Article BELLARMIN.

WHETHER those, who prohibit the Sale of heretical Books, ought to permit the Objections of Heretics to appear in the Writings of the Orthodox, who confute them.

(44) See above, Citat. (45), of the Article BELLARMIN.

(45) Et quæ Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit. Horat. de Arte Poët. ver. 150. See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, July 1685, Art. 3, pag. 804.

(46) Non — invenias etiam disiecti membra Potæ. Id. Sat. 4, lib. 1, ver. 62.

(47) See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, ubi supra.

for he made no scruple to teach, that Fathers might commit Incest with their Daughters, Sons with their Mothers, and Brothers with their Sisters (1), and that Men ought to eat dead Bodies (m). Most of the Contradictions, and absurd Paradoxes, which *Plutarch* objects to the Stoics (n), and about which he fiercely attacked them (which must needs have vexed them prodigiously) are taken from *Chrysippus's* Works. If he had only reproached them with contradicting themselves in the Doctrine of Fate, and in That of Human Liberty, he would not have gained so many Advantages over them; for the same things would be answered, to justify *Chrysippus*, that are answered, at this time, in favour of those, who cannot reconcile the Decrees of God with our Free-will, and who cannot chuse any words, when they speak of Predestination, but what seem to be opposite to the Phrases they make use of when they exhort Men to Virtue, and censure them for their Vices. No Philosophers have spoken more powerfully of the fatal Necessity of Things, nor more magnificently of the Liberty of Man (o), than the Stoics. You may judge whether *Chrysippus*, who wrote so many Volumes with Precipitation, and who had a quick and very bold Wit, could come off without advancing many Propositions in his Moral Treatises, which could not agree with what he advanced in his Metaphysical Treatises. *Plutarch* accuses him of making

Mystery of the Trinity for the Subject-matter of your Lectures for a whole Winter. You examine to the bottom what the Orthodox have said, and what the Heretics have objected, and you find, by your Meditation, and by the Strength of your Parts, that the Solutions of the Orthodox may be much better answered, than they have been by the Sectaries. In a word, you discover new Objections, more difficult to be resolved than all that has been hitherto objected; and I suppose you propose them to your Auditors. No, replied he, I would by no means do it; it would be a dangerous thing, for them: neither Charity nor Zeal for Truth allow of such a thing. Such was his Answer. It may very well be, then, that certain Authors boast, in a Preface, to have overthrown all the Bulwarks of Heresy, and yet that they remember to have omitted the Discussion of the most captious Arguments, for Charity-sake. There is reason to believe this chiefly of the *Romish* Controversists, since the Complaints, that have been made against *Bellarmin*, that his Sincerity in representing the Reasons of the Heretics has been prejudicial to the *Romish* Church (43).

Here I must examine a thing, which I promised in the Article of That Cardinal (44). Is it to argue consequentially, is it to preserve an uniform and regular Conduct, to cause the Writings of an Heretic to be burnt, and yet to permit the reading of the Authors, who have refuted him? No, you will say: for the Reason, why the reading and the sale of heretical Books are prohibited, is, because it is feared they will infect the Readers. They are afraid, in *Italy*, that those, who should see in what manner a Protestant Writer proves his Tenets, and attacks the Catholic Doctrine, would be filled with Doubts, and even would suffer themselves to be wholly persuaded by That Author's Reasons. But is there no Reason to fear the same Misfortune, if they read *Bellarmin's* Writings? Will they not see, there, the Proofs and Objections of the Heretics? And, supposing that *Bellarmin* has been a fair Writer, will they not find them as strong there, as in the very Books of the most learned Protestant? Yes, will it be said to me; but they will find them confuted; whereas, if they should read the Book of a Heretic, they would find the Poison, without having a Preservative at the same time. This Answer is not satisfactory; for it supposes an extraordinary Imprudence and Laziness in the Readers: it is to suppose, that they had rather run the Hazard of their Salvation, than go from one Book to another; and that, knowing they might find *Bellarmin's* Works in a Shop, where they bought the Book of a Calvinist, they would decide in favour of the latter, before they had informed themselves of That Cardinal's Reasons; though at the same time they might lay on their Table both the Books which contains the Poison, and That which has the Antidote. You will grant, that the Difference between the Arguments of an Heretic, bound up together with the Arguments of an Orthodox, and those same Arguments, bound up by themselves, those of the Heretic in one Volume,

and those of the Orthodox in another; I say, you will grant me, that such a Difference is not a sufficient Reason either to hope or to fear. This Hope or this Fear must therefore proceed from something else. It must be said, that what is thought to be a sufficient Antidote, when the Reader compares together what an Orthodox Writer quotes out of an heretical Book, and what he answers to it, is not looked upon as a good Remedy, when he compares together the whole Book of the Heretic, and the whole Book of the Orthodox. It is therefore supposed, that, independently of the Answer, the Reasons of the Heretic are weaker in the Work of the Orthodox Writer, than in the Work of the Heretic; and consequently it is supposed, that the Author of the Answer had the Prudence to misrepresent and curtail them, and to turn them in such a manner, that they shall not be able to surprize those, who shall see nothing but That, and shall compare it with the Refutation. At this rate, the Inquisitors, who prohibit a Book, and permit the reading of those, who have refuted it, do not contradict themselves: their Conduct is not made up of inconsistent Proceedings; they are sure, that the Prohibition will be useful, and that the Permission will do no harm. Nevertheless, let us infer, that the same Policy, Prudence, Charity, or Zeal, (make use of what term you please), which requires that certain Books should be burnt, or that the reading or selling of them should be prohibited, requires, by a necessary consequence, that all the Reasons of an Author should not be inserted in the Books, wherein they are confuted: for if, contrary to *Chrysippus's* Maxim, all the Strength of those Reasons should be displayed with the utmost Sincerity, it would be to no purpose to suppress those ill Books, unless they should prohibit, at the same time, all the Writings that confute them. This is so plain, that it is very probable, that all the Authors, who are zealous to maintain the Discipline, comply with the Spirit of the Tribunals, that condemn certain Books; I say, it is very probable, that, if those Authors undertake to refute any of those Books, they order it so, that their Refutation does not discover what might shake the Faith of the Readers. They reduce an Objection to three or four Lines, which takes up several Pages; they produce it, without any Support, and without it's Preliminaries; they leave out what they cannot answer (45). After all, a Book, which seems never so strong to those who read it through, will hardly appear so in the Fragments, which an Adversary alledges out of it, and which he scatters in several parts of his Answer, here four Lines, there five or six, &c: they are Branches lopped from their Trunk; they are a dismounted Machine; a dismembered Body, which cannot be known again (46). All Controversists mutually complain of the Artifices of those, who write against them (47). I knew a *Roman* Catholic, who said, that all the Works, published against *Bellarmin*, deserved the Title of *Bellarminus enervatus*, which *Amesius* made use of; *enervatus*, added he, not by the Force of the Answer, but by the Manner of representing his Objections.

The

making God the Author of Sin. *Lipſius*, having undertaken to clear him from This Imputation, did not ſucceed well in it [H]. I do not wonder at it. The Definition

The Proteſtants complain yet more of the Tricks of their Adverſaries. If you obſerve the Quarrels that ariſe ſometimes between Perſons of the ſame Party, and if you read the Books of the two Diſputants, you will find ſome Force in them; but, if you ſhould judge of *Mævius's* Book, by the Scraps, which his Antagoniſt *Titius* cites out of them, and by the Censure that he paſſes upon them, you would think that *Mævius* can neither write nor argue, and that he has not common Senſe.

Note, That I do not pretend to maintain, that the Tribunals, which prohibit Books, do not act inconſequentially (48).

(48) See the Nouvelles de la Republi. des Lettres, Sept. 1685, pag. 1053. Jan. 1686. Art. 3, pag. 639. July 1686. Art. 8, pag. 810.

[H] *Plutarch accuſes him of making God the Author of Sin: Lipſius, having undertaken to clear him - - - did not ſucceed very well in it.* You will find the Accuſation in the Remark [G] of the Article PAULICIANS. I will not remove it from that place, ſince it was inſerted there in the firſt Edition of this Work. I ſhall only examine *Lipſius's* way of clearing him: but firſt of all let us ſee *Chryſippus's* Thought concerning the Nature of God. 'Ait (*Chryſippus*) vim Divinam in ratione eſſe poſitam, & univerſæ naturæ animo, atque mente: ipſumque mundum Deum dicere eſſe, & ejus animi fuſionem univerſam: tum ejus ipſius principatum, qui in mente & ratione verſetur, communemque rerum naturam univerſam atque omnia continentem, tum fatalem umbram, & neceſſitatem rerum futurarum. Ignem præterea, & eum quem antea dixi æthera: tum ea quæ natura fluere, atque manere, ut aquam, & terram, & æræ, ſolem, lunam, ſidera, univerſitatemque rerum, quæ omnia continerentur, atque homines etiam eos, qui immortalitatem eſſent confeſſi. Idemque diſputat, æthera eſſe eum, quem homines Jovem appellarent, quique ær per maria maneret, eum eſſe Neptunum: terram eam quæ Ceres diceretur: ſimilique ratione perſequitur vocabula reliquorum Deorum. Idemque etiam legis perpetuæ & æternæ vim, quæ quaſi dux vitæ, & magiſtra officiorum ſit, Jovem dicit eſſe: eandemque fatalem neceſſitatem appellat, ſempiternam rerum futurarum veritatem, quorum nihil tale eſt, ut in eo vis divina ineſſe videatur. Et hæc quidem in primo libro de Natura Deorum. In ſecundo autem vult Orphei, Muſæi, Heſiodi, Homerique fabellas accommodare ad ea quæ ipſe primo libro de Diis immortalibus dixerat: ut etiam veterum poëtæ, qui hæc ne ſuſpicati quidem ſint, Stoici fuiſſe videantur (49). — *Chryſippus ſays, that the divine Energy conſiſts in Reaſon, and in the mind of univerſal Nature; and he pretends, that the World itſelf is God; and the univerſal Diſſuſion of his Mind; as alſo the Principle of That, which conſiſts in Mind, and Reaſon, and containing the common Nature of Things, the Univerſe, and all things in it, as alſo the fatal Shadow, and Neceſſity of Things future. To which he adds the Fire, and the abovementioned Æther; then thoſe things, that are by nature fluid, as Water, and the Earth, and the Air, the Sun, Moon, Stars, the Univerſe, in which all are contained, and even thoſe Men, who attain to Immortality. The ſame Philoſopher contends, that the Æther is Him, whom we call Jupiter, and the Air, which pervades the Seas, Neptune; the Earth, She who is called Ceres; and after the ſame manner he goes through the Names of the reſt of the Gods. He pretends likewiſe, that the Energy of a perpetual and eternal Law, which is as it were the Guide of Liſe, and Preceptreſs of our Duty, is Jupiter; and he calls the ſame fatal Neceſſity, the everlaſting Truth of things future; nothing of which ſeems to have in it any divine force. This is the Subſtance of his firſt Book of the Nature of the Gods. In the ſecond, he attempts to reconcile the Fables of Orpheus, Muſæus, Heſiod, and Homer, with what he had ſaid in his firſt Book concerning the Immortal Gods: inſomuch, that the moſt ancient Poets, who never ſo much as dreamed of theſe things, appear to have been Stoics.' The Proceſs would be ended to his Confuſion by this ſingle Paſſage, if*

(49) Cicero, de Natura Deor. lib. 1, cap. 15.

he were a Man, who kept to his Principles; but becauſe he argued ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, and maintained quite contrary things at ſeveral times, his Apologiſts want no Shifts; and, by the favour of his Contradiſtions and Incoherencies, they may pretend, for ſome time, that he is an orthodox Man, and impoſe upon People. We find, in the Paſſage of *Cicero*, which I have quoted, an incomprehenſible Nonſenſe, and a more confuſed Chaos, than That of the Poets; nevertheleſs it appears clearly from it, that, according to *Chryſippus*, God is the Soul of the World, and that the World is the univerſal Extension of That Soul, and that *Jupiter* was the eternal Law, the fatal Neceſſity, the immutable Truth of all future things. The neceſſary and unavoidable Conſequence, which follows from this, is, that the Soul of Man is a Part of God, and that all his Actions have no other Cauſe but God himſelf. Nevertheleſs, let us leave this Philoſopher the liberty of forging Diſtinctions altogether precarious; he will at laſt fall again into an Abyſs, after his Windings and Turnings. He ſuppoſes the Soul of Man has preſerved itſelf from the general Fatality; he exempts it from the Condition of all other things; he makes it free. 'Ac mihi quidem videtur quum duæ ſententiæ fuiſſent veterum philoſophorum: una eorum, qui cenſerent omnia ita fato fieri, ut id fatum vim neceſſitatis afferret, in qua ſententia Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Ariſtoteles fuit: altera eorum, quibus videretur ſine ullo fato eſſe animorum motus voluntarii: Chryſippus tanquam arbitri honorarii medium ferire voluiſſe, ſed applicat ſe ad eos potius, qui neceſſitate motus animos liberatos volunt (50). — There were two Opinions of the ancient Philoſophers: one of thoſe, who thought that every thing ſo fell out by Fate, that That Fate brought with it the Force of Neceſſity: in which Opinion were, Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Ariſtotle: the other of thoſe, who thought, that the Motions of Minds were voluntary, and not ſubject to Fate: Chryſippus, as an honorary Arbitrer, would ſteer a middle Courſe; but he inclines rather to thoſe, who will have the Soul free from a neceſſity of Motion. Chryſippus autem cum & neceſſitatem improbare, & nihil vellet ſine præpoſitis cauſis evenire cauſarum genera diſtinguit, ut & neceſſitatem effugiat, & retineat fatum. Cauſarum enim, inquit, aliæ ſunt perfectæ & principales, aliæ adjuvantes & proximæ. Quomobrem quum dicimus omnia fato fieri cauſis antecedentibus, non hoc intelligi volumus, cauſis perfectis & principalibus, ſed cauſis adjuvantibus antecedentibus, & proximis (51). — But Chryſippus, diſapproving of Neceſſity, and allowing nothing to happen without previous Cauſes, diſtinguiſhes the ſeveral kinds of Cauſes, ſo as to reject Neceſſity, and retain Fate. For of Cauſes, ſays he, ſome are perfect and principal, others aſſiſting and ſecondary. When, therefore, we ſay, that all things happen thro' Fate by antecedent Cauſes, we mean, not perfect and principal Cauſes, but aſſiſting and ſecondary.' You ſee he does not deny, that every thing is produced by antecedent Cauſes; but he admitted two ſorts of Cauſes, whereof the laſt did not deſtroy Liberty. The perfect and principal Cauſes, ſaid he, do not permit an Action to be free, but the Cauſes, that are only aſſiſting, do not hinder it from being ſo. Wherefore, forasmuch as he pretended, that our Deſires do not depend on an external principal Cauſe, but only on an external and not principal one, which does only excite Man, he concluded, that our Soul produces them freely, and has the Command of them. It ſtands in need of being excited by Objects, without which it could not form any Acts of Conſent; but the Objects, that excite it, do not produce the Acts of it's Will: it determines itſelf by it's own Force, after the Objects have given it a firſt Motion. He explained this by a Compariſon. He that puſhes a Cylinder, ſaid he, gives it the firſt Motion, but not the Volubility: the Cylinder rolls afterwards by it's own Force: likewiſe our Soul, ſhaken

(50) Cicero, de Fato, cap. 17, & ſeq.

(51) Id. ibid.

(p) See Remark
[H], Citat. (49).

tion alone, which *Chrysippus* gives of God (p), is sufficient to make one apprehend, that he does not distinguish him from the Universe; so that, by arguing consequentially, he must of necessity make him the Author of Moral and Physical Evil. What

shaken by the Objects, moves afterwards of itself. 'Quamquam assensio non possit fieri nisi commota vi, tamen quum id visum proximam causam habeat non principalem, hanc habet rationem, ut Chrysippus vult, quam dudum diximus, non ut illa quidem fieri possit nulla vi extrinsecus excitata, necesse est enim assensionem visio commoveri, sed revertitur ad cylindrum, & ad turbinem suum, quæ moveri incipere nisi pulsa non possunt. Id autem quum accidit, suapte natura, quod superest, & cylindrum volvi, & versari turbinem putat. Ut igitur, inquit, qui protrusit cylindrum dedit ei principium motionis, volubilitatem autem non dedit, sic visum objectum imprimit illud quidem, & quasi signabit in animo speciem suam, sed assensio nostra erit in potestate, eaque, quemadmodum in cylindro dictum est, extrinsecus pulsa, quod reliquum est suapte vi & natura movebitur (52).' Take notice, that Cicero had said, that *Chrysippus* perplexed himself in such a manner, that, whether he would or no, he confirmed the Necessity of Fate (53). This does not well appear in That Work of Cicero; and for that Reason I could easily believe, with *Lipfius*, that something is wanting in That Place (54), as it is certain that there are Gaps in some others. *Lipfius* applies himself to *Aulus Gellius*, who has preserved That Explication of *Chrysippus* more exactly. The Reader will give me leave to set down, somewhat at length, what he says; for this Subject is so sublime, so intricate, and so inexplicable, that we must not pretend to Brevity in the Quotations; the Retrenchments would only serve to obscure what had not been retrenched. In the Passage of *Aulus Gellius*, you will see, at first, the Definition of Fate according to *Chrysippus*; and afterwards the Consequence that was drawn from it, that Man does not sin, and that all Crimes ought to be imputed to Fate; and lastly, That Philosopher's Answer: 'Fatum, quod Græci περσωμὲνν vel εἰμαρμέννν vocant, ad hanc ferme sententiam Chrysippus stoicæ princeps philosophiæ definit. Fatum est, inquit, sempiterna quædam & indeclinabilis series rerum & catena, volvens semetipsa sese & implicans per æternos consequentium ordines, ex quibus apta connexaque est (55). — Aliarum autem opinionum disciplinarumque auctores huic definitioni ita obstreperunt. Si Chrysippus, inquit, fati putat omnia moveri & regi, nec declinari transcendique posse agmina fati & volumina; peccata quoque hominum & delicta non sustentanda neque condicenda sunt ipsis voluntatibusque eorum, sed necessitati cuidam & instantiæ, quæ oritur ex fato, omnium quæ sit rerum domina & arbitra, per quam necesse sit fieri quicquid futurum est: & propterea nocentium penas legibus inique constitutas, si homines ad maleficia non sponte veniunt, sed fato trahuntur. Contra ea Chrysippus tenuiter multa & argute differit. Sed omnino fere, quæ super ea re scripsit, sententia hujuscemodi est. Quamquam ita sit, inquit, ut ratione quadam principali necessario coacta atque connexa sint fato omnia; ingenia tamen ipsa mentium nostrarum proinde sunt fato obnoxia, ut proprietas eorum est ipsa & qualitas; nam si sunt per naturam primitus salubriter utiliterque facta, omnem illam vim, quæ de fato extrinsecus ingruit, inoffensus tractabilisque transmittunt. Sin vero sunt aspera & inscita & rudia, nullisque artium bonarum adminiculis fulta: etiam si parvo sive nullo fatalis incommodi conflictu urgeantur, sua tamen scævitate & voluntario impetu in assidua delicta & in errores ruunt: idque ipsum ut ea ratione fiat naturalis illa & necessaria rerum consequentia efficit, quæ fatum vocatur. Est enim genere ipso quasi fatale & consequens, ut mala ingenia peccatis & erroribus non vacent (56). — Chrysippus, the Head of the Stoic Philosophy, defines Fate, which the Greeks call περσωμὲνν, or εἰμαρμέννν, nearly according to this Opinion. Fate, says he, is a certain, and eternal, immutable Series and Chain of Things, rolling and twisting itself thro' eternal

'Orders of Consequences, of which it is formed and linked together. — But the Authors of other Opinions and Tenets thus refute this Definition. If Chrysippus, say they, thinks, that all things are moved and influenced by Fate, and that there is no opposing it's Laws, then the very Sins of Men are not to be imputed to themselves, and their Wills, but to a certain Fatality, which governs all things, and makes every thing future necessarily happen; and therefore that it is unjust to punish Offenders, if Men are fatally, not voluntarily, wicked. Against this Chrysippus argues with great Subtlety. But the Sum of what he says on this Head is as follows: Though every thing, says he, be compelled and necessitated by Fate, yet the Minds of Men are obnoxious to it according to their Propriety and Quality; for if they are originally, by Nature, made virtuous and good, they transmit, with less Offence, and more readily, all that Force, which falls on them extrinsically from Fate. But if they are rough and unpolished, and supported by no help of Science; also if they are pressed by little or no fatal Inconvenience; they yet rush into daily Offences and Errors, thro' their own Depravity and voluntary Inclination: and this very thing produces the natural and necessary Consequences of things. For it is as it were necessary and consequential, that bad Minds should not be free from Offences and Errors.' Afterwards *Aulus Gellius* relates the Comparison of the Cylinder, and the Conclusion, which *Chrysippus* drew from his Discourse, that no body ought to be allowed to impute his Sins to Fate, and that no Malefactors ought to be heard, who have recourse to such a Refuge. 'Propterea negat oportere ferri audiriue homines aut nequam aut ignavos & nocentes & audaces; qui, cum in culpa & in maleficio revidi sunt, peragiunt ad fati necessitatem, tanquam in aliquod Fati asylum; & quæ pessimè fecerunt, ea non suæ temeritati sed fato esse attribuenda dicunt (57).'

It is easily seen, that this Philosopher does not extricate himself, and that his Distinction between the external Causes that necessitate, and those that do not necessitate, is of no use to him. He only goes about the Bush, and at last finds himself in the same place with those, who submit all things to the unavoidable Necessity of Fate. To be convinced of it, one need only join together his Comparison of a Cylinder, and the Confession he makes, that the internal Qualities of the Soul, which incline it to evil, are a natural and necessary Consequence of Fate (58). He says, that there are Souls well formed from the beginning, which bear the Storm that falls upon them from Fate without any Damage, and that there are others so rough and ill-turned, that, if Fate strikes them never so little, or even without any shock of Fate, they fall into Sin by a voluntary Motion. It is a certain natural Perverseness, that is the cause of it. But he said, that the fatal Necessity of all things is the first cause of human Souls being well or ill formed; he must therefore grant, that one may and ought to ascribe to Fate all the Crimes, that Men commit: so that, acknowledging otherwise a divine Providence, he could not avoid, if he argued right, to look upon God as the Cause of all those Crimes: and consequently *Plutarch's* Accusation is very justly grounded; for, to make the Comparison of the Cylinder just, Fate must not be compared to the first Comer that pushes it, but to the Joyner that made it, and who afterwards pushes it with his Foot. The Reason, why the Cylinder rolls a long time, proceeds from it's Figure; but because the Joyner gave it that Figure, the necessary Cause of a lasting Motion, he is the true Cause of the Continuance of That Motion. All the Difference between a Cube, that does not roll, and a Cylinder, that rolls, all the Consequences, all the Regularities or Irregularities of the Rest of the one, and of the continued Motion of the other, ought to be attributed to the Workman, who gave those two Bodies the Form, from which they necessarily

(52) Id. ibid.
cap. 18.

(53) Dum autem
verbis utitur suis,
delabitur in eas
difficultates, ut
necessitatem fati
confirmet inivisus.
Id. ibid. cap. 9.

(54) Sed quod in
Vro Cicero dicit,
& hæret, parum
pro interiore ipsa
re videtur, & cre-
do plura addidisse
quæ vero excide-
runt. *Lipfius*
Phil. Stoicæ. lib.
3. Dissert. 24.
pæg. m. 865.

(55) *Aulus Gellius*,
lib. 6. cap.
2.

(56) Id. ibid.

(57) Id. ibid.

(58) Idque ip-
sum ut ea ratione
fiat naturalis illa
& necessaria re-
rum consequentia
efficit quæ fatum
vocatur. Id. ibid.
pæg. 170.

What he taught concerning the Mortality of the Gods, cannot be read without Horror [I]. He not only believed them to be perishable; but he maintained also, that they would be destroyed in the Conflagration of the World; and, though he excepted *Jupiter*, yet he subjected him actually to Mutability. A certain Book, wherein he treated of the Amours of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, was so full of Obscenities [K], that it was much murmured at. One may therefore easily apprehend, that the

cessarily result. Any body may make the Application of this to human Souls. *Lipfius* plainly saw this Intricacy, and therefore, to bring off *Chrysippus*, he supposes, that the Stoics attributed the Imperfections of the Soul of Man to a real and incorrigible Vice of Matter, and not to God. Sed heus *Chrysippe*, si à Naturâ hæc constitutio aut devergium, Deum à malo qui excusas? quomodo non ille Naturæ auctor, atque ipsa Natura, malum maloque genuit, si tales fecit? Hoc caput est, & arx, ut sic dicam, causæ, nunc adenda & occupanda. Aio Stoicos Mali principium non in Deo, sed in Materia (quæ tamen Deo, ut ipsi alique voluerunt, ævo æqualis, & æterna) in Materia, inquam, constituisse. Itaque cum Deus homines alique faceret, omnia bona & in bonum finxisse: sed repugnantem aliquam vim & malitiosam in illa fuisse, atque esse, quæ alio traheret: atque hinc Interna, atque etiam Externa, mala exstitisse (59). — But tell me, *Chrysippus*! if this Constitution or *Byasis* be from Nature, how do you justify God from Evil? How will you suppose him, who is the Author of Nature, and Nature itself, not to have produced Evil, and bad Men? This is the Capital and Fort, if I may so say, of the Cause, which is now to be attacked and taken. I say, then, that the Stoics refer Evil, not to GOD, but to Matter, which yet, as they and others affirm, is co-æval with GOD. Therefore, as GOD is the Creator of Men and all Things, he made all things good, and for good Purposes; but that there was in Matter a repugnant and evil *Byasis*, which drew another way; and hence arose Internal, and even External, Evils. But this pretended Justification of *Chrysippus* has been so well confuted by *Plutarch* (60), that it is altogether insignificant. *Eusebius* has preserved us a Fragment of a Peripatetic Philosopher, called *Diogenianus*, who had very well shewed the Defects of *Chrysippus*'s Doctrine on this Point (61).

Note, that *Calvin*, for instance, nor any other Christian Defender of absolute Predestination, is exposed to This Attack, since they declare, that there was not any Quality, necessitating to Evil, in the Soul of the first Man.

[I] What he taught concerning the Mortality of the Gods, cannot be read without Horror. *Plutarch*, designing to shew, that the Stoics had spoiled all the common Notions, that Men had of the Gods, begins with the Idea of Eternity and Incorruptibility. What Man is there, or ever was, says he (62), who does not believe the Divinity to be immortal and eternal? — One may perhaps meet with some Nations so barbarous and savage, as not to think there is a God; but there was never found any Man, who, believing a God, did not, at the same time, believe him immortal and eternal. Certainly, those who were called *Atheists*, a *Diagoras*, a *Theodorus*, and a *Hippo*, durst not say, that the Divinity is corruptible; but they did not believe, that there is any thing incorruptible: thus they retained the common Anticipation of the Gods, but took away the Incorruptibility of Substance. But *Chrysippus* and *Cleanthes*, having filled, as one may say, Heaven, Earth, Air, and Sea, with Gods, have not yet made any one of those Gods immortal, or eternal, except *Jupiter* alone, on whom they make all the rest to depend, and into whom they suppose them to be resolved: so that in him to resolve is nothing better than to be resolved. For it is an Infirmit, both to perish, by being resolved into another, and to be preserved and nourished by the Resolution of others into himself. Now these are not like other of their Absurdities, gathered by Argument from their Suppositions, or drawn by consequence from their Doctrines;

but they themselves, proclaiming it aloud in their Writings concerning the Gods, Providence, Fate, and Nature, expressly say, that all the Gods were born, and shall die by the Fire, melting away, in their Opinion, as if they were of Wax or Tin. — *Chrysippus* then says, that *Jupiter* is like to Man, as is also the World and Providence to the Soul. When therefore the Conflagration shall be, *Jupiter*, who alone of all the Gods is incorruptible, will retire into Providence, and they, being together, will both perpetually remain in one Substance of the *Æther* (63). These words seem to me to import a Separation of Body and Soul, and consequently Death. We have seen (64), that *Chrysippus* supposed, that God is the Soul of the World; and he said just now, that, when the World shall be burnt, *Jupiter* will withdraw into another place. Let us see his Contradictions, and at the same time a Parallel between the Impiety of *Epicurus* and the Impiety of *Chrysippus*. Whoever they are, says *Antipater*, who shall take from the Gods Beneficence, strike partly at the Provision of them; and, according to the same reason, they do also, who think they participate of Generation and Corruption. If, then, he, who esteems the Gods corruptible, is equally absurd with him, who thinks them not to be provident and gracious to Men, *Chrysippus* is no less in an Error than *Epicurus*. For the one deprives the Gods of Beneficence, and Liberality, the other of Immortality and Incorruptibility. The other Gods, says *Chrysippus*, use Nourishment, being equally sustained by it; but *Jupiter* and the World, after another manner than those, who are engendered and consumed by Fire. Here indeed he declares, that all the other Gods are nourished, except *Jupiter* and the World; but, in his first Book of Providence, he says, that *Jupiter* encreases till all things are consumed into himself. For, since Death is the Separation of the Soul from the Body, and the Soul of the World is not indeed separated, but encreases continually, till it has consumed all Matter into itself, it is not to be said, that the World dies. Who, therefore, can more plainly contradict himself, than he, who says, that the same God is nourished and not nourished (65)? Is it possible, that so subtle a Philosopher should have such monstrous Ideas?

[K] A Book, wherein he treated of the Amours of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, was full of Obscenities. *Diog. Laërtius* is not the only Author, who says so: Εἰσι δὲ οἱ κατατρέχοντες τὴν Χρυσίππου ὡς πολλὰ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀρρήτως ἀναγέγραφοι. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φυσικῶν συγγραμμάτων αἰσχρῶς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἥραν καὶ τὴν Δία ἀναπλάττει, λίγων κατὰ τὰς ἐξακοσίας στίχους ἃ μὲν οἱ ἠτυχηκῶς μολύνειν τὸ σῆμα, εἶποι ἂν. Αἰσχροτάτην γὰρ (φασὶ) ταύτην ἀναπλάττει ἰσορίαν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαίνει ὡς εὐστεινήν, χαμαὶ τύπαις μᾶλλον πρέπουσαν ἢ θεοῖς. Ἐτι τε τὰ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ πινάκων γραφασὶ κατακχευομένην. Non desunt, qui & *Chrysippum* lacerent, dicentes illum complura turpiter obscæneque scripsisse. Nam in eo opere, quod de antiquis physiologis scriptum, fœda de Junone fingit ac Jove, ea dicens sexcentis fere versibus quæ nemo nisi illoto ore dixisset. Turpissimam enim, aiant, hanc fingit historiam, etiam ut naturalem laudat, iustis tamen magis convenientem quam diis. Neque ab iis qui de tabulis scribere solent insertam (66). — There are not wanting some, who censure *Chrysippus*, saying that he wrote many filthy and obscene things. For in that Work, which he wrote concerning the ancient Naturalists, he seigns scandalous Things of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, repeating such things for almost Six hundred Verses, as no one, but with unwaſhen Mouth, would have said. For, they say, he invents this most scandalous Story, which yet he commends as natural, more applicable to common Strumpets,

(59) *Lipfius* Phys. Stoic. lib. 3, Diff. 14.

(60) See the Article PAULICIANS, Remark [G].

(61) See *Eusebius* Preparat. Evangel. lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 262, & seq. See also what *Oenomaus* says against the same *Chrysippus*, *ibid.* cap. 7.

(62) *Plut.* de Commun. Notitiis contra Stoicos.

(63) *Id.* *ibid.*

(64) See above, Citat. (49).

(65) *Plut.* de Regup. Stoicor.

(66) *Diog. Laërt.* l. 7, n. 187.

the Stoics had no great reason to be pleased with his Writings; for the Figure he made in their Party [L] gave occasion to ascribe to the whole Body the Errors of so famous a Member. Neither do we see the great Stoic Authors, as *Seneca*, *Epictetus*, and *Arrianus*, very forward to shew their Veneration for him [M]. They are commonly very sparing of their Praises of him. I do not find, that he has been reflected upon on the account of his Morals, which makes me believe that he led an unblameable Life. They make his whole Family to consist of one very old Maid-servant [N]; This is a Proof of his Chastity and Frugality. He very often quoted five Verses of *Euripides* (q) against Good-cheer, wherein it is said, that Nature has sufficiently provided for our Necessities by Bread and Water: from whence it may be inferred, that he was very sober. I have already said, that he addicted himself very much to Logic, and he detested the Works of *Archestratus* (r). I add here, that he took extraordinary pains to find out the Solution of a Sophism, which puzzled the Philosophers very much, and which was called *Sorites* [O]: It was a heap of Interrogations, where there was no end. The progress

(q) Aul. Gell. lib. 7, cap. 16.

(r) See Citation (80).

Strumpets, than to Gods, nor ever inserted by Writers about Fables. We may join to this a Passage of *Origen*: *Καὶ τί μὲ δεῖ καλᾶν τὰς περὶ θεῶν ἀπόψεις ἑλλήνων ἱστορίας, αἰσχρὺν αὐτῶν ἀξίας, καὶ ἀλλοτριωμένας; ὅτι τε ὁ Σοκράτης Χρύσιππον, ὁ τὴν Στοᾶν τῶν φιλοσόφων πολλοῖς συγγραμμάσιν συνετοῖς κεκοσμημέναις νομιζόμενον, παρρησιάζεται γερῶν τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἀρρητοποίησα ἡ Ἥρα τὴν Δία ἐξέσπαιτο.* Et quid me opus est enumerare absurdas de Diis historias Græcorum, putendas & ex se, & per allegoriam? quando Chrysippus Solensis, qui plurimis scriptis Porticum Philosophorum ornasse creditur, interpretatur Picturam in Samo, ubi Juno depicta est, morem gerens Jovis non nominandæ libidini (67). — *Why need I mention the absurd Stories of the Greeks concerning the Gods, shameful in themselves, and even allegorically understood? When even Chrysippus of Soli, whose Writings are said to be the Ornament of the Stoic Philosophy, interprets a Picture in Samos, in which Juno is represented as obliging Jupiter in a manner not fit to be named.* What a shameful thing, that such Pictures should have been seen in the Temples of the Heathens! Observe, that *Chrysippus* explained this by way of Allegory, and did not find in it a moral but a physical Sense. I leave you to think whether his Expressions could be modest. You have seen before (68), that he allegorized in the same manner all the Extravagancies of Mythology: he found all the Theology of the Stoics in them.

(67) Orig. contra Cels. lib. 4.

(68) In Remark [H], Citat. (49).

[L] *He made a Figure in their Party.* He was looked upon as the Pillar of the Portico (69), and there went a Proverb, that, without him, there would be no Portico: *Ὅθεν φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λεγέσθαι:* Οἱ δὲ πέννυσαι, τοὶ δ' ὡς σκιαὶ ἀίσουσιν καὶ, Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, ἐκ αὐτῶν ἦν σοὶ.

(69) Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 183.

(71) In Remark [A].

(72) Seneca, de Otio Sapientis, sub fin.

(73) Epictet. Enchir. cap. 64.

(74) See Arrian Epictet. lib. 1, cap. 10, 17, lib. 2, cap. 16, & alibi.

the divine Honours that were paid to *Triptolemus* (75). I believe, he means, in general, that he, who discovered to Men Truth, and the way to Virtue, would more justly deserve Altars, than Those, who taught them to sow Corn.

[N] *His whole Family consisted of one very old Maid-servant.* *Diogenes Laërtius* speaks two or three times of it: *ἡ καὶ τὸ τε γυναικίῳ μόνῳ, sola autem ancilla contentus erat* (76). He had already said, that they had known, from This old Servant, that *Chrysippus* used to write five hundred Lines every Day (77). Mr *Menage* is mistaken (78), when he pretends, that *Plutarch* spoke of the same old Woman, in the words, that I am going to cite. And even *Chrysippus* himself, in his Commentary concerning *Jupiter*, says, that it were as poor, absurd, and impertinent a thing, to glory in such Acts, though they proceed from Virtue, as it would be to bear valiantly the stinging of a Whip, and chafly to abstain from an old Woman that lies a dying (79). *Chrysippus* spoke there in general, and without any relation to his Maid. His Censurer understands it so, and alleges it, only to reproach the Stoicks for contradicting themselves, and opposing common Notions: 'They think, said be a little before, that it is the same thing, to abstain from the Enjoyment of an old Woman, that has one Foot in the Grave, and to venture one's Life in defence of one's Country, since both do what their Duty requires: And yet for this, as a great and glorious thing, they will be ready to die, whereas to boast of the latter would be shameful and ridiculous, I have said an hundred times, that one runs the hazard of making wrong Applications, when one makes use of a Passage, before having examined what precedes, and what follows it. Mr *Menage* is an Instance of it here. I have found a thing in *Athenæus*, which confirms the good Opinion we ought to have of *Chrysippus's* Temperance.

Χρύσιππον δ' ἀνδρες οἶμαι τὴν τῆς σοῦς ἡγεμόνα κατὰ πολλὰ θαυμάζων ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐπαίνῳ, τὸν πολυβύλλον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐφοροῦν Ἀρχέστρατον αἰεὶ ποιεῖν μετὰ φιλανιδῶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοῦς, εἰς ἣν ἀναφέρει τὸ περὶ Ἀρετῆς σὺν ἀκρίστον σύγγραμμα. 'Chrysippum, ὁ αὖ μὲν viri, Stoicorum ducem ac principem, ego mehercule in multis admiro, ob id tamen impensius laudo, quod famosum suis de obsoniis scriptis Archestratum in eodem loco ac numero semper collocat cum Philenide, cui turpissimum de venereis opus adscribunt (80). — In many things, my Friends, I admire Chrysippus, the Leader and Chief of the Stoics; but I principally commend him for this, that he always ranked Archestratus, infamous for his Writings on Delicacies, with Philenis, to whom they ascribe a most scandalous Work concerning Venereal Pleasures.

[O] *He took extraordinary Pains to find out the Solution of a Sophism — which was called Sorites.* In Greek *σφερίτης*, from the Word *σφῆρα*, which signifies *acervous*, a Heap. Hence it is, that the Latins thought they might call that Sophism *Acervaleum* (81). *Ulpian* has defined it, 'cū ab eviderter veris, per brevissimas mutationes, disputatio ad ea, quæ eviderter falsa sunt, perducitur (82). — When, from Positions evidently true, the Disputation is led, through the shortest mutations, to Positions evidently false.' *Cicero* describes it so as to blameable,

(75) Arrianus, ibid. lib. 1, cap. 4. James Schekgius, in Latin Translator put in the Margin, Chrysippus Triptolemo divinis honoribus dignior.

(76) Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 185.

(77) 'H δὲ παρρησιάζουσα πρὸς ὅτις αὐτῷ ἔλεγον, &c. Annus quæ illi affidebat dicebat, &c. Id. ibid. n. 181.

(78) Menag. in Laert. lib. 7, pag. 339.

(79) Plut. de Comm. Notitiis, pag. 106c. See also Repugn. Stoicorum.

(80) Athen. lib. 8, pag. 335.

(81) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 2, cap. 4.

(82) Ulpian. lib. 6, ff. de Reg. Juris.

progress he made, as a Logician, which was without doubt very great, was of
no

make the Etymology of the Word to be understood :

Primum quidem hoc reprehendendum quod capitiolissimo genere interrogationis utuntur. Quod genus minime in Philosophia probari solet, quum aliquid minutatim & gradatim additur aut demitur :

Soritas hos vocant qui acervum efficiunt uno addito grano (83). — In the first place, this is

blameable, that they make use of a most captious kind of Interrogation. Which Method is by no means commendable in Philosophy, when any thing

is minutely and gradually added or taken away : they call those Sorites, who make an Heap, by the addition of a single Grain. They took for example a grain of Corn, as you shall see below ; and

from this true Proposition, One grain of Corn is not a heap, they endeavoured to lead one by degrees to this visible Falsity, One grain of Corn makes a heap.

You will find some Examples, in Sextus Empiricus, of the use that was made of this captious way of interrogating. I shall quote presently a long Passage of Cicero, whereby it will appear, that they pretended to shew, by the help of the Sorites, that the Mind of Man never attains to the knowledge of the fixed Point, that divides the opposite Qualities, or that determines precisely the Nature of every thing. This was their Question : Wherein consists little, much,

length, breadth, smallness, greatness, &c. Do three grains of Corn make a heap? The Answer was, No. Do four grains make a heap? The Answer was still the same. They went on in their Questions, from grain to grain, without any end ; and, if you had answered at last, Here is the Heap ; they pretended, that your Answer was absurd, since it supposes, that one single grain made the difference between what is not a heap, and what is one.

I could prove, by the same Method, that a great Drinker is never drunk. I would ask, Will one drop of Wine make him drunk? No, will you say. Will two drops do it? By no means ; nor three, nor four neither. I would continue my Questions drop by drop ; and, if you should tell me, when you come to the Nine hundred and ninety ninth drop, he is not drunk, and then, coming to the next drop, he is drunk, I should conclude, that one drop of Wine makes the specific Difference between a great Drinker's being drunk, and not being drunk, which is absurd. If the Interrogations were made at every three Pints, you might easily observe the Difference between enough and too much ; but the Maker of the Sorites has the choice of his Weapons, and makes use of the least Particles of Quantity, and goes from one to the other, to hinder you from finding any fixed Point, that separates the not being drunk from the being drunk, little from much, enough from too much, &c. A Man, unacquainted with Logic, would justly laugh at such Cavils ; he would appeal to common sense, and to that degree of Light, which, in the use of civil Life, is sufficient to make us discern, in general, what is little, much, &c. But a professed Logician was not allowed to have recourse to that Tribunal ; he was obliged to answer in due form ; and, unless he found a Solution according to the Rules of his Art, he lost the Field of Battle ; his Defeat and Overthrow were unavoidable. At this time, an Hibernian Tutor, who should tease a Professor of Salamanca with a thousand logical Cavils, and who should receive for Answer, Common Sense, notorious evidence, sufficiently shews that your Consequences are false, would pass for the Conqueror ; and it would be said with reason, that the Professor was worsted ; for it was his Duty to answer in due form, and according to the Rubric of his Trade, since his Thesis was attacked by That Rubric. Chrysippus, who knew his Duty very well in that point, plainly saw, that the Sorites of the Megaric Dialecticians required a categorical Solution. We shall see his invention, after I have cited a Latin Passage : Sed quoniam tantum in ea arte

(Dialectica) ponitis, (Cicero brings in an Assertor of Uncertainty, who speaks thus) videte ne contra vos tota nata sit, quæ primo progressu festive tradit elementa loquendi, & ambiguum intelligentiam concludendique rationem, tum paucis additis venit ad Soritas lubricum sanè & periculosum locum, quod tu modo dicebas esse vitiosum interrogandi genus. Quid ergo, istius vitii num nostra culpa

est? Rerum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem finium, ut ulla in re statuere possimus, quatenus nec hoc in acervo tritici solum unde nomen est. Sed nulla omnino in re minutatim interrogandi dives, pauper, clarus, obscurus sit, multa, pauca, magna, parva, longa, brevia, lata, angusta, quanto aut addito aut dempto certum respondeamus non habemus. At vitiosi sunt Sorites. Frangite igitur eos si potestis, ne molesti sint. Erunt enim nisi caveatis (84). — But since you lay so much stress

on Logic, take care you do not run counter to those Elements of speaking, be so wittily lays down, and the way to apprehend ambiguous expressions, and the Method of drawing Conclusions, from whence he goes on to the Sorites, a slippery and dangerous place indeed, which you just now called a faulty kind of Interrogation. What then? Is this Fault to be imputed to us? The Nature of things gave us no knowledge of Bounds, so as that we might determine in any thing, as 'tis plain we cannot in relation to the Heap of Corn, whence alone it had its Name. We cannot certainly answer, when we are minutely asked, what addition, or diminution, makes Rich or Poor, Famous or Obscure, Much or Little, Great or Small, Broad or Narrow. But the Makers of the Sorites are in the wrong. Break them therefore, if you can, lest they be troublesome ; for they will be so, unless you guard against them. Chrysippus found no other Expedient, than to answer only a certain number of Interrogations, and then to be silent. His Invention was called the quiet Method. Multum in eo Chrysippus sudaverat, ut finitorem acervi inveniret, sed frustra : quare spe inveniendi quod querebat defectus, καὶ δὲ δεινὰ πῶν τινα πλεον, quod aiunt, excogitaverat quem vocabat τὸν ἡσυχάζοντα λόγον (85) : cum in

terrogatus sustinebat se priusquam ad finem interrogans perveniret (86). Consult Calaubon in his excellent Commentary on these words of Persius ; depunge ubi sistam Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi (87). This Invention of Chrysippus was not a lucky one ; you shall see how Carneades overthrew it (88) : Cautum est inquit. Placet enim Chrysippo quum gradatim interrogetur, verbi causa tria pauca sint (89), an ne multa, aliquanto priusquam ad multa perveniat quiescere, id est, quod ab his dicitur ἡσυχάζειν. Per me vel stertas licet, inquit Carneades, non modo quiescas. Sed quid proficit? Sequitur enim qui te ex fomno excitet, & eodem modo interroget, quod in numero conticisti. Si ad eum numerum unum addidero, multa ne erunt? progrediar rursus quoad videbitur, quid plura? Hoc enim fateris, neque ultimum te paucorum, neque primum multorum respondere posse. Cujus generis error ita manat, ut non videam quò non possit accedere. Nihil me lædit, inquit. Ego enim ut agitator callidus priusquam ad finem veniam equos sustinebo, coque magis si locus is quò ferentur equi præceptis erit. Sic me, inquit, ante sustinebo, nec diutius captiose interroganti respondebo. Si habes quod liqueat, neque respondes, superbis : si non habes, ne tu quidem perspicis, quia obscura concedis. Sed negas te usque ad obscura progredi : illustribus igitur rebus insistas. Si id tantummodo ut taceas, nihil assequeris. Quid enim ad illum qui te captare vult, utrum tacentem irretiat te, an loquentem? Sin autem usque ad novem, verbi gratia, sine dubitatione respondes pauca esse, in decimo insistas, etiam à certis & illustrioribus cohibes assensum, hoc idem me in obscuris facere non finis. Nihil igitur te contra Soritas ars ista adjuvat, quod nec augendi nec minuendi quid aut primum sit, aut postremum, docet. — When Chrysippus was gradually asked, for instance whether three were few, or many, he stopped short, before he came to many, which those Philosophers call ἡσυχάζειν, the being quiet. You have my leave, said Carneades, to swear, as well as to be quiet. But what advantage do you gain? One follows you, who will rouse you from your Sleep, and go on to interrogate you in the same manner, as when you became silent. If to the last number I add one, will they be many? I will go on as far as I please: What need there any more? You confess, you cannot answer, that it is the last of a few, or the first of many. Which kind of Error spreads

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queris. Quid enim ad illum qui te captare vult,

utrum tacentem irretiat te, an loquentem? Sin

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tione respondes pauca esse, in decimo insistas, etiam

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(84) Cicero, ubi
supra, cap. 16,
28.

(85) These
Words might be
rendered the
Quietist, and this
Expedient in a
Dispute might be
so called, as o-
thers were called
The Resper, The
Liar, &c.

(86) Calaub. in
Persium, Sat. ult.
p. m. 521.

(87) Persius, Sat.
ult. in fin.

(88) Cicero, ubi
supra, cap. 16.

(89) This shews,
that there is a
Gap in Diogenes
Laërtius, lib. 7,
in Zeno, n. 82 ;
for the Example
of the Sophism
called Obvelatus,
which is to be
found there,
plainly agrees
with the Sorites,
as it has been
well observed by
Cujacius, Tra-
ctatu 5, ad Affri-
canum, & Cassian-
us Ope. Tom. 1.
pag. 41.

no use to him as to his Style. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* produces him for an Example, That the Authors, who are perfect in Logic, observe the Rules of Grammar very ill as to the placing of Words [P]. This Carelessness in the Language is less surprising at first, than to see this Philosopher himself undermine all the Foundations of the Science, that he had so much cultivated [Q]; but neither does

'spreads so far as to extend I know not whither. It gives no advantage against me, says he. For I, like a skillful Driver, before I reach the Goal, will check my Horses, especially if I am driving towards a Precipice. In this manner, says he, I will stop, and answer no farther a captious Questioner. If you can, but will not, reply, you are proud; if you cannot, neither do you see clearly, because you grant what is obscure. But you deny that you proceed so far as to what is obscure: you stop then at what is evident. If you gain silence only, you gain nothing. For what is it to him, who would ensnare you, whether he takes you silent, or speaking? But if, as far as nine, for instance, you reply without hesitation that they are few, you stop at the tenth, you withhold assent even from what is certain and clear, yet you suffer not me to do the same thing in what is obscure. That Invention, therefore, is of no use to you against the makers of the Sorites, since it teaches neither the first nor last point of Increase or Diminution.' The Sceptics took advantage of This Invention of *Chrysippus*, and made it serve for an Argument ad hominem. See *Sextus Empiricus* (90). Note, that *Horace* fell upon the Admirers of the Ancients with a *Sorites*: It is a very fine Passage; suffer me to give way to the Temptation of placing it here:

Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddidit,
Scire velim, pretium chartis quotus arroget annus
Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet? an inter
Viles atque novos? excludat jurgia finis.
Est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.
Quid? qui deperit minor uno mense, vel anno,
Inter quos referendus erit? veteres-ne Poetas?
An quos & præsens & postera respuet ætas?
Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honestè,
Qui vel mense brevi, vel toto est junior anno.
Utor permisso, caudæque pilos ut equinæ
Paulatim vello, demo unum, demo etiam unum,
Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi,
Qui redit ad fastos, & virtutem æstimat annis,
Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacrauit (91).

*If Verse, like Wine, improves, matur'd by Age,
What length of Years gives value to the Page?
Say, shall the Bard, who chanc'd to write, we know,
A Century, nor more nor less, ago,
Stand with the Ancients, or the Moderns, plac'd?
With these admir'd, or with those disgrac'd?
A Century, sure, so long ago he writ,
Makes him an Ancient, and a Classic Wit.
What rank is His, an Age who cannot boast,
More Modern by a Month, or Year at most?
'Midst Bards of old, or Those, whom, later born,
The present and the future Times shall scorn?
Who wants a Month, or Year at most, may be
Allow'd the Privilege of Antiquity.
This frank Concession will my Cause avail;
By single Hairs, I bare the Horse's Tail.
One from an hundred Years you let me take,
From That Another, 'till the Heap I break;
Consulting Him, who values Wit by Years,
Nor living Bards, because alive, revere.*

I find a *tamen*, a *nevertheless*, in Mr *Menage*, which is wrong. He says, that *Carneades* laughed at This Invention of *Chrysippus*, and that, *nevertheless*, he made use of the *Sorites*, to prove that there were no Gods. *'Ridet illud inventum Carneades apud Ci-*

ceronem — *Tamen ipse Carneades fortitè multa rogat apud Sextum Empiricum adversus Mathematicos* pag. 339. & 340. *dum probare fatigat non esse Deos* (92). But *Carneades's* Contempt for the *Quietist* of the other Philosopher should not have hindered him from making use of the *Sorites*; on the contrary, That very thing should have made him most earnest to employ it against him.

[P] *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* produces him for an Example, that Authors, perfect in Logic, pay but little regard to the Rules of Grammar. Here are his Words, according to the Latin Translation: *'Denique temporibus consequentibus omnino neglecta est (bona collocatio verborum) nulliusque prorsus existimabat (eam) necessariam esse, quidpiamve ad orationis pulchritudinem conferre. Itaque ejusmodi structuras reliquerunt. — Dico autem Phylarchum, Durim — & alios infinitos — Verum quid opus eos admirari, ubi etiam hi qui Philosophiam profitentur, & de Dialecticis differunt disciplinis, adeo sunt in collocandis verbis fuciles, ut etiam pudeat dicere. Sufficiat autem argumento uti oratione Chrysippi Stoici: (ulterius enim non procedam) quo neque melius quisquam, neque exactius Dialecticas disciplinas prosecutus est* (93): *neque deteriori junctura compositos sermones protulit; ex his qui alicujus nominis & famæ sunt* (94). — *Lastly, in the following Times, a proper Position of Words was entirely neglected, and scarce any one thought it necessary, or that it contributed any thing to the Beauty of the Diction. They therefore laid aside such kind of Structures. — I speak of Phylarchus, Duris, — and numberless others. — But why should we wonder at these, when even the Professors of Philosophy and Logic are shamefully negligent in the Position of Words? I need only instance in the Style of Chrysippus the Stoic (for I will proceed no farther) than whom no one excelled more in Logic, nor fell so short in the Structure of Language: of those, I mean, who were of any Credit or Reputation.' Diogenes Laertius may serve us to confirm the Judgment of Dionysius Halicarnassensis; for, if he informs us, on one side, that Chrysippus's Logic was so much admired, that it was said the Gods would have made use of it, if they would have employed Dialectic; he observes, on the other side, that the same Philosopher did not write well. Οὐτὼ δ' ἐπίδοξον ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐγχαίρει, ὥς δὲ δοκῇ τὰς ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ εἰς παρὰ θεοῖς ἢν ἡ διαλεκτικὴ, καὶ ἂν ἢ ἄλλη ἢ ἡ χρεωστικὴ. Πλεονέκτας δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις μαρτυροῖ, τὴν λείαν ἐκαστὸν ὁρᾷ. Adeo autem in dialectica insignis fuit, tantæque apud omnes æstimationis, ut plerique dicerent, si apud deos usus esset dialecticæ, non futuram aliam quam Chrysippæam. Cæterum quum esset secundissimus, non usque adeo dictione clarus fuit* (95).

[Q] He himself undermined all the Foundations of the Science that he had so much cultivated. See here the Proofs of it, which *Plutarch* supplies us with. *'Believe also, says he* (96), *our Friends the Stoics, saying, that Nature, not by Chance, but by a divine Providence, brought forth Chrysippus, when she had a Mind to turn Things up side down, and alter the Course of Life; for which purpose never was any Man fitter than he: But, as Cato said of Julius Cæsar, that never any but he came to the Management of public Affairs, sober and considerably resolved on the Ruin of the State; so does this Man seem to me, with the greatest Diligence and Eloquence to overturn and demolish Custom. Which they testify, who magnify the Man, when they dispute against him concerning the Sophism called the Liar: For to say, that a Conclusion, drawn from contrary Positions, is not notoriously false; And again, to say that some Arguments, having true Premises, and true Inductions, may yet moreover have the contrary to their Conclusions true; what Conception of Demonstration, or what Anticipation of Faith,*

(90) *Sext. Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotypos. lib. 2, cap. 22.*

(91) *Horat. Epist. 1, lib. 2, ver. 34, & seq.*

(92) *Menag. in Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 197, pag. m. 343.*

(93) *The Great runs thus, τὰς ἀλγεῖς τὰς διαλεκτικὰς τὴν ἡμετέραν.*
(94) *Dionys. Halicarn. de Collocatione Verborum, cap. 15, pag. m. 10.*

(95) *Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 180. See Cicero in the fourth Book de finibus, cap. 3, where he speaks of Chrysippus's Rhetoric with the greatest Contempt.*

(96) *Plut. de Comm. Notitiis advers. Stoicos init.*

does this seem very strange, if one considers attentively what are the Effects of a long and earnest Application to the Subtilities of Logic. It almost always happens, that a Man of Parts, applying himself too much to This Study, becomes a Caviller, and, by his Sophistries, embroils the very Thesis that he had most zealously maintained. He will rather destroy his own Work, than abstain from disputing, and he forms Difficulties against his own Doctrine, which put his Art to a Non-plus. The *Spanish* School-men are a speaking Proof of this. They had not the Advantages, that *Chrysippus* had; for they did not, like him, join the Knowledge of good Literature to That of Logic. He was an universal Scholar; he understood Mythology, the Ancient and Modern Poets, History, &c. (s). There were but very few Subjects, whereon he did not write Books, and he condescended to give some little Precepts for the Education of Children [R]. This being at the bottom a very important thing to Human kind, we ought to praise him for having treated of it. He does not deserve the like Approbation for his Works of Grammar (t), nor for his Books de *Divinatione*, wherein he explained the very Prefages of Dreams (u). He took care not to forget the most famous Dispute of Things possible and impossible [S]: It concerned him as a Philosopher who asserted the Doctrine of Fate. He laid down a Thought, in his Treatise of Providence,

‘does it not overthrow? — *Chrysippus*’s Logic, taking away and cutting off it’s own chief Parts and Principles, what other Notion hath it left unsuspected of Fallhood? For the Superfluities cannot be steady and sure, if the Foundations remain not firm, but are shaken with so many ‘Doubts and Troubles.’ *Plutarch* adds, that the Sect of the Stoics, who complained of the Academics perverting the common Conceptions, were more guilty of That Fault than they. It must be said at least, that our *Chrysippus* deserved, as much as *Arcefilaus*, to be compared to those Tribunes of *Rome*, who disturbed the public Peace (97). There never was a greater Disturber of all things in the Empire of Philosophy; and, though he was a Dogmatist by Name, yet he laboured, in effect, as much for *Pyrrhonism*, as the most passionate Sceptics by Profession. For, if in a Syllogism, as it is pretended, he affirmed, that the Conclusion, drawn from a true Major and a true Minor, is so true, that it does not hinder a contrary Conclusion from being true also, it is to no purpose to argue, and a Man must no more hope to attain to Certainty; the most evident Propositions become Problematical; it is, as much as, or more than, if one should question, with *Carneades*, whether Things equal to a third are equal among themselves (98). This is the Fate of those, who addit themselves excessively to the Subtilities of Logic; they fall at last into their own Snares, and cannot extricate themselves; they discover Difficulties, which they cannot answer, and which, at the same time, overthrow what they had before laid down. *Cicero* has described their Character very well; I set down his Words, though I have made use of them elsewhere in the first Edition of this Work. ‘Dialectici ad extremum ipsi se compungunt suis acuminibus, & multa querendo repunt non modo ea quæ jam non possint ipsi dissolvere, sed etiam quibus ante exordia & potius de-texta prope retexantur (99). — The Logicians ‘in the end turn their own Points upon themselves, and, through much Enquiry, meet with what they not only cannot solve, but with what unravels all they have before woven.’ It is for this reason, that he compares Logic to *Penelope*, who unravelled her own Work (100). No body could, better than *Chrysippus*, know himself in the Picture of the Logicians, which *Cicero* has left us.

[R] He condescended to give some little Precepts, for the Education of Children. He has prescribed a kind of a Song for Nurses, and advised to make choice of the most honest, that were to be found. Nay, he would have had, if it had been possible, Children nursed only by learned Women. ‘Et *Chrysippus* etiam nutricum, quæ adhibentur infantibus, allectationi suum quoddam carmen assignat (101). Ante omnia ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus: quas, si fieri posset, sapientes *Chrysippus* optavit; certe, quantum res pateretur, optimas eligi voluit (102).’ He would have Children to be three Years under the Care of their Nurses, and that they should instruct them, without staying till they were older. He did not approve, that they should not be instructed till they were seven Years of Age.

Quintilian is of his Mind. ‘Quidam literis instituentos qui minores septem annis essent non putaverunt — melius autem, qui nullum tempus vacare cura volunt, ut *Chrysippus*, nam is quamvis nutricibus triennium dederit, tamen ab illis quoque jam in-formandam quam optimis institutis mentem infantium judicat (103). — Some have thought, that Children, under seven Years of Age, ought not to be trained to Learning — but they judge better, who are for improving every part of Life, as *Chrysippus*; for he, though he allowed three Years for Nursing, yet was of Opinion, that the Minds of Infants themselves ought to be cultivated as much as possible.’ He had examined the Question, Whether School-Boys were to be beaten? and declared for the Affirmative. ‘Cædi vero dicentes, quanquam & receptum sit, & *Chrysippus* non improbat, minime velim (104). — I would by no means have Learners beaten, though it is allowed of, and *Chrysippus* does not disapprove it.’ I would fain know, upon what grounds *Vossius* says (105), that the Stoic *Chrysippus* is the Author of the Nurses Songs, which *Athenæus* calls κατὰ γαυνκαλίσσεις (106). The Words, which I have quoted, and which he quotes also, out of the tenth Chapter of the first Book of *Quintilian*, are not a good Foundation to build upon.

[S] He forgot not the most famous Dispute of Things possible and impossible. It owed it’s Original to the Doctrine of the Stoics concerning Fate. The Thing in question, was to know, whether there are possible Things, among those that never were, and never shall be; or, whether all that is not, all that never was, and all that never shall be, is impossible. A famous Logician, of the Sect of *Megara*, whose Name was *Diodorus*, denied the first of these two Questions, and affirmed the second; but *Chrysippus* strenuously opposed him. Here are two Passages of *Cicero*: ‘Περὶ δυνατῶν με σέο κατὰ Διόδωρον κρίνειν. Quapropter, si venturus es, scito necesse esse te venire. Sin autem non es, τῶν ἀδυνατῶν ἐστὶν te venire. Nunc vide, ultra te κρίσις magis delectet, χροσιστία, ne an hæc, quam noster *Diodorus* (107) non concoquebat (108). — As to Things possible, know, that I am of the Opinion of *Diodorus*. Wherefore, if you intend to come, know, that you cannot but come, and, if you do not come, it is impossible you should come. Consider now, which Opinion you like best, That of *Chrysippus*, or That, which my Friend *Diodorus* could not digest.’ This is taken from a Letter, written by *Cicero* to *Varro*. He lays down, more at large, the whole State of the Question, in the little Book de *Fato*. I shall quote some Passages out of it. ‘Vigila, *Chrysippe*, ne tuam causam, in qua tibi cum *Diodoro* valente dialectico magna luctatio est, deferas — omne ergo quod falsum dicitur in futuro, id fieri non potest. At hoc *Chrysippe* minime vis, maximeque tibi de hoc ipso cum *Diodoro* certamen est. Ille enim id solum fieri posse dicit, quod aut sit verum, aut futurum sit verum: & quicquid futurum sit, id dicit fieri necesse esse: & quicquid non sit futurum, id negat

(s) *Permutata alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia curiosus. Cicero Tuscul. lib. 1, cap. 45.*

(t) *Varro de lingua Latina, lib. 8, pag. m. 101. mentions six Books of Chrysippus.*

(u) *See Cicero in libris de divinatione, v. g. l. 19. 20, 39. II. 15. &c.*

(103) *Id. ibid. pag. 8. Note, that he quotes him again in the 11th Chapter of the same Book, pag. 57.*

(104) *Id. ibid. cap. 3, pag. 17.*

(105) *Vossius, de Poëtis Græcis, pag. 87.*

(106) *Αἱ δὲ τῶν τριτηνῶν ἐπὶ καταβαυκαλίσσεις ὁμαζόντων.* Nutricum lactantium cantilene Catibancæles noncupuntur. *Athen. lib. 14, cap. 3, pag. 618.*

(107) *A Stoic who had lodged a great while in Cicero’s House.*

(108) *Cicero, Epist. 4. lib. 9. ad Familiares.*

(97) See the Article *ARCESTILÆUS*, Citation (49).

(98) See above, Citat. (26), of the Article *CARNEADES*.

(99) *Cicero, de Oratore, lib. 2, cap. 38.*

(100) *Quid quod eadem illa ars quasi Penelope telam retexens tollit ad extremum superiora. Id. Acad. 2. q. 2. lib. 4, cap. 29.*

(101) *Quintil. Inst. Orat. lib. 1, cap. 10, pag. m. 55.*

(102) *Id. ibid. cap. 1, pag. 6.*

(*) See, above, Remark [E], of the Article CARNEADES.

Providence, which may be looked upon as a first Draught of one of the finest Principles, that a great Philosopher of the XVIIth Century has advanced, and cleared [T]. Some Authors have reported, that he took Hellebore, to encrease the Strength of his Genius (*). He died in the CXLIII Olympiad (y). They raised

(y) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 184. Concerning the Circumstances of his Death, see Citation (119).

(109) Cicero, de Fato, cap. 6, & seq.

(110) In Rem. [E].

(111) Plut. de Stoicor. Repugn. pag. 1053, 1054.

(112) Arrian. in Epict. lib. 2, cap. 19, pag. m. 166.

(113) Citator honorifice apud Arrianum. Menag. in Laërt. lib. 7, pag. 341.

negat fieri posse. Tu etiam quæ non sint futura posse fieri dicis, ut frangi hanc gemmam, etiam si id nunquam futurum sit: neque necesse fuisse Cypselum regnare Corinthi, quamquam id millesimo ante anno Apollonis oraculo editum esset. — Placet Diodoro, id solum fieri posse, quod aut verum sit, aut verum futurum sit: qui locus attingit hanc quæstionem, nihil fieri quod non necesse fuerit: & quicquid fieri possit, id aut esse jam, aut futurum esse: nec magis commutari ex veris in falsa ea posse quæ futura sunt quam ea quæ facta sunt: sed in factis immutabilitatem apparere, in futuris quibusdam, quia non apparent, ne ineffe quidem videri: ut in eo qui mortifero morbo urgeatur, verum sit, hic morietur hoc morbo: at hoc idem si vere dicatur in eo in quo tanta vis morbi non apparet, nihilominus futurum sit. Ita fit ut commutatio ex vero in fallum, ne in futuro quidem ulla fieri possit (109). — Take care, Chrysippus, you do not desert your Cause, which has occasioned a great Contest between you and Diodorus, the famous Logician. — Whatever, therefore, is said to be false in time to come, That cannot happen. This you by no means assert, Chrysippus, and it is this very thing you so strongly contest with Diodorus. For he only asserts, that That may possibly happen, which is either true, or may hereafter be true, and what hereafter will be must necessarily be: and whatever will not hereafter be, That, he says, cannot possibly happen. Whereas you affirm, that even what will not be is possible, as that This Diamond may possibly be broken, which yet it never will be: and that it was not necessary, that Cypselus should reign at Corinth, though it was foretold a thousand Years before by the Oracle of Apollo. — Diodorus thinks, that That only is possible, which is either true, or will be true: which brings us to this Question, That nothing happens but what necessarily happens; and whatever is possible, either now is, or is to come: and that those things, which will be, can no more be changed from true to false, than those, which actually are: that there appears an immutability in those things, which are, but, in some of those, which will be, no such thing seems to be, because they do not appear: as of him, who labours under a mortal Disease, it may be truly said, This Man will die of This Disease; but the same Thing, if it be truly affirmed of him, in whom so violent a Disease does not appear, will nevertheless happen. Hence it is, that, in what is to come, there can be no change from true into false. Cicero makes it plainly appear, that Chrysippus found himself often puzzled in That Dispute, and it must not be wondered at; for the way he took had no Connexion with his Doctrine concerning Fate; and if he had known, or if he had dared to argue consequentially, he would have adopted the whole Hypothesis of Diodorus with all his Heart. It has been seen above (110), that, notwithstanding the Liberty he acknowledged in the Soul, and his Comparison of the Cylinder, all the Actions of Man's Will are unavoidable Consequences of Fate; from whence it results, that whatever does not happen is impossible, and that there is nothing possible but what is actually done. Plutarch runs him down both on this, and on his Dispute with Diodorus, and maintains, against him, that his Opinion about Possibility is altogether contrary to the Doctrine of Fate (111). Note, that the most illustrious Stoics had written on this Subject, without following the same Road. Arrianus names four of them, viz. Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Archedemus, and Antipater (112). He shews a great Contempt for This Dispute; and Mr Menage ought not to have quoted him as a Writer, who speaks honourably of Chrysippus's Work περί Δουλώ (113); for certainly these Words, γίγνεται δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος δαυμάσας, &c. de his rebus mira scriptis Chrysippus, &c. are not an Elogy in That Place, as it appears by the foregoing and following Words.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis mentioned (114) two Treatises of Chrysippus, wherein, under a Title that promised other things, he made a great Excursion into Logic. The Work was intitled Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν τῶ λόγων μερῶν, de partium orationis collocatione, and treated only of Propositions true and false, possible and impossible, contingent, ambiguous, &c. A Subject, which our Schoolmen have very much handled and refined. Note, that Chrysippus acknowledged, that Things past were necessarily true, which Cleanthes would not admit of (115). Οὐ γὰρ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Διόδορον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰ περὶ Κλεάνθου φησὶν ὅτι δὲ οὐκ εἴσθαι. Non omne præteritum ex necessitate verum est, ut illi, qui Cleanthes sequuntur, sentiunt (116). We have seen, in another Place (117), that it has been pretended, that Abelard taught a Doctrine like That of Diodorus. I believe the Stoics resolved to give more extent to possible than to future Things, to soften the odious and frightful Consequences, which were drawn from their Doctrine of Fatality. At present, it puzzles the Spinozists, to see, that, according to their Hypothesis, it was as impossible from all Eternity, that Spinoza, for Example, should not die at the Hague, as it is impossible, that two and two should be six. They are sensible, that it is a necessary Consequence from their Doctrine, and a Consequence that scares and shocks the Mind, as containing an Absurdity diametrically opposite to common Sense. They are not well pleased, that it should be known, that they overthrow such a general and evident Maxim as this; Whatsoever implies a Contradiction is impossible, and whatsoever does not imply a Contradiction is possible. Now what Contradiction would there have been in this, that Spinoza should have died at Leyden? Would Nature have been less perfect, less wise, less powerful?

Let us not end without observing, that Chrysippus placed, among possible Things, the Resurrection of Men, and their Re-establishment in the same State, wherein each of them have appeared. Laërtius informs us of this, and also quotes his Words (118). Melius Chrysippus — qui in libris quos de providentia scripsit, cum de innovatione mundi loqueretur, hæc intulit. Τέτα δὲ ἔως ἐχούτω, δίδον ὡς ἐδὲν ἀδύνατον, καὶ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τελευτήσας, πάλιν πεισθόντων τινῶν εἰλημμένων χρόνῳ εἰς τὸ νῦν ἰσμεν καλεσθῆσθαι σχήμα. Chrysippus thought better, who, in his Books concerning Providence, speaking of the Renovation of the World, expresses himself thus: 'Things being so, it is plainly not impossible, that we ourselves, after Death, may, after certain Periods of Time, be restored to our present State.' The same Father ascribes to him another great Point of Orthodoxy, which moved him to do an ill Action; he believed, that his Soul would ascend into Heaven at its Separation from the Body; and he killed himself to go and enjoy that Place of Bliss (119): 'Multi ex iis quia æternas esse animas suspicabantur tanquam in cælum migraturi essent, sibi ipsi manus intulerunt, ut Cleanthes, ut Chrysippus, ut Zeno (120). — Many of those, who suspected the Soul to be immortal, that they might go to Heaven, laid violent Hands on themselves, as Cleanthes, Chrysippus, and Zeno.'

[T] He laid down a Thought — — — which may be looked upon as a first Draught of a Principle, which a Philosopher of the XVIIth Century has cleared.] Chrysippus, in his Work of Providence, examined this Question, among others, Did the Nature of Things, or the Providence that made the World and human kind, make also the Diseases, to which Men are subject? He answers, that Nature's chief Design was not to make them sickly, for that would not agree with the Cause of all good Things; but, in preparing and producing many great Things very well ordered, and very useful, she found, that some Inconveniences resulted from it; and so they are not agreeable to her primary Design and Aim; they

(114) Dionys. Halicarn. de Collocatione Verborum, cap. 17, p. m. 11.

(115) Omnia enim vera in præteritis necessaria sunt, ut Chrysippus placet dissentienti à magistro Cleanthe, quia sunt immutabilia nec in fallum è vero præterita possunt converti. Cicero de Fato, cap. 7.

(116) Arrian. in Epictet. lib. 2, cap. 19, pag. m. 165.

(117) In Remark [E], of the Article BERENGER.

(118) Laërt. Divin. Institut. lib. 7, cap. 23, pag. 506.

(119) Diogenes Laërtius does not speak of this; he says only, l. 7, n. 184, 185, that, according to Hermyppus, Chrysippus, being invited to a Sacrifice by his Scholars, drank some sweet Wine without Water, and fell into a Vertigo, and died five Days after; but, according to others, he died with laughing, bidding his Maid to give some Wine to an Ass, which had eat his Figs.

(120) Laërt. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 18, pag. 194.

raised a Monument to him among those of the most Illustrious *Athenians* (2). His Statue was erected in the *Ceramicus* [U]. He accepted of the Freedom of *Athens*, which neither *Zeno* nor *Cleanthes* had done. *Plutarch's* Criticism upon this seems to me too severe [X].

they are found in the Sequel of the Work, and exist only as Consequences. For the Formation of a human Body, said he, the exactest Idea, even the Usefulness of the Work, required, that the Head should be composed of a Contexture of small and thin Bones; but from thence this Inconvenience resulted, that it would not be able to resist Blows. Nature was preparing Health, and at the same time, by a kind of Concomitancy, it was necessary, that the Source of Diseases should be opened. It is the same with respect to Virtue; the direct Action of Nature, that gave it a Being, did, by a Counter-blow, produce the Generation of Vices. I have not translated literally, wherefore I place the *Latin* of *Aulus Gellius* here, in favour of those who understand that Language. 'Idem Chrysippus in eodem libro (quarto *περί περνοίας*) tractat consideratque, dignumque esse id queri putat, si ei *τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόσοι καὶ αἰτίαι* γίνονται. Id est naturae ipsa rerum vel providentia, quae compagem hanc mundi & genus hominum fecit, morbos quoque & debilitates & aegritudines corporum, quas patiuntur homines, fecerit: existimat autem non fuisse hoc principale naturae consilium, ut faceret homines morbis obnoxios; nunquam enim hoc convenisse naturae auctori parentique rerum omnium bonarum. Sed quum multa, inquit, atque magna gigneret parenteque aptissima & utilissima, alia quoque simul agnata sunt incommoda iis ipsis, quae faciebant, coherentia: eaque non per naturam, sed per sequelas quoddam necessarias facta dicit, quod ipse appellat, *κατὰ παρακολούησιν*. Sicut, inquit, quum corpora hominum natura fingeret, ratio subtilior & utilitas ipsa operis postulat ut tenuissimis minutisque ossiculis caput compingeret; sed hanc utilitatem rei majoris alia quaedam incommunitas extrinsecus consecuta est; ut fieret caput tenuiter munitum, & ictibus offensivibusque parvis fragile. Proinde morbi quoque & aegritudines partae sunt, dum salus paritur. Sic Hercule, inquit, dum virtus hominibus per consilium naturae gignitur, vitia ibidem per affinitatem nata sunt (121). I do not think, that a Pagan could have said any thing more reasonable, in the Ignorance he was in, of the Fall of the first Man; a Fall, which we could not know but by Revelation, and which is the true Cause of our Miseries: If we had many such Extracts of *Chrysippus's* Works, or rather if we had his Works, we should have a greater Notion of the Beauty of his Genius, than what we have.

The modern Philosopher, whom I meant, when I said, that he has explained a very fine Principle, of which *Chrysippus's* Thought was the first Draught, is the famous Author of the *Search after Truth*. The Substance of his Principle may be seen in the *Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets* (122), and one may judge thereby, whether *Chrysippus* had the same Idea.

As for the other Things that he advanced to justify Providence (123), you will find the Discussion of them in the Remarks [E] and [G] of the Article PAULICIANS. See also the Remark [F] of the Article DE JOTARUS.

[U] His Statue was erected in the *Ceramicus*. *Diogenes Laërtius*, who says this, has added to it an Observation somewhat fallacious. These are his Words: 'Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ σωματικὸν ἐνδεές, ὥς δὲ ἡνὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἐν κερματικῷ, ὥς σχεδὸν τι ὑποκέρυπται τῷ πηλοῦ ἰππεύ. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καρνεάδης Κρύππιον ἔλεγε. Erat autem tenui corpufculo, ut ex ejus imagine, quae in *Ceramico* est, videre licet, quae ferme à vicino equite occulitur. Quocirca illum *Carneades* *Crypsippum* vocabat (124). - - - He was a Man of very small size, as appears by his Statue in the *Ceramicus*, which is almost covered by an Equestrian Statue standing by it; for which Reason *Carneades* called him *Crypsippus*. It looks as if it were in order to prove, that the Statue of *Chrysippus* was small, that he mentions it's being almost entirely covered by the Equestrian Statue just by it. But

this would be a very bad Reasoning, and I should rather believe, for his Honour, that he mentioned that Neighbourhood as a meer Fact, and not as a Proof of what he had just said; for, in short, it is easy to conceive, that a Man on Horseback may intercept the Sight of a Foot man of a good size. If we add to this, that the Statue of that Philosopher was sitting (125), we shall yet better apprehend how the Statue on Horseback might almost cover it all, without it's being a sign of it's Smallness, and therefore I wonder that *Vossius*, and several others, have approved the Reason which they pretend *Diogenes Laërtius* made use of. 'Chrysippum contumeliosè quasi latinam dixeris vocabat Zeno (126), teste Tullio in 1. de Nat. Deorum. *Crypsippum* *Carneades*, quia esset exiguus, ita ut statua ejus in *Ceramico* posita à vicino equite occulere: teste *Laërtio* (127). - - - Zeno in contumely called him *Chesippus*, that is to say, a Jakes, as Tully affirms in B. 1. de Nat. Deorum. *Carneades* called him *Crypsippus*, because he was so little, that his Statue in the *Ceramicus* was almost covered by an Equestrian one standing near it, according to *Diogenes Laërtius*. I shall observe, by the by, that they are mistaken who say, That *Diogenes Laërtius*, who mentions that *Punn* of *Carneades*, says also that the same *Carneades* accused *Chrysippus* of being a Parasite of Books, because he had copied *Epicurus's* Books Word for Word: 'Hunc (*Chrysippum*) *Carneades* lepidè parafitum librorum appellat quod scripta *Epicuri* sit furatus, scriptisque eadem & verbis & numeris *Diogenes* (128). This is what *Volaterranus* ventured to say, as taken from *Diogenes Laërtius*. It is a strange Alteration of another Censure, viz. that *Chrysippus*, out of meer Emulation, always set himself to write a Book as soon as ever *Epicurus* had published one. See the Remark [C] above. *Robert Stephens*, and *Theodorus Wringier*, have copied that Mistake of *Volaterranus* (129). For the rest, according to *Pausanias* (130), the Statue of our Philosopher was not in the *Ceramicus*, but in the College which bore the Name of it's Founder *Ptolemy*. Mr *Menage* reconciles that Difference, by supposing that this Statue was placed in the inner *Ceramicus* (131). *Lipsius* had said it (132). *Plutarch* mentions a brazen Statue erected to *Chrysippus* by one of his Scholars, with a glorious Inscription. 'Αεισεκρίων γὰρ ὁ Χρυσιππὸς μαθητὴς καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ, εἰκὼνα χαλκῇν ἀνασπῶσας ἐπιγράψας τὸς τὸ ἐλεγεῖον,

Τῶν δὲ νέων Χρυσιππὸν Ἀεισεκρίων ἀνέθηκε
Τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν σεργασίῳ κοτίδα.

Aristocreon quidem *Chrysippi* discipulus & familiaris, aëream imaginem in columna ponens, hos elegos inscripsit.

Hunc *Academiacos* solitum discindere nexus

Chrysippum juvenem ponit *Aristocreon* (133).

Aristocreon, the Scholar and Friend of *Chrysippus*, placed his Statue on a Column, with this elegiac Inscription.

This Statue *Aristocreon* places here,

To young *Chrysippus*, who was wont to solve

The Doubts of th' Academics. —

[X] He accepted of the Freedom of Athens. — *Plutarch's* Criticism upon this seems to me too severe. *Antipater*, in his Books concerning the Variance between *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus*, writes, that *Zeno* and *Cleanthes* would not be made Citizens of *Athens*, lest they should seem to injure their own Country. Now, if they did well, *Chrysippus* acted amiss in suffering himself to be enrolled as a Member of the City of *Athens*: However, I shall not insist any further upon that at present. But this I say; there is a monstrous Inconsistency in their Conduct, to preferre to their

(2) *Pausan. lib. 1, pag. 55. Edit. 1696.*

(125) Statua est in *Ceramico* *Chrysippi* sedentis, porrecta manu. — There is in the *Ceramicus* a Statue of *Chrysippus*, sitting with his hand stretched out.

(126) *Cicero de fin. lib. 1, cap. vi. Note, ibat Siderius Apollinaris, Epist. 9, lib. 9, scy, ibat Chrysippus was represented so little, that his Statue in the Ceramicus was almost covered by an Equestrian one standing near it, according to Diogenes Laërtius.*

(127) *Vossius de Philosphor. sectis, cap. 19, n. 11, pag. m. 102.*

(128) That is, *Zeno the Epicurean.*

(129) *Vossius de Philosphor. sectis, cap. 19, n. 11, pag. m. 102.*

(130) *Volaterr. lib. 14, pag. m. 531.*

(131) See *Thomassius de plagio literario, pag. 170, 171.*

(132) *Pausan. lib. 1, pag. 39.*

(133) *Menag. in Laërt. lib. 7, n. 182.*

(134) *Lipsius Manud. ad Stoic. Philo. lib. 1, dissert. 11, pag. m. 654.*

(121) *Aulus Gellius, lib. 6, cap. 1.*

(122) Paragraph 234, pag. 704, and following.

(123) See *Aulus Gellius, lib. 1, cap. 1.*

(124) *Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 182.*

(133) *Plot. de Repugnant. Stoicor. init. pag. 1033, D.*

'native Place the bare name of Country, but deprive it of both their Persons and Converse, by going to reside so far off in a strange Place; which is just the same thing as if a Man should leave his Wife, and go to cohabit with another, bed constantly with her, and have Children by her, and yet refuse to contract Marriage with the second, lest he should seem to wrong the

'former (134).' Every body may see, that *Plutarch* gives us a Parallel between two Things that are not alike. The Caution of *Zeno* and *Cleantes*, with respect to their Country, was, really, a Piece of Civility that was received as such; but the Caution of the Husband, to whom the Censurer compares it, will never pass for any thing but Mockery.

(134) Id. *ibid.*
pag. 1034.

CHRYISIS, a Priestess of *Juno* at *Argos*, was the cause, by her Carelessness, that the Temple of the Goddess was wholly burnt. She had placed a Lamp too near the Sacred Ornaments; they took Fire, and, as she happened then to be in found a Sleep, that she did not awake soon enough to prevent the Consequences of that Accident, the Fire consumed the whole Temple (a). Some say that she perished in the Flames [A], but others affirm that she fled to *Phlius* that same Night [B]. She had reason to fear the Resentment of the *Argians*; for, instead of recalling her, they made another Priestess (b). That Dignity was very considerable among them; it was the Rule of their Dates and Chronology (c). That Fire happened in the Ninth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War [C].

(a) *Thucydides*, lib. 4, sub. fin.

(b) Called *Phaenias*. *Thucyd.* *ibid.*

(c) *Josua Barnes* in *vita Euripidis*, pag. 7. See Remark [C].

(d) *Hieronymus* adversus *Jovinianum*, lib. 1, pag. m. 438.

St Jerom observes, in his First Book against *Jovinian* (d), that our *Chrysis*, Priestess of *Juno*, was a Virgin. *Marianus Victorius* has no reason to say, in his notes on that Place, that the said Father speaks of *Chryseis*, whom *Agamemnon* carried away.

[A] Some say, that she perished in the Flames. *Arnobius* not only affirms it, but draws an Argument from this Fact against the Pagans. 'Ubi Juno regina, says he (1), cum incitum ejus fandum sacerdotemque Chrysidem eadem vis flammæ Argiva in civitate deleret? - - - - Where was your Queen Juno, when her famous Temple and her Priestess Chrysis were both destroyed together by Fire in Argos.' *Clement Alexandrinus* supplied him both with this Fact, and the Consequence drawn from it (2). It was injudicious in him to make use of such a Proof against the Gods of the Pagans; for, besides that *Lucretius* makes use of the like Reason to destroy the Worship of the Gods in general, might not *Arnobius*'s Question have been retorted upon himself? Might he not have been asked, Where the God of *Israel* was, when the King of *Babylon* plundered and burned the Temple of *Solomon*? I do not know what the Fathers dreamed of, in some of their Arguments against the Gentiles.

(1) *Arnob.* lib. 6, pag. m. 207.

(2) *Clem. Alex.* in *Protrept.* pag. 35.

[B] - - - - others pretend, that she fled to *Phlius* that same Night. Since *Thucydides*, who lived in those Times, affirms this Fact (3), it is very likely, that it is true, and that therefore *Arnobius* grounded a bad Objection on a Falshood. *Pausanias* (4) relates, that That Priestess took refuge at the Altar of *Minerva* at *Tegæ*, and that the *Argians*, out of respect for that Asylum, did not require that she should be delivered up to them (5), nay, they preserved her Statue, for it was still to be seen in *Pausanias*'s Time, at the Entrance of the Temple that was burnt (6).

(3) *Thucyd.* lib. 4, sub. fin.

(4) *Pausanias*, lib. 2, pag. 59.

(5) Id. lib. 3, pag. 86.

(6) Id. lib. 2, pag. 60.

(7) *Thucyd.* lib. 4, sub. fin.

[C] That Fire happened in the ninth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War. *Thucydides* affirms it (7). The learned Man, to whom the Public is obliged for the Edition of *Euripides*, printed in *England* in the Year 1694, informs us, that *Chrysis* was made Priestess of *Juno* at *Argos* in the third Year of the

LXXVth Olympiad, and that she had exercised that Office Fifty six Years when the Temple was burnt. These are his Words, and his Quotation: 'Argis quidem hoc anno Chrysis Sacerdos Junonis constituitur, ex cujus sacerdotio mos erat Argivis periculis suorum temporum numerare. At illa quum per quinquaginta sex annos suo fungeret officio, tum demum lucerna negligenter ad corollas posita, templum incendio conflagravit (8).' - - - - At *Argos*, this Year, Chrysis is appointed Priestess of *Juno*; by the Succession of which Priestesses, the Argives used to reckon their Time. But, when she had exercised that Office Fifty six Years, placing a Lamp carelessly near the Ornaments, she set fire to the Temple, and destroyed it. No body would think, considering the Place where Mr Barnes has put the Quotation out of *Thucydides*, but that That ancient Historian informs us, that *Chrysis* was in the Fifty sixth Year of her Priesthood, when the Fire consumed the Temple, and yet *Thucydides* does not speak of it; he says only, That it was at that time eight Years and six Months from the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War. Whoever would accuse Mr Barnes upon this Account, would be a Caviller; for if it be true, that *Chrysis* was made Priestess in the third Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, there is some reason to cite *Thucydides* to prove, that That Woman was in the Fifty sixth Year of her Priesthood, more or less, when the Temple was burnt; since *Thucydides* observes, that That Fire happened in the ninth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War (9). Farther, *Thucydides* observes, in a Place, which Mr Barnes does not quote (10), that the *Peloponnesian* War began in the Forty eighth Year of *Chrysis*'s Priesthood. It is true, that this proves that That Priestess was in the Fifty seventh Year of her Office at the time of the Fire, and not in the Fifty sixth, as Mr d'Ablancourt (11) and Mr Barnes affirm.

* *Thucydides*, lib. 4, in ipso fine, fol. 164. Vide Joh. Meursii Archont. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 6.

(8) *Josua Barnes* in *vita Euripidis*, pag. 7.

(9) That is, the second Year, or thereabouts, of the 98th Olympiad.

(10) Lib. 2, init. pag. 99.

(11) In his Translation of *Thucydides*.

CHRISTINA, Queen of *Sweden*, died at *Rome* the nineteenth of April 1689. Look for SWEDEN.

CICCHUS (a), Native of *Ascoli* in *Italy*, an Author, who was reputed to have studied Magical Superstitions. It is not certain that he pretended to have a familiar Spirit. His Commentary on the Sphere of *Sacrobosco* was printed at *Venice* in the Year 1499. I shall recite *Gabriel Naudé*'s Judgment of him [A].

(a) He is called *Cicubus* de *Esculo*, or *Esculanus*, or *Esculanus*, or *Esculanus*. Some say *Cicubus*, or *Cicubus*, instead of *Cicubus*.

(1) *Apologie des grans hommes*, cap. 13, pag. m. 344.

(2) *Disquisit.* lib. 1, cap. 3.

[A] I shall recite *Gabriel Naudé*'s Judgment of him (1). The only Commentary that we have of *Cicubus Esculanus* on the Sphere of *Sacrobosco*, shews sufficiently that he was not only superstitious, as *Delrio* calls him (2), but also that he was a little crack-brained, having undertaken three Things in it that can do no less than discover his Folly: The first is, To interpret *Sacrobosco*'s Book according to the Sense of Astrologers, Necromancers, and Chiropodists: The second is, To cite a great many Authors that are

falsified, and full of old and foolish Stories, as for instance, *Solomon de umbris idearum*; *Hiparchus de vinculo spiritus*, *de ministerio nature*, *de Hicrarebit spirituum*; *Apollonius de arte magica*; *Zoroaster de dominio quatuor elementorum*; *Hippocrates de stellarum aspectibus secundum lunam*; *Asthen de mineralibus confectis*; and many more such: And the third, to make a frequent use of the Revelations of a Spirit called *Florum* †, whom he pretended to be of the Order of *Cherubims*: and that one day, being asked, What

† Cap. 4, 5ph.

He makes him live in the Year 1320 (b), in the time of Garbo, who was a Physician of Florence, who accused him of Magic before the Inquisitors, by whose Sentence he was burned alive. He adds that he had seen his Tryal at Rome in the Library of the Cavalier del Pozzo; and that he was a Wag, who acted the Magician, and that he published a Treatise of Natural Philosophy in Italian Verse.

The Author of the *Turco-Papismus* is grievously mistaken, when he makes him live under the Pontificate of Paul III [B]. There were almost two Centuries between the Death of that Astrologer and the Installing of that Pope, if we follow the Abbot Crescimbeni, who says that Cecco, of Ascoli, was burned at Florence the sixteenth of September 1327 (c). On that Supposition, I ought to have said, that he lived, not towards the end of the XVth Century, but about the beginning of the XIVth. I must not forget, that he makes a pretty good Figure among the Italian Poets. Some of the Poems that he writ in that Language have been printed [C]. A certain Author says that he was a better Astrologer than Poet (d).

(b) Naudanus, pag. 41. Edit. of Paris.

(c) Giovanni Mario de Crescimbeni, *Storia della volgar Poesia*, pag. 47, 262.

(d) Leandro Alberti, *Descritt. di tutta l'Italia*, fol. m. 267.

What the Spots in the Moon were, he answered briefly, *Ut terra terra est*: But, besides that he does not attribute that Spirit to himself in any Place of the said Commentary, it is also easy to judge, that this Story is like that which Pliny tells of the Grammarian Apion, who raised the Devil to know Homer's Country. Leo Allatius relates Floron's Answer more at large; 'Patrum nostrorum memoria (3), says he (4), Cicchus Asculanus Commentar. de Sphæra cap. 4. tradit Floron spiritum naturæ nobilissimæ ex Cherubinica hierarchia quærenti, quæ esset illa umbra quæ in luna conficeretur, tradit respondisse, ut terra terra est, sic idea humiditatum est terra; si totam umbram habueris te non decipiet sicut umbra. Rursumque, ab alio de Christo interrogatum dixisse, carnem sumpsit humanam ut per ipsum salveretur omnis caro. --- Cicchus Asculanus, in his Commentary on the Sphere, chap. iv. says, that the Spirit Floron, of the most noble Nature of the Cherubinic Hierarchy, being asked what the Shade that appears in the Moon is, answered, *An Earth is Earth, so the Idea of Moisture is Earth; if you had the whole Shade it would not deceive you like a Shade.* And again, when he was asked by another concerning CHRIST, he said, that he took upon him human Flesh, that all Flesh might be saved by him.'

[B] The Author of the *Turco-Papismus* --- makes him live under the Pontificate of Paul III. He places this Pope among those that were addicted to Magic, and reproaches him with his intimate Conversation with Asculanus, a noted Magician,

as a Proof of it (5): 'Paulum tertium cum Cecio Asculano, Magiæ & Necromantiæ insigniter perito magnam familiaritatem habuisse testantur historici *.' Sleidan, one of the Authors that he quotes, cannot be accused of that Fault. These are his Words, which he takes from a Libel that had been published against that Pope: 'An non turpissimum est te pendere totum ab Astrologis & Necromanticis? Negari factum non potest: nam & honoribus illos & facultatibus atque donis amplissimi casti Cecium, Marcellum, Gauricum Lusitanum & alios (6). --- Is it not a scandalous thing that you should be so fond of Astrologers and Necromancers: this cannot be denied: for you have advanced them to Honours, Wealth, and Presents, to wit, Cecius, Marcellus, Gauricus, the Portuguese, and others.' Sleidan says, indeed, that one Cecius had a share in the good Graces of Paul III, but he does not surname him Asculanus, and so he may come off. If he had had the like Precaution as to Gauricus, he could not have been charged with the Fault of making an Italian a Native of Portugal.

[C] Some of the Poems which he wrote in the Italian Tongue have been printed. His Poem della *Natura dell' Universo* was printed the first time in the Year 1478, with a Commentary by an anonymous Author, and afterwards in the Year 1516, and last of all, in 1552, in 8vo (7). The Abbot Crescimbeni, from whom I have this, says elsewhere (8), that l'Opera intitulata *L'accerba di Maestro Cecco d'Ascoli Astrologo del Duca di Calabria*, has been published.

(5) Sutilvius, in *Turco-Papismus*, lib. 1, cap. 8, pag. 55.

* Sleidan, & Verger.

(6) Sleidan, lib. 21, pag. m. 668, ad Ann. 1549.

(7) Crescimbeni, *Storia della volgar Poesia*, pag. 306.

(8) Ibid. pag. 47.

CICONIA (FLAMINIUS), a Native of Vicenza in Italy, was a tolerable good Philosopher about the end of the XVIth Century. I doubt not but his Italian Name was *Cicogna* or *Cigogna*. He published a Book at Vicenza in the Year 1592 [A]. Mr Konig was not acquainted with this Edition (a). There was one STROZZI CIGOGNA, a Gentleman of Vicenza, who was a Divine; a Philosopher, Doctor of Civil-Law, and Nuncio of the City of Vicenza. These are the Titles he gives himself at the beginning of a Book, which he dedicated to the Doge of Venice, and Council of Ten, the sixteenth of July 1605 [B].

[A] He published a Book at Vicenza in the Year 1592. It is a Quarto of 80 Leaves intitled, *Quæstiones naturales in quibus juxta Aristotelis principia multa diligenter pertractantur & summa facilitate disputantur contra Robertum Juvenatensem*. I have a Book, which was printed at Venice in 1585, with this Title, *Quæstiones tres R. P. Domini Honorati de Robertis Juvenatensis Congregationis Lateranensis, Canonici Regularium Sancti Augustini*. These are the Names and Titles of the Author that Ciconia refuses. He attacks some others here and there, as Averroes, Pomponatius, Zimara. These sorts of Books are now a Days like base Coin cried down.

[B] STROZZI CIGOGNA --- dedicated a Book to the Doge and Council of Ten --- in 1605. It is intitled, *Del palagio de gl' Incanti & delle gran meraviglie d'e gli Spiriti & di tutta la natura loro*. The Edition I make use of is of Brescia, appresso Comino Prefagni, 1605, in 8vo. The Oxford Catalogue mentions an Edition of Vicenza in 4to, also in the Year 1605 (1). This Book was printed the following Year in Latin at Cologne in 8vo, under the Title of *Magiæ Theatrum de Spirituum & Incantationum naturâ*. The Translator was one Gaspar Eps.

(a) He says that Ciconia published his *Quæstiones Naturales*, in 1603.

(1) Konig only speaks of the Edition in 1617.

CIECA, a Spanish Author of a History of Peru. See LEO.

CYGNE (MARTIN du), a Jesuit, is reckoned the most famous Rhetorician of the XVIIth Century. He published in 1661 an *Analysis of Cicero's Orations*, which has been re-printed several times, and particularly at Paris in 1704. He left also an *Art of Poetry*, an *Art of History*, and an *Art of Rhetoric*. He died at Ipres in 1669 (a).

(a) Taken from the *Mémoires de Trevoux*, July, 1704, Art. 95.

CIMON

CIMON, Son of that *Miltiades*, who vanquished the *Perians* in the famous Battle of *Marathon*, was one of the best Generals of the Republic of *Athens*. Some Historians relate, that he was committed to the same Prison, where *Miltiades* died, and was not released till he had paid the Fine the deceased was condemned to pay, which he could never have paid, if *Elpinice*, his Sister and Wife, had not married *Callias* [A]. Others say, he willingly made a Sacrifice of his own Liberty to have leave to bury his Father [B], and this latter Opinion would not well be confuted by saying, that in his Youth he was branded for his debaucheries [C]; for even those, who have blamed him on this account, yet confess he was of a free

[A] Some Historians relate, that he was committed to the same Prison where *Miltiades* died, and was not released — &c.] *Cornelius Nepos* follows this Opinion. 'Quam pater ejus, says he (1), litem æstimatam populo solvere non potuisset, ob eamque causam in vinculis publicis decessisset, Cimon eadem custodia tenebatur, neque legibus Atheniensibus emitte poterat, nisi pecuniam, qua pater multatus erat, solvisset. — His Father not being able to discharge the fine, and for that reason dying in Prison, Cimon was confined in his place, nor could he, by the Laws of Athens, be released, till he had paid the Sum, which his Father had been fined.' He adds, that *Callias*, who was more rich than noble, desired to marry *Elpinice*, and offered to pay *Cimon's* Debts, if he would agree to the Match. *Cimon* rejected the proposal, but *Elpinice* declared she would never suffer the Son of *Miltiades* to die in Prison, and, since she could prevent it by marrying *Callias*, she would do it. Thus the Affair was adjusted, and *Cimon* recovered his liberty by the marriage of *Elpinice* his Sister (2), a Woman that was not accounted of chaste (3). I have already made mention of her in another place (4). She bestowed her favours upon *Polignotus* the Painter. I know not whether he expressed his Gratitude to her otherwise than by the Picture of *Laodice*. To understand this, you must know, that *Polignotus* being to draw the *Trojan Ladies*, he drew *Laodice* exactly like *Elpinice* (5). Observe, that *Herodotus*, speaking of the Trial of *Miltiades* (6), says nothing of the Imprisonment, either of the Father or Son, and plainly insinuates, that *Miltiades* was not imprisoned at all. This great Man got a fall at the Siege of *Paros*, and hurt his Thigh; for which reason he could not himself answer at his Trial. His wound confined him to his Bed, and they condemned him in a Fine of Fifty Talents. And as he died soon after by the Mortification in his Thigh, his Son *Cimon* paid his Fine. This is *Herodotus's* account; but there wants one Circumstance which *Plato* tells us: the Sentence was, that *Miltiades* should be put into the Dungeon; but this Sentence was not executed; the College of the *Prytanes* opposed it. *Μιλτιάδην δὲ τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἰς τὸ βάρβαρον ἐμβαλὼν ἐκνήρισαντο καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν αὐτάνην, ἐνέπεσον αὖν, Μιλτιάδην δὲ, qui in Marathonem pugnasset, in carceris barathrum detrudere decreverunt, ac nisi obstitisset magistratus, proculdubio incidisset (7). It is very strange, if matters were thus ordered, that *Cornelius Nepos* should write as we have seen above. He also says in the Life of *Miltiades*. Hanc pecuniam quid solvere non poterat, in vincula publica conjectus est, ibique diem obiit supremum. — Not being able to pay his Fine, he was thrown in Prison where he died. I shall produce some Authors in the following Remark, who maintain, that *Miltiades* did die in Prison.*

[B] Others say, that he willingly made a sacrifice of his liberty, to have leave to bury his Father.] This is so generous an Action, that I am surprised *Plutarch* should not mention it, who follows the Opinion of those, who say *Miltiades* died in Prison (8). It appears by *Seneca's* Controversies (9), that the Imprisonment of *Miltiades*, and *Cimon* left in his stead, served for Themes for the Rhetoricians to declaim upon. See also *Valerius Maximus*, who relates, that the *Athenians* constrained *Miltiades* to die in his Fetters, and would not suffer him to be buried, but on Condition, that *Cimon* his Son should be committed to Prison in his room. 'Bene egissent Athenienses cum Miltiade, si cum post trecenta millia Persarum Marathonem devicta, in exilium protinus misissent, ac non in carcere & vinculis mori coëgissent. Sed ut puto, hæcenus sævire adversus optime meritum abunde non duxerunt. Immo ne corpus quidem ejus, sic expirare coacti, sepulturæ prius mandari passi sunt, quam filius ejus Cimon eisdem vinculis se confringendum traderet. Hinc hereditatem paternam maximi ducis filius, & futurus ipse ætatis suæ dux maximus, solam se sortitum, catenas scilicet & carcerem, gloriari potuit (10). — Well had the Athenians acted with *Miltiades*, if, after a Slaughter of Thirty thousand Persians at Marathon, they had banished him, and not forced him to die in a Prison loaded with Chains; but in my Opinion they thought these Rigours but too mild for a Man of his distinguished Merit, when, after a Death, hastened by this severe treatment, not even his Body was permitted to be interred, till Cimon his Son submitted to his Father's Bonds. Thus Chains and Imprisonment were the only Inheritance, which a Son, who was afterwards the greatest General of his Age, could boast to have received from a Father, who had been the greatest of his.' In the next Chapter he says expressly, that *Cimon*, at the price of his own liberty, willingly purchased a Permission to bury his Father. Ne te quidem Cimon silentio involvam, qui patri tuo sepulturam voluntariis vinculis emere non dubitasti (11). — Nor shall *Cimon's* Fame be lost in Silence, who generously ransomed his dead Father's Body, at the Price of his own Freedom. I should not much regard the evidence of this Author, if it was not confirmed by an Historian: for though no Body had said it but *Seneca's* Rhetoricians (12), yet we should have found it in the Collections of *Valerius Maximus*: but here is an Authority of greater Weight. Græci duce constitutunt Cimonem Atheniensem, filium Miltiadis, quo duce apud Marathonem pugnatum est, juvenem, cujus magnitudinem futuram pietatis documenta prodiderunt. Quippe patrem ob crimen peculatus in carcerem conjectum, ibique defunctum, translatum in se vinculis ad sepulturam redemit (13). — The Greeks chose for their General Cimon of Athens, Son to Miltiades, General in the Battle of Marathon, a young Man, whose filial Piety had promised a future Grandeur, having surrendered himself Prisoner to redeem the Body of his Father, who, for defrauding the Public, had been thrown into Prison, and was there dead.

[C] In his Youth he was branded for his debaucheries.] They not only charged him with stupidity, but also with Lewdness, Drunkenness, and lying with his Sister (14). Κακῶς ἤκεν ὡς ἀπαρχὰς καὶ πολυπότης — νεὸς ἐν ἀντιᾷ ἐσχε πλυσσάμεν τῇ ἀδελφῇ. Male audivit ex iustis & violentia — adolescentia ejus famosa fuit quasi sorori suæ illuderet (15). These are great Faults of his understanding and heart. It is reasonable to believe the first imputation is Calumny; for he discovered so great a Capacity after he was raised to Employments, that there was no Appearance of his ever having been a silly Man or a Fool. I confess some heavy Minds unfold by little and little, and become skillful by practice in Business; but then observe, those Men, at the time of their heaviness, act with Judgment, and, if they have not vivacity, they have good sense, and are far from deserving to be called stupid and foolish; and therefore at the worst let us keep to the Testimony of *Stesimbrotus*, who was very near his cotemporary (16). Now what does he say of our *Cimon*? That in his Youth he learnt neither Music, nor any other things, which are commonly taught, among the Greeks, to those who had a good Education given them (17), that he had not that elegance of Behaviour, and softness of Language, which were peculiar to the Athenians, and that his Candor and Generosity favoured more of *Peloponnesus* than *Attica*. Τὸ πρότερον πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἀλκιμὲς ἐνυπάρχειν καὶ μάλλον εὐλα

(1) *Corn. Nepos* in *Vita Cimonis*, init.

(2) Tali modo custodia liberatus Id. ibid.

(3) *Plut. in Cimon*, p. 480, F.

(4) Remark [N] of the Article PERICLES.

(5) *Plut. in Cimon*, p. 480, F.

(6) *Herodot. lib. 6*, cap. 136.

(7) *Plato. in Gorgia*, pag. m. 352, B.

(8) 'Επειδὴ αὖν ἐν τῷ διωρισμῷ. Diem suum obiit in carcere. *Plut. in Vita Cimon*, pag. 480, D.

(9) See *Seneca the Father, Controversies*, 29, pag. m. 245.

(10) *Valer. Maximus*, lib. 5, cap. 3, n. 3, Ext. p. m. 460, 461.

(11) Id. ibid. cap. 4, n. 2 Ext. pag. 473.

(12) *Miltiades* peculatus damnatus in carcere aliquot dies decessit. Cimonque filius ejus ut cum sepeliret vicarium se pro corpore patris dedit. — Miltiades, being condemned for defrauding the Public, died in Confinement, and Cimon his Son, to redeem his Body, put himself in his Father's Place. *Seneca, Controversies*, 29, pag. 243.

(13) *Justin. lib. 2*, sub. fin.

(14) *Plut. in Cimon*, pag. 480.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) *Stesimbrotus Thasius*, apud *Plutarch. ibid.*

free and generous Spirit (a). There is reason to believe that his Youth was not deftute, as some report (b), of the Advantages of Education, or the Endowments of Nature. I have much to say upon his Marriage with his Sister [D]. He fig-

nalized

(a) See Remark [C], Citation 18.

(b) See Remark [C].

- (18) Id. *ibid.*
- (19) Plut. in Cimon, pag. 481. he cites Ion.
- (20) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Cimonis, cap. 2.
- (21) Plut. in Cimon, pag. 481.
- (22) Valerius Max. lib. 6, cap. 9, n. 3. Ext. pag. m. 583.
- (23) Plut. in Cimon, pag. 481.
- (24) Aristeria of Salamis and Mneftia.

είναι Πελοποννήσιον τὸ χρέμα τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ ἀνδρὶ. *Mores insigni generositate & sinceritate tinctos, potiusque ingenium huius viri Peloponnesium fuisse* (18). I do not know whether this Testimony of *Stesimbrotus* be true; for it is said that *Cimon*, being desired to sing at Dinner with *Laomedon*, had the Complaisance to do it, and performed well. *Παροχρηθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσπασθῆναι ἐκ ἀνδρῶν, cum rogatus esset canere, & non illepede cecinisset* (19). *Ion*, who was at the same Entertainment, published this in one of his Poems. *Cornelius Nepos* affirms, that *Cimon* was eloquent betimes, well versed in the Knowledge of Civil-Law, and in the Art of War. *Celeriter ad principatum pervenit, habebat enim satis eloquentiæ, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum juris civilis, tum rei militaris, quod cum patre à puero in exercitu fuerat versatus* (20). Let us also produce *Plutarch*: he does not confirm what is said of *Cimon's* Foolishness and ill Education. *Cimon*, says he (21), was not inferior to *Miltiades* for Courage, nor to *Themistocles* for good Sense and Wisdom; and, no doubt, was superior to both for Justice and Integrity: He was equal to them in the Qualifications of a good Commander, but excelled them both in those of a good Governor, and the Administration of the Civil Affairs of the Town, and this when he was young, and unexperienced in War. However it be, we find this Passage in an old Compiler. *Cimonis incunabula opinione stultitiæ fuerunt referta* (22).

Thus much for the first Charge. The second, with respect to his ill Morals, is not so easy to be defended. *Plutarch* confesses that *Cimon* abandoned himself to the Excesses of Love. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁλοῦς παύσαι τοῖς ἀπὲρ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐρωσὶν τοῖς ὁ Κίμων ἔνοχος γένεσθαι. *At qui apparet omnino beffisse circa mulierum libidines Cimonem* (23). He cites *Melantibus* the Poet, who names two Concubines That General was passionately fond of (24); but it is surprising that he should alledge also his Grief for the loss of a lawful Wife; for this Sentiment is not always a Proof of Lewdness. The most virtuous are sometimes inconsolable for the Death of their Wives. However it be, you find this Observation in the same place, where *Plutarch* is endeavouring to prove the lascivious Temper of *Cimon*. You will find also, that this disconsolate Husband had need of Philosophers upon this Occasion; and it is thought, *Archelaus* composed, at this time, his *Elegies of Consolation*. Διὰ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσοδίκην, τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου μὲν θυγατέρα τὴν Μεσακλίου, κατὰ νόμον δ' αὐτῷ συμβιώσασαν, ὁ Κίμων ἐμπάθεσεν διαλειθεῖς, καὶ δυσφορήσας ἀποθανόντας, εἰ τι δεῖ τεκμαιρῆσθαι ταῖς γεγεμέναις ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ τὴν πένθος ἐλεγεῖαις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃν Παναίτιος ὁ φιλόσοφος οἰεῖται ποιῆσαι γεγενῆσθαι τὸν φυσικὸν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃν ἀπο τρέπε τοῖς χρόνοις εἰκάζων. *Jam non obscuro amore filiam Euryptolemi Magacis filii, justam tamen uxorem, est Cimon prosequutus, ejusque mortem tulit ægerimè, quatenus conicere licet ex scriptis ad leniendum luctum ejus elegiis, quas Panætius philosophus condidisse physicum Archelaum putat, neque absurdè ducit ex temporibus conjecturum* (25). ----- It is moreover certain, that *Cimon* had an extraordinary Passion for his Wife *Iodice*, Daughter of *Euriptolemus*, Son of *Megacles*, and that he was greatly concerned at her Death, if we may credit the *Elegies* written to soften his Affections, of which, *Panætius the Philosopher*, not improbably from the Time, conjectures *Archelaus the Naturalist* to have been the Author. Observe by the way, there was a Report, that *Cimon*, having made a Discovery of his Wife, the Daughter of *Callias*, being guilty of Adultery, caused her to be put to Death. The Rhetoricians declaimed much upon that Subject (26); for they supposed him to be accused of Ingratitude, because, by marrying this Woman, he was enabled to pay the Debts he lay in Prison for. Some say, this was a supposed Case, and that the Rhetoricians altered the Case, to display their Wit the better (27). Perhaps it may be so; but the Reason, they found this upon, does not appear con-

vincing to me. *Callias*, say they, paid the Fine, not to procure his Daughter the Benefit of marrying *Cimon*, but to have himself the Happiness of espousing *Elpinice*, *Cimon's* Sister. But might not somebody answer, *Callias* covenanted for both these Marriages, when he paid the fifty Talents; that is, he engaged *Cimon* to give him his Sister, and to marry his Daughter. There is great Confusion among Authors about this Matter; for *Tzetzes* says, that *Callias*, the Son of *Cimon* and *Iodice*, paid a Fine of fifty Talents, to hinder his Father's being punished for lying with his Sister (28). Let us boldly fix this Incest as one of *Cimon's* Debaucheries. As to Drunkenness, I do not see that *Plutarch* undertakes to acquit him; he only says, this did not prevent him from performing great Actions. There are his Words (29), to which the Verses of *Eupolis* the Poet, also refer (30). 'He is not wicked, but he is negligent, loving Wine more than Money, and sometimes he slips away, and lies all Night at Sparta, leaving poor *Elpinice*, his Sister, to lie alone; and if, thus lazy, as he is, and addicted to Wine, he has taken to many Cities, and gained so many Victories, it is certain, if he had been temperate and vigilant, no Grecian Commander, before or after him, would have excelled him in glorious Feats of Arms.'

[D] I have much to say upon his Marriage with his Sister.] The Commerce between *Cimon* and *Elpinice* is told several ways. Some consider it as lawful, others as unlawful. *Cornelius Nepos* is one of the first: 'Neque enim *Cimoni* fuit turpe Atheniensium summo viro, sororem germanam habere in matrimonio: quippe quum cives ejus eodem uterentur instituto. -- Nor was it a Crime in *Cimon*, the principal Man in Athens, to marry his own Sister: every Citizen had the same Privilege.' He speaks thus in his Preface: 'Habebat autem, says he, in another place (31), in matrimonio sororem suam germanam nomine *Elpinice*, non magis amore quam more ductus, nam Atheniensibus licet, eodem patre natus, uxores ducere (8). -- He married his own Sister, not more out of Love than Custom, for the Athenians are permitted to marry their Fathers Daughters.' *Athenæus* speaks of it in quite a different manner, assuring us, that *Cimon* lay with *Elpinice*, contrary to the Laws (32). I have already cited one, who pretends, that this infamous Commerce would have exposed *Cimon* to some grievous Punishment, if they had not paid a large Fine for him:

Καλλίας δὲ πενήκοντα τέλανθα ζημιῖται ὅπως ὁ Κίμων ὁ παῖς μὲν δεινὸν τι πάθῃ ἔνεκα γάμων τῶν αἰσχυρῶν τῆς ἀδελφομίας.

Decies talenta quinque multum *Callias* Solvit, *Cimon* ne quid mali pateretur ob Turpes sororis atque fratris nuptias (33).

Callias a Fine of fifty Talents paid, To screen his Sire from Laws his Love had broke, And join'd a Sister in the Marriage Yoke.

Rutgerfius, who relates this Passage, and that of *Athenæus*, as two Authorities, to prove, that this Incest of *Cimon's* was punished, alledges three other Authors for the same Fact, as *Andocides*, *Suidas*, *Varinus*. The first affirms, that *Cimon* suffered the Punishment of *Ostracism*, for breaking the Laws by lying with his Sister (34). According to *Suidas*, he was accused of lying with her, and banished for that Offence (35). *Varinus* observes the same thing (36), but through forgetfulness puts *Arifides* instead of *Cimon*. If we believe *Rutgerfius*, all these Authors vent nothing but Fictions (37): He opposes to them the *Athenian* Laws, which permitted the Marriages of Brothers with Sisters by the

(28) Tzetzes, Chil. 1, Hist. 22.

(29) Plut. in Cimon, pag. 483.

(30) The Greek of *Eupolis* is: Κακὸς μὲν ἐν ἡν, φιλοπότης δὲ καμάλης. Κανὸς ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μὰτ' ἐν ἡν Λαυδαίμονι. Κὰν Ἑλπινίην τὴν δὲ καταλινὸν μόνην.

(31) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Cimonis, cap. 1.

(32) I have recited his Words in Remark [N], of the Article PERICLES.

(33) Tzetzes, Chil. 1, Hist. 22.

(34) Οἷτος ἐστὶν Κίμων διὰ παρανομίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ τῇ αὐτῷ συνώκει. *Andocides*, in *Ostracism*, contra *Alcibiadem*, apud *Rutgerf. Varior. Lect. lib. 1, cap. 9, pag. 39*.

(35) *Suidas*, in *Voce Κίμων* & *Ὀστρακισμός*.

(36) *Varinus*, in *Voce Ὀστρακισμός*.

(37) *Δηρῶν*, *Rutgerf. Varior. Lect. pag. 39*.

(c) Plutarch in
vita Cimonis p.
431.

nalized himself at the Battle of *Salamis* (c), and rendered himself so acceptable to the

(38) Corn. Ne-
pos, in Vita Ci-
monis, cap. 1.

(39) Philo, πρὸ
τῶν ἀναφαι-
ρομένων ἐν εἰς
νῦν.

(40) Schol. A-
ristoph. in Nub.
Act. 5, Sc. 2,
pag. m. 168.

(41) Seneca, in
Ludo de Morte
Claudii.

(42) Plut. in
Themist. sub.
fin. pag. 128.

(43) Ὁμοῦ-
γενῶν, ἐκ
πατρὸς γενίται.

(44) Demost. ad-
vers. Aristocrat.
pag. m. 457.

(45) Cyrtill. lib.
6, contra Julia-
num.

(46) Rutgerf.
Variar. Lect. pag.
138. Dalechamp,
in his Version of
Athenæus, hath
omitted ob id.

(47) Wower, in
Minuc. Felicem,
pag. m. 304.

(48) Georg.
Galp. Kirchm.
in Cornel. Ne-
pos. Cimon. pag.
m. 242.

(49) Plut. in Ci-
mone, pag. 489.

(50) Id. ibid.,
pag. 488.

(51) Id. ibid. A.

the Father's Side, which he proves by the Testimonies of *Cornelius Nepos* (38), *Philo* (39), and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (40). He cites these words of *Minutius Felix*: *Athenis cum sororibus legitima conjugia*. — At Athens it is lawful to marry a Sister: and *Seneca*, who says, *Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandria totum* (41). — At Athens it was allowed to marry in half Blood, at Alexandria in the whole: and *Plutarch* (42), who relates, that *Archepolis*, the Son of *Themistocles*, married *Mneſtipoleme* his own Sister (43). He attacks them from another quarter, and pretends, that *Ostracism* was never used to punish Crimes, but was designed to lessen the Glory of a Virtue that was envied, and he shews the Differences among those who say *Cimon* was punished. Some pretend he was banished, and others, that he was fined fifty Talents. Some assure us he was fined for his Father's Crime, for which he cites several Writers, as *Herodotus*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Seneca* the Father, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Justin*. Unnecessary and mistaken Citations; for they have no Reference to the Question he is examining, or to the Punishment, the Authors he refutes are speaking of. They mean only the Punishment which was inflicted on *Cimon*, after his long Administration of the Affairs of the Republic. Finally, he quotes *Demosthenes*, who informs us, that *Cimon* was fined fifty Talents, for attempting to engross the public Administration of Affairs, and that there wanted but three Voices to have put him to Death (44). He quotes also a Passage of *St Cyril* (45), which declares, that *Cimon's* Punishment was grounded on his being convicted of having aspired to the Sovereignty. *Rutgerfius*, in my Opinion, is partly right, and partly wrong: He is right to maintain, that the *Athenian* Laws permitted Men to marry their Sisters, provided they were not by the Mother's side, and that *Cimon's* Banishment was not on account of his Marriage with *Elpinice*; but he is wrong in imputing what he does to *Athenæus*. *Athenæus*, giving a Catalogue of *Pericles's* Vices, concludes with the Adventure of *Elpinice*. This Conclusion contains four things: 1. That *Cimon* had enjoyed his Sister in a criminal manner. 2. That afterwards he married her to *Callias*. 3. That he was banished. 4. That, for procuring his Return, *Pericles* was rewarded with the Enjoyment of *Elpinice*. This is what *Athenæus* says; but he does not say that *Cimon* was banished for having enjoyed his Sister; therefore *Rutgerfius* is to blame for inserting, in his Translation of that Greek Author, a Clause which he ought not to insert: you will find it in a Parenthesis in the following Words. 'Cum *Cimon* *Elpinice* sorore quam postea *Calliæ* elocavit contra leges abutaretur ac (ob id) in exilium pulsus esset (46). — — — — — Because *Cimon* had, contrary to the Laws, married his Sister, (whom he afterwards gave to *Callias*), and was, (for that reason), banished.' He is not the only one who is here mistaken. *Wower* (47), *Kirchmayer* (48), and several others, impute the same thing to *Athenæus*. The worst is, they charge *Plutarch* with the same, though he says, very plainly, that the Cause of *Cimon's* Ostracism, was Resentment for an Affront the *Athenian* Troops received at *Sparta* (49). This Resentment renewed and redoubled the ill Design, which was hatching against *Cimon*, who had been long suspected of too much Friendship for the *Lacedæmonians*, and was become odious to the popular Faction (50), by attempting to re-establish the Authority of the *Areopagus*, and to restore to the Nobility the Tribunals which the People had taken from them. The Reason, which has deceived the Authors I now criticize, is a very weak one. *Plutarch* relates, that the Endeavours to restore *Aristocracy* raised a Clamour against *Cimon*, that they animated the People against him, and renewed the old Slanders concerning his Commerce with *Elpinice* (51). But is this a good Reason to maintain, that this Author affirms That Commerce to be the Cause of *Cimon's* Exile? Must it not be confessed, that an infinite number of Authors examine ill what they allege, and but very few are exact? It may be said, perhaps, that it is true, *Athenæus* and *Plutarch* do not say what is imputed to them;

yet it may not be less certain, that *Cimon's* criminal Conversation with his Sister was the Cause of his Banishment. I answer, there remains no other Authority for this Fact, but that of the Orator *Andocides*; for, it is probable, *Suidas* builds upon him: and, as to *Varinus* (52), his Testimony is of no Weight. He lived in the beginning of the XVIth Century. Let us see then how far *Andocides* is to be depended upon, and let us remember, that an Orator makes no Scruple to amplify or extenuate things, according to the Interest of his Cause; he suppresses those Circumstances which are not to his Purpose; he takes for principal, what has been only accessory, or for accessory, what has been principal. *Andocides* knew, either by Books or by Tradition, that *Cimon's* Enemies raised a loud Clamour against him, when they were attempting to get him banished. They ript up all the Faults of his Youth, and, above all, they raked into the old Filth of his Commerce with *Elpinice*: He was banished, not for his Crime, but because he was suspected of too much Ambition, and they abhorred his Attachment to the *Lacedæmonian* Interest. But it did not serve *Andocides's* Turn to touch upon this true Cause of his Banishment; therefore he takes no notice of it. His Design was to represent with what Severity their Ancestors punished a scandalous Behaviour; therefore he insists only on the Reproach of an ill Life, alledged by *Cimon's* Enemies, and gladly assigns this for the only Cause of the Exile of that great Man. But it may be replied, does not *Tzetzes* say, that vast Numbers of Authors have reported, that *Callias*, the Son of *Cimon* and *Jodice*, paid fifty Talents to prevent the Mischief his Father was threatened with for his Marriage with *Elpinice*. I confess he does say this.

Τὸ δ' ὅροι ταῦτα γράψαι, μακρὸν ἐστὶ μοι
λέγειν,
Ἐστὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀπειρεὶν τῶν ταῦτα γεγε-
νότων,
Οἱ κωμικοὶ, καὶ ῥήτορες, Διδάσκαλοι καὶ ἄλλοι.
Quot ista tradant, longum id esset exequi,
Nam sunt eorum plurimi, qui hæc scripserunt,
Diodorus, alii, Comici, atque Rhetores (53).

--- It would be tedious for me to reckon up all who have maintained the same; there is, indeed, a vast Number, Comedians, Rhetoricians, Diodorus, and others.

But in the first place, there is no Writer extant, who makes mention of a *Callias*, the Son of *Cimon*, nor who relates that a Son of *Cimon* paid for his Father. In the second place, the Authors, who remain, do furnish us with Reasons to doubt of these Facts; so that we ought not to rely much on the Evidence of a Poet, who lived in an Age far distant from all Antiquity. Thirdly, We may observe, he chiefly points out Comic Poets and Rhetoricians, Men that play with Circumstances, and dispose them as they please. To conclude, I say it is customary for Writers, who are something more solid than *Tzetzes*, to cite several Authors at the end of a long Narration, although those Authors do only mention the chief Points of that Narration; therefore we may suppose, that this great Number of Authors, that *Tzetzes* refers us to, only speak of the unlawful Amours of *Cimon* and *Elpinice*.

There remains another Difficulty to examine. If the *Athenians* were permitted to marry their Sisters, by the Father's Side, how comes it to pass that *Cimon* was so much traduced for such a Marriage? I answer, that, in all appearance, the Slander, that was raised against him, was only built upon a Supposition that he lay with *Elpinice* before he married her. *Plutarch* leads us to this, for, after observing, (54) that it was believed, *Cimon* was guilty of a criminal Conversation with his Sister, he adds, that others said she was his Wife, and that, not being able to find a suitable Match for herself, because she was poor, she chose her Brother for her Husband. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν Ἐλπινικὴν, ἢ κούφα τῷ Κίμωνι, φασκεῖν

(52) That is to say, *Varinus Peditanus*.

(53) *Tzetzes*, *Chil. 1, Hist. 22*, apud *Rutgerf. Var. Lect. lib. 1, cap. 9, p. 37, 38*.

(54) *Plut. in Cimon. p. 430. F.*

the *Athenians*, that they readily advanced him to the highest Posts. If his own merit

ἡρώς δὲ γημεμένην συνεικῆσαι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς εὐγενείας νομίμῃ διὰ τὴν πατρίαν ἀπορῶσαν. *Sunt qui Elpinicem non clam cum Cimone, sed apertè ferunt contractis nuptiis ut uxorem habitasse, quod sponsum pro generis dignitate non inveniret inopiam* (55). As far as Histories of this Nature can be certain, we may be assured, in Consequence of these Words, that *Cimon* enjoyed his Sister before she was his Wife (56). They were both of an amorous Temper. If he was lewd, she was not chaste. They were very young, and lived together; judge, I beseech you, if they could contain. Such Intrigues do not continue long, before the World begins to suspect something; the Slander soon fills the whole Town; thus *Cimon* was traduced with it. It is probable, that, to screen himself from Satire, without being deprived of the Pleasures of his Amour, he did what the Laws allowed; that is, he married *Elpinice*. He acted, in this Case, as many others, who marry the Mistresses they have dishonoured. This is a Reparation of Honour, with respect to the Magistrate, but none to the particular Persons. They are always punishing the Fault by their Satire; the Breach is always open in their Opinion; it is a Wound ill closed, which they spitefully open again, as Opportunity offers. No wonder then, that *Cimon's* Enemies made use of this old Infamy, as often as they would plague and persecute him. But, when Historians have been favourable to him, they have only considered the thing in it's best light, and dismissing the Preliminaries of his Marriage, are contented with saying, *Elpinice* was his Wife. *Cornelius Nepos* has blindly followed this Method, in imitation of those other Authors mentioned by *Plutarch*. You see now, that, by knowing what the *Athenian* Laws allowed, it may be said, our *Cimon* transgressed the Laws by his Commerce with his Sister. If it is asked why he did not marry her, as soon as he fell in love with her, I answer, because she was poor, and he was willing to indulge himself, without entering into any Engagements, which might deprive him of the Liberty of marrying a rich Woman, when an Opportunity presented: but, when his Commerce with her grew infamous, he was forced to take other Measures, and convert his Concubinage into Wedlock. We often see such Conversions.

I did not remember that any one before me had made use of this Distinction, which I have just made; but, having read again two Chapters of *Muret*, wherein he criticizes *Cornelius Nepos*, I find that, Two hundred Years ago, the *Latin* Translation of *Plutarch* had made use of it. Let us see a little the Substance of *Muret's* Criticism: *Muret* declares (57), that, reading in *Cornelius Nepos*, that it was no shame for *Cimon* to marry his own Sister, the *Athenian* Custom allowing it, he was surprized at it, for he did not remember that any other Author mentions such a thing of the *Athenians*. He considered it attentively, and he recollected the Harangue of *Andocides*, where it is said that *Cimon* was banished for this Marriage, as a Transgressor of the Laws; therefore he apprehended *Cornelius Nepos* was mistaken. Two or three Years after (58), the Apology of that ancient Historian appeared in the Notes upon *Plutarch* (59). The Apologist makes use of two Methods: 1. He says that *Cimon* was banished, for having to do with his Sister before she was his Wife. 2. That *Themistocles's* Son married his Sister, by the Father, as *Plutarch* witnesses; and therefore *Cornelius Nepos* is not the only one who charges the *Athenians* with such a Custom: the first Observation was confirmed, by the Word *πατρὸς*, against the Laws, which an Author uses in speaking of this Commerce (60); a Word which would have been useless, if, in some Cases, the *Athenian* Laws had not permitted a Man to lie with his Sister. *Muret* replied, that he was not ignorant that the *Athenian* Laws permitted the Marriage of a Sister, not by the Mother's Side, with her Brother (61). *Theon*, continued he, has informed me of this, in his Notes upon *Aristophanes*; and I had read, in *Philo*, the Difference there was between *Solon* and *Lycurgus*: the latter allowed them to marry their Sister, by the Mother's Side, the former their Sister

by the Father's Side; but I never knew they were allowed to marry their Sister both by Father and Mother: and, if *Elpinice* was only *Cimon's* Sister by the Father's Side, *Cornelius Nepos* was wrong to call her *sororem germanam*, and they would not have had a just Reason for banishing *Cimon*; for it was not Incest, but simple Fornication, to lie with a Woman that the Laws allowed to marry. The Addition of the Word *πατρὸς*, proves nothing. They may as well tell me, that *Cicero* would not have employed the Term *nefarie*, speaking of *Cataline's* Conspiracy, if (62), in some Cases, it had not been lawful to conspire the Ruin of one's Country. *Muret* concludes, that *Cimon* and *Elpinice* had the same Father and Mother; and, for that Reason, they considered his Marriage as a Breach of the Laws. He adds, that *St Cyril* (63) would not have reproached *Cimon* with this Marriage, as a vile Action, if it had been consistent with the Customs of the *Athenians*. In that Case he ought to have condemned *Solon*, and not *Cimon*.

Let us make a few Remarks here upon this Dispute of *Muret*. I. It was so natural to join the Observations of the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, and of *Philo*, to the Censure of *Cornelius Nepos*, that it cannot be imagined the Critic would have omitted them if he had known them. I appeal here to the Consciences of all learned Men. One word, if you please, Gentlemen; can you believe, that a Man of Learning, who looks upon what *Cornelius Nepos* said to be false, viz. that the *Athenian* Laws gave Permission to marry a Sister; can you believe, that he would content himself with alleging *Andocides*, and there shut up his Chapter, when he knows what the Interpreter of *Aristophanes* and *Philo* have observed upon the same? Can you believe, that, if he remembers, they say, it was permitted in *Athens* to marry a Sister by the Father's Side only, he would make no Reflexions thereupon, but quit *Cornelius Nepos* abruptly, without informing the Public of so curious a Difference as that, between the Laws of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, concerning the Marriages of Brothers with Sisters? I am certain, if you speak sincerely, you will answer me in the Negative, and that, if *Muret* has not inserted those Remarks, it is purely because he was not then acquainted with what *Theon* and *Philo* have since taught him. Let us say then, that in this Place of his Answer to the Apologist of *Cornelius Nepos*; Ego autem non eram nescius licuisse Atheniensibus sorores eodem patre, dum ne eadem matre, natas uxores ducere: Docuerat me id Theon — docuerat me id Philo (64): — I was not ignorant, that at Athens a Man might marry his Sister by the same Father, if she were not Sister by the same Mother: Theon and Philo had both informed me of that: he is fallen into the Foible of some learned Men, whose Vanity does not permit them ingenuously to confess, that they are indebted to their Censors for some Information (65), whether they have this Obligation to them from what they have found in their Works, or because they have there seen some things, which have given birth to enquiries, that otherwise would never have been attempted. That, which confirms me in this Thought, is, that, if he had known at that time what these two Writers say, he would have seen the Error of his own Criticism; for he could not be ignorant that the Historian, he censures, evidently supposes, that *Elpinice* was not the Sister of her Husband by the Mother's Side (66). He could only then have charged him with using an improper Word, in maintaining, that *soror germana* signifies a Sister by Father and Mother. II. *Muret* did not forget this grammatical Note, in his Answer to the Apologist: but who will believe that a polite Author, in the time of *Augustus*, could be ignorant that *germana soror* may signify a Sister by the Father's Side? It has been proved against *Muret*, that his Criticism was ill-founded (67). III. He is wrong to imagine, that, because it was permitted to marry a Sister by the Father's Side, therefore to defile her before Marriage was not a punishable Crime. It must be supposed, that the Laws, by permitting some particular things, yet do not free from blame those

(55) Id. *ibid.* pag. 481, A.

(56) *Plutarch*, de his qui sero à Namine puniuntur, pag. 552, suppositi they might have brought a criminal Process against *Cimon*, for his Commerce with his Sister. ἢ Κίμωνος συνόντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ διότι εἶπεν: aut *Cimonem* cum sorore concubentem in *Judicio* reum tantis criminis peregrifect.

EXAMINATION of *Muret's* Criticism.

(57) *Muret*. Var. Lect. lib. 7, cap. 2, pag. m. 989.

(58) Id. *ibid.* lib. 15, cap. 5, pag. 1138.

(59) See the Notes of *Xylander* and *Cruiserius*, in *Vitas* *Plut.* pag. 40.

(60) *Athenæus*, lib. 13.

(61) See the 5th Chapter of the 14th Book of *Variæ* *Lectiões*.

(62) Nam illud quidem argumentum ex *Athenæo*, non fuisse additurum, *πατρὸς* non idem heri posset etiam *πατρὸς*, æque bellum esset, ac si quis, quia *Cicero* *alicubi* dicit, *Catilinam* pestem patriæ nefarie moliri, colligat, idem non semper nefarie, sed interdum etiam sine scelere fieri posset. *Muret*. Var. Lect. lib. 15, cap. 5, pag. 1138, 1139.

(63) *Cyrill.* advers. *Julianum*, lib. 6.

(64) *Muret*. Var. Lect. lib. 15, cap. 5.

(65) See Remark [E], of the Article *MARCIONITES*.

(66) Habebat in matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine *Elpinicem*: non magis amore, quam patrio more, ductus. II. *Muret* did not forget this grammatical Note, in his Answer to the Apologist: but who will believe that a polite Author, in the time of *Augustus*, could be ignorant that *germana soror* may signify a Sister by the Father's Side? It has been proved against *Muret*, that his Criticism was ill-founded (67). III. He is wrong to imagine, that, because it was permitted to marry a Sister by the Father's Side, therefore to defile her before Marriage was not a punishable Crime. It must be supposed, that the Laws, by permitting some particular things, yet do not free from blame those

(67) See *Woeværus* in *Minicium* *Felicem*, pag. m. 304, and *Rutgerius*, Var. Lect. lib. 1, cap. 9, pag. 41.

merit on the one side was an advantage to him, the public Envy of *Themistocles's* Glory was no less for his Interest [E] on the other, who had been too long in Authority not to have a rival wished for, to supplant him. - *Cimon's* Courtesy, and the Discipline he established among the *Athenian* Troops, whom he commanded under *Pausanias* General of all *Greece* a Man fierce and harsh, contributed not a little to transfer the Superiority of the *Greeks* from the *Lacedemonians* to the *Athenians*. All the Allies put themselves under his Conduct, in order to besiege *Pausanias* in *Byzantium* (d), whose ill behaviour they were no longer able to bear, and afterwards to attack the *Persians* in a City of *Thrace* (e), upon the River *Strymon*. He defeated them upon that River; after which he made a descent upon the Country, and blocked up the City in such a manner, that the Governor, despairing of being

(d) They could not take him; he escaped privately. *Plut. in vita Cimonis*, pag. 483. C. See the Article *CLEO NICE*, Remark [A].

(e) Called *Eione*: see Remark [B] of the Article *AGESIPOLIS*.

those that commit them. I am sure very few among the *Athenians* acted like *Cimon*, the Public being shocked at those Sorts of Marriages. If I am not mistaken, they looked upon it as an odious and scandalous thing. And therefore it was thought a horrible Action for a Man to debauch his own Sister, and, when he was at liberty to marry her, to chuse rather to live with her in a State of Concubinage. IV. The Argument taken from the word *παρνόμος* might have been better answered; they might have alledged *Athenaeus* himself, who says somewhere, that *Alcibiades* was charged with not observing the Laws in his Amours, since he lay with his Mother, his Daughter, and his Sister. *Παράνομον εἶναι λόγον καὶ εἰς γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀλλήν διαβαίνει. συνέιναι γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτῷ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῇ ὡς Πέρσας. Dicens contra leges eum & faeminarum congressu abuti, & reliquam vitæ partem agere: esse ΝΑΜ-QUE illi cum matre, filia, sorore, more Persarum, supri consuetudine* (68). V. What relates to *St Cyril* is very weak. These are *Muret's* Words: 'Postremo sanctissimus & eruditissimus vir *Cyrillus* Alexandrinus libro sexto adversus Julianum, non furtivos concubitus, sed nuptias, cum sorore *Cimoni*, ut scelus nefarium objicit: non facturus, si id apud *Athenienses* legitimum & usitatum fuisset. Tunc enim accusari *Solonem* oportuerat, qui id permisset, non civem, qui patriæ suæ legibus parvisset' (69). — Lastly, That most pious and learned Man *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in his sixth Book against *Julian*, does not condemn private Amours, but *Cimon's* Marriage with his Sister, as a great Crime; which he would not have done, had such a Marriage been allowed or usual at *Athens*; for then he should have condemned *Solon*, who permitted such things, not a private Man who conformed to the Laws of his Country. If *St Cyril* speaks only of the Marriage, it does not follow, that *Cimon* had not corrupted his Sister before he married her; besides, there are some Permissions so contrary to decency, that those who make use of them are very blameable. And besides, it is not plain, that the principal Design of this Father was to make the Pagans ashamed of the scandalous Disorders that were committed among them, and so to lash the Republic of *Athens* through the Sides of *Solon*.

I cannot dismiss this Subject, without saying one word upon the contrary Methods of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*. The former allowed them to marry their Sisters by the Father, and forbid them their Sisters by the Mother. *Lycurgus*, on the other hand, permitted the latter, and prohibited the former. This is ridiculous both ways, and I would fain know upon what reasons they founded this Distinction. I am afraid they are but frivolous ones; for what can be more insipid, in order to justify the *Athenian* Legislator, than to say, that the Relation is always certain, with respect to the Sisters on the Mother's Side; whereas a Man's Daughters by a second Marriage sometimes are nothing at all to the Children of the first? Does this extenuate the Interest? Is it not sufficient that they believe they marry their Sisters? The *Egyptian* Legislator justly laughs at this Scruple of these two *Greeks*; and, though he was very wrong to unite what they had divided, yet he was right to call their Division a Chimera. Read *Philo's* Words: 'Ο μὲν ἐν Ἀθηναῖος Σόλων ὁμοπατρίας ἐπέειπε ἀγοσθαι, τὰς ὁμομητρίας ἐκώλυσεν· ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων νομοθέτης ἐμπαινον, τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμογαστρίαις γάμον ἐπιτρέψας, τὸν πρὸς τὰς ὁμοπατρίας ἀπί-

πεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀργυπίων, χλευάζων τὴν ἐκείνων εὐλασίαν, ὡς ἡμέτερα διατάγματα, εὐφρόνησεν εἰς ἀσέλγειαν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος δυσθεράπευτον κακὸν σωμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀκερσίαν, καὶ παρσυχῶν ἀδείαν ἀπάσας ἀδελφὰς ἀγοσθαι, τὰς τε ἰδίας τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῶν γονέων, τῷδε, ἢ τῷδε, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ τὰς ἡ νεώτερας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἰσχυρὰς καὶ δίδυμοι γὰρ πολλὰς ἐγεννήθησαν, ὥς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀμα τῇ γενέσει διήρνησε καὶ διεζεύξεν. ἡ δ' ἀκολασία καὶ φιληδονία εἰς κοινωσίαν ἐκάλεσεν ἀκοινώνητον, καὶ ἀρμόριαν ἀνάμωτον. *Atheniensis Solon hoc observat in uterinis tantum germanis, eodem patre prognatis relinquit liberum: contra Lacedemoniorum legislator uterinis non interdicat connubio, sed solis eodem patre genitis: at Ægyptius ridens utriusque simplicitatem & femipsecta placita, laxavit libidinem, & auxit in corporibus animisque insanabilem malum intemperantiæ, permittit licentia ducendi sorores, five per alterutrum parentem five per utrumque cognatas, majores pariter & minores æqualeve, ne gemellis quidem exceptis, quas natura ipso natali sejunxit, intemperantia vero societate copulavit inociabili, & male comparata junctura* (70). — The *Athenian* Legislator, *Solon*, allowed Sons and Daughters by the same Father, but not by the same Mother, to marry; the *Lacedemonian*, on the contrary, permitted those of the same Mother, but not of the same Father, to marry; but the *Egyptian*, as it were to ridicule these Scruples and splitting of Laws, gave a full Loose to lawless Lust, infected Mind and Body with the incurable Disease of Debauchery, by authorizing the Marriage of Sisters, whether by the one or by the other, or both Parents, elder, younger, or of the same Age, as in Twins, whom, though Nature herself had at their Birth kept asunder, this extravagant Licence joined in ill-paired Yokes, and an unnatural Union. Here are three sorts of Legislators, whom *Philo* condemns. But what would he have answered to those, who should have told him, that *Solon* only authorized a Law, which was in force in the Time of your Patriarchs, and which *Abraham* the Father, and Stock of your Believers, practised himself (71). It is certain, *Clement*, *Alexandrinus* (72) infers, from the Patriarch's Words, that it was no Sin at that time to marry a Sister, provided she was not by the Mother's Side.

[E] The public Envy of *Themistocles's* Glory was no less for his Interest. *Plutarch* says: 'As soon as he began to concern himself with the Government of Affairs, the People received him with great Joy, being already weary of *Themistocles*; for which reason *Cimon* was immediately advanced to the greatest Posts, and highest Honours of the City. They were charmed with the Courtesy and Integrity of the Man. Also *Aristides* used his Interest for his Advancement, as well upon account of his Ability and genteel Carriage, as because he designed him for a Counter-balance to the Artifice and Boldness of *Themistocles* (73). Thus the two Causes of *Cimon's* Advancement are clearly explained; his own Merit and the Pleasure of mortifying *Themistocles*: by this we see the Inconstancy of Men, and the Power of Envy. They are weary with admiring long the same Person, and therefore seek for new Objects of Admiration, turning to the first rising Sun that offers to their View. Nor is the Republic of Learning exempted from this Spirit of Levity and Jealousy (74). A young Author is sometimes favoured because another has too long enjoyed the public Applause. *Aristides*, who

(70) *Philo*, de specialibus Legibus quæ ad sextum & septimum Preceptum Decalogi referuntur, pag. 779, 780. Edit. Francof. 1691.

(71) See the first Remark of the Article *SARAH*.

(72) *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2*, pag. 421, B.

(73) *Plutarch. in Vita Cimonis*, pag. 431.

(74) See the Preface of *Nouvelles Lettres* contre l'Histoire du Calvinisme de *Mr Maimbourg*, who

being able to save it, set it on Fire; some time after, *Cimon* made himself Master of the Isle of *Scyros* [F], from whence he sent to *Athens* the Bones of *Theseus*. His Exploits, after this Time, are much more considerable. Not contented with taking from the *Persians* all that they possessed in *Greece*, he briskly pursued them into their own Country, without giving them time to recover themselves. When use was to be made of Arms, he employed them to conquer; but if Intrigues appeared to him more likely to succeed, he used that way to gain Towns, by causing them to rebel. He had such admirable Success in all this, that no Troops of the *Persian* King were seen to appear in all the Country, situated between *Ionis*, and *Pamphilia*. Having been informed, that the *Persian* Fleet durst appear upon the Coast of *Pamphilia*, he sailed from *Cnidus* with two hundred Gallies, and, after subduing the *Phaselites*, he attacked the Fleet, and destroyed it, near the Mouth of the *Eurymedon* [G]; and, landing his Troops the very same Day, he routed the *Persian* Land Army (f): after this he attacked eighty Sail of *Pbenician* Ships, who were coming to join the *Persian* Fleet, and obtained such a compleat Victory over them, that not one Ship escaped. The Treaty of Peace, which was the Fruit of so many Victories, was a cruel Mortification to the Enemy [H]. When the Peace was concluded with *Persia*, *Cimon* conquered the *Thracians*, and the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Thasos*; but these Victories presenting him with a fair opportunity of seizing part of *Macedonia*, which he neglected, they accused him of being corrupted by King *Alexander's* Presents. He justified what he had done, and was entirely acquitted; but it was not so easy for him to avoid another Storm which arose against him. For he could not avoid being banished by *Ostracism*. He had rendered himself odious by his affection to the *Lacedemonians*, and his Opposition to the Power of the People. He was rather for placing the supreme Authority in the hands of Persons of Note, than to leave it at the discretion of the Multitude; this procured him many Enemies, who not only drove him from the City, but also hindered him from serving in the *Athenian* Army against the *Lacedemonians*. Before the time of his Banishment was expired, he came back to serve as a Volunteer; but, upon the complaint of his Enemies, he was forced to retire. The *Athenians* losing a Battle in this War near *Tanagra*, they were under a necessity of recalling

(f) He made use of a Stratagem that succeeded, which is described by *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 11, cap. 61, ad *Olymp. LXXVII*. He dressed his Soldiers like the *Persians*.

who passed for so upright a Man, perhaps, at another Conjunction, would have contributed nothing to *Cimon's* good Fortune; but, in pure Opposition to *Themistocles*, he became the great Promoter of that young Man, who was so disgraced for his Debaucheries (75). If the Motives of most Mens Services for one another were known, it would appear, that the Intention to do good has a less Share in them, than a design to mortify others. You recommend a Person ardently, you protect him, you advance him swiftly. Is this because you love him, and are engaged by his Merit? There are two Answers to this Question; one from the Mouth, the other from the Heart. The first declares for the Affirmative, but the Heart answers in this Manner: I raise such a one to the utmost of my Power, in order to humble another; what I procure for one is just so much taken from the good Fortune of another. The Maxim of Physicians may be extended to political Actions: *Generatio unius est corruptio alterius*; the Generation of one thing is the Corruption of another. But whereas Nature's direct Intention is Generation, and Destruction is but by accident, in all the Offices of civil Life they seem to have Destruction directly in view: Generation is the means; Destruction the end.

[F] Some time after *Cimon* became Master of the Isle of *Scyros*.] *Cornelius Nepos* has but ill observed here the Order of Time; for he supposes, that the Conquest of this Island was after the two Victories, which *Cimon* obtained over the *Persians*, on the same Day (76). I do not refute him by citing *Plutarch*, who makes the Reduction of the Isle of *Scyros* prior to these two Victories; but by citing an Author, who is more exact in Chronology than *Plutarch*. This is *Thucydides*; by reading him you will find, that this Island was subdued immediately after the Action upon the River *Strymon* (77). This Error of *Cornelius Nepos* is in *Moreri*, and has not been observed by any Commentators I have consulted (78).

[G] He destroyed the Persian Fleet near the Mouth of the *Eurymedon*.] This is another Error of *Cornelius Nepos*, adopted by *Moreri*; it is a Geographical Error, which the Commentators have observed (79). This Historian assures us, that the Naval Battle, and Land Battle, that *Cimon* gained the same

Day, were fought near *Mysale*. He is mistaken, whether he understands, by *Mysale* (80), a maritime City of *Caria*, or an Island of *Ionis*. Both this City and Island are too far from *Pamphilia* to excuse *Cornelius Nepos*, by supposing, that he only differs from other Historians, in determining a true place which they had not put down. It often happens, that the same Battle has two or three Names. An Author is not to blame when he prefers one of those Names to all the rest, and makes no mention of the others; but in such a Case the Action must happen near two or three Places, whose names may serve to describe it. This cannot be said of *Mysale*, or the River *Eurymedon*, or any other part of the Coast of *Pamphilia*. Now the Circumstances shew, that those two Battles were both fought by *Cimon* upon that Coast. I easily believe *Cornelius Nepos*, is led into this Error by his confused Ideas of the Victory obtained against the *Persians* near *Mysale* (81), the same Day that *Mardonius* was defeated in *Bæotia* (82).

[H] The Treaty of Peace, which was the Fruit of so many Victories, was a cruel Mortification to the Enemy.] Nothing is more shameful than the Conditions of Peace, which the *Greeks* imposed upon them. *Plutarch* says: 'This Exploit so humbled the Pride of the *Persian* King, that he entered into the Treaty of Peace so famous in ancient Histories: By which he engaged, upon Oath, that his Armies should come no nearer the *Grecian* Sea, than the Career of a Horse, and that no Gallies, or Ships of War, should sail beyond the *Cbelidonian* and *Cyanean* Islands. Nevertheless, *Calisthenes*, the Historian, writes, that this was not an Article of the Treaty; but the King, terrified by that great Defeat, observed it, and that afterwards he kept from the *Grecian* Seas; that when *Pericles* with fifty Gallies, and *Ephialtes* with thirty Gallies only, sailed beyond the *Cbelidonian* Islands, they found no Barbarian Fleet to oppose them. However, this Treaty at length is to be found in the public Records of *Athens*, collected by *Craterus*, as a certain Truth; and upon this Occasion the *Athenians* built an Altar to Peace, and bestowed the highest Honours upon *Callias*, who had negotiated this Peace with the King of *Persia* (83). *Diodorus Siculus* mentions this Treaty; but does not agree with *Plutarch* as to

(80) See the *Theaurus Geographicus* of *Ortelius*, at the Word *Mysale*.

(81) See *Herodotus* lib. 9, cap. 99, & seq.

(82) At *Platæa*.

(83) *Plut.* in *Vita Cimonis*, pag. 486, 487.

(75) See *Plutarch*, an *seni fit gerenda Respublica*, pag. 795, C.

(76) *Corn. Nepos*, in *Vita Cimonis*, cap. 2.

(77) *Thucyd. lib. 1*, pag. m. 53.

(78) *Cybertus Longolius*, *Janus Gebhardus*, *Georgius Gasper Kirchmayer*.

(79) See *Kirchmayer* upon this place of *Cornelius Nepos*: He cites two other Commentators, *Christianus Fridericus Frankensteinius*, and *Joannes Andreat Bosius*.

(g) Taken from Plutarch in Vita Cimonis.

(h) See Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Cimonis, cap. 4. Cicero de Officiis, lib. 2, cap. 13. Plot. in Vita Cimonis, pag. 484. Athenæus, cap. 12, pag. 533, citing the tenth Book of Theopompus.

recalling him. Upon his return, his chief care was to restore the Peace; and he succeeded in it [I]; but finding their Thoughts were bent on nothing but War, and fearing this Martial Humour, if it was not employed against the Barbarians, should excite fresh Troubles among the Greeks, he made the necessary Preparations to attack the Island of Cyprus, and Egypt: he obtained a Naval Victory against the Persians, upon the Coast of Pamphilia, and, if he had not died at the Siege of Citium, in the Island of Cyprus, it is thought he would have subdued all Egypt (g); his Liberality to every Body, and his Charity to the Poor, were admirable (h), as may be seen in Moreri. Suidas ascribes an excellent Book to him, concerning the Method of knowing Horses (i).

(i) Ἐγγραφεὶν ἱπποτικῶν Στράβων βασιλεύοντι. Admirabilem librum de cognoscendis equis agentem scripsit Suidas, in Κίμων.

(84) Diod. Sicul. lib. 9, cap. 61.

(85) Id. lib. 12, cap. 4.

the Time: He does not say it was concluded after Cimon had obtained those two Victories on the same Day in Pamphilia: He places those Victories in the LXXVIIth Olympiad (84), and the Treaty of Peace in LXXXIth Olympiad (85). It is true, he supposes, that, a little before the King of Persia consented to these shameful Conditions, the Athenians, under the Conduct of Cimon, had won two Battles very near together, one by Sea, the other by Land; one in the Sea of Cyprus, and the other upon the Coast of Cilicia. The News of this Disaster, continues he, obliged the King to command his Generals to conclude a Peace upon the best Terms they could. For that purpose they sent their Embassadors to Athens; and their Proposals were accepted by the Athenians, who immediately nominated Callias for their chief Plenipotentiary, and it was concluded as follows: 'Ut Græcis per Asiam civitatibus universis libertate ac suo jure uti permittatur. Ne satrapæ Persarum trium dierum itinere inferius ad mare descendant. Ne longa navi intra Phaselidem & Cyaneas excurratur. Hæc ubi rex & militiæ præfecti rati habuerunt, Athenienses contra jurarunt, se in provinciis Artaxerxis arma non expedituros (86). — That all the Grecian Cities in Asia should enjoy their Rights and Liberties. That the Persian Lords should not approach nearer than three Days Journey to the

Sea. That no Ships of War should pass Phaselis and the Cyaneæ. These Articles being ratified by the King, and his Generals, the Athenians, on their Part, swore never to carry Arms into the Territories of Artaxerxes.' As Diodorus Siculus is more exact than Plutarch in ascertaining time, it may be presumed he is in the right. It must be confessed, that Plutarch is no good guide in Chronology; he transposes, sometimes, Events, as if he was writing an Epic Poem, and aspired to the Praises Horace bestowed upon Homer (87).

[I] After his Return, his chief Care was to restore the Peace; and he succeeded in it. I have followed Plutarch (88), rather than Cornelius Nepos, who seems to say, that, before his Return to Athens, he went to Lacedæmon, to adjust the Differences between these two Cities. Ille, quod hospitio Lacedæmoniorum utebatur, satius existimans contendere Lacedæmonem, sua sponte est profectus, pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit (89). Æschines, the Orator, observes, that Cimon, who enjoyed the Right of Hospitality at Sparta, concluded a Truce of fifty Years, which lasted but thirteen Years (90). This Number I suspect, when I consider, that Thucydides mentions only an Alliance of five Years (91). Note, that Cimon's Exile, which was to be for ten Years, continued but five (92).

(87) In mediæ res Non secus ac notus auditorem rapit. Horat. de Arte Poet. ver. 148.

(88) Plut. in Vita Cimonis, pag. 490.

(89) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Cimonis, cap. 2.

(90) Æschines, de falsa Legatione, pag. m. 270.

(91) Thucyd. lib. 2, p. m. 59, 60.

(92) Corn. Nepos, in Vita Cimonis, cap. 2.

(86) Id. ibid. pag. m. 413.

CINYRAS, King of Assyria according to some, or of Cyprus according to others, is celebrated for nothing, but having had Adonis by his own Daughter Myrrha [A]. We observe elsewhere (a), that this Incest was involuntary on his part, not knowing the Maid, they brought to him, was Myrrha; as soon as he knew it, he attempted to kill her, and would have done it, if he had not been prevented. It is said, that grief for this Incest caused him to kill himself (b); but others account for his Death in another manner; for some say he perished for disputing with Apollo the Prize of Music (c), after he had violated his Promise to the Grecians [B]. He was to have furnished them Provisions during the Siege of Troy; but not performing his Agreement (d), Agamemnon loaded him with Curfews, and what was worse, the Greeks made themselves Masters of Cyprus, and expelled him (e). The long life Anacreon gives him (f) does not agree with the Music Dispute I have mentioned; for who can believe that an old Man, of One hundred and sixty Years, would enter the Lifts with Apollo on such an Account? The Mythological History is full of varieties concerning the Father, the Sons, and Daughters of Cinyras (g); they say he had fifty Daughters, who were all metamorphosed into Halcyons (h): others say that Juno changed them into Stones, which served for the Steps of her Temple (i). He was much beloved by Apollo (k), and acquired such Wealth, that he became a Proverb like Cræsus (l). He

(a) In the Articles ADONIS and MYRRHA.

(b) Hygin. cap. 242.

(c) Suidas, in Κινύρας.

(d) Eustath. in lib. 10. Iliad.

(e) Theopompus, apud Photium, pag. 389.

(f) Apud Plinium, lib. 7, cap. 48.

(g) See Meursius in Cypro, cap. 9.

(h) Eustathius, in Iliad. lib. 10.

(i) Ovid. Metam. lib. 6.

(k) Pindar. Pyth. Od. 2.

(l) Id. Nem. Od. 8. Plato de Legibus, lib. 2. Suidas, in Κινύρας.

[A] He is celebrated for nothing, but having Adonis by his own Daughter Myrrha. Not that there are no other remarkable things in his Life; but the School Books, the Historical Dictionaries, and the Compilers of common Places, not speaking of them, as they do of Myrrha's Adventure, Cinyras is little known to the Republic of Learning, but by this Accident. Some very learned Men believe, that Pindar is over-burthened with the Luxuriety of his Subject, when he is speaking of Cinyras (1); and they understand of That Prince these Words of Pindar: Πολλὰ γὰρ πολλοῖς λέλεκται. — Many Authors have spoken much of him (2): But the Sequel of the Discourse has nothing in it to justify such a sense of the Words.

(1) Pindar. Nem. Od. 8.

(2) Meursius upon Ovid's Epistles, pag. 398. Benedictus in Pindari Nem. Od. 8. Meursius reads πολλὰ γὰρ πολλοῖς λέλεκται. Many and many things are said of him.

[B] After he had violated his Promise to the Grecians. Palamedes was dispatched to him to obtain Auxiliary Troops from him; but, instead of demanding them, he persuaded him not to join the

Greeks. He returned loaded with Presents, all which he kept for himself, except one wretched Cuirass, which he gave Agamemnon as from Cinyras: he gave them reason to hope, that the King of Cyprus would send a Fleet of One hundred Sail; but those hopes proved vain. This is part of what Alcidas accuses Palamedes of; but he was wrong to speak so contemptuously of the Cuirass, if it resembled the Description Homer has left us of it (3). Some have said, that all the Ships Cinyras sent the Grecians were Earthen-Ware, and manned with Glass Men, except one (4); those who will have the Cinyras of the Pagans to be Noah of (5) the Scriptures, will find it a hard Matter to make what we have said, and shall say, of Cinyras, tally with Noah. I do not pretend they cannot bring it to bear; for where has not Mr Huë's (6) Skill discovered Moses?

(3) Iliad. A.

(4) Eustath. in Iliad. A. apud Meursius in Cypro, pag. 111.

(5) Bibliot. Universelle, Tom. III, pag. 18.

(6) Bishop of Avranches.

[C] The

was also very handsome (m), and received many favours from *Venus*. The Fathers of the Church, who wrote against the Abominations of the Pagans, reproach them, that the *Venus* they adored in *Cyprus* had been a Whore to *Cinyras* [C]. The chief Temple of *Venus*, in that Island, was at *Paphos*: indeed there was an ancient Tradition, that it was built by King *Aërias* (n); but, according to modern Tradition, *Cinyras* consecrated it, and the Goddesses landed there at her Birth; but it was not *Cinyras*, who instituted the Science of the *Aruspices*, or Soothsayers; it was *Thamyras*, who came from *Cilicia*; afterwards an Order was made, that the Descendants of *Cinyras*, and those of *Thamyras*, should preside at the sacred Rites. In process of Time, the latter yielded up their Right to the former, that there might be no reason to complain, that the Royal Family had no Prerogative above a Foreign Family. *Tacitus* observes (o), that none but the *Cinyrades* (p) were consulted. *Cinyras* united in his own Person the Priesthood and the Royal Dignity (q); so that afterwards the Priesthood of the *Paphian Venus* was always in the hands of a Prince of the Blood; and therefore *Cato* thought he made a very advantageous offer to King *Ptolemy*, when he proposed to make him Priest of *Venus*, upon his surrendering up the Island to the Roman People (r). Mention is made of another Temple, which *Cinyras* built upon Mount *Libanus* (s); he also built three Cities *Paphos*, *Cinyrea*, and *Smyrna*, which last he named after his Daughter (t). He was the inventor of several things, as Tiles, Pincers, the Hammer, the Lever, and the Anvil (u). He was also the first that discovered the Copper Mines in the Isle of *Cyprus*. He is reckoned among the ancient Diviners (x). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (y), citing the *History of Philopater*, composed by *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Agararches*, observes that his Tomb, and that of his Posterity, was in the Temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*. Some say he was not born in the Island of *Cyprus*, but came thither from *Affyria*, where he was King. See the Remark [A] of the Article

ADONIS.

[C] The Fathers of the Church — have reproached them, that the *Venus*, they adored in *Cyprus*, had been a Whore to *Cinyras*.] *Arnobius* first of all will give us an account of it. *Numquid rege à Cypro, cuius nomen Cinyras est, ditatam meretriculam Venerem Divorum in numero consecratam* (7). — Have you not heard (says he) that a Cyprian King, named *Cinyras*, made his Whore a Goddess? *Firmicus Maternus* expresses himself with no less force (8). 'Audio *Cinyram* *Cyprium* templum amicæ meretrici donasse, ei erat *Venus* nomen. Initiasse etiam *Cypriæ* *Veneris* plurimos & vanis consecrationibus deputasse, statuisse enim ut quicunque initiari vellet secreto *Veneris* sibi tradito, assem in manum mercedis nomine Deæ daret. Quod secretum quale sit omnes taciti intelligere debemus, quia hoc ipsum propter turpitudinem manifestius explicare non possumus. Bene amator *Cinyras* meretricis legibus servit, consecratæ *Veneri* à sacerdotibus suis stipem dari iussit, ut scorto. — I find that *Cinyras*, the Cyprian, dedicated a Temple to his Whore, whose name was *Venus*; and that by ridiculous Ceremonies he admitted many Cyprian Potatoes to this *Venus*. For he enjoined that, whoever desired to be initiated in her Mysteries, entrusted to him, should pay a piece of Money as an Acknowledgment to the Goddess; the Nature of which Mysteries should be conceived in Silence, since Modesty will not allow an Explication of them. Well did this gallant *Cinyras* keep up the wanton Trade in assigning his Priests to pay a Hire to his deified *Venus*, as to his Whore.' What Confusion! What Corruption! Mysteries instituted, whose Ritual ap-

points, that whoever is initiated, shall receive a handful of Salt, and a *Phallus*, and should offer a piece of Silver to *Venus* (9). What a strange Ribbon or Collar of an Order was given there! Consult *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who informs us, that *Cinyras* was the first, who durst raise from Darkness these filthy Ceremonies in Honour of a Courtesan of his Country. Οὐ γὰρ με ὁ Κύπριος ὁ νησιώτης Κινύρας παρὰ πάλαι ποτ' ἂν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαγικὰ ὄργια ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡμέρα παρὰ δύναιτολμήσας, φιλοῦντες δὲ θεῖσαι πύρην πολιτίδα: Non enim *Cyprius* insularis *Cinyras* mihi unquam persuaserit, libidinosa quæ circa *Venerem* fiebant orgia ausus ex nocte diei tradere, dum meretricem civem vellet in Deos referre (10). — Never shall *Cinyras*, the Cyprian, persuade me, who dared to bring the lewd Orgia of *Venus* from Darkness to Light, and endeavoured to make a Whore a Goddess. See also *Arnobius*, at the One hundred and sixty ninth Page of the Fifth Book, where he says. 'Nec non & *Cypriæ* *Veneris* abstrusa illa initia prætereamus, quorum conditor indicatur *Cinyras* rex fuisse, in quibus fumentes ea certas stipēs inserunt ut meretrici, & referunt phallos propitiū numinis signa. — Let us likewise pass over these abstruse Mysteries of *Venus*, which *Cinyras* is said to have instituted, to whom those that entered made Presents, as to a Whore, and carried back some Emblem (*Phallus*) of the Goddess's Favour.' Who can doubt but this is he, whom *Lucian* (11) pairs with *Sardanapalus*, and gives as the Model of an effeminate Man.

CINUS or CYNUS, a famous Civilian, of a Noble Family of *Pistoia* [A]. He flourished in the XIVth Century: his Commentary on the Code was finished in 1313: He writ also upon some parts of the Digests. He was no Friend to the Interpreters of the Canon-Law, and often censures them; for which he is blamed by *Nicolas de Tudeschis* (a). He died at *Bologna*, and was interred near his Master *Dinus* (b) [B]; his Death is placed in the Year 1336 (c). He was no less celebrated for

[A] He was of a noble Family. *Forsterus* calls it, *Familiam Sygibaldorum* (1): others use the Word *Sigibuldi* (2), *Leander Alberti* makes use of the Italian Word *Simbaldi* (3), and Mr *Crescimbeni* uses the Word *Sigibaldi* (4).

[B] He was interred near his Master *Dinus*.] It was without any honourable Distinction. *Juxta Dynum pari, hoc est, ignobili & vulgari sepulchro terræ conditus* (5). — He was interred near *Dinus*,

in such another common Grave. Some say, these two Civilians, and *Florianus de Sancto Petro*, lie all in the same Tomb, in the Dominican Cloister at *Bologna* (6). Note, that *Cinus* had been Professor of Laws in the University of that City (7). They mention this Epitaph. *Sino, eximio Juris Consulto Bartolo Præceptore dignissimo, Populus Pistoriensis B. M. posuit*. This gives room to believe, that his Countrymen were willing to make reparation for the neglect

(m) Anthol. lib. 4, cap. 1. Hyginus cap. 270.

(n) Tacit. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 3.

(o) Ibid.

(p) That is, the Descendants of *Cinyras*.

(q) Scholiast. Pindari in Pyth. Od. 2.

(r) Plutarch. in Vita Catonis.

(s) Lucian. de Dea Syria.

(t) Hygin. cap. 275.

(u) Plinius, lib. 7, cap. 56.

(x) Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 1, pag. m. 333. Meursius, de Cypro, p. 110.

(y) Admon. ad Gent. pag. 29. Arnob. lib. 6, pag. 193.

(9) Clem. Alexand. Admon. ad Gent. p. m. 10.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) In Rhetor. Præcept.

(a) This is he that is so well known by the Name of *Panormitanus*.

(b) Taken from *Forsterus*, Hist. Juris Civilis, pag. m. 498, 499.

(c) König. Bibl. pag. 193, 753.

(6) Leand. Alberti, Descript. d'Italia, fol. 41.

(7) Id. ibid.

(d) Madonna Ricciarda de' Scivaggi

(e) Taken from Crescimbeni, Ist. della volgar. Poesia, pag. 87.

for his *Italian Verses*, than for his Lectures on the Civil-Law; and he is reckoned among those, who began to give a grace to the *Tuscan Lyric Poetry*. *Petrarch* may pass for his Disciple, and has made no scruple to steal some Thoughts from him. The *Canzoniere* of *Cinus* is still extant, for which we are obliged to a Lady (d), whom the Author tenderly loved (e). I shall produce one Passage, to prove he was subject to this Passion [C].

neglect of the Inhabitants of *Bologne*, who had put no Inscription upon his Monument. One Word must be corrected in that Epitaph: instead of *Bartolo*, read *Bartoli*; for *Cinus* was the Master, not the Scholar of *Bartolus* (8).

(8) Forster. Hist. Juris Civ. p. 593. Crescimbeni, Istoria della volgar. Poesia, pag. 87.

[C] I shall produce one Passage, to prove he was subject to this Passion. *Julius Clarus*, having said, that if a Woman lies with her Footman, she deserves to be punished; but a servant Maid, that lies with her Master, ought not to be punished, but rather rewarded; adds, this gave *Cinus* the Lawyer reason to maintain, that Presents ought to be made by the Persons who love, and not by the Persons who are loved; the rest of the Passage must rather be expressed here in *Latin*, than in *English*. 'Unde sumit argumentum Cynus in d. l. r. quod amatores debent donare amatis suis, non e contra, subdens: Et crede experto, quod donum magis valet quam suspirium, imò suspirium nihil valet sine

‘ dono: ferrum tamen præponitur auro, nam secundum Juven. Ferrum est quod amat: Quod (ut ipse ait) quidam exponunt, id est, ferrum membrum, propter cuius ferri fortitudinem insignes etiam servis vilissimis se exponunt (9). Upon this Head, *Julius Clarus* observes, that Doctor *Cynus* was very amorous, and a good Poet. Quæ verba D. Cyni sunt notanda, quia licet effect excellens Doctor, fuit etiam maximus Amator, & egregius Poëta, ut Franc. Petrarca attestatur in his carminibus, in quibus ipse mortem deplorat. Et extant adhuc cantiones & alia carmina amatoria D. Cyni non insulsa (10). — Which Words of *Cinus* deserve notice, who, though an Adept in Law, was no less such in Love, and an excellent Poet, as F. Petrarca testifies in his Poems, where in be laments his Death; and there are still extant some agreeable Odes and Love-Songs of his composing.

(9) Julius Clarus Recept. Sentent. lib. 5, cap. de Fornicatione, n. 20, p. m. 23.

(10) Id. ibid.

(a) This Article is communicated by Mr. FERDINAND LEWIS DE BRESLER of Aschembourg, Translator and Continuator of *Moreri* in *Higb-Dutch*. See the Article BIBLIANDER, Citation (f).

(b) Villi & plebeio loco Cracoviae natus. Stanislai Lubienksi Vita & Series Episcoporum Plocensium; in Operibus ejus Antwerpæ, Ann. 1643 excusis, pag. 370. Erasmus Cioleum hominem plebeium, quem admodum creditum est, appellat. Mart. Cromer, de Origine & Rebus gestis Polonorum, lib. 30, cap. ult.

CIOLEK (a) (ERASMUS), in *Latin Vitellius* [A], Bishop of *Ploczko* in *Poland*, was a Native of *Cracovia*, of low and mean Extraction (b), neither his Birth nor Education being known to any Body (c). Nevertheless, what was wanting to him in Birth, which indeed was very low, was abundantly made up to him by a penetrating Mind, by his Wisdom, his Learning, and his Eloquence [B]. He was in great favour with *Alexander* King of *Poland*; and it is thought That Prince, from the time he was made Duke of *Lithuania*, admitted him to an intimate Friendship with him, and was chiefly governed by his Counsels (d). *Alexander*, ascending the Throne of *Poland* (e), after the Death of his Brother *John Albert*, was resolved to reward his faithful Minister *Ciolek*, and gave him the Bishopric of *Ploczko* in 1504, which *Vincent I Przerabski* had had before him. He is charged by some with instilling into his Master Principles of Tyranny (f). Otherwise he gave many Proofs of his Fidelity, in the good Services he did in several Embassies to the Emperor *Maximilian I*, and at the Court of *Rome* (g). But his Patron, who advanced him, died two Years after (h), and his Brother, *Sigismund I*, succeeded him in the Government, who also employed him, and found him, as his Brother had done, faithful and diligent. He sent him several times to the Emperor, and the Pope; but his chief Negotiation was at the great and celebrated Diet of *Augsburg* in 1518, where he appeared as Ambassador of the King of *Poland*, together with *Raphael Castellan* of *Lenden*, and *Boguslao* Marshal of *Lithuania*. It was in this place (where all the great Men of *Germany*, and many Ambassadors, and Persons of Distinction, from Foreign Parts, were met) that *Ciolek* displayed his great Capacity. Friday the Twentieth of *August*, he made a Speech in the most considerable

(c) Lubienksi, Operum, pag. 369. Quo genere quævis stirpe genitus fuerit Erasmus Ciolek, unde prodierit, quomodo creverit, & illa ipsa, qua vixit, ignoravit ætas.

(d) Crometus, de Orig. & Rebus gestis Polon. lib. 30, cap. ult.

(e) Ann. 1504.

(f) Lubienksi, Oper. pag. 370.

(g) It is very likely *Cromer* is mistaken here, and has transposed the Embassies which he made under *Sigismund I*.

(h) In 1506.

[A] In *Latin Vitellius*. The Art of metamorphosing names is not unknown to the *Poles*, and they seem to have good skill in it, if they can make *Vitellius* out of the Word *Ciolek*, which has some relation to the *Polish* Word for a *Calf*. *Martin Cromer*, who declines this Word by a *Latin* termination, calls him *Cioleum* (1): there is still in *Poland* a very considerable noble Family, of the name *Ciolek*, and called in *Latin Vitelliana*; they came out of *Italy*, in the Year 971, in the time of *Micislau*, and are descended from *Robert* Archbishop of *Gnesna*, of the race of the *Vitellins*, *Paulinus*, the Brother of *Robert*, very much encreased his Family in *Poland*; from whence are derived several Archbishops of *Gnesna*, and other Persons of Distinction (2). It will not be amiss to add here what *Okolski* relates of one of this Family (3). I shall give you his own Words, that you may have from the Fountain Head a remedy, which is very suitable to a *Polish* Subject. He says then: 'Stanislau Ciolek seu Vitellius, nobilis Polonus, circa sec. XV. clarus, fertur ante consuetum tempus natus, quapropter 4. septimanas in adipe apri conservabatur, crevit in maximum Virum, Castellanum Sendomir, Marechallum Curie &c. — Stanislau Ciolek, or Vitellius, a noble Pole, who flourished in the XVth Century, is said to have been born before the usual Time; wherefore he was kept four Weeks in the Fat of a Boar, and

(1) Mart. Cromer, de Origine & Rebus gestis Polonorum, lib. 30, cap. ult.

(2) Simon Okolski, in Orbe Polono, Tom. I, pag. 108, & seq.

(3) Ibid. pag. 114.

'grew to be a very great Man, Castellan of Sendomir, Marshal of the Court, &c.'

[B] By his Eloquence. James Spiegel (4) has given an excellent Description of him, in his Letter to Erasmus, as the most learned, and most eloquent, Man of his time, and adds this Character. Singularis Integritatis vir. — Of singular Integrity of Life. Richard Bartholin confirms the same (5): Episcopus Plocensis vir literatus & gravis orationem habuit latinam plane & rei satis accommodatam, in qua sapienter & erudite de expeditione contra Turcas suscipienda disputavit. — The Bishop of Ploczko, a learned and grave Man, gave us in Latin an Oration very much to the Purpose, where in he argued with great Judgment upon the Expedition designed against the Turks. And in another Place: 'Hac mihi Reverendissimus Episcopus Plocensis, apud Cæsarem Poloniæ Regis Oratorem agens, recitavit, vir gravissimus & literatus, & cui sine controversia fides adhibenda (6). — This I was told by the Bishop of Ploczko, (a Man of great Learning and sound Judgment, whom without doubt we may credit) when he spoke before his Majesty the King of Poland.' Stanislau Lubienksi (7) gives him indeed the Character of a wife and prudent Man, since he says, that he obtained by his Address the Bishopric of *Ploczko*. Yet it looks as if *Lubienksi* did not give much Credit to what *Spiegel* mentions

(4) In his Letter to Erasmus. See Remark [C].

(5) In Concinnæ Descriptione de Conventu Augustensi edita à Conrado Adelman de Adelsmannsfelden, Canonico Augustano, Anno 1518. in 4to.

(6) In Concinnæ Descriptione, &c.

(7) Operum pag. 370, & seq. Tantum ingenio valuit, ut Episcopatum Plocensem adipisceretur.

considerable Assembly to the Emperor, and the States of the Empire, with so much Life and Energy, that many of the illustrious Assistants wept [C]. For which Reason *James Spiegel* got it printed. To conclude, *Ciolek* finished his Life during his Embassy to the Court of Rome (i). For, being sent to Rome by *Sigismund I.* to negotiate some secret Affairs with Pope *Leo X.*, after having obtained certain Privileges of the Pope for his Church, he died there, the same Year that the Pope also died, in the Year 1521, and was buried in the Church of *St Maria del Popolo*. *Raphael Leszynski* succeeded him in his Bishopric (k).

(i) See Remark [C], at the end.

(k) Lublinski, Oper. pag. 379.

(8) Ibid.

mentions of his Integrity; since he says (8), *Vasrum fuisse hominem & callidum, & qui Regi, cujus gratia forebat, (Alexandro) tyrannidem suaderet, plerique credidere.*

[C] That several of the Assistants wept. This is a very particular Circumstance, which is observed by *James Spiegel*, Counsellor and Secretary to the Emperor (9); and I believe few Orators were ever able to do by Words what *Ciolek* did, especially in presence of such an Auditory. *James Spiegel* has so much Faith in the force of this Speech, that he doubts not, but it will make those weep that shall read it. As the expressions in his Letter to *Erasmus* are remarkable (10), and give an ample Description of this Circumstance, as well as of *Ciolek's* Eloquence, and his chief Auditors, I shall here insert them at length: 'Reverendissimus Dominus Erasmus Vitellius Episcopus Ploccensis, singulari integritate vite, raraque doctrina, Romanaque facundia insignis: vel eo mihi nomine precipue colendus, quia cognominis, de te perquam egregiam frequenter facit mentionem. Primam (ut aulicus aulico utar verbo) audientiam coram Cæsare, sacri Imperii Electoribus omnibus, & cæteris Germaniarum Principibus proceribusque obtinuit. Sic ornate, sic graviter oravit, ut ad intima usque præcordia auditorum vehementia sententiarum penetraverit, pluresque ad sietum concitaverit, ei vero docto simul & facundo omnes docti & eloquentes palmam tribuunt. Aderant enim viri non pauci, tum exquisiti docti, tum in judicando naris emundissimæ. Antistes Torgestinus, Peutingerus, Huttenus, Bartholinus, Spalatinus, & Statius ille in nullo doctrinæ genere non verisatus. Henricus Stromer Medicus, & Laurentius Zochius Jurisconsultus, Cardinalis Maguntini, Florentissimi Principis, Cancellarius. Igitur facta mihi primum præ cæteris elegantissimæ hujus orationis copia. Quia digna multorum lectione visa fuit eruditorum calculo, & ab omnibus desiderata, imprimendam curavi sub augustulo tuo nomine: non dubito quin ut audientibus lachrimas commovit, ita hæc eadem legentibus magis copiosas excutiet, & in rem christianam propensiores eorum animos reddet.'

(9) In Epist. ad Erasum. Rotter. Oratorum Vitellii præmissa.

(10) Ex Augustæ Vindelic. prid. Kal. Sept. Ann. 1518.

'Court before His Imperial Majesty, all the Electors of the Empire, and the other Princes and Lords of Germany; he spoke with so much Strength and Elegance, that the force of his Discourse pierced the very Hearts of the Audience, and drew Tears from many of them. To this Man of Learning and Eloquence all the learned and eloquent allow the Prize to be due. There were present Men of exquisite Learning, Judgment, and Penetration. The President of Torgau, Peutingier, Hutten, Bartholinus, Spalatinus, and Statius, versed in every kind of Literature; Henry Stromer the Physician, and Laurence Zochius the Counsellor, Chanceller to the most Illustrious Prince, the Cardinal of Mayence. Having therefore had the happiness of procuring this beautiful Oration, which, in the Opinion of the learned, well deserves to be read, and which every one seems desirous to read, I took care to have it published under the Protection of your august Name; and I doubt not but, as it drew Tears from the Hearers, it will make them flow more copiously from the Readers, and incline their Hearts more zealously to the Cause of Christianity.' To give a further Idea of the Magnificence of the Assembly of the Diet, in which *Ciolek* spoke, I shall produce what *John Müller*, the famous Printer at Augsburg, who printed *Ciolek's* Speech, has added by way of Appendix. 'Aderant, says he, in hoc conventu tres reverendissimi Domini Cardinales, Cajetanus, Guraniensis, & Maguntinus, pluresque Regum Oratores, & omnes fere Germaniæ Duces, cum magna parte Episcoporum & nobilitatis suæ primariæ; qualis in Imperio supra 30. annos visus non est. — There were present, in this Assembly, which was the greatest the Empire had known for above thirty Years, three Cardinals, several Embassadors of crowned Heads, with most of the Bishops, and chief Nobility.' As to the Edition of this Speech, *James Spiegel*, as is observed before, printed it in 4to at Augsburg 1518, under the Title of: 'Oratio per R. P. Dominum Erasmus Vitellium Episcopum Ploccensem in celeberrimo Augusti Conventu ad Cæsarem Maximil. nomine victoriosissimi Regis Poloniæ Sigismundi habita, coram omnibus S. Imp. Electoribus plurimisque Germaniæ Principibus, die veneris, 20 Aug. A. Dom. 1518.' After this it was reprinted ex Bibliotheca Joh. Pistorii in Corpore Historiæ Poloniæ (11) Tomo III. p. 5. — 7. *Marquardus Freberus* (12) says it is also to be found in *Reusneri Antiturnico*.

(11) At Basil, in 1582, in Folio.

(12) In Indice Autorum, Tom. II, Rer. German. Scriptorum, præmissio.

CIPIERRE (PHILIBERT de MARCILLI Lord of) was born in the *Mâconnais* (a). He gave so many Proofs of his Courage and Prudence in the Service of *Henry II.*, both in France and Italy, that That Prince made him Governor to the Duke of Orleans, his second Son, who afterwards reigned by the Name of *Charles IX.* It is pretended, that if others had not spoiled the excellent Education he gave that young Prince, he would have proved a very great King [A]. When *Charles IX.* came to the Crown, they found it necessary, in order to do him the greater Honour, to have always a Prince of the Blood with him, to observe his Conduct; and they gave this Post to the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon (b); but *Ci-*

(a) Le Laboureur, Addit. à Castelnau, Tom. I, p. 526.

(b) Idem. taken from Brantome.

[A] If others had not spoiled the excellent Education, he gave *Charles IX.*, he would have proved a very great King. Brantome charges upon his Manners, and not upon his Governor, *Charles's* two ill Qualities, Swearing and Dissimulation. He maintains, that *Cipierre* was as brave a Lord, as ever was Governor to a King, honest, free, and open, without Lies or Hypocrisy, and that he had well instructed him, without teaching him the Principles of Dissimulation (1). He adds, among other things, that he taught *Charles* to express himself

(1) Brantome, cited by Laboureur, Tom. I, pag. 374.

eloquently. In my Opinion, says he (2), Mr de *Cipierre* spoke French, Spanish, and Italian, better than any Gentleman, or Military Man, that ever I knew, and therefore the King was desirous to imitate him, rather than du Perron, afterwards Marshal de Retz, who certainly spoke well. He says in another Place (3), that *Cipierre* told a Story the best of any Man in the World: he knew how to describe every thing with the greatest Grace, and in the best Language, so perfectly was he accomplished in all things.

(2) Id. Tom. II, pag. 866.

(3) Id. Tom. I, pag. 528.

[B] But

VOL. II.

6 N

pierre was still continued in his Employment [B]. The two Governors preserved a good understanding together: The Prince yielded in many things to Cipierre, knowing him to be of as great a Capacity as any Lord in France: on the other Hand Cipierre, who was a very wise Man, shewed a great deal of Honour and Respect for the Prince, - - - and it was a Pleasure to see those two Governors maintaining their Rank in a becoming Manner near the King's Person, one superior, the other a little inferior to him. Cipierre was created a Knight of the Order by Francis II, in 1560 (c). They, say that finding himself seized with a mortal Disease, and preparing to set out for Aix to drink the Waters, he earnestly intreated the Queen-Mother to pacify the difference between the Guises and the Colignis, and thereby to destroy the Root of a Faction, which would be in a Condition to ruin the Kingdom (d). He died at Liege, in September 1565, without being able to reach the Waters. Those of the Reformed Religion were ill satisfied with his Conduct [C]: they made pretty sharp Verses against him, both before and after his Death (e). It was he that informed the Prince of Condé at Orleans, in 1560, that the Renaudie's Plot was discovered (f). It was he that was charged, some Months after, to secure the City of Orleans (g), which was suspected of being disaffected: he commanded for some Days the French Army, at the Siege of that City, after the Duke of Guise was killed (h), and obtained leave of the Pope's Legate for the Soldiers to eat Flesh during Lent [D]. He married Louise de Halluin (i), by whom he had one Daughter, that was afterwards the Wife of Francis de la Magdalene, Lord of Regni, Grandfather of the Dukes of Lesdiguières (k). His Father married N - - - of St Amour, Lady of Cipierre (l).

[B] But Cipierre was still continued in his Employment. Brantome's Words, which I have quoted, are a proof of it: yet it is certain he lost it for some time, and afterwards was re-called: for Languet affirms, he was removed from the King, and was not restored, though the King of Navarre interceded for him. Languet makes mention of this within two Days after it happened, in a Letter from Paris, dated February the first, 1562. What he says of the cause of that Governor's Disgrace is so curious, and so much a secret History, that I cannot help relating it. The Fact is, Charles IX. was so grievously offended, that Cipierre had taken a Book of Divinity from him, that he declared he would no longer have him for his Governor. The Words, which Languet uses a little before, are a proof to me, that the Book, he took away from the young Monarch, was, in Cipierre's Opinion, an heretical Book; for this Author had just said, there was reason to believe, that Charles IX, and his two Brothers, would soon declare themselves Protestants; that the Duke of Orleans had already sufficiently made it appear, that he was of that Party, and that the Duke of Anjou, in the presence of several Persons, had requested of the Queen-Mother, that for the future he might have no Domestic, but what were Lutherans. Regina cautius sua administrat, nam accomodat se temporis, & ostendit se nobis additorem quam antea. Rex & fratres videntur brevi transitori ad nostras partes. Hæc si non sunt matre impellente, sunt saltem ipsa non nolente, nam si vellet posset hoc impedire. Aurelianensis jam satis ostendit se esse à nostris partibus. Andegavensis, planè puer, nuper petiit à matre coram plurimis, ne deinceps daret ei Ministros, qui non essent Lutherani. Hæc verba mater excepit risu. Rex habuit gubernatorem nobilem virum (nomine Sipierre) natum in Burgundia, qui ex tenui fortuna sua industria pervenit ad magnas opes, & fuit admodum charus Regi Henrico. Is cum nuper Regi Librum Theologicum eripuisse, ita offendit eum, ut diceret matri, se nolle amplius habere eum gubernatorem. Mater itaque eum removit à filii gubernatione, & ei suffecit Principem de la Roche sur Yon. Cum Navarrus pro remoto apud Regem deprecaretur, illa respondit, hoc non sua, sed filii voluntate esse factum qui nolit eum habere gubernatorem. Hoc nudius tertius primum accidit. Referunt & alias causas, quare sit remotus; nam fuit valde addictus Guis (4). — The Queen acts with greater caution, agreeable to the Times, and appears more in our Interest than formerly: The King, and his Brothers, seem ready to come over to our Party; though this may be without the Direction of the Queen, it cannot be against her consent; since, if she would, she might prevent it. The Duke of Orleans has already sufficiently declared for us. The Duke of Anjou, though a Boy, lately desired the Queen, in the presence of several Persons, to

give him for the future no Servants, but Lutherans; at which she smiled. The King had for Governor one Sipierre, a Person of Distinction, born in Hungary, who was much caressed by King Henry, and, by a steady Application to Business, had raised himself from mean Circumstances to an ample Fortune. He, having lately taken from this Prince a Book of Divinity, had so exasperated him, that he told the Queen he would have him no longer for Governor. Upon which the Queen removed him from his Office, and placed the Prince de la Roche sur Yon in his stead. When the King of Navarre solicited the Queen to restore him, she answered, it had not been done by her own, but by her Son's direction, who refused him for Governor. This happened but two Days ago. There are other Causes assigned for his removal; for he was strongly attached to the House of Guise. If you consult the Passage of the Memoirs of the Queen of Navarre, which you will find in her Article (5), it will appear, that Languet had no ill Intelligence of the French Court.

[C] Those of the Reformed Religion were ill satisfied with his Conduct. Monsieur Le Laboureur gives no other reason for this, than the Commission Cipierre had to disarm Orleans (6); but the Verses, he quotes, suppose that this City was cruelly treated, and that Cipierre's severity extended both to the Walls, and to the Men. Thuanus, who otherwise praises Cipierre, yet observes, that he was devoted to the Guises (7). In a Word, when the Protestants exhibited their grievances after the first Peace, they complained, not only that Burgundy had been ill treated by Savannes, and Guienne by Montuc, but also that Orleans had suffered by Cipierre (8).

[D] He obtained leave of the Pope's Legate for the Soldiers to eat Meat during Lent. The Cardinal of Ferrara, the Pope's Legate, was then in the Queen-Mother's Army. He looked upon the request made to him as a detestable thing, at a time when they were at War with Hereticks, who were Enemies to Lent; but, having considered the matter, he answered, that, as to Flesh, it was an abominable thing, not to be mentioned, that he would only allow them to eat Butter, Cheese, and Milk (9). Mr de Cipierre answered: 'Sir, you must not think to govern our Military Men, as you do your Ecclesiastics; for it is one thing to serve God, and another thing to serve in the War; give me leave to tell you the Truth; it is not proper, at such a time as this, and in such an Army, formed of various sorts of Men, to raise these scruples: for, as to your Butter, your Cheese, and your Milk, our French Soldiers will not touch them, as your Italians and Spaniards do. They will eat Flesh and good victuals, to sustain themselves the better. Whatever prohibition you lay upon them, they will eat it privately, and by stealth. Wherefore be advised, and give them leave to eat it; give them a good Dispensation

(c) Le Laboureur, Additions à Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 374.

(d) Thuan. lib. 38.

(e) Mr. Le Laboureur sets down some, Addit. à Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 374.

(f) Mezerai Abrégé Chronolog. Tom. V, pag. m. 19.

(g) Beza, Ecclef. Hist. lib. 3, pag. 290. Thuan. lib. 26.

(h) Brantome, Capit. Etrangers, Tom. I, p. 132.

(i) Le Laboureur, Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 374.

(k) She died at Paris, July 2, 1656, according to Father Anselm, Hist. des Officiers, p. 243.

(l) Le Laboureur, Addit. à Castelnau ubi supra.

(5) In Remark [B].

(6) Addit. à Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 529.

(7) Thuanus, lib. 26, pag. m. 520.

(8) Vraie Hist. des Troubles, fol. 4, verso, at the Year 1563.

(9) Brantome, Capit. Etrangers, Tom. I, p. 132.

(4) Languet, Epist. 68, lib. 2, pag. 201, 202.

'Dispensation and Abolution: for if they dispense with it of themselves, your Authority will be lessened thereby; whereas, on the contrary, it will be encreased if you give them a Permission, and all will say, the Legate, honest Man, gives us a Dispensation; which will sound better every where (10)'. The Legate relished this wholesome Advice, and granted what *Cipierre* desired (11). What *Brantome* had reported a little before, is so proper to confirm the Opinion of all good, pious, and wise Men, as to War, that I cannot forbear copying it. 'Charles the fifth, to excuse brave and gallant Men, such as himself, said, that being courageous, ambitious, and war-like, he could not be religious and conscientious. And this is what the Illustrious Marquis de *Pescayre* said once, in the Wars of *Lombardy*, to the Legate, who was afterwards Pope *Clement*, concerning reforming the Disorders and Debaucheries of

the Soldiers. *Mon Sennor Legado, no ay cosa mas dificultosa à los que exercen la guerra, que con igual disciplina servir en un mismo tiempo à Mars y à Christo, porque el uso de la guerra en esta corruption de militia parece ser todo contrario à la Justicia y Religion.* That is to say; Sir, there is nothing more difficult than for those, who are employed in War, to serve, at the same time, and with equal Discipline, Mars and CHRIST, because the practice of War, in this corruption of the Soldiery, is quite contrary to Justice and Religion (12). This is the Judgment those make of War, who are best acquainted with it, and since *unicuique in sua arte credendum est.* — Every one is to be believed in his own Profession, we must conclude, that, to conduct an Army according to the Laws of the Christian Religion, is a Platonic Idea, an *Utopia* of Sir *Thomas More*, a Philosopher's Stone, which will never be found.

(12) Id. ibid. p. 131.

CIPIERRE (*RENATUS de SAVOIE Lord of*), Son of *Claudius de Savoie*, Count de *Tende*, Governor and Great Seneschal of *Provence*, had by *Frances de Foix*, his second Wife, a Son and a Daughter, whom their Mother brought up in the Reformed Religion. He was also himself very much suspected of inclining to the same; either because his Lady openly professed that Religion, or because he would not suffer any violence to be committed, in his Government, against those called Heretics. This Moderation stirred up against him the Count de *Sommerive*, his own Son by a former Marriage, and obliged him to take Arms, in his own defence, against one he had given Life to. He was defeated, and forced to abandon his Government to this unnatural Son. *Cipierre*, who had supported his Father's Cause with the utmost Vigour, being made by him a Colonel of Horse (a), whilst *Cardel* his Brother-in-Law (b) served as Colonel of Foot, was unhappily assassinated by a Party of the Rebels at *Frejus* [A], Anno 1568. Returning from *Nice*, where he had been to compliment the Duke of *Savoy*, they laid an Ambush for him in a Wood; but, not being able to prevent his escape to *Frejus* with all his Followers, they pursued him thither, and, ringing the Alarm Bell, surrounded his Lodgings. The Consuls did their utmost to save him; they prevailed upon the Marquis of *Arzi*, who was chief of that mutinous Troop, to retire, upon Condition, that *Cipierre* and his Domestics should lay down their Arms. But the Mutineers presently returned, and put those poor People to the Sword, unable to defend themselves. The Marquis, not seeing the Body of *Cipierre* among the Dead, for the Consuls had secured him, pretended great concern for him, and protested that the only way to save his Life was to put him into his Hands. The Consuls, believing his promises, delivered him up, and immediately they stabbed him in a thousand Places [B]. *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum! Such devilish Acts Religion could persuade *.* It was not doubted but the Court, and the Count de *Sommerive*, had a hand in that exploit, and that *Cipierre* was thus severely treated out of hatred to the Reformed Religion; the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral, and all their Friends, were exceedingly concerned for this Action (c).

(a) Beza, Hist. Eccles. lib. 12, pag. 319.

(b) He was of the House of *Salluces*, and had married the Daughter of the Count de *Tende*, and *Frances de Foix*. Beza, ib. pag. 318.

* *Lucret. lib. 2.*

(c) *Ex Thuanus, lib. 44, ad Ann. 1568.*

[A] He was assassinated — at *Frejus*.] Thus I translate the *Forum Julii* of *Thuanus*. *D'Aubigné* (1) calls this Place *Fourques* (2), and pretends, that *Arzi*, who was Governor of it, when he caused Count de *Tende* to be killed, and Twenty nine others, said aloud, *He had positive Orders for what he did.* It is not easy to reconcile this Historian with *Thuanus*; for if *Gaspar de Villeneuve*, Lord of *Arzi*, or *Arzi*, *Arzi* *Regulus*, had been Governor of the Town where this Massacre was committed, as *D'Aubigné* pretends, he would have been under a Necessity of using a Stratagem to get the Count delivered up by the Consuls, especially when he had entered the Town, at the Head of the Mutineers, according to *Thuanus*.

[B] They stabbed him in a thousand Places.] *Thuanus* attributes this base Execution to an Insurrection of the Mob. 'Ab irruente multitudo innumera pugnum ictibus confodit, dehonestato etiam post mortem repetitis vulneribus cadavere (3).

— He was stabbed in a Multitude of Places by an enraged Mob, who even after he was dead repeated their barbarous Strokes on his Body.' *Brantome*, who had a confused Idea of this infamous Murder, charges it only upon one Person. 'He was killed, says he (4), in time of Peace, entering in a quiet Manner into a City of *Provence*. I have seen, a hundred times, the Villain, who murdered him, carrying Lemons to the Queen-Mother; but I have forgot his Name, and the City where it happened. The Huguenots, he adds, of *Provence*, had a great Confidence in him, for he was a brave and gallant Lord, and if he had not been taken off would have been very active.' He had said before, 'he was a brave and valiant Gentleman, who was a Huguenot, and had sometimes Quarrels with his half Brother the Count de *Sommerive*, but at other times they were mutually kind and friendly.'

(4) *Brantome, Discours du Comte de Montmorency.*

CYRIL, Deacon of the Church of *Heliopolis*, near *Mount Libanus*, was a great Iconoclast, under the Empire of *Constantine*. Inflamed by the Love of God (a), he broke to Pieces several Images, which the Pagans worshipped. The latter did not fail to remember this, when their Religion prevailed under the Reign of *Julian*, but revenged themselves with great fury. They killed Cyril, and, ripping open his Body, eat his Liver. But all, who were engaged in this Fact, were punished in an astonishing Manner. First, their Teeth rotted away, then their Tongues, and at length their Eyes (b); *Alcyonius* assures us, that Cyril, before this Exploit against

(a) *ὁ ἀγαπῶν τοὺς θεοὺς* *Divini amoris* *ἔστιν inflammat.* *Theodoretus, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 7.*

(b) Taken out of *Theodoret. ibid.*

against the Idols, was banished to the Isle of *Naxos*, and that he was slain by the order of *Julian* himself [A], his Courtiers feeding upon the Entrails of this Holy Man. I do not find this in *Theodore*.

[A] Alcyonius assures us, that Cyril — was banished — and slain by order of Julian himself. His Words are: 'Cyrillus quoque sempiterna laude videtur decorandus, qui levissime suum in Naxo insula exilium toleravit, idque principatu Magni Constantini, apud quem postea tanta gratia & auctoritate valuit, ut cum bona ejus venia complura veterum Deorum simulacra subverterit; quo defuncto, cum potestas rerum omnium penes Julianum esset, illius iussu dissectus est, mandavitque insuper crudelissimus tyrannus, ut Purpurati sui viscera sanctissimi & innocentissimi hominis epularentur (1). — Cyril seems no less worthy of immortal Honour, who, with uncommon Equanimity, bore his Exile in the Island of Naxos, and That under Constantine the Great, in whose Favour he afterwards had so great a share, that, by his Permission, he destroyed many Statues of the ancient Gods. After whose Death, the sole Autho-

(1) Petrus Alcyonius, in Medice Legato priore, fol. 104.

rity being lodged in Julian, he was by his Command cut to pieces; and the inhuman Tyrant, moreover, ordered his Grandees to feed on the Entrails of this most innocent and holy Man.' Perhaps the Matter is a little amplified; but if his Design was particularly to blacken the apostate Prince, by some probable Additions, why did he not also suppress some things? his Rhetorical way of writing permitted it. Why should he mention the Idols which Cyril broke to pieces? This Circumstance extremely abates the Gentile Cruelty. The Catholics may judge of it by their own Practice. When the Duke of *Alva* put so many Protestants to death in the Low Countries, his Scruples, upon that Account, were easily removed, by remembering, that they were Enemies to Images. It must be granted, that Martyrs obtain a pure Crown, when they can not be reproached to have made use of Hatchets against consecrated Statues, &c.

CYRUS, Son of *Darius Notbus*, King of *Persia*, became famous for his Noble Qualities, but much more so by the War he undertook against his Brother *Artaxerxes*. *Darius*, their Father, perceiving his Death approaching, re-called him from the Government of a Province he had committed to him. *Cyrus* brought with him *Tissaphernes*, in whom he entirely confided; but That Man deceived him; for he persuaded *Artaxerxes*, who succeeded *Darius*, that *Cyrus* was contriving something against him. This so provoked the King, that he would have destroyed *Cyrus*, if *Parisatis* their Mother had not warded off the blow; not content with saving his Life, she also procured for him the Government of the Province he had before obtained of King *Darius*. *Cyrus* was no sooner returned, than he began to form designs of Ambition and Revenge, making all necessary Preparations, both to revenge his Brother's ill Treatment, and seize his Crown. He took care to engage in his Service some good *Greek* Captains, who had fled from their own Country, to whom he gave Orders to raise Troops, and thus began his March, concealing his real Intention under divers Pretences. His Money soon failed him; but, without being discouraged at it, he had the happiness to meet a Queen, who did not satisfy herself with bringing him Money [A]. Although his mercenary Troops created him much uneasiness, yet he passed the *Euphrates*, and promised himself a decisive Victory. In the mean time *Artaxerxes*, who had been well informed, by *Tissaphernes*, of *Cyrus's* Preparations, had neglected nothing to be in a good Condition to receive him. He marched to meet him with a fine Army; the Battle was fought near *Babylon*, and it is believed, *Cyrus* would have been Conqueror, if he had not perished in it, by fighting with too much Courage, and too little Caution (a) [B]. *Aspasia*, his Concubine, fell into the Hands of *Artaxerxes*, and was considered as one of the chief parts of the Body. We shall give you an Abridgment of her History, in the Remark [C]. She did not abuse

(a) Taken from the first Book of *Xenophon's* History of the Expedition of *Cyrus* the younger. The Battle between the two Brothers, in which *Cyrus* was killed, was fought the 3d Year of the 9th Olympiad, which answers to the 353d Year of Rome, according to *Calvisius*.

[A] He met with a Queen, who was not contented to bring him Money. Her Name was *Epyaxa*: she was Wife of *Syennesis*, King of *Cilicia*. She came very seasonably to *Cyrus*; for he owed almost four Months Pay to his Troops, and found himself every Day teized before his Door by Crouds of Soldiers, demanding their Arrears. As it was not his Custom to send them away without Money when he had it, he was much embarrassed, fearing they would conclude, that, since he used to pay well when he could, his Treasures were entirely exhausted. Such an Opinion might cause his whole Enterprize to miscarry. *Epyaxa* put him out of his Pain; for, upon her Arrival, he gave the Army four Months Pay; and, either out of Gratitude to her, or because the Queen would not confer her Favours by halves, he freely cohabited with her. At least this was the common Opinion. *Εὐλαγία* δὲ Κίον καὶ συγχεῖσθαι τῇ Κιλίσσῃ (1). It is commonly reported that she lay with *Cyrus*. To oblige her, he reviewed all his Troops before her, and made them perform their Exercise; and the *Greeks*, making a shew of charging the *Barbarians*, and routing them, the Queen was seized with fear, and fled also. She returned to *Cilicia*, with a good Guard, which *Cyrus* gave her, and arrived, five Days before him, at *Tarbis*, the capital City of the Kingdom of *Syennesis*. But, notwithstanding all the Favour and Service she had done him, the

(1) *Xenophon* de *Cyri* Exped. lib. 1, pag. m. 146.

City was pillaged by the Soldiers, and, which is strange, *Syennesis* would not trust himself with *Cyrus*, though he had trusted his Wife with him. At length, by his Wife's Persuasion, he paid *Cyrus* a Visit, and received some Presents from him, which cost him dear; being obliged to furnish a good Sum of Money to subsist his Troops, and preserve his Country from plunder (2).

[B] He was killed in fighting with too much Courage, and too little Caution. The *Greeks* that were in his Pay had so routed the *Persians*, who opposed them, that *Cyrus*, overjoyed, was saluted King by all about him. He had with him a Body of Six hundred Men to observe the main body of *Artaxerxes's* Army; as soon as he perceived them in Motion, he immediately charged them with this Troop; and, breaking through the first Ranks, routed Six thousand Men of the Regiment of Guards, and killed their Leader; after which, seeing the King, his Brother, he spurred his Horse towards him, and wounded him with his Lance (3). The Fight was sharp, and *Cyrus*, attended by a very few, was overpowered and slain (4).

[C] We shall give you an Abridgment of her History in the Remarks. *Aspasia*, was the Daughter of *Hermotimus*, and born at *Phocæa* (5). According to *Ælian's* Description of her, she must have been a most accomplished Woman, in Body and Mind. Her Name was *Milto*, before she came to *Cyrus*; but

(2) Taken from *Xenophon's* first Book of the Expedition of *Cyrus* the younger, p. m. 145, 147.

(3) *Ctesias*, who was in *Artaxerxes's* Army, says in his History, that he dressed the Wound. *Xenoph.* de *Cyri* Expeditione, lib. 1, pag. 157.

(4) Taken from *Xenoph.* lib. 1. See also *Plutarch's* Life of *Artaxerxes*.

(5) *Φωκαία*. *Plut.* in *Pericle*, pag. 165. *Amiot* has ill translated native of the *Phocæa*.

the Complaisance of Cyrus, and behaved with so much Art, that she obtained the

Love

(6) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist.
lib. 12, cap. 1.

but that Prince made her change it, giving her the Name of *Pericles's* celebrated Mistress (6). *Hermotimus*, whose Wife died in Child-bed of our *Aspasia*, gave her an Education agreeable to the Meannets of his Estate. During her Infancy she underwent a great uneasiness; she was the finest Child in the World; but a Tumour happened to break out on her Chin, which terribly disfigured her. And a Physician, her Father brought her, too cruelly refused his Assistance, upon his not being able to pay him his Price. She returned home disconsolate, her Glass helping to encourage her Grief. Ἀπλάσσα ἔξω ἔκλειπεν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κάτοπτρον καὶ ὁρῶσα ἑαυτὴν ἐν αὐτῷ σφόδρα ἠλγει. *A medico digressa in acerbissimo luctu versata est, et speculum in genibus tenens, seque in ipso contemplata*

(7) Ælian. *ibid.*

gebementer doluit (7). At length, by a Dream, she learned a Remedy which cured her; and afterwards became the finest Woman of her Age. Her Hair was light and curled, she had large Eyes, a hawked Nose, small Ears, a delicate Skin, a lovely Complexion of white and red, her Lips were of an admirable red, her Teeth whiter than snow, her Feet and Legs perfectly well shaped, and her Voice so sweet, that, when she spoke, one would have thought he had heard the Sirens sing. Her extraordinary Beauty was purely owing to Nature; for neither her own Humour, nor her Father's Fortune, would allow her to encrease it by borrowed Charms. The Governour of those Parts under *Cyrus*, the King of Persia's Son, took her against her own, and her Father's Will, and brought her to *Cyrus*, together with other beautiful young Women. She was presented to that Prince, just as he rose from Table; and was sitting down to drinking, according to the Custom of the Country. There were three other Greek Girls with her, who were not at all of her Temper; they suffered themselves readily to be painted, and dressed up, having admirably well retained the Lessons their Nurses had taught them, in what manner to behave when *Cyrus* should come to them, to play with, caress, and kiss them. Ὅσων δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν δίδασκοντο, ὅπως τε ὑποδραμεῖν χρὴ τὸν Κύρου, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὁπνεύσαι, καὶ προσεῖν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποσσεσθῆναι, καὶ ἀπλομενῶς μὴ δυσχερῶσαι, καὶ φιλεῖν ὅπως οὐκ ὀφείλουσι, ἐταίρικα δὲ μὴ καθήματα, καὶ διδάγματα γυναικῶν καπιλικῶς τῷ κάλλει χερμαίνον ἔργα. Et à nutricibus acciperent documenta, quemadmodum erga *Cyrum* se gerere deberent: quomodo insinuare se illi & adblandiri, & non refugere, si accederet, neque si tangeret, ægere ferre, & osculum admittere eas oportere, omnibus denique præceptis & institutis amatoriis, quibus uti mulieres, quibus sua venalis est forma, solent, instructæ (8).—*They had learnt from their Governesses how to receive Cyrus, in what manner to make their Court to him; not to turn aside at his Approaches, or seem afflicted at a Touch, but to allow his Kisses, with all the wanton Lectures, and Instructions, in which Women, who set their Charms to sale, are usually instructed.* They strove who should please him most; but *Millo* expressed so much Aversion to the State she was designed for, that they were under a Necessity to force her, by blows, to put on the Habits that were given upon such Occasions; and whilst her Companions, by ogling and smiles, did all they could to charm the Prince, she only wept, not daring to lift up her Eyes; such Shame did her native Modesty cause in her to see herself in that Condition. When *Cyrus* bid them sit down by him, the other did at the first word; but our *Aspasia* not without Force: The rest permitted *Cyrus* to touch them, as much as he pleased; *Aspasia* alone would not allow the least Freedom, and even threatened *Cyrus*; as soon he but touched her with his Finger, and, upon his laying his Hand on her Breast, she rose up, and endeavoured to fly from him. *Cyrus*, in Justice to her, declared that of all who had been brought him she was the only one that was truly a Novice in those Affairs; and he entertained a stronger Passion for her than for all the Women he had ever enjoyed. Ἀφραγὰς τῇ χειρὶ μόνον τὴν Κύρου προσελάμνατο, ἐξελθούσα τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν οἰμώζεσθαι τοῖς αὐτὰ δρῶντα, ὑπερηγάθη τούτοις ὁ Κύρος. ἔπα-

(8) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(9) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(10) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(11) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(12) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(13) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(14) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(15) Plut. *ibid.*
Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

νισαμένης τε αὐτῆς καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς φερούσης, ἔπει καὶ τῶν μαζῶν προσήλατο, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν ὑπερηγάθη τὴν εὐγένειαν & Περσικῶς ὁ τῷ Δαρείῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν ἀγορεύον, ταύτην μόνην, ἔρη, ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἀδιάρθεον ἠγάγετο. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ καπιλικῶς ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν εἶδος ἐπὶ, καὶ τὸν τρόπον πολλόν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὁ Κύρος πλεον ταύτην ἠγάπησεν, αἷς οὐκ ὀκνήσας ποτὶς ἀνθρώποις. Si enim extrema manu fateretur *Cyrus* attingeret, exclamabat, dicebatque eum non impune laturum, quod talia fecisset. Ea re supra modum delectatus est *Cyrus*, & quum attrectante mamillas, illa surgeret, & se in pedes conjiceret, contra Persarum consuetudinem ardente amore *Cyrus* erga ingenuitatem ejus flagare coepit, respiciensque ad emptorem: hanc, inquit, solam ingenuam & incorruptam adduxisti: reliquæ verò tum facie tum magis etiam moribus fucatæ sunt. Quamobrem *Cyrus* eam plas amavit omnibus cum quibus unquam consuetudinem habuisset (9).—*If Cyrus touched her with a single Finger, she cried out, and threatened Revenge, at which he was extremely pleased; but if he offered to stroke her Breast, she arose and endeavoured to quit the Room; here Cyrus was transported in a manner unusual to the Persians, and, turning to the Merchant, said, This is the only accomplished, and unstained, Beauty you have brought, but the Charms of the rest are artificial, and their Minds are still more evidently debauched. Wherefore Cyrus had a greater Affection for her, than for any Woman with whom he had ever conversed. Plutarch says almost the same thing. It is true, he says not, that Aspasia threatened Cyrus, but those that would bring her to him: Βυλομένην δὲ προσέλαυν τῶν καλῶν τῶν, οὐκ ὀκνήσας μὲν τοῖς τούτων (ἴπαι) ὅς ἄν ἐμοὶ προσελάυν τὰς χεῖρας. Παρὰ τούτοις ἀδύνατον ἴψαν cubicularίῳ, ὡς εἰ, inquit, mibi qui admovent manus (10).*

(9) Ælian. *ibid.*
pag. 545.

(10) Plut. in *Aspaxerxes* pag. 1024, 1025.

She was useful to *Cyrus*, not only in the Pleasures of Love, but also by her Counsels. He consulted her in the most difficult matters, and never repented, that he followed her Advice: her Capacity was therefore as great as her Beauty. Thus qualified, a Prince's Mistress commonly goes very far; and if she has not the substantial Part of Government and Sovereignty, she wants but a little of it. As to Rank and Dignity, *Cyrus* lived with *Aspasia*, almost as with a lawful Wife; and it is believed, after he once knew her, he had nothing more to do with other Women. It cannot therefore be thought strange, that the Rise of a Greek Maid to such a Degree, should make so much noise at the Court of the great King (11). This Reputation was of great Service to *Aspasia*; for, after *Cyrus* was killed, they diligently sought for her, by *Artaxerxes's* Order. They found her disconsolate, and, in spite of her Opposition, they put on her the Robes the King sent her: she appeared so charming in this Dress, that he fell desperately in Love with her, and, though he thought it a Point of Honour to make her forget his Brother, it was long before he could succeed. *Aspasia* alone was able to comfort him for the Loss of *Teridates*, the most beautiful of his Eunuchs (12).

(11) So they filled the Persian King. See Remark: [A], of the Article *ARTABAN IV.*

(12) Taken from Ælian. lib. 12, cap. 1.

Xenophon relates one thing, which is not very consistent with what we have said, that *Cyrus* was content with *Aspasia* alone. He mentions two Concubines of that Prince, one of *Phocæa*, the other of *Miletus*. This was younger than the other, and made her escape from the Persians, the Day that *Cyrus* was killed. She of *Phocæa* remained in the Enemy's Hands. The Historian says, she had Wit and Beauty. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σύν αὐτῷ τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διατρέχοντες καὶ τὴν Φοκαῖδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγόμενὴν εἶναι, καμῆσαι. ἡ δὲ Μιλήσια ἡ νεώτερος ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς βασιλέα ἐκτρέφει γυνὴν πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. (Rei interim cum suis castra diripit, ac Cyri ipsius palli, cum Phocæam eximia specie ac prudentia etiam, uti fama ferebatur) mulierem abducit. Namque altera natu minor Milefia à regia cohorte capta nuda efugit (13).—*The King and his Party ransacked the Tent, and carried off one of the Concubines*

(13) *Xenophon*, lib. 1, Exped. Cyri, sub. fin.

Love of Parysatis [D]. As she looked upon this Favour, as a Blessing from Heaven upon her, she did not fail to return public Tokens of her Gratitude to the Goddess Venus [E]. If all be true that is reported of her, her Beauty must have continued with her a prodigious while [F]. For the rest, it appears by Cyrus's Letter

to

of Cyrus, a Phoecean, and (according to Report) of extraordinary Beauty and Discretion. But the other, a Milesian, and younger, made her escape naked from the Guards, after she had been taken. This was our Aspasia. It is not likely, that Cyrus should bring with him two Concubines, and leave the youngest neglected. If he had brought a Regiment of them, it might be said, the greatest part were only for show; but it cannot be supposed this was the Case, when they were only two. Besides, does not Xenophon say, it was thought that Cyrus lay with the Queen of Cilicia. This refutes Ælian's Tradition; for Aspasia had been with Cyrus long before that. Observe, that Xenophon used the word *σὸν* differently from Plutarch: the latter uses it in a manner, that is more honourable for Aspasia: he does not say, as Xenophon, that Aspasia was reported to be wife; but he says, that Cyrus called her *the Wise* (14).

(14) Plut. in Artaxerxe, p. 1025.

[D] She obtained the Love of Parysatis. One Day Cyrus had a Present made him of a very fine Necklace, she shewed it to Aspasia, and told her it was worthy of the Daughter, or Mother, of a King. She confessed it was; upon which, he commanded her to take it, and wear it; but she artfully refused, telling him it was fitter for the Queen-Mother, and advising him to send it her; for, continues she, you will find my Neck fine enough without this Ornament. Cyrus lent the Necklace to his Mother, and writ her the whole Conversation. Parysatis received the Letter with as much Joy as the Present; being extremely pleased to see that Aspasia did not desire a greater share of Cyrus's Affection than she herself had. She sent her magnificent Presents: all which Aspasia gave to Cyrus, telling him he wanted them more than she. Such a Conduct is very praiseworthy, few Women using their good Fortune with so much Moderation. *Ἀσπασία μὲν ἔμεγαλοφρόνως, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς γυναῖκας εὐαίμωνες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐδεχσέναι ὑπὲρ εἰσθᾶσι γυναῖκας δρᾶν. φιλόκοσμοι γὰρ εἰσι δεινῶς.* Aspasia itaque animi magnitudine præstans, contrarium reliquis regum uxoribus faciens, eas longe superavit. Sunt enim illæ rerum ad ornatum mundumque pertinentium plus æquo studiosæ (15). — Aspasia acted with a greatness of Soul, superior to what we find usually in Women: who are too fond of adorning themselves. Aspasia was contented with the Heart of Cyrus, and made this only use of his Favour, to enrich her Father Hermotimus (16), (which did not require any great Sum of Money) and to testify her Gratitude to Venus, as we are going to see.

(15) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 2, p. 548.

(16) Id. p. 547.

[E] She did not fail to return public Tokens of her Gratitude to the Goddess Venus. In her Infancy she often dreamed, that she should be exalted to a high Fortune (17). After the Physician had refused to cure her, she dreamt she saw a Pigeon, which, being changed into a Woman, told her the true Remedy for her Illness was to take Nosegays of Roses, consecrated to Venus, and apply them to the Tumour, when they were dried. She did it, and they dissipated the Tumour (18). Seeing herself so powerful with Cyrus, she concluded, that Venus had long ago honoured her with her Protection. Therefore she offered Sacrifices to that Goddess; she consecrated to her a Statue of fine Gold, placing before it a Pigeon, glittering with Jewels, and every Day recommended herself to this Idol, by Prayers and Oblations (19).

(17) Id. p. 540.

(18) Id. p. 547.

(19) Id. p. 547.

[F] If all be true that is reported of her, her Beauty must have continued a prodigious while with her. Artaxerxes lived Ninety four Years, and reigned Sixty two (20). Some Years before his Death, he declared his Son Darius his Successor (21). Darius was then fifty Years old. There was a Persian Law, that whoever was nominated King, should ask a Present, and he that nominated him King should give it him, if possible. Darius asked Aspasia. The King, his Father, was vexed at that Demand, though, besides his Wife, he had, at that Time, Three hundred and sixty very beautiful Con-

(20) Plut. in Artaxerxe, sub fin.

(21) Id. p. 1024.

bines. He answered, that Aspasia was at Liberty; if she pleased, she might give herself to Darius, but no Violence should be used. Aspasia, being called, declared her Intention of going with Darius, and, accordingly, she was delivered to him; but after Artaxerxes had made this Present to his Son, he found out this Stratagem to refuse it. He made her Priests of Diana, by which Office she was bound to Continency, and a single Life. Darius was so enraged at this, that he conspired against his Father, and thereby absolutely ruined himself. Thus Plutarch informs us (22). Justin relates the same in Substance; only he does not say, as Plutarch does, that Aspasia was made Priests of Diana Anitis, who was worshipped at Ecbatane, but Priests of the Sun, and thereby Continency was enjoined her. *Hanc patrem cedere sibi fecit regnum Darius postulaverat: qui pro indulgentia sua in liberos primo facturum se dixerat: mox penitentia ductus, ut honeste negaret quod temere promiserat, solis eam sacerdotio præfecit, quo perpetua illi ab omnibus viris pudicitia imponebatur* (23). — Darius had requested her of his Father with the Kingdom, who, out of an common Indulgence to his Children, readily consented; but afterwards, repenting his too hasty Compliance, made her Priests of the Sun (whereby she was enjoined a perpetual Chastity), that he might, with Honour, retract his Promise. This is very surprizing; for Aspasia, as Plutarch observes, was Cyrus's favourite Mistress, before she had the same Place with Artaxerxes. All Historians agree, that Cyrus's Expedition was in the first Years of Artaxerxes's Reign. We will suppose, with Calvisius, that the Battle, in which Cyrus lost his Life, was fought the third Year of this Reign. We will suppose, that Artaxerxes chose Darius for his Successor in the Fifty eighth Year of his Reign; it does not appear, by Plutarch's Account, that That Prince lived above two or three Years after Darius was crowned King. Then Aspasia must have been Artaxerxes's Concubine Fifty five Years. She could not be less than twenty Years old at Cyrus's Death. She must be Seventy five Years old, when the new King requested her as a particular Favour, and when the King, with whom she had lived Fifty five Years, could not part with her. So that, at such an Age, she must have had still extraordinary Charms. Is not this strange? can one imagine, without laughing, that a Woman of almost eighty Years must be made a Priestess, that no Man might enjoy her? at such an Age must one be bound to Continency by a religious Vow? is not such an Age a much surer Rampart against the Desires and amorous Addresses of Men, than the venerable Office of Priestess? I do not remember, that any Critic urges these Difficulties against Plutarch, or observes that this Lady must have preserved her Beauty a long time, but I find this Remark in a Book written by a Courtier. *We read, says he (24), that Artaxerxes, of all his Women, loved Aspasia the best, who was very old, and yet very fair, and who had been his late Brother's Mistress. Darius, his Son, fell in love with her: so beautiful she was, notwithstanding her Age, that he demanded her of his Father, at the same time that he divided the Kingdom with him; the Father, out of Jealousy, that he might not partake of this Dainty, made her Priests of the Sun, because, in Persia, those, who are in that Office, are entirely devoted to Chastity.* It was not Brantome's Interest to criticize upon Plutarch; on the contrary, it was his Business to find, in this Author, the foregoing Chronology. You must know Brantome mentions several Ladies, who had been very charming in the latter Season of their Lives, even to the Winter of their Age, to their seventieth Year. This he affirms of the Duchess of Valentinois, and of another, mentioned before (25). For the rest, the great Wildom, for which Aspasia has been commended, does not appear in her Choice of Darius. She prefers the Son

(22) Id. p. 1024; & seq.

(23) Just. lib. 10, cap. 2.

(24) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, p. 227.

(25) In Remark [G], of the Article ARRAGON (JOAN of).

to the Lacedemonians, that he did not stick, when it was necessary, to make the usual Promises of Princes in such Cases [G].

to the Father, the rising Sun to the setting Sun, forgetting the constant Friendship *Artaxerxes* had had for her so many Years. This verifies in her the Spanish Proverb, *Que ningunas damas lindas, o a lo menos pocas, se bajen viejas de la cinta hasta a bacco*; that is, *That none, or at least very few, Ladies, grow old below the Girdle*. Brantome says, (26), that hearing this Proverb mentioned to a certain Lady, she asked her how she understood it, 'Whether it meant, that old Age did not destroy the Beauty of the Body below the Girdle, or that the natural Appetite and Desire did not decline at that time of Life? She replied, she understood it of both, for, tho' Age weakens the Strength of Concupiscence, it is not entirely destroyed till Death.'

(26) Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 198, 199.

(27) Μισθὸς τοῦς ἐρατευομένοις καὶ ἀρβύρων ἀλλὰ μίσθον ἵστοῦται. Stipendium militibus non annumeraturum sed admenstrum. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe, pag. 1013, F.

[G] It appears, by *Cyrus's Letter to the Lacedemonians*, that he did not stick, when it was necessary, to make the usual Promises of Princes in such Cases. He wrote to them for Troops, and, in his Letter, promises so many Advantages to all that would join him, that every Man had reason to conclude, that he should make his Fortune by entering into his Service. They shall not receive their Pay, says *Cyrus*, by Tale, but by Measure (27).

He made no Secret of his Design, boasting he was more worthy of the Throne than his Brother.

I have more Courage, says he, than He (28), I (28) Id. ibid.

I am a better Philosopher, I understand Magic better, I can drink better, and bear more Wine than He can (29). He is an effeminate Coward, that durst not even ride on Horse-back when he hunts, nor dares He, in time of Danger, sit on his Throne.

The Ingenuity of *Cyrus* is very extraordinary: he does not conceal, from the Lacedemonians, his Intentions of dethroning *Artaxerxes*; he did not tell them, as is the Practice in all Civil Wars, that he had no design upon the Crown, but only to drive evil Counsellors from the King, who abuse his Name to oppress the People, and overthrow the Laws. He knew the Lacedemonians would be glad that the Crown of Persia should be upon the Head of one, under great Obligations to them; for this reason he did not hide from them his true Design. No doubt, when his Interest required it, he made the accustomed Protestations; and I am persuaded, at this Day, no Scruple would be made to communicate such a Secret to any neighbouring Princes, who might hope to be Gainers by such a Change.

(29) Οἶνον δὲ πλείονα πίνειν καὶ φέρειν. Vinum potare & ferre largius. Id. p. 1014, A.

CLARUS (JULIUS) one of the best Civilians of the XVIth Century, was born at *Alexandria*, in the *Milanese*, of a *Patrician* Family. He undertook a great Work, and what is called, by the Civilians, The received Opinions, *Receptæ Sententiæ*; that is, such as most of the Doctors commonly follow. His public Employments not allowing him sufficient time to finish such a Work [A], he published part of it [B], and at length declared his Resolution to give it over (a), since, being obliged to follow the King Spain, he had not leisure to revise what he had wrote, which would also require a greater number of Books, than he could carry with him (b). He set out from *Madrid*, upon his Travels into *Italy*, and being arrived at *Carthagena*, he was seized with a Distemper, which carried him off the thirteenth of April, 1575: he was buried at *Milan*, in the Church of Peace, in a Tomb he had built for himself, Anno 1566 (c): he was born the sixth of January 1525 (d).

(a) Julius Clarus, Prefat. lib. 5, Sentent. Recept.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Konig, deceived by the date of Julius Clarus's Epitaph, falsely believed he died in 1566; but it is the Date of the setting up the Monument.

(d) Taken from Ghilini, Parte I, pag. 131, 132.

[A] He undertook a great Work - - - which his Employments did not allow him Time to finish. The War having forced him to retire to *Mantua*, he employed himself in revising his Work, in order to publish it; but, hearing the King of Spain had made him Counsellor of the Senate of *Milan*, he gave it over (1). Some Years after, he was made President of the extraordinary Questors, and Prefect of the *Annona* (2), and Master of the Waters. While he discharged his Duty, with the utmost Diligence, in these Places, they sent for him into Spain, where Philip II made him Counsellor in the supreme Council of *Italy*. He therefore quitted his Country, his Wife and Children, and was obliged to travel thro' France, Spain, and Flanders, and leave the best part of his Writings unfinished (3).

(1) Julius Clarus, Epistola dedicata Tractat de Testamentis, &c.

(2) As much as to say Intendant of the Provisions.

(3) Julius Clarus, in Prefat. lib. 5, Recept. Sentent.

[B] He published part of it. His Design was to publish a Work *Receptarum Sententiarum*, in seven Books. In the first he treated *De Legibus & Constitutionibus*; in the second, *De Jure Personarum*; in the third, *De Materia Successionum & ultimarum voluntatum*; in the fourth, *De Contractibus*; in the fifth, *De Maleficiis*; in the sixth *De Civilibus Judiciis*; the seventh was to contain good Indexes to the whole Work, together with some Tracts not directly relating to the six preceding Books. But he only published, first, a Treatise of Feudis, three Years (4) after he was preferred to be Counsellor of *Milan*: it was a Fragment of the fourth Book. Some time after, he published a Tract de Testamentis, being part of the third Book, which he dedicated to *Antony Perrenot* Bishop of *Arras*; the Dedication is dated from *Milan*, May 1, 1559: this was followed by a Treatise de Donationibus & de Jure Emphyteutico, Parts of the fourth Book. At last he published the fifth Book entire, concerning Criminal Matters. All these Tracts are collected together

in the Edition of *Frankfort*, in Folio, in 1572, by the Care of *John Fichard*, a Civilian, and Syndic of that City. There have been several Editions (5) in different Places, and sometimes with Additions borrowed from other Writers. Mr *Moreri*, copying *Ghilini*, without quoting him, gives the Titles of Julius Clarus's Writings very wrong. His Words are: 'He composed several Tracts: Opera Juridica. Receptarum Sententiarum Opera omnia. Volumen in quo omnium Criminum materia sub acceptis sententiis copiosissime tractatur.' This is saying nothing in particular, but repeating the same thing three or four times in different Terms. The work is, it is believed all the Works he mentions differed one from another, which is a great Mistake. The Praises that *John Fichard* bestowed on our *Julius Clarus* are just, and ought not to be suspected of Flattery, on Pretence, that he advised his dear Companion, *Sigismund Feyrabend*, to reprint the Works of that Author.

Inter illos jam recitatos (Jurisperitos) cum hic Julius Clarus vir multis certe nominibus insignis, five generosos natus - - - five eruditionem (in Jure potissimum civili) plane raram, five dexteritatem denique in his quæ tractanda sibi sumit felicissimam spectemus, facile princeps sit, &c. (6). — Far superior to all these (Lawyers) was Julius Clarus, a Man eminent in many Accounts, for his Birth, - - - for his uncommon Knowledge (especially in the Civil Law), and a peculiar Happiness in handling his Subjects. This Pretence is sometimes good; for when a Man is obliged to praise for the Honour of his own Judgment, and the Benefit of a Bookseller he favours and directs, the Expressions of Approbation he bestows on the Author, are not always in a just Proportion to his Merit.

(5) Mine is the Edition of *Frankfort*, 1582, in Folio.

(6) Jo. Fichard. Epist. Dedicatoria Operum Julii Clari.

CLAUDIUS

CLAUDIUS, in *Latin* Tiberius Claudius Drusus, the Roman Emperor, ascended the Throne after the Death of *Caligula* his Nephew, in the Year of Rome 794 (a). Mr *Moreri* speaks largely of him. I shall examine another time what he says, and what I could add to it. At present, I shall content myself with observing, that this Emperor would suffer none in public Employments, who did not understand the *Latin* Tongue. For this Reason he discharged a Magistrate descended from one of the most Illustrious *Greek* Families, and reduced him to the Condition of a Foreigner. *Rome* had long expressed this Jealousy for the Majesty of her own Language, and the same Passion hath passed into other Countries [A].

However

[A] He would not suffer any in public Employments, who did not understand the *Latin* Tongue.

----- *Rome* had long expressed this Jealousy for the Majesty of it's Language, and the same Passion hath passed into other Countries.] I have already prepared (1) my Readers for some Facts concerning the Zeal of People for their own Language. I will begin with proving what I have said of the Emperor *Claudius*.

'Splendidum virum, Græciæque provinciæ principem, verum Latini sermonis ignorantum, non modo albo judicium erat, sed etiam in peregrinitatem redegit (2). — He not only

'struck out of the List of Judges, but likewise disfranchis'd an eminent Man, and a Deputy of the Province of Greece, but ignorant of the *Latin* Tongue.' Sitting upon an Affair of Consequence, concerning the *Lycians*, he asked something of one of their Deputies, who was born in *Lycia*, but had obtained the Freedom of *Rome*; he asked it in *Latin*, and finding the Deputy did not understand him, he deprived him of his Freedom, saying, *They ought not to be Romans who were ignorant of the Roman Language*. Εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διδασκὴν αὐτὸν ἐπιστάμενον. Dicens Romanum eum esse non debere qui sermonem eum nesciret (3). Observe here an Error of *Cassaubon*: he supposes that this Deputy was born at *Rome* (4), and perhaps consulted the *Latin* Version with more Care than the *Greek* Text. For if he had examined well the Force of these Words: Λυκίς μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄρος, Ῥωμαῖς δὲ γέγονός. A *Lycian* originally, but at that time a Citizen of *Rome*; he would have known, that, considering the following Words, they were ill translated *Lycium* quidem origine, Romanum tamen natum.

----- Of a *Lycian* Family, but born at *Rome*. *Xiphilin's* Translator has done better in giving them this turn: *Qui olim Lycius, tum Civis Romanus erat* (5). *Valerius Maximus* observes, as a Proof of the ancient Gravity of the *Romans*, that the Magistrates always answered the *Greeks* in *Latin*, obliging them to make use of an Interpreter. They did this not only at *Rome*, but also in *Greece* and *Asia*, and, that we may see the whole extent of their Politics, I will produce the Passage of that Author, in which the Ambition of the *Romans* is observable, with respect to the Propagation of their Language. 'Magistratus vero prisci quantopere suam populi que Romani majestatem retinentes se gesserint, hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendæ gravitatis indicia, illud quoque magna cum persequerantia custodiebant, ne Græcis unquam, nisi Latine responsa darent. Quinetiam ipsa linguæ volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excussa, per interpretem loqui cogebant; non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Græcia, & Asia: quo scilicet Latine vocis honores per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur. Nec illis deerant studia doctrinæ, sed nulla non in re palium togæ subjici debere arbitrabantur: indignum esse existimantes, illecebris, & suavitatē literarum imperii pondus & auctoritatem domari (6). — How zealous the old Magistrates were of maintaining their own, and the Majesty of the Roman People, may hence be learnt, that, amongst other

Instances of enforcing their Grandeur, they laid it down as an unalterable Maxim, never to treat with the *Greeks* but in *Latin*; and obliged them moreover to deliver, by an Interpreter, what had flowed from a Volubility of Tongue peculiar to that People; and that not only in Italy, but in *Greece* and *Asia*; that the Honour of the Roman Language might be diffused with greater Majesty through all Nations. Nor yet were they wanting

'in the Studies of Language, but thought, that Greece ought to submit to Rome in every thing; and that the Force and Majesty of Empire ought to have the Preference of Delicacy and Sweetness of Language.' A little after he observes, that the Orator *Molo*, who taught *Cicero* Eloquence, was the first that was allowed to speak *Greek* in the Senate, which afterwards became a Custom. 'Quis ergo huic consuetudini, qua nunc Græcis actionibus aures curiæ exfurdantur, januam patefecit? ut opinor, *Molo* rhetor, qui studia *M. Cicero*nis acuit. Eum namque ante omnes exterarum gentium in senatu sine interprete auditum constat. Quem honorem non immerito cepit, quoniam summam vim Romanæ eloquentiæ adjuverat (7). — Who first introduced this Custom, by which the Ears of the Court are stunned with Pleadings in

Greek? I believe it to be *Molo*, the Rhetorician, who first improved *Cicero*'s Studies. For it is certain he was the first Foreigner, who was heard in the Senate without an Interpreter. Of which *Honour* he was not unworthy, having improved the utmost Force of Roman Eloquence.' *Dion* confirms what *Valerius Maximus* says, that they pleaded Causes, in *Rome*, in *Greek*, under the Empire of *Tiberius* (8). Nevertheless, the Emperor would not suffer, that a native *Greek* Soldier should give his Evidence before the Judges in his own Tongue (9); according to *Dion*. *Suetonius* also speaks of this; but it is not likely he should say what is found in the Editions: 'Militem quoque Græce testimonium interrogatum nisi Latine respondere vetuit (10). — He ordered, that a Soldier, though interrogated in *Greek*, should give his Evidence only in *Latin*.' It ought rather to be read *Græcum* than *Græce*; for it was as much unworthy the Majesty of *Rome* to interrogate the Witnesses in *Greek*, as to suffer them to answer in *Greek*; wherefore we ought to conclude, that if *Tiberius* permitted the one, he would not forbid the other; and that since he hindered them from answering in *Greek*, he would not suffer them to be examined in the same Language. *Suetonius* relates how scrupulous he was when under a Necessity of using a *Greek* Word in the Senate (11); he rather chose they should be

guilty of a Circumlocution in the Edicts than insert a foreign Word (12). But we must not expect here a general Rule, without Exception; nor is an exact Uniformity of Conduct to be found in the best regulated States. Therefore we must not be surprized to hear the *Roman* Ambassador make his Speech, to the *Tarentines*, in *Greek*. He pronounced the Language ill; they laughed at him; and That was one of the Indignities that he suffered, and which the *Roman* Republic resented very much to their own Prejudice (13). The *Romans* had not then the Ascendant, as when they reproached *Cicero* as guilty of an unpardonable Fault, for speaking *Greek* in a *Greek* Senate. 'Ille negat & ait indignum facinus esse quod ego in Senatu Græco verba fecissem, quod quidem apud Græcos Græcè loquutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse (14). — He maintains it to be an unpardonable Offence in me to speak in an Assembly of *Greeks*; and that my using the *Greek* Language before the *Greeks* was not to be born.' This was the Complaint against him, and not that he spoke *Greek*, in his House, with *Carneades*, and the other Ambassadors of *Greece*. He that represents this matter thus betrays the grossest Ignorance: 'In Verbinis etiam invenimus *Marco Tullio* quasi crimen obiectum quod domi cum *Carneade* cæterisque Græciæ legatis Græcè colloquutus fuisset (15). — In the Orations against *Verres*, we find it objected to *Cicero*, as a Crime, to have spoken

Greek,

(1) See Remark [F], of the Article ATTILA.

(2) Suet in Claudio, cap. 16.

(3) Dio, lib. 60, ad Ann. 796, pag. m. 777.

(4) De Legato Lyciorum quodam oriundo quidem è Lycia sed nato Romæ. *Cassaub.* in *Sueton.* Claud. cap. 16.

(5) Xiphil. in Claudio, pag. m. 143.

(6) *Valerius* Max. lib. 2, cap. 2, n. 2, pag. m. 147, 141.

(7) Id. ibid. n. 3, pag. 142.

(8) Dio, lib. 57, p. 702, ad Ann. 796.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Suet. in Tiberio, cap. 71.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) *Dionysius* Halic. in Excerptis Legat.

(14) *Cicero*, Orat. 4, in Verrem, cap. 66.

(15) *Bretus*, in Ordine periti quo Judiciorum Civilium, c. 63, fol. 85, verso.

However this Emperor had a great value for the Greek Tongue (b), and even made use of it to give Answers to Embassadors in the Senate.

(b) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 42.

'Greek, at his own House with Carneades, and the other Græcian Embassadors.' Cicero was born long after the Embassy of Carneades: but this is not the only Blunder to be found in Quotations from Mr le Bret. We must not pass by one Instance, which *Cajaubon* has turned to an ill use. *Paulus Æmilius*, having subdued the *Macedonians*, published his Commands to that conquered Nation in *Latin*; but immediately *Octavius*, the Pretor, explained them in *Greek*. 'Silentio per præconem facto Paulus Latine quæ Senatui, quæ sibi ex concilii sententia viva essent pronunciavit: ea Cn. Octavius Prætor (nam & ipse aderat) interpretata sermone Græco referebat (16).' *Cajaubon* pretends to prove, by this Passage of *Titus Livius*, that the *Roman Magistrates* used their own Tongue, because they could not express themselves well in *Greek* (17); for, continues he, those who spoke *Greek* readily used it upon every Occasion, and immediately alleges the Pretor *Octavius*. This is plainly to suppose, that *Paulus Æmilius* could not speak *Greek*, and that, if he could, he would have given his Orders in that Language; but this is false: he spoke it when he pleased (18), and if he then used the *Latin* Tongue, it was to give his Words a greater Mark of Authority, as being the Language of the Sovereign.

An infinite Number of Authors have taken notice of a Passage of *St. Austin*, which I shall copy, concerning the Policy of the ancient *Romans*, who, together with the Yoke of Servitude, imposed that of their own Language upon all the Nations they subdued. 'Opera data est ut imperiosa civitas non solum jugum, verum etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus per pacem societatis imponeret. Per quam non deesset imo & abundaret etiam interpretum copia (19).' It appears, by a Passage of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, that, in his time, it was necessary to study the Law in *Latin*; for he says, he had almost forgot *Greek*, because the *Roman Laws* were writ in a Language that gave him much trouble. 'Ἐκφρασθέντες δὲ καὶ παρὰ δόξιν τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καὶ ἀπληκτικῇ μὲν καὶ ἀλαζονίᾳ, καὶ συσχηματισμένῃ ἀντὶ τῆ ἐξουσίας βασιλικῆς, φορτικῇ δὲ ὅμως ἐμοί. Conceptæ verò sunt ac traditæ Romanorum lingua terribili illa quidem, superba, & imperium quod obtinent præ se ferente; cæterum mihi molesta & barbara (20).'

They are compiled and delivered in the intricate, pompous, Language of the Romans, such as speaks their Power, but is very perplexing to me. *Tripbanus*, the Civilian, observes, that all the Decrees of the Pretors were to be in *Latin* (21).

The Care *Rome* took to extend its Language succeeded so well, that in *Plutarch's* Time there were very few who did not speak *Latin* (22), and *Libanius* expresses great concern, that the *Greek* Tongue would be lost, the Sovereignty belonging to those, whose natural Language was *Latin* (23). The Popes concurred with the Princes in the same Care; and if the Emperor *Marcian*, who was a *Greek*, preferred the *Latin* Tongue to the *Greek*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, where he spoke first in *Latin*, and then in *Greek* (24), we also find, that the Pope's Deputies, at the Councils, always read their Dispatches in *Latin*, and they looked upon it as a Piece of Complaisance, whenever, at the Request of all the Fathers, they suffered them to be explained in *Greek* (25). The public Records were made in *Latin*, for several Ages, almost all over the West, and even after they had withdrawn their Obedience from *Rome* in Temporals. This will appear hereafter, when I shall speak of some States that abolished this Custom. I refer you to *Melchior Inchofer's* Book *Historia Sacre Latinitatis*, where you will find several curious things, and among others this, that it is probable, that *Jesus Christ* sometimes spoke *Latin*, seeing he paid so exact an Obedience to the Civil-Laws, and the *Romans* having every where established their Language, it is not likely, that he would exempt himself from this Law. Besides, being examined in *Latin* by *Pontius Pilate*, without doubt he answered in *Latin* (26). This does not well agree with what *Arnobius* says, who assures us, to wit, that *Jesus Christ* spoke

but one Language, which every one of his Auditors took to be his own natural Tongue, how different soever they were in their own Language from one another. 'Unus fuit è nobis qui cum unam emitteret vocem, ab diversis populis & diversa oratione loquentibus, familiaribus verborum sonis & suo cuique utens existimabatur eloquio (27).'

Let us now speak of the Affection, which other Nations have expressed for their own Language. The *Greeks* signalized themselves in that Respect. I might bring several remarkable Instances, but shall content myself with one. They commended *Themistocles* (28), for condemning to death the Interpreter, who had followed the *Persian* Embassadors, and explained, in *Greek*, the Command of those *Barbarians*, that the Earth and Water should be delivered up to the King, their Master (29). He thought that such a Prophanation of the *Greek* Language, to declare the Will of a *Barbarian*, could not be expiated but by the Death of the Author of such an abuse. No doubt *Greece* was extremely concerned to hear what was done at *Carthage*, in the Time of the first *Dionysius*, when a Decree was made to forbid all *Carthaginians* studying the *Greek* Tongue. The Cause and Design of this Prohibition was this; *Suniatius* had written a Letter in *Greek* to the Tyrant *Dionysius*, and they were resolved to prevent any one's speaking to the Enemy without an Interpreter: 'Dux belli Hanno Carthaginienſis erat: cujus inimicus Suniatius, potentissimus ea tempeſtate Pœnorum, cum odio ejus, Græcis literis, Dionysio adventum exercitus, & segnitie ducis familiariter prænuſtialſſet, comprehenſis epistolis, proditiſſimis damnatur: facto ſenatus conſulto, ne quis poſtea Carthaginienſis, aut literis Græcis aut ſermoni ſtuderet; ne aut loqui cum hoſte, aut ſcribere ſine interprete poſſet (30).'

Hanno, the Carthaginian, was General in this War, whose Enemy Suniatius, a Man of great Power in Carthage, out of hatred to him, expressly informed Dionysius, in Greek, of the Army's March, and the General's Inactivity; but his Papers being intercepted, he was condemned for holding a treasonable Correspondence with the Enemy, and a Decree made, whereby every Carthaginian was strictly prohibited to study Greek, that he might not converse with an Enemy, or write without an Interpreter. I have spoke, elsewhere (31), of what is said of *Attila's* Ambition for the Glory of his Language. The same has been related of some *Saracen* Princes: 'The use of the *Greek* Tongue began to be neglected in *Egypt*, after the Conquests of the *Arabians*, in the Reign of Caliph *Valid*, who resided at *Damas*, because that Prince forbade the *Greeks* to make use of any other than the *Arabian* Language in their public Transactions, which very much increased the Ignorance (32), that became so gross at that time in *Greece* and *Italy* (33). The Respect the *Turks* have for their Language is very singular, if that be true which I have read in the Life of *Bajazet II.* 'The Sultan threatening to make War with the *Venetians*, the Republic dispatched an Embassador to him, to desire Peace. He granted their Request, and sent them the Articles of it, written in *Latin*; but *Andrew Gritti*, a *Venetian* Gentleman, who lived long at *Constantinople*, and was perfectly acquainted with all the *Turkish* Customs, assured the Embassador, that the *Turks* never stood to any Agreement, which was not written in their own Language. Therefore the Embassador did his utmost to get the Treaty changed into the common Language of the Country; but it was all lost Labour: and he was no sooner gone, but *Bajazet's* Fleet set sail, with a Design to attack the *Venetian* Towns in *Morea* (34). Another Author says; 'The *Turks* maintain, that their Language is the only good one in this World, that in *Paradise* they will speak the *Arabian* Tongue; and that the Jargon of the *Persians*, their mortal Enemies, is designed for Hell (35). It is a Privilege of the *Sclavonian* Tongue, that if a Gentleman does not understand it, he cannot enjoy an Inheritance, nor possess certain Lands in *Moravia* and *Bohemia*.

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(27) Arnob. lib. 1, pag. m. 27.

(28) Plutarch. in Themist. pag. 114.

(29) Ἐργον δὲ οὐκ ἀλλὰ βῆναι διὰ ψήφισματος ἀνέκταιν ὅτι Φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάρους προσημασιεῖται. Interpretem ex plebiscito comprehensum necavit, quod sermone Græco mandata edere barbarorum fuisset ausus. Id. ib.

(30) Just. lib. 20, in fin.

(31) In the last Rem. of the Article ATTILA.

(32) Compare this with the Passage of *Maritima*, in Rem. [E], of the Article CASTILE (ALPHONSUS).

(33) Comparison de Platon & d'Aristote, Parte 4, cap. 3, pag. m. 388.

(34) Du Verdier. Abrégé de l'Histoire des Turcs, in Bajazet's Life. See also Bembo. Hist. Venet. lib. 3 fol. 91, verso. Edit. Paris 1551.

(35) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. XIII, pag. 259.

(16) Tit. Livius, lib. 45, cap. 29.

(17) Cajaubon in Baronii Exercit. 9, Art. 3, pag. m. 199.

(18) Hæc Græco sermone Perſeo (Paulus) Latine deinde suis, exemplum infigne cernitis, inquit, &c. Livius, lib. 45, cap. 3.

(19) August. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 19, cap. 7.

(20) Gregorius Thaumaturgus, in Laudat. Origin. apud Cajaubon. Exercit. 19, in Baron. pag. 199.

(21) Triph. lib. 48, ff. de re judic.

(22) Ὁ γὰρ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἀδ- γῶν οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Quo (Romanorum) sermone universi ferè mortales nunc utuntur. Plutarch. in Quæst. Platonicis circa fin. pag. 1010, D.

(23) Libanius, de sua Fortuna, apud Cajaubon. Exercit. 19, in Baron. pag. 201, 202.

(24) See Baron. ad Ann. 16, n. 3.

(25) Id. ibid.

(26) Melchior. Inchofer. Hist. Sacre Latinit. pag. 230, Edit. Monach. 1633.

VOL. II.

(36) Forsterus, in Tacitum, pag. m. 179.
 * Apud Bohemos & Moravos lex est ne cui Illustri vel Equestri ordine nato cujusquam hæreditatem cernere, prædiave quæ nos *Landgutter* appellamus, possidere liceat, nisi linguæ Slavonicæ perito (36).
 The same Author says, that, in the XVIth Century, the King of Spain obliged the *Moors* to renounce their Mother Tongue, and speak *Spanish*.

But, on the other hand, there are Nations so indifferent for their Language, that it was long before they would use it in public Writings. The *Spaniards* (37), and *Germans* (38), began to do this in the XIIIth Century, and the *French* in the XVIth (39).

(37) See Remark [E], of the Article *CASTILE* (ALPHONSUS).

(38) See Remark [A], of the Article *FRANCE* CIS I.

(39) See the same Remark.

(a) He was a Minister, and having served the Church of *la Sauvetat*, he served that of *Montbazillac* and *Courc*, near *Bergerac*.

(b) Mr Martel's Answer was not printed at *Rouen*, in 4^{to}, in the Year 1673.

CLAUDE (JOHN) Minister of the Church of *Paris*, born in the Year 1619, at *la Sauvetat* in *Agenois*, was one of the greatest Men of his Order. He studied Classical Learning under his Father (a), and having afterwards performed his Course of Philosophy and Divinity at *Montauban*, he was admitted Minister in the Year 1645, and had a Church called *la Treine*. He served it a Year, and then he served the Church of *Sainte Afrique* in *Roüergue*, and Eight Years after That of *Nismes*. The Protestants had an Academy in this last Town, and so he had an Opportunity to exert one of his chief Talents, which was, to explain a piece of Divinity well. He made some private Lectures to the Students, so well fitted for the use of the Pulpit, and the understanding of the Scripture, that they were of great use. He had undertaken to confute Cardinal *de Richelieu's* Method [A]; but understanding that Mr *Martel*, Professor of Divinity at *Montauban*, had been ordered by a Synod to do it (b), he laid aside that Undertaking. Having opposed, in a Synod of the *Lower Languedoc*, a Man, whom the Court had gained to attempt a Re-union, he was punished for it by a Decree of the Council, who forbade him to exercise his Ministry in *Languedoc*. He had exercised it eight Years at *Nismes*. He went to *Paris*, in order to have that Prohibition taken off; and during that Journey he composed a little Book, which occasioned the most famous Dispute that ever was seen in *France* between the Protestants and the Catholics [B]. Having

[A] He had undertaken to confute Cardinal *de Richelieu's* Method. It will not be amiss to say here, that the said Method was printed off the first of February 1651. This, I say, will not be useless, because many might think of another Date by reading in the *Acta Bruditorum*, that it appeared when Mr *Claude* was already Minister of *Nismes*. 'In hac ætate Isaacum suscepit 5. Mart. 1653. eoque tempore ad Ecclesiam Nemaufensem --- vocatus fuit, sed laboriosissimum erat munus illud, tum quod conciones quotidie habendæ essent, tum ob alia negotia pastoralia. Nihilominus ingenium & assiduitas viri non tantum occupationibus illis suffecit, sed & studiis continuandis: ita ut editum tunc à Cardinale Richelieu contra Reformatos librum qui Methodus dicitur, refutandum suscepit (1) --- Here his Son Isaac was born the fifth of March, 1653, at which time he was called to the Church of *Nismes*, a most laborious employ, being obliged to preach every Day, and attend likewise on other Pastoral Duties. But so great were his Genius and Industry, that he not only discharged all the Duties of his Province, but continued his Studies, so that he undertook to answer a Book entitled, The Method, THEN published by Cardinal *Richelieu* against the Reformed.' He could not be a Minister there before the Year 1653; for before he was so, he had served the Church of *Sainte Afrique* eight Years (2); and before he served the Church of *Sainte Afrique* he had been a Year Minister of *la Treine* (3). Add these Nine Years to 1645, which is the Year of his Reception into the Ministry (4), and you will find the Year 1654.

When Mr *Claude's* Library was sold at the *Hague*, it appeared that he had wrote many things on his Copy of that Work of Cardinal *Richelieu*; which was the Reason that some Persons had a great mind to buy it. I have heard say that it was soon after sent into *France* to be put in the King's Library.

[B] He composed a little Book, which occasioned the most famous Dispute that ever was seen in *France*, between the Protestants and Catholics (5). The Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* were very busy at that time to bring over Mr *de Turenne* to their Religion; and they found out a cunning way of arguing. They pretended to shew, that the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Real Presence had been the constant Doctrine of the Christian Church from the very beginning. They gave him a little Book, wherein they pretended to prove, that such a Change of the Belief of the Church, as the Protestants supposed, was impossible. Madam *de Turenne*, who always feared what happened after her Death,

I mean, that her Husband would change his Religion, strengthened him as much as she could; which was the Reason that she caused an Answer to be made to the Book of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*. Mr *Claude* was charged to do it, and succeeded admirably well. It appeared so ingenious, so delicate, and so strong, that many Copies were made of it

(6). The Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*, having heard of it, thought they could not avoid refusing it. This produced the famous Work, which they published in the Year 1664, intitled, *The Perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist*. It contains the first Piece, and the Reply to Mr *Claude's* Answer. That Minister, who was then at *Montauban*, composed a Reply, that was printed with his first Answer in the Year 1666 (7). That Work is intitled, *An Answer to the two Treatises intitled, The Perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist*. It made an extraordinary noise, inasmuch that many Country Parsons, who had never heard of *du Moulin* or of *Daille*, knew that the Minister *Claude* had wrote against the Holy Sacrament in a dangerous manner. The most famous and the meanest Preachers in the Provinces affected to preach, during the Octave of the Holy Sacrament, and upon other occasions, against the Possibility of the Innovation: the Pulpits then resounded only with the Names of *Paschasius*, *Lanfranc*, *Ratramnus*, &c. It is certain, that the fine Turn, the Politeness, and the Wit, which attended Mr *Claude's* solid Arguments, contributed extremely to the great noise his Book made; but it is no less certain, that the condition, *Janseuism* was in at that time, was one of the chief Causes of that great noise. Many Bishops were professed Friends to *Port-Royal*; many others favoured them under-hand; that Party had every where some choice learned Men, who durst speak; (for they were not silenced till the Year 1668) and the *Janseuists* made it their business to cry up the Books of their Party: which moved them, for their own Glory, to preach up Mr *Claude's* Name and Merit every where. On the other side, their Enemies commended very much, though by indirect and secret ways, that Minister's Work (8): they were not unwilling that he should triumph, provided the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* should be humbled by it. Doubtless this contributed very much to make Mr *Claude's* Book famous. So important it is to appear in print at certain times (9), and against certain Persons, rather than in other Circumstances. Mr *Arnauld* undertook to confute Mr *Claude's* Book, and published a large Quarto in the Year 1669. That Volume was followed by two others some time after: but before that first Part came

(6) The following Words are to be found in the Preface to the *Perpetuity*. Those of his Party cried it up mightily, and got so many Copies of it, which were dispersed at *Paris*, and in the Provinces, that it was very near as common as if it had been printed.

(7) See above, Citat (58), of the Article *ARNAUD* (ANTONY), Doctor of the Sorbonne.

(8) It was sold in the Shop of the Book-seller of the Archbishop of *Paris*. See the Preface of Mr *Claude's* Book against Father *Noëlet*.

(9) Quantum interest in quæ tempora cuiusque viri tus inciderit!

(1) *Acta Erudit.* Lips. 1687, pag. 658. Note, that these Words, conciones quotidie habendæ essent, ought not to be understood as if Mr *Claude* had preached every Day. It is only said in the Abridgment of his Life, that there was a Sermon preached every Day at *Nismes*; but that Church had three or four Ministers at least.

(2) Abridgment of his Life, pag. 25.

(3) Ibid. pag. 10.

(4) Ibid.

(5) See above, Remark [O], of the Article *ARNAUD* (ANTONY), Doctor of the Sorbonne.

ving tarried six Months in *Paris* without obtaining any thing, he went to *Montauban*, where he preached the next day after his coming (c), and was made Minister of that Church. Four Years after, the Court forbid him to exercise his Office in *Montauban*, which obliged him to make another Journey to *Paris*. He was there almost nine Months, *without being able to obtain leave to return to Montauban* — During that Interval, he was invited by the Church of Bourdeaux: but That of *Charenton* would not be deprived of a Man of so great Merit (d); they chose him for their Minister in 1666. From that time until the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, he did that Church, and the whole Body, very considerable Services by his excellent Works, and by the particular Examination of the Affairs which the Deputies of the Provinces communicated to him. No Man was ever more fit than he to be at the Head of a Consistory, or of a Synod [C], or to dispute extempore. This last Qualification appeared in the Conference, at which *Mademoiselle de Duras* desired to be present [D]. He was distinguished from other Ministers by the manner how the Court would have him to retire into Foreign Countries [E]. He made choice of *Holland* for the place of his Retreat, where he was very well received, and honoured with a considerable Pension by the Prince of *Orange*. He preached now and then at the *Hague*: His last Sermon was on *Christmas-day* 1686. He succeeded in it as well or better than ever: The Princess of *Orange* was very well pleased with that Sermon. He fell sick on the same Day of a Sickness that carried him off, *January* 13, 1687. He gave many Proofs of his Piety on his Death-bed, as also of the Sincerity wherewith he had professed the Reformed Religion (e). His Death afflicted the whole Party, and was the more sensible to wife Men, because few besides him were able to bring into the right way the credulous People, whom some rash Writers had led astray, and to ballance the Faction of those Men. It has been the opinion of many, that if he had lived longer we should not have seen so many scandalous Quarrels break out, at which the *Roman Catholics* rejoiced; but others believe that nothing would have been able to put a stop to those Quarrels, which had already begun before Mr *Claude* died.

I cannot

came out, Father *Noët*, a famous Jesuit, entered the Lists, and published a Book against Mr *Claude*, to which the latter made an Answer (10), which some prefer before his other Books, and which he looked upon himself as his favourite Book (11). Father *Noët* made no Reply; he only published a Letter of Sixty Pages in 8vo (12). The Author of the *Journal des Sçavans* had a Fling at Mr *Claude*, when he gave an Abstract of that Jesuit's Book (13). He enlarged very much upon the Genius of that Minister, and his manner of disputing: and what he said being no ways obliging, Mr *Claude* had not patience enough to be silent. He published a very witty Letter (14) against him, which the Journalist answered some time after (15). Things went no farther. As for what concerns Mr *Arnauld*, Mr *Claude* was obliged to undertake a very laborious Work; for he was obliged to examine the Opinion of the Greek Church, and that of the Schismatics of the East; he was obliged to read many Travellers, and to build many Hypotheses. Mr *Claude*'s great Capacity appeared as much as ever by the Answer that he published to Mr *Arnauld*'s first Volume. The Jansenists made but a general Answer to that Book of Mr *Claude*. It is true that, as to what concerns the Opinion of the Greeks, Father *Paris* a Monk of *St Genevieve* came to their Assistance against that Minister. The matter of the Dispute was changed some time after. Those Gentlemen published their *Prejugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes*, which Mr *Claude* confuted by one of the best Works that he or any other Minister ever wrote, and which remained unanswered till the Year 1684. (16). Mr *Nicolle* at last replied, that Year, in his *Pretendus Réformez convaincus de Schisme*.

[C] No Man was ever more fit to be at the Head of a Consistory, or of a Synod. This cannot be better commented upon, than by the following Words. Mr *Claude* excelled particularly at the head of an Assembly: Thus he distinguished himself many Years in the Consistory of *Charenton*, and in some Synods of the *Ile de France*, where he was Moderator. — When any Business intricate in it self, and more intricate still by the Ignorance and the Shifts of the Parties concerned, was in agitation in a Synod, Mr *Claude* had such a Discernment, that he cleared that Chaos in a moment: he formed a clear and plain Proposition, as if the Question had run only upon a *Yes* or *No*: a Character that never deceives, when we are to judge

of a Man, that presides in a Company, seeing the choice of Matters, and the clear Light wherein they are put, is a certain sign of the Presence, Neatness, and Force of a great Genius (17).

[D] — or to dispute extempore. This Qualification appeared in the Conference, at which *Mademoiselle de Duras* desired to be present. That Lady (18) would not abjure her Religion without hearing the Bishop of *Meaux* and Mr *Claude* dispute together in her Presence. She had the Satisfaction she desired: those two illustrious and brave Champions entered the Lists at the House of her Sister, the Countess de *Roi*, on the first of *March* 1678. Each of them wrote the Relation of the Conference, and ascribed the Victory to himself. At first those Relations were handed about in Manuscript, but at last the Bishop of *Meaux* published his in the Year 1682: that of Mr *Claude* followed it soon after. The Journalists of *Leipsic* have not distinguished the time of the Conference from that wherein the Relations were published. Postea, say they (19), anno 1683, occasione illustri *Durassæ* à Reformata ad Romanam religionem transeuntis, colloquium cum Episcopo *Condensensi*, postea *Meldensi*, habuit, cuius relationem, ut notum est, uterque didit. — Afterwards, say they, in the Year 1683, upon the Illustrious *Mademoiselle de Duras* quitting the Reformed Religion, for that of the Church of Rome, he had a Conference with the Bishop of *Condorn*, afterwards Bishop of *Meaux*: an Account of which, as is well known, they both published.

[E] He was distinguished from other Ministers, by the manner how the Court would have him to retire into Foreign Countries. In Page 100 of the Abridgment of his Life, are these Words: 'He had fifteen Days allowed him, as the other Ministers, to go out of the Kingdom: the Clergy found a way to shorten that time; for on a Monday, the Twenty second of *October* (20) 1685, which was the Day wherein the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes* was registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, Mr *Claude* received an Order, at Ten o'Clock in the Morning, to depart in Twenty four Hours (21). He obeyed with a profound respect, and went away with one of the King's Footmen, who was to conduct him to the Frontiers of *France*; and who, performing his Commission faithfully, was nevertheless very civil to Mr *Claude*: so true is it that a great Merit works upon those very Persons

(c) It was upon a Communion Day.

(d) Abridgment of the Life of Mr *Claude*, pag. 43.

(e) Taken from the Abridgment of his Life, written by Mr de la *Deuze*, Minister at the *Hague*. I have rectified his Mistake about the Year that Mr *Claude* was born in.

(17) Abridgment of his Life, pag. 75, & seq.

(18) Sister to the Marquis de *Duras*, and the Marquis de *Lorraine*.

(19) *Acta Erudit.* tor. 1687, p. 661.

(20) It is December in the Abridgment of his Life. In the Abstract of it, published in the *Acta Erudit.* 1687, pag. 661, there is die 7 Decemb.

(21) He says so himself, pag. 92, 93, of the *Plaintes des Protestans*.

(10) It was printed in 1668.

(11) See the Abridgment of his Life, pag. 49.

(12) It is inscribed to Mr *Claude*, and dated *October* 1, 1668: and therefore what he says, pag. 5, is hard to be understood, viz. that his Answer to Mr *Claude* had taken up that Minister near three Years; for *Noët*'s Book did not come out till about the latter end of the Year 1666. The Booksellers put 1667 in the Title.

(13) In the Journal of the 28th of June, 1667.

(14) It is an anonymous Letter, intitled, *Lettre d'un Provincial à un de ses amis sur le sujet du Journal du 28. Juin*, 1667.

(15) In the Journal of Decemb. 26, 1667.

(16) It is intitled, *Défense de la Réformation*. It was first printed in 4to, at *Rouen*, in 1673, and then at the *Hague*, in 1700, in the Year 1682.

(ff) Non nostrum
inter vos tantas
componere lites.
Virg. Eclog. 3.
ver. 108.

I cannot tell which of those two Opinions is the best (f). He left a Son, who was a Minister [F], and who took care to publish several fine Works of the deceased. I would enlarge on the Praises of Mr Claude, and confute the Calumnies published against him, were it not that I find in *Moreri's Dictionary*, of the *Dutch Edition*, all that can be said in a Dictionary upon such a Subject. I shall take notice of some Faults of the Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary* according to the Edition printed in France [G]. Mr Paulian has very much abused Mr Claude in his Animadversions upon Mr Jurieu's *Pastoral Letters*, and falsely ascribed a Book to him, and

(22) Abridg. of his Life, p. 101. who do not love our Religion. — He took Coach at Paris for Brussels: His Name that went before him procured him many Civilities in his Journey (22). He went through Cambrai, where he lay: He was presented with some Refreshments from the Jesuits there: The Father Rector honoured him with a Visit: He returned that Civility, and the difference of Religions did not interrupt those Compliments, and those Marks of a reciprocal Esteem.

(23) Ibid. p. 14. [F] He left a Son who was a Minister. He married at Calvres in the Year 1648 (23). From that Marriage was born Isaac CLAUDE, at Sainte A-
(24) Ibid. p. 15. frique, the fifth of March 1653 (24). His Father loved him tenderly, and was very glad to see that his Inclination led him to the Ministry, and that the Choice he had made, and which ought to be very free, was answerable to his Desires. He had the Satisfaction to see him improve by his Knowledge and Example. He studied in the Academies of France under the best Masters, who took great care of him. He returned to his Father, who completed his Education, particularly with regard to Preaching: after which he was examined at Sedan in the Month of September 1678, and judged very worthy to be admitted into the holy Ministry. He was desired by the Church of Clermont in Beauvoisis, within fourteen Leagues of Paris, in the Synod of the Isle of France, and his Father had the Satisfaction to impose his hands on him the ninth of October 1678 (25), and to find him Minister of the Walloon Church at the Hague, when he fled into Holland in the Year 1685. Isaac CLAUDE died at the Hague the Twenty ninth of July 1695. He was from Father to Son the fourth of his Family who had exercised the Ministry, for his great Grandfather was a Minister. This Particularity has been omitted by Mr de la Devezze. He left one or two Sons, who are brought up to Study.

(26) It should be La Sauvetat. [G] I shall take notice of some Faults in the Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary*, according to the Edition printed in France. I. La Sauvetat (26), where Mr Claude was born, is not a small Town of the Upper Languedoc, not far from Calvres. It is not true that his Father, passionately desiring to see him quickly a Minister, did not stay till he was Twenty five Years of Age to get him admitted into the Ministry. Mr Claude was made a Minister in the Year 1645, and therefore he was Twenty six Years of Age when he was admitted into that Office. Now that is an Age, wherein those who are designed for the Ministry, and are not yet Ministers, begin to pass for old Students of Divinity (27). So that it is false that Mr Claude's Father acted like an impatient Man. III. It is absurd to suppose that, to satisfy his impatience, he was obliged to make use of his Credit in the Upper Guienne and in the Upper Languedoc. Had he had any Impatience, it would be only grounded on his Son's being made a Minister, having studied Divinity but three Years; but a Student of as much Wit as he was, and of his Age, improves more in three Years than others do in four or five. IV. Mr Claude did not read any public Lectures of Divinity at Nismes: He never had the Degree of Professor there; he only read some private Lectures; it is said so in the Abridgment of his Life (28). V. It is false that he ever declared, that he only undertook his first Journey to Paris to shew that he had no kind of Repugnancy to the Project of Re-union that was contriving in France. VI. The Supposition of the Author of the Supplement, that Mr Claude was forbidden to exercise his Ministry in Languedoc by a Decree of Council, because he was averse to the Project of Re-union, agrees with the Narrative of Mr de la

(27) The Age of 27 Years, which the Leipzig Journalists have very well observed, following the Narrative of Mr de la Devezze, should have made them attend to the Place which they have translated thus: *Maturus — impetuose pater qui filium functioni sacra MATURE addidit operatur.* Acta Erudit. 1687, pag. 658.

(28) Pag. 18.

Devezze (29). But if it be supposed that the King's Decree contained that Reason, it is a great Mistake. Now this must have been supposed by the Author of the Supplement, since he says, that Mr Claude could not pretend to justify himself, but by shewing an Inclination to the Re-union. Consider well the words of the Supplement, wherein the Author pretends to shew, that Mr Claude did a deceitful Action in that Journey: which he endeavours to prove by this Remark, viz. that he wrote a Book against the Perpetuity of the Faith. I say, consider well this Passage, and you will see, that the Continuator of *Moreri* supposes plainly, that Mr Claude endeavoured to have the Prohibition taken off, only declaring, that it had been surreptitiously procured, and that it was not true, as it was supposed in the Decree, that he was against the Project of a Re-union. If a Minister had spoke thus at Court, and in the mean time had writ such a Book of Controversy as that of Mr Claude, he would without doubt have been a Cheat. But it is false that he took such a Course to justify himself at Court. VII. I believe the Reason, that is given in the Supplement, why he did not engage with the University of Groningen, to be very false. I have always heard say, that it was only the Consistory of Charenton, and the Requests of many private Persons, that made Mr Claude resolve to thank the Gentlemen of Groningen. VIII. It is not true, that his Sermons were never accounted excellent by the Huguenots themselves: for they contained all that the Huguenots desired; a great Order, a profound Divinity, a great Sublimity, and a great deal of Eloquence and Solidity. The Protestants do not value the worldly Ornaments, and the soft and effeminate Rhetoric where-with the Popish Preachers adorn themselves. All that can be said is, that Mr Claude had no pleasing Voice, which occasioned a witty Saying of Mr Morus (30): but, notwithstanding this, his Sermons were very much esteemed. IX. Nothing is more false than to maintain, that those among the Calvinists, who were clear sighted, have acknowledged, that Mr Claude's Character was properly that of an ingenious Sophister, and of a cunning Declaimer. X. It is a ridiculous thing to prove this by what the illustrious Viscount of Turenne might have said; for every body knows, that That Hero, who had a wonderful Genius for what concerned Martial Affairs, and the Functions of a General, did not pretend to Learning, and could not be a competent Judge in controversial Writings. XI. There is nothing more like a Romance, I say a Romance forged against all Probability, than That pretended Project of Mr Claude, wherein the Ministers were to desire a Conference with the Bishops. It is a notorious thing, that in the Reign of Mr Claude, if one may be permitted to speak so, he and the other Ministers looked upon all Proposals of Disputes, or Conferences, as a Snare. One of them (31) published a Book on that Subject (32), wherein he shewed, that great care ought to be taken not to fall into that Trap. XII. I have nothing to say concerning the mysterious Conference that Mr Claude, as it is said, desired to have with the Archbishop of Paris. The Confutation of it is to be found in a Memorial, which the Son of that great Man caused to be inserted in the History of the Works of the Learned (33). See also *Moreri's Dictionary*, of the Dutch Edition. It is a shame for our Age, that such a Romance should have been published in an Historical Dictionary at Paris, and that such a Boldness has not been punished. XIII. It was the Twenty second of October, and not the Twenty second of December, 1685, that Mr Claude left Paris to go to the Hague. XIV. Lastly, it is false, that Mr Claude granted the Infallibility of the Church.

(29) Abridgment of the Life of Mr Claude pag. 19.

(30) When the Church of Charenton began to think of having Mr Claude for one of their Ministers, they made him preach. The Sermon being over, Mr Morus said, All the Voices will be for him, except his own.

(31) It is the same who has published the History of the Edict of Nantes.

(32) That Book has been mentioned in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, May, 1685, pag. 574. of the second Edition. See also December in the same Year, pag. 1333.

(33) November, 1689, pag. 133. & seq.

[H] Mr

and the design of another Book [H]. He has also been so bold as to publish, that the Author of those *Pastoral Letters* was very glad to hear that he was dead.

[H] Mr Paulian — *falsely ascribed a Book to him, and the Design of another Book.* He says he is the Author of a Letter of some pacific Protestants that appeared in the Year 1685. He says, that Mr Claude owns it himself in some Letters, and that a Lady, with whom he was intimately acquainted, had publickly acknowledged it. He quotes in the Margin a Letter to *Mademoiselle Dangeau* and *Madam de la Garde* (34). These Proofs seem to be strong, and yet it is very false, that Mr Claude wrote the Letter of the pacific Protestants; and I

am very much persuaded, that he never writ to any body that he was the Author of it. The Animagadverter upon the *Pastoral Letters* is no less mistaken, when he says (35), that Mr Claude took upon him to write the History of the Persecution under the Title of *Histoire Dragonnale*, but that he died before he had finished it. Mr Claude was too great an Author to use such a Title: he was not writing the History of the last Persecution, but that of the Princes of *Orange*. (35) Pag. 16.

(34) It is about the latter end of the Book.

CLAVIUS (CHRISTOPHER) a German Jesuit, born at *Bamberg*, excelled in the Knowledge of the Mathematics, and was one of the chief Instruments that was made use of for the Correction of the Calender, of which he also undertook the Defence against those who found fault with it, and particularly against *Scaliger*. I do not believe that the latter laid down his Arms so humbly as a modern Author relates it [A]; nor that *Clavius* died in the manner mentioned by another modern Writer [B]. The extraordinary Humility, which *Alegambe* ascribes to *Clavius* [C],

does

[A] I do not believe, that *Scaliger* laid down his Arms so humbly, as a modern Author relates it.] *Joseph Scaliger* was one of those who found fault with the new Calender, 'and of the most understanding — But *Clavius* gave him such pertinent Reasons for it, that this learned Critic left off writing against him, and even declared, that he thought it a glory to yield to a Man of that Reputation (1). I wish it had pleased Mr Bullart to quote the Book wherein *Scaliger* declares this; for if the Quotation was true, we should find a piece of Modesty, and a Contradiction in it. As for the Modesty, the thing speaks of itself; and as for the other point, if you consult the *Scaligerana*, you will see *Clavius* very little esteemed in it. He is called there an Ass, a Beast, a tun-bellied German (2), a dull Pate, a Man who eat two Breakfasts, and who was a great Drinker. He is but little better used in *Scaliger's* Letters: 'Infantorem, imperitior rem & magis ridiculum reperies neminem (Christophoro Clavio) si quidem unius Geometriæ scientiam excipias, quam in eo etiam si stipes esset propter longum tempus quo illud saxum volvit ali-quam oportet esse. Quinquaginta enim annos publice Euclidem legit. Hoc unum excipe, tantus est stupor hominis ut in eis etiam quæ ad Mathesin ipsam pertinent lætissimè & turpèssimè sit (3). There is not to be found a more childish, illiterate, or ridiculous Person than Christopher Clavius, if we only except the Science of Geometry, in which, though he were a Log, he must have some skill from the long time he has laboured in it; for he has publicly read Euclid fifty Years. Take this away, and so great is the Stupidity of the Man, that in those very things which relate to Mathematics he is blinder than a Beetle.' Let us see what he says in another Book: 'Certe non video quid mathematica studia Clavio contulerint, qui in his adeo infans est ut mediocriter literis humanioribus tinctus hæc melius intelligat, quam ille qui toto vitæ suæ tempore nihil præter mathematica tractavit (4). — I cannot find what advantage *Clavius* has made of his Mathematical Studies, since in them he is still so much a Child, that a Man tolerably versed in polite Learning may understand them better than he, who has toiled at them all his Life.' It may be some body will tell me, that notwithstanding all these hard words, *Scaliger* might have owned, that *Clavius* had admirably well maintained the Cause of the Gregorian Calender, and that is the Matter in question in Bullart's words; but this Objection will soon be answered: 'Nihil vidi ineptius, jejuniis, falsius & impudentius libro Clavii in elenchum nostrum de anno Juliano. — I never met with any thing more trifling, jejune, false, and impudent, than *Clavius's* Remarks upon my Dissertation on the Julian Year.' Thus *Scaliger* speaks of him in his Twenty ninth Letter. In another place he speaks of him thus: *Clavius* has committed so many Mistakes concerning the Papal Year; de his ad Eusebium. *Clavius* is also mistaken in his Correction, he has done worse than before. — Quæ scripseram graviora ta-

cuit, leviora refutavit, sed nunc omnia ostendam in Eusebio (5). — He has passed over the stronger Arguments, answered the weaker; but I shall now prove all by Eusebius. (5) In the *Scaligerana*.

If Mr Bullart went upon *Richeome's* Testimony, he has made it appear that he did not take the Sense of an Author exactly: for that Jesuit alleges only a Piece written before *Clavius's* Answer, in which consequently *Scaliger* did not confess, that he acquiesced in the Solutions of his Adversary. These are the words of *Richeome*: 'I omit — the Works upon all sorts of Mathematics of *Christophorus Clavius*, praised not only by the late Monsieur de Candal, the Euclid of our Age, but also by *Joseph Scaliger*', so far as to say, that he had rather be reproved by him than praised by another: This Commendation of a Jesuit by a Protestant, no Friend to our Society, is the more to be regarded (6).

* Scaliger. in Castig. Calendæ.

[B] — nor that *Clavius* died in the manner mentioned by another modern Writer.] *Paganinus Gaudentius* affirms, that *Christophorus Clavius*, visiting the seven Churches of Rome, was thrown down by a wild Ox, who run over him and killed him. *Christophorus Clavius dum septem urbis templa in-visit à bubalo humi afflitus contemnitur & occiditur* (7). Such a kind of Death of a Jesuit, who was a famous Man, and Seventy five Years old, is too singular not to have been observed by all those who wrote an Encomium upon that celebrated Mathematician. Now it is certain, that *Alegambe*, *Southwell*, *Lorenzo Crafft*, *John Nicius Erythraeus*, and Bullart, say nothing of it. The following words of *Nicius Erythraeus* do plainly shew, that *Gaudentius* has published a Lie. 'Verum in istud etiam tantum atque immortalitate dignum ingenium, fæva mors, cui nihil est eximium, nihil intactum, nihil sanctum, vim & crudelitatem suam exercuit; sed in eo sævitæ suæ modum adhibuit, quod non antea est illi ausa manus asferre, quam maturitatem suam adeptum eum esse vidisset: nam senex Romæ in collegio suæ Societatis est mortuus (8). — Dea: b, who has no regard to Greatness or Sanctity, exercised his Cruelty and Power on this great Man, though worthy of Immortality; but with such Forbearance did he delay the Stroke, as though he was afraid to lay his violent Hands upon him, before he saw him ripened into Years. For he died at Rome, in an advanced Age, in a College of his own Order.' Would an Author, who moralizes in this manner upon the mitigated Cruelty of Death, have forgotten the tragical Accident mentioned by *Gaudentius*? I shall set down likewise the words of *Alegambe*: 'Tandem ætate meritisque gravis Romæ vitæ defunctus est die vi Februarii anno mdcxii. ætatis lxxv. — He died at Rome, loaded with Years and Merit, the sixth of February, in the Year 1612, aged Seventy five.' Correct *Lorenzo Crafft*, who says the sixth of January.

(6) Richeome, Plaine Apologétique, pag. 31.

(7) Paganinus Gaudentius in oratione de Philosophorum quorundam luculose exitu.

(8) N. Erythraeus, Pinacoth 1, pag. 177, 178.

[C] *Alegambe* attributes to him an extraordinary Humility.] In quo illud maxime admirandum ex-

terit,

VOL. II.

(1) Bullart. Academie des Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 118, 119.

(2) Cardinal de Perron made the same Judgment of him. *Clavius*, says he in the *Perroniana*, who is so much cried up by the Jesuits, is a heavy and dull-witted Man, he has no Subtlety nor Gentleness, he is a German Horse.

(3) Joseph. Scaliger, Epist. 106.

(4) Id. Canon.ilog. lib. 3.

(a) Lcr. Craſſo
Elog. part. 1,
pag. 143.

does not agree with some other Qualities that *Lorenzo Craſſo* gives him, representing him as a Man abounding in his own ſenſe, and very touchy when reflected upon (a).

‘titerit, quod cum tanta eruditionis fama ac nominis fui claritudine tam infignem pietatem ac modum ſtiam perpetuo conjunctam retinuerit, ut nullum ſibi hominem unquam, ſe ipſum aliis omnibus

poſtponeret (9). — *What is chiefly to be admired in him is, that, though no Man was ever more remarkable for his Piety, Modeſty, and Learning, yet he preferred all Men before himſelf.*

(9) Alegambe,
in Bibliot. Scient.
Jefu, pag. 74.

[(5a) He who won the Battle of Plataea, and was afterwards puniſhed as a Traitor. See his Life in *Cornelius Nepos*. REM. CRIT]

CLEONICE, a young Lady of *Byzantium*, whom *Pausanias* (§a) had a mind to enjoy, and whom he killed by a Miſtake. It is ſaid that the Ghoſt of that Lady haunted him every night [A], as ſhall be ſeen more at large in the Remark.

[A] *Pausanias* — *killed her by a Miſtake. It is ſaid, that her Ghoſt haunted him every Night.* They report of *Pausanias*, that, one Day, when he was in *Byzantium*, he ſent for a young Lady of a noble Family, whoſe Name was *Cleonice*, to debauch her. Her Parents dreading the cruel Humour of the Man, were forced to conſent, and ſo abandoned their Daughter to his Embraces. *Cleonice* deſired the Servants to put out all the Lights; ſo that approaching ſilently, and in the dark towards his Bed, ſhe ſtumbled upon the Lamp, which ſhe overturned and ſpilled. *Pausanias*, who was fallen aſleep, awaked, and ſtartled with the Noiſe, thought an Aſſaſſin had taken that dead time of the Night to murder him; ſo that haſtily ſnatching up his Poiſard which lay by him, he wounded his ſuppoſed Enemy to Death. After this he never enjoyed himſelf, but was diſturbed in his Thoughts: for his dear Miſtreſs haunted his Bed, and would not let him ſleep, but interrupted his Repoſe with theſe angry words:

*Villain, be juſt and of thy Crime repent,
Or dread the Hand that brings thy Punishment.*

This tragical Accident gave the laſt ſtroke to his Ruin: for after this the Allies joining their Reſentments and Forces with *Cimon's*, beſieged him in *Byzantium*; but he eſcaped out of their Hands, and fled to *Heraclea*. Here coming to a place which might be called the Oracle of the Dead, where they raiſe up Spirits to know future Events, he ſolemnly invoked *Cleonice*, and intreated her Ghoſt to be reconciled: Accordingly ſhe appeared to him, and answered him in theſe words, *As ſoon as thou com'eſt to Sparta, thou ſhalt be freed from all the Miſfortunes which now affli't thee.* Hereby obſcurely foretelling, in my Opinion, That imminent Death he was to ſuffer. This is the Hi-

ſtory that is told of him (1). No ſuch thing has been ſaid of poor *Dido*, who was worſe treated than *Cleonice*; for *Aeneas* was not only the Cauſe of her Death, but alſo robbed her of her Honour. She deſigned to revenge herſelf on him after her Death, and to return from Hell to purſue him from place to place; but it is not ſaid her Ghoſt did ever perſecute *Aeneas*. Let us ſet down her Threats; they are conceived in ſuch terms as may be criticized.

— ſequar atris ignibus abſens;
Et cum frigida mors animã ſeduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero: dabis improbe pœnas;
Audiam, & hæc manes veniet mihi fama ſub imos (2).

(1) Plutarch, in
Cimon's Life,
pag. 482. See
alſo *Pausanias*,
lib. 3, cap. 17,
pag. m. 252.

(2) Virgil. *Æn.*
lib. 4, ver. 384.

*Dido ſhall come in a black ſulph'ry Flame,
When Death has once diſſolv'd her mortal Frame.
Shall ſmile to ſee the Traitor vainly weep;
Her angry Ghoſt ariſing from the deep,
Shall haunt thee waking, and diſturb thy Sleep.
At leaſt my Shade thy Punishment ſhall know,
And Fame ſhall ſpread the pleaſing News below.*

DRYDEN.

If *Dido's* Ghoſt was to be every where with *Aeneas*, what need was there that ſhe ſhould wait in Hell for the News of *Aeneas's* Miſfortune? Could he not learn in this World, when any Diſaſter happened to that unfaithful Man? You will tell me that ſhe was ſo troubled, that *Virgil* ought to make her ſpeak without minding what ſhe ſaid. Let it be ſo. The Grammarian *Servius* will ſhew you another Evasion.

CLEONYMUS, cotemporary with *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, left *Lacedæmon* on public and private Diſcontents. He was the Son of *Cleomenes* II, King of *Sparta* (a); but, becauſe of his violent and imperious Humour, the *Lacedæmonians* had no Affection for, nor Confidence in him, and left all the Royal Authority to *Areus* his Brother's Son. Thus much for the public Diſcontents; here follow the domeſtic ones. Being already advanced in Years, he had married *Chelidonis* [A], a Princeſs of the Blood, and Daughter of *Leotychides*, a very beautiful Woman; but ſhe loved very paſſionately *Acrotatus*, a very beautiful Youth, the Son of King *Areus*. That Marriage occaſioned a great deal of Trouble and Infamy to the unfortunate *Cleonymus*; for every body knew the conduct of his Wife, and that ſhe deſpiſed him. So that, being full of Grief and Anger, he left *Lacedæmon*, and went to ſolicit *Pyrrhus* to make War with the *Lacedæmonians*. *Pyrrhus* came near the City with a numerous Army (b), and might have taken it at the firſt Onſet, if he had followed the Advice of *Cleonymus*, which was to attack it immediately, without giving the few Inhabitants, that *Areus* had left there, time to recover their ſurpriſe. *Areus* was at that time in the Iſle of *Crete* to aſſiſt the *Gortynians*. *Pyrrhus*, fearing the City would be plundered if he entered it in the Night, deferred the Attack till the next day. He was ſo vigorouſly repulſed in all the Affaults that he gave, either before or after *Areus's* Return, that he found himſelf obliged to give over his Enterpriſe. We muſt not forget the Courage that the Women of *Lacedæmon* ſhewed on that occaſion [B]. It was reſolved to ſend them away

(a) Plut. in *Agid.* & *Cleom.*
Pauſan. in *Lacon*
Father Labbe,
Chron. Franc.
ad Ann. Romæ
481, is in the
wrong to ſay that
Areus was *Cleonymus's* Brother.

(b) In the Year
of Rome 480, the
3d of the 126th
Olympiad.

[A] He had married *Chelidonis*. *Parthenius* ſpeaks of that Woman, and of her Amours with *Acrotatus*, in the Twenty third Chapter; but ſhe is called *Cbilonis* there, either for want of Memory in *Parthenius*, or by a Miſtake of his Tranſcribers.

[B] We muſt not forget the Courage that the Women of *Lacedæmon* ſhewed on that Occaſion. *Calviſtus* attributes to them all the Reſiſtance that was made the firſt day; and ſays, that the Men returned the next day, and deſtroyed *Prolemy* the Son

CLEOPATRA. CLEOPHIS. COCHLOEUS.

523

away in the Night to *Crete*, but they opposed it; and *Archidamia* came with Sword in hand into the Senate, complaining in the name of all the rest, that they were thought capable to survive the Destruction of their Country. They laboured all the Night on the Intrenchment that was made against the Enemy. *Chelidonis* was the only Woman that remained shut up. She put a Rope about her neck, that in case of necessity she might prevent her falling alive into the hands of her Husband. Her Gallant *Acrotatus* did Wonders; and as he returned from the Place where he had repulsed the Enemies Assaults, and was proud of his Victory, he seemed taller and more beautiful than ever to the Women of *Lacedæmon*, so that they cried out that *Chelidonis* was very happy to be beloved by such a Man. The old Men followed him with a thousand Acclamations, exhorting him to continue to kiss well *Chelidonis* (c) [C].

(c) Ta'en from *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Pyrrhus*.

(1) *Calvis. ad Ann. Mund.* 3777.

Son of *Pyrrhus*, and the most considerable Part of his Army (1). He cites *Justin* and *Plutarch* for it, but neither of them says what he ascribes to them. *Justin* does not speak of the Return of the Men, nor of two Attacks one after another; he says in general, that the Women had a greater share in the Resistance than the Men, and that *Pyrrhus* lost his Son *Ptolemy* with his choice Troops (2). As for *Plutarch* (3), he only says, that the Women did work on the Intrenchment, encouraged the Men, and performed such other Services of the second Order: and, according to his Account, *Ptolemy* was not killed but when the King of *Lacedæmon* charged the Rear of *Pyrrhus*, on the way to *Argos*, that is, when *Pyrrhus* abandoned *Laconia*. That Prince fully revenged his Son's Death by a great Slaughter of the *Lacedæmo-*

nians. He performed some Actions that Day that seem to be a little romantic. This *Ptolemy* was a Man of such a bold Courage, that *Pyrrhus*, hearing of his Death, said, that he had been killed a little later than his Rashness deserved, or later than he, his Father, apprehended (4).

[C] The old Men --- exhorted him to kiss well *Chelidonis*.] Go *Acrotatus*, said they to him, make much of *Chelidonis*, and get brave Children by her for *Sparta*. Here are the Greek Words: *ἄκροταί, καὶ οἱ τοὺς τῶν Χελιδονίδων μόνον παῖδας ἀγαθὰς τὰ Σπάρτῃ ποιεῖς*. Perge *Acrotate*, & coito cum *Chelidone*, gignito tantum egregios filios *Spartæ* (5). They were very plain People, since they made such Acclamations along the Streets. See the Margin (6).

(4) Aliquanto tardius eum quam timuerit ipse, vel temeritas ejus meruerit, occisum esse. *Justin. ibid.*

(5) *Plutarch*, in *Pyrrho*, pag. 402. C.

(6) The Greek Word used by *Plutarch*, is so coarse, that our Boors do not use a more obscene one at Country Weddings.

(2) *Justin. lib. 5, cap. 4.*
(3) *Plut. in Vita Pyrrhi.*

CLEOPATRA, Sister of *Alexander the Great*. See the Remark [A] of the Article *Denys*.

CLEOPHIS, an *Indian Queen*, was deprived of her Kingdom, by *Alexander the Great*, but restored again, as a reward for submitting to his Lusts; thus she recovered, by her Lewdness, a Crown, which she could not preserve by her Courage (a). The Son she had by that Conqueror, was named *Alexander*, and was King of *India* [A]. But the Mother, after she had prostituted herself to *Alexander*, was called the Royal Whore (b); thus *Justin* relates the matter (c). See also *Quintus Curtius*. Book viii. Chap. x.

(a) *Concubitu sedemptum regnum ab Alexandro receptit illecebris consecuta quod virtute non potuerat. Justin. lib. 12, cap. 7.*

(b) *Propter prostitutam publicitatem, Scortum regium ab Indis exinde appellata est. Id. ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(1) *Quint. Curt. lib. 8, cap. 10.*
(2) *Ibid.*

[A] The Son she had by the Conqueror --- was King of the Indies.] Her eldest Son *Affacan* was dead before the Invasion of *Alexander* (1). She had also another Son, whom she carried to that Prince (2); he died perhaps before her Son, by *Alexander*, was fit to reign; or perhaps was pre-

ferred to the Throne on account of his Father's Fame. *Moreri* assures us, that this Son of *Alexander* and *Cleopbia* (3) was murdered or poisoned by *Cassander*. But neither *Diodorus Siculus*, nor *Quintus Curtius*, that he quotes, say any thing of it.

(3) So *Moreri* calls her.

COCHLOEUS (JOHN), Doctor of Divinity, Canon of *Montz* and *Worms*, Dean of the Church of our Lady at *Frankfort*, was born at *Wendelsheim*, near *Nuremberg*, about the Year --- (a) --- He was not so attached to Books of Controversy, but he composed some Works of another Nature; for he wrote a History of *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths* [A], which was printed at *Ingolstadt* 1544; and a History of *Totila*, which was never published (b).

(a) The *Nova Maris Baltici*, Feb. 1699, pag. 41, says in the Year 1502.

(b) He mentions it in his Preface to the History of *Theodoric*.

[A] He writ a History of *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*.] The Journalist of the *Baltic*, for the Month of February, 1699, says, that they were printing, at *Stockholm*, *Vita Theodorici Regis Ostrogothorum & Italiae*, Auctore *Joanne Cochleæ*, Germano, cum Additamentis & Annotationibus, quæ Sues-Gothorum ex Scandia expeditiones & commercia illustrat, operâ *Johannis Peringskiöldi*. This

Book of *Cochleæ* was very scarce. The Person, who has undertaken to give a new Edition, with proper Notes to it, has compared the Edition of *Ingolstadt* with a Copy taken from the Manuscript at *Prague*, and collated with the Manuscript in the Library at *Hamburg* (1). The same Journalist, in the Month of November 1699, informs us, that this new Edition was finished.

(1) Taken from *Nova Literaria Maris Baltici & Septentrionis mensis Feb. 1699, pag. 41.*

COLLATIUS (a) (PETER APOLLONIUS) a Priest of *Novarra*, lived towards the end of the XVth Century. This can no longer be doubted of, since the Journey that Father *Mabillon* took into *Italy*, in the Year 1686 [A]. *Collatius* wrote

(a) *Moreri* speaks of him under the Words *Apollonius Collatius*, p. 294, and then, pag. 295, he makes a Title of him, and refers the Reader to *Collatius*.

[A] He lived towards the end of the XVth Century. This can no longer be doubted of, since the Journey that Father *Mabillon* took into *Italy*, in the Year 1686.] Mr *Magliabechi* presented *Dom Mabillon* with a Poem of *Apollonius*, in Epic Verse, on *David* and *Goliath*, and shewed him, that the same Poem

is dedicated to *Laurence de Medicis*, and that there are with it some Epigrams of the same Author, whereof one is the Epitaph of *Paul II*, and the other that of *Sixtus IV*. *Dom Mabillon*, inserting this in the Relation of his Journey, observes judiciously, that, for the time to come, it cannot be doubted

wrote several *Latin Poems*, and one among the rest upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* by *Margarinus de la Bigne*. It had, before that, been printed at *Paris* [B], by the care of *John Gagney* Doctor of Divinity; and another Edition of it came out at *Leyden* in the Year 1586, by the care of *Adrian vander Burch*, who had revised and corrected the Text. This is a Proof that *Collatius* was taken for a very ancient Author. *Scaliger*, the Father, was not in that Error; for he ranked him (b) among the modern Poets, below *Andrew Alciatus* and *Balthasar Castiglione*, and above *Lancinus Curtius*, *Faustus Andrelinus*, and *Erasmus*. One may easily perceive that he did not place those Authors according to an exact Chronology; but nevertheless he shewed plainly enough, that *Collatius* was a modern Poet. He ascribes some *Fasti* to him, and does not speak well of them [C]. Several learned Men have taken so little notice of that Place of *Scaliger*, that they have quoted *Collatius* as an ancient Author [D]. *Vossius* (e) wonders that *Gyraldus* said nothing of this Priest of *Navarra*. Father *Briet* spoke of him for the use of this Dictionary [E]. It is not long since the Poem of our *Apollonius* upon

(b) Vol. Cæf. Scælig. Poët. lib. 6.

(c) Vossius de Histor. Lat. p. 812.

(1) Mabillon. Musæum Ital. Tom. I, pag. 294.

(2) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. pag. 811.

(3) In indice chronologico veterum Ecclesiæ Scriptorum in Tom. I, Bibl. Patrum.

(4) Adversar. lib. 23, cap. 27.

(5) Hist. Collège Navarr. pag. 685.

(6) Epist. ad Reinesium, pag. 27.

(7) In the *Acta Erudit.* 1692, pag. 558, it is placed in the Year wherein Mr de Launoi, places it.

(8) In the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

(9) Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 811.

(10) Launoi, Hist. Gymn. Navarr. pag. 681.

(11) Aſta Erudit. Lipſient. 1692, pag. 558.

doubted that *Peter Apollonius* lived about the end of the XVth Century. But what he says of *Vossius* is not so exact as I could wish it were. These are his Words: 'Quo ex carmine discimus ætatem hujusce auctoris quem alii ad sæculum septimum, alii ad decimum, alii ad alia tempora referunt, ut videre licet apud Gerardum Vossium de Historicis Latinis ubi Petrus Apollonius Collatius appellatur (1). --- From which Poem we learn the Age of this Author, whom some place in the VIIth Century, others in the Xth, and others in other Times, as we find in Vossius, where he is called Petrus Apollonius Collatius.' First of all, *Vossius* does not call him *Collatius*, but *Collatius* (2); and in the second Place, he does not say, that some make *Collatius* to live in the VIIIth Century, and others in the Xth, and some others in other times; he says only, that *Margarinus de la Bigne* (3) placed him in the VIIth Century, about the Year 690, and that some great Men of our Age quote him as an ancient Author. He adds, that he takes him to be a modern Author, cotemporary with, and later than, the Year 1490, and that *Barthius* (4) believes him also to be a modern Writer. *Vossius*'s Reason is, that he does not think he ought to be distinguished from *Apollonius Collatius*, of whom *Scaliger* speaks in his Poetics. It is therefore manifest, that *Dom Mabillon* has not quoted *Vossius* right.

[B] His Poem on the Destruction of Jerusalem had already been printed at Paris. I have not set down the Year of that Edition, because I perceived some Difference between Mr de Launoi (5), and Mr *Daumius* (6); the latter, who believes, that it was only the second, and that the first had appeared in Italy, places it in the Year 1546; the other places it in the Year 1540 (7). Mr *Daumius* reckons that of *Margarin de la Bigne* for the third Edition (8), and that of *Adrian Vander Burch* for the fourth, whom he blames for saying that his Edition of *Leyden* 1586 was the second. He pretends, that he ought to have said that it was the fourth. But neither would this have been right; considering the Edition of 1540 which Mr de Launoi mentions, and that of *Paris*, 1575, which is in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian Library*. I do not speak of the Edition that *Vossius* looked upon as the first (9), (which is, according to him, that which was published at *Paris*, in the Year 1516, by the care of *John Gagney*) for it is plain that he is mistaken as to the time. *Gagney* did not begin to study Divinity, 'till the Year 1524 (10). So that it is not likely he should have published *Collatius* in 1516. *Vossius* tells us of an Edition made by *Christophor Plantin* at *Antwerp*, revised by *Vander Burch*: it is doubtless the same as that of *Leyden*, in 1586; and if *Vossius* had seen *Antwerp* in the Title of his Copy, it ought to be imputed to the Custom the Bookellers have, to print many Titles, and to put, in some of them, some Years and Towns, that differ as much as they please from the Years and the Towns mentioned in the others. How many times have they, by that means, occasioned the Number of Editions to be increased by the Bibliographers, without any reason? *Daumius* was in the right to think that the *Paris Edition* came out after an Edition of Italy; for that Work was printed at *Milan*, in 1481 (11).

[C] *Scaliger ascribes some Fasti to him, and does not speak well of them.* These are his Words: 'Apollonius Collatius fastos edidit, in quibus pietatem laudes, frigidiusculus tamen poetæ est: & cum discedit ab elegiaco etiam infelix (12). --- Apollonius Collatius published *Annals*, wherein, tho' the Piety of the Author is commendable, yet the Poetry is dull, and when he leaves the Elegy is entirely flat.'

[D] Several learned Men — have quoted *Collatius* as an ancient Author. *Vossius* says only, without naming any body, that the great Men of this Age commonly quote him as such (13); but *Barthius* does not use so much Caution: he says, that *Collatius* has been quoted as an ancient Christian Poet by *Joseph Scaliger* in his Notes on *Eusebius*; by *Casaubon*, in his Commentary on *Suetonius*; by *Francis Juræ*, in his Notes on *S. Paulinus*; by *Christopher Colerus*, in his Observations on *Tacitus*; by *Thomas Dempster*, in his Notes on *Corippus*; by *Murſius*, in his Glossary; by *John Savaron*, in his Commentary on *Sidonius Apollinaris*; by *Buſſengerus*, in his Treatise, *de Imperatore*, and elsewhere (14). The learned *Reinesius*, who was not sorry to censure *Barthius*, pretends (15), that there was no reason to find Fault with those great Men, since they say nothing of the Age that *Collatius* lived in, and they might well quote an Author, who appeared to them a Modern: that in particular it is an absurd thing to censure *Joseph Scaliger* for it: Could he be ignorant of what his Father had taught him concerning *Collatius*'s Age? Read the Answer of *Daumius* to these Objections of *Reinesius* (16): I am sure you will find, that *Barthius* was in the right.

A Carmelite, named *Daniel*, of the Virgin *Mary*, has likewise taken *Collatius* for an ancient Christian Poet (17); and it seems that he had a mind to shelter himself under the Authority of *Casaubon*. The Marquis d'Agropoli censures him for it, and overthrows at the same time what the Carmelites would infer from a Passage of that Poet.

[E] Father *Briet* spoke of him for the Use of this Dictionary. He does not determine the Age that *Collatius* lived in, but he has committed some Faults. I. He says, that *Margarin de la Bigne* places him in the time of *Charlemagne*, and makes him flourish about the Year 690 (18). It is *Margarin de la Bigne*, who assigns him that Year; why then does Father *Briet* impute to him to have placed him under *Charlemagne*, whose Reign did not begin till the Year 768, and his Empire 'till the Year 800, or 801. It is evident, that this Jesuit took the Year 690, and the time of *Charlemagne*, for the same thing, which is a Mistake. II. He says, that *Vossius* rejects the Opinion of *Margarin de la Bigne*, and places *Collatius* in the beginning of the XVth Century; so that he makes him live in the time of *Politian*. *Vossius* sets down expressly the Year 1490, which is towards the end, and not in the beginning, of the XVth Century; and it would be a chronological Mistake to pretend that an Author, who had flourished in the beginning of the XVth Century, should have lived at the same time with *Politian*. III. Father *Briet* rejects *Vossius*'s Opinion, because he does not find *Collatius*'s Style lofty enough for the Age that *Politian* lived in, which is that wherein Learning was revived. He finds false

(12) Jul. Cæſar Scalig. poetica. lib. 6.

(13) Ut antiquus à summis ſeculi hujus viris poſſima laudatur. Vossius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 811.

(14) Barth. Commentar. ad Claudian. pag. 795. In his Commentariis upon Statius, Tom. II, pag. 436, he quotes the lost Commentator upon Petronius. I suppose he means Goldastus.

(15) Epist. ad Daumium, pag. 15, 16.

(16) Ibid. p. 27. (17) Daniel à Virgine Mariæ, vinea Carmeli, part. 3, cap. 16, n. 358, apud Marchionem Agropolitum in Examine Divinitæ in Carmelo consultæ, Art. 12, pag. m. 11.

(18) Briet. de Poët. Lat. lib. 5, pag. 63.

upon the Combat of *David* and *Goliath* was printed at *Milan*, with some Elegies and Epigrams [F].

Quantity in *Collatius*, and an Ignorance of the Greek, which does not agree with the Age of *Politian*. That Reason is very insignificant; for all the Authors of the XVth Century did not equally improve by the Increase of Learning in *Italy*: Some of those who endeavoured to polish their Style, either for Verse or Prose, made but an indifferent Progress, and learned the Greek Language but very imperfectly. IV. That Jesuit finds a little more Loftiness and Politeness in *Collatius's* Style, than there was in the time of *Charlemagne*; from whence he concludes, that *Vossius* and *Barthius* bring him too low, *cum nimis deprimunt*. If he means, that they despise him too much, he is mistaken; for they only take him for a modern Poet. If he means, that they make him a little too modern, he confutes himself; for according to his way of arguing, in our third Observation, the more a Poet raised himself above the Barbarity of the VIIIth Century, the more he deserves to be placed in *Politian's* Century.

[F] The Poem on the Combat of *David* and *Goliath* was printed at *Milan*, with some Elegies and Epigrams. I have said, already, what *Father Mabillon* learned, concerning this matter, from the illustrious *Mugliabecchi*, and I shall say here what we find in the *Journal de Leipsic* (19). We are told there, that *Mr Magliabecchi* gave *Mr Pufferla*, Keeper of the *Ambrosian Library* at *Milan*, some Poems of *Apollonius*; and that *Pufferla* gave them to *Mr Lazarus Augustin Catta*, a Civilian of *Novarra*, who got them printed at *Milan*, in 1692, in 8vo. That Collection contains the Combat of *David* and *Goliath*, and a Complaint of *JESUS CHRIST* against the Jews, in Epic Verse, an Elegy on the Pleasures of a Country Life, and divers Epigrams; but the Epitaphs of *Paul II*, and *Sixtus IV*, that were in *Father Mabillon's* Copy, were suppressed. Our *Apollonius* is called *Collatinus* in the Work published by *Mr Catta Ricciolus* must be placed in the Number of those that took him for an ancient Christian Poet; for he placed him in the VIIIth Century (20).

(19) *Menf. Decemb. 1692. pag. 558, 559.*

(20) *Ibidem.*

COLOGNE (*PETER de*) in *Flemish Van Ceulen* [A], Minister of *Metz* in the XVIth Century, had a great share in the Friendship of *Calvin* and *Beza*. He was of *Ghent*. We say in another place (a), that *Robert Stephens*, with whom he was familiarly acquainted at *Paris*, was the Cause of his going to *Geneva*; where *Calvin*, having put the last hand to his Instruction, perswaded him to devote himself to the Ministry of the Word of God. He performed the first Exercises of it at *Metz*, in the Year 1558. *Clerwant* brought him thither for that Function from *Geneva* (b). That Church was dispersed in the Reign of *Francis II*. *Clerwant*, who was a Gentleman of great Worth, and very zealous for the Cause, retired with his Family to *Strasbourg*; *Peter de Cologne* retired to *Heidelberg* (c), from whence the Protestants called him back again to *Metz* in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles IX* (d). He preached privately from House to House till the fourth of May 1561, when he was taken Prisoner as he was preaching. Some days after he was put out of the City, but he returned again a little while after; for on the Twenty fifth of May of the same Year the Protestants begun to preach publicly, by the King's Leave. It is true that *Senneterre*, who commanded in the City, would not suffer that Minister to return thither: so that, after he had preached, the Protestants were obliged to conduct him back again under a good Guard to the Village of *Grizi*. This lasted but till the Return of *Vieilleville*, Governor of *Metz* (e); for he caused *Cologne* to come in again. The King, having received at *Metz* the News of the Battle of *Jarnac*, that was fought in 1569, wherein the Prince of *Condé* was killed, permitted the demolishing of the Temple, and the Ministers could not get out of the City but with great Trouble and Danger (f). *Peter de Cologne* retired into the Palatinate, and was Minister at *Heidelberg*. He died in the Flower of his Age. He had composed some Books [B] during his abode at *Metz*. His Son *DANIEL COLONIUS* was Principal of the Walloon College at *Leyden* (g). He published some Theses on *Calvin's Institution* in the Year 1628. *Heinsius* dedicated to him his *Aristarchus sacer*.

(a) In the Remark [A] of the Article DIEU. (LEWIS DE).

(b) *Beza Hist. Eccles. lib. 16. pag. 444.*

(c) *Ib. pag. 446.*

(d) *Ib. pag. 449.*

(e) *Ib. pag. 452.*

(f) *Ib. pag. 464.*

(g) *Orat. Funerbr. Ludov. de Dieu.*

(1) Vide Oratio- nem funebre- m Ludov. de Dieu.

[A] In *Flemish Van Ceulen*.] He was the first of his Family who latinized this Name by that of *Coloni* (1). It was his Schoolmaster's Fancy; but in France he was called *Cologne*.

[B] He had composed some Books.] *La Croix du Maine* durst not venture to give the Titles of them. He wrote, says he, several Treatises, printed at *Lyons* in the Year 1564, by *John de Ogeroles*, the Titles of which Books I will not name, for a certain Reason. *Du Verdier Vau-Privat*, who was not a Huguenot like him, had more Resolution. Not being suspected, he did not think himself obliged to use so much Circumspection. He says, that *Peter de Cologne* translated, out of German into French, The Conformity and Agreement of the Holy Scripture, and of the ancient and found Doctors of the Church, and of the Confession of

Augsburg well understood, concerning the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, by the Divines of the University of *Heidelberg*. At *Geneva* 1566, in 8vo. He translated also, from the German Language, *Thomas Brasius's True and Right Understanding of these Words of the Lord's Supper*, This is my Body. At *Lyons*, 1564, in 8vo (2). As these Books are not now to be found, I think, that, tho' I had great Libraries at command, I could not say which of them *Mr Ancillon* meant in the Life of *Farel*. *Peter de Cologne*, says he, made a Translation of a Treatise of the Lord's Supper, and dedicated it to *Monsieur de Clerwant*. None of these three Authors speak of the Answer that *Peter de Cologne* made to *Francis de Beaucaire de Peguillon*, Bishop of *Metz*, printed at *Geneva*, in the Year 1566 (3).

(2) *Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 1001.*

(3) See the Remark [A] of the Article DIEU. (LEWIS DE).

(a) His Name was John Colomies; He had a fine Library.

(b) See l'Esprit de Mont. Arnaud, Tom. II. pag. 297, & seq.

(1) They reproach him with omitting some, and particularly Casaubon. See Ancillon Mélanges de Littérat. Tom. II. pag. 95.

[Casaubon was born at Geneva, and therefore was not a Frenchman. R. N. M. C. A. T.]

* The Italia & Hispania Orientalis were published at Hamburgh, by John Christ. Wolfius, in 1730.

(2) 1. A Collection of Observations in Latin.
2. A Collection of curious Particulars in French.
3. Clavis Epistolæ Scaligeri, Casauboni, Salmasii & aliorum.
4. A Key to the French Letters writ to Scaliger.
5. Notes upon Quintilian.

(3) Rather at Roan, tho' London is in the Title Page.

(4) See in the 136 Volume of the Bibliotheca Universalis, pag. 337, an Extract of this Book intitled Pauli Colomiesii Observations Sacrae, Editio secunda, auctior & emendatior. Accedunt ejusdem Paralipomena de Scripturis Ecclesiasticis, & Passio S. Victoris Massiliensis ab eodem emendata. Editio IV & ultima, prioribus longe auctior & emendatior. Londini, 1689, in 12mo, p. 34.

(5) It is the Appendix, Observationum ad Pomponium Melam Accedit tertias P. Simonis Observationes Respons.

COLOMIÉS (PAUL), in Latin *Colomesius*, cultivated the Study of the *Belles Lettres* with great Application, and communicated several curious Observations to the Public [A]. He was of Rochelle, and the Son of a good Physician (a). Among the learned Persons he knew, there was none that he had more intimate Acquaintance with than *Isaac Vossius*; and I think that, if he went betimes into England, and before the Protestants of France felt the greatest Blows of the Storm that swallowed up the Edict of Nantes, it was because *Isaac Vossius* was become Canon of Windsor. The Praises, he bestows upon that learned Man, exposed him to an insult, which he bore with the utmost Meekness [B]. He had not been long in England, before he expressed a dislike of the Presbyterian Party, and an inclination to Episcopal Communion. He made a little Collection of certain select Passages, which he called *Theologorum Presbyterianorum Icon*, which created him many Enemies; no doubt he was to blame to publish that little Book, and even imprudent to write against People, whom he represents as impatient, distrustful, and obstinate; should not this very Character have obliged him to say nothing that might expose him to their resentment? the best way to confute him, was to say nothing; for such an excellent patience would have convinced the World, that they did not resemble the Picture he had drawn of them. And indeed it must be confessed, to the Honour of these Gentlemen, that they contemned this abuse: but as it is difficult, among so great a number of Men, not to find one that will break loose, so there was a Presbyterian Minister in Holland, who wrote so sharp an Invektive against poor Mr Colomies (b), that, if the whole Party were to be judged of by the Character of one Person, That would be sufficient to conclude, that the *Icon Theologorum Presbyterianorum* was drawn to the Life. The Author of the *Icon* bore this Insult without saying a word, not that it was not easy to answer the reproaches of his adversary [C]; but probably he was afraid his Condition would be made worse

[A] He communicated several curious Observations to the Public. It were to flatter Mr Colomies to say, that he made Discoveries by the Penetration of his Genius. Certainly that was not his Talent; but he knew how to improve his Reading, and to select many singular things that most Readers do not mind, and which they are glad to find when any body has brought them into little Collections. His chief Study consisted in collecting such things; so that in this respect he was a true Ferret. The first Book he published is called *Gallia Orientalis*: which treats of the French, who have understood the Hebrew Tongue (1). This Work is much quoted; it sells well, and is hard to be met with; it was printed at the Hague, in 1665, in 4to. The Author had prepared a second Edition, enlarged and corrected, and had composed a like Work of the Italians and Spaniards, who understood Hebrew. He even gave his Manuscript to a Bookseller of Rochelle, settled at Amsterdam, who promised to print it; but three things have hindered hitherto the Impression of these Manuscripts. I. The Death of the Bookseller. II. The Death of the Author. III. The depraved Taste of the Public, who relish nothing but Libels and Romances. Yet it is to be hoped, that something of these Works of Colomies will be printed*. The second Book he published was entitled, *KEIMHAIA LITERARIA*, and contains several little things (2). It was printed at Paris in the Year 1668, and at Utrecht in 1669 in 12mo. His other Works are *Epigrams and Madrigals*, at Rochelle in 1671, in 12mo. *Remarks upon the second Scaligerana*, Groningen 1669, in 12mo. *The Life of Father James Sirmond*, at Rochelle 1671, in 12mo. *Tertullian's Exhortation to the Martyrs*, translated into French, at Rochelle 1673, in 12mo. *Rome Protestant*, at London (3), 1675, in 12mo. *Historical Miscellanies*, at Orange 1675, in 24mo. *Observations Sacrae*, with a Letter, written by the Author to Mr Claude, concerning the French Version of the Geneva Bible, at Amsterdam 1679, in 12mo (4). *Theologorum Presbyterianorum Icon*, ex Protestantium scriptis ad vivum expressa, and a Parallel between the Practice of the Primitive Church, and that of the Protestants of France, in the Exercise of their Religion, 1682, in 12mo. *Bibliothèque choise*, Rochelle 1682, in 8vo, reprinted at Amsterdam, 1699, with Additions. *Ad Guilielmi Cave Canonici Windesoriensis Chartophylacem Ecclesiasticum Paralipomena*, London 1686, in 8vo. A Letter to Mr Jusfel concerning Father Simon's Critical History. This Letter was printed at London 1686, in 4to, with a Book of *Isaac Vossius* (5). As Mr Colomies

collected, with great care, the Letters of Illustrious Persons, he published some of them at London 1687, in 8vo, together with two Epistles of St Clement, &c. The Title of the whole Volume is *Sancti Clementis Epistolæ duæ ad Corinthios, Interpretibus Patricio Junio, Gottifredo Vendelino, & Joh. Bapt. Cotelerio. Reperit & Notarum Spicilegium adjecit Paulus Colomesius Bibliotheca Lambethanae Curator. Accedit Thomæ Brunonis Canonici Windesoriensis Dissertatio de Theophrasti Philonis. His subnexæ sunt Epistolæ aliquot singulares vel nunc primam editæ, vel non ita facile obviæ*. The same Year he published some Letters of the Queen of Sweden (6), and, in 1690, a Collection of *Vossius's* Letters in Folio. He constantly followed the Rule of *Maximus Callimachus*, that a great Book is always a great Evil: all his Books are of a very small size, upon which Mr Baillet has made this Reflexion (7). 'The Author of *L'Esprit de M. A.* imagines he could not say a more stinging thing to Mr Colomies, his Brother Protestant, than by expressing his Contempt of him, and coldly rallying his small Books of few Leaves. He calls him the great Author of single Sheet Books, adding, that a Volume of a single Sheet was sufficient to make him take place among Authors of the first and second Size.'

[B] The Praises, he bestows upon that learned Man, exposed him to an Insult, which he bore with the utmost Meekness. I shall not however depend upon the judgment of Mr Colomies, who, they will say, is an Author at a reasonable rate, and retained by Mr Vossius to write little Books, wherein he hardly speaks of any thing, but the Great Vossius (8). Though Mr Colomies read this, he did not cease to applaud Father Simon, in a Letter he wrote to Mr Jusfel. A Journalist says (9): 'Mr Colomies's Letter — contains, curious remarks upon some places of Father Simon's Critical History, and has nothing in it, but what is very moderate, though Mr Colomies was not ignorant of Father Simon's being the Author of the Preface and Notes of the new Edition of his Critical History.'

[C] A Presbyterian Minister wrote a sharp Invektive against him — he might very easily have answered the reproaches of his Adversary. I have already blamed Mr Colomies for publishing his *Icon*. He had better have let the Passages he collects be scattered up and down; and besides, he chose a very improper time for it. He ought not, on such an occasion, to have exposed the weak side of a Country: So that if the Author of *L'Esprit de Mont. Arnaud* had attacked him in this manner, if he had

(5) I learn this from the Bibliothèque Universelle, Tom. 13. pag. 336.

(7) Jugem. des Savans, Tom. I. pag. 448.

(8) David A. Vossius, *Notæ Criticæ*, pag. 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

(9) Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, May 1686, pag. 593. Edit. 2.

by a Reply [D]. He imitated the patience of those, who had been aspersed in the same

confuted the main Points, without descending to personal reproaches, he would have deserved commendation; but by flying upon him with violence and fury, he becomes inexcusable himself, and does an injury to his Cause. Their Dispute furnished the Readers with a sort of Theatrical Dramatic Entertainment; but, whereas in Comedies, you have first the great Tragic Passions represented, and then the Comic Parts; on the contrary, here you have first the diverting Comic Part, and then Transports of Anger, and grave Invektive; but nothing can be more ridiculous than those places where the Author pretends to rally; and if Mr Colomies had replied to him, he must have been irrecoverably mortified on that head. I do not desire the Reader should take my Word for it; I will produce my Proofs.

I. Mr Colomies puts his Name at the head of his Works, PER PAULUM COLOMESIUM RUPELLESEM. Upon this, the Author of *L'Esprit de Mons. Arnaud* makes this Jest as cold as Ice. 'You see by the grandeur of this great Man's Name, that Heaven appointed him for an Author. For among all the Ancients and Moderns, you find no Name so proper to make a fine Figure at the head of a Volume, or in the Title Page of a Book (10): —'

'It must be confessed, it fills the Mouth, and the Eyes, and though there was nothing else to exhibit to the Public, it would deserve to be printed (11). This is like a Man, who for fear of falling short, cannot part with any Thought that offers, or perhaps it would be better to say, that it is a sign of great want of Judgment, and a Taste for Raillery. However it be, no Man could have better his ill Taste, than by pretending to discover the least grain of Wit in all this, and if I was to answer such a sorry Banter, I should do no more than calmly open the first Book, in a Library, that came to hand, and it would be very hard if I did not soon find Names as proper to fill the Mouth, and the Eyes, as that of *Paulus Colomesius Rupellenfis*.

After which, with a serious Air, I would thus bespeak my Antagonist: 'You say, that among all the Ancients and Moderns, there is no Name so proper to make a fine Figure at the head of a Work —'

'and that, though there was nothing else to exhibit to the World, yet it would deserve to be printed. If you were acquainted with many Authors, you would not talk at this rate, and it is plain, you have not much read or considered the Ancients, or the Moderns. Why do you not lament the Fate of infinite Number of Peasants, who never have their Names set at the beginning of any Book, though they deserve to be printed, on account of the many Letters they contain. This is your Foundation.' Men of true Wit never rally upon a false Fact; they never ridicule an Author for what is common to him with other learned Men, and has nothing particular in it. Are *David Blondellus Catalaunensis*, *Dionysius Petavius Aurelianensis*, *Dionysius Lambinus Montroliensis*, and a hundred others, I could name, more or less to be excepted against, than *Paulus Colomesius Rupellenfis*?

II. The Railleries, this Author grounds upon Mr Colomies being surnamed *Rupellenfis*, are not better. In order that Raillery be true, he, who is rallied, must deserve to be rallied: now this can never be said of any one, who follows only the common Custom. When one rallies another upon his Cloaths, he makes himself ridiculous, unless there is something odd and unfashionable in his Cloaths. (So that the Jest upon *Rupellenfis* is good for nothing, unless it be not the common Practice of Authors, who write in *Latin*, to join the Name of their City to their Family Name; but it is certain that this is their Practice, and consequently Mr Colomies only followed a settled Custom (12). Let us conclude, that all this banter reverts upon it's Author, and makes him suspected for a Stranger to the Republic of Letters.

III. But the dullest of all his Jest is this. After having put down in Capital Letters the Names and Surnames of his Adversary, he compares them with others. *Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis*, says he (13), and *Sidonius Apollinaris Claramontanensis* (14), are nothing like it. 'I hope Posterity, who will not be so well acquainted with Mr Colomies as we are, will believe, that RUPEL-

LENSIS signifies the Bishop of Rochelle, as the *Hipponensis* of St Augustin signifies the Bishop of Hippo. It is a very wretched Raillery, which is built upon an absurd Foundation, and which is more shocking to those who are not concerned, than to those who are intended to be rallied by it. Nothing is more repugnant to probability than to say, the Epithet *RUPELLENSIS* will one Day signify, *Bishop of Rochelle*: and it is an injury to our Posterity to imagine them capable of such a gross blunder. Readers in the Ages to come must be a hundred times more barbarous than they were three or four hundred Years ago, if they can believe what the Author of the *Esprit de Mr Arnaud* hopes they will believe. It may be said, he does not believe so; but speaks ironically. I know it, but still his ironical Hope ought to refer to a probable Event. Otherwise it would be a fine Raillery to tell a Country Gentleman. *You are drawn with a Sword by your side, I hope our Descendants will take you for a Duke and Peer*. But in short, it may be said, in favour of our ill Jest, that, since the *Hipponensis* of St Augustin does signify Bishop of Hippo, so *Rupellenfis* may also mean, Bishop of Rochelle. The consequence I acknowledge; but the principle, from whence it is drawn, is false and absurd; for, in St Augustin's Titles, the term *Episcopi* is always joined to the Word *Hipponensis*, and That Father is never taken for a Bishop, by virtue of the latter Word, but only by the Word *Episcopi* (15). The Increase of Bishops might justly be dreaded in future Ages, if the Raillery of our Cenfor was good; for, as I observed before, it is a common Practice for Authors, who write in *Latin*, to put the Name of their Country in the Titles of their Books. The Reformers have not neglected that Custom (16). A Professor of *Leyden*, of his acquaintance, has indeed put a Title to his Works, which may properly fill the Mouth and the Eyes (17).

Had I not good Reason then to say, Mr Colomies might easily have confounded his Adversary on the subject of Raillery? Might he not have laughed at him, as a Man surprised and astonished at a very common thing (18), a Crime hardly pardonable in half Scholars.

It had been as easy to confound him upon a more considerable Point, than upon Railleries. He is accused of being Pensioner of *Isaac Vossius*, and even his Parasite. This Observation was due to the great *Isaac*, to reimburse him for the Pension and Lodgings, he furnishes Mr *Paulus Colomesius Rupellenfis* with; for our Author lives with him. It must not be wondered at, that Mr Colomies is attached to the Party of the Canons, who live at their ease on the fatness of God's House, since he gathers the crumbs that fall from their Table, and dwells in a Land flowing with Milk and Honey — (19). It is a vile Compliance to sacrifice his Brethren to the Passion of those, who give him perhaps a meal — (20). I know not what Religion that Man is of; but this is certain, he is of the Parasites Religion, always for him that gives most (21). This cruel Satire, which reflects upon the Episcopal Clergy on one hand, and Colomies on the other, might easily be refuted. I have read a Letter, written at that time by Mr Jusfel, in which he says, they were very wrong to treat Mr Colomies as a Parasite: the Behaviour of that Man, and his way of subsisting in England, fully confuted the Accusation of the *Esprit de Mr Arnaud*.

[D] But probably he was afraid his Condition would be made worse by a Reply. I never heard of any ill reports against the Honour of *Paul Colomies*, or his Relations; but after all, where are the Men, whose Youth and Family are totally free from all stain, great or small, or have nothing to fear from the abusive Memoirs of an Enemy. I imagine that Colomies considered, if he farther provoked the Author of the *Esprit de Mr Arnaud*, he would oblige him to write to Rochelle for some Memoirs, which would be furnished from thence, to cry down a Man that had endeavoured to render the Presbyterian Party odious to all Europe. Therefore he was silent, that he might not expose himself assest to the Slander of so dangerous an Enemy. See what we have observed before on this head (22).

(10) The Author puts in three Lines, and large Characters, PER PAULUM COLOMESIUM RUPELLESEM. This last Word is in a small Character in the Title of the Icon.

(11) *Esprit de Mons. Arnaud*. Tom. II. pag. 298, 299.

(12) The Title of Beza's Works is Theodori Bezae Vezellii Volumen primum Tractationum Theologicarum.

(13) ANDREAE RIVETI PICTAVI SAMAXENTINENSIS THEOLOGAE DOCTORIS ET SACRARUM LITTERARUM PROFESSORIS Opera.

(14) This Author has been often charged with this Fault in the Books concerning the Chimerical Cabal of Rotterdam.

(15) *Esprit de Mons. Arnaud*, Tom. 2. pag. 302.

(16) Ibid. pag. 303.

(17) Ibid. pag. 304.

(18) Remarques [A] of the Article ARNAULD, Doctor of the Sorbonne.

(f) See above,
Citation (7).

(23) See Mr
Baillet, Jugem.
sur les Poëtes,
Tom. IV. pag.
9. citing 28 Rag
guagli of the 15
Century of Boc-
calini.

(25) See the Preface to the Chimera demonstrated, pag. 65.

(26) In Remark
[E] of the Ar-
ticle TAVER-
NIER.

(27) Jugem. det.
Scavans, Tom.
II, num. 69.
pag. 32.

(28) Ibid. num
137. pag. 179.

(29) *Add to this
his Elegium in
the Journal des
Savans, Aug.*

m. 213. *In the*
Acta Eruditorum
of Leipzig, Tom
III, pag. 314;
and in the Mé-
langes d'Histoire
& de Littérature
par M^{ons}. de
Vigneul-Mar-
ville, pag. 269.
Edition of Roan
1699.

(37) His capacity is well known, by a Sermon he preached at London, on the Peace, Sept 23, 1697, which was printed afterwards, at that Place.

(24) Horat. Epist.
I, lib. II. ver.
354.

[A] *Bishop of a great Number of Places.*] His Titles in *Oldoini* and *Mandof* are: ' Archiepiscopus ' *Montis Regalis* in *Sicilia*, & *Rossanensis*, *Episcopus* *Reatinus*, *Sarfenis*, *Interamnenfis*, *Acer-* *renfis*, *Aquilanus*, *Potentinus*, *Averlanus*, *Mon-*

'tis Marrani, & Catanensis. — *Archbishop of*
' Mont Real in Sicily, and Rossa, *Bishop of Reate,*
' Sarfina, Terano, Acerræ, Aquila, Potentia, Avel-

[B] The

a great mixture of good and ill. He knew how to wear equally well the Cardinal's Hat, and Warriour's Helmet, and tried more than once the Vicissitude of good and and ill Fortune. *Julius II* degraded him from all his dignities; *Leo X* restored him, made him a Cardinal, and trusted him with several Embassies. *Clement VII* stripped him of the Purple, but restored it soon after. It is pretended that to him he owed his Promotion to the Papal Chair, which Obligation he would not return by gratifying him in all his demands. The Answer *Clement VII* one day made him deserves to be mentioned here [B]. *Pompey Colonna* died Viceroy of *Naples*, in the Year 1532, and was buried without Pomp, or Epitaph, in the Convent of the *Olivetian* Monks. He is the Author of several Poems, in which he celebrates the Beauty and Charms of *Isabella Filamarini*, the Prince of *Salerno's* Wife. He was her Admirer, but protests he had no dishonourable Designs upon that virtuous Lady. This is perhaps one of those poetic Protections, which are as little to be regarded as the Perjuries of Lovers. He wrote another Book more serious, and more laboured, in Honour of the fair Sex, *de Laudibus Mulierum* [C], which he consecrated chiefly to the Glory of *Victoria Colonna*, his Relation. This Article deserved to be made longer, but I would not repeat what every one may find in *Moreri*.

[B] The Answer *Clement VII* one Day made him deserves to be mentioned here.] * Cardinal *Pompey Colonna*, having, by his Intrigues, raised *Clement VII* to the Papal Throne, in Opposition to * Cardinal *Franciotto Orsini*, received many Favours from the new Pope; but imagining no thing would be denied him, and soliciting one Day for something, which was not only unjust, but dishonourable to his Holiness to grant, *Clement* refused his Request. *Colonna*, provoked by his Denial, began to reproach him, that by his Interest

he had obtained the Papacy. His Holiness replied, it was true; but then he desired him to let him be Pope, without being so himself, and not take from him what he had been instrumental to procure him (1).

[C] He wrote a Book - - - in Honour of the fair Sex, *de Laudibus Mulierum*.] Father *Oldoini* (2) says, the Manuscript is in the most Christian King's Library. See also the *Bibliotheca Romana* of *Prosper Mandosi*.

(1) Meynier Responses livres aux Demandes curieuses, pag. 279. 280.

(2) In Athenæo Romano.

COLONNA (VICTORIA) a learned and illustrious Lady. See VICTORIA COLUMNA.

COLUMNA or COLONNA (JOHN), a Dominican born at Rome, was made Archbishop of *Messini* (a), Legate and Governor of *Tauromine*, by *Alexander IV*, 1255 (b). Therefore it is wrong to place him after the Year 1325 (c), or in the Year 1313 (d). He wrote a History intituled, *Mare Historiarum*, the Sea of Histories [A], which reached from Adam to the Year 1250 (e). *Antoninus*, Archbishop of *Florence*, quotes it sometimes. *Possevin* mentions one JAMES COLUMNA, a Dominican and Historian, and he pretends, that this Archbishop of Florence

(4) And not in the Year 1337, as La Croix du Maine presents, pag. 36.

(5) Sammarthani sub 75 Enife. Constan. Normann. allegant Vitam Caroli VII. Reg. Franc. per Joannem Quadrarium Monachum S. Dionysii lib. 4. Marii Hist. & in Patriarchio Bituricensi, cap. 26. allegatur Joannis du Cortilis, Mare Historiarum, capitulum 24, §. 3. libri primi de origine Francorum. Sandius, Animadv. in Vossium de Hist. Lat. pag. 170. 171.

(6) Trithem. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. pag. 226. Vossii de Hist. Lat. pag. 480. (7) Du Chesne Biblioth. des Hist. de France, pag. m. 57. (8) In his Hist. de Tournai.

(9) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 431. (10) Trithem. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. pag. 226. See the Biblioth. of Gesner, fol. 408, v. 10.

(11) Sandius Animadv. in Vossium de Hist. Lat. pag. 172. (12) Volaterran. lib. 22. initio.

[A] He wrote a History, intituled, *Mare Historiarum*, The Sea of Histories.] There is a Mistake in those words of the Jesuit *Gautier*, *Johannes de Columna, Autor Matris Historiarum* (1). He says this in his Table of the XIVth Century; which shews, that he did not know the Age of our *Columna*. The French Translator not suspecting they had printed *Matris*, instead of *Mariis*, translates it, *Author of the Mother of Histories*. Father *Gualtier* has copied these two Faults from *Genebrard's* Book. *Johannes de Columna, autor libri cuius titulus est Mater Historiarum* (2). This Work was translated into French, in the Reign of *Charles VIII*. The Translator informs us, that he had added all that concerned the Kings of France, having formed this Design, because he had brought down his Translation to the Foundation of the French Monarchy, when *Charles VIII* ascended the Throne. He calls himself a Frenchman, a Native of Beauvoisin. And adds, he was confirmed in this Design, by the virtuous Exhortations, and eminent Reasons of the noble Andrew de la Haye, Lord of Chaumont, and Receiver of the Taxes, and Payments of the Troops, Towns, and Election of Sans. The Edition I have is printed at Lyons, by *John du Pre*, 1496, in two Volumes, in Folio, and reaches to the Death of *Lewis XI*, in 1483. I have seen a Copy of it, belonging to a Canon of *Antwerp* (3), in which are written these words, *Borchardus autor bujus operis, ut patet ex 120 capite bujus voluminis, folio 702; — Borchard is Author of this Book, as appears by the Hundred and twentieth Chapter of this Volume, pag. 702.* Accordingly in that Page is written what follows: * And because I Borchard, Doctor and Professor of that holy Divinity, being willing to satisfy the Desire of those, who, by a great Inclination and Devotion, go over the Sea, to visit the Places of the said Holy Land, through which I have passed and walked many times, having described it according to my best

Capacity, without saying, or adding any thing but what I myself have seen, being present in the said places, or on the Mountains from whence I could consider them. But this proves only, that the Translator, or some Continuator, has inserted into that *Sea of Histories Bonaventure Borchard's* Description of the Holy Land, which he visited about the Year 1280 (4). They have inserted in it abundance of other things (5), and even took the Liberty to change the Oeconomy of it. It was divided into Books, by *John Columna* (6); but in the French Version it is divided into six Ages, each of which contains several Chapters. *Du Chesne*, who says nothing of the Edition I use, mentions three others. * The great Sea and Flower of Histories, says he (7), printed in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles VIII*, King of France, in two Volumes, in Folio, and since continued to the Year 1543, at Paris, by *Ambrose Giraults*; * Lastly, augmented with a third Volume, down to 1551, by *John le Gendre Aurelianus*.

This *Sea of Histories* has been quoted by an infinite Number of Authors, especially by *John Cousin*, who set a great Value on it (8).

Vossius observes, that an anonymous Author, who wrote, in Italy, in the Year 1381, a Treatise de *Hierarchia subcelesti*, has ranked *John Columna* among the Authors, who have writ the History of the Popes (9); but this does not necessarily infer, that he composed a Book expressly upon the Popes; it may only mean what he has inserted relating to them in his *Mare Historiarum*. He published also a Volume of Letters (10). It is said also, that he composed a Treatise, *de Viris Illustribus Et Christianis* (11). If he had writ a particular History of the Popes, I cannot think, that *Volaterran* would have omitted it in his List (12), where he sets down *LANDOLF COLUMNA*, who dedicated his Works to Pope *John XXII*.

[B] Bat

(f) At the end of Remark [B].

Florence copies him in many Places. Vossius is not of his Opinion [B]. I shall observe a small Error of Andrew Rivet (f).

[B] Possievin mentions one James Columna ----- copied by Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence ----- but Vossius is not of his Opinion.] Thus he expresses himself: 'Possievinus diversos facit, Joannem & Jacobum, Columnas, utrumque Ord. Præd. utrumque Historicum: atque addit, B. Antoninum plura ex Jacobo derivasse in Historiam suam. Puto falli. Sane Antoninus Joannem Columnam testem advocat, cum alibi, tum Tit. xix. Cap. i, ubi Sermo ei de Innocentio III, qui prius Lotharius vocabatur. At Jacobum Columnam Historicum, quantum meminisse possum, plane nescit: nec fuisse ejus nominis Historicum censo (13). ----- Possievin makes two Columnas, John and James, both Franciscans, and both Historians; and adds, that Antoninus had borrowed many things from James which he had put into his History. I believe he is mistaken. For Antoninus quotes John Columna several times, and particularly in the sixth Tit. of Book 1, where he speaks of Innocent III, whose former Name was Lotharius. But, as I remember, he knew no such Historian as James; nor do I think there was any Historian of that Name.' Sandius objects to him, that Naucerus relates something on the Authority of James Columna (14). He might have added, in Confirmation of his Criticism, that the Fact, for which Naucerus cites James Columna, is not to be found in the *Mare Historiarum* (15); and observe, that several Authors make mention of this James. JACOBUS COLUMNA Ordinis Sancti Dominici Historicus eruditus, quem pluries citat Sanctus Antoninus in suis Historiis. Scriptis mandavit *Chronicon à creatione Mundi, usque ad sua tempora* 1340. Est Jacobi mentio apud Lufitanum, Plodium, Fernandez, Fontanam de Ro-

mana Provincia, & Ambrosium de Altamura in *Bibliotheca Ordinis Prædicatorum* (16). ----- JAMES COLUMNA, of the Order of St Dominic, a learned Historian, who is often cited by St Antoninus in his History. He wrote a Chronicle from the Creation of the World to his own Times 1340. Mention is made of this James by Lufitanus, Plodius, Fernandez, Fontanam of the Roman Provinces, and Ambrosius Altamura in his *Bibliotheca Ordinis Prædicatorum*. These are the words of Prosper Mandosi, who forgot our John Columna, in his five first Centuries *Bibliotheca Romanæ*.

Give me leave to add here one little part of the Controversy concerning Pope Joan. Mr du Plessis having quoted Antoninus, who tells us the Tale of that Female Pope, Coeffeteau charged him with altering the Passage, and suppressing this Limitation; 'If what is reported, and what Martinus says, be true. It is added also, that they erected a Marble Statue in Memory of her; but Vincent de Beauvais, and John de Columna makes no mention of it (17). Rivet, in his Answer to Coeffeteau, uses these words: 'Concerning the Marble Statue, Antoninus opposes to those, who commonly add it, Vincent de Beauvais, and John de Columna, who do not mention it. But he shews, by this particular, that they make mention of the rest of the Story (18). Rivet is mistaken; for those two Authors say nothing of the She-Pope; and therefore Antoninus could not say, they only omitted what concerned the Statue. He ought to have consulted them, before he had determined the meaning of Antoninus's ambiguous Expressions.

(6) Prosper Mandosi Bibl. Romanæ, cent. I, num. 11, pag. 14, 15.

(17) Coeffet. Reponse au Mythe d'Iniquité, pag. 508.

(18) Rivet. Remarq. sur la Reponse au Mythe d'Iniquité, Part I. pag. 594.

(13) Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 359, and lib. 12. pag. 369.
(14) Id. lib. 12. pag. 383.
(15) Id. lib. 12. pag. 369.

COMANA. There were chiefly two Cities of this name, one in Cappadocia (a), and the other in the Kingdom of Pontus (b). Both were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same Rites in the Worship of that Goddess. One was built upon the Model of the other, That of Pontus upon That of Cappadocia (c). It was in the latter that Orestes established this Religious Worship (d) [A]. In each City the Temple of the Goddess was endowed with a great many Lands, and a great number of Men officiated there under the Authority of a Pontif, a Person of Credit, and

[A] It was in Comana of Cappadocia, that Orestes established that religious Worship.] Τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ ταῦτα δοκεῖ Ὀρέστῃ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰριγενείας κομίσθαι διὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς Σκυθίας τὰ τῆς Ταυροπόλεως Ἀρτέμιδος. These words of Strabo (1) signify, 'that it was believed Orestes, and his Sister Iphigenia, brought thither this Religion from Scythia Taurica, being the same Worship they paid to Diana Tauropolos.' He adds, that Orestes, who had let his Hair grow in token of Mourning, left it in this same place of Cappadocia, which, for that reason, was named Comana. Now, as he says in another place (2), speaking of Comana, a City of Pontus, that it was consecrated to the same Deity with Comana of Cappadocia, and had its Origin from it (3), he plainly shews, either that he did not know, or did reject, the Competition there was between the two Cities, and that he disregarded the Pretensions of the Inhabitants of Pontus. Nevertheless, it is certain, they did not yield to the others the Title of Chief, and also boasted they had the true Statue of Diana. In which they were rivalled not only by the Cappadocians, but also by the Lydians; so that it was not under Christianity, that the Practice first began of quarrelling about the Possession of a Relic; for, long before they began to claim in several Places the Possession of the true holy Handkerchief, or John the Baptist's Head, several Pagan Cities had disputed the Possession of the Statue of Diana Taurica. The Lacedæmonians pretended to have it. The Athenians maintained, that Iphigenia had left it in their Country (4). The Inhabitants of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Lydia, disputed the same Relic. Διαμμένοντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τηλικύτῳ ὄνομαι τῇ ταυρικῇ θεῷ ὅς ἐστι ἀμφοτέρωθεν μὲν Καππαδοκίας καὶ οἱ τὸν Εὐξείνου οἰκῶντες τὸ ἀγαλλμα εἶναι παρὰ τῇσιν, ἀμφοτέρωθεν δὲ καὶ

Λυδῶν οἷς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ἀναΐτιδος. Cum adhuc illustre sit Tauricæ Dianæ nomen; ut Cappadoces cum Euxini accolis penes utramque gentem ejus Deæ signum inter se certent, & Lydi etiam illi apud quos Anaitidis Dianæ sanum est rem controversam faciunt (5). ----- The Name of Diana of Tauris is at this Day so famous, that the Cappadocians, and they of Pontus, still contend who has the Possession of her Statue; and the Lydians likewise, with whom remains the Temple of Diana Anaitis, still contend for the same. As to the Statue of Diana, Dion gives all the Honour of it to Comana of Cappadocia; he says nothing of the Competition of the Lydians, nor of the Inhabitants of Pontus. He says only, that in Cappadocia there were two Cities of the same Name, which were not far asunder; each boasted of the same Things, told the same Tales, and shewed the same Rarities; each pretended to have the true Knife of Iphigenia. Μεβολογῶσι καὶ δεικνύσι τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὅς αὐτὸ ἐκείνο τὸ τῆς Ἰριγενείας, ὃν ἀμφότεροι ἔχουσι. Cum reliqua omnia similia utrinque fabulantur ostentantque, tum utraque urbi gladium habet quem verum Iphigeniæ esse autumant (6). There is no doubt but he means that these two Cities of Cappadocia were named Comana. Now as no Historians, or Geographers, mention two Comana's in Cappadocia, near one another; perhaps Dion was mistaken, in not placing, as Strabo has done, one of the two Comana's in Cappadocia, and the other in the Kingdom of Pontus. Ortelius is mistaken, when he assures us, that Dion makes mention of the Pontic Comana, and Comana of Cappadocia (7). Perhaps Dion has confounded together Comana and Castabala: for it is true, there was a tellus in Thelasia City in Cappadocia named Castabala, where the things said of Orestes, and Diana Tauropolos, were pretended

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Dio, lib. 35.

(7) Abrah. Ortelius in Thelasia 10 Geo. graph.

and of such Consideration, that the King only was superior to him [B]. His Dignity was during Life (e). Several Dictionaries, and other Books, make *Strabo* say, that, in his time, there were above Six thousand Persons consecrated to the service of *Bellona*, at *Comana* of *Cappadocia*, who, at certain annual Feasts of the Goddesses, beat and wounded one another. I cannot think *Strabo* has said any thing more (f), than that, when he travelled there, the Ministers of *Bellona* were above Six thousand, both Men and Women. What they say of those Fights is built upon another Foundation [C]. He says of *Comana* of *Pontus*, that it was a populous and trading City; that it was thronged by great numbers of People, at the Festival of *Bellona* going out, and that, at all Times, there were abundance of Strangers, who resorted thither to pay their Vows, or to offer Sacrifices to the Goddesses of the Place (g). This without doubt was one of the things that drew Strangers thither; after the *Mithridatic* War, the Romans in a manner secularized this Pontificate [D], and

pretended to be transacted. The *Diana*, who had a Temple in this City, was surnamed *Perafa*; this served as a Proof. For the rest, the Priestesses, in this place, boasted of being able to walk on burning Coals without hurt. *Ἐν τοῖς Κασαβάλαις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περσείας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὅπου πασι τὰς ἱερείας γυμναίει τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθεκαίας βαδίειν ἀπαθείς, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τινες τὴν αὐτὴν θρύλλουσιν ἰσορίαν τὴν περὶ τῶ Ὀρέου καὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλεως. Περσείαν καὶ κληῖσθαι φασκόντες διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι κομισθῆναι.* Apud *Castabala* *Perafae* *Dianæ* fanum est, ubi aiunt sacrificas mulieres illæsis pedibus per prunas ambulare: atque ibi sunt qui autument gesta quæ de *Oreste* & *Tauropolo* *Diana* feruntur: diætamque *Perafiam* quod trans mare eo pervenerit. (8). — At *Castabala* is the Temple of *Diana Perafa*, where it is reported, that her Priestesses walk unburt on burning Coals, and here is told the Story of *Orestes* and *Diana* of *Tauris*, who, they say, was called *Perafa* (the Foreigner) because she was brought from abroad.

[B] The Temple of the Goddesses — was served under the Authority of a Pontif — that the King only was superior to him.] The Inhabitants of *Comana* were reputed the King's Subjects, but were obliged to obey the Pontif: *Ἄλλως μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεὶ τελεργμένοι, τῷ δὲ ἱερίῳ ὑπακούουσιν. Regi quidem alias subditi, sed Pontificis tamen dicto audientes.* Thus *Strabo* speaks of him in pag. 369. He adds, that the Pontif was Lord of the greatest Part of the Temple, and of all the Ministers of holy Things. He received all the Product of the Lands belonging to the Temple; in a word, throughout all *Cappadocia* he was honoured next to the King; for this reason, he was almost always of the Royal Family. *Ἐστὶν ἔτι δευτέρῳ κατὰ τιμὴν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα. ὡς δ' ἐπίστολον τὰ αὐτὰ γένος ἦσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι.* *It secundum regem in summo est inter Cappadoces honore: plerumque ex eadem familia sunt Pontifices et Reges.* *Strabo* observes almost the same thing of the Pontif of *Comana* in *Pontus*. This Pontif was next to the King, and twice a Year he wore the Royal Diadem, when they celebrated the going out of the Goddesses. *Ἡνίκα δὲ τὰ ἔτος κατὰ τὰς ἐξόδους λεγομένης τῆς θεᾶς διαδήμα ἐτυγχάνει φορεῖν ὁ ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἢν δεύτερῳ κατὰ τιμὴν μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα.* *Cum bis quotannis in exitu quem vocabant Deæ Diadema Pontifex gestaret et honore secundus à Rege esset* (9). I have made these Remarks for two Reasons: I. To shew, that the same Spirit, which, under Christianity, has procured the Clergy so much Honour and Wealth formerly, prevailed also under the Pagan Religion. So that, tho' Men may change their Opinions and Principles, yet Nature will recover it's Rights. What is founded upon Mechanical Passions is an inalienable imprescriptible Demesn. In the great Revolutions of Religion, Nature may be dispossessed for a Time; but sooner or later she recovers her Possessions. This is my first Motive. My second is, That it appears to me, that Father *Noris* has committed a Fault, when he says, in a general and unlimited Manner, that the same Man was Prince and Pontif of *Comana*. 'Hunc Archelaum Pompejus Sacerdotem Bellonæ ac Comanorum principem (UTRAQUE enim dignitas UNI EIDEMQUE conferebatur) constituit' (10). — — — Pompey made this Archelaus High

Pontif of *Bellona*, and Prince of *Comana*; for both Honours were conferred on ONE AND THE SAME PERSON. I do believe, that Pompey conferred these two Characters upon Archelaus at the same time; but non sic erat ab initio, — — it was not so from the beginning. I shall give two Instances in the Remark [D], to confirm what I have said of the great Power of these Pontifs.

[C] What they say of these Fights is built upon another Foundation.] The Priests of *Bellona* had this in common with the Priests of *Cybele*, that, at certain Seasons, they counterfeited the Enthusiasts, and expressed, by extravagant Postures, a great Distraction of Mind. Far from sparing their own Bodies, they cut themselves till the Blood ran down, and this was a part of their divine Service. *Lactantius* reproaches the Heathens with this. 'Ab isto genere sacrorum non minoris insanie judicanda sunt publica illa sacra; quorum alia sunt matris Deum; in quibus homines suis ipsi virilibus litant: amputato enim sexu nec viros se, nec feminas faciunt: alia Virtutis, quam eandem Bellonam vocant, in quibus ipsi Sacerdotes non alieno, sed suo cruore sacrificant. Sectis namque humeris, & utraque manu distictos gladios exerentes, currunt, efferrunt, insaniunt (11). — From these Solemnities we may infer, that the rest are not less infected with Madness; as those of *Cybele*, where Men sacrifice Virility, by Castration, making themselves neither Men nor Women; and those of *Virtue*, whom they also name *Bellona*, at which the Priests offer no Blood but their own. For with a drawn Sword in each Hand, and streaming Shoulders, they are guilty of all the wild Extravagances of Men possessed.' It is very likely these Rites were observed in *Comana*, where *Bellona* was had in such Veneration; yet *Strabo* does not mention it. He says indeed, at *Comana* in *Cappadocia* there were many inspired or fanatic Persons; but he does not say, that the Priests of *Bellona* were either castrated (12), or that they wounded one another. Some pretend, that *Valerius Flaccus* affirms both the one and the other; for instead of *Comatos*, they read *Comanos*, in his seventh Book, about the end.

Qualis ubi attonitos mœstæ Phrygas annua matris Ira, vel excoctos lacerat Bellona Comanos.

As when the Phrygians Cybele inspires,
Or her Comanians War's great Goddesses fires,
An unmann'd furious Tribe, &c.

[D] The Romans secularized in a manner this Pontificate.] We have proved before, that the Pontif of *Comana* did not enjoy the Sovereignty. The King was superior to him, and the Inhabitants of *Comana* were properly the Subjects of the King. But when Pompey had finished the *Mithridatic* War, he gave that Pontificate to Archelaus, without imposing any other Dependence upon him, than that which the Roman People referred to themselves when they gave a Country. *Appian*, enumerating the Kings and Princes, placed, by Pompey, in several Parts of Asia, does not forget Archelaus: 'Ejus etiam Deæ quæ à Comanis colitur Archelaum fecit flaminem, cuius dinastæ parem opibus (13). — He made Archelaus High-Priest to the Goddesses of the Comanians, who has a Revenue not inferior to any Princes.' He forbade him only to sell the Inhabitants, and as for the rest, commanded them to obey

(8) *Strabo*, lib. 12, pag. 370.

(9) *Ibid.* pag. 384.

(10) *Noris*, Cœnotaphi. Pisan. pag. 255. See Remark [C], of the Article ARCHELAUS, King of Cappadocia.

(e) *Ib.* pag. 370.

(f) *Ib.* pag. 369.

(g) *Strabo*, lib. 11, pag. 335.

(11) *Lactantius*, Institut. Divinar. lib. 1, cap. 21.

(12) On the contrary he mentions their Wives: *ἄνδρες ὁμῶς γυναῖκας.* Viri una cum mulieribus. *Strabo*, lib. 12, pag. 369.

(13) *Appian* in *Mithridat.* pag. m. 163.

Upon his Departure, he gave the Box to the King, in the Presence of a great many People, and desired him to keep it till he should return. He told him, that he had put something in it that he valued more than Gold and Silver, and that was as dear to him as his own Life. The King put his Seal to the Box, and gave it to his Masters of the Wardrobe to keep. The Queen's Journey lasted three Years, and did not fail to produce what *Combabus* had foreseen. She became desperately in love with that young Man, and did what she could to keep the Decorum of her Quality; but Silence did but increase her Love: At last she was forced to discover it, first by Signs, and then by Words. 'Tis true, that being unwilling to have a Confident, and wanting Courage to desire a Cure for her Evil, she supplied her want of Boldness with some Glasses of Wine [A]. Having made herself drunk, she went to *Combabus's* Chamber, discovered her Love to him, and most humbly desired him not to be cruel to her. He put her off, under Pretence, that she was drunk; but because she would not hear any Reason, and threatened to do some desperate Action, he declared to her, that it was impossible for him to satisfy her, and, lest she should be incredulous, he made her an Eye-witness of his Impotency. After that Sight, *Stratonice* was not so fond of *Combabus*: nevertheless, she continued to love him [B], and would be perpetually with him: She endeavoured, by seeing and speaking to him, to comfort herself for the Misfortune of not being able to carry the Intrigue farther. In the mean time, the King, being informed of their Conduct, re-called *Combabus*. That Order did not astonish the young Man; for he remembered that his Justification was deposited in the King's Closet; so that he returned boldly. He was put into Prison immediately, and some time after the King sent for him into his Chamber, and accused

[A] *Stratonice* ----- being desperately in love with him ----- supplied her Boldness with some Glasses of Wine. Lucian supposes that Three Reasons induced her to make herself drunk (1). I. She hoped that then she should be bold enough to discover her Passion. II. She would not be so much ashamed of a Refusal. III. People forget what they do in that Condition. He might have added a fourth Reason, which is, That a Man does not conceive so much Contempt for a Woman, who runs into such excess of Impudence, when she has drunk too much, as for a Woman that should make the same Declaration in her right Senses.

[B] He made her an Eye-witness of his Impotency; nevertheless, she continued to love him. I must observe, for that Queen's Honour and Glory, that *Lucian*, a Man who was not afraid of what he said, tells us, That she had only Conversations with her Gallant; they were indeed frequent, but nevertheless pure and harmless. Ἰδέσθαι δὲ ἢ στεγασθῆναι τὰ ἐπὶ ἐλπίσιν, μάλιστα μὲν ἔτι ἐκείνης ἐρχέσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἑδάμῃ ἐλπίσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα οἱ συνέστα ταύτην παρρησίῃ ἐποίεσθαι ἐπὶ ἀπρὶκτοῖς. *Stratonice* his visits quæ nunquam futura putasset, à furore quidem illa in præsens destitit, amoris autem haudquaquam oblita est. Sed perpetua conversatione cum illo ita infectum amorem solabatur (2). — *Stratonice*, having seen what she so little expected, abated the Violence of her Passion, yet ceased not to love him; but, being perpetually in his Company, thus soothed her unaccomplished Desires. It must not be said, That, in the Condition that *Combabus* had put himself in, he could give her nothing but Words; for the Relations of the Levant inform us of the contrary. How excessive soever the Jealousy of Men may be, yet it is not so copious in Inventions as the Love of Women. They believed, that if they should put their Wives under the Guard of Eunuchs, I mean of certain Men, whose Genitals were cut off, they might sleep quietly; but they found themselves mistaken. Those Eunuchs were not only good for something, but were also preferred to other Men in many Places:

Sunt quas Eunuchi imbelles ac molliæ semper Oscula delectant & desperatio barbæ.
Et quod abortivo non est opus.

There are, who in soft Eunuchs place their Bliss,
To shun the scrubbing of a bearded Kiss,
And 'scape Abortion. —

DRYDEN.

It was therefore necessary to have recourse to other Remedies, and to cut the Eunuchs close to the Skin: they would not trust them in Turkey, if they

V O L. II.

had the least part of their Genitals left (4). But this Precaution proves still ineffectual; for, notwithstanding they are cut close, as the *Emballador* de Breves speaks, yet he affirms, that some of them marry several Wives, to serve them for abominable Impurities (5). *St Basil* was not ignorant, that there is no trusting to the completest Mutilations: He says, they do not make him, that was a Male, to become a Female; he is still a Male: Just as an Ox, whose Horns are cut off, continues to be an Ox, and does not become a Horse. He carries the Comparison much farther: He says, That an Ox, whose Horns are cut off, does not cease, when he is angered, to make all the Postures that he made before, and even to strike with that part of his Head where his Horns were. The other part of the Comparison may be seen in these Latin Words.

“Masculina corpora, licet illa Eunuchorum sint, caute vitanda sunt virginibus. Sit enim ille licet Eunuchus, vir tamen per naturam est. Sicut enim cornutus bos, cum illi prædantur cornua, non tamen sublati cornibus equus efficitur; sed absint licet cornua, bos tamen est: ita & masculus, abscissis genitalibus omnibus, ea tamen mutilatione sua mulier effectus non est, sed masculus (ut est natura conditus) permanet: ac sicuti bos recisus cornibus, sic quoque, furore cornu petit, (cervicem quippe incurvans, & caput ad ferendi impetum formans, gaudet intentare minas) ac sæpius ea parte capitis ferit qua cornibus antea fuerat armatus: satisfaciuntque furor per actus imaginem, (ita enim afficitur correptus iræ impetu, non ut casu feriens vulnere, sed ut prius ictu cornuum scindens, ac dividens;) ita & masculus, quamvis abscissus genitalia, vitiosa tamen concupiscentia masculus est. Quocirca & ipse ad actum seditatis similiter formans, amorem spirat, incredibilemque vesaniam: imo & ad coitum fervens, etiam si ea parte non violet, scemina turbulenti incumbens; ipse tamen ac si corruerit satisfeceritque cupidini, ita sceleris imagine affectus est. Eam vero ad peccatum vehementius irritans, totum quidem corrumpt animum, corpusque ad corruptionis actum inclementer instigat (6).”

St Basil is not the only Father of the Church, who charged Women to have a care of Eunuchs, and to be persuaded that they are able to commit a thousand lascivious Tricks with them. I speak of such Eunuchs as were cut close. See Father *Theophilus Raynaud's* Book, which I have quoted. The Examples and Passages of the Fathers, alledged by that Jesuit, make him laugh at *Peter Abelard's* Apology. I have already observed this (7), and shall perhaps say something more of it in the Article *HELOÏSA*. But let us return to *Stratonice* and *Combabus*, and observe, that she is much to be praised, if, after entertaining a criminal Love for another Man, she confined herself within the Bounds of meer Conversation.

6 T

(4) *Bosquet, Letter 3*, apud *la Vayer, Letter 112*, Tom. XI, pag. 527.

(5) *La Mothe Vayer. ibid.*

(6) *St Basil, libro de Sancta Virginitate, ad finem, apud Theophilum Raynaudum in Tractatu de Eunuchis, cap. 5, art. 2, n. 17, pag. m. 147.*

(7) See above in Remark [T] of the Article *ABELARD*.

(1) *Lucian. de Syria Des, pag. 892, 893, Tom. II.*

(2) *Id. ibid. pag. 893.*

(3) *Juven. Sat. VI, ver. 364.*

(b) He spent the remaining Part of his Life in the holy City, where the Temple was built. *Lucian. de Syria Dea, pag. 896.*

(c) Taken from *Lucian in his Treatise de Syria Dea, Tom. II. Oper. pag. 876, & seq.* Note, that That Treatise, which is ascribed to *Lucian*, is not written in the *Attic Dialect*, as the other Treatises of that Author, but in the *Ionie Dialect*.

(*) *Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. ver. 83.*

(g) So *Lucian* calls the Town whither *Stratonice* went to build a Temple.

(10) *Lucian. de Syria Dea, Tom. II, pag. 894.*

(11) *Pag. 893.*

(12) *Pag. 895.*

(13) *Theophilus Raynaud, ubi supra, pag. 148, it is in the wrong to say, Hoc Stratonice à Combabō excocho accidisse — narrat Lucianus, that is, what St Basil speaks of.*

cused him of Adultery, Perfidiousness, and Impiety [C], in the Presence of those who had seen the Box given. Witnesses were produced, who deposed, That they had seen him enjoy the Queen [D]. He made no Answer till they were going to lead him to the Place of Execution. Then he said, That he did not die for having defiled the King's Bed, but because the King would not return the Box that he had put into his Hands at his Departure. Whereupon the King commanded the Box to be brought. They opened it, and the Innocency of the Accused appeared, and he told the Reasons that made him commit That Violence upon himself. The King embraced him, and seemed much concerned at that Disaster: he caused the Accusers to be punished, loaded him with Favours, and granted him the Privilege of speaking to him at all times, even when he was conversing with the Queen [E]. Now as his first Commission imported, that he should have the care of building the Temple, which *Stratonice* was ordered to build to *Juno*; he desired leave to return to that Place, to finish the building of that Temple. He obtained leave, and returned no more to the Court (b). His Statue of Brass was placed in the Temple, by the King's Order, to do him Honour. They had given that Statue the Air of a Woman, and the Dress of a Man; yet it has been said, that in compassion to Women he left off the Dress of a Man [F], and dressed himself like them (c). We shall

tion. *Virgil's Dido* would not have been so honest, since, in her Lover's Absence, she wanted a more solid Amusement than Words, which was the Son of *Aeneas* in her Lap.

--- illum abens absentem auditque videtque,
Aut gremio Acanium, genitoris imagine capta,
Detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem (8).

Absent, her absent Hero sees and bears,
Or in her Bosom young Acanius bears;
And seeks the Father's Image in the Child,
If Love, by Likeness, might be so beguiled.

DRYDEN.

[C] The King charged him with Adultery, Perfidiousness, and Impiety. The first and second Crimes are obvious, since the King made choice of *Combabus* as the Queen's Guardian. The third Crime is not very hard to be understood, if we consider that the King had commissioned *Combabus* to build a Temple to *Juno*. That Journey to the Holy City (g), in order to build a Temple, was a Work of Devotion, and a kind of Pilgrimage. So that it was profaning a holy thing, to make Love during that Time. *Δύων τεσσά Κομβάβον ἀδικεῖν μοιχὸν τε ἐόντα, καὶ ἐν πύλιν ὑβρίζοντα, καὶ εἰς θεῶν δόξα τὴν ἐν τῷ ἑρῷ τοιαύτῃ ἐπύρζε. Dicens Combabum triplicem injuriam intulisse, ut qui adulterium commississet, fidem violasset, & in Deam impius fuisset, cujus in opere talia perpetrasset (10). Alledging *Combabus* was guilty of a threefold Crime, of Adultery, a Breach of Faith, and Impiety towards the Goddess, in whose Service he had done it.*

[D] Witnesses were produced, who deposed that they had seen him enjoy the Queen. I have followed *Benedictus's* Translation, both here, and where he speaks of *Stratonice* and *Combabus's* Conversations. In both Places *Lucian* makes use of the same Verb, *παύσασι συνεύσε, perpetua conversatione cum illo (11). ἤλεστον ὅτι ἀναφανδὸν σφάας ἀλλήλοισι συνεύσε εἶδον. Coarguebant ipsum quod manifeste ipsos congregientes vidissent (12). They deposed that they had seen them publicly in the very act. But that Verb does not signify the same thing in those two Places: In the first it signifies, to be together, and, in the second, to lie together. If one should judge of Things by Appearances, the Accusers might be in the right; nevertheless it ought not to be affirmed, since *Lucian* does not affirm it (13). It is probable, that since the Queen did not cease to love *Combabus*, but, on the contrary, saw and spoke to him very often, to allay, in some measure, her disappointed Desires by that means, she was not contented with meer Words. And as *Combabus* was certain that he had his Justification sure and ready with the Prince, how malicious soever the Accusers might be, it is very likely that he did not refuse the Queen any thing that she could obtain of him. The Box secured them both against the ill Offices of the Accusers, and, doublets, That made them take less heed whether they were observed; so that per-*

haps the Accusers saw enough to convince themselves of the Crime whereof they accused *Combabus*. Let us remember the Passage of *Basil*, to which I add another. *Εὐνυχος quibus exstinguitur tota virilitas, negat S. Basilus (14) impudicitiae flammam liberari: sed quamvis corpore nihil possint, tamen ait. animo desiderioque jugiter in ceno, porcorum more, convolvi, & post abscissionem esse impudiciores servos voluptatis, qui liberi metu ne deprehendantur petulantiam licenter foedis attackibus & amplexibus exultant, ut possunt non ut volunt lascivientes.* — *St Basil says, that Eunuchs, stripped close to the skin, are not free from loose Desires: for though impotent in Body, yet in Mind and Inclination they wallow, says he, like Swine, eternally in the Mire; and after Abscission are the more abandoned Slaves to Lust, who, free from Fear of Discovery, glut their wild Desires by wanton Touches, and loose Embraces, not agreeably to their Inclination, but to their Power.* And who knows whether *Stratonice* never said to him, as the Woman, of whom *Petronius* speaks; *Languii tu gratias ago, in umbra voluptatis diutius lusimus. — Thanks to your Impotence, we have swamtoned longer in the Shade of Pleasures.*

[E] The King — granted him the Privilege of Access to him at all Hours, even when he was conversing with the Queen. Those that know the ancient and modern Ceremonial of the Eastern Princes, are not ignorant what sign of favour it is to have free access to the King at any time. The Privilege of *Combabus* went farther; it contained express Orders to the King's Officers to admit him, though he should interrupt the King's and Queen's Pleasures. *Ἀτίξεσθαι δὲ παρ' ἡμέας ἀνεύχοντες, ἵδὲ τις ἀπέρξῃ σε ἡμετέρῃς ὀψίῃ, ἢ γυναικὶ ἅμα ἐνδύομαι. Ad nos venies non vocatus, neque te quisquam à nostro conspectu arebit, non si cum uxore concubam (15).* Those who abolished the Tyranny of the Magi, after the Death of *Cambyses*, the Son of *Cyrus*, were contented with a lesser Privilege than that, viz. that they might come to the King without asking leave, except when he lay with the Queen. *Παύσας ἱς τὰ βασίλεια πάντα τὸν βυλόμενον τὸν ἐπὶ ἀνεύχοντες, ἵδὲ μὴ τυγχάνῃ εἶδον μετὰ γυναικὸς βασίλειος. Ut regiam introire unicuique à seipso sine intermissione liceret, nisi forte cum uxore cubaret rex (16).*

[F] It has been said, that in Compassion to Women he left off the Dress of a Man. During the Celebration of the great Festival, a Woman that was a Stranger found *Combabus* so handsome, that she fell very much in Love with him. But hearing afterwards that he was an Eunuch, she was so vexed at it, that she killed herself. *Combabus*, considering the Misfortune of his Impotency, left off Man's Apparel, that Women might no more be deceived on his Account in such a displeasing or fatal manner. I remember a witty Saying, that is in the *Menagiana*: *Madam Cornuel knew that M. de L. — was impotent, and did not know him by sight: he was a very handsome Man. Having met him at M. de Rambouillet's*

(14) Lib. de vera Virg. sub fin. apud Theoph. Raynaudum, ubi supra, n. 12. pag. 143.

(15) *Lucian de Syria Dea, Tom. II, pag. 896.*

(16) *Herod. lib. III. cap. 84.*

shall see in the Remarks the Variations that concern this History [G], and the Error of those, who have said, that the Courtiers castrated themselves, to have a share in *Stratonice's* Favour [H].

* *Rambouillet's* House, she asked who he was? and being told that he was the Marquis de L.; — Ah! said she, who would not have been deceived in him (17)?

(17) Menagiana, pag. m. 107.

[G] We shall see the Variations that concern this History.] Some say, that *Stratonice* herself accused *Combabus*, and writ to the King, that he had solicited her to violate her conjugal Faith. *Lucian* rejects this as a Fable (18); and even does not believe what is related of *Sthenobœa* and *Phædra*. Έγὼ δὲ μὴ ἐν ἰδέ Σθενεβοῖν πείθομαι, ἰδέ Φαίδραν, τοιαύτῃ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, εἰ τὸν ἱππολύτου ἀντρακίως ἐπὶ τοῦ Φαίδρου. At credo neque *Sthenobœam*, neque *Phædræ*, talia perpetrassæ, si *Hippolytum* *Phædra* verè concupiscebat (19). —

(18) *Lucian*, de Syria Des, Tom. 11. pag. 894.

(19) Id. *ibid.*

I do not believe that *Sthenobœa*, or *Phædra*, if really desirous to enjoy *Hippolytus*, ever did such things. It is reported, that to revenge themselves for the ill Success of their Advances, they complained to their Husbands of having had their Honour attempted, the one by *Bellerophon*, and the other by *Hippolytus*. I do not see why *Lucian* doubts of these Stories; for it is not only very possible that the Passion of those Women, as violent as you please, should be converted into Hatred, thro' Indignation at a Refusal, but it is also most likely it should be so. Such a Refusal is a bloody Affront: It is a mortal Offence to despise the Advances made by a Sex that is used to be courted and not to court. Corrupt Nature breathes nothing but Revenge at the sight of such an Affront. The holy History informs us, that *Potiphar's* Wife changed, upon such an account, her Love into a most revengeful Anger towards the Patriarch *Joseph* (20). One of *Constantine's* Wives did the like towards *Crispus* her Husband's Son. So that I believe *Lucian* did not shew his Judgment on this Head. He seems to me more reasonable on the other; he did well not to believe that *Stratonice* accused *Combabus*; for she had no reason, like *Phædra*, to think herself despised. She might flatter herself to have appeared the most lovely Person in the World, in the Eyes of him whom she courted. Why should she have been angry with him? He could not have been more tractable for the finest Woman in the Universe. *Sthenobœa*, *Phædra*, *Potiphar's* Wife, *Fausa*, could not say this of the Objects of their Love: the Infensibility that was shewed them was not an unconquerable Fault.

(20) Gen. chap. xxxix.

[H] The Error of those, who pretend, the Courtiers castrated themselves, to have a share in *Stratonice's* Favour.] The Love of many Women for Eunuchs is so common, that all Histories give some Examples of it. That Passion was so much the more remarkable in *Stratonice* for *Combabus*, after he became so, that all the Queen's Courtiers gelded themselves out of Complaisance, to acquire the Favour of both. *La Motte le Vayer* says this (21). He has committed three Faults: I. He gives us to understand, that the Love of *Stratonice* began after he knew that *Combabus* was gelt; which is a great Mistake. If *Stratonice* had known the Execution that he had performed on himself, she would have cast her Eyes elsewhere: and it is certain, that the Knowledge of a certain Imperfection is able to hinder the growth of a Passion, but not to smother it when it is become very strong. II. He ought not to have said, that all the Courtiers castrated themselves; for *Lucian* says it only of *Combabus's* most intimate Friends. III. Much less ought he to have said, that all the Courtiers castrated themselves, to acquire *Stratonice's* Favour; for *Lucian* says not a word of it. He says only, that those, who loved *Combabus* most, castrated themselves, to comfort him under his Disgrace. Δέσειν δὲ τῶν φίλων τὸς μάστιγα οἱ εὐνοούμενοι ἐς παραμυθίην τῷ πάθῳ κοινωνοῖν ἐλπίσαι τὴν συμφορὴν, ἔμενον γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς. Feruntur & illius amici qui erga ipsam maxima benevolentia fuerunt affecti in solatium ejus quod ille passus fuit, ejusdem affectionis societatem si-

(21) Letter 112, Tom. XI, pag. 525, 526.

bi elegisse, nam & seipsos castrarunt (22). It is a Consolation for the Unfortunate, to have Companions in their Misfortunes. Two things must be observed; the one is, that, after the opening of the Box, *Combabus* acquired the Prince's Favour in the highest Degree; the other, that he desired leave to return to the Holy City, where he lived the rest of his Days. Add to this, that three Years were spent in the Building of the Temple (23). It must be supposed, that *Stratonice* returned to her Husband at those three Years end; and consequently she was separated from *Combabus*: so that the Persons, who castrated themselves out of Complaisance to *Combabus*, could not pretend to please *Stratonice*. I confess, that *Lucian* does not say, whether it was at the King's Court, that *Combabus's* Friends castrated themselves, or whether it was in the Holy City; but he insinuates clearly, that it was in the last place: for he will have it, that their Conduct served for a Foundation to a Custom that was observed every Year; which was to castrate several People in the Temple that *Stratonice* and *Combabus* had built (24). The Author of a French Dictionary (25), transcribing the Mistake of *la Motte le Vayer*, made it worse; these are his Words: 'We read in History, that several Women have been passionately in Love with Eunuchs. *Stratonice* could not live without her *Combabus*, who was castrated; inasmuch that the Courtiers of that Queen castrated themselves, to have also a share in her Favour. *Cæsar Scaliger* Exercitat. 277.' This is to out-do the Fault of *la Motte le Vayer*; for he does not alledge *Stratonice* for the only Motive of what was done by the Courtiers: and moreover, he does not quote *Scaliger*, who says nothing of it. As for the rest, the Copier is guilty of the same Faults with *la Motte le Vayer*. His Example of *Stratonice* is not well chosen, because she did not fall in Love with *Combabus*, after she knew that he was an Eunuch. Since *Lucian* does not declare, whether it was at the King's or at the Queen's Court, that they had the Complaisance to conform themselves to *Combabus*; it is an inexcusable Rashness in a modern Author, to be so bold as to determine that it was at the Court of *Stratonice*. Observe well, that *Combabus* was a Favourite in both those Courts, but that he was not at the King's and at the Queen's Court at the same time, after *Stratonice's* Love for him; for, ever after, he was either with the King in the Queen's Absence, or with the Queen in the King's Absence. I add, that *Lucian* does not say, that those, who made themselves like *Combabus*, were Courtiers; but, on the contrary, he says, that they were true and intimate Friends of *Combabus*, and that they imitated him, to comfort him. Why then should we be told, fifteen hundred Years after, not only that those, who castrated themselves, were *Stratonice's* Courtiers, but also that their only Aim was, to make that Queen in Love with them? I confess this Criticism is not a thing considerable in itself: I have insisted upon this Subject, to cure, if it be possible, a Disemper that prevails but too much among Authors. They relate what the Ancients tell us with a thousand Alterations and Additions. I am sure that there are a hundred Paradoxes in our modern Authors, attended with their Citations in the Margin, that are not better grounded than this of *la Motte le Vayer*, concerning the pretended manner, wherewith *Stratonice's* Courtiers acquired her Favour.

(22) *Lucian*, *ibid.* supra, pag. 897.

(23) Id. pag. 892.

(24) *Ibid.* pag. 897.

(25) *César de Rochefort*: His Dictionary was printed at Lyons 1685, in folio. The Passage which I quote is in Page 168.

I shall conclude with this Note: It has been said that *Junio*, out of Affection for *Combabus*, inclined many Persons to castrate themselves, that he might not be the only Person that should lament the loss of his Tackling. Δέσιντες ὡς ἢ ἡν φιλέεσα Κομβέδον πολλοὶ τὴν τομὴν ἐπὶ νόον ἔβαλλε, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνασθενίᾳ λυπέοιτο. Dicentes *Junonem*, cum amaret *Combabum*, multos ad se castrandum impulsisse, ne solus ille laceret quod eviratus esset (26).

(26) *Lucian*, *ib.* pag. 897.

COMENIUS

(a) Scholæ Præ-
roviensis Præ-
fatus. Præf. Oper.
um Didacticorum
Comenii.

(b) Epist. dedicat.
Oper. Didact.
Comenii.

(c) Præfat. Oper.
didact.

(d) George Sa-
dowski de Slaup-
na.

(e) Ex Præfa-
tione Operum
Didacticorum.

(f) The Fore-
runner of Uni-
versal Science.

(g) Lewis de
Gœr.

COMENIUS (JOHN AMOS), a Grammarian, and a Protestant Divine, in the XVIIth Century, was born in *Moravia*, the 28th of *March*, 1592. Having studied in several Places, and namely at *Herborn*, he returned into his Country, in the Year 1614, where he was made Rector of a College (a). He was made a Minister in the Year 1616 (b), and had the Church of *Fulnek* given him in the Year 1618 (c). At the same time they gave him the Direction of the School, that was newly erected in that little Town. One of his greatest Designs at that time was to introduce a new Method of teaching Languages. He published some Essays of it in the Year 1616, and had prepared other Writings on that Subject, that were lost in the Year 1621, when the *Spaniards* plundered his Library after they had taken the Town. The Proscription of all the Ministers of *Bobemia* and *Moravia*, by an Edict of the Year 1624, interrupted his Project; but he took it in hand again at the Request of one of his Brethren, to whom a Protestant Baron (d) had given his three Sons to be instructed in the Year 1627. Some Ministers, and *Comenius* among the rest, kept themselves concealed in that Baron's House, in the Mountains of *Bobemia*. The Persecution increased in such a manner the following Year, that they were obliged to leave this Retreat. *Comenius* fled to *Lesna*, a City of *Poland*, where he taught the *Latin* Tongue. The Book that he published in the Year 1631, with the Title of *Janua Linguarum reſerata*, acquired him a wonderful Reputation [A], inſomuch that thoſe, who governed *Sweden*, wrote to him in the Year 1638, to offer him a Commiſſion to reform all the Schools in that Kingdom. He did not think it proper to accept that Offer; he only promiſed to aſſiſt thoſe, that ſhould have the Commiſſion for it, with his Advice: and from that time he put into *Latin*, what he had compoſed in his Mother-Tongue, about the new Method of inſtructing Youth (e). A Specimen of it was published under the Title of *Panſophiæ Prodromus* (f), which made him be looked upon as a moſt able Perſon to be the Reſtorer of the Schools. The Parliament of *England* deſired to make uſe of him, to reform the College of the Nation. *Comenius* came to *London* in the Month of *September* 1641, and would have been admitted into a Committee, to propoſe his Plan of a Reformation, if the Parliament had not been too much taken up with other Buſineſs. The Civil-Wars of *England*, and the Diſorders of *Ireland*, ſhewed him, that the Times were not favourable to him. He went into *Sweden*, whither he was invited by a Perſon of Merit (g), and a great Lover of the Public Good. He arrived there in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1642. He conferred with Chancellor *Oxenſtiern* concerning his Method; and at laſt all ended in this, that he ſhould ſettle himſelf at *Elbing* in *Pruſſia*, and labour on his Method. I forgot the beſt of the Buſineſs. The Patron, whom I have mentioned, was very liberal: he provided *Comenius* with a conſiderable Maintenance: and the latter, being free from the Fatigue of Teaching [B], employed himſelf only in finding out ſome general Method for thoſe who had the care of Youth. He beſtowed four Years upon it in *Elbing*; after which, he went again into *Sweden*, to give an Account of his Work. His Book was examined by three Commiſſioners, who judged it worthy to be printed, after the Author ſhould have put the finiſhing hand to it. *Comenius* went

about

[A] The Book that he published — with the Title of *Janua Linguarum reſerata*, acquired him a wonderful Reputation. Though *Comenius* had published no other Book but that, he would have immortalized himſelf. It is a Book, that has been printed a great many times, and tranſlated into I know not how many Languages: there have been many Polyglot Editions of it. I do not doubt but that *Comenius* ſpeaks ſincerely, when he owns, that the Succeſs of that Work was much above his Expectation; for who would not be ſurprized, that ſuch a Book ſhould have been tranſlated not only into twelve European Languages, but alſo into *Arabic*, *Turkiſh*, *Perſian*, and *Mogul*. The moſt vain of all Authors would never have expected ſuch a thing. 'Factum eſt, quod futurum imaginari non poteram, ut puerile iſtud opusculum univerſali quodam eruditi Orbis applauſu fuerit exceptum. Teſtati ſunt id permulti variarum Gentium Viri, tum literis ad me datis, quibus inventioni novæ impenſe gratulabantur, tum translationibus in Linguas vulgares quaſi certatim ſuſceptis. Non ſolum enim in omnes Europæas linguas (1) (xii) numero, quarum editiones publicas vidimus, nempe *Latinam*, *Græcam*, *Bohemiam*, *Polonicam*, *Germanicam*, *Suedicam*, *Belgicam*, *Anglicam*, *Galicam*, *Hiſpanicam*, *Italicam*, *Hungaricam* ſed & in *Aſiaticas*, *Arabicam*, *Turcicam*, *Perſicam*, adeoque *Mogolicam*, toti Orientali Indiæ familiarum (ut ex literis ad *Jacobum Golium*, Orientalium L. L. *Lugduni Veſtræ* Profeſſorem, à *Petro Golio* fratre, *Aleppo* Syriæ Anno 1641, datis, pa-

tet) tranſlatus eſſet idem Libellus noſter (2). --- It has happened indeed, beyond my Expectation, that this ſmall Piece ſhould meet with an univerſal Approbation from the learned World. This has been confirmed to me by Letters from ſeveral learned Men of different Nations, wherein they beſtow great Compliments on the Invention; as alſo by Tranſlations into various Languages, carried on by a ſort of Emulation. For it has been tranſlated, not only into all the European Languages, in number twelve, in which it has appeared, namely, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Bohemian*, *Polish*, *German*, *Swediſh*, *Dutch*, *English*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, *Hungarian*; but alſo into the *Aſiatic*, *Arabic*, *Turkiſh*, *Perſian*, and that of the *Mogul*, familiar to all the Eaſt Indies; as appears from the Letter of *Peter Golius*, dated at *Aleppo*, 1641, to *James Golius*, Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages at *Leyden*. [B] *Comenius* being free from the Fatigue of Teaching. Whereas before he was only to teach one School, he was then to take a general care of all the Colleges; juſt as if a Curate ſhould be made a Cardinal. 'Factis mihi, ſays he (3), à Mœcenate meo beato otii, conſtitutaque honeſta (ut particulari ſcholæ miniſtrandi functione exemptus, communioribus poſſem vacare ſtudiis) ſuſtentatione, elaboravi ſexennio. --- Having obtained, by the Indulgence of my good Patron, Leiſure, and a competent Subſiſtance, (that, being diſengaged from the Management of a particular School, I might purſue a more extenſive Study) I have laboured fix Years.'

(2) Comen. Epist. Dedicat. Operum Didacticorum Consulis Amsterd. pag. 10

(3) Comen. Epist. Dedicat. Consulis Amsterd.

[C] He

about it the two following Years, in the same City of *Elbing*; after which he was forced to return to *Lesna* (b). We are come to the Year 1648. I find that two Years after he went to the Court of *Sigismund Ragotski*, Prince of *Transylvania*, where they desired to confer with him concerning the Reformation of the Schools. He gave that Prince some Writings, which concerned the manner of regulating the College of *Patak* (i), according to the Plan of his *Panfophia*; and for the space of four Years he was allowed to propose what he pleased concerning the good Order of That College (k). Afterwards he returned to *Lesna*, where he remained 'till the Month of *April* 1656, when the *Poles* burned it [C]. He lost all his Manuscripts there, except what he had writ on the *Panfophia*, and *St John's Revelation* (l). He fled into *Silesia*, and afterwards into the Country of *Brandenburg*, than to *Hamburg*, and at last to *Amsterdam* (m), where he found some very charitable Persons. The Golden Shower, that fell upon him in this City, obliged him to stay there all the Remainder of his Days [D]. In the Year 1657 he printed there the different Parts of his new Method of Teaching, at the Expence of his chief *Mæcenas* (n). It is a Book in *folio*, divided into four Parts, which cost the Author watchful Hours, and much Money to others, and from which the Republic of Letters drew no manner of Profit: neither do I believe that there is any thing usefully practicable in the Author's Scheme (o). The Reformation of Schools was not the chief thing of which he was fond; he was yet more infatuated with Prophecies, and Revolutions, the Fall of Antichrist, the *Millenium*, and such like Whims of a dangerous Fanaticism: I say dangerous, not only in relation to Orthodoxy, but also in relation to Princes and States. He collected the Visions of one *Kotterus*, those of *Christina Poniatovia*, and those of *Drabicius*, with a wonderful Care, and published them at *Amsterdam*. Those Visions promised Wonders to those, who would undertake to exterminate the House of *Austria*, and the Pope. *Gustavus Adolphus*, *Charles Gustavus*, Kings of *Sweden*, *Cromwell*, and *Ragotski*, had been foretold as the Executors of those magnificent Prophecies; but the Event did not answer. *Comenius*, not knowing any longer which way to turn, bethought himself, as it is said, to make his Address to *Lewis XIV*, King of *France* [E]. He sent him a Copy of *Drabicius's* Prophecies, and intimated, that God promised That Monarch the Empire of the World, by the Defeat of the Persecutors of *JESUS CHRIST*. He composed some Books at *Amsterdam*, under a malignant Planet. This may be said particularly of that, which he published against *Maresius* concerning the Reign of a thousand Years. He drew a thundering Answer upon himself; wherein the Author pretended to have unmasked him. 'Ita Deo dispenfante evenit, ut tua importunitate coactus, larvam tibi detraxerim, & quam hactenus egeris personam in hac scena mundi toti mundo ostenderim (p).

— Thus

[C] He remained at *Lesna*, till the *Poles* burnt it. We shall see below (4), that *Comenius* was reproached for having been the Cause of that Disaster (5); and that, if he might have followed his own Inclination, he would not have staid in that Town, although he persuaded others not to fear any thing, and assured them they should have a speedy Deliverance.

(4) In Rem. [K].
(5) Post *Lesnae* incendium quod sua πολυπραγμοσύνη illi misere urbi concivit, ut etiam illi publice exprobratum est: . . .
After the burning of *Lesna*, which Calamity was brought on the City by his Pride, and with which he was publicly reproached. *Maresius* in *Antirrhethico*, pag. 8.

(6) See *Nicolaus Arnoldus*, in *discursu Theologico contra Comenium*, in the *Last Page*.

[D] The Golden Shower, that fell upon him in *Amsterdam*, obliged him to stay there the remainder of his Days. Some took it ill, because his Office of Superintendent of the Churches of *Poland* and *Bohemia* required he should be elsewhere. It is likely that his ambulatory Life would have continued longer than it did, if he had not found a plentiful Harvest in *Amsterdam*. He found some charitable People there, and some rich Merchants, who were in hopes he would teach their Children *Latin* in a shorter and easier Method, and who thought they ought to pay a Man largely, that saved the Time and Labour of the Youth. No doubt he said within himself, it is good to be here, let us therefore build here our Tabernacles. 'Mercatoribus quibusdam *Amsterdamensibus* gratus vivit, qui delicatulis suis filiis, ejus opera habitum latinæ nullo labore, & majore æris quam temporis dispendio, infundi posse sperant. Et sic ille auream apud eos messem metit; at vero ubi manet cura *Ecclesiarum* *Polonicarum* & *Bohemicarum*, quarum Senior & Superintendens est, & quas in tam misero statu reliquit, sibi consulens (6)? — He lives in the good Graces of some Merchants at *Amsterdam*, who imagine, that by his means their pretty Masters may easily attain a habit of speaking *Latin*, and at a less expence of time than Money. So he reaps a Golden Harvest amongst them. But where is the regard due to his Churches of *Poland* & *Bohemia*, of which he is Elder and Superintendent, and which he has left in such miserable

Circumstances, to shift for himself? The paternal Tenderness of the *Dutch* has been very well represented in few Words in this Passage of Mr *Arnoldus*.

[E] Not knowing which way to turn, he bethought himself, as it is said, to make his Address to *Lewis XIV*, King of *France*. All that I can affirm is, that I have heard several Persons say so. But as for the Promise itself, I have an Author to alledge who has read *Drabicius* very much; so that he may be credited in the things that he assures us to have found in him. Let us hear him then: 'The Spaniards may cry up, if they please, the great Advantages the House of *Austria* gains over its Enemies; as for us (he speaks in the Name of the Protestants) if we have no great reason to be satisfied with the present, we have great things to hope for the future. There is a Prophecy that promises the Empire to the King. It was made by one *Drabicius* a *Bohemian*, who prophesied about twenty Years ago, that the King would be Emperor, that the House of *Austria* would be destroyed, that *Vienna* would be taken by the Turks, that the Turks would take *Carinthia* and *Stiria*, and destroy the State of *Venice*, and the City of *Rome*; and that the King, being created Emperor, would give Peace and Liberty of Conscience to all *Europe*. It appears, that, within these fifteen or sixteen Years, Heaven labours to perform its Promise: and certainly, we shall do what we can to fulfil those Prophecies. The House of *Austria* is already humbled, and almost destroyed. The King is Master of the great City of *Strasburg*, of all *Alsatia* and *Friburg*. He has all the Country of the *Rhine*, and five Electors, three Ecclesiastical, the Palatine of the *Rhine*, and that of *Brandenburg*, at his disposal. The War with the Turks is not yet ended; and who knows how far all this will go (7)? This Author has very much altered his System since (8).

[F] He

(b) Ex Prefatione partis II. Operum Didact. corum.

(i) Sufannah Loranthe the Mother of Sigismund Ragotski concerned herself particularly in that School. See Comenius Part. III. Oper. Didact. p. 70.

(k) See the third part of his Opera didact.

(l) Historia Revelationum, pag. 181.

(m) Ibid. pag. 182.

(n) Laurence de Geer, the Son of Lewis.

(o) Sorbieri has given a true Character of him and his Panfophia. See the Sorbieriana, pag. 51.

(p) Maresius in Antirrhethico, pag. ult.

(7) *Esprit de Mr Arnaud*, Tom. II. pag. 209, 291. The Book was printed soon after the raising of the Siege of *Vienna*.

(8) See la Cabale Chimerique, pag. 133 & 134, of the second Edition; where, among other things, you will find this: How quickly did he change his System! He should be ashamed of having made us, as much as in him lies, the Horror of the Christian Name, and of the good Allies of this State, by declaring that we would do all we could to have the House of *Austria*, the Republic of *Venice*, and the City of *Rome*, destroyed by the Turks, and to put the Imperial Crown upon the Head of *Lewis XIV*. Quantum mutatus ab illo!

Thus, by the Providence of GOD, I have performed what your Importunities compelled me to undertake and unmasked you, and exposed to the World the Part you have hitherto asked. He was represented as a Spurger and a true Sharper [F], who made an admirable use of the Character of a Fugitive for his Religion, and of the pompous Ideas of his Method of Teaching, in order to empty the Purfes of well-disposed Persons. He was also laid open in some other Respects [G].

He

(9) Marefius in Antirrhethico, pag. 5.

[F] He was represented as a Spurger, and a true Sharper. These are his Adverfaries Words: 'Agnoico hominem esse ingenii eximii & admodum inventivi, ac plane ei convenientis qui diceret, *con Parte e Pinganno, io vivo mezzo l'anno: con Pinganno e Parte, io vivo l'altra parte.* Nam ut nullo hoc sæculum tulit mysticum æruscatorum illo subtiliorem, ita nullum protulit scriptorem in trichotomiis excogitandis feliciorum (9). — I own him to be a Man of fine Parts, and uncommon Invention, such as would suit with him who should say; By Art and Deceit I live half the Year; By Deceit and Art I live the other Part: for, as this Age has not produced a more expert mystical Juggler, so neither has it known one of a happier Dexterity at nice and needless Distinctions.' See what he says concerning the Craft Comenius made use of with *Levis de Geer*, to be the only Possessor of his Liberalities, and to make them last long. The *Pan-sophia* that he promised, and which never came out, was always retarded, said he, by memorable Occurrences; so that, by his long Delays, he made it altogether useless according to his Principles; for he pretended, that the Reign of a thousand Years would begin in the Year 1672 (10). Marefius says (11), that his Wages were not the fourth part of the Sum, that Comenius made his Patron spend every Year. 'Aufim dicere Comenium triplo vel quadruplo quotannis amplius constitisse uni familiæ Dege-rianæ, dum eam fraudulentè lætatur spe Pan-sophica, & pascit five fascinat potius fumo Chiliaftico, & revelationum Drabicianarum, quam soleo consequi in meum stipendium annuum ex ærario publico. — I dare affirm, that Comenius cost that one Family of de Geer three or four times as much yearly, as I receive for my Salary, out of the public Treasury, whilst he amuses them with Pan-sophic Hopes, and seeds, or rather insatiable, them with the vain hopes of his Millenium, and the Revelations of Drabicius.'

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 8.

(11) Ibid. pag. 55.

[G] He was also laid open in some other respects. I. He was accused of an excessive Pride; and the Author observes, that it is the general Fault of those who pretend to be inspired: And indeed that Favour is of so great a value, that it is no wonder if those, who persuade themselves, that GOD honours them with such a Distinction, use the ordinary Teachers with the greatest Contempt. But at the same time they discover that they boast wrongfully of being inspired: for if GOD did them that great Honour, he would not refuse them the Spirit of Christian Humility; they would not conceive so great an Indignation against all those that will not believe their Dreams. 'Ut est sui plenus (says Marefius (12), speaking of Comenius) & grandia sentit de seipso, prout solent omnes isti Visionarii, qui speciale cum numine commercium sibi intercedere gloriantur, esse superbissimi, non potest æquo ferre animo suas non dicam solum nœnias, & quinquillas, sed fanaticas & enthusiasticas cogitationes improbari. — Bigg with a high Opinion of himself (thus des Marefius speaks of Comenius) as it is usual with all those Visionaries (who boast an immediate Intercourse with the Deity) to be haughty, he cannot with any Patience bear his anile Trash, or rather his Fanatic and Enthusiastic Dreams, to be called in question.'

(12) Ibid. pag. 5.

II. Marefius charges him with being much enraged because he had been convicted of a Contradiction. He had written against one *Felgenbæverus*, who vented some Prophecies like those of *Drabicius* (13): he had refuted him with the same Reasons that confuted the Visions of *Drabicius*: so that he had confuted himself before-hand, and they need only to oppose his own Arguments to himself, to render him ridiculous. This touched him to the quick. This is the fate of Infatuation, and of those that become Fanatics by a passionate adherence to some particular things. Their first Works overthrow their last; and if any Body dares blame them for their Contradictions, they fall into a furious Rage. We have

(13) Id. ibid.

seen so glaring an Instance of it, since the Death of Comenius, that it is not necessary to mention it. III. He was accused of want of Judgment: Marefius did not deny that he had Wit and Memory; and to prove that he had no Judgment, he told him that he meddled with too many things, that he was a restless Man, and even that he had no settled Notions in things belonging to Grammar. 'Non mirum est quod in Comenio summa *ἀκρίβεια* summæ ingenii dexteritati conjungatur. Illam comprobant *ἀκρίβειαν* constans ejus *πολυπρᾶξις* μόνον, genus vitæ defultorium, & *ἀκαταστάσια* perpetua, quæ maxime in suis Grammaticationibus fingendis & refingendis per totos 30 annos eluxit (14).'

(14) Id. ibid.

He was accused of Inconstancy in Matters of Religion. He was told, that he had for a long time revolved in his Head the Pacification of the Church in concert with the *Socinians* (15). *Zwickerus*, who was of That Sect, upbraided him publicly with it. Marefius adds, that he had a wonderful Cunning to accommodate himself to the Humour of the Party with whom he was to live; but that, if one might believe the common Report, he communicated with none. He was reproached with his Coldness to confute the Papists, as never having wrote any thing against them but a little Book against the *Capucin Valerian Magni*, to which he did not set his Name without disguising it according to the mysterious Rules of the Cabala. 'Ita tepidus est in propugnanda protestantium causa contra Pontificios, ut non nisi semel tale quid fecerit adversus Valerianum Magnum Capucinum, suo ordinario nomine dissimulato, & assumpto Cabalistico Huldrici Newfeldii, quod præfixit illi paucularum plagarum opusculo (16).'

(15) Ibid. pag. 6.

(16) Id. ibid.

He justified himself in the second Edition, by saying that he had never loved Disputes. In that second Edition he would have added a Project of Re-union between the Protestants and the Catholics; but his Friends obliged him to leave it out (17). Marefius forgot to alledge, as a Proof of his Inconstancy, the Books that he published against the *Irenicæ Irenicorum* of the Socinian *Zwickerus* (18). But he did not forget to tell him, that during the Life of his two Patrons, he had spoke always civilly of *Cartesius*; whereas after their Death he published an Invektive against that great Philosopher. V. The chief thing he blames him for, is Fanaticism: *Sed præsertim est Comenius Fanaticus, Visionarius, & Enthusiasta in folio* (19). — But above all, Comenius is a Fanatic, Visionary, and Enthusiast of the first Magnitude. Comenius pretended that the Prophecies of *Drabicius* ought to serve for a Rule to all the Princes of Europe; which was the Reason that he wrote Letters to the Pope, to the Emperor, to Kings and Cardinals, to recommend that Work to them as the Rule of their Conduct.

(17) The Book is intitled, *Ab-surditatum Ecclæ. The second Edition was printed in 1658.*

(18) See the Remark [M].

(19) Marefius, ubi supra, pag. 9.

'Datis ad Papam, ad Imperatorem, ad Reges, ad Cardinales literis has nœnias illis de meliori nota commendare atque exinde quid facere, quid cavere, quid metuere debeant illis prescribere (20).'

(20) Id. pag. 10.

He was always watchful over the Events of Europe, to make them agree to the System of his Visions. It is the Property of those Men, as we know by fresh Instances, to amend their Predictions according to the News of the Gazette. Comenius, being uncertain whether the Plenipotentiaries of England and Holland, who were to treat of the Peace at Breda in the Year 1667, could conclude it, sent them one of his Angels, to signify unto them that they should end the War, and thereby facilitate the coming of the Reign of JESUS CHRIST, that Reign of a thousand Years, that should bring the Golden Age again, and restore Innocency. He published a Book intitled, *Angelus pacis ad Legatos pacis Anglos & Belgas Bredam missos, indeque ad omnes Christianos per Europam, & mox ad omnes populos per orbem totum mittendus, ut se sistant, belligerare desistant, pacisque Principi Christo, pacem gentibus jam loquuturo locum faciant.* He promised two other Books, which were to be the double Morning of the Great Day

He owned, at last, the Vanity of his Labours [H], and of the Trouble he had given himself, since Providence had made him leave his Country. And indeed he would have been more worthy of Praise, if he had, during his Exile, employed his Thoughts only upon his own Salvation, rather than to be always intent upon the Events of *Europe*, to find in the Interests of Princes, in their Wars, in their Alliances, &c. wherewith to flatter himself with the Hopes of being restored to his Country, and of revenging himself. This made him run into Fanaticism. He died at *Amsterdam* the 15th of *November* 1671 (9). If he had lived but a little longer, he would have been a Witness of the Fulfillment of his Promises concerning the *Millenium* [I]. He was in the 80th Year of his Age when he died. Some Persons have been surpris'd that he lived so long [K], and

(7) Epist. Danielis Comenii Joh. Amosii filii apud Spizelium in Infel. Literat. pag. 1028. Konig is mistaken when he places the Death of Comenius in the Year 1670.

- (21) Id. *ibid.* Day ready to rise (21). VI. He was told, that he and such other millenary Fanatics have no other aim than to stir up the People, and that he left no Stone unturned to induce *Cromwell* to cause some Insurrections in *Bohemia*. Ne obiciam Comenio quæ ipse quondam per tertium molitus est apud *Cromwellum* ad res turbandas in *Bohemia* (22). VII. Lastly, *Maresius* charged him with chusing rather to expose the Authority of the Scriptures, than to own himself in the wrong. He had formerly concluded (23), that since the Event did not answer to the Prophecies of *Pelegenbauerus*, they did not come from God; but as for those of his three Seers (24), he defended them with might and main, though the Event had contradicted them; and he compared them with those of the Old Testament. 'Nunc verò suas pugnat etiam ab eventu fuerint destitutæ, imò eas im-
'pie, profanè & sacrilegè cum prophetiis V. T. audit conferre (25).'

- (22) Id. *ibid.* pag. 66. [H] He owned at last the Vanity of his Labours. See the Book that he published at *Amsterdam*, intitled, *Unius necessarii*, in the Year 1668, and the Praises that *Spizelius* bestowed upon him (26) for that Confession, and for his Resolution to mind nothing for the future, but the great Affair of his Salvation.

- (23) In Epistola ad *Stolcium*, anno 1640.
(24) Cotterus, Poniatovius, Drabicius.
(25) Maresius, *ibid.* pag. 66.
(26) In Infelice Literato, pag. 1024, & seq.
[I] If he had lived but a little longer, he would have been a Witness of the Fulfillment of his Promises concerning the Millenium. He said that the Reign of a thousand Years was to begin in the Year 1672, or in the Year 1673 (27). So that there is scarce any Body but believes he died very seasonably, since he avoided the confusion of seeing the vanity of his Prophecies. I am persuaded that he did not gain much by it. He was so used to such Disappointments, and minded so little what People would say of it, that he could have born this last Check without any trouble. Those Gentlemen are of an admirable Constitution: nothing puts them out of Countenance; they appear as boldly in Company after the Expiration of the time as before; they neither fear Raileries, nor the most serious Complaints; they are always ready to begin again: in a Word, they are Proof against the justest Mortifications. We must not lay altogether the Fault of it on the particular turn of their Wit, and of their Inclination; the Public is more to be blamed for it than they are, because of it's prodigious Indulgence. It is a common Saying, That God forgives every thing, and that Men forgive nothing: but that Maxim is false, with respect to the Commentators on the *Revelation*: it is very probable that God has not the same Indulgence, as the Public, for the Boldness wherewith they handle his Oracles, and expose them to the Contempt of Infidels. A learned Divine observes, that *Comenius* lost nothing of his Credit, though he had deceived the People a hundred times by his Visions: he always passed for a great Prophet; so true it is that Men are pleased to be deceived in some things (28) I have said already, that *Comenius* continued to spread the Predictions of *Drabicius* as divine Prophecies, tho' the Event had declared against them. Here is an instance of it. He was the Coadjutor of *Drabicius*, and was to be one of those, who in the Presence of that Prophet should put the Crown of *Hungary* on Prince *Ragotski's* Head at *Presburg* (29), after *Drabicius* had been in *Transylvania* to proclaim there that Prince King of *Hungary*, and to anoint him before all the People, after the Sermon that he was to preach on this Text, I HAVE ANOINTED MY KING UPON ZION THE HILL OF MY HOLINESS.

- (27) Maresius, *Antizhet*, pag. 8.
(28) Interea toties ineptiis ejus decepti cum pro magno Propheta habere persequuntur, nec quicquam inde detrimenti autoritas ejus sentit. Sic mundus vult decipi. *Arnoldus* in the Appendix to the Discursus Theologicus, pag. ult.
(29) Scribe Adjuncto (*Comenio*) illum fure unum de illis qui regio capiti coronam imponente quoque præsentente. *Revel.* 155, ver. 3, 4. apud *Arnoldum* Discursus Theol. contra *Comenium*, pag. 37.

exercitu quem ad ipsum collegi ungas & proclames Regem terræ hujus. Sed præmittas concionem super verba Psalmi secundi, Ego unxi Regem meum, &c. quam concionem statim meditare, peractaque illa effundes oleum unctionis olei Balsamini (quod reperies in aula principis) in conspectu totius populi super caput principis (30). — Make the best of your Way to the Prince, to anoint and proclaim him King of this Country, before the whole Army, which I have gathered to him. But first preach a Sermon on these Words of the second Psalm, I have anointed my King, &c. To the composing of which set yourself immediately; after the delivery of which, pour the anointing Oil of Balm (which you will find in the Prince's Court) on the Prince's Head, in the sight of all the People. He lived long enough to be convinced that this could not happen.

[K] Some Persons have been surpris'd that he lived so long. It is difficult to conceive, that a Man of Reputation can long out-live the Shame of having been a Promoter of Prophecies, which the Event had confounded in such a manner, that they seemed expressly designed to contradict them. *Comenius* found himself liable to other Mortifications, that were not less grievous than that.

They reproached him with having done a great Prejudice to his exiled Brethren (31). Most of them had saved a great deal of Money, and instead of preserving it by good Husbandry, they spent it prodigally in a little time, because *Comenius* assured them that they should quickly return home; and because they thought, by virtue of his Promises, that they needed not be sparing, and that it was better for them to free themselves from every thing that might incur them in their Journey. This was the Cause that, notwithstanding all the great Hopes wherewith they fed themselves, they soon fell into Beggary. Besides, they reproached him with (32) having been the Cause of the plundering and burning of *Lefna* (33), a Town of *Poland*, where they had found a Retreat, and as it were their Pella: with being, I say, the Cause of it, by reason of the Panegyric that he unseasonably made upon *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, at the time of the Invasion of *Poland*. He prophetically declared him the approaching Destroyer of Popery, whereby he rendered the Protestants of *Poland* extremely odious to the Catholics of that Kingdom; and he seemed not to be undeceived, when the King of *Sweden* soon after turned his Arms against *Denmark*. *Comenius* made a second Panegyric upon him (34), wherein he congratulated him no less for the new Invasion, than he had done for the foregoing: It was a great Illusion to think, that That Prince had a Design against the Church of *Rome*. The Elector of *Brandenburg* writ to *Richard Cromwell*, that the *Swedes* had ruined the Protestant Religion in *Poland* (35), and no Prince contributed so much to dispossess *Charles Gustavus* of the Conquests that he had made, as the Protestants. There was a time when the Faith of *Comenius* did stagger; for though it has been said (36), that the Faithful of *Lefna*, relying upon his Promise, expected a sudden Deliverance, which made them neglect to withdraw themselves with their Effects into a place of Security; he himself informs us, that he designed in due time to shelter himself from the Storm; but that not being able to obtain his Leave from his Church, and being unwilling to retire without their Consent, which would have been an ill Example, as they told him, he was surpris'd with the rest by the *Polish* Army. Equidem subducere me

(30) *Revel.* 304 v. 4, apud *Arnold.* *ibid.*

(31) See *Arnoldus*, Discursus Theolog. contra *Comenium*.

(32) *Ibid.* & pag. 83.

(33) It was burnt about the end of April, 1656.

(34) *Arnoldus*, Discursus Theol. pag. 69.

(35) That Letter contains some very remarkable things. It is dated the 28th of Decemb. 1658, and it to be found in the Præstantium & eruditiorum virorum Epistolæ, pag. 897, Edit. 1684.

(36) *Arnoldus*, pag. 87.

and that the Vexation of having succeeded so ill in his Predictions did not shorten his Days. Mrs Bourignon and he esteemed each other cordially and spiritually [L]. I ought not to forget that he published something against the Socinians [M]. It is said, that the Author of a Book, intituled JANUA COELORUM RESERATA, made choice of that Title, because there is none to which the Ear is more used than to that of *Janua Linguarum Referata* of Comenius [N]. The Articles of DRABICIUS and KOTTERUS contain several things that may pass for a Supplement to this.

me mature volui metu five talis alicujus tragici exitus, five diuturnioris belli - - - fed impetrare à meis dimissionem non potui; cum scandalo autem deferere gregem (malo prorsus exemplo, ut dicitur) statim nolui (37). He lost his House, his Goods, his Library, and several Manuscripts, in the writing of which he had spent about forty Years. Only part of the Apocalyptic Treatises, and some others (38), escaped the Flames; they had time enough to throw them into a Hole, and to cover them with Earth, and they were found again ten Days after the Fire (39).

[L] Mrs Bourignon and he esteemed each other cordially and spiritually.] He broke with Mr Serarius, because he had acted with so much Passion and Injustice against her. He continued to esteem her all the rest of his Life, and desired her on his Death-bed to come and give him the last Visit, saying to those who spoke to him of her, O the holy Maid! Where is she then? Let me have the Happiness to see her once more before I die. All the Knowledge and Learning that I have had, are only the Productions of Reason, and the human Mind, and the Effects of human Study; but she has a Wisdom, and a Light that proceed immediately from God alone, by the HOLY GHOST. After she had been to see him, according to his Request, he said, with great Transports of Joy, to those that came to see him, I have seen an Angel of God: God has sent me his Angel this Day. He died some time after in the Grace of God, as Mrs Bourignon did not question; having often said, that she had never seen a learned Man better and more humble than he (40).

[M] He published something against the Socinians.] One of that Sect wrote a Book, intituled, *Irenicum Irenicorum, seu reconciliatoris Christianorum bodiernorum norma triplex, sana omnium hominum ratio, Scriptura sacra, & traditiones*, and dedicated it to the Pope. Neither the Author's Name, nor the Time or Place of the Impression, appear in it; but we know that a Physician, born at Danzig, whose Name was Daniel Zwickerus, composed it, and had it printed at Amsterdam, in the Year 1658 (41). Comenius refuted him in a Book intituled, *De Irenico Irenicorum, hoc est conditionibus pacis à Socini secta reliquo Christiano orbe oblatis*, ad omnes Christianos facta admonitio: It was printed at Amsterdam in 1660, and refuted soon after; for Zwickerus published in the same Town, in 1661, his *Irenicasmix perpetuo convicius & confutatus, seu nova confirmatio infallibilitatis Irenici Irenicorum per ostensam inutilitatem criminosa COMENIANÆ refutationis*. It was not long before Comenius's Reply came out; and it was soon followed by a Piece of Zwickerus, intituled, *Irenicasmix posterior iterato viciis & confutatus imo obmutescens, seu novum & memorabile exemplum infelicitissimæ pugnae Dn. Job. Amos Comenii, contra Irenici Irenicorum Autorem*. Comenius entered the Lists once again: his Adversary did the same; for he published *Irenicasmix pars specialis, seu finalis confutatio Comenii, Hoornbeekii, & aliorum* (42). Note, by the by, that Dr Bull has refuted several Passages of the *Irenicum Irenicorum*, and that he has been blamed for not having seen the other Books of the same Author; for want of which, he condemns Daniel Zwickerus for several things, whereof he would have found him innocent, if he had consulted the *Irenicasmix perpetuo convicius*, &c. This I find in a pseudonymous Piece, printed at London, in the Year 1697, and intituled, *Fides primorum Christianorum ex Barnaba, Hermas, & Clemente Romano, demonstrata, defensionis Fidei Nicenæ D. Georgii Bulli opposita* (43).

[N] The Author of a Book, intituled, *Janua Coelorum referata*, made choice of that Title, because of

that of the *Janua Linguarum referata* of Comenius.] That Book being little known, it is fit to say something of it here, that all my Readers may learn in general what it is, without looking for other Books, or stirring from their Place.

It is a Book (44), the Author whereof was pleased to call himself *Carus Larebonius*. He attacks Mr Jurieu's *System of the Church*, in the Style of a peripatetic Philosopher, and quite overturns it, since he clearly shews, that, according to that Minister's Hypothesis, a Man may be saved in all Religions. This was an unlucky thing for Mr Jurieu; for it was stripping him of the best Feather in his Plume, since the best Book that he writ, and which was most esteemed, came to nothing by that means. Among so many Writings of Mr Jurieu, Mr Nicolle found none but this that deserved to be answered. He divided the rest into two Classes, and he placed in the first the Books, wherein he pretends, that Mr Jurieu says nothing new; and in the second those, wherein he pretends, that Mr Jurieu says some new things (45). He will have it, that those of the first Class are only *meer Collections and Dispositions* of what had been already said by the Writers of the Party; and that those of the second contain only heaps of *Calumnies against all sorts of People, or empty Visions and Imaginations, or passionate Declarations*. Now he thought that the Makers of Collections ought to be left unanswered, and to be given up to the Judgment of the Public, who soon bring them to Reason by the Dispute they conceive against such Books; and that Silence and Contempt are the Punishment that best suits the Vanity and Passion of those who write Books of the second Class. He thought particularly concerning Mr Jurieu's *Accomplishment of Prophecies*, that he no more would advise a Man to undertake the Refutation of it, than to apply himself seriously to refute the Centuries of Nostradamus (46); but as for the *System of the Church*, which, he says (47), was not looked upon as a despicable Work, he found, after having well thought of it, that he ought to refute it. I only relate these things historically.

It must not be thought strange that Mr Jurieu should have expressed, in very angry words (48), the Trouble he was in to see his darling Book thoroughly confuted; and none but those, who are ignorant of that sort of fatherly Tenderness, can take it ill that he should endeavour to allay his Grief by inveighing against both the Book written against him (49), and the Person to whom he imputes it.

- - - - - folatia lucus

Exigua ingentis, misero sed debita patri (50).

- - - - - a weak Relief,

And far inferior to a Father's Grief.

Consult a little Book printed at Amsterdam in the Year 1692, and intituled, *Nouvel Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets; — New Advice to the little Author of the little Books*. You will find (51) a Letter in it full of curious Reflexions, which may serve as an Apology for Mr Jurieu's Anger, and which will prevent your wondering that neither he nor his Friends have been able to answer the *Janua Coelorum referata*. Whoever criticizes *Larebonius* under pretence that several of his Words and Phrases are not taken out of Classical Authors, is over nice, and even ridiculous. His Work is of the Nature of those, whose Imperfection consists only in wrong Arguments or Fallacies; and none can deny him the Privilege, which all the Authors of common Places of Divinity and public Theſes enjoy, which is, not to trouble themselves whether their Latin is flat or not.

(44) Printed at Amsterdam, 1692, in 4^{to}.

(45) Nicolle, Preface to his Book concerning the Unity of the Church, pag. 22.

(46) Ibid. pag. 27.

(47) Ib. pag. 1.

(48) See his second Apology.

(49) He finds fault even with the Latin Style of it, and insinuates, that such a Negligence of Style is a Miracle of the Divine Justice (for he has always Miracles at hand), and does not take notice that *Larebonius* says, in the beginning and at the end of his Book, that he had pitched upon the Style of the Schoolmen.

Iniquum est, said Mr Amyraut upon such an Occasion, id est in aliquo reprehendere in quo data opera neglexit diligenter elaborare. - - - It is unjust to object the want of Accuracy, where an Author on purpose declines being elaborate. Mr Jurieu has been so prudent as to judge of the Latinity only by Proxy; for he was not ignorant that his Incompetence in that matter was known even before he wrote against Mr Scalutus. (See Mr Simon, Rep. à la Def. des Sect. pag. 191.) His Proxy, or Substitute, is very likely a mean Scholar, since he finds *Larebonius's* Arguments obscure and intricate, though nothing can be clearer than his Book.

(50) Virgil. Æncid. lib. XI, ver. 62.

(51) Pag. 58, & seq.

COMMANDINUS

COMMANDINUS (FREDERIC) born at *Urbino* in *Italy*, of a Noble Family, was one of the learned Men of the XVIth Century. His great Knowledge of the Mathematics was attended with a great Skill in the Greek Tongue, which enabled him to translate the Greek Mathematicians into Latin. He published and translated many of them, which never had been translated before. *Francis Maria*, Duke of *Urbino*, who understood those Sciences very well, was a most affectionate Patron to him for that very reason. *Commandinus* died in 1575, being Sixty six Years of Age, and was buried in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors; and *Anthony Toroneus* made his Funeral Oration (a). I shall give a Catalogue of the Books, which *Commandinus* translated and commented upon [A]. He is very much praised by *Blancanus* (b), and others, and deserves it. It is no small Glory to him, to have had *Bernardin Baldus* and *Guy Ubaldus* among his Disciples; for they were excellent Authors, and indebted to him for their great Improvements. I shall make a short Observation upon his Translation of *Euclid* [B].

(a) Ex Thuan. lib. LXI, pag. 139.

(b) Chronol. Mathem. p. 61.

[A] I shall give a Catalogue of the Books he translated and commented on.] *Archimedis circuli dimensio, de lineis spiralibus, quadratura parabolæ, de conoidibus & spheroidibus, de arenæ numero*, Venice, for Paul Manutius, 1558, in fol. *Ejusdem Archimedis de iis quæ videntur in aqua*, Bologna, 1565, in 4to. *Apolonii Pergæi Conicorum libri quatuor una cum Pappi Alexandrini lemmatibus, & commentariis Euticii Ascalonitæ*, &c. Bologna, 1566, in folio (1). *Ptolemæi planisphærium*, Venice, 1558, in 4to. *Ejusdem de Analemmate liber*, Rome, 1562, in 4to. *Elementa Euclidis*, at Pefaro, 1572, in fol. *Aristarchus de magnitudinibus ac distantis solis & lunæ*, at Pefaro, 1572, in 4to (2). *Hero de spiritalibus* (3), at Urbino, 1575, in 4to. *Machometes Bagdedinus de superficierum divisionibus*, at Pefaro, 1570, in fol. *Pappi Alexandrini Collectiones Mathematicæ*, at Pefaro, 1588, in fol. &c. This last Work would not have been printed so soon after the Death of the Author, if the Duke of *Urbino* had not vigorously concerned himself in it: had it not been for that, the Law-Suit which the two Daughters of *Commandinus* commenced against each other, would have occasioned

a long delay, as his Son-in-law *Valerius Spaciolus* acknowledges (4). He published also some Books of his own compiling, a *Treatise De centro gravitatis solidorum*, Bologna, 1565, fol. *Horologiorum descriptio*, Rome, 1562, &c (5).

[B] I shall make a short Observation upon his Translation of *Euclid*.] Mr *Teiffier* observes, that *Commandinus* translated the Works of *Euclid* into Italian; and he cites *Vossius de Mathem. pag. 68*. (6). But it is certain, that *Vossius* does not say that it was in Italian. I find no body that says it was. Doubtless it is the Fault of *Teiffier's* Printer, that instead of *Heronis Alexandrini Spirituum liber*, we read in pag. 470, which I have quoted, *Heronis Alexandrini Spirituum liber*. In *Blancanus* (7), they have put *Neronis* instead of *Heronis*. Thus the Printers multiply Writers. Some Compilers, to shew that they out-do those that went before them, will perhaps give out, as a rare Discovery, that there was anciently an able Mathematician, whose Name was *Nero*, of whom we have still some Works.

(4) Vossius, ibid. pag. 59.

(5) Oxford Catalogue.

(6) Elog. tirez de Mr de Thou, Tom. I. pag. 470.

(7) Chronol. Mathemat. pag. 61.

(1) Ex Ant. Verderio, Supplem. Epitom. Geomet.

(2) See the Catalogue of the Public Library of Oxford.

(3) See Vossius de Mathem. pag. 290.

CONCINI (CONCINO) known by the Name of *MARSHAL D'ANCRES*, abused the Goodness of the Queen-Mother, *Mary de Medicis*, so excessively, that, in order to stop his Ambition, it was thought fit to make away with him, without any Trial [A]. It would have been too dangerous a thing to undertake it in due form; which is alone sufficient to shew that he was a wicked man [B]. He was born at *Florence*, where his Father, from a meer Notary, came to be Secretary of State. He came into *France* with *Mary de Medicis*, the Wife of *Henry IV*; and at first he was only Gentleman in Ordinary to that Princess, but he afterwards became her Master of the Horse, and raised himself prodigiously by the Credit that one of the Queen's Maids, whom he married, had with her Majesty (a). He bought the Marquisate of *Ancre* (b), a little after the Death of *Henry IV*. He was Governor of *Amiens*, *Peronne*, *Roie*, and *Mondidier*: He became first Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, and afterwards Marshal of *France* (c). He endeavoured to have the Government of *Picardy*; but the Duke of *Longueville*, having the Choice of that Government, and of that of *Normandy*, chose the first, and by that means the Marshal *d'Ancre* was excluded from his Pretensions, and even forced to yield the Government of *Amiens* to that Duke; for that Resignation was stipulated by the Treaty of *Loudon*, if the Duke of *Longueville* should chuse the Government of *Picardy*. The Marshal *d'Ancre* had at the same time the Government of *Normandy* bestowed upon him. He caused *Quillebeuf* to be fortified in that Province, notwithstanding the Parliament had forbid it: He got the particular Government of *Pont de l'Arche*, and endeavoured to have also that of *Havre de Grace* (d). In short, there was no longer reason to doubt that he designed to have all things at his

(a) Leonora GALLIGAI. See her Article.

(b) In Picardy.

(c) Baptiste le Grain, Decade de Louis le Juste, B. 4. towards the end.

(d) Id. lib. IX.

[A] It was thought proper to make away with him, without any Trial.] I am not ignorant that *le Grain*, and some other Historians say, that the King ordered the *Sieur de Vitri* to apprehend the Marshal, with an Intention to have him tried in his Parliament of *Paris* (1); but I find the particular Relation of the Death of the Marshal *d'Ancre* more credible (2). It imports, that the King, finding too great a Danger in the Project of the Trial, took another Resolution, which was, to command *Vitri* to cause the Marshal to be killed.

[B] Which alone shews, that he was a wicked Man.] For a Subject cannot, without a Crime, form the Design of making his Master fear him; and

if he compasses that Design, he must have made use of a thousand unjust ways; he must have turned those out of their Places that did not please him, and advanced others upon whom he could depend: that is, he must have degraded good Men, to raise those, who sacrifice every thing to Fortune. How many Extortions must one make, to heap up as much Money as is necessary to have Spies and Creatures every where? Our Marshal never went abroad without having two hundred Gentlemen about him, besides the Men to whom he gave Wages, whom he called his thousand Liores Paltrons (3). We shall speak hereafter (4) of the Slavery wherein he kept the King.

(3) Le Grain, ubi supra.

(4) In Rem. [D].

[C] The

6 X

(1) Le Grain, Decade de Louis XIII, B. 10, pag. m. 387.

(2) It is printed together with the History of the Favourites, collected by Peter du Paul.

VOL. II.

his Disposal; for he removed the wisest Heads from the King's Council, and filled their Places with his own Creatures. He disposed of the Finances, he distributed the Offices, he got Friends every where, both in the Armies and in the Towns, and terrified those, who opposed his Faction, by Examples of a severe Revenge. There was no other Remedy for all those great Disorders, than that of killing him. That Commission, given to *Vitri*, one of the Captains of the Life-Guards, was executed on the Drawbridge of the *Louvre* on the Twenty fourth of *April* 1617, where several Pistols were fired at That Marshal. The next day, the Mob, having taken the Body out of the Grave, in the Church of *St German de l'Auxerrois*, dragged it up and down the Streets, and discharged their Anger all manner of ways [C]. The Parliament proceeded against the Memory of the deceased, and declared him convicted of High-Treason, both divine and humane, condemned his Wife to be beheaded, and declared their Son *Ignoble*, and *incapable of holding* any Office in the Kingdom (e). Strange things were discovered in their Process concerning their Judaism and Sorcery. I speak of it elsewhere (f). This Man's Insolence is a sad Example of that Fatality, which attends the *French* Monarchy more than any other Country in the World; which is, that the Queens there preserve almost always the foreign Heart which they bring with them, and are commonly the Instrument that God makes use of to humble and chastise the Nation. Here are already two Queens, descended from the House of *Medicis* (g), who did almost overthrow That Monarchy in favour of the *Spaniards*. That Part of the French History is shameful for the *French* Name. Why did they suffer that the King should be several Years a Slave to a *Florentine* [D]? Was it not a base thing to bend the Knee, as they did, before that Idol, whilst they inwardly detested it [E]? There

(e) Ibid. lib. X.

(f) In the Article GALLIGAI, Rem. [D] and [E].

(g) Catherine the Mother of Charles IX, and of Henry III, and Mary the Mother of Lewis XIII.

(5) He was a Gentleman of Normandy, called *Hortevan*, who was beheaded at Paris the 21st of March 1617. Le Grain, ubi supra, lib. IX. sub. fin.

(6) Le Grain, ubi supra, lib. X, pag. 399, 400.

(7) Relation, pag. 53.

(8) Ib. pag. 56.

(9) Ib. pag. 57.

(10) Le Grain, ubi supra, pag. 392.

[C] The Mob - - - discharged their Anger all manner of ways. The Footman of a Gentleman, who had been lately put to death (5), to gratify the Marshal, begun the Tumult in the Church of *St German de l'Auxerrois*. They cried out, that the Body of that Excommunicated Jew ought to be taken out of his Grave, and thrown on a Dunghil. They went about it immediately, with so much Fury, that, if any one had represented to them that they ought to have some Respect for the Holiness of the Place, they would have buried him alive in the Marshal's Grave. When they had opened the Coffin, they dragged the Body to the end of the *Pont-neuf*, and hanged it by the Heels on one of the Gallows, that the deceased had caused to be set up for those that should speak ill of him. They cut off his Nose, his Ears, and his Privy-parts; a little after they took him down again, they dragged him to the *Grève*, and to the other Places, and then they dismembered him, and cut him into a thousand Pieces; every one would have some part of him; his Ears were sold very dear; his Entrails were thrown into the River; part of the Body was burnt before the Statue of *Henry IV*, on the *Pont-neuf*, and some roasted part of his Flesh with that Fire, and made their Dogs eat it (6). The Author of the Relation, printed with the History of the Favourites, relates some things that are still more surprising. The Great Provost, appearing with his Archers, to put a stop to the beginning of the Tumult in the Church of *St German de l'Auxerrois*, was threatened to be buried alive, if he advanced farther (7). That Author adds, that a Man, in a scarlet Dress, was so enraged, that, having thrust his Hand into the dead Body, he took it out again all bloody, and licked the Blood, and swallowed also some little Pieces that he had tore from the Body; that another pulled his Heart out, and broiled it on some Coals, and eat it publicly with Vinegar (8). That Author relates the Particulars of the Conduct of the Mob, according to the several Stations where the Body was hanged, dismembered, and burnt; he says, that on the next Day the Ashes were sold for fifteen Pence an Ounce (9). It is certain, that a Herd of mad Bulls will as well hearken to Reason, and are less to be feared than a mutinous Mob.

[D] Why did they suffer that the King should be several Years a Slave to a Florentine? These are not Slanders invented either by the Marshal d'Ancre's Enemies, or by those of *Lewis XIII*, since that Prince owns his Servitude himself, in the Letters that he writ to the Governours of the Provinces, the Day that the Marshal was killed. 'I make no doubt, says he (10), that in the whole course of Affairs, ever since the Death of the late King,

' my Lord and Father, (whom God absolve) you have easily observed how the Marshal d'Ancre, and his Wife, abusing my Youth, and the Power they acquired by degrees over the Mind of the Queen, my Lady, and Mother, have projected to usurp all the Authority, to dispose absolutely of the Affairs of my State, and debar me from the Knowledge of them: a Design, which they have carried so far, that there was nothing left to me hitherto but the Name of King, and that it would have been a capital Crime for any of my Officers and Subjects to see me in private, and to entertain me with any serious Discourse. Which God of his infinite Goodness having made me sensible of, and of the imminent Danger that my Person and State would be exposed to by such exorbitant Ambition, if I had given any sign of my Resentment, and of the extreme Desire I had to give the necessary Orders against it: I have been forced to dissemble, and to hide my good Intentions by my outward Actions, waiting till it should please the same Divine Goodness to prepare the way, and afford me an opportunity to remedy it.' The Author of the Relation says, that, when the King heard that the Marshal was dead, he looked out at the Window, and said, *I thank you, I thank you, now I am a King* (11). He went afterwards to other Windows, and cried out, *To Arms, To Arms, my Friends*; and said, *God be thanked, now I am a King* (12). The Lieutenants, Ensigns, and the Exempt of the Guards, which he sent into the Streets of *Paris* to prevent any Disorder, cried out all over the City, *Long live the King, the King is King* (13). The Bishop of *Luçon*, who was afterwards Cardinal *Richelieu*, had been one of the Marshal's Favourites, and performed at that time the Functions of first Secretary of State. He came into the King's Chamber, some time after the Execution was done; *Sir*, said the King to him, *God be thanked, this Day we are freed from your Tyranny* (14). He did not know at that time that his Deliverance would not continue long, and that he spoke to a Man, who was destined to leave him only the Title of Sovereign. However it be, it is certain, that the Marshal had usurped a great Power over the King's Person. He took from him the Liberty of going to the fine Houses that are about *Paris*, and reduced his Diversion of hunting to his walking only in the *Tuilleries* (15). The Protection of a Queen-Regent inspires a proud Man with too much Boldness.

[E] To bend the Knee — before that Idol, whilst they inwardly detested it. The Marshal said one Day, that 'the People of France are not what they are thought to be; for although they speak very ill of me, yet as soon as I come into any part of

(11) He spoke those Words to the Men that attended *Paris*.

(12) Relat. pag. 28.

(13) Ib. pag. 29.

(14) Le Grain, pag. 391.

(15) Relat. pag. 4, & 5.

There are no finer Verses of *Malberbe* than those which he made on the Fall of that Idol. He pretends that it justified Providence, which was, if one may say so, arraigned, and *in reatu*, during that Marshal's Prosperity [F]. Thus the Poets give themselves the Liberty to touch upon great Mysteries under Metaphors and bold Figures. It is surprizing that the Marshal *d'Etrec* should have extenuated the Faults of Marshal *d'Ancre* so much as he has done [G]. The Italian Author, who published at *Lyons* an History of *Lewis XIII*, in the Year 1691, is not guilty of that Excess [H]. Mr *de Beauvais-Nangis* (b), who knew the Court of *Lewis XIII* very well, is far from clearing our *Concini*, and rather confirms the common Reports.

(b) See his History of the French Favourite, pag. 100, & seq.

(16) *Ib.* pag. 43. 'the Provinces, all the Officers make Speeches to me as to the King (16).' Such a base Flattery did not only deserve to be mentioned, but also to be described with more Indignation than there is in the following Passage. 'We must not omit (for Truth belongs to History) that many Princes and Lords of the Court, many Deputies of the States-General, many of the chief Magistrates, a great part of the Nobility, a great number of the Officers and Citizens of Towns, did not only bear, but were not ashamed to advance the Grandeur of that Tyrant with all their Might, in order to obtain his Favour; and in the mean time they neglected the Love and Fidelity, which God commands us to shew to our King and Country, and the ancient Generosity, being banished from the Hearts of the French, was intirely employed to support the foreign Usurper (17).'

(17) *Le Grain*, pag. 385.

[F] Providence — was arraigned, and in reatu, during that Marshal's Prosperity.] *Malberbe* introduces the God of the *Seine* cursing the Marshal, and foretelling him his approaching Ruin.

Tes jours sont à la fin, ta chute se prépare,
Regarde moi pour la dernière fois.
C'est assez que cinq ans ton audace effrontée,
Sur des ailes de cire aux étoiles montée,
Princes & Rois ait osé défier;
La fortune t'appelle au rang de ses victimes,
Et le ciel accusé de supporter tes crimes,
Est résolu de se justifier.

(18) *In his Sonnet Chretien*, pag. m. 239. *Balzac* made some Reflexions on that Piece of *Malberbe* (18). Perhaps I shall touch upon them in the Article of *RUFINUS* (19), on occasion of the words of *Claudian*, who says, that the Prosperity of *Rufinus* was a Trial between God and Man, which God gained only by the Ruin of *Rufinus*.

(19) *Rem.* [C].

[G] It is surprizing that the Marshal *d'Etrec* should have extenuated the Faults of the Marshal *d'Ancre* so much as he has done.] Read the Memoirs of the Regency of *Mary de Medicis*, printed in the Year 1666, and you will not find there any of the Marshal *d'Ancre's* Actions, that deserve that a Page should be whipt for them; and you will see, in the Conclusion, a Character of him more like a Panegyric than an Apology. Against my Custom, I shall not here refer my Readers to *Moreri*, but set down the same Words he has cited. 'When I consider (the Author of the Memoirs speaks) (20) the Circumstances of the Death of Marshal *d'Ancre*, I can only attribute it to his ill Fate, having been advised by a Man whose Inclinations were very mild; and as he himself was naturally good natured, and had disoblged but few Persons, it must needs be his Star, or the State of Affairs, that raised so many People against him. He was agreeable in Person, skillful on Horseback, and in all other Exercises; he loved Pleasures, and chiefly Gaming; his Conversation was sweet and easy; he had high and ambitious Thoughts, but he hid them carefully; he never came nor affected to come into the Council; nay the King has often been heard to say, that he did not mean he should be killed.' I should act impudently, should I prefer the Testimony of this Author before that of so many Writers, who have spoke ill of *Concino Concini*. Not but that I think it very possible, that, with indifferent Faults, a

(20) *Pag.* 244, 245.

Man, who has a great Imprudence, and many Enemies, may become the Aversion of the People, and pass for a very wicked Man. A cunning, malicious, and powerful Enemy, will make the Mob believe many Lies. Nay, I believe that many things have been strained concerning that unfortunate *Florentine*, and that no fewer Obstacles must be overcome to discover the Properties of the Loadstone, than to know exactly, and with the nicest Distinction, the Truth of *Concini's* Affairs: And on this occasion I shall observe, that, in many Cases, Historical Truths are not less impenetrable than Physical ones.

[H] The Italian Author — is not guilty of that excess.] I mean Count *Alexander Roncoveri* (21). He says, that *Concini* shewed some very good Qualities when he began to be in favour; but he adds, that afterwards they were stifled by the bad ones, and appeared no more, and could do no Service. 'Asferiscono le memorie di quel tempo, che ne' principii della sua potenza era uomo di buona legge, di grata compagnia, di confacevole humore, disinteressato, ma profondamente ambizioso, e violento; difetti, che nel progresso confondendosi con le prime buone qualità in ultimo le soffocarono di tal maniera, che quelle non poterono apparire, e meno giovargli (22).' Had he but mentioned the Particulars of that Marshal's great Estate, it would have been sufficient to know that he was a wicked Man; he would have given him a satirical Stroke. I take *Juvenal* to witness.

(21) He is a Native of *Placentia*.

(22) *Aless. Roncoveri*, Storia del regno di Luigi XIII, lib. V, pag. 205.

Patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus,
Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba sonabat,
Cum pars Nilivæ plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ:
Difficile est satyram non scribere — — —
— — — — — facro nec cedat honori
Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis.

(23) *Juv. Sat. I.* ver. 24, & 110.

When all our Lords are by his Wealth outery'd,
Whose Razor on my callow Beard was try'd;
When I behold the Spawn of conquer'd Nile,
Crispinus, both in Birth and Manners vile,
Pacing in Pomp with Cloak of Tyrian Dye,
Chang'd oft a Day for needful Luxury;
And finding oft Occasion to be fann'd,
Ambitious to produce his Lady Hand.
Charg'd with light Summer Rings his Fingers sweat,
Unable to support a Gem of Weight.
Such fulsome Objects meeting every where,
'Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear.

And he who lately barefoot trod the Streets,
To sacred Honours won't submit.

Oltro un miglione di lire, che valevano i suoi
stabili in Francia, ne haveva un' altro di contanti
in cassa, seicento mila feudi sopra *Paideau*, quat-
trocento mila fra *Roma*, è *Fiorenza*, è non ostante
il facheggio della sua Casa, mobili, gioie, argenti,
e cariche per due miglioni senza quella di Luo-
gotenente del Re nella *Normandia*, di primo
Gentiluomo della Camera del Re, e d'Inten-
dente della Casa della Regina (24).'

(24) *Aless. Roncoveri*, ubi supra, pag. 199, 200.

CONDREN (CHARLES DE) Superior-General of the Fathers of the Oratory, in the XVIIth Century. I shall add but one thing to what *Moreri* has said of him,

him, viz. That they have collected as many of his Writings together as they could; and that this Collection contains two Parts, the last of which was reprinted by it self at *Brussels*, by *Francis Foppens*, in 12mo, in the Year 1659. These are pious Letters, and will be very acceptable to the Mystics.

CONECTE (THOMAS) a Monk of the Order of the *Carmelites*, born in *Bretagne*, was burnt at *Rome* for an Heretic, in the Year 1434 (a), after he had been followed by the People as the greatest Preacher of his Time. Having been much admired in his own Country, he left the Convent of *Rennes*, and went into *Flanders*. He acquired such a Reputation there by his Preaching, that one cannot sufficiently express the Honour that was done him in all the Places that he went through [A]; nor the Concourse of People that came to his Sermons [B]. He declaimed vehemently against the Vices of the Clergy, and against the Luxury of Women, especially against their Head-Dresses, which were of such a prodigious Height [C], that the highest Top-knots now are but Dwarfs to them. He reformed that Excess, and obliged the Ladies to dress themselves modestly; but it was not so much by the Force of the Reasons wherewith he represented the Evangelical Duties to them, as by exhorting the Boys to insult the Women that would not reform themselves [D]: and therefore, as soon as he left the Country, they put on their Head-dresses again, with higher Toppings [E], as it were to make themselves amends

(a) Argentré, Hist. de Bretagne B. 10, cap. 42. Others, as Spondanus, place his Death in 1431.

[A] One cannot sufficiently express the Honour — that was done him in all the Places that he went through.] When it was known that he was to come to any place, 'The Nobles and all sorts of People' went to meet him, and accompanied him bare-headed, holding the Bridle of his Mule as far as his Lodgings; and happy was he that could lodge him (1). *Paradin* will tell us more of it: 'Brother *Thomas Conette* had acquired so great a Reputation of Holiness, that every body ran after him, so that one half of them could scarce see him. When he travelled, he was mounted on a little Mule: many other Monks of his Order, and many Priests, followed him on foot, as his Disciples, and Secular Priests in great Number. The Clergy, the Nobility, and the Burghers, met him out of the Cities and Boroughs, honouring and reverencing him as much as if he had been an Apostle of *JESUS CHRIST*: insomuch that, where-ever he came, he went always attended with a great Multitude of People, who went out a great way to meet him, as if he was descended from Heaven. And when he came into any Town, commonly the most noble, and the most considerable, Person, holding the Bridle of his Mule on foot, conducted him with the whole Multitude to his Lodging, which was generally got ready for him in the best House. And his Disciples were also lodged in the other best Houses, as it is practised in the Retinue of Princes: and every body took it as a great Honour to lodge him, or any of his Attendants (2).'

(1) Argentré Hist. de Bretagne liv. X, cap. 42.

(2) *Paradin*, Annales de Bourgogne liv. III. ad ann. 1428, p. m. 700.

(3) *Paradin* says, that about twenty thousand People went frequently to hear him preach.

(4) Argentré, ubi supra.

(5) *Paradin* Annales de Bourgogne, pag. 700. Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, lib. X, cap. 42, says, that he preached before he said *Majé*.

(6) Argentré, ibid.

(7) Argentré, ibid.

(8) We are now returned to the *Hennins* under another Name, I mean, under that of *Top-knots*. I have not yet seen the Treatise that was published at *Paris* in 1694, concerning the Extravagancy of Head-dresses; but I do not question that this Reflection was made in it.

[D] He reformed that Excess — by exhorting the Boys to insult the Women that would not reform themselves.] I shall explain this by the words of *Paradin*: 'But what was remarkable in his Sermons, says *Paradin* (9), was, his way of crying down the Head-dresses of Women; for at that time every body was very extravagant in Cloaths, and the Women wore very strange Ornaments on their Heads. They were about an Ell long, and as sharp as Steeples, with long Crapes, set off with rich Fringes, hanging down behind their Backs, like Standards. This Preacher was so angry with those Head-dresses, that he used to inveigh most bitterly against them, abusing the Ladies at a strange rate for wearing those *Hennins*, as he called them. And to make them more odious to the People, he gave some small Presents to little Children, where-ever he preached, to cry out against and hoot at those *Hennins*. Those little Children were so well taught, that when ever any Woman came to hear the Sermons of Brother *Thomas*, they cried out against their *Hennins*, as loud as ever they could, till they pulled them off, or went away; and then they would run after and hoot at them: nay, some would throw Stones at them, which occasioned a great deal of Disorder; for some great Ladies were very much abused by those Children, to whom the Preacher granted many Pardons for their Hootings, pretending to have a Power to do it. Those Hootings lasted so long, that the Ladies durst not appear in Public, and were forced to come to Brother *Thomas*'s Sermons in a Disguise, with a Linnen Head-dress, as ordinary Women.'

[E] As soon as he left the Country, they put on their Head-dresses again, with higher Toppings.] It may be said, that they only bowed down their Heads like a Bulrush, which is the Emblem of a Repentance that lasts no longer than the Day, that is designed for an extraordinary Fast. But *Paradin* made use of another Comparison, that seems yet more proper to me. These are his Words (10): 'No more *Hennins* were to be seen wherever Brother *Thomas* went, such was his Hatred against them. This was useful for some time, till that Preacher went away from the before mentioned Countries. But after his Departure, the Ladies lifted up their Horns again, and did like the Snails, which, when they hear any Noise, pull in their Horns, but, when the Noise is over, suddenly raise them again higher than before (11). So did the Ladies: for the *Hennins* were never larger, more pompous, and magnificent, than after the Departure of Brother *Thomas*. Thus we see what it is to be obstinate against the Oblivion of some Persons: Could any one believe, that three or four

(8) See, above, the Remark [G] of the Article ANDROMACHE.

(9) *Paradin*, ubi supra.

(10) *Paradin* Annales, de Bourgogne, pag. 701. Note, *Monstrelet*, Tom. II, of his Chronicle, folio, m. 38, verso, says almost the same thing.

(11) The Women did not long comply with his Exhortations. Immediately after his Departure they put on their Horns again, and made amends for the time past. Argentré, ubi supra.

amends for their lost time (b). He burnt superfluous Cloaths, Tables, Dice, Cards, &c. (c), and let no body see him but in the Pulpit. It was a prudent thing; for he might perhaps have forgot himself in familiar Discourses, which would have lessened the great Opinion People had of him. Having made a sufficient Stay in the *Netherlands*, he went into *Italy*, and reformed the Order of the *Carmelites* at *Mantua* (d), not without meeting with some opposition [F]. From *Mantua* he went to *Venice*, where he was very much taken notice of; for the Embassadors of the Republic at the Court of *Eugenius* IV, whom he followed to *Rome*, recommended him to that Pope, as a Man of a holy Life, and full of Zeal: but they verified the Maxim, *Pessimum inimicorum genus laudantes*, although they went with a good Intention about it. The Pope, knowing that this great Preacher of Reformation was at *Rome*, ordered that he should be tried. He was found guilty of the most dangerous Heresies that could be taught in those times: He blamed the dissolute Life of the Clergy, and that of the Court of *Rome*; he had said, that many Abominations were committed in that Court; that the Church stood in need of a Reformation; that the Pope's Excommunications ought not to be feared, when People serve God; that the Monks might eat Flesh, and that the Clergy, who had not the Gift of Continency, might marry. He was burnt, and shewed a great Constancy, nor did he retract. Some great Persons among the Catholics have not scrupled to say that he was unjustly put to death. *Baptista Mantuanus* (e), who was General of the *Carmelites*, made a true Martyr of him (f). The Protestants take care not to forget him, when they make a List of those, who at several times have desired the Reformation of the Church. But I must observe, that some Protestants speak of him as of a meer Hypocrite [G].

(b) See Remark [E], in the Margin, Citat. (11).

(c) See Remark [E] towards the end.

(d) In the Year 1432.

(e) His Words, taken from the Book *De Vita Beata*, have been quoted by *Bertrand d'Argentre*, ubi infra.

(f) Taken from *Bertrand d'Argentre's* Histoire de Bretagne, Book X, chap. 42.

four Lines after, this Author should tell us, that Brother *Thomas* prevailed so much with the Ladies, that they themselves brought their Ornaments to him, whilst he was preaching, and burnt them publicly on his Scaffold in a great Fire that he kindled near his Pulpit? Is not this a manifest Contradiction? He might easily have avoided that Contradiction; it was but saying that all the Ladies did not leave off their Drefs for fear of being hooted at and stoned; but that some of them had a true compunction of heart.

(12) In the beginning of October, 1699.

Whilst this is Printing (12), the Gazettes inform us, that at the Court of *France*, a little Word that the King spoke by the by has been more effectual against the extraordinary height of Head-dresses, than all the Eloquence of the Preachers. They have for the space of twelve or fifteen Years cried out in vain against that part of Women's Luxury; they have attacked that *Colossus* with all the Figures of Rhetoric, supported by the most solid Arguments of Religion, and instead of overthrowing it, or at least of breaking some part of it, they have seen it encrease Monthly. They saw a new kind of Amphitheatre round about their Pulpits, which would have been very regular, if Women of the same Condition had sat down in the same Ranks, and if the Ranks had been less distant from the Preacher, according as the Top-knots exceeded each other: but because Places are not distributed according to that proportion, the Amphitheatre had no Symmetry. It is therefore better to compare this with a Wood of lofty Trees, wherein those that reach nearer the Clouds are mixed with those that do not reach so high. However it be, the Preachers did not fight absent Enemies; they had a full sight of them, and though they approached to the very Mouth of their Cannon, and in the very Face of their Thunder-bolts, yet they encreased and multiplied. Their two-edged Sword struck and cut, but the Effect it produced was like the Labour of a Gardener that prunes a Tree; his Strokes make it greater and fairer; whereas the Efficacy of the Royal Word has been to quick and powerful, that it has almost in one Day levelled those proud Mountains even with the ground.

Duris ut illex tonsa bipennibus
Nigre feraci frondis in Algidio,
Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animunque ferro (13).

(13) Horat. Od. IV. lib. IV. ver. 57, & seq.

As soon as the Women heard, I will not say a Prohibition or some Threatening, but only a hint of dislike, they laboured all night on that Reformation, and the next Day they appeared before the Monarch in another Drefs. That Reformation makes a surprising Progress; it passes from the Court to the City; and because it would be, they

say, like rusticity and meanness not to conform to it, there is good reason to believe, that in a few Months there will remain no footsteps of the fashion that has lasted so long. This shews, that if crowned Heads knew their Strength in that respect, or if they would make use of it, they would do more with a Word, than all the Preachers and Confessors with a Multitude of Words (14). Shall not we see a Medal about this? As for a Song, we cannot miss of it; and I do not question but that some Poets will make Allusion to those Kings of *Jadab*, who did not take away the high Places, and thereby left the Restoration of Religion imperfect. *Veruntamen excelsa non abstulit, adhuc enim populus immolabat & adolebat in excelsis incensum* (15). Here, will they say, the Reformation begins with the Destruction of the high Places. The ingenious Writer, who makes Monthly Reflexions on the News (16), will doubtless tell us some pretty thing on this Adventure. The Abuse was so great, that it required a new *Thomas Conelle*.

(14) Compare this with Remark [M] of the Article LEWIS XII.

(15) Lib. IV, Regum, cap. 12, ver. 3, & alibi passim.

(16) Since the Month of June, 1599. His Book is intitled *L'Esprit des Cours de l'Europe*.

(17) *Argentre*, ubi supra.

[F] He Reformed the Order of the *Carmelites* — not without meeting with some Opposition.] *Nicolas Kerton*, an Englishman, Provincial of the *Carmelites*, wrote against this Reformation, and dedicated his Writings to *John Facius*, General of the Order (17).

[G] Some Protestants speak of him as of a mere Hypocrite.] *John Chassanion*, a zealous Huguenot, having said 'that Hypocrisy thrusts and mixes itself with the pure and lawful Service of GOD, and that it does the like with respect to Superstition and Idolatry, even with Pomp and Ostentation, brings in Brother *Thomas* as an Instance of it; who, with a vain Shew and a specious Zeal, did so deceive the World under pretence of a Reformation of Manners, that every Body took him for a holy Man (18). He relates that Preacher's Travels, &c. on the Credit of *Enguerrand de Monstrelet*. 'To act his Farces, says he (19), they built him Scaffolds in the best and most convenient Places, richly hung and adorned: on which having said his Mass, he preached his Sermons; wherein he reproved every Body for their Vices, especially the Clergy for their Concubines and Whores (20). He did well in that: But it was a Monkish Trick, a piece of Madness, and a sacrilegious Impudence, to stir up little Children against Women on account of their Drefs; promising them certain Days of Pardon, as if he had been a GOD.' Lastly, he says that he was condemned as an Heretic, and burnt. And then he adds: 'By which means GOD, who makes use of all Instruments, was pleased to chastise, and punish the Hypocrisy of that Monk, who, pretending to be a holy Man, was a hair-brained and ambitious Fool (21).'

(18) Chassanion, Histoire Memoires des Huguenots & merveilles Jugemens de Dieu, cap. 21, pag. m. 119.

(19) Id. ibid. pag. 121.

(20) *Paradin*, ubi supra, pag. 750, observes the same thing: He preached, says he, very long Sermons, making great Dissections against the Vices of all Orders of Men, and even against the Fornication and Lewdness of the Clergy, who kept Concubines, Strumpets, and Whores, at Bed and Board, contrary to the Oath of Chastity they had taken.

(21) Chassanion, ibid. pag. 124.

(a) Apollonius Pergæus in epistola ad Attalum præfixa Libro IV Conicorum.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Ex Vossio de Scient. Mathem. cap. 54. n. 5. pag. 327, 328.

(e) In the 1866 Chapter.

(f) Vossius de Histor. Græc. lib. 1, cap. ult. pag. m. 162.

(g) Joseph. cont. Apionem, lib. 1. pag. 1051.

(h) Apollon. Schol. in lib. I.

(i) Servius in Æneid. lib. VII. ver. 738.

CONON, a Mathematician and Astronomer, was of Samos (a). He flourished about the CXXXth Olympiad. He died before his Friend Archimedes, who had a great Esteem for him, and communicated his Writings to him, and sent him some Problems [A]. He had some Disputes with the Mathematician Nicoteles, who writ against him, and treated him with a little too much Contempt (b). Apollonius Pergæus confesses it, though he acknowledges that Conon was not lucky in his Demonstrations (c). He invented a kind of Volute, which differed from that of Dinostratus; but because Archimedes explained the Qualities of it more clearly, the true Name of the Inventor was forgotten: for it is not called the Volute of Conon, but the Volute of Archimedes (d). As for Conon's Astronomical Knowledge, I refer you to Catullus [B], who describes it in the beginning of his Poem on Berenice's Hair, who was the Sister and Wife of Ptolemy Evergetes. Note, That Conon was so great a Flatterer, as to give out that the Hair of that Queen was changed into a Constellation. We find in Photius (e) the Extracts of a Book, that contained about fifty Narratives of the fabulous Times. The Author's Name was CONON: he dedicated that Work to King Archelaus Philopater, from whence Vossius (f) took the Liberty to make him live towards the beginning of the VIIIth Century of Rome; for he believes, that Strabo, Dion, and the other Historians, afford some Arguments, from which it may be inferred that the same King Archelaus was one of the Princes that followed Mark Antony's Party against Octavius. If it were so, That Conon ought to be distinguished from him, who, as Josephus tells us, had made mention of the Jews (g). Indeed it would have been ridiculous in Josephus to glory in the Testimony of so modern an Historian. That which is most probable is, I. That CONON, Author of a Book concerning the City of Heraclea, quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius (h), is the same with CONON, who writ a Piece concerning Italy, quoted by Servius (i). II. That Conon mentioned by Photius, or Conon mentioned by Josephus, are the same with him.

[A] He died before his Friend Archimedes, who had a great Esteem for him — and sent him some Problems. We have the Proof of this in Archimedes's Writings: 'Debemus Conone vivente ipsa e-mittere in vulgus: hunc enim accepimus talia potissimum posse deprehendere, & ipsis accommodatam proferre demonstrationem (1). — These things ought to be published whilst Conon is living; for he, as I understand, comprehends them with ease, and can give a proper Demonstration.' This is what is found in one of Archimedes's Letters, in the beginning of one of his Books. What follows is to be found in another Letter: 'Antea quidem mihi mandasti scriberem eorum problematum demonstrationem quæ prius ipse proposueram Cononi (2). — You formerly demanded of me a Demonstration of those Problems, which I had proposed to Conon.' He says elsewhere: 'Quot in Geometria theoremata visa primum impossibilia, tempore perfectionem capiunt? Conon quidem non sufficiens tempus sortitus in eorum disquisitione, vitam cum morte commutavit, & ea dubia reliquit: quamquam omnia invenerat, ut & alia multa quibus plurimum Geometriam adduxit. Scimus quippe in illo fuisse non vulgarem Mathematicarum artium peritiam, laborisque supra modum tolerantiam (3). — How many Theorems in Geometry, which at first seemed impossible, have in time been brought to perfection? Conon, not being allowed a sufficient time to investigate them, died, and left them in the dark, tho' he had invented them all, and many more, whereby he has enriched Geometry: For in him we found an uncommon skill in Mathematics, joined to an extraordinary Patience and Application.' Here is another Passage: 'Cum audiissem defunctum esse Cononem qui nobis reliquus erat in amicitia, tibi que admodum fuerat familiaris, puta in Geometria maxime versatus; virum quidem mortuum amare planxi, ut amicissimum & hominem in Mathemat-

cis plane mirabilem. Atque tunc repente statui mittere ad te, sicuti antea ad Cononem solebam, geometricum theorema, quod nemo quidem prius est contemplatus, &c (4). — Having heard of Conon's Death, with whose Friendship I was honoured, and with whom you kept an intimate Correspondence, as he was thoroughly versed in Geometry, I greatly lamented the loss of a sincere Friend, and a Man of surprising Knowledge in Mathematics: I then determined to send to you, as I had before done to Conon, a Theorem in Geometry, hitherto observed by no Body.

[B] As for Conon's Astrological knowledge, I refer you to Catullus.] Here is the beginning of his Poem:

Omnia qui magni dispexit lumina mundi,
Qui stellarum ortus comperit, atque obitus:
Flammeus ut rapidi solis nitor obscuretur,
Ut cedant certis sidera temporibus,
Ut Trivium furtim sub Latmia faxa relegans
Dulcis amor gyro devocet ærio:
Idem me ille Conon cælesti lumine vidi
E Bereniceo vertice cæsariem
Fulgentem clarè (5).

Who scann'd each Object of the starry Sphere,
Knew when they rise, and when they disappear:
Who knew why Darknes' dims the World's great
Eye;
Why Stars, at certain Periods, seem to die:
Who knew why Cynthia from her Orb should move
The Plains of Latmos, and Endymion's Love:
Conon, the same who view'd me from that Height,
Whence Berenice spreads ætherial Light.

CONON, General of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War, made himself so famous by his brave Exploits, that they gave him the Command over all the Islands [A]. He commanded the Naval Forces the last Year of the War; but

[A] They gave him the Command over all the Islands.] It is thought that Cornelius Nepos has committed a small Anachronism (1); for other Historians do scarce begin to speak of Conon, but by saying that he was put in Alcibiades's place: now from that time to the end of the War, they do not

say that he had the Command in question; and the Athenians were not in a condition to give it: after all, whoever had been invested with it would not have made such Conquests as Conon did: In qua potestate Pharas cepit coloniam Lacedæmoniorum (2). — In which Post he took Phera, a Colony of the Lacedæmonians.

(1) See Kirchmayer's Commentary upon Cornelius Nepos in Conon. pag. m. 433, 434.

(4) Id. in libro de quadrat. Parabolæ.

(5) Catullus, Epigr. 67. pag. m. 134.

(2) Corn. Nepos in Conone, c. 29.

but was not present at the Fight which was so fatal to the Athenians [B]. His Absence contributed very much to the decisive Battle, which the Lacedæmonians won (a) under the Conduct of *Lyfander*, near the River *Ægos* (b). *Conon*, after this Misfortune, hearing of the Loss of his Country, retired to *Pharnabazus* Governor of *Ionis* and *Lydia* [C], and insinuated himself in his Favour, that he might annoy the Lacedæmonians. The latter broke with *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, and carried the War into his Country under the Conduct of *Agessilaus*. They made great Progresses; and it is likely they would have subdued all the Provinces on this side the *Taurus*, if *Conon*, by whose Counsels the Persian Army was directed (c), had not thwarted their Designs [D]. He easily perceived, that *Tissaphernes* betrayed the King of the Persians: the thing was plain; nevertheless the King, who was under some Obligations to *Tissaphernes*, was so prepossessed in his behalf, that he would not believe him to be guilty. This obliged *Conon* to take a Journey to the Court of *Persia*. He shewed the Treason of that General so plainly, that he convinced the King of it. He received a Commission to cause a Fleet of Ships of War to be fitted out against the Lacedæmonians; and by that means he had a Fleet under his Command, which obtained (d) a signal Victory over them (e). His chief care was, to make use of that Opportunity in favour of his Country [E]: He sailed towards *Athens* with part of the victorious Fleet; he distributed the Money, that *Pharnabazus* had given him, among the

(a) Hunc (*Agessilaus*) adversus *Pharnabazus* habitus est imperator; re quidem vera, exercitui præfuit *Conon*, ejusque omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. . . . *Pharnabazus* had indeed the Name of General, but in reality *Conon* was Chief, and all things were done by his Direction. Id. *ibid.* cap. 2.

(d) The second Year of the XCVIth Olympiad, according to *Diodorus Siculus*.

(e) Hos *Conon*, apud *Cnidum* adortus magno prælio fugat. *Corn. Nepos*, *ib.* cap. 4.

(a) In the fourth Year of XCIIIth Olympiad.

(b) Apud *Ægos* flumen. *Corn. Nepos* in *Conone*, cap. 1.

(4) See *Justin*. lib. V. cap. 6.

(4) *Cornelius Nepos* in *Conone*, cap. 4.

(5) *Xenoph.* lib. 4. de rebus gestis *Græcor.* pag. m. 314.

(6) Id. *ibid.* lib. 11, pag. 268. See also *Plutarch* in *Lyfandro*.

(7) See *Kirchmayer* in *Corn. Nepos* *Conon*, pag. 334.

(8) *Nepos*, c. 2.

Lacedæmonians. It was much in those times, if they could keep on the defensive (3). So that it is thought that the Historian anticipates and confounds the times, and that *Conon* had not that Authority over all the Islands before he received it from the King of *Persia*. If that Author had committed this Fault, he performed the Duties of an Historian very ill. He would be in some manner excusable, if he had taken one time for another with respect to a Dignity that the Republic of *Athens* had conferred; but supposing the Censure to be right, he has done worse: he is mistaken both as to the Time, and those who conferred that Command; he ascribes to the Athenians what was only done by *Artaxerxes*, and yet he speaks separately of what *Artaxerxes* did. 'Hinc magnis muneribus donatus (*Conon*) ad mare est missus, ut Cypriis & Phœnicibus cæterisque maritimis civitatibus naves longas imperaret (4). — *Conon*, loaded with presents, was sent to Sea, to take upon himself the Command of the Fleet of the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other Maritime Powers.' Perhaps I may be answered, that he does not say from whom *Conon* received that Office, and that therefore Charity requires that we should suppose that he means the Command which *Artaxerxes* conferred on *Conon*: but nothing can be more absurd, nor more against the Laws of History, than to mention in that place the Command wherewith the King of *Persia* honoured that illustrious Athenian. We must therefore acknowledge, that *Cornelius Nepos* intangled himself. *Xenophon* says in express Words, that *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* ravaged the Territory of *Phera* (5). It was some time after the Defeat of the Lacedæmonians at *Cnidus*.

[B] He was not present at the Fight, which was so fatal to the Athenians. Here is a new Fault of the Historian. There is no Reader but will think, by virtue of his Words, that the Athenian Fleet was attacked whilst *Conon* was upon a Journey, or whilst he was carried to some Town for his Health; but there is no such thing: *Conon's* Absence consists in this; he foresaw that the Enemy would obtain a complete Victory, and so he made his Escape in time with nine Ships (6). It is true that it was not out of Fear, but because he found that by reason of the ill Discipline of the Troops, they were not in a condition to make a Resistance. The Commentators, who endeavour to justify *Cornelius Nepos*, do it pitifully (7).

[C] He retired to *Pharnabazus*, Governor of *Ionis* and *Lidia*. Here is another Fault of the Historian. He does all that is necessary to persuade his Readers that *Conon*, not seeking a place of Security, but a place where he might do his Country Service, went directly to the Court of *Pharnabazus*. Non quæsit ubi ipse tuto viveret, sed unde præsidio posset esse civibus suis (8). This Account is deceitful: Neither the Thing, nor the Reason of it, is true; for that General fled directly to the Isle of *Cyprus*, to King *Evagoras*, a good Friend of the Athenians: I say, he fled thither both for his own Security, and to take new measures with that Prince for the Good of

his Country. 'Ὡς Εὐαγόραν ἤλθε νομίσας καὶ τῷ σώματι βέλαιότατον εἶναι τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου καλάρυγιν, καὶ τῇ πάλαι τάχιστα ἐν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι βοηθόν. Ad *Evagoram* se contulisse, quod putabat se apud eum & salutis suæ rectissime consulturum, & Republicæ erigendæ adiutorem quamprimum habiturum (9). All the Historians speak of that Retreat of *Conon* (10); and some Authors say, that he was yet in *Cyprus* when *Agessilaus* ravaged *Asia*. *Isocrates* tells us, that *Conon*, for some time, minded only his private concerns in the Isle of *Cyprus*. Χρόνον μὲν τινα περὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσίων ἐπιμέλειαν διέτεκεν (11). He was yet in *Cyprus*, according to *Justin* (12), when it was discovered that *Tissaphernes*, betraying the King of *Persia*, had suffered the Lacedæmonians to commit some Hostilities in *Asia*. If *Cornelius Nepos* has committed a Fault in not speaking of that Retreat of *Conon*, he was mistaken likewise when he undertook to speak of it. He says, in the Life of *Chabrias*, that it is the common Fault of Republics, to envy a Man of distinguished Merit. 'Est hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes sit, & libenter de his detrahant quos eminere videant alius.' For which Reason, says he, several Great Men have voluntarily absented themselves from *Athens*, and *Conon* lived a long time in the Isle of *Cyprus*. This Example is wrongly alledged; for *Conon* retired into that Island after such a lamentable Defeat, that he was either afraid (13), or ashamed (14), to return to *Athens*. Add to this, that that City fell a little while after under the Yoke of Lacedæmon.

[D] The Lacedæmonians would have subdued the Provinces on this side *Taurus*, if *Conon* . . . had not thwarted their Designs. A political Craft, which his Historian does not mention, proved a hundred times more useful to him than all his Skill in War. He persuaded the King of *Persia* to send large Sums of Money to the Orators of *Greece*, in order to raise a War against the Lacedæmonians. Each of those Orators, thus gained, stirred up the People of their several Cities in such a manner, that a formidable Confederacy was made against the Lacedæmonians (15); and then *Agessilaus*, being recalled into his Country, was obliged to give over all his Projects of Conquest, to think on the Defence of the States of Lacedæmon. There is nothing better for those that would begin, or cause a War to continue, than to have the Tongues of Orators at their Devotion. Accordingly it appears that they take great care to win the Affection of such Persons.

[E] His chief care was to make use of that Opportunity in favour of his Country. *Justin* and *Cornelius Nepos* make use of too strong Expressions, when they speak of the condition from which *Conon* delivered *Athens*. *Justin* supposes that, when the Lacedæmonians lost the famous Battle of *Cnidus*, they held the City of *Athens* under the Yoke of Servitude; that they had a Garrison in it; in a Word, that it was one of their conquered Countries. 'Vidit Lacedæmonii fugam capeflunt, præsidia hostium Athe-

(9) *Isocrates* in *Evagora*, pag. m. 292.

(10) *Justin*. lib. V. cap. 6. *Xenoph.* lib. 11. *Diodor.* lib. XIII. *Plutarch* in *Lyfandro*, pag. 433. In *Artaxerxe*, pag. 1021.

(11) *Isocr.* *Orat.* ad *Philip.* pag. m. 137.

(12) *Justin*. lib. VI, cap. 1.

(13) Crudelitatem civium metuentis ad regem Cyprium con-
cedit. Id. *ib.* V. cap. 6.

(14) Ἀτυχίας ἐν τῷ ναυμαχίᾳ . . . οὐκ ἔσθ' ἀνὰ φρεσὶν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. Cum navis prælio . . . male pugnatum esset redire domum erubuit. *Isocrat.* *ibid.* pag. 138.

(15) *Polyænus* lib. I. *Strategem.* sub. fin. See also *Plut.* in *Artaxerxe*, pag. 1021. & *Xenophon* *Hist. Græc.* lib. III, pag. 294. Edit. 1584.

the Inhabitants; and gave Orders to repair the *Piræus*, and the Walls of the City. Had he only done this, he had not been to blame; but he forgot himself so far, as to endeavour to take *Ionia* and *Æolis* from the *Persians*, and restore them again to the *Athenians*. That Plot could not be carried on so privately, but the *Persians* perceived it. Hereupon *Teribazus*, Governour of *Sardes*, sent word to *Conon*, that he had something of great moment to communicate to him; for which he would send him to the King. *Conon* went to *Sardes*, where he was made a Prisoner. Some say that he was brought to *Artaxerxes*, and that he perished in that Country; but others assert, that he made his Escape out of Prison, and question whether *Teribazus* did not consent to it (f). *Morævi* should not therefore have affirmed that *Teribazus*, jealous of his Glory, had him put to Death: for *Xenophon* owns, I. That *Teribazus* did not apprehend him, till the Crimes the *Lacedæmonians* charged him with were fully proved against him; II. That afterwards he sent to know of the King his Master, what he should do with him (g). *Conon* left a Son, whose Name was *TIMOTHEUS*, who was a great Captain, and who experienced the usual Ingratitude of his Country (b). That *Timotheus* was a Disciple of *Isocrates* [F]. He came off handsomely when they reproached him with his Mother's scandalous Life [G]. He left a Son, whose Name was *CONON*, who was condemned to rebuild part of the Walls of the City [H]. We find no great Exactness, either in *Justin*, or *Cornelius Nepos*, concerning our *Conon*, whether we compare them together [I],

or

(f) Taken from
Cornelius Nepos
in Conon's Life.

(g) Xenoph. de
gest. Græc. lib.
IV, pag. m. 315.

(b) See his Life
in Cornel. Nepos.

(16) Justin. lib.
VI. cap. 3.

(17) Xenoph.
lib. II. sub. fin.

(18) According to
Calvisius.

(19) Justin. ubi
supra, cap. 4.

(20) Hos Conon
apud Cnidum
adortus magno
prelio fugit,
multas naves cap-
sit, complures
deprimit: qua
victoria non so-
lum Athenæ sed
etiam cuncta
Græcia, quæ sub
Lacedæmonio-
rum fuerat im-
perio liberata
est. --- Conon
engaging them at
Cnidus gained a
signal Victory, took
and sunk a great
Number of Ships;
by which Victory
not only Athens,
but all Greece,
was delivered
from the Lacedæ-
monian Yoke.
Cornel. Nepos in
Conone.

(21) Plut. in vita
Istac.

'nis deducuntur, populo restituta dignitate conditio
'servilis eripitur (16). --- The Lacedæmonians, be-
'ing routed, quitted the Field; the Enemy's Garri-
'son was removed from Athens, the People were
'freed from Slavery, and restored to their ancient
'Liberties.' This is not only strained, but also
false; for the Athenians had recovered their Lib-
erty, six or seven Years before *Conon* had defeated
the Naval Army of the Lacedæmonians at *Cnidus*, the
Dominion of the Thirty Tyrants had been abol-
ished, the Amnely had been published, and the po-
pular State had been re-established, &c. (17). It was
Thrasylus, who produced that great Revolution in
the third Year of the XCIVth Olympiad (18). But
the Battle of *Cnidus* was fought the second Year of
the XCVth Olympiad. Moreover, is it not cer-
tain, that the Year before that Battle of *Cnidus*, the
Lacedæmonians were beaten near *Haliartus* by the
Confederate Army? Were not the Athenians one of
those People, who had confederated against the
Lacedæmonians? Could they have done it, if they
had had a Lacedæmonian Garrison in their City? *Cornelius Nepos* has not been guilty of *Justin's* Anachro-
nism; he knew very well that the Thebans and the
Athenians had declared War against the Lacedæ-
monians before the Battle of *Cnidus*. 'Posteaquam
'domum à suis civibus revocatus est (Agefilus) quod
'Boeotii & Athenienses Lacedæmonis bellum in-
'dixerant, Conon nihilo secius apud præfectos re-
'gis versabatur. --- After that Agefilus was
'called home, the Boeotians and Athenians having
'declared War against the Lacedæmonians, Conon
'still continued amongst the King's Lieutenants.' After
those Words, that Historian relates how *Conon*
went to the Court of *Persia*, and obtained a Com-
mission to fit out Ships of War to keep at Sea the
following Year. It was with that Fleet that *Conon*
beat the Lacedæmonians at *Cnidus*. *Justin* has con-
founded every thing: He falsely imagined, that the
Thebans, the Athenians, and their Allies, did not
declare War against the Lacedæmonians till after the
Battle of *Cnidus* (19). It is no wonder if the Words
of *Cornelius Nepos* are not so false as those of *Justin*;
the Anachronism of the latter is not to be found in
the other. Nevertheless, we may say that *Cornelius Nepos*
expressed himself ill (20); for, properly
speaking, it cannot be said, that a Nation, which
makes War with another, and gains Battles against
another, is under the Servitude of that other. This
was the case of the Athenians before the Battle of
Cnidus. In the Style of an Orator, one might
speak as *Cornelius Nepos* does; for an Orator makes
no difficulty to say, that *Gustavus* set all Europe at
Liberty, that was a Slave to the House of *Austria*.
But this would be very impertinent in a Histo-
rian.

[F] *Timotheus* his Son was a Disciple of *Isocrates*
(21). *Cicero* says, that *Timotheus* equalled his Fa-
ther in military Virtues, and surpassed him in
Learning. 'Quod idem fecit *Timotheus* Cononis

'filius, qui cum belli laude non inferior fuisset
'quàm pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ & ingenii
'gloriam adjecit (22).'

[G] --- and came off handsomely when they
reproached him with his Mother's scandalous Life.]
She was a Thracian Woman, and had followed the
Profession of a Courtesan; but after she had left it
off, no Body led a more discreet and exemplary Life
than she: which is peculiar to this sort of Women,
when once they are sincerely converted; at least it
is the Opinion of the Author whom I quote. *Τι-
μοθεὺς δ' ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων ἐπιφανὲς,
ἐταίρας ἢν ἦν, ὁρατὶν τὸ γένος, σεμνὴς
δ' ἄλλως τὸς τρόπος, μετὰ δὲ λαοῦ γὰρ αἱ
τοιαῦται εἰς τὸ σῶμα, τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ σεμ-
νυμένῳ εἰσι βελτίους. Τιμοθεὶ, qui cum mag-
na gloria Atheniensium dux exercituum fuit, mater
erat Thracia genere, meretrix, sed gravibus & lau-
datis moribus. Nam ejus conditionis femine cum ad
temperantiam & continentiam sese applicuerint, aliis
qui ob eas virtutes gloriantur probiores sunt (23).
Timotheus, finding himself rallied for having such a
Mother, answered, that he was very much obliged
to her, since she was the cause that he was the Son
of such an illustrious Father (24). And indeed, if
that Woman had not behaved her self ill, she would
not have lain with *Conon*, and so *Timotheus* had never
been. He owed therefore his Existence to the
Lewdness of his Mother; but that Existence was
glorious, considering the Figure that *Conon* made in
the World. This puts me in mind of what is said
of the Mother of three illustrious Bastards: She did
not repent of what she had done, since she had pro-
duced three Men of great Merit. See the Remark
[B] of the Article *ERASMUS*.*

[H] *CONON*, his Grandson, was condemned to
rebuild part of the Walls of Athens.] *Cornelius Nepos*
makes a moral Reflexion upon it, in an ingenious
Antithesis. 'Hujus (*Timothei*) post mortem quum
'populum judicii sui poneret, multæ novem par-
'tes detraxit, & decem talenta Cononem filium ejus
'ad muri quamdam partem reficiendam jussit dare,
'in quo fortunæ varietas est animadversa; nam quos
'avus Conon muros ex hostium præda patriæ resti-
'tuerat, eisdem nepos cum summa ignominia fami-
'liæ ex sua re familiari reficere coactus est (25).
'--- After his (*Timotheus*) Death, the City,
'repenting the Sentence they had passed, remitted
'nine parts of the Fine, and ordered Conon his
'Son to pay Ten Talents towards repairing a cer-
'tain part of the Walls. Wherein the change of
'Fortune is remarkable; for the Grandson, with the
'greatest disgrace to his Family, was compelled out
'of his own Fortune to repair those very Walls, which
'his Grandfather had, with Honour, wrested from
'the Power of the Enemy.'

[I] Neither *Justin* nor *Cornelius Nepos* are over
exact, whether they are compared together ---.]
Here is *Justin's* Narrative (26). After the Lacedæ-
monians had subdued the Republic of Athens, they
became

(22) Cicero de
Offic. lib. I.
cap. 32.

(23) Athenæus,
lib. XIII. cap. 5.
pag. m. 577.

(24) Id. lib. II.

(25) Corn. Ne-
pos in vita Ti-
mothei, cap. 4.

(26) Justin. lib.
VI, cap. 11, &
seq.

or whether we compare *Conon's* Life with that of *Agefilas* written by *Cornelius Nepos*

(27) More ingenui humani quod pluris habent copientes. — *As the more Men possess, the more they naturally covet.* lb. cap. 1.

became more ambitious than before (27), and thought of no less than the Conquest of all *Asia*. To perform this, they must conquer the *Persians* that were governed by *Tissaphernes*, and those that were commanded by *Pharnabazus*. The Attempt seemed too great to *Hercylides*, General of the *Lacedæmonians*; for which reason he bribed *Tissaphernes*, and made a particular Treaty with him, whereby he engaged not to attack him, provided they should give him certain Sums of Money. *Pharnabazus* complained of it, and represented that *Tissaphernes*, instead of opposing the Enemies, bought a Truce of them, which enabled them to attack the other Provinces of the Monarchy more vigorously; that the Command of the Fleets ought therefore to be taken from him, and given to *Conon*, who lived in Exile in the Isle of *Cyprus*. The King of *Persia* found the Remonstrances of *Pharnabazus* just, and ordered him to put the Naval Forces under the Command of *Conon*. Hereupon the *Lacedæmonians* desired Assistance of the King of *Egypt*, and obtained several Ships, and resolved to send their King *Agefilas* with a great Army into *Asia*. Thus *Conon* and *Agefilas* were set one against another in *Asia*. The Match was well made; they were equal in all things; for which reason the one did not overcome the other. 'Non facile dixerem quod aliud par ducum tam bene comparatum fuerit, quippe ætas, virtus, consilium, sapientia utrique prope una, gloria quoque rerum gestarum eadem: quibus cum paria omnia fortuna dederit, invictum tamen ab altero utrumque servavit' (28). — *It would be difficult to find two other Generals so well matched; for their Age, their Valour, their Conduct and Experience were almost the same, and the Glory they had acquired was equal; and as Fortune had thus placed them on a level, yet she ordered it, that neither of them was conquered by the other.* But because *Conon's* Soldiers rose up in Arms for want of Pay, and the Letters which he wrote to the King about it had no effect, he went to the *Persian* Court, and remonstrated so powerfully the ill management of the Finances, by the King's Ministers, that the King appointed a Man who should take care to supply *Conon* with the necessary Sums. *Conon* was sent immediately to the Fleet, and, without losing any time, he made a Descent into the Enemies Country, ravaged it, took some Towns, and struck such a Terror every where, that the *Lacedæmonians* resolved to recall *Agefilas*. In the mean time they equipped a great Fleet, and thought themselves in a condition to hazard a Battle; but they were beaten by *Conon*. That Victory set *Athens* at liberty, and encouraged the *Thebans* to declare War against them: they beat them, and entered afterwards with their Forces into the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. The *Lacedæmonians* recalled *Agefilas* to oppose that Torrent (29). *Agefilas* returned, and obtained a Victory, *Conon*, being informed that *Agefilas* had left *Asia*, made a new Descent into the Enemies Country, plundered it, and returned afterwards to *Athens*.

(28) Id. ibid. cap. 2. Hæ tamē in favorem an illi Legian: for it is so far from being strange, that two Generals equal in every thing did not overcome one another, that it would be a wonder, if they had. And therefore I have not said, as *Justin* does, and yet the one did not overcome the other; but I have used the Words for which reason instead of and yet.

(29) See the latter end of the last Remark.

(30) His vocibus regem à Tissaphernæ alienatum hortatur (*Pharnabazus*) ut in locum ejus navalis belli ducem eligat *Conon* Atheniensem, qui amissa bello patria Cypri exulabat. *J. fl. lib. vi, cap. 1.*

Pisander, and sent *Agefilas* with fine Troops into *Asia* to oppose *Conon*; so that those two great Men were matched against each other. *Agefilas* and *Conon* preserved their Honour; neither of them overcame the other. But *Conon*, being ill obeyed by his Soldiers, because they were not paid, was obliged to go to the Court of *Persia* to solicit the necessary Supplies: He received Money, and was sent back to the Fleet. *Cornelius Nepos* relates the thing quite otherwise: He says that *Conon* did not command the Naval Forces till after *Agefilas* had left *Asia*, to come to the Assistance of *Lacedæmon*: He says, that *Conon* went to the Court of *Persia* to accuse *Tissaphernes*, and not because the Soldiers were discontented. III. According to *Justin*, the *Persian* Army was only commanded by *Conon*; but, according to *Cornelius Nepos*, *Pharnabazus* commanded it: it is true, *Conon* had really the Command, because things were directed by his Counsels. The Faults of *Justin's* Narrative are very plain; for that Author, after having said that *Conon* was the King of *Persia's* Admiral (31), makes him appear at the Head of a Land Army, without telling us why or how the Court ordered such a Change, and even without observing that they disposed of him in another manner. No Body will deny that *Agefilas* made War by Land (32): It is therefore most certain that *Conon*, who was to fight him, according to *Justin*, was to command by Land. The Historian, not contented with that Fault, has committed another: He does not only mention a chimerical Admiral, who, without performing the least thing at Sea, did only appear at the Head of a Land Army; but he says also, that That General, being gone to complain that his Forces were not paid, was sent back to the Fleet. Who would not believe, upon reading this, that *Conon* had already appeared in the Fleet of the King of *Persia*? Yet it is certain, that he only appears in *Justin's* History among the Land Forces. These are Faults of Exactness, which cannot be justified by saying, that That Author did but abridge a great History; for a good Abbreviator never suppresses such Circumstances as those that are wanting here. Thus much concerning the critical Observations that might be made upon *Justin*, considering him as if he was the only Author that had spoke of these things: but I do not question, that if he was compared with the other Historians, he would easily be found guilty of some Falsities. I could wish that those, who have commented upon him, would have taken notice of the Faults of his Narrative, and of his historical Confusions. Most of them chose rather to make Grammatical Remarks upon him.

(31) *Justin* est (*Pharnabazus*), *Conon* classis præfere. Id. ib.

(32) *Xenophon*, lib. 3. pag. 304. obiter, That the *Lacedæmonians* sent a Commission to *Agefilas* in *Asia* to command the Sea Forces; but that he gave that Employment to his Brother-in-law.

I would not always prefer *Cornelius Nepos* before *Justin*: for although, having only written the Life of one Man, he ought to have spoke more exactly than those who met that Man in their way, whilst they were writing a general History; it is nevertheless certain, that in some things I had rather give credit to the general History of *Xenophon*, than to him. *Xenophon* is in several respects more and less consonant to *Cornelius Nepos* than to *Justin*: He neither says, that *Conon* commanded the Land Forces against *Agefilas*, nor that he occasioned the Disgrace of *Tissaphernes*. This is to refute *Cornelius Nepos* and *Justin* at once. He does not bring *Conon* upon the Stage till after the Punishment of *Tissaphernes*, and only to command the Van-guard of *Artaxerxes's* Naval Forces at the Battle of *Cnidus* (33). *Cornelius Nepos* finds nothing here to countenance him; but there is something in it that favours *Justin*. *Xenophon* acknowledges, that *Conon* made two Descents into the Territories of the *Lacedæmonians*, but both after the Battle of *Cnidus*, and as being *Pharnabazus's* Lieutenant or Colleague (34). This refutes *Justin*, who even names *Pharnabazus*, and who supposes, that the first Descent was made before the Battle of *Cnidus*: When the News of that Battle was brought to *Agefilas*, he was already in *Beotia*, according to *Xenophon* (35). If this be true, *Justin* is mistaken, when he says, that *Conon's* Exploits obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recall *Agefilas*. He is also mistaken, when he relates, that *Conon*, hearing that *Agefilas* was returned from *Asia* into *Greece*, left the Coast of *Asia*, and went to make a second De-

(33) *Xenoph. de Rebus Gestis Græc. lib. 4. pag. 303.*

(34) Id. pag. 313, 314.

(35) Id. pag. 303.

(i) Eclog. III. ver. 40.

(k) Beroald. An. m. xiv. in Ser- vium.

Nepos [K]. The Grammarian *Servius* falsely believed, that our *Conon* was meant in these Words of *Virgil*, *In medio duo signa Conon* (i). *Beroaldus* (k), censuring that Mistake, observed, that, according to the Grammarian *Probus*, *Virgil* meant *Conon* of *Samos*, who is the Subject of the foregoing Article.

(36) Justin. lib. 6. cap. 5.

(37) See Mr. Per- rault, Parallèle des Anciens & des Modernes, Tom. I. pag. 275. Dutch Edit.

CORNELIUS NEPOS critici- sed.

(38) Re quidem vera exercitui præfuit Conon, ejusque omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. Cornel. Nepos in Conone, cap. 2.

(39) Populit ergo quotiescumque congressus est multo majores adversariorum copias. Id. in Agefilau, cap. 3. fin.

(40) Defecerat à Rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi quam cæteris erat apertum. Id. ibid.

(41) Id. ibid. cap. 2.

(a) Matthew Bernegger, in Tuba Pacis, pag. 271.

scend into the Territories of *Lacedæmon*. *Conon* quoque audito reditu *Agefilai*, & ipse ex *Asia* ad depopulandos *Lacedæmoniorum* agros revertitur (36). For this second Descent having been made after the Battle of *Cnidus*, which was fought after the Return of *Agefilau* into *Europe*, I leave you to judge whether the Return of *Agefilau* made *Conon* resolve to make a second Descent. Some may praise the ancient Historians as much as they please, but I shall never be persuaded that they equal some of our Moderns as to the distinct Observation of the Time wherein each thing happened (37).

[K] Or whether you compare *Conon's* Life with that of *Agefilau*, written by *Cornelius Nepos*. We find in the first, that *Conon* was so esteemed by *Pharnabazus*, that every thing was done by his Advice. It is he who, properly speaking, commands the Army (38); *Pharnabazus* has only the Name of *Generalissimo*. It is *Conon* who stops the Progress of *Agefilau*: without him, all *Asia*, on this side of *Taurus*, would have fallen into the Power of the *Lacedæmonians*. Look in the Life of *Agefilau*, whether *Conon* signalized himself against him, and you will not so much as once find the Name of *Conon* in it. You see *Agefilau* always victorious; he always bubbles his Enemies; if he does not think fit to fight, none can oblige him to it; if he fights, he always gets the Victory, though he be inferior in number (39); if he does not penetrate into the Heart of the Monarchy, it is not *Conon* that is the Cause of it, it is because he is called home where his Presence is wanted. If *Cornelius Nepos* was tender of *Conon's* Honour, he did well not to mention him in the Life of *Agefilau*, where there is nothing but shame to be got by all those who resisted that Prince in his Expedition into *Asia*. But whilst that Historian was tender of another Man's Honour, he prostituted his own; he was not sensible of the Character he gave *Conon* in his Life; so that *Cornelius Nepos* might be strangely puzzled by this Dilemma: 'What you have said of *Conon's* Exploits against *Agefilau*, is either true or false: if it be false, you deserve to be tossed in a Blanket; if it be true, you deserve it no less: for you do not only suppress it in the Life of *Agefilau*, but you speak in such a manner of *Agefilau's* Exploits, that all your Readers plainly see the *Persians* did nothing considerable, and got nothing but 'shame.' Here is another Attack. In the Life of *Conon*, the *Lacedæmonians* break the Alliance they had made with the *Persians*; they carry the War into *Asia*, under the Conduct of *Agefilau*; and they are chiefly prompted to it by *Tissaphernes*, who betrays his Master, and make a secret Treaty with them. The Treason of that General is plain and certain, though the King is not willing to believe it (40). But in the Life of *Agefilau*, it is *Artaxerxes* who begins to make Preparations against the *Greeks*: but he is prevented with so much Diligence, that *Agefilau* gets with his Troops into *Asia*, before the *Persian* Governors hear of his setting out. *Tanta celeritate usus est, ut prius in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit quam regis Satrapæ cum scirent profectum* (41). *Tissaphernes*, as well as the rest, is surprized and confounded; he desires a Truce; he seems to desire it only to conclude a Peace; but

at the bottom he seeks only to gain time in order to raise Troops: he obtains a Truce for three Months, but all his Thoughts are bent on War; and afterwards he makes no step that looks like a Collusion. It is true, he is not so happy in penetrating into the Designs of his Enemy, and in defending the Provinces that the King of *Persia* trusted him with; but he does what he can, if the Historian may be credited. I have not found any Commentators that charge him with that gross Contradiction. Lastly, in the Life of *Conon*, *Pharnabazus* has the Command of the *Persians* against *Agefilau*; but in the Life of the latter, the Name of *Pharnabazus* is not so much as once mentioned: and thus the same Author, in one place, gives *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* the whole care of resisting; and in another place he gives it all to *Tissaphernes*. It may be said, that he would have lessened the Glory of *Agefilau*, if he had owned the Treason of *Tissaphernes*. But if that Reason is good, we must not place him among Historians; he deserves only the Title of Panegyrist, with the false Rhetoric of a Sophist. If those two Lives were critically examined, one would be apt to think that they were composed by two Writers who intended to confute each other; and yet they are the Production of one and the same Pen.

The Life of *Conon*, written by *Cornelius Nepos*, differs from *Justin's* Relation in many things, as I have already shewed. I must farther take notice of a Difference that is to be found between *Justin* and the Life of *Agefilau*, written by *Cornelius Nepos*. According to *Justin*, Fortune managed herself lo between *Agefilau* and *Conon*, that they were equal in all things, so far that the one did not overcome the other (42). *Cornelius Nepos* says the quite contrary, though he affects to suppress *Conon's* Name. He does not only relate some Events, which shew, in a very sensible manner, that *Agefilau* beat the *Persians*, without saying that the latter ever had any Advantage; but he tells us, in express words, that it was agreed on all Hands, that *Agefilau* was the Conqueror (43). He adds, that That Prince, at the Head of a victorious Army, was fully persuaded that he should be able to subdue all *Persia* (44). I forgot to observe, that, according to *Justin*, the *Lacedæmonians* recalled *Agefilau*, when they found themselves blocked up by the Enemies after the Battle of *Haliartus*, where *Lysander* was killed. They were under Apprehensions for their City, says he, wherefore they recalled *Agefilau*, who was doing great things in *Asia*. *Quod metuens Lacedæmonit regem suum Agefilau ex Asia qui ibi magnas res gerebat ad defensionem patriæ arcessit* (45). If he had said no more than this, he would not have been much to blame; but he says, some Pages before, that the recalling of *Agefilau* was resolved upon before the Battle of *Cnidus*, and that the loss of that Battle did so encourage the *Athenians* and the *Thebans*, that they declared War against the *Lacedæmonians*, and that they won a Battle wherein *Lysander* was killed. This is overthrowing the Order of Events: the Battle of *Haliartus* preceded that of *Cnidus* by one Year. Thus it appears, that *Justin* fell into the Sophism *à non causa pro causa*, which is more common still among Historians than among the Peripatetics, as I have said elsewhere (46).

(42) I have quoted and criticized *Justin's* Words above in Citat. (28).

(43) Sic in *Asia* veritatis est ut omnium opinione victor duce- retur. Cornel. Nepos in *Agefilau*, cap. 3. fin.

(44) Quum victori præfuit exercitui, maximamque habere fiduciam regni Persarum potius di. Id. ibid. cap. 4.

(45) Justin. lib. 6, cap. 4.

(46) Above, at the end of the last Remark of the Article CAUSSIN.

CONRAD (HERIMANNUS). We have under this Name a *Latin* Speech, in which the United Provinces are very ill treated [A]. It was printed at *Molshheim*, about the Year 1618. The Author assures us, he had born Arms ever since the Battle of *Pavia*. *Berneggerus* thinks it is the Production of a Jesuit (a).

[A] A *Latin* Speech, wherein the United Provinces are very ill treated.] He accuses them of taking no Care of Religion, but as far as it appears useful to them to aggrandize themselves. 'Ordines Belgii potentissimos Atheismi præfidenter arcessit, nec Religionem curæ habere dicit, nisi quatenus ad am-

plandum imperium utilis esse videtur (1). — He arrogantly charges their High Mightinesses with 'Atheism, and with want of concern for Religion, unless so far as seems calculated to promote their Power.'

(1) Bernegger. in Tuba Pacis, pag. 271.

CONRRARUS

CONRRARUS (GREGORY), the Pope's Prothonotary, was one of the learned Men of the XVth Century. We have a Letter, which *Poggius* writ to him, in answer to the Objections that were made against his Book *de Nobilitate*. Among the Letters of *Candidus Decembrius*, not printed, there is one written by our *Conrrarus*, to the learned *Cicelia* of *Gonzaga*, wherein he congratulates her for despising the Pleasures of the World, to consecrate herself to God; and exhorts her to read no longer the Poets, which *Victorinus*, her Preceptor, had made her so fond of, but to read the Treatises of the Holy Fathers about Virginity and Contineny. He recommends several Works of the Fathers to her, and particularly a Treatise of *St Basil*, which *Ambrosius Camaldulensis* had translated into Latin, and the Books of *Salvian*, *de Providentia Dei*, which he (*Conrrarus*) had found in Germany, and brought into Italy, when he returned from the Council of *Basil* (a). He speaks of *Ambrosius Camaldulensis* as of an excellent Man, who died before he attained to Old-age (b) [A].

(a) Cujus libros de Providentia Dei è Concilio Basileensi rediens, de Germanorum ergastulis in Italiam deportavi.

(b) Ex Museo Italico Mabillon. Tom. I. pag. 198.

[A] He speaks of *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, as of an excellent Man, who died before he attained to Old-Age. These are his Words: 'Multa quidem utilia ex Doctoribus Ecclesiasticis egregie transtulit, & plura transtulisset, ni eum à laboribus humanis immatura mors sustulisset. — He had made an excellent Translation of many useful things from the

Doctors of the Church, and he would have proceeded farther, had not an untimely Death prevented his carrying on so laudable a Work.' This may serve to refute those who make *Ambrosius* live till the Year 1490, and may be added to the Reasons I have alleged against them in his Article, Remark [E].

CONSTANCE, a City of Germany, situated between two Lakes formed by the *Rhine*, has very long preserved the Form of a Republic; and the better to maintain it's Liberty, which the Princes of the House of *Austria* would fain have taken from it, it entered into a Confederacy with the Cities of *Zurich*, *Lindau*, and *Überlingen*. It abolished Popery in the Year 1523; but, being put under the Ban of the Empire in 1548, it was so pressed by the Emperor *Charles V*, that it was forced to submit to him; and then the greatest Part of the Protestants, and particularly *Ambrose Blaurer*, their chief Minister, retired to other Places. From that time *Constance* has belonged to the House of *Austria* (a); and *Moreri* is very much mistaken, who says, in two Places, that it was an Imperial Town. It joined with the League of *Smalcald* in 1531 (b); and no doubt this was one Motive to *Charles V* to subdue it after he had vanquished the League. The *Swedes*, under the Command of Marshal *Horn*, besieged *Constance* in 1633, but could not take it. The Besieged wrote a Journal, in which they have inserted abundance of Miracles, or extraordinary Observations of the Divine Protection, which appeared in their Favour during the Siege (c) [A]. A Protestant has criticized a little upon this [B].

(a) Taken from Matthieu Dreflerus, *Isag. Hist. Parte V. pag. 196, & seq.*

(b) Munster in Cosmogr. pag. m. 397.

(c) Spanheim, *Mercure Suisse*, pag. 372.

[A] The *Swedes* besieged it in 1633. — The besieged wrote a Journal, wherein they inserted abundance of Miracles — which appeared in their Favour during the Siege. The principal ones were, I. The Advantages obtained in the weakest parts of the City, above their Hopes. II. The Courage and incredible Resolution of their Citizens and Soldiers, besides the good Understanding kept up between them. III. The frequent and seasonable Convoys thrown at different times into the Town, and the wonderful Concurrence of favourable Winds to forward them, although the Air of the Climate is commonly otherwise, and their Lake subject to frequent Storms in those Months. IV. The little damage done by the Grenados, and red hot Bullets, notwithstanding the prodigious Number thrown into the Town, which were sufficient to reduce the City to Ashes, and it's Inhabitants to Beggary. V. The extraordinary Height of the *Rhine*, which was wont to fall as soon as the Heat of the Summer was over, but now continued to swell, and furnished one of the City Mills so abundantly with Water, that they had enough to supply the Necessities of the besieged, throughout the whole Siege: which was confirmed by the Report of the Millers, that this Flood of Water ran off as soon as the Enemy were dislodged, and the Foreign Troops dismissed. VI. The most Contemplative added, that the fourth Day of the Siege they saw the Blessed Virgin, in open Day, soaring aloft over the Church of the *Augustines*, with infinite Splendor. The *Swedish* Centinels are also produced in the same Journal, as having seen the like Apparitions, and the Appearance of a Face more than Angelical, sliding along the Walls, near the Loop Holes, from the Tower of *Reuenegg* to the Gate of *Creutzlingen* (1).

[B] A Protestant has criticized a little upon this. *Frederic Spanheim*, who was Minister at Geneva when he wrote the *Swiss Mercury*, and furnished me with the preceeding Remark, adds:

The *Swedes* found nothing like this, neither in their Inventory, nor by the Report of their Men; and they observe, that the Author of the Journal was often forgetful, not remembering, in the Conclusion of his Narrative, what he had confessed at the beginning of it, neither the Terror of their Men, nor the Ruins of the City, nor the Numbers in the Hospitals, nor the Registers of the Dead, which are sufficient to shew the Effects of the Grenados. They reckon also, as the most dangerous Apparitions, which they saw during the Siege, the Entrance of so many Troops into the Town, by favour of the Lake, the want of Boats, and the Breadth of the Lake, preventing their People from disputing the Passage at such a Distance. Indeed the besieged themselves charged their Registers with Five thousand five hundred Men that entered the Town, during the Siege, besides Count *de Wolffegg's* Regiment, which was in Garrison there, before the Arrival of the *Swedes*. The City of *Überlingen* furnished them with Two hundred Men; *Lindau* Four hundred; *Bregenz* Two hundred; Colonel *de Meris* One thousand Two hundred; the Regiment of *Embs* Five hundred; the Regiment of *Altringen* Five hundred; Colonel *Comargo* One thousand; Serjeant Major *de Reinach* One thousand, and his Lieutenant Five hundred. The *Swedes* imagine that such powerful Succours, so often repeated, together with all necessary Provisions, were not only sufficient to keep their Ground behind good Curtains, against Five or Six thousand Men, who had the Face to besiege them, in the midst of so many Difficulties, and in a Foreign Country; but also to have drove them out of the Field, if these Auxiliary Troops had been as tender of their Honour, as they were of their Persons (2).

You see then that this Minister rejects as false one part of the Miracles, which the Inhabitants of this

(2) Ibid. pag. 209, and following.

(1) Spanheim, *Mercure Suisse*, pag. 207, and following.

this besieged City gloried in. The other part is of such a Nature, that there is no Country, where such like things may not be observed, where Winds, Rains, the Rise of Rivers, &c. have not favoured or destroyed Military Enterprizes. Now as there is no probability, that God should supersede the general Laws of Nature, but in Cases where the Preservation of his Children requires it, we ought not to take for a Miracle, what happens equally among Believers and Unbelievers. Yet in all Religions People are strangely inclined to think themselves favoured by miraculous Benefits, and perhaps if *Frederic Spanheim* had writ a History of a Siege, happily situated by a Protestant Town, he would have made Observations not unlike those which he now confutes (3). There are some Ministers, who see a Miracle in all Events, which concern their Party. Mr *Jurieu*, for example, finds one every where (4), and lately in what happened to the Inhabitants of the *Cevennes* (5). But People, who are acquainted with the Military Art, and know the Situation of the Country, the Disposition of the neigh-

bouring Cities, and all the Particulars of the Insurrection of the *Cevennois*, discover nothing supernatural in the Continuance and Circumstances of it. I will not enter into the Question, whether a Man, who is persuaded, that a certain Concurrence of second Causes has ruined the Designs of the Enemy, ought to make others believe there was a Miracle in it, and whether he can justify himself, by pretending, that thereby he excites more confidence in the Mind, and greater thankfulness for the Divine Protection; but I dare affirm, that if he hopes by this means to engage Princes to enter into War, he will find himself greatly deceived. Mr *Jurieu* may cry out as long as he will, that the Preservation of the *Camisars* is a continued Series of Miracles. The Princes will not stir in it, if other political Reasons, which they know better than he, and do not want his Advice in, do not engage them to assist those People. They will see clearly into an Affair. Now Miracles to come are an Object of Faith, and consequently an obscure Object.

(3) Compare this with what has been said in the *Continuation des Penées Diverses*, pag. 312.

(4) Ibid. pag. 313.

(5) See a Book which he published in 1705, intitled *Acis aux Puissances de l'Europe*, &c.

COORNHERT, a Dutch Author in the XVIth Century: See KOORNHERT.

CORBINELLI (JAMES), born at Florence, of an illustrious and ancient Family [A], retired into France in the Reign of *Catherine de Medicis*. That Queen, to whom he had the Honour to be related, placed him near her Son, the Duke of Anjou, as a Man of a polite and learned Judgment (a). He daily read *Polybius* and *Tacitus* to him, and often the *Discourses* and the *Prince of Machiavel*, if we may believe *Davila* (b). He did not flatter his Master like a weak and interested Courtier, but spoke the Truth boldly, and made his Court without Meanness. He was looked upon as a Man resembling the ancient *Romans* [B], who were upright, and incapable of any Bafeness. He had a great share in the Esteem of Chancellor de l'Hospital [C]. He was a Friend and a professed Patron of learned Men; so far, that, though he was not very rich, yet he spent part of his Estate to get their Writings printed [D]. But his Talents were not

(a) Duplex, Hist. de Henri IV, ad ann. 1589, n. 1, says, That James Corbinelli, a Man of exquisite Learning, had been with King Henry III, in Poland, to converse with him about good Literature.

(b) Lib. vi. pag. m. 350, ad ann. 1579. The Duke of Anjou was then King of France.

[A] He was of an illustrious and ancient Family. Here are the Words of the Preface prefixed to the *Maxims of Livy* collected by Mr Corbinelli: 'He is originally of one of the most ancient and noble Families of Florence; and in the time of the Republic his Ancestors held the first Places among the Lords of the Government.'

See *Claudius Malingre* Sieur de St Lazare, in an Epistle dedicatory to the noble and illustrious Mr Peter de Corbinelli, Counsellor and Steward to the King (1). This was one of James Corbinelli's Sons.

[B] They looked on him as a Man resembling the ancient Romans. In the Preface that I have mentioned, these Words of *Justus Lipsius* are cited: 'Gentem vestram amavi semper, & ex ea illos maxime qui vetere illa Italia digni, qualem te esse, mi Corbinelli, video (2). — I have always had a singular esteem for those of your Nation, and more especially for them who, like you, my Corbinelli, are worthy of old Italy.' The Passage is curtailed; I must set it down entire: It will appear by it, that Peter Victorius had a great Esteem for our Corbinelli.

Qualem te esse, mi Corbinelli, non solum ex igniculis literarum tuarum quos sparsos colligo, video, sed etiam ex testimonio viri magni Victorii qui de indole tua ad virtutem magna prædicat nec vana. Such as I find you to be, my Corbinelli, not only from those bright Beams of Learning, which you diffuse, but also from the Testimony of the Great Victorius, who makes honourable mention of your virtuous Disposition. That Letter of Lipsius informs us, that Corbinelli had a Brother, who came to an unfortunate end. 'Fratri tui μεγαλοψυχῳ historiam & triste exitum legi: quid miremur? hodie illæ viæ, & nil nisi σκολιδὸν videmus à plebique his Dynastis (3). — I have read the History, and unhappy Fate of your brave Brother: Why should we wonder? Such are the present times, and we meet with nothing but Perverfeness from most of these great Men.' It is great odds, but that he perished at Florence in some Republican Enterprize.

[C] He was very much in the Esteem of the Chancellor de l'Hospital. It appears by the Epistle in Latin Verse, which that Chancellor in-

scribed to Corbinelli, not only that he was better pleased with his Conversation than with that of any of his other Friends; but also that Corbinelli was almost the only Courtier whom the Court had not spoiled, and who knew how to prefer useful Knowledge before Interest and Fortune. These are the Words of the Author of the Preface, and here are some of That Chancellor's Verses:

Corbinelle, libens te plus fruar omnibus uno,
Præsentisque animum sermone oblecter amici.
Tu servare modum nostri prope solus in aula,
Et præferre bonas inhonestis quæstibus artes (4).

Thee, Corbinelli, all my Soul desires,
Thy Conversation loves, thy Worth admires:
For few, like thee, in that exalted Scene,
To Virtue steady, keep the Golden Mean.

The Letter, that John Michael Brutus writ to James Corbinelli, deserves to be read: it is printed with some other Letters of that Author.

[D] He spent part of his Estate to get several Writings printed. The Book of Dante on the Italian Language was published by his Care (§a), besides many other curious Works, that would have remained in Oblivion, if he had not published them (5).

[(§a) He not only published this Book of Dante from the sole Manuscript extant, which was in his Title Live hands, but he also enriched it with Italian Annotations, which follow the Text in the Edition of Paris in 8vo, 1577. In one of the Observations of Marhal de Bassompierre upon some Lives of the Historian Duplex, which I shall set down in Remark [H] of this Article, it is supposed, as a certain Truth, that Corbinelli was banished Florence for a State-Crime, which is directly contrary to the Words of J. A. de Baif, in his Epistle in Verse to Henry III, where, speaking of this Corbinelli, he says, without any Misdemeanour banished from Florence. For the rest, this Epistle is in the fourth Leaf of the Book already mentioned, intitled: 'Dantis Aligerii præcellentissimi Poetæ

(4) Epist. 6a

(5) Pref. to the *Maximes de*

not confined to the Exercises of the Muses. He was fit for Business, and was no less a Man of Courage and Resolution, than a Man of Management and Intrigue [E]. *Rapbael Corbinelli*, his Son, Secretary to *Mary de Medicis*, Queen of France, was the Father of Mr *Corbinelli*, who is at present one of the best and finest Wits of France (c) [F]. See his Elogy in a Preface, which has afforded me, not only the Materials, but also the Expressions of this Article. It is observable, that it was not known *what Religion James Corbinelli was of* [G]; which might make one suspect, that his Religion consisted only in being an honest Man. The *Maréchal de Bassompierre* inveighed against him [H].

(c) Taken from the Advertisement prefixed to a Book, intitled, *Les Anciens Historiens Latins réduits en Maximes*, printed in the Year 1694. Father *Boubourt* is said to be the Author of that Preface.

* Poetæ de vulgari Eloquentia Libri duo. Nunc primum ad vetusti & unici scripti Codicis exemplar editi. Ex Libris Corbinelli: Ejusdemque Annotationibus illustrati. Ad Henricum Franciæ Pontificem Regem Christianissimum. Paris, Jo. Borbon. 1577. REM. CRIT.]

[E] He was a Man of Courage and Resolution, as well as a Man of Management and Intrigue. * *Peter Matthieu* says, in his History of Henry IV, that the King came near Paris about an Enterprize contrived by his Servants, who promised to open a Gate to him. He knew by their means, adds the Historian, all that passed; and the most private Advices were carried by *Corbinelli*, a resolute Man, and extremely desirous to see the King's Cause triumph over Rebellion. *Corbinelli*, says the same Historian, wrote down all that he heard, and carried it publicly in his hand, as a Paper of common Business, or of a Law-suit. His bold and confident Face deceived the eyes of the Guards that were at the Gates; and by shewing that he trusted every Body, he was suspected by no Body (6). * Another Historian speaks of him in this manner: 'The King had many faithful Friends in the City, who gave him notice of every thing that passed, and kept themselves in a Readiness to facilitate his Entrance. Among the rest, *James Corbinelli* contributed to it with great Art and Diligence. He always carried his Advices in his hand like pieces of a Law-suit, to make himself less suspected by reason of his Boldness. Pressing his Majesty about the Execution of his Design, he only wrote these three Words to him, Come, Come, Come, written only in as much Paper as was needful to contain them, and he put them into a Quill sealed up, which the Messenger carried in his Mouth. — This *Corbinelli* was an Italian, of one of the most ancient and noble Families of Florence. He fled into France for having been accessory to the Conspiracy of *Pandolfo Puccio*, as *Thuanus* observes in his History (7).'

(7) Duplex, Hist. de Henri IV. pag. 22. ad ann. 1589.

(8) It is intitled, *Extrait de tous les beaux endroits des Ouvrages des plus célèbres Auteurs de ce Temps, and printed at Amsterdam in 1681.*

A REFLECTION upon the Parallel between the Ancients and the Moderns.

[F] Mr *Corbinelli* — is at present one of the best and finest Wits in France. The Preface does not observe that he published a Collection, in several Volumes, of the finest Passages that are to be found in the Works of the greatest Wits of this Age (8): wherefore I mention it. As for what remains, I refer my Reader to the Preface, which contains Mr *Corbinelli's* Character, described in a very delicate manner, and which does him a great deal of Honour. The pains, that he has taken to reduce the ancient Historians into Maxims, will contribute both to their Glory, and to the Instruction of the Public. The Author of the Preface very justly says, 'That those, who are good Judges, will take delight to see, that a vast number of Thoughts and Maxims, wherewith the Moderns adorn themselves, have been stolen from the Ancients, and that this alone will be sufficient to make the Merit of those great Men appear, and perhaps to reclaim some prepossessed Persons, who have not a due Respect and Admiration for Antiquity.' I make no doubt that, if the Ancients should be compared with the Moderns, taking their Thoughts singly and by themselves, one might easily be convinced that the Advantage does not lie on the side of the latter; for I do not believe that any body has had any noble and nice Thoughts in this Age, but what may be found in the Books of the Ancients. The most sublime

Metaphysical, and Moral Conceptions, which we admire in some Moderns, are to be met with in the Books of the ancient Philosophers; and therefore our Age cannot pretend to the Superiority, unless a whole Work of a Modern be compared with a whole Work of an Ancient. For can any one doubt, that a Work, which equals other Works, when the fine Parts of it are compared with the fine parts of them, will be inferior to them, if the weak things, contained in it, are more numerous and more gross than the weak things contained in the others. Can any one doubt, that, though *Des Carter* had found all the parts of his System in the Books of the Ancients, he would be more admirable than they, since he knew how to join together so many scattered things, and how to form a methodical System out of several Materials, which had no Connexion one with another?

Note, that Mr *Corbinelli* kept Correspondence by Letters with the Count de *Bufl-Rabutin*: This appears by the Letters of the latter, among which there are several Fragments of what Mr *Corbinelli* had writ to him: His Name is only denoted by a G.

[G] It was not known what Religion James Corbinelli was of. *Thuanus* says so: These are his Words; It was not known what Religion Corbinelli was of: it was a political Religion, according to the Florentine way; but he was a Man of good Morals (9). This Testimony is of great weight for two Reasons: I. Because *Thuanus* was a grave Man, and a Man of Probity; II. Because he was very well acquainted with *Corbinelli*. He had already said of him; 'I have been very well acquainted with Mr *Corbinelli*, a Florentine. He was a great Wit. He had a great Capacity for Business, and an excellent Judgment. He married an Englishwoman, by whom he had some Daughters, who are still at Court, in the Service of some Ladies. The Countess of *Fiesque* has one of them. He had but a small Fortune; but he lived very frugally, and went very neatly dressed. He was a great Friend of the Abbot d'Elbene (10).'

(9) See *Thuanus*, pag. m. 35.

(10) Ib. pag. 30.

[H] The *Maréchal de Bassompierre* inveighed against him. The Passage of *Duplex*, which I have mentioned above, gave occasion to it: 'There is nothing more cold and impertinent, the *Maréchal censures him in this manner* (11), than that whole Chapter: Was there no faithful Frenchman to be named, without alledging that Man, who was banished from Florence for Treason? What a fine Invention, to carry Advices in one's hand! They were not very important, since That, which he describes as most excellent, was Come, Come, Come. Had not the King been a very cunning Man, if he had minded such Advice? What has the History of France to do with *Corbinelli's* Extraction? And he must be an honest Man, since he was one of those who conspired against his Prince with *Pandolfo Puccio*, and was hanged on a Hook at the Palace Windows for his Crime.' Observe, that this Conspiracy, as heinous as it may be, does not invalidate what others say of *Corbinelli's* good Morals. State Conspiracies are the greatest Crimes that can be committed, and yet some Persons suffer themselves to be drawn into them, by Motives which they think to be very good, morally speaking: so true is it, that Man's Conscience is subject to the most deplorable Illusions. *Brutus*, and several of those, whom he engaged to murder *Cæsar*, were Men of good Morals, and of eminent Virtue.

(11) Remarques sur les vies de Henri IV & Louis XIII, de Duplex, pag. 11.

CORCEONE (ROBERT), Cardinal of the Title of *St Stephen*, on Mount *Calvus*, was an Englishman. He is spoken of in *Moreri's* Dictionary (a); but no mention is made there of what I am going to say. Having been sent into France by Pope *Innocent III*, for the Business of the *Crusade*, as well against the *Albigenses* as against the *Saracens*, he held a Council at Paris in the Year 1212, wherein

VOL. II

7 A

he

(a) At the Word *Curson*.

he caused good Regulations to be made for the Reformation of Manners. He forbade the Secular Clergy to engage themselves by Oath not to lend Books, or Houses, or other things, and not to borrow any thing, and not to be Security for any body. He forbade the Regulars to engage themselves by Oath not to lend Books, provided they took care to be indemnified, or to have the Books restored to them. He ordered them also not to lie two and two together [A]; and he made the same Prohibition to the Nuns, to avoid, as he said, the Danger of Incontinency. He held other Councils; he appointed Preachers for the *Crusade*, and very much tormented the Heretics; but he shewed so much Bitterness against the Clergy, and was so ready to give the Cross to all sorts of People, that Complaints were made against it at the Court of Rome. He made himself so odious by his Attempts upon the Rights of the Gallican Church, that they appealed from his Proceedings during the Council that he convoked at *Beziers*. The Deputies of the Clergy of France carried on their Appeal vigorously, and so confounded that Cardinal in a General Assembly held at Rome, that the Pope desired them to mitigate a little the grievous Complaints they made (b). Corceone brought many People, who had taken the Cross upon them, in the Year 1214, to *Simon de Montfort*, who made War with the *Albigenses* (c). He died in *Palestine*, where he had followed the *Crusade*, as may be seen in *Moreri*. Among other Works, he is the Author of a Treatise on this Question, *Whether Origin is in Paradise or no*.

(b) Taken from Spondanus's Ecclesiastical Annals, ad ann. 1212, n. 8.

(c) Id. Spondanus, ad ann. 1214, n. 2.

[A] He ordered them not to lie two and two together. Here is a Passage out of *Peter St Romauld's Abregé du Tresor Chronologique* (1): 'In the Year 1212, a Council was celebrated at Paris under Cardinal de Corceone; the Decrees whereof are to be found in Spondanus, and this among others: *Interdicimus Regularibus & Monialibus ne bini, vel binæ, in lecto jaceant propter metum incontinentiæ*. A little Book was printed in the Year 1643, written by a pious Priest, and approved by

four Doctors: It is intituled, *A Christian Advice concerning a Matter of great Importance*: where, in the Author greatly desires, that the said Decree may be carefully observed, because of the Inconveniences, which he specifies as modestly as he can. That Book, though written never so modestly, must needs create an Indignation against the Law concerning Celibacy, since it produces such evil Consequences.

(1) St Romauld. Abregé Chronol. & Hist. Tom. III, pag. m. 127, 128.

CORDIER (MATURIN), in Latin *Corderius*, lived in the XVIth Century, and was one of the best Schoolmasters that could be desired; for he understood the Latin Tongue very well, was a Man of Virtue, and diligently applied himself to his Function; being as careful to form his Scholars to Wisdom, as to good Latin. He employed his long Life in teaching Children, as well at Paris, as at Nevers, Bourdeaux, Geneva, Neuchâstel, Lausanne, and lastly again at Geneva (a), where he died the eighth of September (b) 1564, at the Age of Eighty five Years, having taught Children of the sixth Class but three or four Days before his Death. He studied Divinity for some time at Paris, in the College of Navarre, about the Year 1528, after teaching a Class there; but he quitted that Study for his old Employment of a Grammarian (c). He taught at Nevers in 1534, 1535, and 1536 (d). Calvin, who had been his Pupil, at Paris, in the College of La Marche (e), dedicated to him his Commentary upon the first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* (f). The Country of Maturin Cordier is not exactly known. Some say he was of Normandy, and others of *Percbe* (g). He published several Books, which were very useful for the Instruction of School-Boys [A].

(a) Beza's Life of Calvin, or his Preface to Calvin's Commentary on *Job*, pag. m. 4.

(b) In the Latin Editions of Calvin's Life, it is 6 nonas Septembris; but it must be read idus and not nonas.

(c) Laun. Hist. Coll. Navar. pag. 200.

(d) Id. *ibid.*

(e) Beza's Life of Calvin, pag. 4. In a former Edition he had said, that it was in the College of St Barbe.

(f) Id. pag. 51.

(g) La Croix du Maine, pag. 318.

[A] He published several Books, which were very useful for the Instruction of School-Boys. Du Verdier *vau Privas* has given us the Titles of the following: *Christian Epistles*, at Lyons, in 16mo, by Loys Tachet, 1557; *Sentences extracted from the Holy Scriptures for the Instruction of Children*, printed in Latin and French, by Thibault Payen, 1551; *Spiritual Songs, Twenty six in number*, printed at Lyons, in 16mo, by John Cariot, in 1560 (1); *A Looking Glass for Children, to form them to Civility and Virtue* (2), at Paris, in 16mo, by John Bonfons; Cato's Latin *Distichs*, translated into French, printed at Lyons, in 8vo, by Thibault Payen, more than a hundred times, and since by others, being a Book Children commonly use at School (3). He adds, that Maturin Cordier's Colloquies have been translated from the Latin into French, by Gabriel Chappuis. There is no Book more useful to make Children speak Latin. It is writ in a pure Stile, and full of good Instructions. It has been printed an infinite Number of Times. La Croix du Maine observes, that (4) this Author writ, in French Verse, *Remonstrances and Admonitions to the King, and the States of his Kingdom*, printed in the Year 1561, at G, that is Geneva. Gesner, who published his *Bibliothèque* in 1545, says, that Cordier taught at that time at *Neuchâstel*: he gives us the Titles of some School-Books, which he had published (5), which I shall not mention, except this one, 'De corrupti sermonis apud Gallos emendatione, & Latine lo-

quendi ratione, sive de Latini sermonis varietate & modis loquendi Lib. 1. adduntur autem etiam ipsæ phrasæ corruptæ, & Gallicæ interpretationes locutionum: ut in posterum videntur, earumque loco puræ ac elegantes eloquendi formulæ doceantur, quæ quidem non temere, sed secundum locos communes aliquot digestæ sunt. Plurimum sanè prodest hoc opus ad sermonem & variandum & locupletandum. In Latinis formulis sola contentum est linguæ proprietate: neque verborum fucum, neque longas & obscuras periphrases affectat, cum potissimum in puerorum gratiam conscriptum sit, propter quos etiam passim permulta pie & Christianè vivendi hortamenta interjiciuntur (6). — Of the corrupt Manner of speaking Latin amongst the French, and its Emendation; or the Variety of the Latin Language, and Forms of Speech Book 1. To which are added, the corrupt Phrases, and the French Translations; that they may be avoided for the Future, and pure and elegant Forms taught in their Place, digested in a regular Manner of Common-Place. This Work conduces much to the varying and enriching Discourse. In the Latin Forms it only aims at Propriety of Speech, not affecting a Pomp of Words, or tedious and obscure Circumlocutions, the Work being composed chiefly for the use of Boys, for whom there are also inserted many Pious and Christian Precepts of Life. Gesner informs us, that this Book was printed at Paris, by Robert Stephens, in 1536, in 4to; and at Basil, by

(1) In Epit. Cels. p. m. 596, marks the Edition of 1557, in 16mo.

(2) La Croix du Maine, pag. 318, observes, that this Book, since the Edition of Poitiers, in 1550, has been printed at Paris, by John Ruell, and others, in 1560, under the Title of *Civilitæ Puérile*.

(3) Du Verdier Biblioth. Franç. pag. 361.

(4) La Croix du Maine, pag. 318.

(5) De Quantitate Syllabarum, de Latino Declinatio primum Oratio, &c.

(6) Gesner Bibli. folio 507 verso.

by *Wessbemer*, in 1537, in 4to. His Abbreviators ought to know, in the Year 1583, what I am going to mention. *Maturin Cordier* made many Emendations to this Work in the fourth Edition, printed by *Robert Stephens*. He was informed, that the Examples of ill Phrases, which he had set down in order to avoid them, had been a Prejudice to the young Scholars, because, by the natural Inclination we have to what is bad, they took more notice of those barbarous Expressions, which served to divert them, than of the polite Phrases. 'In Libelli nostri lectione unum esse hoc malum permulti affirmabant, quod pueri (ut natura in deteriorem partem ferre prout sumus) ridendi ac jocandi studio & libentius & sæpius in legendo corrupto sermone & Barbaris locutionibus, quam Latinis ediscendis, sese oblectarent. Ex quo fieri dicebant, ut nonnulli formandæ juventutis magistri discipulos omnino prohiberent ab ejus libri lectione: videlicet

ne sermonis vitiiis, quæ nondum audierant, seinel in tenera ætate imbuti, ea vix umquam postea deponebant (7). — This Objection was made by several, that (as we are naturally prone to Degeneracy) Boys, to divert themselves, took more Pleasure, and were fonder of corrupt and barbarous Phrases, than of pure and polite Language. Whence it happened, say they, that some Masters strictly forbade their Scholars reading that Book: least, being tingured in their Infancy with a corrupt Manner of speaking, which they should not otherwise have known, they would scarcely ever after leave it. He was often advised to suppress this Part of the Book, and at last he consented to do it. The Title of this Book was altered in the fourth Edition, after this manner (8): *Commentarius puerorum de quotidiano sermone, qui prius liber de corrupti sermonis Emendatione dicebatur.*

(7) Matur. Cordierus Prefat. Comment. puerorum de quotidiano Sermone. (8) I know not the Date of it, the Author not mentioning it in his Preface. My Edition is of Paris. Ex Officina Roberti Stephani, 1580, in 8vo, which was made sixteen Years after the Death of Cordier: Mr de Lamoignon, Hiji. C. II. Navarr. pag. 701, makes the fourth Edition to be 1500, apud Robertum Stephanum.

CORICIUS (JOHN) lived very agreeably at Rome, in the Pontificate of Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII. He made himself beloved by learned Men, because he had a great Affection for them; and they praised him so much, that they procured him a very great Reputation. He had them very often together in his Garden (a), and afforded a noble Exercise to all the Poets, whom the Liberality of Leo X had invited to Rome (b); for he appointed a Combat of Poetry [A]; which was celebrated every Year on St Anne's Day (c): the Subject of it was an Elogy upon that Saint, upon the Virgin Mary, and JESUS CHRIST (d). He fell into the Hands of the Soldiers, who took the City of Rome in the Year 1527; and it cost him a very great Ranfom (e). He had hid part of his Money under the Door of the Court of his House: no body knew it but the Mason, who had closed up the Hole. That Mason desired him to lend him Twenty five Pistoles, which he wanted to redeem himself out of the Soldiers Hands; and not being able to obtain them, he revealed the whole Secret to a Spanish Captain. That Captain went to Coricius's House, took the Master aside on several Pretences, and carried the Money away. Coricius complained of it to the Generals, but to no purpose; so that finding himself reduced to great Necessity, he endeavoured to get out of Rome; which he did after many Difficulties. He was maintained for some time at Verona by the Liberality of Calystus Amadeus (f); and as he was preparing himself to return to Triers, his native Country (g), he fell sick, and died overwhelmed with Grief and Vexation (h).

(a) Taken from Pierius Valerianus, lib. 2. de Litterator. infelicit. pag. m. 87.

(b) Paulus Jovius Elog. cap. 103. pag. m. 241.

(c) Pierius Valerianus, ubi supra.

(d) Jovius, ubi supra.

(e) Pier. Valerianus, ubi supra.

(f) Calysti Amadei ejus urbis propædæditi libralitate sustinetur. Id. ibid. pag. 83.

(g) Jovius, ubi supra.

(h) Taken from Pierius Valerianus, ubi supra.

[A] Learned Men praised him very much — He appointed a Combat of Poetry.] I will quote Paul Jovius for it: 'Franciscus Arfillus scripsit — lepidum item libellum de Poetis urbanis mihi tanquam veteri sodali dedicatum (1), quum Leone ingenio liberaliter aridente, multi undique poetæ illustres, nequaquam ad inanes spes, in Urbem confluxissent, & pulcherrimo quodam certamine à singulis in una tantum statuae materia scriberetur, qua carminum farragine Coritius homo Trevir, humani juris libellis præpositus, uti perhumanus poetarum hospes, ac admirator inclaruit; ea scilicet statua insigni marmorea Aureliano in templo dedicata, invitatique vatibus, ut tria numina Christi Dei, & Matris, ac Avæ uno in signo celebrarent (2). — F. Arfillus wrote an ingenious Treatise on the City Poets, dedicated to me as an old Companion; when, by Leo's great Encouragement of Wit, many excellent Poets came from all Parts to Rome, and met with favours they had been promised: The Subject of one Statue was proposed for a Trial of Poetical Skill. In the Collection of which Poems, Coritius, a Gentleman of Treves, is highly extolled for the generous Reception and Patronage he gave to Poets. The Statue was that celebrated one of Marble in the Aurelian Temple, and the Poets were invited to celebrate God the Son, the Virgin Mary, and St Anne, in the same Piece.' Longolius speaks of those Assemblies, and these Entertainments on St Anne's Day, and he even says they once quarrelled there: but does not enter into the Particulars: writing to a Man who was well acquainted with the Affair. 'De eodem Gorytio illud mihi velim diligenter perscribas, æquid fa-

erum Annæ diem anniversario illo studiosorum hominum conventu epulisque celebravit: an vero propter anni superioris dissidium, cœnas facere omnino desierit: an sodalitatem potius illam (scis quam dico) non vocaret: reliquis cœnam dederit. Neque vero quam eos laute splendideque acceperit, quæro: novi hominis magnificentiã, sed quid dictum, quamque frequens convivium eo hominum genere fuerit, qui se academicos & esse & numerari exillimant. Subvercor interdum, ut cum illis in gratiam redierit. Contra cum mihi in mentem venit, illis & cœnas & hortos Epicuri mirum in modum probari, hunc autem mensas non sumptuose minus quam libenter instruere, jam nihil inimicitiarum reliquum esse suspicor. Tu me velim de tota diei illius ratione certior facias (3). — I desire likewise that you would carefully inform me of the same Gorytius, whether he has celebrated the Festival of St Anne, by the Anniversary Entertainment of the Wits, or whether the last Year's Quarrel has induced him to leave it off; or whether he chose not to invite a certain Fraternity, you know at whom I hint. I do not enquire with what Magnificence he entertained. I am no stranger to the Greatness of his Mind; but upon what their Conversation turned, and how oft these would-be Literati met. Sometimes I fear his Reconciliation; but when I reflect how like Epicures these Gentlemen are wonderfully devoted to Gardens and Regalio, and that he entertains with no less Chearfulness than Grandeur, I imagine their Animosity cannot long subsist; from you I desire an Account of the whole Day.'

(3) Longolius Eulst. lib. 2. folio m. 183.

CORNELIA, the Wife of Pompey. See the last Remark of the Article MUCIA.

CORNELLIUS

(a) At the Remark [B].

(b) It is 1532, beginning the Year in January.

(1) See more exactly the Title of *Cornellius's* Book, in the Remark [B] of the Article WECHEL.

(2) Observe, this Mr Du Bourg was of *Auvergne* as well as our *Cornellius*.

(3) Remark [A].

(a) Taken from Mariana, *Chapter 17, Book XVI, of his History of Spain*.

CORNELLIUS (ANTONY), Licentiate of Civil-Law, and Author of a Book, which I have mentioned in the Article WECHEL (a), was a Native of Billi [A], upon the Frontiers of *Auvergne*, and lived in the Time of Francis I. Father Garasse is guilty of many Blunders concerning that Book [B], which was printed off in January 1531 (b), the Author of it was then very young [C].

[A] He was a Native of Billi. I prove this by the Epigram at the end of *Querela infantium* (1). Guillelmi Nuri Judicis Billienlis ad Antonium Cornelli Billiensem utriusque Juris Licentiatum doctiss. Hexastichon.

Olim in te puero quiddam haud vulgare videbar
Perspicere, Antoni, talia signa dabas.
At neque destituis spem tu jam grandior istam,
Imo infinitis vincis ubique modis.
Id tibi testatur facile liber ille, puellus
Intinctos ubi litem instituisse facis

Whilst yet your Genius bloom'd, our hopes began
Of something fair, when ripen'd into Man.
Still as you grew, our Expectations rose,
But your superior Worth no limits knows.
This the strong Sense of your Complaint has
shown,
Where Babes are taught a Language not their own.

[B] Author of a Book — Father Garasse has made many blunders concerning this Book. I have plainly proved this, in the Remark [B] of the Article WECHEL; but since the second Edition of this Dictionary, I have received an Analysis of the *Querela Infantium*, which concludes with these Words: 'Give me leave to draw from hence some Consequences: I. That his Name, Antonius Cornelli, is not a feigned Name, as Father Garasse pretends, in his *Somme Theologique*, pag. 19, and 298: this may be inferred from the Epistle Dedicatory. Is it credible, that a Man disguised would dare to dedicate his Book to Antony du Bourg (2), Lieutenant-Civil of the Prevostie of Paris, and afterwards Chancellor; that he should call him therein his *Mæcenas*, and relate some particulars between that Magistrate and himself? II. The Epigram mentioned above (3), removes all Reason to doubt, that *Cornellius* was not his true Name. A Man, who does not conceal his Country, and to whom the Judge of the Place ad-

dress his Verses, shall he disguise his Name? The least attention to these Circumstances takes off all Suspicion. III. By what has been already said of the Treatise in question, it plainly appears, that it is not so infamous and detestable, as Father Garasse would persuade us. IV. And therefore it is false what that Jesuit says, that the Impression of that vile Book has drawn down the Wrath of God upon the Printer (4). I have observed in another place (5), that there are two Copies of this Book of *Cornellius*, in the Library of the Archbishop of Rheims, and that Mr Bourdelot (6) has done me the favour to send me his Copy. Since that, Mr Lancelot has informed me, that there is also one of them in the Mazarine Library, and he heard there was one in the Royal Library, and in other Places. Another Person has sent me Word, that the Copy in the Mazarine Library, N^o. 2634 is bound in Paste-board covered with red Paper, with another Book, intitled: *Discurso Cattolico & Apologia Historica cavata dal Vecchio e Nuovo Testamento, & ornata de diverse Historie, composta dal eccellente Dottor Camillo Borrello sopra un Giudicio fatto intorno à quella Sentenza di Pilato che li anni passati fu trovata nel l'Aquila Città d'Abruzzo. Opera veramente utile, nella quale si descrivono diversi concetti notabili si di Teologia, come anco d'Historie e d'Annali, ove con molte Autorità e Sentenze de Scrittori approvati si scuopre se detta Sentenza è vera, o no. Drizzata alla Santità di N. S. Sisto V Sommo Pontefice, con la Tavola delle materie principali, & cose più notabili, ch' in essa si contengono. In Napoli, appresso Horatio Salviati, 1588.* This Book is addressed to Paul Jovius (7); and they have taken a great deal of Pains in it, to prove that the Sentence of Pilate, found in the City of Aquila in the Abruzzo, is fictitious.

[C] The Author of it was very young. This may be inferred from these Words, in his Advertisement to the Reader: 'Quod si quid deprehenderit nota dignum pro tua facilitate in meliorem interpretare partem, ETATIQUE meae adscribe atque condona. — If you meet with any thing worthy of Censure, put a favourable Construction upon it, ascribing it to my AGE, and let that plead my Excuse.'

CORONEL (ALPHONSUS), a great Spanish Lord, mistrusting Don Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, formed a Party in Andalusia, to be in a Condition to hold out against his King. He raised Men, fortified Places, and sent his Son-in-law John de la Cerda into Mauritania to desire Assistance. He relied chiefly on the City of Aiguilar, where he commanded. Don Pedro, having taken some other Places from him, prepared himself to lay siege to that, when more urgent Affairs obliged him to march towards Asturia, where one of his Brothers had revolted. But as soon as he had pacified that Province, and the Troubles that were elsewhere, he returned into Andalusia, and attacked Aiguilar. Coronel defended himself with great Vigour for four Months. At last the Town was taken by Assault in the Month of February 1353. He was at Mafes when News was brought him that the Enemies had entered the Town. This did not oblige him to interrupt his Devotions; but he kept there till Mafes was over, and then he shut himself up in a Tower. He was taken there, and tried as a Rebel; I mean, that he was put to Death, as being guilty of High Treason (a). Mary, one of his Daughters, was so zealous for the Preservation of her Chastity, that she chose rather to kill herself, than put that Virtue to any hazard [A]. What she did upon that account is so strange, that I must needs relate it. See the Remark [A].

[A] One of his Daughters — chose rather to kill herself, than to put her Chastity to any Hazard. Her Husband John de la Cerda having in vain sought for Assistance among the Moors of Granada, and among those of Africa, returned into Portugal, where he lived in a mournful Exile. Mary Coronel, his Wife, could not bear his Absence; and, for fear of falling into the Temptations of Nature, killed herself. I cannot express, in our Language, the Invention she made use of; and therefore I shall set down the Latin words of Mariana. 'Ejus uxor

Maria Coronellia, cum mariti absentiam non ferret, ne pravis cupiditatibus cederet, vitam posuit, ardentem forte libidinem igne extinguens adacta per muliebria titione. Dignam meliore seculo feminam, insignem studium castitatis (1). That Author does not contradict himself, in maintaining on the one side, that the Love of Virtue was extraordinary in that Lady, and in supposing on the other, that is likely she was tormented with the heat of the Flesh; for the most ardent Love of Chastity does not necessarily exclude the mechanical Dispositions

(4) Manuscript Memoir, communicated by Mr Lancelot.

(5) In the Remark [B] of the Article WECHEL.

(6) He is first Physician to the Dukes of Burgundy.

(7) It contains 144 Pages.

(1) Mariana, de rebus Hispaniae, lib. 16. cap. 17. pag. 80. Edit. Mogunt. 1619. in quæst.

sitions to Incontinency. That Lady being fully resolved to do nothing against her Duty, and sensibly affected with the Love of Purity, struggled with Nature; but she could not always prevent, nor put a stop to, Temptations. Such a Warfare seemed to her too troublesome, and too dangerous, and brought her into Despair. She exceeded the Evangelical Counsels. We find indeed in the Scripture (2), *If thine Eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy Members should perish, and not that thy whole Body should be cast into Hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy Members should perish, and not that thy whole Body should be cast into Hell:* but we do not find there, that it is lawful to kill one's self to prevent a Temptation. She might have executed that Evangelical Precept, or Counsel, literally, without killing herself. *Origen, Ambrosius Morales*, and some others, performed it in the literal Sense, and did not die of it (§ 2). You have read in the Conferences of a Jesuit (3), 'What an *Albanian* Woman did, not to declare the Secrets of her Friends: after having endured the Rack with an incredible Constancy, she bit her Tongue off, and spit it in the Face of the Tyrant, who had a mind to know of her what she would not tell.' You have also read that Author's Reflexion upon it: *That Woman had reason to fear that her Tongue would serve her an ill Turn, and she did wisely to part with it*

(4). This Reflexion cannot be well applied to the Action of *Mary Coronel*. A more exact Parallel might be drawn between *Porcia*, *Brutus's* Wife, and the Wife of *John de la Cerdá*; but it would contain several Differences. *Porcia*, the Daughter of *Cato Uticensis*, and *Brutus's* Wife, killed herself by swallowing live-coals (5); but it was only out of Vanity, not to out-live her Husband, and to shew herself a faithful Disciple of the Sect of the Stoics, which her Father and her Husband had been so fond of.

[§ 2.] It is easy to conceive how Men may perform this Operation upon themselves; but it does not appear in what manner Women can do it. Mr *Venete*, in the last Chapter of his Book, intitled, *Le Tableau de l'Amour conjugal*, says, 'Without doubt Women may be made incapable of conceiving, by taking from them the, &c. But the Difficulty is to know, how the Ancients proceeded in this matter: and to give my Opinion, I do not believe that the Operation could be performed without great danger.' Perhaps the following Book, which I have never seen, may give some account of it. *Eunuchi nati, facti, & mystici, ex sacra & humana Literatura illustrati. Zacharias Pasqualis puerorum emasculator ob Musicam quo loco habendus. Responso ad questum per Epistolam J. Heriberti. Divione 1655, in 4to.* This Book is ascribed to Father *Theophilus Raynaud*. REM. CRIT.]

(4) Ibid. pag. 198.

(5) Valer Max. lib. 4. cap. 6. n. 5.

(2) Matth. cap. v. ver. 29, 30.

(3) Entretiens d'Ariste & d'Eugene, 3. Entretien, p. m. 197.

(2) Menétrier, Representations en Musique, pag. 232.

(b) Ib. pag. 233. & seq.

(c) Id. ib. pag. 235.

COSTA (MARGARET), was born at Rome, and lived in the XVIIth Century. She had a Genius for Poetry, and she prepared a Feast on Horse-back, in the Form of a Carrousel and of a Ballet, for the King of France. The Subject of that Entertainment was a Challenge between Apollo and Mars (a). You may find the Description of it in a Book of Father *Menétrier* (b). 'The Performance of that Design appearing too difficult, *Orpheus* was preferred before it, and represented in the Year 1647 [A]. Nevertheless, that Entertainment of Signora *Costa* was printed with her other Poems, which she dedicated to Cardinal *Mazarin* (c).'

[A] She prepared a Feast on Horse-back — *Orpheus* was preferred before it.] 'In the Year 1647, Cardinal *Mazarin*, who had a mind to introduce the Diversions of Italy into France, sent for some Actors from Italy, who represented *Orpheus* and *Eurydice* in the Royal Palace, in Italian Verse and Music, with wonderful Decorations of the Stage, and some Machines which had not yet been seen (1). You may find the Description and Analysis of that Opera in Father *Menétrier* (2): 'The Success of that Representation, the Novelty whereof surprised every Body, by the wonderful Changes of the extraordinary Decorations, and by the har-

monious singing, as well as by the Variety of Dresses, and Comforts, occasioned the renewing of that Spectacle at his Majesty's Wedding, where *Ercole Amante* was acted, whose Italian Composition was translated into French Verse for the Satisfaction of those that did not understand Italian (3). It will be said, that this is needless as to Signora *Margherita Costa*. I grant it: but because a great many Readers will be glad to be informed of that first Essay of Opera's in the same place where I have incidentally mentioned it, I thought I ought not to suppress this Remark.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 205.

(1) Menétrier, Representations en Musique, pag. 295.

(2) Ibid. from page 195 to page 205.

(a) Second Part, pag. 174, and following, of the Dutch Edition.

(b) The Lives of some French Authors are prefixed to them. That of *Cotin* is to be found there, pag. 66 of the Dutch Edition, 1699.

COTIN (CHARLES) a Parisian, one of the French Academy, very ill used in the Satires of Mr *Boileau*: See his Apology, and several Particulars of his Life, in the Parallel of Mr *Perrault* (a). See also the Letters collected by *Richelet* (b). He died in January 1682 (c).

COTYS, King of Thrace, Cotemporary with Philip, Father of Alexander, reigned Twenty four Years. At first he gave himself over to Luxury, and to a voluptuous Life; and Prosperity having made him more proud afterwards, he became so cruel, that he split his Wife in two, beginning with the Privy-Parts (a). *Athenæus*, according to *Dalechamp's* Translation, does not relate the thing in that manner [A]; but that is an ill Version, as the learned *Maussac* has very well observed

(c) Mercure Galant, March 1612, pag. 143.

(a) Harpocration in voce Κόρυς.

(1) *Ος δ' αὐτὸν τῶν τῶν βασιλέων τῶν, ἐν τῇ ὁράσει γὰρ γυναικῶν, μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφῆς ὡμιῶν. Omnium Virorum quorum quotquot uoluptatibus ac delectationibus. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. pag. 531.

[A] He split his Wife in two — — — *Athenæus*, according to *Dalechamp's* Translation, does not relate the thing in that manner.] Having said that *Cotys*, the most voluptuous Prince that ever reigned in Thrace (1), did not begin to be unhappy till he had offended *Minerva*, he relates what I am going to say. *Cotys* once pretended to marry that Goddess; the Marriage Feast was given; the Nuptial-Chamber was prepared, and there wanted nothing but the Bride. *Cotys*, having drunk hard, waited impatiently for her; and not seeing her come, he was mad at it, and sent one of his Guards to know whether she was come to the Chamber that was prepared for her. He brought the King word that he had seen no Body there; which put that furious Prince into such a Passion, that he killed the Messenger. He sent another,

who returned with the same Answer, and was served like the first. The third, whom he sent, thinking to avoid the like Misfortune, would not tell him that no Body was there; but assured him that *Minerva* had expected the King a great while. But his Imposture had no better Success than their Ingenuity: *Cotys*, being seized with a Fit of Jealousy, as if the third Messenger had made use of the Opportunity, which the Impatience of the Bride might afford him, fell upon him, and cut him in pieces, beginning with the Privy parts. 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔτις ποτὶ καὶ ἐνδοσπύσσας τὴν αὐτὴν γυναῖκα ταῖς αὐτῇ χερσὶν ἀνέτεμε τὸν ἀσθροπὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀρξάμενος. Tum rex zelotypia percitus ne quid in uxorem suam ausus ille fuisset, manibus suis militem conficit ac dispersit à pudendis

(4) Demosthenes ad. crif. Aristocratem, pag. 452. A.

observed [B]. Cotys died a violent Death: one Python killed him, and retired to Athens, where his Action was magnificently rewarded (b) [C]. His Brother helped him to kill that King; which they did to revenge their Father. Aristotle, who says this [D], observes, that one Adamas rebelled against Cotys, to revenge himself of an Injury he had received from him in his Youth: Cotys had caused him to be castrated. Cersobleptes, the Son of Cotys, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom: He had a Sister, who was the Wife of Iphicrates [E]. I believe this is the Cotys Plutarch made mention of in his Apophthegms [F]. He speaks elsewhere of a COTYS, King of Paphlagonia, who made an Alliance with Agesilaus, and married

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 532, ex Theopompo.

(1) I followed him, but rectify my Error in this third Edition, according to the Advice of Mr. Vossius la Croix.

(4) See, above, Citat. (2), the Greek Words of Theopompus, and Dalechamp's Translation of them.

(5) Philippus Jacobus Maufficus Not. ad Harpocratem, pag. 221, Edit. Lug. Bat. 1583.

(6) Demosthenes advers. Aristocratem, pag. m. 445. C. See the following Remark.

(7) Demosth. ib. pag. 446. C.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid. pag. 445. C.

(10) Plutarch. de sui laude, pag. 542, E. & de gerenda Republica, pag. 816, E.

(11) Lib. 9, n. 65.

(12) Demosth. ubi supra, pag. 445. B.

(13) Valer. Max. lib. 7, cap. 7, circa finem.

prudens exorsus (2). This is Athenæus's account, if we follow his Translator: but he is not to be followed (3); he does not observe, that the Words, 'Ο δὲ Γερσίππος ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, are the beginning of another Story, and signify Rex iste aliquando.

[B] ----- as the learned Maufficus has very well observed it. He pretends that Theopompus affirms the same thing in Athenæus, as Harpocratem, to wit, that Cotys cut his own Wife in Pieces; and he censures Dalechamp for having translated Athenæus, as if the third Messenger had been served so, and not the Queen herself. 'Eruditissimus Dalecampius longissime erravit à veritate historiarum cum hæc Græca verba Theopompi ----- ita vertit

(4). ----- Imo è contrario mulierem propriam disceperit: ut optime habet Harpocratem, quod designant evidentiissime illa verba τὴν ἀνδρῶν: falsissimum autem est eum conscidisse tertium militem. Fraudis fuit sine dubio eruditissimo illi interpreti vox ἀνδρῶν, cui non animadvertit conjunctum esse articulum τῆς, & hoc in loco mulierem significare. Hæc velim dicta in favorem rudiorum (5). ----- The learned Dalechamp has quite deviated from the Truth of History, in translating the Greek of Theopompus in this manner. 'For, on the contrary, he cut his own Wife to pieces, as Harpocratem has very justly observed, and which the Words τὴν ἀνδρῶν most plainly demonstrate; that he served the Soldier in this manner is undoubtedly false. The learned Translator was probably led into this Mistake by the Word ἀνδρῶν, to which he did not observe, that the Article τῆς was prefixed, and that in this place it signifies the Woman. I mention this for the sake of younger Readers.'

[C] One Python killed him, and retired to Athens, where his Action was magnificently rewarded. When he did that Action, he was assisted by his Brother Heracles (6). After that Murder, he could not have found a place of Safety every where (7); but he thought Athens would be a very good Sanctuary, because of the long Wars they had had with Cotys. So he went thither, and desired that the Rights of a Citizen might be granted him (8). He not only obtained that Privilege (9), but also a Crown of Gold; and they loaded him with so many Praises in the Speeches that were made before the People, that perceiving they exposed him to Envy, by extolling to the Sky the Murder that he had committed, he found out an Expedient to allay the Jealousy that was raising against him (10). He presented himself before the People, and declared that he pretended nothing to the Glory of that Action, that he had only been the Instrument of a Deity, and that consequently all the Merit of it was to be ascribed to that Deity. Diocles says falsely in Diogenes Laertius (11), that it was the Philosopher Pyrrho, who was honoured with the Freedom of Athens, as a Reward for the Murder of Cotys. The War had made a great Alteration in the Minds of the Athenians; for they had formerly given the Freedom of their City, and a Crown of Gold, to Cotys (12). It is pretended, that, to shew them that he valued himself as much as they, he made them Citizens of Thrace. 'Capax generosi spiritus illud quoque civitatem regis Cotys: ut enim ab Atheniensibus civitatem sibi datam cognovit; Et ego, inquit, illis meæ gentis vii dabo. Aequavit Athenis Thraciam, ne vicissitudine talis beneficii imparem se judicando, humiliter de origine sua sentire existimaretur (13). ----- As soon as Cotys understood that the Athenians had presented him with the Freedom of their City, and I, says he, in return will make them free of my Nation, which expression shews him to have been of a generous Spirit. He put Thrace on a level with Athens, lest by showing himself

'unable to return the Compliment, he might be thought to have too mean an Opinion of his Country.'

[D] Python and his Brother did this to revenge their Father's Death. Aristotle ----- informs us of this. It is in the tenth Chapter of the Fifth Book of his Politics. Something must be corrected in it. Πάρον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλίδης οἱ Αἰνιοὶ Κότυν διασέβαν, τῷ πατρὶ τιμωρῶντες. Jam Paro & Heracleida Enii Cotyn interemerunt, patris injuriam ulciscetes. This is what is to be found in my Edition of Aristotle (14), which is that of Geneva 1605. It must be Πύρων instead of Πάρον, and the Words ought to be rendered thus, Jam Python & Heracleides, &c. I must not forget that Plutarch observes, that those two Murderers of Cotys had been Plato's Disciples (15). See also Philostratus in the first Chapter of the seventh Book of the Life of Apollonius, wherein he says, that they were of the Sect of the Academics.

[E] His Son ----- had a Sister, who was the Wife of Iphicrates. Menestheus, who proceeded from that Marriage, said one day, that he valued his Mother more than his Father, because his Mother had done all her Endeavours to make him an Athenian, whereas his Father had done his utmost Endeavours to make him a Thracian. 'Menesthea filium reliquit (Iphicrates) ex Thressa natum, Coti regis filia. Is cum interrogaretur, utrum pluris matrem patremve faceret; matrem, inquit. Id cum omnibus mirum videretur: at ille, merito, inquit, facio. Nam pater quantum in se fuit, Thracem me genuit: contra mater, Atheniensem (16). Such was the Pride of the Athenians; they preferred the Freedom of their City to the Quality of a King's Son-in-law and Grandchild, and they bestowed great Rewards on the Murderers of a crowned-head. Demosthenes informs us, that Iphicrates, tho' loaded with Honours in his Country, engaged in a Sea fight against the Athenians, for the Interest of his Father-in-law. He adds, that Cotys, being most ungrateful for that Service, did not endeavour to facilitate a Pardon for Iphicrates, by any Civilities to the People of Athens; but, on the contrary, he would have him to exasperate the Athenians more and more against him, by employing him in the Attack of their other Places: and because he could not obtain that from him, he deprived him of the Command of his Troops, and reduced him to the miserable necessity of seeking a corner of the Earth for his Retreat. For, when Iphicrates found himself disgraced at the Court of Cotys, he durst not retire to Athens, having lately bore Arms against his Country (17). I forgot to observe, that there is a Jest of the Poet Anaxandrides, in Athenæus (18), on the Entertainment that Cotys gave on his Daughter's Wedding-day with Iphicrates.

[F] I believe this is the Cotys that Plutarch made mention of in his Apophthegms. Cotys, mentioned by Plutarch, was a passionate Man, who corrected his Servants cruelly when they committed any Fault. He had a noble Present sent him; which was, some very fine Vessels of Earthen Ware, adorned with fine Painting: He rewarded him who brought them, but caused them all to be broke (19), because he foresaw that his Servants could not avoid breaking so brittle a Matter as that; which if they should do, he could not forbear to punish them too severely (20). This suits well enough with our Cotys. Moreri applies it to another Cotys, who took Pompey's part, says he: But the Places, that he quotes, contain nothing like it; and I do not question but that he is mistaken. We shall see his other Faults in the following Remark. Observe that I do not deny that there was one Cotys King of Thrace, who sent his Son (21) to Pompey at the Head of Five hundred Horse.

[G] Tacitus

(14) Pag. 305. D.

(15) Plut. Adv. Colotem, pag. 1120.

(16) Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrate, sub fin.

(17) Ex Demosth. ubi supra, pag. 447.

(18) Lib. 4, cap. 3, pag. 131.

(19) Plut. in Apoph. pag. 174.

(20) Compare with this what Augustus did in the House of Vedius Pollio, apud Senecam de Ira, lib. 3, cap. 4, pag. m. 581. and the Advice which Plutarch, lib. de Ira Celsenda, pag. 461, E, gives to passionate People, not to have any precious Vessels in their Houses.

(21) Called Sosicles. See Cicero de Bello Civ. lib. 3, cap. 4, pag. m. 311. See also Lucan, lib. 5, ver. 34.

married a handsome Maid by that means (c). *Livy* makes mention of one COTYS, King of the *Odryæ*, who fought faithfully against the Romans for *Perseus* King of *Macedonia* (d). *Tacitus* speaks of some Princes called COTYS, of whom *Moreri* does not give a good Account [G].

(c) In *Vita Agrippæ*, pag. 601.
(d) *Livius*, lib. 42.

[G] *Tacitus* speaks of some Princes called COTYS, of whom *Moreri* does not give a good Account.]

I. He says that *Cotys* King of *Thrace* divided his Kingdom with his Uncle *Rhescuporis*, in *Nero's* time. He should have said, that, after the Death of *Rhemetalces* (22) King of *Thrace*, *Augustus* divided that Kingdom between the Son and Brother of the deceased. *Rhescuporis*, who was the Brother, had, for his share, such Places as were least cultivated, and nearest to the Enemy. *Cotys*, who was the Son, obtained the nearest Countries to *Greece*. This is what *Tacitus* says in the Sixty fourth Chapter of the second Book of his *Annals*. II. And therefore it was a great Mistake to cite *Tacitus* l. 11. § 12. *Annal.* § 1. 2. *Hist.* It is true, that in the Eleventh Book we find a COTYS, King of the lesser *Armenia*, whom *Moreri* speaks of; but no mention is made of that *Cotys* in the Twelfth Book, nor of any *Cotys* in the second Book of the History; and consequently *Moreri's* Citations are very false, since this Question may be asked him, besides what I have just now observed, Why have you not cited any Body concerning *Cotys*, who, as you say, divided his Kingdom with *Rhescuporis*? COTYS, mentioned in the Twelfth Book of the *Annals*, was the Brother of *Mithridates* King of *Bosphorus*. It is likely that he, who is mentioned in the Eleventh Book, was the Son of that *Cotys* King of *Thrace*, whom his Uncle *Rhescuporis* treated so cruelly. I shall speak of him hereafter. That which makes me believe that he was his Son, is, that the Emperor *Caligula*, giving the lesser *Armenia*, and part of *Arabia*, to *Cotys*, gave the States of that same *Cotys* to *Rhemetalces* (23). That *Rhemetalces* was doubtless the same, who, after the Condemnation of *Rhescuporis*, the Murderer of *Cotys*, obtained part of *Thrace* from *Tiberius*, whilst the other part was given to the Sons of *Cotys* (24). III. *Moreri's* greatest Fault is an Omission. He had in his hands an Account full of Morality, the Materials whereof were supplied him by *Tacitus*; Why did he not make his Advantage of them? I will not imitate his Negligence. The two Princes, between whom *Augustus* divided *Thrace*, were of a very different Humour. *Cotys* was an honest, polite, mild, and agreeable Man; *Rhescuporis* was fierce, cruel, and ambitious, and could not suffer any Companion. 'Ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite & amicum, huic atrox, avidum & societatis impatiens erat' (25). By that Remark *Tacitus* prepared his Readers to see, without any Astonishment, the Catastrophe that he was to represent. - Any Reader, that is not stupid, will expect after this to see *Cotys* deprived of his Dominions. It were a kind of a Miracle, if the Share of an honest Man did not become the Prey of an ill Man. *Rhescuporis*, during the Life of *Augustus*, whose Power he feared, seemed to be a Friend to his Neighbour, and made but slow Usurpations; but as soon as he heard of that Prince's Death, he kept within no bounds. *Tiberius*, being informed of it, let them know that he would have them end their Differences peaceably. There needed no more to oblige *Cotys* to disarm: and as he judged of others by himself, he consented to an Interview which *Rhescuporis* proposed to him: and the better to shew his Sincerity, he accepted of the Invitation to the Entertainment that *Rhescuporis* was to give him under pretence of cementing their Alliance. He represented to him, in vain, the Laws of Sincerity and Hospitality; for he found himself loaded with Chains after the Feast. 'Rhescuporis, sicca modestia, postulat eundem in locum coiretur, posse de controversiis colloquio transigi. Nec diu dubitatum de tempore, loco, dein conditionibus: cum alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent, acciperentque. Rhescuporis faciendo, ut discitabat, foederi, convivium adjicit; tra- & etaque in multam noctem læticia, per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn, & postquam dolum intellexerat, sacra regni, ejusdem familiæ deos, & hospitales mensas obstantem, catenis onerat' (26). *Rhescuporis*, having possessed himself of all *Thrace*, wrote to the Emperor, that he found himself obliged to do it, to prevent *Cotys*, who had plotted a-

gainst him. 'Thracia omni potius scripsit ad Tiberium structas sibi insidias, præventum insidiatorem' (27). This is the usual Perfidiousness wherewith the most unjust Men cover their black Attempts. *Tiberius* made him answer, that if he was innocent, he ought to have no Mistrust; and that he should set *Cotys* at liberty, and come to *Rome* to discuss his Rights there. By a much more cunning piece of Policy than is thought, he chose rather to be guilty of a complete Crime, than of one half committed: he caused *Cotys* to be killed, and published that *Cotys* had made away with himself. 'Rhescuporis inter metum & iram cunctatus maluit patrati quam inter cepti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn jubet, mortemque sponte sumptam ementitur' (28). But divine Justice did not suffer him to enjoy long such a wicked Usurpation. He was not cunning enough to avoid the Emperor's Snares (29): He was obliged to come to *Rome*, where the Senate, upon the Accusation that the Widow of *Cotys* entered against him, deprived him of his Kingdom, and even of his Liberty. He was carried to *Alexandria*, and put to Death, either because he endeavoured to make his Escape, or because they pretended he had committed some Crime. His Son *Rhemetalces*, who had no share in his Wickedness, had likewise none in his Punishment. *Thrace* was divided between him and the Sons of *Cotys*; and because the latter were not of Age, they were put under the Guardianship of *Trebellienus Rufus*, who was Regent of the Kingdom. The fourth Fault of *Moreri* is his distinguishing *Cotys*, the Nephew of *Rhescuporis*, from him whom *Ovid* speaks of; for it is not to be questioned, but that he to whom that Poet inscribed an Elegy, is the same with him that *Tacitus* praises, and to whom *Augustus* gave part of *Thrace*. *Ovid* praises him very much, and desires his Protection. He informs him in one place that he is an Exile in the Neighbourhood of his Dominions (30); and in another, that he lives in his Fortresses (31). This is somewhat obscure. We learn from this Epistle of *Ovid*, that *Cotys* had studied, and even that he had made good Verses:

Adde, quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros.
Nec regum quicquam magis est instructus in illis,
Mitibus aut studiis tempora plura dedit.
Carmina testantur: quæ si tua nomina demas,
Threicium juvenem composuisse negem.

Science, the Soul's best Physic, mends Mankind,
And softens the native Fierceness of the Mind.
To thee, dread Sire, are all her Virtues known,
Virtues that rarely reach the gilded Throne.
The Muses too thy softer Hours inspire,
And warm the Scythian with Poetic Fire.

The Antiquity of his Family was so considerable, that it reached back to *Eumolpus* (32). Now *Eumolpus* is he who taught the *Athenians* the Mysteries of their Religion (33). V. Lastly, what *Moreri* says, that *Cotys* was a certain King of the *Getæ*, among whom *Ovid* was exiled, may be condemned. It is certain that *Cotys's* Kingdom was *Thrace*, and not the Country of the *Getæ*. It may be that *Cotys* kept *Garrison* in *Tomi*, the place of *Ovid's* Exile: but that is not to be King of the *Getæ*; and so *Lipsius* seems to be in the wrong when he says, *In hujus regno vates ille exulavit, quod scire volo juventutem* (34). Did ever any one beseech a Prince, when one is in his Kingdom, to order it so that he may live safely in the Neighbourhood of his Dominions? Yet this is the Conclusion of *Ovid's* Request.

Hæc (35) quoniam careo, tua nunc vicinia præstat
Inviso possim tutus ut esse loco.

Some

(22) I think it is he whom *Dion* speaks of, lib. 54. pag. m. 624. ad ann. 743. & lib. 55. pag. 651. ad ann. 759. He was, if I am not mistaken, the Brother of one *Rhescuporis* (Son of COTYS), who was killed in the Year 743, according to *Dion*, pag. 624.

(23) *Dion*, lib. 59, ad ann. 791, pag. m. 745.

(24) *Tacit. Ann.* lib. 2, cap. 67.

(25) *Id. ibid.* cap. 64, ad ann. 772.

(26) *Id. ib.* cap. 65.

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) *Ib.* cap. 66.

(29) *Paterculus*, lib. 2, cap. 129, reckons this one of *Tiberius's* Intrigues that were best managed.

(30) *Fama loquax vestras si jam pervenit ad aures Me tibi finitimi parte jacere soli. Ovid. Epist. 9, lib. 2, de Ponto, vers. 2.*

(31) *Tu quoque fac prois intra tua castra jacentis. Ibid. vers. 37.*

(32) *Ib.* ver. 2 & 19.

(33) *Plut. de Exilio*, pag. 607, B.

(34) *Lips. in Tacit. Ann.* lib. 2, cap. 64.

(35) *Natali hemo.*

(36) See Ovid.
cum Notis Va-
riorum, in 8vo,
Tom. III, pag.
661.

(37) Suet. in
Augusto, cap.
63.

(38) Casaubon,
in hac verba
Suetonii.

(39) Annal. lib.
2, cap. 64.

(a) Teiffier. Ca-
talogus Catalo-
gorum, pag. 52.

(a) Epit. Bibl.
Gefner.

(b) Thomafius
de plagio literario
n. 220, p. 232,
ubi be confessus
that he does not
know which of
those two Au-
thors preceded
the other.

Some (36) believe, that he, to whom *Ovid* writ, was the Son of *Cotifon*, King of the *Getæ*; of whom *Suetonius* says this: 'M. Antonius scribit primum eum (*Augustum*) Antonio filio suo despondisse *Juliam*: dein *Cotifoni* Getarum Regi, quo tempore sibi quoque invicem filiam regis in matrimonium petiisset (37). — *Marc Antony* writes, that *Augustus* first promised his Daughter *Julia* to his Son *Antony*; then to *Cotifon*, King of the *Getæ*, at which time he also demanded the King's Daughter in Marriage.' These words contain two things, which are not to be found in any other Writer. I. That *Augustus* had a mind to marry his Daughter *Julia* to *Cotifon*, King of the *Getæ*. II. That he himself had a mind to marry the Daughter of the same *Cotifon*; for notwithstanding what a great Critic says to the contrary (38), this is the Sense of *Suetonius*'s words, which is not to be refuted by the constant Affection of *Augustus* for his Wife *Livia*. You must know that it is *Marc Antony* who speaks, and that he was not very careful of his Expressions when it concerned him to make that Emperor odious. The least Reports, the least Suspicions, served him to make some Articles of his Manifestos. But I came back to refute those, who say, that *Ovid* writ to the Son of that *Cotifon*. I oppose to them *Tacitus* (39), who says positively, that *Cotys*, King of part of *Thrace*, in the time of *Tiberius*, had obtained that part of the Kingdom from *Augustus*, after the Death of his Father *Rhæmetales*. And therefore in the time of *Ovid*'s Exile, *Cotys*, who reigned in *Thrace*, was the Son of

that *Rhæmetales*. Mr de *Tillemont* is mistaken (40) when he says, that he was only the Nephew of *Rhæmetales*; and it is likely, that what I am going to say deceived him. He saw that, in the Year 738 of *Rome*, *Rhæmetales* governed *Thrace* as Guardian of his Nephews, the Sons of *Cotys* (41); and that, in 759, *Rhæmetales*, and *Rhescuporis* his Brother, expelled the Enemies (42). So that he thought that *Cotys*, to whom *Augustus* gave part of *Thrace* after the Death of *Rhæmetales*, was one of those Pupils, Sons of *Cotys*, of whom *Rhæmetales* was Guardian in the Year 738. He would not have thought so, if he had taken notice that the Testimony of *Tacitus* is considerably enforced by the Praises that *Ovid* bestowed upon the Valour of *Cotys*'s Father.

Non tibi *Cassandrus* pater est —

Sed quàm marte ferox, & vinci nescius armis,

Tam nunquam facta pace cruoris amans (43).

Thou Great in Arms, unconquer'd on the Plain,
In Peace thy Sword ne'er knew a bloody Stain.

Those Praises suit with *Rhæmetales*, who appears from time to time on the Stage from the Year 738 to the Year 759 (44); and many precarious Suppositions must be made, to make them suit with one *Cotys* that died before the Year 738, leaving his Sons very young; which gives occasion to presume that he did not reign long.

(40) Histoire de
Empereurs,
Tom. I, pag. m.
21.

(41) Dio, lib.
54, pag. 612.

(42) Id. lib. 55,
pag. 651, 652.

(43) Ovid, ubi
supra, ver. 43.

(44) See Dion;
lib. 54, pag.
612, 624, & lib.
55, pag. 651.

(b) Multa vel pa-
tius multos col-
legit. *Scripto*
Gentilis in *Apol-*
loneis, pag.
428.

COTTA (CATELLIAN), wrote some *Scholia ad Mediolanensium Statuta*, and a little Treatise de *Jurisperitis*, wherein he begins with *Mutius Scævola*, and ends with *Andrew Alcinius* (a). He writ also a Book intituled *Memorabilia*, printed at *Venice* in the Year 1572, in 8vo, which is taken out of other Authors (b). He acknowledges it in the Title-Page of his Work, and therefore he cannot be said to be a Plagiary.

COTTERUS (CHRISTOPHER), one of the three Prophets, whose Revelations *Comenius* published. Look for KOTTERUS.

COUSIN (GILBERT), in *Latin Cognatus*, born at *Nozeret* in *Franché-Comté* (a), in the Year 1505, was a learned Man, as it appears by his many Books, of which there is a List in the Epitome of *Gefner*'s *Bibliothèque*. He had been a Servant to *Erasmus* [A], who did Justice to his good Qualities. *Erasmus* esteemed him very much, and taught him many things [B]. He procured him a Canonship at *Nozeret*, and offered him his House with some Advantages, when he found him disgusted with his Benefice, by reason of the Law-Suits that attended it. See the Forty sixth, Fifty first, and Fifty fifth Letters of the Twenty seventh Book of *Erasmus*. Cousin was living in the Year 1563 [C]. He was no Plagiary as to the Passage mentioned by *Thomafius* (b); for his Notes upon *Lucian* were printed before the *Adversaria* of *Peter Pitbæus* came out.

[A] He had been a Servant to *Erasmus*.] *Erasmus* writ the following words to *Lewis de Vers*, Abbot of *Mont Sainte Marie*, who was a Kinsman to Cousin. 'Gilbertus Cognatus mihi jam plusquam triennium fidelem & commodum præstitit famulum, quem ego tamen ob mores liberales non tam pro famulo habui, quam pro convictore, & in studiorum laboribus socio. Proinde & tuæ reverendæ amplitudini gratulor talem cognatum, & illi multo magis tam amicum & benignum patronum. — Gilbert Cousin has now, for above three Years, discharged the Duty of an able, and a faithful Servant to me, though, out of Respect to his extraordinary Merit, I treated him, rather as a Companion, and Partner of my Studies, than as a Servant. Wherefore I congratulate you, most worthy & Reverend Sir, in so deserving a Kinsman, and him more abundantly in so good and indulgent a Patron.' I take this from the Forty sixth Letter of the Twenty seventh Book of *Erasmus*. It was written the eleventh of December 1533.

[B] Erasmus — taught him many things.] *Erasmus* reckons this among the Advantages that Cousin got by waiting upon him; and he pretends also to have kept him from the dangerous Contagion of the new Opinions. 'Spero autem fore ut illum

temporis apud me peracti non poeniteat; nam præter eruditionis fructum quem ex mea consuetudine cepit haud poenitendum — poterat alibi nihil attrahere contagii à sectarum amatoribus; apud me vero etiam si quid attraxisset, purgari potuit (1). — I hope he will have no occasion to repent the time he spent with me; for besides some Improvement, which I hope he received from my Conversation, — he might elsewhere have contracted some Errors from the Encouragers of Sects, from which with me he might have been cured. I cannot tell what Cousin's Opinions were whilst *Erasmus* was living; but I do not doubt but that he was afterwards either a Protestant, or a Favourer of them (2).

[§ (a) Whoever reads his *Adagia* will be strongly inclined to believe this. See among others the Chapter, intituled, *Magis phantasticus quam Papæ Mula*. REM. CRIT.]

[C] He was living in the Year 1563.] This appears by Advertisement that *Mark Hopperus* prefixed to the Edition of *Lucian*, published at *Basil* in the Year 1563. He there bestows many Praises upon *Gilbert Cousin*, whose Notes on *Lucian* were inserted in that Edition.

(1) *Erasm. Epist.*
46, lib. 27.

CRANTOR,

CRANTOR, a Greek Philosopher and Poet [A], was born at Solos in Cilicia. He left his native Country, where he was admired, and went to Athens, where he was a Disciple of Xenocrates with Polemo (a) [B]. The latter, having succeeded Xenocrates in the Academy, about the end of the XVth Olympiad (b), had the Pleasure to see the same Crantor, who had formerly been his Fellow-Disciple, among his Scholars. This was great Honour to him; for that Scholar was learned enough to teach Philosophy; and People were so persuaded of it, that, when he retired into the Temple of Æsculapius during a Fit of Sickness (c), several Persons went to him, thinking that he designed to settle a School there, to put themselves under his Discipline. Arcefilaus, his Favourite, did not go thither with that Design, but in hopes of a good Recommendation from him to Polemo. He obtained what he desired: Crantor was so little concerned at that Request, that, as soon as he was recovered, he himself became one of Polemo's Auditors (d). He was accounted one of the Pillars of the Platonic Sect [C], and he was the first who wrote Commentaries on Plato's Works (e). If he did not explain other things more clearly, than that which concerns the Nature of the Soul (f), he had as much need of a new Commentator as Plato. He wrote a Book of Consolation, which is lost, and which was much esteemed [D]. He was not very old (g) when he died of a Dropsy (h). He left his Estate to Arcefilaus. That Estate amounted to twelve Talents

(a) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 24. Instead of Polemon, there is in Mereri Philemon.

(b) See Diogen. Laërt. in Xenocrate, lib. 4. n. 14.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Laërt. ibid. n. 25.

(e) Πρώτος τῶν Πλάτωνος ἑταίρων. Proclus lib. 1. in Timæum apud Menægium Not. in Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 27.

(f) See his Opinions upon it in Plutarch's Treatise περὶ τῆς ἐν τιμῶν φύσεως, pag. 101, & seq.

(g) Laërt. lib. 4. n. 25.

(h) Id. ib. n. 27.

(1) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 25.

(2) Cicero, Tuscul. lib. 3, cap. 6.

(3) Item de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 18, fol. 92. d.

(4) See, above, Citat. (42) of the Article ARCESILAUS.

(5) Add that of the 1st Book de Finibus, cap. 1.

(6) Horat. Epist. 2, lib. 1, ver. 3.

(7) Cicero Tuscul. 2, cap. 48.

(8) Psychomanteum.

Ignaris homines in vita mentibus errant.
Euthynous potitur fatum muncere læto,
Sic fuit utilis finiri ipique tibi que.

Man! foolish Man! thro' Life's dark windings
strays,
In Errors strangely lost ten thousand Ways.
Thy Son is sent, by Fate's all-wise Decree,
To happier Climes. Say, is it worse for thee?

You lament the Death of a Son, and you ask the Reason of such a great Calamity: know that Men are ignorant: he enjoys an agreeable Favour that Fate has done him. His Interest and your's required that he should leave this World (g). This is a piece of Crantor's Book. I think the Title of that Book was περὶ πένθους, de Luctu; for so Diogenes Laërtius quotes it. I shall set down his words, because they contain an exquisite Encomium: Θανμάστα δὲ αὐτῷ μάστιγα βιβλίον τὸ περὶ πένθους (10). His Treatise of Mourning is chiefly admired (11). For the same Reason I ought to cite this Passage: 'Legimus omnes Crantoris veteris Academici de luctu, est enim non magnus, verum aureolus, & ut Tuberoni Panætius præcipit, ad verbum ediscendus libellus (12). -- -- -- We have all read Crantor, the old Academic, de Luctu: it is indeed a small, but a valuable, Piece, and, as Panætius in his Advice to Tuberone observes, ought to be learnt by Heart.' It will not be useless to observe on what occasion this was said: it was to prove, that the ancient Academy did not teach the Indolence, or Insensibility, which was a Doctrine of the Stoics. Cicero's Interlocutor proves the contrary by this little Book of Crantor. It is certain, that this Philosopher did not approve the Doctrine of the Stoics, and that he said, that the Exemption from Passions would cost too dear, since it could not be acquired but by the Stupidity of the Body, and the Savageness of the Soul: Μὴ γὰρ νοοῦμεν, (φρονῶν δ' Ἀκαδημαῖκος Κράντωρ) νοοῦσθαι δὲ παρῆναι τις αἰσθησις, εἴτ' ἐν τῷ νοῷ τι τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἴτ' ἀποσπῶτο. Τὸ γὰρ ἀνάνδυνον τῶτο καὶ ἀνευ μεγάλων ἐργαίνεσθαι μισθὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τεθνεῶσθαι γὰρ εἰκός, ἐκεῖ μὲν σῶμα τοιαῦτον, ἐν/αὐτῷ δὲ ψυχὴν. Optandum est, inquit Crantor Academicus, ne ægrotemus: sed si in morbo sumus, sensus ejus aliquis adesse debet, siue secetur pars nostri aliquis, siue avellatur. Indolentia enim illa non sine magna jactura homini potest parari: quippe necesse est ut ibi corpus, ita hic animus plane efferatum esse (13). -- -- We ought to wish (says the Academic Crantor) to avoid Sickness; but should it seize us, should some Limb be tore or cut off, we must have a Sense of it. That Insensibility is not to be attained but at the Price of Humanity; for either the Mind, or the Body, must become savage. Cicero mentions the same Thought of Crantor. 'Minime, inquit, (Crantor) assentior his, qui illam nescio quam indolentiam magnopere laudant, quæ nec potest ulla esse, nec debet. Nec ægroto etiam, inquit, nisi is qui fuerat sensus aditus, siue secetur

(g) Apud Cicero-nem, Tuscul. 1, cap. 48, ex Crantore. That Story is to be found more at large in Plutarch de Consolatione, pag. 102; but Crantor is not quoted.

(10) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 27.

(11) Thus it ought to be rendered, and not Of Grief, as Me Mereri has it.

(12) Cicero Acad. Quest. lib. 2, cap. 44.

(13) Plut. de Consolatione, pag. 102. D.

Qui quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile,
quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicit (6).

Mankind may learn from his immortal Song,
What's virtuous, lovely, useful, right, or wrong,
With greater Ease than from the labour'd Page
Of Crantor or Chrysippus.

This is said of Homer.

[D] He wrote a Book of Consolation -- -- -- which was much esteemed.] It is cited under this Title, in the first Book of the Tusculan Questions, Simile quiddam est in consolatione Crantoris (7). What follows in Cicero, shews, that Crantor did not forget the common Topic of the Miseries of this Life: neither is it a thing that can be omitted in such Writings: Can any body argue against a Father who laments the Death of his Children? I say, can any body urge to him Motives of Consolation, without remembering the Evils to which the Life of Man is exposed, and which a vast number of People would have avoided, if they had died young? Here is the Answer that was given to a Father in an Oracle of the Dead (8).

V O L. II.

7 C

(i) Id. ib. n. 25.
(k) Mr Foucher, pag. 28 of his Histoire de la Philosophie des Académiciens.

Talents (i). What some affirm is not true (k), viz. that, after the Death of the Philosopher Crates, he taught in the Academy; for he died before Crates and Polemo (l).

(l) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4, n. 27.

(12) Cicero, Tuscul. Quest. lib. 3, cap. 6.

(15) Plut. de Consolat. pag. 104. B.

(16) Plin. in Prefat.

(17) Epist. 21. lib. 12, ad Att. It is the 20th in Grævius's Edition.

(18) Dacier upon the 3d Epistle of Horace, pag. m. 142, 143, of the 8th Tome.

(a) Plutarch. in Aristide, sub fin. pag. 334. F.

(1) Schol. Arist. in Ran. act. 1, sc. 7.

(2) Plut. in Aristide, pag. 335. A.

(3) See Plutarch in Cimone, pag. 487. A; and above Citat. (83) of the Article CIMON.

(4) See in Furetier's Dictionary, at the Word Arrestographie, the Names of many Compilers of Arrests.

(5) Mauffie. Not. in Harpoc. vocæ Ἀρrestῶν.

quid, five avellatur à corpore. Nam istud nihil dolere, non sine magna mercede contingit immunitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore (14).

For the rest, we learn from Plutarch, that Crantor composed that Book to comfort Hippocles, who had lost his Children (15). Plutarch took some Thoughts out of it, which he made use of in his Treatise of Consolation to Apollonius. That same Treatise of Crantor was very useful to Cicero, who took many things out of it, when he composed a Book on that Subject. He owned it; and for that Reason, Pliny does not reckon him amongst the Plagiarists. 'Scio enim, says he (16), conferentem auctores me deprehendisse, à juratissimis & proximis veteres transcriptos ad verbum, neque nominatos: non illa Virgiliana virtute, ut certarent: non Ciceroniana simplicitate, qui in libris de Republica, Platonis se comitem profitebatur: in consolatione filiae, Crantorem, inquit, sequor. - - - For I find, says he, in comparing Authors, that some of the greatest Credit have transcribed the Ancients verbatim, without quoting them, not to vie with Virgil's Honesty, or Cicero's Plain-dealing, who in his Treatises de Republica owns Plato, and in his Consolation owns Crantor for his Guide.' Father Hardouin observes, in his Note on those words of Pliny, that Cicero says, that Crantor intitled his Book, de *Luætu minuendo*. But it is certain, that Cicero, in the Passage (17) quoted by that learned Jesuit, speaks of his own Work, and not of that of Crantor. Mr Dacier says (18), that Cicero, in his Book of Consolation, made use of these words; 'Sed ego Crantorem sequor, cujus legi brevem illum quidam dem fere aureum, & ut Panætio placuit, ad verbum ediscendum de *Luætu* librum, quo acute universam doloris medicinam complexus est.' He distinguishes this Passage from that of the second Book of the Academic Questions. I have not found it in the Fragments that have been collected out of Cicero's Treatise de Consolatione; but it is in the Book that Sigonius endeavoured to impose upon the World, under the same Title, for one of Cicero's

Works. It is likely Mr Dacier is not of the Opinion of those Critics, who believe that Sigonius had a mind to deceive the Public. Note, that one of the things that Cicero borrowed of Crantor, is, that we come into the World to expiate our Crimes. 'Cicero cum in principio consolationis suæ dixisset, luendorum scelerum causa nasci homines; iteravit id ipsum postea quasi objurgans eum qui vitam penam non esse putet (19). - - - Cicero, having said in the beginning of his Consolation, that Men come into the World to atone for their Crimes, repeats the same thing, as a Reproof to him who should imagine Life not to be a Punishment.' Compare this with these words of Plutarch, and you will find that I am in the right. Πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ σοφοὶ ἀνδράσιν (ὡς φησι Κράτης) εἰ νῦν ἀλλὰ παλαι κἀλλανσαι τανθῶπινα, τιμωρίαν ἡγούμενοι εἶναι τὸν βίον, καὶ ἀρχὴν τὸ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων συμφορὰν τὴν μεγίστην. Multi quippe, ut ait Crantor, iique sapientes viri, non nunc primum, sed pridem deploraverunt res humanas, supplicium judicantes vitam hanc esse, & summæ calamitatis loco ducentes, nasci hominem (20). - - Many, and those wise Men, says Crantor, having long before this Day complained of the Condition of Man, who thought Life a Punishment, and to be born the greatest Misfortune. The learned Casaubon did not take notice of the words that I have quoted out of Pliny; for, to confirm his Conjecture, that Cicero had made great use of Crantor's Book, he alleges only the Testimony of St Jerom. 'Eum libellum — dubium non est quin in suo de consolatione magnam partem expressisset (Cicero) quod & Hieronymus his verbis testatur: legimus, inquit, Crantorem, cujus volumen ad consolandum dolorem suum sequutus est Cicero (21). — There is no doubt but Cicero, in his Treatise de Consolatione, copied the greatest part of this Book, which St Jerom testifies in these words. I have read, says he, Crantor, whose Treatise on Consolation Cicero has followed.'

(19) Lactant. lib. 3, cap. 18, pag. m. 197.

(20) Plut. ubi supra, pag. 115. B.

(21) If. Casaubon. Not. ad Diog. Laërt. lib. 4, n. 27.

CRATERUS, the Author of a Work, the Loss whereof ought to be lamented [A], was a Macedonian (a). Nevertheless, we must not believe, with Vossius, that

[A] The Author of a Work, the Loss whereof ought to be lamented [A] It was a Collection of the Decrees of the People of Athens (1). How many Difficulties might we not resolve, if we had that Work? How many Particulars should we not find in it, concerning the illustrious Persons that were banished, or ill used in other Respects, in that famous Commonwealth? Craterus was an exact Author: he related the Purport of the Accusation, and that of the Judgment that had been given, and cited the Authors who supplied him with those things. Τῶτων ἐδὲν ἐν ἑσχατῶν ὁ Κράτης τεκμήριον παρέσχε, ὅτι δίκην ἐπὶ Ἀθῆναις, καὶ περ εἰσθῶς γράφον τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ παρὰ τὸν βίον τὸν ἰσορῶντας. Hujus rei Craterus scriptum monumentum profert nullum, neque formulam accusationis, neque plebiscitum, solitus aliqui talia adscribere & citare auctores (2). Nay, there is some reason to believe that he inserted the Treatises of Peace at length in his Work (3). I believe that Mr de Maussac would have bought such a Book at the Rate of it's weight in Gold, notwithstanding the Contempt and Indignation he expresses against the modern Compilers of Decrees or Arrests (4). 'Hodie in Gallia (says he) nos hujusmodi homines & trivium vocamus Collecteurs d'Arrests, ad quorum nugas, & somnia excudenda, & typis mandanda, divina hæc excudendi ars potius inventa videtur, quam ad serias & non ita futiles doctorum virorum lucubrationes, posteris imperitiam sequioris hujus sæculi hominum miraturis, typographorum avaritiam contempturis relinquendas (5). - - - In France, says he, we now a-days call such Men in Derision Collecteurs d'Arrests; for the publishing of whose empty and incoherent Notions, the divine Art of Printing seems

rather invented, than for the solid and laborious Lucubrations of learned Men, which will stand as a mark to Posterity of the ill Taste of this degenerate Age, and the Avarice of Printers.' Observe, by the by, that it is not only now a-days that learned Men complain, that the Bookellers choose rather to print bad Books than good ones. They should not complain of the Bookellers, but of the Readers; for, if the Sale of good Books was as profitable as that of others, no doubt the Bookellers would prefer good Copies before bad ones. I call those good Books that are truly so, and not those that are only so in the Bookellers's Style.

You may find a Confirmation of this in Mr du Pin. 'We see daily a world of little French Books appear in Public, and there is scarce any ancient Book printed, either Greek or Latin. It is true that the Bookellers say it is not their Fault, but the Fault of the Public, that the first sell and go off, and that they grow rich by them; whereas the latter remain in their Shops, and are often the Cause of their Ruin. It is therefore the Fantasticness of the Men of this Age that is to be blamed. The Taste for Antiquity is lost; there is nothing but Novelty that pleases. True and solid Learning is no more fashionable; People are contented to know things superficially. There is now no solid Study; People learn Antiquity in the new Books, and few go the Fountain-head. It is a very deplorable thing for the Republic of Letters; and it is much to be feared, that this superficial Study will bring us into a worse condition than the Ignorance and Barbarity of the foregoing Ages (6).'

A N Observation upon the Complaints that are made against Bookellers.

(6) Du Pin, Nouv. Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccl. Tom. II, pag. 200, Dutch Edit.

[B] W2

that he is the same Craterus who had so great a Share in Alexander's Friendship [B]. I wonder that Pinedo knew no more of the matter than Vossius furnished him with [C]. Moreri is very much mistaken about CRATERUS, the Favourite of Alexander (b).

(b) See Rem. [B].

[B] We must not suppose with Vossius, that he is the same Craterus, who had so great a share in Alexander's Friendship. I wonder that Vossius could advance such a Conjecture as this: 'Suspicio esse eum ipsum qui cum Alexandro M. militavit, de quo sequenti libro dicemus (7). — Imagine him to be the same, who served under Alexander the Great, of whom I shall speak in the following Book.' He renews his Conjecture when he speaks of that Craterus who accompanied Alexander: 'Fortasse idem est ille Craterus Macedo de quo inter incertae ætatis scriptores dictum fuit libro tertio (8). — It is perhaps the same Craterus, of whom I spoke in the Third Book, amongst the Writers, whose Ages are not well known.' He had quoted Strabo, who speaks of a certain Letter of Craterus to his Mother Aristopatra, and who says, that this Letter contains several incredible things, and which do not agree with any other Relation. 'Εκ δὲ δόξης δὲ τις καὶ Κελεύει πρὸς τὴν μητέρα Ἀριστοπάτρου ἐπιστολὴ πολλὰ τε ἄλλα παραδόξα φράζουσα, καὶ ἢ ὁμολογούσα κερνέ. Editæ est etiam epistola quædam Crateri ad matrem Aristopatram scripta, quæ cum aliis permulta admirabilia narrat, tum cum nullo concordat (9). This concerns the Indies. I am very much inclined to believe, that it was a supposititious Letter; for though it is possible that the Favourite of a great King, and one of the chief Generals of a Conqueror's Army, may divert himself with composing a Letter full of Stories; yet I do not think it likely that he should write such things to his Mother. I think it much more unlikely, to suppose that such a Lord as Craterus, shining with Glory for having had so great a share in Alexander's Conquests and Friendship, could resolve to collect all the Decrees of the People of Athens with all the requisite Circumstances and Citations. It was the business of a Practitioner in the Law. The writing of Alexander's History, or the Relation of his Campaigns, is another thing: I do not deny but that his Favourite Craterus might have done himself much Honour by it. He went about it, if Moreri may be believed: 'Craterus, says he, gave some marks — of his Wit, by the fine Works that he composed of Alexander's Conquests. Strabo, who makes mention of it, cites a Letter of Craterus in his Fifteenth Book.' This is to pretend that Strabo distinguished that Letter from the History of Alexander's Conquests. Now this is false: He only spoke of that Letter. I own that Freinsheim places Craterus among Alexander's Historians; but his Expression is sufficient to convince one that there is no certainty about it. 'Craterus cum sub Alexandro res gereret ejus etiam historiam dicitur conscripisse (10). — Whilst Craterus served under Alexander, he is said to have wrote his History.' Vossius, the only Author that Moreri consulted, speaks only of the Letter mentioned by Strabo; so that all that can be said is, that Craterus wrote a Letter concerning the Wonders of the Indies. As for me, I cannot but believe that it is supposititious. I believe also, that, if he had made the Compilation of the Decrees of the Athenians, Plutarch, or some other Authors who mention it, would sometimes have taken notice of the Dignity he had been in with Alexander the Great; and that having said nothing of it, we ought to take their Silence as a Proof against Vossius.

[C] — Pinedo knew no more of the matter, than Vossius furnished him with. What Vossius says of Craterus, the Compiler of Decrees, amounts to this; that Plutarch took him to witness, that Stephanus Byzantinus has quoted the third and the ninth Book of his Decrees: Citat tertium & nonum de Crateri libris περὶ Ἀπορίσμων, de scitis, sive decretis (11); and that Harpocration, at the Word ἀνδρῶν, quotes the same Work (12). Pinedo, having noted the Places where Stephanus Byzantinus cites

Craterus, and a place where the Citation was corrupted, refers us to Vossius, and ingeniously confesses that he goes no farther (13). I am sure he would not have stopped there, if he had known the Remarks of Maussac. That learned Critic observes, that the Transcribers have often changed the Word Craterus into Carterus (14). He gives these Words of Pollux for an Example of it (15): Καρτέριον πρὸς τὴν τὰ Ἀπορίσμων συνάγωγην; and takes notice of a Mistake of the Translator, who instead of saying, to give credit to Craterus the Compiler of the Decrees, Cratero fidem habere qui Decreta in unum collegit, has translated, to give credit to Carterus, who collected the Suffrages, Cartero fidem habere suffragia poscenti. He corrects a remarkable Fault in Suidas. Craterus (16) is cited there in the ninth Book of Sophisms: Thus Books are multiplied. How many Persons may have believed that Craterus, besides the Compilation of Decrees, had also made a Compilation of Sophisms? The Alteration of a Syllable (17) may have occasioned that Multiplication. Maussac conjectures, that instead of Καρτέριον ἐν τοῖς Ἀπορίσμων, it must be read Κελεύει (18) in a place of Harpocration (19). It is true that he believes also, that Cratinus the Comic Poet perhaps composed a Piece for the Stage, intitled, Ἀπορίσμων. Vossius is positive that Cratinus must be put out, and Craterus put in (20). Here is something more worthy of Attention. Maussac observes, that Alexis had composed an Hymn against Craterus, as, says he, Aristotle composed one against Hermias (21). I do not insist upon these two small Faults which Henry Vossius has not censured; the one that Maussac should have said Alexinus, and not Alexis; the other, that Aristotle made an Hymn in Honour of Hermias, and not against him. But I observe, that this Remark of Maussac enables us to guess at the time wherein our Craterus lived; a time, about which Vossius durst not produce so much as a Conjecture. In whatever sense Athenæus's Words be understood, it seems we may conclude from them, that Craterus and Alexinus lived at the same time; for it is not likely that Alexinus would have composed an Hymn either against Craterus, or in his Praise, if he had never had any Acquaintance with him. Παύδῃ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς Κελεύειν τὸν Μακρόδωρα γεγραμμένη, ἐν ἧν Ἰνναῖο Ἀλεξίνος ὁ Διαλεκτικός — — ἀδελφεὶ δὲ καὶ ἔτος ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀνρίστοντος γὰρ τινος παιδὸς. Est & Pæan scriptum carmen in Craterum Macedonem quod Alexinus Dialecticus composuit. — — — Canitur ille Delphis puero lyram pulsante (22). — Alexinus, the Logician, composed also a Hymn against Craterus of Macedon, sung, at Delphos, by a Boy to the Harp. I know very well, that Alexinus, a great Disputer (23), and a subtle Logician, would have attacked both the living and the dead, when the Question was about Philosophy (24); but Craterus was not in that case. Now if he lived in Alexinus's time, he may be placed towards the CXXth Olympiad; for Alexinus was a Disciple of Eubulides, who lived at the same time that Aristotle did. See the second Book of Diogenes Laërtius, at the One hundred and ninth Section. Vossius comes in here to put us out (25): he pretends that Maussac is mistaken in taking Craterus, mentioned in the Passage of Athenæus, for the Compiler of Decrees: he says, the Hymn was composed against Craterus the Successor of Alexander. He gives no Reason, nor cites any Body for it. One might say several things for and against his Opinion; but it were to dispute without hopes of finding any Certainty. Perhaps some Persons that are at leisure will amuse themselves with those Discussions. I conclude with saying, that the Scholiast upon Aristophanes has cited our Craterus at least twice, on occasion of the Decree that was fulminated against the impious Diagoras. See the Article DIAGORAS (26).

(13) Vossius. Vossius de Hist. Græcis, lib. 3, & lib. 4, cap. 9. Ego enim nihil de eo memoratu dignum habeo dicere. Pinedo in Stephan. pag. 759.

(14) Maussac. in Harpocrat. voce ἀνδρῶν.

(15) Lib. 3, cap. 10.

(16) In voce ὑμῶν. Vossius. I do not find this Fault in the Suidas of Æmilius Porus, printed at Geneva, in 1619.

(17) Non σοφισμάτων sed Ἀπορίσμων. Craterus ille coegerat. Maussac. ib.

(18) Maussac should have said Κελεύει.

(19) In voce ἀνδρῶν.

(20) Vossius. Not in notas Maussac, pag. 99.

(21) Maussac ubi supra, voce ὑμῶν.

(22) Athen. lib. 15, pag. 696.

(23) He was first named the Dialectician, as we have seen in the Words of Athenæus, which I have just now quoted. See Diog. Laërt. lib. 2, in Euclid. n. 109.

(24) Jonsson, lib. 2, cap. 2, says that Alexinus wrote against Aristotle: he cites Hierocles and Hermippus. He is mistaken as to the latter. Hermippus, says he, lib. 1, de Aristotele apud Athenæum, lib. 16, cap. 16. Alexinus in Aristotelem petulantiam notat. Athenæus does not mention that.

(25) Vossius ubi supra.

(26) Surnamed The Atheist, at the end of the Remark [D].

(7) Vossius de Hist. Græc. lib. 3, pag. 347.

(8) Ibid. lib. 4, pag. 462.

(9) Strabo, lib. 15, pag. 434.

(10) Freinsheim. Prolegom. ad Curtium, cap. 4.

(11) Vossius de Hist. Græc. pag. 347.

(12) Ibid. lib. 4, pag. 462.

(13) Vossius de Hist. Græc. lib. 3, pag. 347.

(14) Maussac. in Harpocrat. voce ἀνδρῶν.

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- CRATIPPUS was a Peripatetic Philosopher of great Reputation [A]. He taught Philosophy at *Mitylene*, where he was born. He went afterwards to *Athens* (a), to teach it there; and had, among his Scholars, the Son of *Cicero*. He was highly valued by that great Orator (b), who obtained of *Cæsar* the Freedom of *Rome* for him, and afterwards moved the Court of the *Arcopagites* to make a Decree, to desire *Cratippus* to live at *Athens*, as an Ornament of the City (c), and to instruct the Youth (d). We may be persuaded, that he made very good Lectures, since *Brutus*, preparing himself for the War against *Marc Antony*, went to hear him (e). There are some Proofs, that he was none of those Professors, who do not understand the World; for he did not obstinately dispute with *Pompey* concerning the Divine Providence [B], at a time when the Misfortunes of that

Roman

- [A] He was a Peripatetic Philosopher of great Reputation. These Words of *Cicero* witness it. Cratippus Peripateticorum omnium quos quidem ego audierim, meo iudicio, facile princeps (1). Cratippus is, in my Opinion, by far the most excellent of all the Peripatetics whom I have heard. Let us observe on what occasion *Cicero* bestows this praise upon him: he says, that, when he was going to command in *Cilicia* (2), *Cratippus* came from *Mitylene* to *Ephesus* to wait upon him. The beginning of the first Book of *Cicero's* Offices contains another Testimony of *Cratippus's* Merit. Quamquam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cratippum, idque Athenis, abundare oportet præceptis institutisque Philosophiæ, propter summam & doctorem auctoritatem, & urbis, quorum alter te scientia augere potest, altera exemplis, tamen, &c. (3). — Though, my Son, after a Year's Study under *Cratippus*, and that at *Athens*, you cannot but be abundantly stored with the Maxims and Rules of Philosophy, having had the babbings of a Master famed for his Learning, and of a City so full of bright Examples; Yet, &c. There is still a greater Commendation of him in the third Book of the same Work. Quamquam à Cratippo nostro, principe hujus memorie Philosophorum, hæc te assidue audire atque accipere confido, tamen conducere arbitror talibus aures tuas vocibus undique circumsonare — suscepisti onus præterea grave & Athenarum & Cratippi: ad quos cum tanquam ad mercaturam bonarum artium sis profectus, inanem redire turpissimum est dedecorantem & urbis auctoritatem & magistris (4). — Though I hope you hear and receive these things constantly from *Cratippus*, the most eminent Philosopher of this Age, yet I think it highly necessary, that these Precepts should be inculcated from all quarters. — Athens and *Cratippus* render the task you have undertaken of greater consequence; to return empty from that great Mart of Learning, would be dishonourable, and derogate from the Honour of the City, and the Master.
- [B] He did not obstinately dispute with *Pompey* concerning the divine Providence. After the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Pompey* went to *Mitylene*, to take in his Wife (5). His whole Fleet consisted of a single borrowed Ship. The Inhabitants ran to the Shore, and desired him to come into the Town. He thanked them for it. The Philosopher *Cratippus* was one of those that went to complement him. Pompey disputed a little with him, and complained of divine Providence, in which *Cratippus* gently receded, advising him to hope for the best, fearing he might be tiresome and troublesome to him if he had directly opposed his Arguments. And when Pompey might have demanded, How the Providence of the Gods appeared in his Case, *Cratippus* might have answered, that, for the ill Government of Affairs at *Rome*, it was necessary the Power should be lodged in the hands of a Sovereign Prince, and then he might have demanded, How, or by what signs, Oh Pompey! shall we believe, that if thou hadst been the Conqueror, thou wouldst have made a better use of thy good Fortune, than *Cæsar* has done, or will do? But we leave this as it shall please the Gods to appoint (6). Cratippus acted the part of a wise Man: Had he been a meer Scholar, he would have followed Pompey to his Ship, and would have had the last Word, he would have pushed his common places to the tenth Reply; and would have made it a point of Honour, to get a more complete Victory over him in a Dispute, than *Cæsar* had obtained in the pitched Battle. He would not
- have been sensible that the Circumstances of the time did not require it, and that the Passions of the Soul must be cured as the Diseases of the Body. Purging and Bleeding, which may save the Life of a Patient, if seasonably used, take it away if they are used unseasonably. The same may be said of Passions; whoever designs to cure them, must take a proper time for it. Nothing can be more troublesome than certain Comforters, who will have, by all means, afflicted Persons to confess that they are in the wrong to afflict themselves. The best way to dispose them to hearken to Reason is, to give them some Advantage: Suffer your self to be overcome sometimes, do not answer all their Reflexions, or if you go about it, do it indirectly, and with Condescension, and at last be the first that is silent, and keep your Arguments for a better Opportunity. Time will dispose the sick Person to make a better use of your Philosophy.
- Impatiens animus, nec adhuc tractabilis arte, Respuit, atque odio verba monentis habet. Aggrediar melius tunc, cum sua vulnera tangi Jam finet, & veris vocibus aptus erit. Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati Plere vetet? non hoc illa monenda loco. Cum dederit lacrymas, animumque impleverit ægrum; Ille dolor verbis emoderandus erit. Temporis ars medicina fere est: data tempore profunt, Et data non apto tempore vina nocent. Quin etiam accendas vitia, irritesque vetando, Temporis si non aggrediare suis (7).
- Distemper'd Minds, distracted with their Grief, Take all for Foes who offer 'em Relief; But when their first fermenting smart is o'er, They suffer you to probe the ripen'd Sore. 'Tis Madness, a fond Mother to dissuade From Tears, while on his Hearse her Son is laid. But when Grief's Deluge can no bigger swell, Declining sorrows you'll with ease repel. Cures have their times; the best, that can be try'd, In flame the Wound, unseasonably apply'd.
- TATE.
- Cratippus* was not ignorant of this Art, and knew how to practise it with *Pompey*. That great Man was not then in a condition to hearken to Reason with respect to Providence; his Wound was yet bleeding, and his vexation would have been increased by a strong Refutation of his Murmurs. Contradiction would only have provoked and angered him. His Complaints were a Fire, which would have increased by stirring it, whereas it might be hoped, that it would be extinguished for want of Agitation (8). It was therefore better to forbear disputing. Any Man, that was versed in the Knowledge of the World, would have done so; but a meer Scholar, a Philosopher, who had been nothing but a Philosopher, would have done the quite contrary. Note, that some Writers of the XVIIIth Century say, that *Cratippus* did actually make the Answers contained in the Passage of *Plutarch*, which I have set down before. Rare Men! Who fancy they are better informed of such things than the ancient Historians; or rather, for want of reading the Originals, they pervert

Roman General, made him unfit to yield to the Reasons that might have been alledged to him. Moreover, he knew how to be sociable with his Scholars, and to charm them by the Agreeableness of his Conversation, which was free from that pedantic Gravity [C], which others cannot leave off, and which discourages young People. He writ some Books concerning Divination, and fell into an Inconveniency, which can hardly be avoided, when a Man rejects only part of certain Doctrines: he was shewed, that the Reasons, he made use of to maintain what he retained, were favourable to the Opinions which he did not retain [D].

Moreri

pervert and spoil History. The Jesuit Bisselius supposes that Cratippus told Pompey, that, considering the Disorders of the Republic, Rome could not avoid being destroyed, unless it was Monarchically governed (9). He adds, that those, who heard that Answer, asked Cratippus, Why then, if the Gods are wise, did they rather grant that Monarchy to Julius Cæsar than to Pompey? and that the Philosopher answered, Can you tell whether Pompey would have reigned better than Cæsar? the Gods only know it (10). Can any Body wonder that News-writers give a wrong Account of what they hear? Do Authors relate right what they have read in Plutarch? Plutarch says, that Cratippus thought it better to be silent, because he must otherwise have answered this and that; and yet they are so bold as to affirm, that he answered all those things, and then retired, that he might not be obliged to reply, and tell him some disagreeable Truths. 'Inter hæc ne Pompejo, se pluribus fortassis impugnaturo, veridicis responsis molestiam aggravaret, obstitit Cratippus, & abivit (11). — Upon this Cratippus, not to aggravate the concern of Pompey, who in all probability would have urged him farther, declined the question, and took his leave.'

By the way, it has been observed, that Pompey did not begin to be unfortunate, till he maintained the best Cause. O rem miseram! malas causas semper obtinuit, in optima concidit (12). You will find this in the following Passage of la Motte le Vayer, which contains a Judgment contrary to mine, concerning Cratippus's Conduct. There is a Prudence full of Vanity, and so presumptuous as to find fault with the Decrees of Heaven. Such was the Prudence of Cato, when he asked how the divine Providence could permit that Pompey should be invincible, when he did nothing that was reasonable, and only acted to satisfy his Ambition; whereas, having afterward embraced the good Cause in favour of the public Liberty, he was always unsuccessful, and worsted by Cæsar the Usurper of it *. Pompey himself, abounding in his own Sense, discoursed in that manner with the Philosopher Cratippus at Mitylene, after his Defeat at Pharsalia. Plutarch praises that Philosopher for having prudently condescended to the Opinions of that great and unfortunate Captain, contenting himself to give him some hopes for the future. But I think it had been better for him not to have had so much worldly Prudence; and that, if he had represented to Pompey the Respect that is due to the Decrees of the Almighty, he might have the better reclaimed him from his Impiety, which made him blaspheme against the Orders of Providence, which we cannot comprehend, though they tend always to the general Good of Mankind. It seems to me, that Cratippus's Philosophy would not have been less prudent, nor less comfortable, if he had taken such a course; and it had been wiser, having nothing of Meanness in it, or that could flatter Pompey's Reluctment, which did but provoke God the more against him (13).

[C] He knew how to charm his Scholars by the Agreeableness of his Conversation, which was free from pedantic Gravity. We find this in a Letter of Cicero's Son: 'Cratippo me scito, says he (14), non ut discipulum, sed ut filium esse conjunctissimum: nam cum & audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam ejus suavitatem vehementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo, necdique sæpe numero partem: exoro enim ut modicum quam læpissime cœnet. Hæc introducta consuetudine, sæpe incontinentibus nobis & canentibus obrepit, sublatæque severitate philosophiæ, humanissime nobiscum jocatur. Quare da operam ut hunc talem, tam jucundum, tam excellentem virum videas quamprimum.

mum. — The familiarity, in which Cratippus indulged me, speaks him more a Father, than a Master. He speaks without reserve, and I am charmed with his peculiar sweetness of Temper. I spend whole Days with him, and often part of the Night, for I engage him to sup with me, as often as may be; by means of this intimacy, he comes when we do not expect him, and are at Supper, and, laying aside the Severity of a Philosopher, he entertains us with the most polite flow of Wit; wherefore take the first Opportunity to see this great, agreeable, and most extraordinary Man.' This is a great Encomium that he bestows upon his Professor: he made vast Improvements under such a Master; and for that Reason Trebonius, desiring to carry him into Asia, resolved to take also Cratippus along with him (15). The latter had brought some learned Men, whom he valued very much, from Mitylene to Athens. I do not question but that he had educated them. His Disciple writes, as a piece of good News, that he was familiarly acquainted with them. Uxor familiaribus & quotidianis convivioribus, quos secum Mityleni Cratippus adduxit, hominibus & doctis & illi probatissimis (16). You may look upon this as a sign that Cratippus made good Scholars. I must take notice of a Mistake of Jonsius. He says, that Cicero's Son had a great share in that Philosopher's Familiarity at Athens in the Year 708 (17). This is a wrong Chronology; for Cicero's Offices, written after the Death of Cæsar, shew, that this young Man had been then but one Year Cratippus's Scholar at Athens.

[D] The Reasons — to maintain what he retained, were favourable to the Opinions which he did not retain. He admitted the Divination of Dreams, and that of Fury; and here is his Hypothesis. He said, that the Soul of Man had it's Original partly from a divine Understanding that is out of us, and that that part of our Soul which feels, moves, and desires, is not separated from the Action of the Body, but that the part, which is endowed with Reason and Understanding, has more vigour, when it is less depending upon Matter (18). He went upon an Opinion of Aristotle, which Averroës has unfolded, to draw out of it the monstrous Doctrine of an universal Intellect, which is the same in all Men. Afterwards Cratippus collected some Instances; he shewed that the Event had confirmed such and such Dreams, such and such Predictions, and then he argued in this manner: We cannot see without Eyes, and it happens sometimes that they do not perform their Duty; but provided they discover the Truth to us once, it is certain, that we have Organs that see it: In like manner, if there was no Divination, no Man could ever divine any thing; but because there is a Divination, it does not follow that a Man can divine always: But Men divine sometimes, and therefore we must believe there exists a Faculty of divining (19). I desire I may be allowed to say, that Cicero shews little Exactness in this part of his Work; I do not think that the Opinion of a Man can be more carelessly explained: I could easily prove it, if this was a proper place to shew the Rules of a Parallel, or of Antitheses. He refutes Cratippus's Comparison, and his Consequences more clearly. He says, that the Eyes which discover the Truth are directed by Nature and Sense; but that if our Soul foretells the Truth, either by Dreams, or by Ecstasies, it is a meer chance. Oculi vera cernentes utuntur natura atque sensu. Animi si quando vel vaticinando vel somnando vera viderunt, uti sunt fortuna atque casu (20). Cratippus's Consequences were grounded on this Hypothesis, viz. That so many Dreams, and so many Predictions, had not proved true by chance. Cicero denies that Hypothesis, and maintains against him, that Chance had always done

(9) Joannes Bisselius, Ruinar. illustr. decide 4, parte iv. p. 2856.

(10) Cuius, me hercules entus prescientia peneç folos (adit) immortales, peneç nos, nihil minus est. Id. ib.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) Cicero. Epist. 25, lib. 7, ad Attic.

* Plut. in Cat. & Pomp.

(13) La Mothe le Vayer, Dialogue 6, de la Promenade, pag. 144 of the thirteenth Volume of his Works. See also pag. 146, where he confutes those who excuse Cratippus.

(14) Epist. 21, lib. 16, Cicero ad Familiar. pag. m. 455.

(15) Ibid. Epist. 16, lib. 12.

(16) Ibid. Epist. 21, lib. 16, pag. 457.

(17) Jonsius, de Scriptor. Hist. Phil. pag. 203.

(18) Cicero, lib. 1, de Divinat. cap. 32.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 45; D.

(f) He was still at Mitylene after the Battle of Pharsalia, in 706 (ans) not in 706, as *Yossius* says, pag. 203, and no body informs us that he went out of it the Year following.

Moréri says, without any Reason for it, that he taught in Athens in the Year of Rome 706 (f).

it; and then he makes use of an Argument *ad hominem*: You reject, says he, the Divinations of the *Augures*, and of the *Haruspices*, and those of Astrologers, &c. nevertheless they have been sometimes confirmed by the Event; and therefore you are in the wrong to reject them, or you must admit two kinds of Divination without any reason. I cannot see what *Cratippus* could have answered. *Cicero's* words deserve to be set down: 'Assumit *Cratippus* hoc modo, sunt autem innumerales praesentiones non fortuitae: at ego dico nullam. Vide quanta sit controversia, jam assumptione non concessa nulla conclusio est. At impudentes sumus, qui quod tam peripetuum sit non concedamus. Quid est peripetuum? Multa vera, inquit, evadere. Quid quod multo plura falsa? Nonne ipsa varietas quae est propria fortunae, fortunam esse causam non naturam esse docet? Deinde si tua ista conclusio, *Cratippe*, vera est (tecum enim mihi res est) nonne intelligis eadem uti posse & aruspices, & fulguratores, & interpretes ostentorum, & augures, & fortilegos, & Chaldaeos, quorum generum nullum est, ex quo non aliquid sicut praedictum sit evaserit? Ergo aut ea quoque genera divinandi sunt quae tu rectissime improbas: aut si ea non sunt, non intelligo quur

haec duo sint quae relinquis. Qua ergo ratione haec inducis, eadem illa possunt esse quae tollis (21). --- *Cratippus* proceeds in his Argument thus: There are innumerable Preconceptions wherein Chance is not concerned. But I say none. Consider the Nature of the Question. Where the Postulatum is denied, no Conclusion can be drawn. But it would be Impudence not to grant what is so self-evident. What is self-evident? That many things happen to be true. And what if many more happen to be false? Does not this Variety, which is the peculiar Mark of Chance, prove Chance, and not Nature, to be the Cause? But, *Cratippus*, (for it is with you I am engaged) was your Conclusion true, do not you perceive, that Soothsayers, Diviners, Interpreters of Prodigies, *Augurs*, Fortune-tellers, Chaldeans (of all which sorts some have foretold something which happened) might use the same? Therefore either those kinds which you rightly reject are true, or else I see no reason to allow these which you except. For the rest may be supported by the same Arguments, which you use in the Defence of these. *Tertullian* reckons one *Cratippus* among those that wrote Books about Dreams (22); and I take him to be the same with our *Cratippus*.

(21) Id. *ibid.*

(22) *Tertul.* lib. de Anima.

(a) This is the Opinion of *Imperialis* and *Cratippo*; but *Jerom. Bursardus*, *Difert. de Poëtis* Ferrarenfibus. pag. 33, refutes it, and says, that *Cento* is in the *Ferrarese*.

CREMONINUS (CAESAR), who was seventeen Years a Professor of Philosophy at Ferrara, and forty Years at Padua [A], was born at Cento in the *Modeneze* (a), in the Year 1550. He got such a Reputation, that most Kings and Princes desired to have his Picture. His Lectures were very much esteemed; but his printed Books did not sell well [B]. He was accounted a Freethinker, who did not believe the Immortality of the Soul [C], and whose Opinions about other Matters

[A] He was Professor of Philosophy — and forty Years at Padua. He was at first Colleague of the famous *Piccolomini*, first Professor of Philosophy in the University of Padua, whom he succeeded after his Death. His Method was, to explain first of all *Aristotle's* Doctrine, and then to clear the Obscurities of it, either according to his own Thoughts, or according to the Explication of *Alexander Aphrodisiensis*. He seldom mentioned the Disputes of the Schoolmen; he utterly despised the Opinions of the Moderns, and made it his Business to revive the Doctrine of the Ancients. He delivered his Lectures with such a good Grace, and so gravely, that it would be a very difficult thing to find any Professors like him. His Conversations with the Scholars were not considerable. He discoursed of all manner of things, without diving into the bottom of any one of them. His Affability and Politeness appeared in them much more than his Learning (1). I do not think that he deserves to be blamed for it; for, in short, a Man's Mind cannot be always bent; the more pains he takes in his public Lectures, the more he wants some Relaxation in his private Conversations, which would be most troublesome, if he was obliged to undertake the Discussion of some particular Matter. One must have the Liberty of rambling, and touching slightly upon all the things, which the course of Conversation brings upon the Carpet. This is the most agreeable, and the most innocent Diversion that a Doctor, obliged to teach in public, can have.

[B] His Lectures were very much esteemed; but his printed Books did not sell so well. This wants to be paraphrased, that my Author's Thought may be thoroughly understood. The Books, says he, that *Cremoninus* caused to be printed, grow musty in the Booksellers Shops; but what he dictated to his Scholars, walking, according to the Custom of the Peripatetics, is so excellent, that nothing more agreeable, or more perfect, can be desired for the Discovery of the Mysteries of Philosophy. 'Illud nobis mirandum quod elaborata ipsius opera typis excusa, in officinis haecenus evilescent; scripta vero Peripatetici, ut nihil ad arcana philosophiae detegenda perfectius ac suavius desiderari possit (2)'. That a Sermon or a Lecture should be more admired when we hear them, than when we read them (3), is no rare thing; nay it is very common. That a Man who speaks in public should better succeed, when without

any Preparation he gives a free Scope to his Imagination, than when he composes, or meditates what he is to say with all the Care imaginable, is not so common a thing; but yet it is not very extraordinary. That the Books of an Author should be more esteemed, whilst they are read in Manuscript, than after they are printed, is a thing that happens very often (4); but here is something more extraordinary: What *Cremoninus* dictated to his Scholars had the utmost Perfection, and what he published was read with the utmost Contempt. This is what *Imperialis* says. To explain this, we may have recourse to two Hypotheses; the one is, to say, that he was one of those Authors, who spoil their own Works by correcting them, and whose Strength consists only in the first Sallies of the Mind, and grows dull or vanishes away in a close and profound Meditation: the other is, to say, that *Imperialis* has not expressed himself well, and that, to relate the thing truly, he should have told us, that *Cremoninus's* Writings, which were admired in Manuscript Copies, lost their Reputation as soon as they were printed. This last Hypothesis seems more likely to me than the other: for, if *Cremoninus* had spoiled his Works by preparing them for the Press, the thing might have been remedied by means of the Copies that were in the Scholars Hands. Some officious Friends would have revived his Glory, by publishing the incomparable Writings that he had dictated.

[C] He was accounted a Freethinker, who did not believe the Immortality of the Soul. Several Authors say, that this was the Reason why he would have those words to be put in his Epitaph, *Caesar Cremoninus hic totus jacet*. --- *Caesar Cremoninus lies wholly here*. If we had no other Argument, we could not well convict him of Libertinism; for the famous Professor *Gisbert Voëtius*, having alleged that Proof, disowned it some time after, because the same Friend, who had supplied him with it, sent him word that it was founded upon a false Fact. 'Ante hac, says he (5), ab eruditiss. viro & amico mihi communicatum erat epitaphium quod dicebatur sibi fecisse; Totus Cremoninus hic jacet. Sed postea ab eodem aliunde aliter informato monitus revocaui illud in prima hujus disputationis editione.' In the Room of that Proof, he substitutes another, which does not signify much. The thing is this: *Fortunius Licetus* says, that, having taken upon him to confute the Opinion of *Alexander Aphrodisiensis* concerning

(4) *Varillas* is an Instance of it.

(5) *Voët.* selectarum disputationum Theologicarum, Vol. I, pag. 206.

(1) Ex *Joanne Imperiali* in Museo Histor. pag. 173.

(2) *Imper. ibid.* pag. 174.

(3) See, above, Remark [O] of the Article CASIUS SEVERUS (TITUS), at the end; and below, the Remark [K] of the Article HOR-TENSIVS (QUINTUS); and the Remark [C] of the Article NARNI.

Matters were not in the least consonant to Christianity [D]. He died of the Plague in the Year 1630, and was buried in the Monastery of St. Justina, to which he left all his Estate. He was very civil to every body, and knew how to appear kind and obliging: nay, he was too exact an Observer of Ceremonies, or Offices of Civility; but at the bottom he did not espouse any one's Interests sincerely or faithfully. He delighted in fomenting Divisions among the Scholars, and pretended to take no part in their Factions, and disguised himself under artificial Caresses with the utmost Facility; and in the mean time he kept up Discord with all his Heart, especially to the Disadvantage of those Students whom he knew not to be in his Interest (b). We have, in the first Volume of the *Mercurio Jesuitico* (c), the Speech he made in 1591 to the Senate of Venice, for the University of Padua, against the Jesuits. His Qualities were not known to one of the Historians of Count d'Ulfeld [E]. Father Rapin is mistaken, when he says, that he flourished in the XVth Century (d) in the University of Pisa (e).

cerning the Nature of the Soul, he could not be dissuaded from that laudable Design, by the Menaces of Cremoninus, his Colleague, and Lewis Albertus, Professor of Divinity, who threatened to write against him. They were, says he, two Disciples of Frederic Pendasius, very much addicted to the Opinion of Alexander Aphrodisiensis. 'Ambo doctrinæ Aphrodisiæ cultores non semel dixerint se volumini meo contradicentes, qui nulla contradictione relicta diem obeuntes fato cesserunt (6). -- They were both Advocates for the Doctrines of Aphrodisæus, and often declared they would answer my Discourse, but died without leaving any Answer.' It is plain, that, since a Professor of Divinity at Padua threatened to write in favour of that Opinion, he did not believe that Alexander Aphrodisiensis had maintained the Mortality of the Soul. Common Sense teaches, that neither in Italy, nor in other places, a Divine would be so bold as to write in Vindication of an Opinion, if he acknowledged that it is contrary to the Immortality of the Soul. So that, if Cremoninus had no other Opinion than that which that Professor of Divinity pretended to vindicate, he was not heterodox as to the Immortality of the Soul: and therefore we want other Proofs. But as I affirm nothing of my own Head, I am not obliged to produce them.

Here is a Passage somewhat curious. I take it from a Letter of Balzac, wherein he recommends one Mr. Drouet to Mr. de Lorme the King's Physician. 'If you discover to him the Mysteries of the Arabians, (he knows those of the Greeks in Perfection) he will not hear you, neither as a prophane Person, nor as one newly initiated. His Name is in great Letters in the Records of the University of Padua: and when he left the School of the great Cremoninus, he was almost as great and as learned as he. Not that he is a blind Follower of his Master: I can assure you that he has only embraced his sound Opinions; and never was a Christian better persuaded than he, that the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, is the God of the Living, and not of the Dead, &c (7).'

Lorenzo Craffo, whom I had not by me when this Article was first printed, is since come into my Hands. I find in his Book the Confirmation of a Conjecture that came then into my Mind; which is,

that Cremoninus did not simply and absolutely maintain the Mortality of the Soul, but only in case Aristotle's Opinions were to be followed. That Question of Fact, of little Moment at bottom, has been a long time debated in the Schools of Italy, and there was no just reason to place those among the Heterodox, who pretended, that Aristotle had not taught the Immortality of the Soul. Such was Cremoninus's Restriction. 'E veleno d'animo contagioso l'insegnare, che l'anima dell' Uomo soggetto alla corruzione non differisca nella morte dell' Uomo da quella de' Bruti, com' egli faceva, ancorche faccamente asserisse sollenerci ciò solamente in sentenza d'Aristotele (8)'. Moreri has suppressed that Clause of Lorenzo Craffo, which is a capital Omission in this Case. Note, that this is almost the only thing that Lorenzo has added to the Narrative of Imperialis. He is so much the more to be praised for having added it, because he was besides persuaded that Cremoninus's Restriction is only a Shift. He declares him void of all Religion, and adds, that some Persons thought he was guilty of having inspired that bad Doctrine into several of his trusty Scholars. 'Fù ben composto di corpo, aultero di volto, breve di sonno, ambizioso di saper molto, finto di costumi, LONTANO D'OGNI RELIGIONE, havendo secondo il parer d'alcuni fatto non pochi alievi confidenti di questa prava sua Dottrina (9).'

[D] His Opinions about other matters were not in the least consonant to Christianity. His Doctrine concerning Fate, the World, and the moving Intelligences of the Heavens, did not appear to be sound; and it was thought that he maintained them with more Zeal than a Christian should have done (10). [E] His Qualities were not known to one of the Historians of Count d'Ulfeld. That Historian's Name is Roussau de la Valette. His historical Novel, intitled, *Le Comte d'Ulfeld*, was printed at Paris in the Year 1677. We find there, that That Count, having, by the Follies of his Youth, deserved to be turned out of his Father's House, met with Signor Cremonini, a noble Venetian, at Padua, that he contracted a very strict Friendship with him, and improved so much by his Conversation in a Year's time, that he often owned, that he had from him the best part of what he knew.

CRESPET (PETER), Friar of the Order of the Celestins, and Prior of their Convent at Soissons, published, in the XVIth Century, several Books [A], which made it appear, that he had read much, and had made abundance of Collections, both out of Prophane and Ecclesiastical Authors. Moreri says he was a Native of Sens (a), and that he died in 1595. Therefore he should not have added, that he lived in an Age, when Learning was very much neglected.

[A] He published several Books. His *Garden of Pleasure, and spiritual Recreation*, was printed, at Paris, in two Volumes, in 8vo, in the Year, 1602. He revised, and corrected, this Edition. It is divided into five Parts, containing divers Discourses, as well of the Nature, Origin, Conditions, Effects, and Enormities of Sins, which ought to be excluded or extirpated the Garden of the Soul: as also of the Nature, admirable Effects, Dignity, and Excellence of the Virtues, which should be planted and cherished there. He joined to this Tract, An Encomium upon the Excellency of the Virtue of Chastity, Virginity, and Continence, although he had already sufficiently treated of those noble

Virtues in the six Books of Continence, which he had translated from the Latin of Mr d'Espense, in the Epistle Dedicatory of the said Book, and again in his Mystical Pomegranate. Treatise 1, §. 9.

(1). The Epistle Dedicatory of the first Volume of this *Garden* is dated October 1, 1586, and that of the first Volume May 1, 1587. He quotes sometimes, in this Book, his Discourses on the Origin, Excellence, and Immortality, of the Soul. He also made Discourses of the Hatred of Satan, which are often cited by Martin del Rio, in his *Disquisitiones Magicæ*. He published also in Latin, *Summa Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ & totius Juris Canonici*.

CRISPINUS

(6) Fortun. Licetus, Histor. prior. Operum, cap. 16, apud Veticum, ibid.

(7) Balzac Lettres choisies, pag. 35, Dutch Edit.

(a) He calls himself, in the Titles of his Books, *Celestin of Paris*; but this may only mean, that he was made a Celestin Monk at Paris.

(b) Taken from Imperialis in Museo Histor. pag. 173.

(c) Pag. 490.

(d) Rapin, Com. par. de Platon & d'Aristote, pag. m. 399.

(e) Id. Reflex. sur la Philosophie, pag. m. 350.

(8) Lorenzo Craffo, Elogio d'Uomini Letterati, Tom. II, pag. 124.

(9) Id. ib. pag. 125.

(10) Imperialis, ubi supra, pag. 174.

(11) Crespet. Jardin de Plaisir, &c, Tom. II, at the end, pag. 451.

(a) Melch. Adam, in vita Theod. Bezae, pag. 205.

(b) Beza, Responsio ad Balduinum, pag. 216, Tom. II, Operum.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Melch. Adam, ubi supra, Note, That this Martyrology was first printed in Latin, in 8vo, in the Year 1556, and then in 4to, in the Year 1560.

(1) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 433.

(2) Konig. Bibl. pag. 223.

(3) See his second Answer to John Calvin, pag. 73, & seq. Edit. Col. lon. 1562.

(4) Responsio pro Balduino ad Calvinum & Bezae, fol. 98.

(5) Melch. Adam, in vita Bezae, pag. 205.

(6) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 437.

CRISPINUS (JOHN), in French *Crespin*, a famous Printer at Geneva, whether he fled for his Religion, in the Year 1548 (a), was born in the Artois (b). He applied himself with great Capacity and Diligence to the printing of several Books (c), and particularly of a Greek and Latin Lexicon [A], and of the Martyrology of the Protestants (d). He died of the Plague at Geneva, in the Year 1572 (e). *Eustache Vignon*, his Son-in-law, continued to make that Printing-house flourish (f). *Valerius Andreas Desselius* says, that *Crispinus*, the Son of a Civilian of Arras, studied five Years at Louvain, and that there was a very long Friendship between him and Francis Baudouin, and that he writ some Notes on the Institutes, and a Treatise of Apostates &c. (g) [B]. He says nothing of a Book that has been very often reprinted, and which Baudouin despised very much [C]. You will find some Facts in Moreri, which I will not repeat, and some Faults that I shall observe below [D]. I shall also observe those of the History of Printing [E]. Conrad Badius printed some time for our *Crispinus* [F].

(e) Beza, Epist. 64, pag. 278, Tom. III, Operum.

(f) Id. Prefat. Tom. II, Operum.

(g) Valer. Andr. Desselius, Bibl. Belg. pag. 437.

[A] He applied himself to the Printing of — a Greek and Latin Lexicon. It was not in the Year 1595, as *Valerius Andreas* (1) and *Konig* (2) say; for he died in the Year 1572. Many Bibliographers commit this Fault: they ascribe to a Man the Editions of his Books that were made after his Death.

[B] He wrote — a Treatise of Apostates. It is a Commentary on the third Law of the Code de Apostatis. He wrote it in favour of Calvin against Baudouin, and to oppose it to the Commentary of the latter on the Laws de famosis Libellis. Baudouin complains bitterly of it, and inveighs against that old Friend, who had been his School-fellow (3).

[C] He says nothing of a Book, that has been very often reprinted, and which Baudouin despised very much. In this Book, *Crispinus* displays his Zeal against Popery, and for the Instruction of the Reformed. It is intitled, *The State of the Church, with a Discourse of the Times from the Days of the Apostles to this present time*. I have sometimes quoted it. The Edition, that I make use of, is that of Bergen-op-Zoom 1605, in 4to, revised and enlarged by John Tassin, Minister of the French Church at Flushing. Here is the abusive Judgment that Baudouin made of that Work of *Crispinus*: 'Si qua unquam fuit putida & insulsa farrago vanitatis atque aversusque illam profecto esse altissima voce profiteri cogimur (4).' Note, that Baudouin spoke then as being the Author's Enemy.

[D] You will find some Faults in Moreri, which I shall observe below. I. *Crispinus* did not go to Geneva with a design to print Books there, but on account of Religion. It is true that he and Beza designed at first to associate themselves, and to set up a Printing-Press (5); and that, Beza having found another Employment, *Crispinus* executed that design alone. But this does not excuse Moreri; for his words express nothing less than what he should have informed the Reader of. They plainly signify, that *Crispinus* went to Geneva to get some Bookfellers, that would print the Books that he had either made or collected. II. It is not true, that, before he went to Geneva, he had already published *Hesiod, Nomenclatura Aitionum, Institutionum Imperialium lib. iv. &c.* III. Neither is it true, that, being at Geneva, Poverty obliged him to be a Servant for a Livelihood. IV. Nor, that Baudouin says so. The following words of *Valerius Andreas* have occasioned most of those Faults: 'Vixit dein in Galliis professione typographicae ac literariae exercitationis clarus: usus annos multos amico Franc. Balduino, quocumque pueris educatus fuerat. *Crispinum* tamen postea omnis humanitatis non minus quam juris oblitum fuisse, ex quo factus est servus Allobrox, scribit Bald. in Responsione sua ad Joan. Calvinum pag. 89 (6). — He lived afterwards in France, eminent for his Printing, and Studies, with Fr. Baudouin, with whom he had been educated from his Infancy; But Baudouin afterwards, in his Answer to John Calvin, writes, that *Crespin* had abandoned both Humanity and Honesty, since he had submitted to the Yoke of Religious Slavery.' This is what made Moreri say, that *Crispinus* published some Books before he went to Geneva; and that afterwards he was a Servant. He did in no wise apprehend the sense of Baudouin's words. They signify that *Crispinus* had forgot all the Duties of Humanity and Justice, since he had submitted to Calvin's Yoke. I

wonder Moreri did not believe that Baudouin meant, that *Crispinus*, after his Change of Religion, had forgot whatever he knew of the Civil-Law. This would have been wonderful; and it would not be the first time that it hath been said, that Men, by changing their Religion, lose their Wit, Style, Learning, &c.

[E] I will also observe the Faults of the History of Printing. We find there (7), I. That *Crispinus*, having studied five Years at Louvain, came afterwards into France to study the Civil-Law with Francis Baudouin his intimate Friend, under Gabriel Mudé and other Doctors of the Civil-Law. II. That he made himself very famous in the Exercise of the Art of Printing. III. That he printed there the New Testament in Greek very correctly in 1564, and Homer and Theocritus in 1570. IV. That he was obliged to retire to Geneva on account of Religion, where he composed and printed Lexicon *Crispini* in Folio and Quarto. V. That Casaubon was one of his Authors. One Faulty of *Valerius Andreas* has occasioned many others. He is in the wrong, to say that *Crispinus* made himself famous in France by the Exercise of Printing; for he did not begin that Trade till he left France. But other Mistakes have been built on that bad Foundation of *Valerius Andreas*. It is supposed that *Crispinus* did not retire to Geneva till after the Year 1570; that he printed several Books in France before that time, and that his Lexicon came out after the Year 1570. This falls to the Ground, when this Truth is once established, that *Crispinus* went to Geneva about the Year 1548, and that his Lexicon Græco-Latinum appeared before the Year 1562. 'Tu oblitus te aliquando Lugduni fuisse Sebastiani Gryphii mancipium, bono & honesto, id est tui penitus dissimili viro (*Crispino*) vitio vertis quod Lexicon Græco-Latinum quale ante non editum fuit, maximo tum sumptu tum labore in publicum emisit (8). — Forgetting you were once a Servant to Sebastian Gryphius, you object against *Crespin*, a Man of Honesty and Integrity, (Principles to which you are a Stranger) that, with immense Labour, and at a vast expence, he had published a Lexicon, Greek and Latin, such as had before been published.' So says Beza in the Refutation of a Book, which Baudouin had published in the Year 1562. The other Faults of the History of Printing are such, that *Valerius Andreas* has no hand in them. He says in very plain terms, that it was at Louvain, and not in France, that *Crispinus* heard the Lectures of Gabriel Mudéus and other Professors. 'Lovanium missus Gabrielem Mudæum aliosque antecessores quinquennium totum ante aditam Galliam audivit (9).' He does not say that *Crispinus* went into France with Baudouin. Take notice, that Casaubon was not yet fourteen Years of Age when *Crispinus* died: How then could he be one of his Authors? The origin of this error is probably this: Theocritus was reprinted after *Crispinus*'s Death, and Casaubon's Notes were added to that Edition (10), and the Preface of *Crispinus* was kept in it. This made some believe that *Crispinus* had put out that new Edition.

[F] Conrad Badius printed some time, for our *Crispinus*. I have seen these Words at the end of a little Book in 8vo. *A Geneva, de l'Imprimerie de Jean Crespin par Conrad Badius 1550*. That little Book is a Piece of Calvin, intitled, *A most excellent Treatise of the Christian Life*.

(7) La Caille, Hist. de l'Imprimerie, pag. 142.

(8) Beza Resp. ad Francisc. Balduin, pag. 216, Tom. II, Operum.

(9) Valer. Andr. ubi supra.

(10) Those Notes came out under the Name of Isaacus Hortus bonus. He made them at the Request of Eustache Vignon, who reprinted Theocritus. They are dated in August, 1584.

CRISPUS (JOHN BAPTIST), a good Divine, and a good Poet, flourished in the XVth Century, and was born at Gallipoli, in the Kingdom of Naples. The chief of his Books is that which was printed at Rome, in the Year 1594, in folio, de *Ethnicis Philosophis caute legendis* [A]. See *Toppi's Biblioteca Napoletana* (a). (e) Pag. 132.

[A] The chief of his Books is that de *Ethnicis Philosophis caute legendis*. *Poffevin* speaks of it. Vir vere Philosophus qui nimirum acri & quali Christianum decet, judicio, Philosophiam expendit, librum sat grandem de Philosophis caute legendis ita scripsit, ut quæcunque hereses à Philosophis minus cautis manarunt, eæ indicatæ, sint ac solidis rationibus confutatæ, ex divinis Scripturis & Patribus, ex Synodorum decretis, ex Scholasticis, quibus cautionibus præmuniti Philosophi sive publici Professores inoffenso pede curriculum hoc decurrent, tantamque ancillam recta adducunt ad arcem (1). — A true Philosopher, who examined Philosophy with that nicety of Judgment, which becomes a Christian, wrote a considerable Treatise on the caution, which ought to be used in reading the Philosophers, wherein all the errors, which flowed from unguarded Philosophers, are pointed out, and confuted, by solid reasoning from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, the Decrees of Councils, and the Schoolmen. With which Precautions, Philosophers, or public Professors, being provided, may safely tread that Path, and lead the handmaid to the Temple. Father *Merfenne* has inserted a long Passage out of it in one of his Books (2): it is that wherein *Crispus*

confutes the mystical Divines. It is not improper to know the reason why Father *Merfenne* inserted that Passage; Because, says he, that Author, who is pretty scarce, has confuted that sort of Divines most elegantly. Quod attinet ad secretiores illos Theologos quos Venetus tam importune & tam frequenter inculcat, bene mihi philosophatus videtur *Joannes Baptista Crispus*, cujus hic ideo integram sententiam libet attexere, præsertim cum autor ille rarissimus esse videatur, & elegantissimo stylo secretiores illos Theologos configat (3). — As to those mystical Divines whom Venetus mentions so often, John Baptist Crispus seems to me to have justly reasoned, whose Opinion I shall here give at large: especially as that Author is very scarce, and as he confutes them with a peculiar Elegance of Style.

The other Works of *Crispus* are two Speeches about the War against the Turks, printed at Rome in the Year 1594, in 4to. *De Medicis laudibus*, Oratio ad cives suos Gallipolitans, printed at Rome in the Year 1591, in quarto. The Life of *Sannazar*, printed at Rome in the Year 1583, and reprinted at Naples in the Year 1633, in octavo. The Plan of the City of Gallipoli, dedicated to *Flaminio Caraccioli* the first of January 1591 (4).

(3) *Marinus Merfennus* in Problem. Veneti, pag. 423.

(4) Taken from *Toppi's Biblioteca Napoletana*.

CRITIAS, a Disciple of *Socrates*, improved so little by that Philosopher's Instructions, that he became a very wicked Man. He shewed it chiefly, when the City of Athens, the Place of his Birth, being subdued by *Lyfander*, General of the *Lacedæmonians*, was subjected to thirty Tyrants. He was one of them, and the most unjust of them all (a). He did not only design to render the City of Athens most miserable, but also to make a Desert of all Attica [A]. It is said, that his Injustices prejudiced the People against *Socrates* [B], because their Resentment against the Scholar reflected upon the Master. *Xenophon* has confuted those, who maliciously imputed to *Socrates* the disorderly Lives of some of his Scholars [C]. It is certain, that *Critias* did not love *Socrates*, and that he forbade him

(a) *Κριτίας* μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀτυχεύσει πάντων πλεονεκτήσατος τῶν καὶ βιαστῶτος ἐγένετο. Critias enim quam ad paucos pervenisset civitatis status, unus ex illis factus longe omnium avarissimus ac violentissimus fuit. *Xenophon*, de *factis & dictis Socratis*, lib. 1, pag. m. 415. See Remark [A].

[A] He designed to make a Desert of all Attica. His Rancour against his Country appeared from the time that he retired into *Thessaly*, where he was continually speaking ill of the Athenians. He represented them as a People who had the worst Customs in the World. Διαβάλλον δ' Ἀθηναίους ὡς πλείστα ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτανότας. Athenienses vero perstringens quod præ cæteris errarent maxime (1). Being returned to Athens, he did the *Lacedæmonians* many Services; he put *Lyfander* upon demolishing the Walls, and conspired with them to depopulate all Attica, and to reduce it into Meadows. Ἐπεὶ λαμπρῶς μὲν ἐλακάνισεν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ, καθήρει δὲ διὰ Λυσάνδρου τὰ τεῖχη, ὥς δ' ἤλαυνεν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ σῆμαί ποί τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφαιρεῖτο, πόλεμον Λακωνικὸν εἰπὼν ἐς πάσας, εἰ τις τὸν Ἀθηναίων φεῖγοντα δέξαστο, ἐμὴν τε καὶ μισαίοντα τὴν τελευτὴν ὑπερβάλλειν, βυλεύματός τε ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνελαλόμενον ὡς μηλόβοτος ἢ Ἀττικὴ ἀποφανεῖν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης ἐκκνωθεῖσα, κακίος ἀνθρώπων ἐμοὶ γὰρ φαίνεται ζυμάντων, ὃν ἐπὶ κακία ὄνομα. Cum ille aperte *Lacedæmonia* is faveret, proderet sacra, per *Lyfanderum* mœnia destrueret, quoque Athenienses expulerat quominus in ulla Græciæ parte consisterent, prohiberet, Lacedæmonicum edicens bellum omnibus imminere si quis exultantem Atheniensem exciperet, truculentia & cædibus triginta tyrannos superaret, detestabileque consilium cum *Lacedæmonia* iniret ut Attica pecorum nutrix efficeretur, virorum armentis spoliata, his de causis mihi omnium hominum pessimus fuisse videtur qui ob scelera fuerunt famosi (2). — As he was evidently devoted to the *Lacedæmonians*, had not the least regard for the most sacred things, demolished the Walls by *Lyfander*, and forbade the Athenians, whom he banished, to remain in any part of Greece, threatening all, who should entertain them, with the Arms of Sparta, exceeded the whole Thirty in Cruelty and Tyranny, and entered into a most abominable Scheme, with the *Lacedæmonians*, of depopulating Attica, and

making it a common Pasture; I look upon him as the worst of Men, even amongst those who have signalized themselves by their Villanies. He was the cause of the Death of *Alcibiades*; for *Lyfander* did not engage the Persians to make away with him, till he had been informed by *Critias*, and the other Tyrants of Athens, that the Order which he had established in that City would be soon overturned, if that Man was not destroyed. Critias cæterique tyranni Atheniensium certos homines ad *Lyfanderum* in Asiam miserunt, qui eum certiores facerent, nisi *Alcibiadem* sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum quas ipse Athenis constitulisset. Quare si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum persequeretur (3). — Critias, and the other Tyrants of Athens, sent to inform *Lyfander* in Asia, that, unless he dispatched *Alcibiades* out of the way, nothing which they had done at Athens would be of any effect. That therefore if he desired the continuance of what he had done, he must destroy him.

[B] His Injustices prejudiced the People against *Socrates*. The Orator *Æschines* did not question it; for in one of his Orations, he spoke thus to the Athenians: Τυχεῖς ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι Σωκράτην μὲν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀπεκτείναντες ἐπὶ Κελσίαν ἐφάρμακον πεπαιδευκὸς ἕνα τῶν τελευτῶν, τῶν τὸν δῆμον καλῶσαντων. Vos, Athenienses, *Socratem* sapientem illum occidistis, quod *Critiam* institulisset unum XXX. virorum qui populum opprimerent (4). — Ye, O Men of Athens, put the wise *Socrates* to Death, because he had educated *Critias*, one of the XXX Oppressors of the People.

[C] *Xenophon* has confuted those, who maliciously imputed to *Socrates* the disorderly Life of some of his Scholars. The Enemies of that Philosopher imputed to him all the Misery, that *Critias* and *Alcibiades*, two of his Disciples, brought upon the Athenians. *Xenophon* shews that this was very unjust: He says, That those two Scholars applied themselves to *Socrates* to learn the Art of Discouraging, which they intended to make use of to satisfy their exorbitant Ambition (5). He pretends, that tho' they were

(3) *Corn. Nepos*, in *Alcibiade*, cap. x. init.

(4) *Æschines* Orat. in *Timarchum*, pag. m. 194. B.

(5) *Xenoph. de factis & dictis Socratis*, lib. 1, pag. m. 415.

(1) *Poffevin* Ap. p. r. Sac. Tom. II, pag. 117.

(2) At the end of his Observations & Emendations in *Problema* Georgii Veneti in Genesim.

(1) *Philostratus* in *vitis Sophistarum*, pag. 505.

(2) Idem, pag. 504, 505.

Poetry [F]. He was more praised by Plato than by Proclus [G], who commented upon Plato. He has been reckoned one of those who dogmatized against the Existence of God [H]. I should not be surprized that Authors, indifferently

* Sophistas Critias, qui in gravi genere dicendi exercitissimus fuit. Nec tamen gravitatem verbis poeticis aut dithyrambicis metiebatur, sed vocabulis maxime propriis, ut natura postulat, concinnabat orationem. Insigni præterea brevitate & magna Atticisimi temperie loquutus, nihil habet insolens aut ineptum (16). — Critias bore no considerable rank among the old Sophists, being a perfect Master of the majestic manner of speaking; nor yet did he swell his Discourse with poetical or sounding Expressions, but chose those which were most suitable to the nature of his subject. Besides he spoke with a peculiar conciseness, and a happy mixture of the Attic Elegance, so that nothing is uncouth or improper. He quotes Hermogenes in his Favour

(16) Caussin. de Eloquentia, lib. 2, pag. m. 18, 29.

(17) Ab Hermogene judicator summus et digne

(18) Philostratus in vita Sophistarum, pag. 505.

(19) Id. ibid. This may be justly said of Seneca.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Philostratus in Epist. ad Julianum Augustum, pag. 887.

(22) Plut. in Alcibiades, pag. 209, E.

(23) Idem, in Cimone, pag. 484, E.

(17) I had rather inform my Readers, that Critias was one of the XXX Tyrants of Athens, than merely call him a Sophist. However, I own that Philostratus, giving too great a Latitude to that Word, placed Critias among the ancient Sophists. We have seen that he made a profligate Wretch of him; and we shall see that he praises him extremely for his Eloquence. Την δὲ ἰδίαν τὴν λόβη δολυσίας ὁ Κριτίας καὶ πολυφωνῶν, σεμνολογῆσαι τε ἱκανώτατος, ἢ τὴν διθυραμβικὴν σεμνολογίαν, ἰδὲ καταφύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ἐκ ποιητικῆς ἰνῶματα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῶν κυριωτάτων συκμῶν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν, ὅρα τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ βραχυλογῶντα ἱκανῶς καὶ δεινῶς, καθαρῶς ἀπολογίας ἡδὲ ἀπλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκ ἀρετῆς, ἰδὲ ἐκφάτως. Genus vero orationis Critiæ fuit sententiarum gravitate & judicio ornatum. Idem in gravi dicendi genere exercitissimus fuit, quam quidem gravitatem non dithyrambis intonabat, neque ad poetica verba confugiebat, sed vocabulis maxime propriis concinnabat & ut natura postulat. Video namque hominem dicenti brevitate loquentem, & in defensione alios subtiliter carpentem. Item neque male neque immoderate Attica lingua differentem (18). — Critias, as to his Manner of writing, was solid and sententious, much inclined to the Majestic, but never rising to Bombast, or affecting Poetical Terms, expressing himself with Propriety, and agreeable to Nature. Metbinks I see him speaking with a becoming Gravity, and refusing Objections with strength of Argument, and Attic Elegance. I omit the remaining part of his Character mentioned by Philostratus: He loved Paradoxes, and to represent one and the same Idea by several loose Strokes. Καὶ τὸ δυνάστεως δὲ χωρὶς περσεύων Κριτίου ὄρα. Critias quoque decor est scriptis dissolutis uni loco inbarere (19). The Wind of his Eloquence fell often, but it was always softer and more pleasant than the Zephyrus (20). One of Philostratus's Letters informs us, that Critias and Thucydides took Gorgias for their Model, and that they were beholding to him for the Loftiness of their Eloquence, attended with Facility in the one, and with Force in the other. Κριτίας δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐκ ἀγωνίζοντες τὸ μεγαλόφωνον καὶ τὴν ὀφρὺν παρ' αὐτῶν κεντημένοι μεταποιῶντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ οἰκίον, ὁ μὲν ὑπ' εὐλαττίας, ὁ δ' αὖ ὑπὸ ῥώμης. Critiam vero & Thucydidem non clam est magnitudinem animi & supercilium ab eo (Gorgia) accepisse. Transulerunt autem ad propria, alter ad linguæ promptitudinem, alter ad robur (21).

[F] And for his Poetry.] Plutarch mentions a Passage of Critias's Elegies, where the Author puts Alcibiades in mind that it was he who had caused him to be recalled, I mean, who had proposed to the People of Athens the Law that recalled him. It cannot be said, that the Author of those Elegies is another Critias, since Plutarch surnames him the Son of Callæsebrus: Κριτίᾳ τῷ Καλλαισεβρὲ γράσαντο ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐλεσίαις πεποινηκε. Ex Critiæ Callæsebræ filii rogatione, ut ipse bisce elegiis cecinit. And also citing the same Work elsewhere, he ascribed it to Critias one of the thirty Tyrants. Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τεσσακοντα γενόμενος ἐν ταῖς εὐχραι. Critias ex triginta tyrannis orat in elegiis (23). There is a Fault in the Life of Alcibiades translated by Amyot; instead of Critias the Son of Callæsebrus, there is Callias the Son of

Callæsebrus. The same Fault is in the Translation of Plato, by Serranus, in the Dialogue, intituled, Protagoras. There is Κριτίας in the Greek, and Callias in the Translation. Plutarch is not the only Author who has cited the Elegies of Critias; you will find several Passages out of them in Athenæus: see Book 10, pag. 432, and Book 15, pag. 666. This last Passage informs us, that the Passage of the first Book, pag. 28, is taken from the same Work of Critias. I do not question but he composed some other Poems. It is not certainly known whether he was the Author of a Poem, intituled Pirithoüs; some ascribe it to him, and others to Euripides (24). We shall see hereafter whether he ought to be distinguished from the Author of the Book De Politia Lacedæmoniorum.

[G] He was more praised by Plato than by Proclus.] Every body in this Town knows, that Critias is ignorant of none of the things we speak of. Κριτίαν δὲ πε πάντες οἱ τῆδε ἱσμεν ἰδὲνδς ἰδιώτην ὄντα ἐν λέγουμεν. Critiam vero omnes utique hac in urbe, nullius eorum, quæ dicimus, esse imperitum scimus (25). This is the Encomium that Plato bestows upon him: now he had been speaking of the Advantages that accrue from an excellent Genius, and from the Study of good Philosophy: Proclus in commentario ad hunc locum: 'O Κριτίας ἦν μὲν γενναῖος καὶ ἀδρᾶς φύσεως, ἡπείρο δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφον συνεσιῶν, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, φιλοσόφῳ δὲ ἐν ἰδιώταις, ὡς ἡ ἰσῶρια φησιν. Erat quidem Critias generosa & vehementi indole, nec philosophicarum expers deceptationum; sed ita tamen ut idiota inter philosophos, philosophus inter idiotas vocaretur; ut quidem historia testatur. Quod significat hunc quidem non fuisse perfectum in philosophia, sed tamen ingenio aptum, & multæ eruditionis (26). — Proclus, in his Commentary on this Place, says: Critias had a noble and extensive Genius; he had likewise spent some time in Philosophy; but so as to be accounted a Novice amongst Philosophers, and a Philosopher amongst the Novices; as History relates. Which means, that he was no Adept in Philosophy, but a Man of a ready Genius, and great Learning. I observe upon these two last words of Petitus, that Proclus's Expressions do not seem to signify, that Critias had a great deal of Learning. A Man may pass for a Philosopher without it among ignorant People. Inter cæcos regnat strabus.

[H] He has been reckoned one of those that dogmatized against the Existence of God.] Sextus Empiricus does not express this in obscure Terms. Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ, says he (27), οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φασιν εἶναι τινὲς δὲ οὐ εἶναι. Ὅστις οἱ περὶ Διαγόραν τὴν Μήλιον, καὶ Θεόδωρον, καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. Most People believe that there are Gods, but some, as Diagoras, Theodorus, and CRITIAS the Athenian, say there are none. He explains that Man's Thoughts in another Book. Critias, says he (28), one of the XXX Tyrants of Athens, seems to be in the Number of Atheists. He pretends, that the ancient Lawgivers, designing to prevent any one from doing his Neighbour wrong in private, feigned that there is a Providence which takes notice whether Men live well or ill, and punishes them that do evil. According to his System, there had been a time when Men, being as disorderly as Beasts, and neither rewarding good Actions, nor punishing bad ones, followed no other Law than that of the strongest. Afterwards some Men enacted Punishments, and then Justice exercised it's Authority over Injustice, like a Master over his Slave. Those were punished that did any Evil. And then, when it was found that the Laws did indeed prevent Men from sinning publicly, but not from doing an ill Action privately, there arose a Man of Parts, who knew that he should do Mankind a very great Service, if he could order it so, that the Wicked should be afraid of being punished even when they should sin privately, or have an ill Design. He therefore invented a God, that is, an immortal Nature, which sees and knows all things: he ascribed to him the Government of the World, the Motion of the Heavens, Lightning and Thunder,

(24) Athen. lib. 11, pag. 495.

(25) Plato in Timeo, pag. m. 104, E.

(26) Petrus Petitus, Miscellanea. Observat. pag. 6.

(27) Sext. Emp. Pyrrhon. Hypotypos. lib. 3, pag. 155.

(28) Id. adversus Mathematicos, pag. 318.

rently versed in the reading of the Ancients, should be ignorant of that matter of Fact; but I think it somewhat strange, that the learned *Tanaquillus Faber* did not

Thunder, and all things in general that Men dread: Thus, concluded he, an ingenious Man made others believe the Existence of a Deity. *Sextus Empiricus* quotes *Critias's* own words, without naming the Book from which he takes them. We know only that he borrows them from a Poem; for he cites Iambic Verses. That which perplexes the thing is, that *Plutarch* ascribes the same Verses to *Euripides*, and supposes that this Poet, fearing the *Areopagites*, and not daring to publish his Atheism directly, caused this wicked System to be set forth by a Person represented on the Stage (29). Εὐεπίδης ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς ἀποκαλύψασθαι μὲν ἐκ ὑβέλης, δεδαικὸς τὸν ἄρειον πάγον ἐνέφηνε δὲ τῶτον τὸν τρόπον. τὸν γὰρ Σίσυφον εἰσάγαγε περὶ τὴν ταύτης τῆς δόξης, καὶ συνηγοροῦσεν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ. Ἦν γὰρ χρόνος (φησὶν) ὅτ' ἄτακτος ἦν ἀνθρώπων βίη, καὶ θνητῶν, ἰσχυρὸς δ' ὑπερήτης. ἐπέβη οὖν τὴν ἀνομίαν λυθῆναι νόμον εἰσαγαγῶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος τὰ σανάρα τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἴργεν ἐδύνατο, κέρεια τε ἡδίκων πολλοί, τότε τις σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐρέσπεν ὡς δεῖ αἰεὶ ψευδεὶ λόγῳ τυρρῶσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ πείσαι τὸς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἔστι δαίμων ἀρβίτη δάλλων βίη, ὅς ταύτ' ἀκούει καὶ βλέπει φρονεῖ τ' ἄγαν. *Euripides* tragicus Poeta aperte quidem profiteri hanc sententiam non est ausus, metuens *Areopagiticum* iudicium: indicavit tamen hac ratione: *Sisyphum* introduxit, qui eam proferret, ipseque ei patrocinatus est,

Incondita olim vita fuit mortalium.
Et belluina, viribusque serviens.

Legibus deinde positus ait injustitiam fuisse repressam. Sed cum hæc aperta possent flagitia prohibere, multi autem occulte scelera perpetrarent, tum quendam callidum virum prodixisse, qui docuerit veritati tenebras mendacio offundendas, hominibusque persuadendum esse,

Quod sit perenni vita aliquis vigens Deus,
Qui cernat ista, & audiat, atque intelligat.

— *Euripides, the Tragedian, dreading the Censure of the Areopagites, dared not publicly declare himself; but effected it after this manner. He introduced Sisyphus to broach this Opinion, and then patronized it himself. His Words are,*

Man like a lordly Savage once untam'd
Scur'd the wild Desert, nor would Homage pay
But to superior Power.

He afterwards observes, that these Irregularities were checked by the Introduction of Laws. But whereas those could only restrain Men from open Acts of Injustice, and Men would still be wicked in the Dark; that then,

Some subtil Politician rose, who taught
To warnish Falshood with a specious Dye:

That he likewise instilled a Notion into the credulous Part of Mankind, that there was

Some God immortal, whose all-seeing Eye,
And ever-open Ear, all Secrets know.

It is manifest, that the System mentioned by *Sextus Empiricus*, and that which *Plutarch* speaks of, are both alike. They only differ in this, that *Plutarch* does not quote so many Verses as *Sextus Empiricus*, and that he attributes to *Euripides* what the other ascribes to *Critias*. But the Verses, quoted by *Plutarch*, are exactly the same with some of those that *Sextus Empiricus* quotes. An Enquiry may be made upon this, whether, through want of Memory, too frequent among Authors great and small, what belongs to *Euripides* has not been ascribed to *Critias*, or vice versa; or whether there is any other way of solving the Difficulty? It seems to me that a Physician of *Paris* has been pretty lucky in his Conjectures.

He thinks there is a Gap in *Sextus Empiricus*; I mean, that the Transcribers have skipped some Periods, which contained what was cited out of *Critias*, and the notice that was given that *Euripides*, imbued with the same Opinion, had fully explained it in a Tragedy. 'Mihi probabilis videtur mutilum esse Empirici librum quam *Plutarchi*, nec ea modo quæ ex *Critia* citabat ævo substracta, sed etiam ipsius verba illa quibus *Euripidem* eorum versuum auctorem laudabat antequam versus ipsos poneret. Quo sane factum putandum est ut iis qui lacunam non adverterent, iidem versus *Critia* adscribi ac nomine ejus citari ab Empirico viderentur (30). Those who know that some very ancient and pretty good Manuscripts do not contain all that is to be found in others, and yet that no Blanks have been left in them, will own that it is very possible that the Manuscripts of *Empiricus* should be curtailed in that place, though the words are continued. But though I approve *Petitus's* Conjecture, yet I do not admit of all his Reasons: and I am going to shew those that seem to be false.

I. He says, that, according to *Plutarch*, the Reason that obliged *Euripides* to put out his System under the Person of *Sisyphus*, was for fear of the *Areopagites*; now, adds he, that Fear is not likely in such a Man as *Critias*, a cruel and violent Tyrant, who laughed both at humane and divine Laws. 'Non videtur is metus in tyrannum cadere qualis fuisse *Critias* dicitur impotens, sævus, juris humani oblitus, & Deorum contemptor (31). This Reason has no force: for *Critias's* Tyranny did not begin till after the taking of *Athens*: before that time he was only considered proportionably to his Intrigues, and was no less answerable for his Behaviour than another. So that if he would have composed a piece for the Stage, he had been obliged to be as cautious as *Euripides* more or less. The People and the Tribunals of *Athens* could have brought him as easily to reason as they did *Alcibiades* under pretence of Impiety (32). It is very probable, that if *Critias* had made Tragedies, it was not after he became one of the XXX Tyrants, but when he was more at leisure. At the worst it is very possible that he might have made them before he was a Tyrant; which is sufficient to confute the Reason I am here to oppose.

II. Here is another that is not stronger. *Critias* was not so good a Poet, that one may ascribe to him such fine Verses as those quoted by *Empiricus*. How shall we reconcile this with *Athenæus*, who quotes so many good Verses of *Critias*, and even calls him a very good Man (33); and lastly cites a Piece that was looked upon as a Work of *Critias*, or of *Euripides*? When the Public doubts whether a Poem be the Work of one of the first rate Authors that are known, or of another, they must be persuaded that That other is a very good Poet.

III. What *Petitus* adds, that since *Plato* (34) reproached *Euripides* with flattering Tyrants, and praising Tyranny, the Fear of the *Areopagites* becomes that Poet much better than *Critias*, seems to me a wrong Argument: For, generally speaking, there is no Connexion between preferring Monarchy before a Commonwealth, and being afraid of speaking one's Mind about Religion. The Praises of Tyranny, for which *Euripides* was reproached, are only some Passages in his Tragedies, wherein he describes the Advantages of a Monarchical Government: and it is not strange that in a City like *Athens*, wherein the Republican Government was an endless cause of Revolutions and Confusions, a Man of Parts should be affected with Maxims favourable to Monarchy. 'Magis profecto Euripidi convenit, quod ait *Plutarchus*, non ausum metu *Areopagi* aperire mentem suam de Diis, propterea *Sisyphi* personam ab eo inductam. Nam & *Plato* Euripidi objicit in octavo de Republica, quod tyrannis impensius faveret, & tyrannidem laudaret (35).—What *Plutarch advances is more agreeable to the Character of Euripides, namely, that out of a fear of the Areopagites he durst not declare himself, and therefore introduced the Character of Sisyphus. For Plato, in the eighth Book De Republica, objects against Euripides for too strenuously favouring Tyrants, and*

(29) *Plut. de Placitis Philof.* lib. 1, quest. 7, pag. 880, E.

(30) *Petrus Petitus, Observat.* Miscellan. lib. 1, cap. 1, pag. 7.

PETITUS's Reasons examined.

(31) *Petit, ibid.* pag. 5.

(32) See *Cornelius Nepos in vita Alcibiadis*.

(33) 'Ο κριτίας ὁ καλὸς ποιητής. *Optimus Critias.* *Athen. lib. 13,* pag. 600.

(34) *Libr. 8, de Republ.*

(35) *Petit. lib. 2,* pag. 6, 7.

not know it [I]. The Place where *Sextus Empiricus* speaks of it has exercised one

'commending Tyranny.' But to leave this, the Question is not to vindicate *Euripides's* Notion about Government, but to enquire whether, because he spoke sometimes in Commendation of a Monarchical Government, it was necessary for him to use the Artifice that *Plutarch* ascribes to him: which is, that, being afraid of the *Acepagites*, he brought in *Sisyphus*, in one of his Tragedies, venting the impious Doctrine, which he durst not give out as his own. One cannot easily perceive that one of those two things may be the Consequence of the other: it appears plainly, that, though he had inveighed against a Kingly Government, in favour of a Republican one, Prudence would have taught him, that it was necessary for him to use some Art in the publishing of an impious Doctrine, to avoid being prosecuted for it by the *Acepagites*. I grant that, if one consider well the matter, it will appear, that his praising a Monarchical Government might have made him unacceptable to the Magistrates of *Athens*, and that consequently he should have thought himself obliged to be more cautious than another, and to give no occasion for a Prosecution. But, at the Bottom, *Petitius's* Conjecture would be disputable (36); and however it cannot be denied, that this does not clearly appear to be his meaning, as he has expressed himself (37).

(36) I speak thus, because it is certain that *Petitius* had no such Thought.

(37) Compare the first Edition of this Dictionary with the second.

IV. If *Plato's* Reproach against *Euripides* had been alleged only as a Principle of the Conclusion that I am going to examine, I would not have found fault with *Petitius's* Arguments in the way I have done; I should easily have perceived some Connexion between the two things that he concludes the one from the other. He argues thus: Since *Euripides* praised Tyranny, and warmly maintained the Cause of Tyrants, it is probable that he vented upon the Stage the Maxims that are imputed to him; for those Maxims are very pleasing to Tyrants. 'Quidni igitur Euripides tyrannis amicus, & Archelao Macedonum regi haud sane admodum laudato, in amoribus, hanc sententiam in ea tragedia tyrannorum moribus consentaneam protulerit: utpote quibus religio nihil aliud sit, nisi machina theatralis, qualem poetæ habent in promptu, ad expediendum fabulæ quæpiam nodum (38). — Why then might not Euripides, a Friend to Tyrants, and much caressed by Archelaus, King of Macedon, who does not bear the best of Characters, advance this Opinion, agreeable to the Manners of Tyrants; whose Religion is nothing but a Theatrical Machine, which Poets have in readiness, to solve some Difficulty in the Play.' Thus far he is in the right; I mean, that whoever admits the Principle, must admit the Consequence: but it falls out unluckily, that there is a false Proposition in that Argument. It is not true, that whoever goes about to take off the Impressions of Religion, does a thing acceptable to a Tyrant. Those who are so ignorant and so unreasonable, as not to ascribe the Origin of Religion to the Impressions that God himself has communicated to Mens minds, find no Supposition more plausible than to say, that those who had a Mind to govern have invented Religion, to keep the People more easily under the Yoke. History affords us a thousand Instances of the Advantages that Princes have drawn from the Superstitions of the People, whether they were to be encouraged, or terrified. An Oracle of *Delpi*, an Answer of the Augurs, the Explication of a Prodigy, have been of great use in a thousand Cases for the Interest of Sovereigns. So that, tho' by the same Machines People may be made to revolt (39), it is nevertheless probable, that because all the Inconveniences that may arise from an Invention cannot be foreseen, understanding and cunning Sovereigns would have forged a Religion, if they had not found one already established. *Petitius* is therefore in the wrong to suppose that *Euripides*, in order to make his Court to Tyrants, and particularly to *Archelaus*, King of *Macedonia*, caused a long part to be acted on the Stage with design to destroy Religion. Is any thing more proper to ruin it, than to make People believe that it was only invented to serve for a Scarecrow, and that it is a Chimera to pretend that Thunder, Hail, and Storms, are Punishments that God makes use of against wicked Men? *Petitius* has so plainly confuted himself, that one cannot but wonder at it: Tyrants,

(38) *Petit. lib. 1, pag. 7.*

(39) See above, Remark [B] of the Article A. B. D. A. S.

says he (40), laugh at Religion, they do not mind it; nevertheless, they use all imaginable means to make their Subjects obedient to Religion: and consequently, (he may be answered) *Euripides* would have made his Court very ill to Tyrants, if he had vented upon the Stage such an impious Doctrine as that mentioned by *Sextus Empiricus* and *Plutarch*.

It seems to me that *Petitius* forgot one of the best Reasons, which prove, that it is *Euripides*, and not *Critias*, who dogmatized in that manner. He should have said, that it is an usual thing with *Euripides* to bring some Persons on the Stage who utter Impieties. His *Bellerophon* inveighs very boldly against the Divine Providence, and concludes against it from the Disorders that are to be seen in the World, and the continual Oppression of Innocency (41). To conclude, I shall observe, that *Petitius* has quoted a long Passage of *Seneca*, whereby it appears, that This Philosopher looked upon what the Ancients have said of *Jupiter's* Thunderbolt as a pious Fraud. 'Quid tam imperitum est, quam credere fulmina e nubibus Jovem mittere — ut impunitis sacrilegis, percussis ovibus, incensis aris, pecudes innoxias feriat. — Si quaeris à me quid sentiam, non existimo tam habetes fuisse, ut crederent Jovem, aut non æque voluntatis, aut certe minus paratum esse. Utrum enim cum emi sit ignes, quibus innoxia capita percuteret, scelerata transiret, aut noluit justius mittere, aut non successit? Quid ergo secuti sunt, cum hoc dicerent? ad coercendos animos imperitorum sapientissimi viri judicaverunt, inevitabile metum, ut supra nos aliquid timeremus. Utile erat in tanta audacia scelerum, aliquid esse adversum quod nemo sibi satis potens videretur. Ad conterendos itaque eos, quibus innocentia nisi metu non placet, posuere super caput vindicem & quidem armatum' (42). — What can be more ridiculous than to imagine, that *Jupiter* burlt Thunder from the Clouds — that he should strike harmless Sheep, burn Altars, and suffer impious Wretches to escape with Impunity. — If you ask my Opinion, I cannot imagine Men to have been so stupid as to believe *Jupiter*, either partial in his Judgment, or defective in Power: For when he throws his Thunder, which strikes the Innocent, and spares the Guilty, is it want of Justice, or does he miss his Aim? Where then is the Consequence of this Assertion? In order to check the Minds of the Ignorant, the wiser sort thought it necessary to establish a dread of something above, and of an inevitable Punishment: it was of use, in a daring Age of Impiety, to set up some Power, which none could think himself able to oppose. Therefore to keep those in awe, who chase Innocence only out of Fear, they placed over their Heads an armed Avenger. Note, that *Seneca* does not deny that *Jupiter* darts his Thunderbolt, if by *Jupiter* the Soul of the World be understood, which produces, governs, and directs all things, which may be called Fate, Providence, Nature, World, and which, properly speaking, is nothing else but the Universe itself. *Ipse enim est totum quod videt, totus suis partibus inditus, & se sustinet vi sua* (43). The *Spinozists* would easily approve this Thought. When *Seneca* is asked why this *Jupiter* strikes what ought to be spared, and spares what ought to be struck, he desires some time to prepare an Answer. *At quare Jupiter aut ferienda transit, aut innoxia ferit? In majorem me quæstionem vocas, cui suus locus, suus dies dandus est* (44).

(40) Cum enim neque religionis respectum habent, id tamen moribus omnibus student, ut quibus imperant populi, religioni maxime parent. *Petit. lib. 1, pag. 7.*

(41) See Remark [A] of the Article EURIPIDES. See also la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. XII, Letter 135, pag. 220, & Athenagoras in Legat. pro Christian. pag. m. 23, & Clem. Alexandrin. in Admonit. ad Gentis, pag. 50.

(42) *Seneca Natur. Quæst. lib. 2, cap. 42.*

(43) *Seneca, Id. ibid. cap. 45.*

(44) *Ibid. cap. 46.*

[I] *Tanaquillus Faber* did not know it. He plainly shews it in his Note on these words of *Plutarch*: *Τὸ δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκ ἐλευσίῃς Κερταίαν λαβόντων ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθετῆν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, μὴ τε τινὰ δῶκεν μὴ τε δαίμονων νομίζειν: ἢ τοιαῦτα δύνει οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ ἔθουον.* Nonne utilis erat Carthagenensibus jam inde ab initio Critia vel Diagora ad condendas leges adhibito decernere nullum esse Deum, nullum genium: quam talia sacra facere qualibus illi Saturno operabantur (45). — How much better would it have been for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias and a Diagoras for their first Legislators, who believed neither Gods nor Spirits, than to offer such Sacrifices to Saturn as they did? Here is his Note: 'I know very well that Critias

(45) *Plut. de Superst. sub fin. pag. 171.*

(g) Dr Petit, a Physician at Paris. See Remark [H]. one of our modern Critics (g). Moreri had but little Information concerning this Particular [K], and Vossius could not serve him for a sufficient Guide [L].

' was a passionate, furious, and unjust Man; in short, the fiercest of the XXX Tyrants. But the Question is here about a Philosopher, and not a Tyrant: Wherefore I believe that instead of Critias it must be read Theodorus, who was formerly one of the most famous Atheists of Greece. I shall be told that between these two Words Κριτίας and Θεόδωρος there is almost no resemblance in the Letters that compose them; but it must be remembered, that the Greek Transcribers do commonly to abbreviate the Words that begin with Θεο, that they write Θεωρ with a little stroke on the Θ. However it be, Critias is a fault: Here is a definitive Sentence, that would not have escaped that Critic, if he had known what is to be found in Sextus Empiricus concerning Critias. A Father of the Church (46) has placed this Critias among the Atheists.

[K] Moreri had but little information concerning this Particular.] He should not have spoken in the singular Number of an Elegy of Critias, since Plutarch and Athenæus made use of the plural. II. He would not have said, that the Philosopher Sextus quotes a fine Fragment of his, if he had known that this Fragment contains an abominable Doctrine, down-right Atheism. III. Critias the Son of Calleschubus should not be an Article by itself; he is the same Critias that was one of the XXX Tyrants. IV. There are no good Reasons to give us one Critias, a Greek Historian, different from the Son of Calleschubus; as we shall see in the following Remark. V. The Testimony mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus is not very advantageous to that Author; for that Father cites only (47) some Words of Critias, to shew that he was a Plagiary of Euripides. That which deceived Moreri is, that he did not understand all the force of these Latin Words of Vossius, *Illystre hujus Scriptoris testimonium adducit Clemens* (48). This signifies only that Clemens Alexandrinus cites Critias, on a remarkable Subject. Now this does not import that he praises and esteems Critias. VI. Moreri should not have questioned that he, whom Plutarch cites in the Life of Lycurgus, is the same who wrote concerning the Republic of Sparta, and whom Athenæus quotes twice. We shall quickly see that it is a certain Truth.

[L] Vossius could not serve him for a sufficient Guide.] He believed, without any reason, that Critias the Son of Calleschubus was not the same that composed Elegies, and who was one of the XXX Tyrants (49). It is easy to see that it is one and the same Critias; and I wonder that Vossius did not perceive it: he says in express Words, that Critias the Tyrant had inscribed an Elegy to Alcibiades (50): now Plutarch cites an Elegy of Critias the Son of Calleschubus, wherein the Author spoke to Alcibiades (51): is it not plain then, that Critias the Tyrant, and the Elegiac Poet, and the Son of Calleschubus, are one and the same Person? Vossius was not always ignorant of it; for he acknowledged in his Greek Historians, that Critias, whose Verles are mentioned by Plutarch in the Life of Alcibiades, is the Son of Calleschubus (52). We read also in Athenæus, that Critias the Son of Calleschubus made some Elegies. As for Critias the Author of a Treatise of the Republic of Lacedæmon, Vossius should not have thought (53), but known, that it is he whom Plutarch quotes in the Life of Lycurgus (54). In order to prove it, it is sufficient to say that Athenæus, relating the same thing that Plutarch mentions,

alleges Critias, Author of the Treatise of the Republic of Lacedæmon, for his Authority. Vossius says, that this Critias is not the Son of Calleschubus, but gives no reason for it; and therefore as I would not affirm that he is in the wrong, neither would I be positive that what he says is true. It might be that the same Critias, who was a Scholar of Socrates, and one of the XXX Tyrants, had a mind to shew the Public that he was at once a Poet, an Orator, and an Historian. He left some Orations; Cicero and Dionysius Halicarnassensis had read them: he left some Poems; Plutarch and Athenæus (55) quote them: why should he not be the same that composed a Treatise of the Republic of Lacedæmon? I observe that Athenæus cites a Passage out of Critias's Elegies, wherein mention is made of the different ways of drinking at a Feast. Critias praises very much the Custom that was observed at Lacedæmon in that respect: they drank no body's health; they did not drink round; they did not run into any Excess; they observed a certain Medium that revived the Martial Humour, and the Mirth of the Conversation: in a Word, it was beneficial to the Body and the Mind; it made a Man fit for the Functions of Love, and provoked a good Sleep.

Οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κόρη πίνουσι τοῦτον,
"ὦσε φρέν" εἰς ἱλαρὰν ἀσπίδα πάντ' ἀ-
παύειν.
Εἰς τε φιλοφροσύνην γλώτταν μέτεύν τε
γέλωτα.
Τοιαύτη δὲ πόσις σώματι τ' ἀφέλιμος,
Γνώμη τε, κήσει τε καλῶς εἰς ἔργ' Ἀ-
φροδίτης,
Πρὸς δ' ὕπνον ἥρμοσαι, τὸν καμάτων λι-
μένα.

Lacedæmonii juvenes eousque bibunt,
Ut ad capiendum scutum alacres totum animum
vertant:
Linguam verò ad hilaritatem, modestumque ri-
sum:
Ea nimirum potatio corpori utilis est,
Ac menti: juvatque multum ad Veneris opus,
Nec parum ad somnum confert, qui laborum
portus est (56).

The Spartan Youth with caution sinks the Bowl,
Not to inflame, but warm his generous Soul.
For moderate cups a genial pow'r dispense,
Health, Vigour, Mirth, soft Sleep, and pleasing
Sense.
By them inspir'd, the Hero meets th' alarms
Of War's dread GOD, or Beauty's softer charms.

I observe also, that the same Author cites Critias's Work about the Republic of Lacedæmon (57), to shew the different ways of drinking: and this Critias makes the same Observation that I have already mentioned, which is, that the Lacedæmonians drank no Health. This will rather prove that there is here but one Critias, than that there are two. Note, that Julius Pollux, who quotes Critias a great many times, without naming any Book, names the Ἀταλάντη (58) once, and the Treatise of Republics once (59).

CRITO. Several ancient Authors have born This Name. I shall not repeat what Moreri says of them; I shall only correct some of his Faults [A].

[A] I shall only correct some of his Faults.] I. Critias the Athenian lived indeed in the XCIVth Olympiad, but not in the 150th Year of Rome: Moreri should have said the Year 350. II. I own he was one of the Disciples of Socrates; but it is false that Diogenes Laërtius tells us so, and yet he is the only Author that Moreri quotes: he should have quoted Xenophon (1). I shall clear this at the end of this Remark. III. Crito had no Son whose Name was Ctesippus; it should be Ctesippus. IV. Crito the

Physician did not teach an Art of Politeness, which Galen says ought to be excused, because he exercised Physic with Kings and Ladies. Would not one think that this Physician published some Books concerning Civility, not for the use of Children, but concerning the Civility of grown Men, and even a higher Civility than that of the Galatens of Monfignor della Casa? Would not one think that he was the Chevalier de Meré of his time, and that he published some Treatises of Delicacy, which de-
ved

(46) Theophilus ad Autolyicum, lib. 2, pag. m. 121.

(47) Stromat. lib. 6, pag. 620. D.

(48) Voss. de Hist. Græc. pag. 348.

(49) Id. de Poëtis Græcis, pag. 44.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Plut. in Alcib. pag. 209. E.

(52) Voss. de Hist. Græc. pag. 348.

(53) Puto & eundem Critiam esse cujus Plutarchus mentionem facit in Lycurgo. Id. ib.

(54) Pag. 45.

(55) Athen. lib. 11, pag. 463.

(56) Id. lib. 10, cap. 9, pag. 432.

(57) Id. lib. 11, cap. 3, pag. 463.

Vossius thought that Athenæus has only quoted that Book twice. I find it quoted thrice. Harpocration quotes it at the Word Λυκισμῶν.

(58) Κριτίας δὲ ἐν Ἀταλάντῃ. Jul. Pollux, lib. 7, cap. 10.

(59) Παρὰ Κριτίας ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς πολιτεῖαις. Id. ibid. cap. 13.

(1) Xenophon, de Fact. & Dict. Socratis, lib. 1, pag. m. 418. See also Suidas in Κριτίας.

ved that Title better than Father *Boubours's* Apology against *Cleanthes*? And yet he did nothing of all this; he was contented to teach that part of Physic that is called *Cosmetic*. It is that which undertakes to cure the Ugliness and other Imperfections of the Body, which are apt to give married People a disgust of one another. That part of Physic is not the most minded; but it is pretended that it may be of great use even with respect to the Salvation of the Soul, since it may prevent Adulteries. 'Ad medicinam etiam pertinet Cosmetice: quæ ars non debet reprehendi, si quis rectè utatur. Nam & mariti quandoque levibus uxoribus vitiiis offensi amorem ad concubinas, vel etiam meretrices, imo & alienas uxores applicant. Quandoque & homines bene natos inque honore constitutos pudet cum ejusmodi vitiiis in publicum prodire. Itaque nec Galenus dubitavit in Arte sua tradere complura, quæ ad artem κοσμητικὴν pertinent: ut de iis quæ sculcrum vultui colorem conciliant: quæ maculas, scabritiem, aut rugas tollant: quæ capillis colorem mutant: quæ dentes albos reddant (2).'

(2) Vossius de Philosophia, cap. 9, pag. 74.

— Cosmetics are a part of Physic, which, if rightly applied, ought not to be condemned: for Husbands sometimes taking an Antipathy to their Wives, from some trifling Imperfection, keep company with loose Women, or other Men's Wives. And sometimes Men of distinguished Rank and Quality are ashamed to appear in public with such Blemishes. Wherefore Galen did not stick to insert among his other Works, several things which relate to the Cosmetic Art, as what will give a lively Colour to the Face, take away Pimples, Scurs, or Wrinkles, change the Colour of the Hair, or make the Teeth white. Physicians distinguish it commonly from that dishonest Art, that supplies Painting and all those fine Drugs, which *Ovid* set forth in his Poem *De Medicamine Faciei* (3). They have endeavoured to mend that Fault in the Dutch Edition of *Moreri's* Dictionary; but they could not succeed in it, because they could not believe that it was so gross as it is. He taught his Art with a Politeness, which Galen says ought to be excused, &c. This is the Correction of *Moreri's* Words, which is certainly wrong, but very excusable; for who could have imagined that, since it is said three lines after that *Crito* was the Inventor of the Cosmetic Art, they should not have distinguished in him Politeness from Cosmetics. *Moreri's* Blunder does not appear in it's full extent, unless one examine the Author, he pretends to follow, viz. *Vossius*. Now these are *Vossius's* Words: 'Hic Crito docuit artem κοσμητικὴν, five comitoriam vel exornatoriam: qua in re, ut Galenus ait, veniam meretur quia apud reges & reginas medicinam faceret (4). — This Crito taught the Art of Cosmetics, or that of beautifying, wherein, as Galen says, he deserves to be excused, because he was Physician to Kings and Queens.' By these Words it is plain, that the pretended Art of Politeness, that Galen would have to be excused, is nothing else but Cosmetics. Doubtless *Moreri* had read in some other Book that *Crito* had taught artem po-

(3) Supposing him to be the Author of that Poem.

(4) Vossius, ubi supra, cap. 11, pag. 86, 87.

liendi cutem, the Art of making the Skin smooth, and taking off the Spots, &c. He took no notice of the Word *cutem*, and from the rest he made the pretended Art of Politeness. But *Vossius*, who was his usual Author, and his perpetual Oracle, might easily have set him right here. V. *Moreri* has not translated *Vossius* right, when he says that *Galen* has given the Catalogue of *Crito's* Works (5). He should have said, that he gave the Summary of them. VI. It is not true, that these Words of *Vossius*, docuit artem κοσμητικὴν, signify that *Crito* was the first Inventor of Cosmetics: there is a very great Difference between a Physician who makes a certain part of Physic his chief Study, and a Physician who is the first Inventor of that part. *Crito* being a Court Physician, and perceiving that Princes and Princesses are as desirous to be rid of a Redness, or of Freckles, and in general of all the Defects of the Skin, as to be cured of a Distemper, applied himself altogether to Cosmetics: But this does not prove that no Body had treated of it before him. VII. Lastly, *Moreri* defines *Cosmetic* very ill: It is, says he, the Art that takes care of the Beauty and Ornaments of the Body. According to this Definition, Cosmetic would contain the Art of Dressing the Head, choosing a proper Dress, and setting Jewels, in a Word, all the Industry of the Women who dress a Bride on her Wedding-day. Now this is very false.

Let us see whether I was in the right as to the second part of this Criticism. It has been objected to me (6), that *Diogenes Laërtius*, speaking of *Crito's* Affection for Socrates, and placing him in the number of the Socraticians, says clearly enough what *Moreri* attributes to him. I answer, That the Disciples of a Philosopher are not the only Persons that can shew him a great deal of Affection; and therefore what *Diogenes Laërtius* relates of *Crito's* Affection for Socrates, is not a Proof that favours *Moreri*. I add, that he has placed some Philosophers between *Socrates* and *Crito*, that were neither *Socrates's* Scholars nor Followers, and consequently it cannot be concluded that he put *Crito* in the number of the Socraticians; I say, it cannot be concluded from the place he gives him in his second Book. Nay he observes in express Words, that the Sons of *Crito* were *Socrates's* Scholars, οἱ παῖδες δὲ αὐτοῦ διήκουσαν Σωκράτους, ipsius liberi Socratis audientes fuere (7). Having said nothing like it concerning *Crito*, it is natural to believe that he did not design to inform us of the thing, for which he has been cited in *Moreri's* Dictionary. I even observe, that *Plato* introduces *Socrates* saying that *Crito* was as old as he, and Father of *Critobulus*, who was his Scholar (8). That Philosopher had then all the reason in the World to place the Father as well as the Son in the number of his Scholars; yet he gives that Quality only to the Son. However, I confess that *Plato* gives clearly to understand in some other places (9), that *Crito* ought to be reckoned among the Scholars of *Socrates*.

(5) * *Avανταξ* λαλασεν librorum ejus exhibit Galenus, lib. 1, τὸν κατὰ τὸν Vossius, ibid.

(6) See *Moreri* of the Dutch Edition, 1698, Tom. 11, pag. 253.

(7) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 2, n. 121.

(8) *Plato* in *Apolo-*gia Socratis, pag. m. 26.

(9) It is not in the Dialogue intitled, *Phædrus*; but it is chiefly in the Dialogue intitled *Phædon*.

CRITON (GEORGE) (a), a Scotchman, was Greek Professor in the Royal College at Paris. He was a zealous Papist [A]. He married the Daughter of a Scotch

[A] He was a zealous Papist. Mr Gillot writes thus to *Scaliger* (1). 'You must know, that within these few Days, *Criton*, Professor of humane Languages, desiring to be made Doctor of the Canon-Law, proposed Theses in the Civil and Canon-Law to dispute publicly; which having been seen by the King's Council, they found one of them contrary to the old and sound Doctrine of France, of the Sorbonne, and of Truth: to wit, Nec Hierarcha Romanus (ad quem solum atheniæ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς Jurisdictio spiritalis in Christianos omnes, in patrimonio Ecclesiæ temporalis etiam potestas pertinet) nec Princeps solutus est legibus tametsi uterque alios his solvere possit, & hic comitis, ille Concilii sit superior, &c. — Neither the Roman Pontiff (to whom appertains the spiritual Jurisdiction over all Christians, as also a Temporal Power, within the Patrimony of the Church) nor any Prince are exempted from the Laws, though each can exempt others: The one being superior in Courts, the other in Councils,

(1) Lettres Françaises écrites à Scaliger, pag. 256.

&c.' And in another, speaking of Excommunication, he says: Quod nudâ cogitatione nonnunquam incurritur, & ob unius noxam familiam omnem & civitatem plerumque ferit. — That it is sometimes incurred by mere Thoughts, and often involves a whole Family or Town, for one Person's Crime. Upon which complaining to the Parliament, it was ordered that *Criton* should go immediately and speak to the Attorney-General, and that the Dispute should be deferred. *Criton* being heard, the next Day, as also the Doctors of the Canon-Law, it was ordered that the Parties should have speedy Audience; and in the mean time, *Criton* was forbid to propose, maintain, or dispute upon, the said Theses. This was done the seventeenth and eighteenth of this Month of January. We hope to go farther, and to make a good Decree, which shall be read in the Sorbonne, to forbid the Doctors maintaining such Propositions against the Doctrine of the Gallican Church.'

[B] His

a Scotch Gentleman, a Counsellor to the Presidial of *Poitiers*, who was afterwards married again to *Francis de la Mothe le Vayer* [B], after she had refused a Brother of the Constable de *Luines* [C]. Criton died the eighth of April, 1611 (b).

(b) Du Breul, pag. 564.

[B] His Widow married again with *Francis de la Mothe le Vayer*. I confess I have this only from the *Sorberiana*: there I find what follows: '*Franciscus Motta Vaberius*, of *Mans* (2), married the Daughter of *Adam Blaciodeus*, Counsellor of *Poitiers*, a learned Man; she was the Widow of *Jacobus Critonius*, Professor of human Learning at *Paris*. *Le Vayer* had his Collections, which he knew how to make good use of.'

(2) It should be of *Paris*; it was his Father who was of *Mans*.

[C] After she had refused a Brother of the Constable de *Luines*. We must not believe she was so delicate at the time that Mr *Luines* was Favourite and High-Constable. If it was true that she would not marry Mr *Cadenet*, it was before Mr *Luines* was taken in-

to Favour. I mention this with an *if*, because I have no other warrant for it than a Collection of Pieces against the Family of *Luines*. Now Writers of this kind of Satires are to be very much suspected: at all hazards I shall put down what I find in that Collection. '*Cadenet's* presumption was not less gallant in pretending as he did in the Year 1618 to the Princess of *Orange*, Sister of the first Prince of the Blood, and Widow of a Sovereign Prince; *Cadenet*, I say, to whom the King's Nurse would not give her Daughter, and whom the Widow of *Criton*, a Greek Professor of *Paris*, refused to marry; and some time after this, you see he aspires to an Alliance with the Royal Blood (3).'

(3) This is taken from a Satire called, *La Comtadin Provençal*, inserted pag. 79, and following, of *A Collection of the most curious Pieces made during the Reign of the Constable de Luines*, printed in 1625, in 8vo: the Page I cite is pag. 103.

CRITON (WILLIAM) (a), born in Scotland in the XVIth Century, turned Jesuit in France, in the Seminary of Rheims (b). He was Rector of the Jesuits College at Lyons (c), and made himself famous, not by his Books, for I think he published none, but by State-Machinations, which would have been infinitely more useful, both to his Order, and to the Roman Catholic Cause, if they had succeeded, than a hundred Volumes. He often passed and repassed the Sea and the Alps, full of Intrigues and Plots, tending to re-establish the Romish Religion in Great Britain. Nevertheless, if we may believe a Letter he wrote to *Walsingham*, he did not approve of establishing the Kingdom of God by wicked Methods [A]; and he utterly condemned the Design of killing Queen *Elizabeth*, upon which he was consulted by *William Parry*. He was taken by the Privateers of

(a) His Scotch Name was Chrichton.

(b) De Larrey, Hist. of England, Tom. II, pag. 385.

(c) Pasquier, Catch. des Jesuites, lib. 3, cap. 2, pag. m. 335.

[A] If we may believe a Letter he wrote to *Walsingham*, he did not approve of establishing the Kingdom of God by wicked Methods. I shall produce part of the Narrative, which Mr de Larrey gives us of this *William Parry's* Confession. '*Morgan* told him that all the Catholic Church expected from his Courage some bright Actions; this wretch assured him he was ready to stab to the Heart the first Lord in the Kingdom. And why not the Queen, interrupted *Morgan*? And the Queen also, if they can make it appear to me that it is lawful; but the Jesuit *Pattes* (1) is not of that Opinion. He added, that *Criton*, the Scotch Jesuit, also was not of that Opinion; and to deter him from it, he alleged, that great Principle, that the natural, as well as the Divine, Law teaches all Men not to commit a Crime, with an Intention to serve God. That he had strongly maintained this Doctrine of Morality, insisting upon one Saying, of which he made a kind of Demonstration, that God loved Adverbs rather than Nouns; that is to say, that he was more pleased with that which was well and lawfully done, than with that which was good and lawful (2). This *William Parry*, being convicted of the execrable Design to kill the Queen, was executed for it the second of March 1585 (3). His Trial was first printed at London, in English; but there is a French Translation of it, in the first Volume of the Memoirs of the League, which I have just now consulted; but do not find that *Parry* ever made mention of our *Criton*, either by word of Mouth, or by writing; and I observe, that *Camden*, reporting this Man's Confession, has inserted, by way of Parenthesis (4), what concerns the Opinion of this Jesuit. *Tbuanus* does likewise speak of it, not as a thing contained in the Confession of the Criminal, but as an accessory Fact, and discovered another way. However it is true, that the Articles of the Trial discover the Maxims of the Jesuit *Criton*; for they contain a Letter he wrote to *Walsingham* (5), wherein he has explained them very clearly. He was a Prisoner in the Tower of London, during *Parry's* Trial, and being examined by *Walsingham*, whether the Accused had ever said any thing to him in France, or elsewhere, concerning the Question, if it was lawful to kill her Majesty, he answered he did not remember that he had; but afterwards recollecting himself, he writ of his own Free-will to the Secretary (6), concerning that Fact, and all with his own Hand, in the manner following. Then follows his Letter in pag. 42 of the first Volume of the Memoirs of the League.

(1) *Tbuanus*, lib. 79, at the end, calls him also a Jesuit, but in *Parry's* Trial he is only called Priest. See also *Camden*, Ann. pag. m. 393, at the Year 1585.

(2) De Larrey, Hist. d'Angleterre, Tom. II, pag. 392.

(3) *Tbuanus*, lib. 79, at the end, puts it 1584, not observing that the English begin their Year, in the public Records, the 25th of March.

(4) It is printed in a character different from what goes before and follows.

(5) See Memoirs of the League, Tom. I, pag. 42, and following.

(6) That is to say, *Francis Walsingham*.

I with the same Trial had informed us, whether they communicated this Letter to *William Parry*. Equity required it; for a Declaration made in the Tower of London is not much to be depended upon. *Criton* would have been far from confessing in that place that he had approved *Parry's* Design. To know then if he told the Truth, his Letter ought to have been shewn to the Criminal, or he should have been asked what Conversations he had had with *Criton*, concerning this wicked Attempt. If *Parry* had confessed that the Jesuit had plainly condemned the Proposal of killing the Queen, we should have had a certain Proof of *Criton's* Orthodoxy on that Head; but the Acts of the Trial furnish us with nothing but the Evidence, which *William Criton*, a Prisoner, gives of himself. However, I suppose, *William Parry* was examined upon this Article, though the Account of the Proceedings against him makes no mention of it; and consequently that what de Larrey advances is not without Foundation. For here is what is reported by *Richeome*: 'The Queen — ordered *Parry* to be asked if he knew *William Criton*, the Scotch Jesuit, who answered yes; and that he had formerly dissuaded him from this Enterprize, when he asked his Advice at Lyons. The Queen was astonished at this Justification, and, to be better informed, commanded her Secretary, *Francis Walsingham*, to know of *Criton*, if *Parry* had communicated nothing to him in France, or elsewhere, of his Affair. *Walsingham* immediately went to *Criton* and asked him, &c. (7). *Richeome* adds, what I have said before (8), and gives *Criton's* Letter entire, taken from the Memoirs of the League, after which he goes on in this manner: 'The Queen having heard the Contents of this Letter. How then? says she, they publish that the Jesuits would kill me in England, and this Jesuit defends me in France. She commanded afterwards that he should be set at Liberty, and his Letter published, not so much to favour him, as to let the People know that the Jesuits did not teach it was lawful to kill the Queen (9). There might be more Policy than Sincerity in these words of the Queen: for she well knew *Criton's* Innocence did not clear the two Jesuits, that *Parry* had named, as Approvers of his Treason (10). Let us say then, that *Richeome* has drawn too extensive a Consequence from the Letter of *Criton*, when he says: 'So far are ours from being the Authors of this treasonable Attempt of *Parry*, that, on the contrary, they hindered it to the utmost of their Power, according to the Evidences even of our Enemies. For the Hi-

(7) *Richeome*, Plainte Apologétique, pag. 166.

(8) *Citar*. (5).

(9) *Richeome*, ubi supra, pag. 168, 169.

(10) One was *Benedictus Palmaris*; he had consulted him at Venice; the other was *Hannibal Cadetto*; he had confessed to him at Paris.

Story

of *Ostend*, in the Year 1585, as he was returning into *Scotland*, upon a great Enterprize [B], and was carried, by Order of the Admiral of the States, to the Queen of England, who was so glad of this Present, that she gave him, among other things, a Chain of Gold for a Reward (d). Criton was committed Prisoner to the Tower of London, where he was kept a long time, but at last the Queen set him at Liberty, upon his Promise never to undertake any thing whatsoever to the Prejudice of England (e). Nevertheless she understood, in 1593, that he had made several Journeys into the Low-Countries, and into Spain, to promote the Design which the Catholics of Scotland had formed to bring in the Spaniards, in order to make a Change in Religion, and to attack England (f). He accompanied into Scotland the Bishop of Dublin, sent, by Pope Sixtus V, thither to make an Offer of the Infanta of Spain to the King (g). The Conditions of this Marriage were, that the King should turn Papist, and should join with the Pope, and with Spain, against the English. The King of Scotland's Mother had been beheaded some time before. The Envoy of Sixtus V did not succeed in this Negotiation, but was obliged to return Home without having done any thing. He left Criton in Scotland to second the Designs of Robert Bruce, whom the Duke of Parma had sent thither by Order of the King of Spain. It is said this Jesuit endeavoured to engage Robert Bruce to kill John Maitland, Chancellor of Scotland, who had broke off the Negotiation with the Bishop of Dublin; and that, not being able to persuade him to do it, he accused him to the Governor of the Low-Countries (h). This is related at full length in a Book of Stephen Pasquier, which I do not know that the Jesuits have answered. Criton was yet alive in the Year 1615, as we are informed by a Book, which assures us, that Criton had great Reason to complain of the Jesuits [C].

(d) Richeome
Plainte Apolo-
getique, cap. 43.
pag. 106.

(e) Camden's
Annals, pag. m.
604, at the Year
1592.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Pasquier,
ubi supra.

(h) Idem.

(11) Richeome
Plainte Apolog.
pag. 160. See
also Eudemon
Johannes in the
Apology for Gar-
net, pag. 154.

(12) De Larrey,
Hist. d'Angle-
terre, Tom. II,
pag. 385, 386.
See also Cam-
den's pag. m.
384, at the Year
1584.

(13) Thuan. lib.
79, about the end.

(14) Printed in
the Year 1614,
in 8vo, pag. 64,
65.

(a) Colomies
Gall. Orient.
pag. 184.

(1) Colomies,
Gall. Orient.
pag. 184, calls
him John.

(2) Johannes,
scriptis quibus-
dam clari, filius.
Ibid.

story and the Letter have been inserted in the Collection of memorable things, which happened under the League, published by those of the pretended Religion, in the Year 1583 (11). He would have given more weight to his Remark, if he had said, that That Part of the Collection was only the French Translation of an Account, published in English, at London.

[B] He was taken by the Privateers of Ostend, in 1585, as he was returning into Scotland upon a great Enterprize. He had had the Precaution to throw his Papers into the Sea, after tearing them to pieces; but the Wind kept them up, and even threw them back into the Ship, without any part being lost or spoiled: which Criton could not help looking upon as a Miracle in favour of Elizabeth. They were collected, and carried to Vaad, who rejoined them so artfully, that they found the whole Narrative of the Enterprize, the Plan of which the Scotch Jesuit was carrying to the Accomplish. There they were informed, that the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guises, were preparing Troops, and a Fleet, to make an Invasion upon England, which was very soon to be put in Execution. This writing being made public, the whole Kingdom was alarmed at it (12). Thuanus was not well informed, when he says, that, whilst Parry was in Prison, there were some who gave notice, that Criton was come into England in disguise, which was the Cause of his being seized (13).

[C] He had great Reason to complain of the Jesuits. In the Collection of the Articles, proposed by Theophilus Eugenius to the most Christian King, for the Reformation of the Jesuits in France (14), we find the following Passage: 'Father John Fourrier, Rector of the Jesuits of Avignon, will not receive into his College Father Criton, a Scotchman, that venerable old Man, whom Queen Elizabeth of England dis-

charged out of Prison, for having deterred the Paricide Paris from the Treason he had resolved against her Royal Person. That sincerely religious Man, who cannot speak of Father Perjonias, the Jesuit, the great Disturber of England, without calling him factious, alienated from his King, the present King of Great Britain, having diffamed him, and neglected his Reduction to the Church, to the great Prejudice of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland: That old Man, who laboured so long in Spain, to procure the pacific Conversion of his Prince, and who would willingly die with his grey Hair in the Middle of his Country: This good Father is driven from the College of Avignon: they are afraid that he should procure Charity for the the poor Scots, who are banished from their Houses, for the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish, Faith. Father Fourrier cannot bear to see, at the Gate of his College, these poor Christians reduced to Poverty, for the Cause of God. Father Criton, the Father of these persecuted Confessors of our holy Faith, is sent to Carpentras, as too heavy a burden to the Avarice of Father Fourrier, the Rector. He is in the Hands of Father Luce, an Italian, Rector of Carpentras, who is resolved to make his Life bitter, and to nourish him with Anguish; he is dying under the cruel Reign of Father Luce. Father Luce, seeing himself reproved by Father Criton for the unreasonableness he has caused to Signior Coponio the Bishop, and to the Inhabitants of the City, has no patience till he see this free and courageous old Man out of his College. The proud and contemptuous Behaviour of Father Luce has obliged the good old Man to request a Retreat in another College. The charitable Rectors desire to be excused. He hardly finds one Rector who will receive him.'

(a) See Aldus Manutius the Son of Paul, in the Epistle dedicatory of his Notes upon Tully's Paradossi. Moreri's Quotation runs thus, Aldus Manutius in Pref. Cicer. which is wrong. That Commentary of Aldus Manutius was dedicated to James Criton, in 1581.

CRITON (JAMES), born in Scotland in the XVIIth Century, was one of the most prodigious Wits that ever was seen (a). Moreri gives a pretty large Account of him.

CROIUS (JOHN), in French de Croi, was one of the most learned Ministers in France in the XVIIth Century. He was a Native of Uzes (a), and the Son of a Minister [A]; he exercised his Ministry in the Church of Beziers, and afterwards in

[A] He was the Son of a Minister. His Father's Name was Francis de Croi (1). Colomies says that he made himself known by some Books (2). I only know that which he intitled, *Les trois Conformitez, savoir l'harmonie & convenance de l'Eglise Romaine avec le Paganisme, Judaïsme, & les anciennes Heresies*, 1605, in octavo. — (The three Conformities, to wit, the Harmony and Agreement of the Romish Church

with Paganism, Judaism, and the ancient Heresies.) I have heard say that he was descended from the illustrious and ancient Family of Croi, but by the left side. He that told me this, could not well explain to me whether Francis de Croi had been a Monk: he told me only that the Minister of Beziers descended from a Monk, who had embraced the Reformation, and who was a Bastard, or descended from

in that of *Ufz*. He published several Books of Controversy in French [B]; but his Latin Works have done him more Honour [C], because they made it appear that he was admirably well versed in the Languages, in Critical and Jewish Learning, in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and in whatever goes by the Name of *Philology* and *Polymathia*. He aimed at being thought an universal Scholar, and even undertook to criticize *Balzac* on his Mother Tongue [D]. When the Disputes about Universal Grace were at the Height, each Party endeavoured to gain him. The *Particularists* were the most diligent, and prepossessed him in such a manner against *Universalism*, that he went to the National Synod of *Alençon* full of Threatnings (b). Mr *Amyraut* boasted of having brought him over to his Opinion after some Hours Conversation. Others say that *Croius*, finding afterwards that *Amyraut* had put upon him, was very much vexed at it (c). He died the Thirty first of August 1659.

(b) See the Preface to the Specimen Animadversionum of Mr Amyraut.

(c) See Andrew Rivetus Epist. Apologet. and du Moulin, Pref. Judicii de Amyraldi libro contra Spanhem.

from a Bastard of the House of *Croi*. *Francis de Croi* styles himself in the Title-page of his Book of the *Three Conformities*, G. Artib. that is to say, *Gentilhomme Artibien*, a Gentleman of Artois. He was Minister of *Ufz*.

Note, that a very honest Man of that Country sent me Word, that, having wrote from Amsterdam to the Son of our *John de Croi* (3) what I had reported on a hear-say concerning his Extraction, he received an answer, that they are lawfully descended from the House of *Croi*, and that they could justify it. I answered, that I would insert, with all my heart, the Memorial that should be communicated to me as well on this Subject, as on the History and Writings of that able Minister printed, and not printed; but I have not yet received any thing.

[B] He published several Books of Controversy in French.] He wrote one to prove the Confession of Faith of *Geneva* by the Scripture, and dedicated it to our Lord JESUS CHRIST. That Book was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1645, in octavo (4).

(4) Colomieu, ibid, pag. 185.

The second Edition is of the Year 1650, and contains many Additions. The Author promised two other Treatises, the one to confirm that same Confession by the Testimonies of the Fathers; the other to confirm it by the Testimonies of the Adversaries (5): He published a Book at *Geneva* in the Year 1655, intitled *Augustin supposititious, or Reasons that make it appear that the four Books of the Symbol, that are in the ninth Tome of St Augulmin's Works, are none of his, but of several Authors who took his Name, against Father Bernard Meynier a Jesuit*. Colomieu observes, that there is also a Book of Mr de *Croi*, intitled *Shemei convaincu*, printed at *Geneva* in several Volumes in octavo (6). I do not believe that this Work contains several Volumes: it serves for an Answer to a very capitious Piece, intitled *The holy Liberty of the Children of GOD*. The Jesuit *Meynier*, who is the Author of it (7), speaks in it like a Minister, and for that reason Mr *Drelineourt*, answering that Book, intitled his Answer, *The false Pastor convicted*. It was printed in the Year 1656.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 184.

(7) See Nathaniel Southwell in Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu, pag. 122, where he says, That this Book had been printed twenty times, and that the last Edition was that of *Nijmes*, 1660.

Here is what he observes at the end of his Preface: I understand that M. de *Croi*, Pastor of the Church of *Ufz*, answers, or has already amply and exactly answered, whatever our false Pastor has put in this last Edition of his Libel. Wherefore I heartily yield him my Pen. For I know his Learning and Merit, and that he has no need of my Assistance. I have heard of a Book, wherein *Croi* pretends to prove that St Peter never was at Rome. See *Sarravius's* One hundred and Twenty sixth Letter, pag. 130, of the *Utrecht* Edition.

[C] His Latin Works have done him more Honour.] In the Year 1632, he published a *Specimen conjectionum & observationum in quædam Origenis, Irenæi, & Tertulliani loca*. Twelve Years after came out the *Observationes sacræ & historica in Novum Testamentum*, wherein *Heinsius* is terribly criticized. In several places of those two Books he promises many others, which it is likely will never appear: it is pity, for one might learn a great many things by them. He was not contented to use *Daniel Heinsius* very ill; but he exercised also his sharp and haughty Criticisms on *Petavius*, who had examined and censured (8) the *Specimen conjectionum*. That Jesuit would not reply, because, said he, when one writes against the Ministers, it is the right way to get their Salaries increased. Is responsum se negat ideo quod non annua augeri Ministris contra quos scribitur (9).

(8) In fine Synesi Operum Græc. & Lat. Edit. 1640.

(9) Grotius apud Colomieu, ubi supra, pag. 183.

His *Observationes sacræ* appeared very learned to *Sarravius*, and such as might ruin *Heinsius's* Reputation (10). He wrote to *Salmassius*, that the Author had twenty five Books like that, ready for the Press (11). He wrote also to him, that *Heinsius* had endeavoured to hinder the printing of *Croius's* Book (12), and had desired him in a very civil Letter to deal kindly with him (13).

[D] He undertook to criticize *Balzac* on his Mother Tongue.] This was not the true Subject of his Criticisms: he only made some Remarks on the Language by the by, and occasionally. His chief Design was to answer the Censure of the *Herodes infanticida* (14), published by *Balzac*. That Answer was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1642, and contains One hundred and eighty nine pages in octavo. It is anonymous: but the Author declares at the end of it, that he has not concealed his Name out of fear. If *Balzac* will answer it, says he, I desire him to make use of no other Name than his own, and not to appear under a borrowed Name, that he may speak of himself with more liberty. I have Courage enough to discover my Name to him when he shall desire it, and Strength enough to enter into the Lists with him if he has a mind to it. What is very surprising in it is, that he speaks for the Interest and Glory of *Heinsius* with all the Zeal of a very good Friend, and praises him excessively; and yet at that very time he was preparing a Volume of sharp and slighting Observations against *Heinsius*. They were published in the Year 1644, as I have already said. *Sarravius* could not understand this Conduct. See his Amusement and Conjectures in the following Words: Vidi tua indicta Croii responsum ad Balzaci pro Heinsio. Plurima certe sapient eruditionem altissimam: sed linguam Gallicam & stylum quod attinet, sicut incultus, dissipatus, inelaboratus, habebitque non pauca politissimi ingenii & vibrantis orationis Adversarius, etiam in ipso argumento, quæ regerat. Opus itaque laudo non opifecim, idem aliquando de *Garrifolii* tui Poemate dicturus. Sed an *Croius* ipse autor edendi? Vix credam. Scio enim & certo scio, habere eum præ manibus satis amplum volumen Notatorum in Exercitationes Sacras *τὸ ποινικιστὶς* Leydenis. Ergo quem Gallice, hoc est, quasi intra privatos parietes, opus ob multum laudaverit, Latine, id est per totum orbem terrarum in re non nauci, fuggillabit. Explica quæso mihi istud quiddam est ænigmatis: nisi forsan *Gronovius*, quem istam Diatribam ad vos detulisse audio, voluit *Heinsium* ad quem abituriebat, hac five arte five officio demereri (15). — By your Intelligence I have read *Croi's* Vindication of *Heinsius*, in Answer to *Balzac*. There are indeed many things which shew vast Learning; but as to his Style, and the French Language, it flows rough, unequal, and incorrect: so that his Antagonist, a Man of a ready Wit and polite Style, will find many things, even in his Arguments, to retort upon him. I therefore commend the Treatise, not the Author, and may perhaps say the same concerning the Poem of your *Garrifolius*. But was *Croi* himself the Author of it's being made public? I can scarcely believe it. For I know, and that for certain, that he has by him a large Volume of Animadversions upon the Exercitationes Sacræ *τὸ ποινικιστὶς* Leydenis. It is therefore commending a Man in his own Language, and at his own House, and exposing him in the tenderest part, through the World in a Language universally approved. I could wish you would unfold this Mystery; unless *Gronovius*, who I understand forwarded that Dissertation to you, thinks by this means to oblige *Heinsius*.

(10) Sarrav. Epist. 102, pag. 103, 104.

(11) Id. Epist. 103, pag. 105.

(12) Id. Epist. 102, pag. 103. Vide etiam Epist. 94, pag. 94.

(13) Id. Epist. 81, pag. 81.

(14) It is the Title of a Tragedy composed by *Heinsius*.

(15) *Sarravius* in Epistola ad Alex. Morum Scripta Lutetie Id. Jan. 1642, pag. 39, 40. Edit. Ultraj. 1697.

CURIO (**COELIUS SECUNDUS**), a learned *Piedmontois*, retired into *Switzerland*, after having suffered great Persecution in *Italy*, because he was suspected of being a Protestant. He was very well received in the Canton of *Bern*, where he was made Principal of the College of *Lausanne* (a). He went afterwards to *Basil*, where he was promoted to the Professorship of Eloquence, which he discharged with great Reputation. He published several Books [A]; and one among the rest, wherein he endeavoured to shew that the number of the Predestinated is greater than that of the Reprobate [B]. He died in the Year 1569, aged Sixty seven Years (b). He had lately buried an illustrious Son, whose Name was **AUGUSTINUS SECUNDUS CURIO** [C]. Their Library, which was very fine, was bought by a Duke of *Lunenburg* (c): it makes part of that of *Wolfenbuttel*. You will find several things concerning our *Curio* in *Hofman's* Lexicon, and in Mr *Teissier's* Additions to the *Elogies* taken from *Tbuanus*.

(a) See the Epistle dedicatory of his Pasquillus Eclasticus, printed at Geneva, in 1544.

(b) Hofman in Lexico, Tom. I, pag. 509.

(c) See Contrarius in his Treatise of Libraries.

(1) Tom. I, pag. 358.

(2) Bibl. vet. & nova, pag. 228.

(3) Of the Ter-gow Edition 1614. The first Edition is of Basil, 1554.

(4) Ramus Oratione de Basilica, pag. 57, says, that Coelius Horat. Curio published, at Basil, at fifteen Years of age, a Book de Amplitudine Divine Misericordiae, and some Declamations.

[A] He published several Books. You will find a List of them in the Additions of Mr *Teissier* to the *Elogies* taken from *Tbuanus* (1); but take the *Historia Sarraeenica* out of it; for it is a Work of *Augustin Curio*, the Son of *Coelius*. As for the War of *Malta*, printed with that *Saracen History*, *Konig* (2) should not have ascribed it to *Augustin*; it is a Work of *Coelius*.

[B] And one among the rest, wherein he endeavours to shew, that the number of the Predestinated is greater than that of the Reprobate. It is surprising that he durst preach such a Gospel among the *Swiss*; for this Doctrine is very much suspected by the true Reformed, and I do not think that any Professor could maintain it at this time in *Holland* with Impunity. However it be, his Book is intitled, *De Amplitudine beati regni Dei*. He dedicated it to *Sigismund Augustus*, King of *Poland*. He says, in the One hundred and Thirty first Page (3), that he never so well understood the Extent of the Mercy of God, as when his Son *Horace* (4) translated out of *Italian* a Discourse on that matter, written by *Marcellus An-*

dreasi of *Mantua*. See the *Sorberiana* (5), wherein this Book of *Curio* is much slighted, whilst the Author's Intention is praised in it.

[C] He had an illustrious Son, whose Name was **AUGUSTINUS SECUNDUS CURIO**. He was Professor of Eloquence at *Basil*; and though he lived but Twenty eight Years, yet he gave public Proofs of his Learning, having published three Books of the *Saracen History*, one of the Kingdom of *Morocco*, and one about the Life and Death of his four Sisters (6). One of them was a learned Woman. Cujus sororem Angelam præter cætera virginis ornamenta non solum Germanicè, Italicè, Gallicè, sed & Latine loquantem (quod ipsius manuscripte, declarant Epistolæ) equidem etiam ad patris eximias laudes aggrego. — Whose Sister *Angela*, besides the Ornaments of her Sex, spoke not only German, Italian, French, but Latin (as her Manuscript Letters testify) and I think justly deserves a place amongst the distinguished Honours of her Father. They are *Peter Ramus's* Words (7).

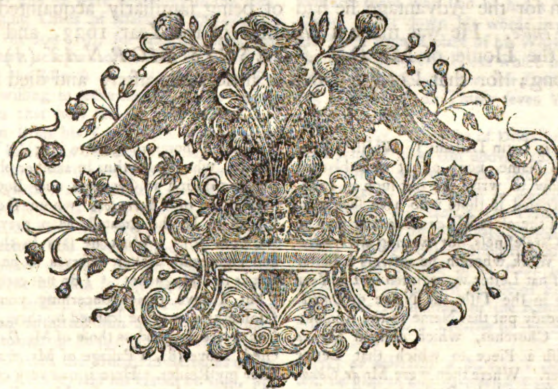
(5) Pag. m. 561

(6) Taken from Petrus Ramus in Oratione de Basilica, pag. m. 53.

(7) Ib. pag. 57.

CURSON. See **CORCEONE**.

CURTIUS (**QUINTUS**), Historian of *Alexander*. See **QUINTUS-CURTIIUS**.



DAILLÉ.

D.



DAILLÉ (JOHN), in *Latin Dallæus* [A], Minister of the Church of *Paris*, was one of the most learned Divines of the XVIIth Century [B]; and none of the Protestant Controversists was so esteemed by the Catholics as he was. He was born at *Chatelleraut* the sixth of *January*, 1594. He began to study the *Latin* somewhat late, because his Father designed him for *Business*, thinking to leave him his Office (a); but he was obliged to give way to the great Inclination that Nature had given to his Son for Learning, ----- So that, at eleven Years of Age, he was sent to *St Maixet*, in *Poitou*, to learn the first Rudiments (b). He continued his Studies at *Poitiers*, *Chatelleraut*, and *Saumur*; and having made an end of his Classcal Learning in this last Town, he entered upon Logic at *Poitiers*, at sixteen Years of Age, and finished his Course of Philosophy at *Saumur*, under the famous *Duncan*. He began to study Divinity at *Saumur*, in 1612; and in the Month of *October*, of the same Year, he went to the illustrious Mr *du Plessis-Mornai*, to be Tutor to two of his Grandsons. He had the good fortune to please him, and made a very great Progress in the Conversation of that learned Man, who did him very often the Honour to read with him, and imparted to him all that he knew. Mr *Dailé*, having lived seven Years with such an excellent Master, travelled into *Italy* with his two Pupils (c). He found himself very much perplexed when one of them fell sick at *Mantua*; he was obliged to get him carried with all Diligence to *Padua*, where the Protestants have a little more Liberty. The young Gentleman died there soon after, and a great deal of Address and Credit was necessary to avoid the Oppositions of the Inquisitors, and to have him carried into *France* to be buried with his Ancestors. The Governor of the Deceased overcame all those Difficulties, but not without the Assistance of Father *Paul*, and continued to travel with his other Pupil. They saw *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *England*, and returned into *France* about the latter end of the Year 1621. Mr *Dailé* made so little account of the Usefulness of travelling, that he regretted all his Life-time the two Years he had spent in it [C], and would have regretted them more, had it not been for the Advantage he had of being familiarly acquainted with Father *Paul* [D], at *Venice*. He was made a Minister in the Year 1623, and exercised his Office first in the House of Mr *DU PLESSIS MORNAY* (d); which did not continue long; for that Lord fell sick a little while after, and died in the Month

(a) It was that of Receiver of the Consignations, which he had at *Poitiers*. Abridgement of Mr *Dailé's* Life, pag. 2.

(b) Ibid. pag. 3, 4.

(c) They set out from *Saumur* in the beginning of the Autumn, 1619.

(d) At the Castle of *la Forêt* upon *Saumur* in the Lower *Poitou*.

[A] *Dailé* — in *Latin Dallæus*.] Whilst a Man has not printed his Name, none ought to be blamed for not knowing how to write it; but such an Ignorance cannot be excused in those who have seen that Name in Print: and therefore Mr *de Chaumont* may be taxed with a great Carelessness, for writing always the *Sieur D'Aillé* in a Work wherein he answers a Letter of that Minister. That Letter was printed in the Year 1634, and contains in the Title the Name of *Dailé*. The Author had already put that Name to the Apology for the Reformed Churches, which obliged Mr *de Chaumont* to publish a Piece to which that Letter served for an Answer. Where then were Mr *de Chaumont's* Eyes when he read the Books that he went about to confute? I have observed in another place, that Father *Southwell* criticizes Mr *Dailé's* Name (1). The learned *Grotius* has not latinized his Name better, for he calls him *Dallæus* (2). The Abbot *de la Roque* would not have said *Dailé* (3), if he had been better acquainted with that Minister's Works. *Balzac* says generally *Dailé*, as he ought to do; but I have seen *D'Aillé* in the Thirty seventh Letter of the ninth Book (4).

[B] — was one of the most learned Divines of the XVIIth Century.] Tho' of the Protestant Religion in *France* used to say, that they never had a better Pen since *Calvin*, than that of Mr *Dailé*. 'An honest Man of that Party told me, that they never had so great a Man since *Calvin* as Mr *Dailé*: I know him. 'The Jews said of their Rabbi *Moses Maimonides*, that à *Mose antiquo ad Moysen nostrum non surrexit major*

Mose. I therefore agree to it (5). These are *Patin's* Words, who speaks thus in another place: 'They are now printing at *Geneva* a new Book of Mr *Dailé*, Minister of *Charenton*, whom the *Huguenots* will have to be the greatest Man they have had since *Calvin* (6). What he says in the Four hundred and eighteenth Letter deserves to be set down. He speaks to a *Huguenot*: 'I do not care for Law Books, but I love those concerning your Religion: for something may be learned by them, especially when they are as good as those of Mr *Dailé* (7). I have cited, above (8), a Passage of Mr *Arnauld*, to which I refer my Reader. Here is one very considerable of Mr *Colomès*: 'I went to see Mr *de Valois* (*Valefius*) the elder at *Paris*, who told me, among other things, that a great many People set up for Authors, but that he knew but few that write so well as Mr *Dailé* (9).'

[C] He regretted all his Life-time the two Years that he spent in his Travels.] We have often heard him, whose History we write, regret those two Years, which he accounted almost as lost, because he might have spent them more usefully in his Closet. His Son says this in the Abridgment that he made of Mr *Dailé's* Life (10).

[D] He had the Advantage of being familiarly acquainted with Father *Paul*.] Let us continue to hear his Son (11). 'The only Benefit, which he said he had reaped from this Journey, was the Acquaintance and Conversation of Father *Paul* — M. *du Plessis*, with whom he kept Correspondence by Letters, had recommended

(5) *Patin*, Letter 405, pag. 201, of the 3d Tome, Edit. *Genev.* See also the 527th Letter.

(6) Letter 501, pag. 46 of the 3d Tome.

(7) *Lettres du Patin*, Tom. III, pag. 241, 242. See also pag. 464, of the same Tome.

(8) *Citat.* (10), of the Article *AUBERTIN*.

(9) *Colom.* Opusc. pag. 95.

(10) *Abregé de la Vie de Mr Dailé*, pag. 8.

(11) Ibid. pag. 9.

(1) He calls him *D. Allius*. See above, Rem. [I] of the Article *ADAM* (JOHN).

(2) *Grot.* Epist. 350, Part II, pag. 854.

(3) In the *Journ. des Savans* of the 2d of January 1675.

(4) Edition in folio.

of November, of the same Year, in the Arms of that new Pastor. That great Man's Memoirs took up Mr *Daille* the following Year. In 1625 he was Minister of the Church of *Saumur*, and in 1626 he was removed to that of *Paris* (e). He spent all the rest of his Life in the Service of this last Church, and became a great Ornament to the whole Body of the Reformed, as well by his Sermons [E], as by his Books of Controversy (f). As he lived long, and enjoyed a very good Health, and besides had but a small Family [F], it is easy to apprehend, that so laborious a Man [G],

(e) He succeeded Mr Durant.

(f) Taken from the Abridgment of his Life, published in 1670.

and

* recommended his Grandchildren and their Government to him in a very particular manner; so that he was immediately received into his Confidence, and no Day passed without visiting him, and having some Hours of Conversation with him. The good Father conceived such an Affection for him, that he used his utmost Endeavours with a French Physician of our Religion, one of his intimate Friends, whose Name was *Affelineau*, to oblige him to stay at Venice (11). He used his Interest to procure him the necessary safe Conducts and Passports from the Republic for the dead body, that was to be conveyed into France (12). It may be, the Controversies have already made use of this Passage of Mr *Daille's* Life, to prove that *Fra-Paolo* concealed, under the Habit of a Monk, a Soul intirely devoted to Protestantism.

[E] By his Sermons. He published nineteen Volumes of them, and a little before his Death he sent to Geneva the last that he had preached on the twelfth Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. They make the twentieth Volume. There is no profound Learning in those Sermons, as in those of *Mestrezat*; but they are much clearer both in Expression, and in the Disposition of the Subject. He was accused of having stolen many things out of Dr *Davenant*, in his Exposition of the Epistle to the *Colossians*. See what he answered about it to *Cottib* (13), who also reproached him with many Repetitions.

[F] He had but a small Family. He married in the Lower *Poitou*, in the Month of May 1625 (14). His Wife died the Thirty first of May 1631 (15), and left him but one Son, of whom she was delivered at the Dutch Ambassador's House (16) the Thirty first of October 1628 (17). She had fled thither, because the Protestants were afraid that the News of the taking of *Robbelle* would stir the People against them. This only Son, whose name was *Hadrian DAILLE*, was made a Minister in the Year 1653. He had been studying Divinity at his Father's for several Years, when the Consistory of *Robbelle* desired to have him (18).

Both his Father and he were beholding to the Affection and obliging Cares of Messieurs *Drelincourt*, the Father and the Son (19), for such an honourable Invitation. They accepted of it with Joy, and set out together in the Month of April 1654, the Father being not willing to leave his Son before he had installed him in that holy Office, to which he had consecrated him from his Youth. In that Journey he saw his old Friends in *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and *Poitou*, and the Church of *Cbatelleraut*, where he was born, that of *Saumur*, and that of *La Foret*, which had enjoyed the first Fruits of his Ministry, had again the Satisfaction to hear him preach in their Assemblies. He preached also several times at *Robbelle* and *La Rochefoucaut*, whether he was obliged to go in order to present his Son to the Synod that was held there in the farthest part of the Province. And the Synod having admitted him after the necessary Trials, they returned to *Robbelle*, where that numerous Flock having heard the Probation-Sermons of the new Minister, his Father laid his Hands on him, upon a Sunday, the sixth of July. Fifteen Days after he took leave of the Church with a farewell Sermon, and a Collection was made of all the Sermons that he preached in that Journey, whereof two Impressions have been fold off, one at *Saumur*, and the other at *Geneva*. He set out afterwards from *Robbelle*, to return to *Paris* (20). Five Years after he had the Satisfaction to have his Son for his Colleague. *Hadrian Daille* was chosen in the Year 1658 to be a Minister of *Paris*, in the place of Mr *Mestrezat*. *Cottib* tells a pleasant Story about Mr *Daille's* Son being successively invited by the Church of *Robbelle* and *Paris* (21).

The Reflexion you cast on my Prayers (he speaks to the Father) puts me in mind of your's, in a Journey that I made with you from *Paris* to *Cbatelleraut*. Was it not a shameful thing for you, because you conducted that dear and only Son of your's to be a

Minister at *Robbelle*, to compare yourself to the Patriarch *Abraham*, and him to *Isaac*, whom you was going to offer up, because you removed him from *Paris* (22)? There wanted only (to make the Allegory perfect) an Angel to hold your Arm, and stay the Blow, obliging you to return back again to your House with your Victim. But you have taken care of it since: that Angel was one of the King's Secretaries, whose Name I have forgot (23); he went Post from *Paris* to surprize the *Robbellers*, and notwithstanding all the Protestations you had made to those poor People, to consecrate your Son to them without any reserve, and never to re-call him, which you did in opposition to Mr *Drelincourt*, who seemed (as it was said) to have a mind to re-call him; against all those Vows, by which you had devoted his Ministry to this People, and which, being more solemn than those which you say I made to the Protestants at *Poitiers*, ought consequently to be more inviolable; notwithstanding, I say, all these Engagements, that Angel applied himself to the Ministers of *Xaintronge*, already prepossessed by Letters; and without giving the Parties time to speak for themselves, he takes that *Isaac* from them, and gives them occasion to complain for ever, both of the Fidelity of the Father, and of the Loss of the Son, if he deserves to be so long regretted. Mr *Daille* calls this a Romance, and a fabulous Story (24).

His Son was yet living when the Edict of *Nantes* was revoked; but by reason of his bodily Infirmities he was dispensed with exercising the Functions of his Ministry. He retired into *Switzerland*, and died at *Zurich*, about the Month of May 1690. All his Manuscripts, among which there were several Works of his Father, were carried into the public Library. He had a vast Knowledge of Books; for he did not only know whether they were good, but also whether they sold well; and I have heard say, that the Bookellers were not well pleased with this last Knowledge. Mr *Baillet* makes mention of him in the first Volume of his *Anti*, and justly censures those who said he had a Son who turned Catholic. I set down his words in the Margin: They are taken from a place of his Work, wherein he gives the Titles of several Books which he supposes were designed (25). Note, that Mr *Daille*, the Father, being a Widower at Thirty seven Years of Age, never married again.

Mr *Pillet*, Professor of Divinity at *Geneva*, having read what I have said above, that the Manuscripts of Mr *Daille's* Son were put into the public Library of *Zurich* (26), was pleased to acquaint me that the Manuscripts of Mr *Daille*, the Father, were at *Geneva*, in the Hands of a private Person, who had bought them. They are the Explication of the nine first Chapters of the Epistle of St *Paul* to the *Romans*; the Explication of the first Epistle of St *Peter*, several Sermons, the Refutation of the Exposition of the Bishop of *Condom*, and a Treatise of the Eucharist like that of *Aubertin*.

[G] So laborious a Man. I am sure the Readers will be glad to find here what I am going to transcribe out of Mr *Daille's* Life. His Books and his Studies were his chief Recreation, and his greatest Delight: there he unbent his Mind from Labour, with Pleasure and Profit. He betook himself to his Books, when he was weary of Business; and after a long Application to sublime and abstruse Matters, he used to take some Authors, the reading of which required less Attention, and afforded him some Diversion. Thus he intermixt serious and pleasant Studies, that he might always preserve his Appetite by this Variety of Food and Diet. I think also, without flattering him, he may deserve the Praise of having been one of the Men of his Time that read most, and most kind of Books, not only those of his Profession, but also of those that seem the farthest from it. It will not be hard to conceive this, if it be considered that he lived long, and that he husbanded all the Moments

(22) I shall observe, without pretending that this Story is true, that the *Parisians* have the Weakness to think, that living in the Province is a deplorable Exile.

(23) In Mr *Daille's* Life, pag. 31, the Elder of the Consistory of *Charenton*, who was deputed to *Robbelle*, to demand Mr *Daille's* Son, is called Mr *Turpin*.

(24) Rpelique à Adam & à Cottib, port. III. c. iii. p. m. 152.

(25) Conjuracion generale des Protestans, & autres Heretiques du Nord & de l'Occident, contra l'Eglise Catholique, concertée sur les visions & les inspirations du Prophete de Rotterdam, avec l'Histoire des Visionnaires de l'un & de l'autre sexe que les Protestans ont eu jusqu'ici. Par le Sieur Jean Daille R. B. T. fils d'Adrien, petit fils de Jean. If I am not mistaken, says Mr de Brilhat, the Name of the Author is supposititious. It is true that Mr Daille, who is now at Zurich, is called Adrien, and that his Father's Name was John; but I have not heard that he left a Son in France, who was converted. Baillet, Tom. I, of the Anti, pag. 294.

(26) I had read this in a Letter written from Zurich, soon after the Death of Mr *Daille* the Son.

(11) Ibid. pag. 9.

(12) Ibid. pag. 8.

(13) Daille Replique à Adam & à Cottib, Part III, chap. 5. pag. m. 172.

(14) Abridgment of his Life, pag. 12.

(15) Ibid. pag. 17.

(16) It was the Baron of Languerack.

(17) Daille, ubi supra, pag. 15.

(18) Ibid. pag. 29.

(19) He was Minister of Robbelle.

(20) Abregé de la Vie de Mr Daille, pag. 30.

(21) Cottib, Replique à Mr Daille, pag. 20.

(g) The Book-
seller put the fol-
lowing Year in
the Title as it is
usual.

(b) See the Re-
mark [N].

(i) See Remark
[I] of the Arti-
cle ADAM
(JOHN).

and so well qualified for Writing, composed many Books. With submission to some Critics, his first Essay was a Masterpiece [H]; and I do not know but it may be said to be his Masterpiece: I mean his Book *de Usu Patrum*, that was printed in the Year 1631 (g). It is a very strong Chain of Arguments, that form a moral Demonstration against those, who would have Differences in Religion to be decided by the Authority of the Fathers. The Author did not begin with such a Book because he knew that the Fathers of the first Centuries favoured the Roman Catholics; for he has shewed in several Works, that he desired no better than to reduce Controversies to this Point, *Every Doctrine, that is not consonant to that of the three first Centuries, ought to be rejected as an humane Innovation*. He would not have contested with the Bishop of Meaux the Principle of the *History of the Variations* [I]. Never any Minister knew the History and Doctrine of the Fathers better than he. No Man can write in a better Latin Style than he did about the Matters that he treated of. As for his French Style, it cannot be said that he had attained to Perfection in it; but there was no Man of his Age, among the Persons of his Gown, that spoke French so well as he; which ought to be ascribed, to the intimate Acquaintance he had, during his long stay at Paris, with the famous Mr Contart (b). He presided in the last National Synod that was held in France, which is that of Loudon, in the Year 1659. He had that Advantage, that his Mind did not decay; for there is as much Fire and Strength of Argument in his Reply to Father Adam (i), and in the two Volumes de *Objecto cultus*

ments of his long Life. He was exceedingly laborious, and, rising very early every Morning, he had by that means five or six Hours free from the common Hurry of Life, which he could spend in his Closet: and therefore it is no wonder if he had leisure enough to get such a stock of Learning in so many Years; for he was a Man that made an Advantage of every thing, and he read no Book, how despicable soever it might be, but he made some Extracts of it (27), and he knew very well how to make use of them at a proper Time and Place (28).

[H] With Submission to some Critics, his first Essay was a Masterpiece.] Here is what we find in a Book of *Colomies* (29). 'People are very much divided in their Opinions about Mr Daillé's Book *de usu Patrum*. The Presbyterians admire it very much, and the English Episcopians value it but little. Speaking formerly of this Book with a learned Man, (who is at present one of the latter) he told me that in his Opinion it was the least of Mr Daillé's Works, and that he wondered that, having a considerable Knowledge of the Fathers, he had made use of his reading to obscure the Merit of the Ancient Church.'

Mr Scrivener, an English Divine, is of the same Opinion, in his *Apology for the Fathers against the same Mr Daillé*. Take notice that this Censure is chiefly grounded on this, that it is a Work which may injure Antiquity: this would not be said of an indifferent Book, and therefore those who find fault with this Work do really commend it. I know very well that the English Divine (30) who writ against that Work, pretends that Mr Daillé's Reasons are not strong; but he does not make it out, and nothing would be more easy than to confute him. But laying aside that Dispute, I shall only observe, that, by the Confession of that Divine (31), the Book *de usu Patrum* was the Admiration of the Presbyterian Party. Of all Mr Daillé's Works, this was most esteemed by a learned Minister of Picardy. These are his words; he speaks to the Author. 'Licet quidquid operum hactenus edidisti, Vir Reverende, mihi plurimum placuerit, tuæque omnia, cum Latine tum Gallicè scripta, æquale plausu ab eruditiss, atque adeo à piis omnibus; excepta sint, disserter tamen non possum, laborum tuorum primitias, Tractatum nempe tuum de Patrum in decidendis de Religione Controversiis Usu, me plurimum semper cepisse. Non solum enim opus istud miræ rerum lectu & scitu jucundissimarum dignissimarumque varietate refertum est, verum etiam eloquentia orationisque nitor cum rebus ipsis certant, tantæque eruditione & facundia argumentum illud pertractasti, ut vix quicquam magis elaboratum erudito hoc seculo prodidisse videatur (32). — Although I have been extremely delighted with whatever you have hitherto published, and all your Writings, both in French and Latin, have been received with equal Applause by the learned and religious part of Mankind; Yet I must own, that the first Fruits of your Labours, namely your Treatise concerning the use of the Fathers in deciding Controversies about Religion, has charmed me above the rest. For that Work is not only stored with Variety of Matter, both useful and entertaining,

but the Eloquence and Beauty of Style is kept up to the Dignity of the Subject, which you have handled with so much Learning and Politeness, that nothing, in my Judgment, has appeared more elaborate in this learned Age.' These are the words of Mr Mettayer, who was Minister of St Quintin: his Latin Translation of that Work of Mr Daillé was printed at Geneva in the Year 1656 (§ a). It is said, in the Life of Mr Daillé (33), that a learned Englishman, whose Name is Thomas Smith, translated that same Book into his Mother Tongue; Mr Mettayer says the same: but Mr Scrivener assures us (34), that he has some very good Witnesses of the contrary, and that he heard Mr Smith say, that it was an Oxford Man, and not he, who made that Translation; and that Mr Smith himself would have confuted that Work if he had thought it worthy of his Notice (35). One thing which cannot be denied is, that there is a Preface, with the Name of that Mr Smith, prefixed to the English Translation, printed in the Year 1651. Mr Cottibby (36) made a Remark against the Book *de usu Patrum*, which the Author did not vouchsafe to examine. See Mr Daillé's Reply, in the eleventh Chapter of the third Part (37).

This is more than sufficient to prove, that the first Book that Mr Daillé published was accounted a very good Book, and one of his best Works: which puts me in mind of a Maxim which a grave Author advanced some Years ago, to prove, that the Advice to the Refugees was the Work of a Writer who had already composed several good Books. His Proof turned into a Maxim amounts to this; *Every Book that is well written, and well turned, is at least the third or fourth Production of its Author*. This Maxim is false: but when a Man goes about to convert it into a Proof of a Crime of State, he deserves to be more ridiculed than the Author, whom I speak of, was in the *Cabale Chimérique*. Mr Daillé, and his Book *de usu Patrum*, have been alledged in this last Piece, among other Examples, to shew, that the first Book that a Man publishes is sometimes a most accomplished Piece.

[§ a] As soon as Mr Daillé's *Treatise concerning the right Use of the Fathers* came out, it was received with a general Applause in the Protestant Countries; and particularly in England, as it appears by the Advertisement of Mr Thomas Smith, prefixed to the English Translation of it, containing the Testimonies of the Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, and Dr Taylor, concerning this learned Book. The Appobation of these great Men shews what Judgment is to be made of some hot-headed Divines, such as Scrivener, who endeavoured to depreciate it. He affirms, that Mr Smith said, *he would have confuted it, if he had thought it worth his while*; but we must charitably believe that he did not know, or had forgot, that the same pious and learned Mr Smith set so high a value upon this Work, that he prefixed before it the aforesaid Advertisement. My Lord Clarendon was also a great Admirer of that Performance, and has made an excellent Apology for it, in his Answer to Serenus Cressy, in which Scrivener is used as he deserves. See the Life of Mr Chillingworth, pag. 116, & seq. REM. CRIT.]

[I] He

(27) Pliny d'd
the same. Nihil
unquam legi,
quod non exer-
peret, dicere
tiam solebat nul-
lum esse librum
tam malum, ut
non aliqua ex
parte prodesset.
Plin. Epist. 5,
lib. 3.

(28) Pag. 66,
67.

(29) Bibliot.
choise, pag. 2.

(30) Matthew
Scrivener in
Apologia pro S.
Ecclesiæ p'ribus
adversus Jo. Dal-
laum, London,
1672.

(31) See his Pro-
fuge.

(32) Jo. Met-
tayer, Epist. de-
dicat. Tractatus
de usu Patrum.

(33) Pag. 14.

(34) Scriven. in
Prefat.

(35) Sibi as-
quando fuisse in
animo contrario
scripto Dallaum
refellere, sed ne
maius expensæ
nihil in Dalla-
no opere sua dig-
num opera re-
pertum. Id. ib.

(36) Cottibby ubi
supra, pag. 245.

(37) Pag. ma-
209.

cultus Religiosi (k), as in all his other Works. He openly declared for Universal Grace, and writ against a Professor of Leyden who was an Antagonist of Mr Amyraut (l). He intituled his Book, *An Apology for the Synods of Alençon and Charenton* (m). That Work raised a new War among the Protestant Divines. Mr Daillé endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying that his Book had been published without his Knowledge; nevertheless he answered, with all the Sharpness imaginable, a Professor of Groningen, who had writ against him. That Professor (n) replied; and though this Dispute did not continue very long [K], yet it produced what is usual in the like Cases; I mean, that the Public came to know by them many little Particulars that injure Mr Daillé's Memory [L], whether they be true or false; for there are but too many Readers, who

(k) He was 70 Years old when he published the first.

(l) Frederic Spanheim.

(m) It is a Latin Book printed at Amsterdam in 1655.

(n) It was Samuel Marefius.

[J] He would not have contested with the Bishop of Meaux the Principle of the History of the Variations. Here is the Principle I speak of: *The Catholic Truth which comes from God has immediately its Perfection; but Here, the weak Production of human Wit, cannot be made up but of ill sorted Pieces.* The Author of the *Pastoral Letters* pretended (38), that this is to argue like a Pagan, and as the greatest Enemy of the Christian Religion would do, and that it is to suppose Matters of Fact, which none can advance but the most ignorant of all Mankind: so that one is inclined to believe that the Bishop of Meaux never cast his Eyes on the Writings of the Fathers of the first four Centuries, since it is not possible a learned Man can give an Instance of so profound an Ignorance. A Piece was published (39) towards the end of the Year 1688, wherein it was observed (40), that these Reflexions fell as well on Mr Daillé as on the Bishop of Meaux, who seems to have transcribed his Maxim from the first Lines of one of Mr Daillé's best Works. In effect, that Minister lays down the Bishop of Meaux's Principle at the beginning of his Reply to Father Adam. See the *Answer of the Faithful, that are Captives in Babylon*, to the *Pastoral Letter* of the first of November 1694; you will find (41) there Mr Daillé's Words, and the Declaration those Faithful make, that they keep to that Principle, notwithstanding the Invektives of the Author of the *Pastoral Letters*. That Answer is dated from Orleans, the fifteenth of January 1695.

[K] This Dispute did not continue very long. The Quarrel between Marefius, and the Author of the *Apology*, was soon ended. And because they had been good Friends till then, it was no difficult thing to reconcile them: the Agreement was confirmed afterwards by their meeting each other at the *Hôtel de Turenne*, where they embraced one another; and then they visited each other, when Marefius had occasion to go to Paris (42).

[L] The Public came to know many little Particulars that injure Mr Daillé's Memory. Read Marefius's *Prolegomena*, and there you will find a long Train of Artifices, that Mr Daillé made use of to clear himself from the printing of his Book. The Walloon Synod made a great Noise about that Book, and complained of it in a Letter to the Synod of the *Ile of France*. They said that the Title of that Book had been fraudulently suppressed till after the Publication; that that Title was injurious and scandalous; that the Walloon Churches had been very much offended at it; that they believed those of France had still more reason to be offended at it; that Mr Daillé's Honour was visibly blemished by it, since they had tacked that Title to his Book against his Intention. This shewed that Mr Daillé had writ, or got some body to write, to Holland, that the Title of his Book was none of his, and that he disapproved it; and yet it appears by the Answer, which the Synod of the *Ile of France* made to the Walloon Synod, that, except Mr Spanheim's Name, the rest of the Title was that of Mr Daillé's Original, and that Mr Daillé had fully satisfied the Synod by the Explanations he had given them. Vos scitis, Domini honoratissimi fratres, id factum absque ejus consensu iploque inscio, & præter id quod ipsi prescribitis i vestra ad nos epistola, ita se explicavit in hoc cætu, ut plene nobis satisfactum fuerit (43). — You know, most honoured Brethren, that it was done without his Knowledge or Consent, and besides that, which ye have directed, in your Letter to us, he has so explained himself in this Assembly, that we are entirely satisfied. This was plainly to play upon both the Walloon Synod and that of the *Ile of France*; for the thing that gave offence was not that the Name of Mr Spanheim had been put to the Title, but that the Work had been

intituled, *An Apology for the Synods of Alençon and Charenton*. The Letter of the Walloon Synod shewed it plainly; and therefore, since Mr Daillé presided in the Synod of the *Ile of France*, and caused the Answer to be drawn up as he pleased (54), it was he that played upon the two Synods. Dallæum hac in parte suæ Synodo imposuisse, idque parum & prudenter & pudenter, luce meridiana clarius possum demonstrare; nam adoptando priorem partem tituli alteram omnino suam facit: qui enim, &c. — That Daillé herein imposed upon his Synod, and that without either Prudence or Modesty, I could demonstrate most evidently; for by not owning the first part of the Title, he makes the other his own. If Evasions were made use of about the Title, they were no less made use of about the Impression of the Book. Marefius does clearly shew that Mr Daillé's Excuses, and those of Blondel, and the rest, being compared together, destroy each other; and, in a Word, that to conceal the first Lye, they were forced to forge many others. I maintain that this wrongs a great Man's memory; for a great many Persons, especially in the remotest parts of the Kingdom, know those Gentlemen of Charenton only by their pious and controversial Books. They take them to be living Images of the Apostles, who would not for any thing in the World use any Art and Dissimulation. So that when a Mr Daillé is shewed to them, as one who deceives two Synods all at the same time, who causes Letters to be written as he pleases in a Synod whereof he is Moderator, who heaps Subterfuge upon Subterfuge in order to elude the Complaints made against his Conduct, he must needs loose a great part of the Respect and Veneration that People had for him; and if they have still the same esteem for him, it is rather because they are stupidly insensible, than that the thing would not naturally produce that effect. It is certainly a scandalous thing to see how some Men, who have a great credit in Synods, get any thing, that they have a mind to, inserted in the Letters and Acts of those Assemblies; and when those Tricks are laid open, as they have been by Marefius, the reading of them must needs give great offence.

But this is not all: You will see in the same *Prolegomena*, that, when Mr Daillé saw the Animadversions made upon his Book, he conceived a furious spite against Marefius, dispersed every where thundering Menaces, and made a Confederacy with Curcellæus, an Arminian Professor, whereby that Professor engaged to attack Marefius on the one side, whilst Mr Daillé made his Attack on the other. Dallæus instar Tigrorum, qui dicuntur in rabiem agi ad pulsus tympanorum, ita efferebuit ad istius opusculi conspectum, ac si tres illæ Exercitationes in tres Furias abissent, quæ vere ferdo ipsum interdiu nocturne exagitarent; nam illico cepit dira quæque mihi minitari, & hinc inde ad amicos scripitando, in me evomere quicquid ipsi splendida sua bilis suggerebat, responsum eam minatus quæ me pro merito depexeret — primum ex astu politico pactus est cum Curcellæo, publico hoste Ecclesiarum reformatarum, ut arma sua conjungerent, & me communi impetu adorirentur (45). — Daillé like the Tigers, who are said to grow furious by the beating of a Drum, was as much enraged at the sight of that Piece, as if those three Disputations had been changed into three Furies, and lashed him with continual stripes, both Night and Day. He immediately began to thunder out his Menaces, and writing circular Letters to all his Friends, solicited them to load me with all the Calumny their Malice could invent. He threatened me likewise with an Answer, which should expose me as I deserved. — And first by a Piece of political Craft he entered into a Confederacy with Curcellæus, a professed Enemy of the Reformed Churches,

(44) In nuperis literis suæ Synodi provincialis, cui præfuit, quæ curavit fabricari pro suo libitu. Ibid.

(45) Marefius, ubi supra.

(38) See the Pastoral Letter of the 1st of Novemb. 1688.

(39) Intituled, *Reponse d'un nouveau Converti à la lettre d'un Réfugié pour servir d'addition au livre de Dom Denys de Ste Marthe.*

(40) Pag. 9.

(41) Pag. 5.

(42) Vie de Mr Daillé, pag. 26.

(43) Maref. Prolegom. Epist. Theolog. Edit. 1658, in 12mo.

who, not being able to discern a Truth from a Falsity, will believe what they find in the Book of a famous Man. It were to be wished that the Disputes about Universalism and Particularism had been looked upon in those Days as they are now [M]. Mr Daille had a great share in Balzac's Esteem [N]. He died at Paris the 15th of April 1670, leaving a Son of whom I shall speak in the Remarks (o). The Knave

very

Churches, to attack me with their United Forces. They ascribe this Anger to the Presumption he had conceived by being Minister of the capital City of France; as if a Pastor of that Church ought to enjoy the Privileges of a little Papacy. * Iniquius fert sibi contradici & pro celebrare Ecclesie cui servit, *Id* τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, ut de veteri Roma loquuntur Patres Concilii Chalcedonenfis *Can. penult.* Non solum τὰ προεχέια sibi debere putat, sed etiam τὸ πρεσβεῖν; ac subinde Archiepiscopatū vel Papatūrit (46). The same Author quotes a piece of the Case, which M. de Fauquemberg, Minister of the Church of Sens, had published against Mr Daille, which contains a Fact that shews an insufferable Pride. * Nolim omnibus iis credere, quæ de ipso publice scripti unus ex suis in eadem Provincia symmiltis, Fauquembergius; aut illum eo feritatis processisse, ut cum sibi nartaretur hunc pro concione liberius notasse quendam ex Ecclesie suæ membris, qui dicebat falso modio usus fuisse, statim eum inauditum damnaverit, nec solum censurā dignum pronuntiaverit, sed etiam in hanc tyrannicam vocem proruperit, (*Il lui faut bailler les estriviers du haut en bas*;) quo atrocius & contumeliosius, ut norunt qui Gallicæ norunt, (sic enim agitur demum cum viliſſimis mancipiis,) nihil à Verbi Divini Ministro, de suo fratre in eadem dignitate constituto, dici potest (47). — *I would not believe all those things, which Fauquemberg, one of his Brother Divines in the same Province, has published concerning him, or that he was arrived at that pitch of Haughtiness, that, when it was told him, that Fauquemberg had reprimanded, in a manner too severe for a Sermon, one of the Members of his Congregation, who was said to have used false Measures, he should condemn him unheard, and not only proclaim him worthy of censure, but break out into this tyrannical Expression.* He should have the Bastinado from Head to Foot. *Than which nothing more barbarous or contumelious could be spoken by a Minister of GOD's Word concerning a Brother in the same Dignity with himself: For such treatment is given to the vilest Slaves.* They affirm that several of Mr Daille's Brethren complained of his Haughtiness, and conclude with saying, that commonly those who see themselves in a fine Post, and applauded by Flatterers, forget themselves, and cannot bear to be contradicted. * Ut dudum est quod φιλοπροσέχει, nec pristinae ferulae memoriam penitus deposuit, ita aſſatus typho sæculi paulatim aſſuevit κατὰκρυβεῖν τὸν κληρὸν, ut multi sint ejusdem secum ordinis in Gallia, qui majorem moderationem, & nimis sublimium spirituum aliquam repressionem, in ipso desiderant. Verum id solet iis evenire qui in loco celsiori consistunt, ut facile tententur vertigine, & aliorum blandimentis delinunt, sibi quid fumant de Phariseorum supercilio, quod postea tonforis novaculam non vult admittere (48). — *At his Elevation is of no long standing, and the late Ferule is still fresh in his Memory, he is so elate with Pride, and has so accustomed himself to tyrannize over the Clergy, that there are many of the same Order in France, who wish to see a greater Moderation, and a check given to his too haughty Temper: but it is usual for those, who are placed on a summit, to have their Heads suddenly turned, and, by being flattered by others, to contract a Pride which cannot suffer a favourite sore to be touched, tho' ever so gently.*

(46) *Id* *ibid.*

(47) *Id* *ibid.*

(48) *Id* *ibid.*

It is certain that those things may very much contribute to lessen the Esteem that People had conceived for Mr Daille. In most of the Provinces of France he was only known by a great number of Sermons full of an excellent Morality, and edifying Piety, and by Books of Controversy, wherein his Zeal for Truth, and his Wisdom and Judgment, shine no less than his Learning. When People know a Person only by such a conspicuous Merit, they have the greatest Veneration for him, because they are prepossessed with this favourable Opinion, that his Life is answerable to his Doctrine: and therefore they must needs have a worse

Opinion of him, when they come to know that he who teaches others Humility, and the forgiving of Injuries, is puffed up with Pride, cannot bear to be refuted, and horribly inveighs against his Censurers. It is doubtless a great Misfortune for such Persons, as Mr Daille was, to engage in personal Disputes. One would think that their evil Genius brings them to those unlucky Circumstances. They grow hot, and in their Anger they discover more Faults in a Month than they had been able to conceal in twenty Years. The worst is, that their Enemies reveal whatever may tend to their Disreputation, and publish a hundred things that would have been unknown. Remember the Clause that I have put in the Text of this Article, *whether they be true or false.* I decide nothing here upon the matter of Fact; and, on the other side, I say nothing but what is to be found in a public Book.

[M] *It were to be wished, that the Disputes about Universalism and Particularism had been looked upon in those Days, as they are now.* We have seen how the Walloon Synod stirred themselves against Mr Daille's Book, and that they made great Complaints of it to the Synod of the Isle of France. The very Title of it (*Apology for the Synods of Alençon and Charenton*;) appeared to them very scandalous. How comes it then that the Walloon Synod, that drew up a Form of Subscription, in the Year 1686, for the Ministers that came from France, did not inform themselves whether they were for Universal or Particular Grace? Had that Doctrine changed its nature since the Printing of Mr Daille's Book? That Question is not very difficult. In order to resolve it one needs but remember that all the Party Leaders, either in France or Holland, were dead a long time before. If Peter du Moulin, Andrew Rivet, Frederic Spanheim, Samuel Des-Marets, (Marſius), Moses Amyraut, had been living in the Year 1686, the Disputes about Universal Grace would have been accounted very important; but, as they had not been able for a considerable time to communicate to any body the Spirit wherewith they were animated, the overflowed Waters were returned into their Channel, and ran softly and smoothly, and at that time they judged better of the nature of things. How many Sins and Scandals would have been avoided, if those Waters had never overflowed those Banks (49)!

[N] *He had a great share in Balzac's Esteem.* Mr Conrart procured that Acquaintance to Mr Daille. From the Year 1639 there was a mutual Correspondence by Letters between them. Among Balzac's choice Letters, we find an Answer he made to Mr Daille the Twenty fourth of December 1639 (50). Mr Daille is often mentioned in Balzac's Letters to Mr Conrart (51), and commonly with great Praises. See the tenth Letter of the second Book, wherein a Sermon of Mr Daille is extolled to the Sky. In the sixteenth Letter of the fourth Book Balzac mentions a Visit that he received from him, and complains obligingly, that it had lasted but two Hours. This is an Encomium upon that Minister, which is very glorious to him. Mr Daille went to see Balzac in the Year 1653, in the Journey that I spoke of before (52). This appears by the date of the sixteenth Letter of the fourth Book. Here is something that shews the Friendship between Mr Daille and Mr Conrart. 'The Friday after his last Sermon (53), he only went abroad in the Neighbourhood to see his intimate Friend the illustrious Mr Conrart, who was a Man truly according to his Heart, and whose charming Conversation was one of the chief Delights of his Life, and in whose Affection he had just reason to glory; for there never was a more strict or more indissoluble Friendship than theirs ever since their first Acquaintance. One would have thought that he had a mind to take his Leave of that dear Friend; and as if he had known that it was to be their last Farewel, his Visit was longer than usual, and he did not come away till after a most pleasant Conversation, which lasted two Hours (54).'

(49) See the Remark [E] of the Article AMYRAUT.

(50) It is the 13th of the 1st Book of the 2d Part.

(51) See the 1st Letter of the 1st Book, pag. 26, of the Dutch Edit. 1650, and more over the 8th Letter of the 2d Book, pag. 107. See also pag. 249.

(52) In Remark [F].

(53) That is, the Sermon which he preached on Thursday, the 10th of April, 1670. It has been printed with the Abridgement of his Life.

(54) Abridgm. of his Life, pag. 47.

[O] The

(15) In his Apo-
logy for the
Reformed
Churches.

swered, that Mr *Daille* did not speak of the retrenching of the Cup, but of the Reasons that moved the Church of *Rome* to retrench it. See the Letter (56) that he wrote to Mr *de Langle*, Minister of *Rouen*, who had very well cleared that Equivocation in a printed Sermon.

(56) It is dated the first of *Mar.* 1655, and printed with two Sermons of Mr *de Langle* upon the first Epist. to the *Corinth.* cap. x, ver. 32s

(1) Philip.
Hailbrun. Erist.
Dedic. Comm.
in Jerem.

(c) It must then be distinguished from that which, according to the *Oxford Catalogue*, at the Word *Biblia*, was printed *Ostrobia*, in 1581.

(d) Hailbrunn.
Epist. dedicat.
Com. in Jerem.

(a) This Article
was communica-
ted by Mr Bresler

(b) Valvasor,
The Glory of
the Duchy of
Carniola, lib. 6,
cap. 11, num.
11, pag. 348.

stris ordinis ingenuam juventutem. Wittemb. Cal. Jan.
1584 (2).

(3) Ibid.

[D] *The Impression was begun.*] They agreed with Samuel Seefisch, Bookseller at Wittenberg, to print 1500 Copies, and each Copy to contain 280 Sheets, of the largest Paper, in a fine Character, with Figures carved in Wood. The States of *Carniola* were to pay 20 Florins for every Bale of 500 Sheets. The Charge of the Impression of this Bible came to about 8000 Florins, of which the States of *Stiria* paid 1000 Florins, those of *Carinthia* 900, and the Evangelic States of *Carniola* 6100 (A).

(4) Ibid.

[E] *The Year 1584.* Under the Title of *Biblia tu je ufe suetu pisma, stariga inu noviga Testamenta Slovenski, tolmazjena Skufi Jurja Dalmatina*, &c. That is to say, *The Bible, or the Holy Scriptures, of the Old and New Testament, translated into the Slavonian Tongue*, by George Dalmatin, printed at *Wittenberg*, in the Electorate of *Saxony*, by the Heirs of *John Kraft* 1584 (5).

(5) Ibid.

[F] *Slavonian Version.* Stephen Gerlach (6) indeed mentions, that, in the Month of June, 1578, there was found at *Vedreno*, a Village of *Bulgaria*, upon the Frontiers of *Thrace*, the Bible in the *Slavonian*, or *Illyric*, Tongue, at the House of a Clergyman of that Place; but in all Appearance it is neither printed in *Latin* Characters, nor agrees with the Dialect of the Bible I have been speaking of. (1) In the Account of his Travels to *Turkey*.

(c) In t

[G] *Primus Truber*.] *Primus Truber* deserves to be treated of more fully. At first, he was Canon of *Laybach*, and began, in the Year 1331, to preach publicly, in the Cathedral of that City, the Doctrine of *Luther* of the two Kinds in the Eucharist, and to approve of Priests marrying. So that he embraced *Luther's* Party, and

56

gether published for the public Good. *Dalmatin* was afterwards presented to the Benefice of St *Kbaziam* [H] by *Christopher*, Baron of *Aursperg*, in the Year 1585, and tho' the Catholics had given him an ignominious Name [I], and had also banished him in the Year 1598, yet the Baron of *Aursperg* kept him concealed in his House [K].

and retired from *Carniola* into the Empire, where he was chosen by the City of *Kempton* to be their Pastor. He preached in this place for fourteen Years, and deserved well of his Country by his Translations. For he translated into the *Carniolian* Tongue, with Latin Characters, not only, 1. The Gospels, according to *Luther's* Translation, 2. With his Catechism, but also 3. All the New Testament, and 4. The Psalms of *David* 1553. At last the States of *Carniola* recalled him into his own Country. He translated also into his Mother-Tongue the *Ausburg* Confession, and *Luther's* German Sermons, whose last Book was printed at *Tubingen*. *Hermannus Fabricius Molesmannus* (7) speaks of *Truber's* Translation, with some other Circumstances as follows. '*John Ungnad*, Baron of *Sonneck* (8) in *Croatia*, at the time of the *Ausburg* Confession, got the Bible translated into the *Slavonian* Tongue, at *Auerbach*, in the Duchy of *Wurtemberg*. He employed three learned *Slavonians* in this Translation; the first was *Primus Truber*, the second *Anthony Dalmata*, and the third *Stephen Consul*: But these Books were stopt upon the Road, and are still shut up in Casks at *Neustadt in Austria*. The Character is altogether new, almost like an *Asiatic*, or *Syriac*, Character, with pretty large and square Letters. A Copy of this Bible is to be seen in the Library of the Landgrave of *Hesse*; and there are some Copies of it in *Slavonia*. Thus far *Fabricius*. These Bibles no doubt were printed in *Cyrillic* Characters: but as to *Truber*, he was banished a second time from *Carniola*, and died in the Year 1586, according to *Martin Zeiler* (9). The

same Year he subscribed himself in this manner, in a Letter he wrote to the Deputies of *Carniola*, which Subscription contains his whole Life. '*Primus Truber*, formerly Canon in Ordinary, called and confirmed at *Leybach*, Pastor at *Lack*, at *Taffer* near *Ratsbach*, and in St *Bartholomew's* Field, Chaplain to St *Maximilian de Cilly*, *Slavonian* Preacher at *Trieste*, after the first Persecution Preacher at *Rosemburg* upon the *Tauber*, Pastor at *Kempton* and at *Aurais*, afterwards Preacher of the States of *Carniola*, and at *Rubia*, in the County of *Goergh*, after the second Persecution Pastor at *Causen*, and now at *Deredingen* near *Tubingen* (10).'

[H] Of St *Kbaziam*. Or St *Catiani* near *Aursperg*, in the Diocese of the Patriarch of *Aquileia*. *Gregory*, the Patriarch, in the Year 1260, gave the Right of Presentation, with all the Dependances of this Benefice, to *Gebhard of Aursperg* (11).

[I] Gave him an ignominious Name. They called him *Jure Kobila*, which is to say, *George Mare*. This was done by mistake, because they had nicked-named *George Terefibith*, another *Lutheran* Minister, *Jure Kobila*, on account of a Mare that was given him: For *Jure* signifies, in the *Carniolian* Tongue, *George*, and *Kobila* a Mare; for this Reason several of the Reformed have ignorantly called our *Dalmatin*, *Jure Kobila* (12).

[K] Concealed in his House. To wit, in a Vault, under the Stable, before the Cattle; and this private Vault is called to this Day, *Jure Kobila*, the Preacher's Hole (13).

DAMASCEN (JOHN), one of the most illustrious Fathers of the Lower Empire, flourished in the VIIIth Century [A]. He was born at *Damascus*, where his Father, though a good Christian [B], had an Office of Counsellor of State to the Calif of the *Saracens*. He was a very rich and charitable Man; and his chief Delight was to redeem Captives. One day he redeemed a very learned Man; whose Name was *Cosmus*, who had been taken at Sea, and made him Tutor to his only Son. The Child did very much improve under that excellent Tutor, both in Learning and Zeal for Religion. He became very zealous for Images, and dispersed some Letters in the Empire, which did wonderfully support the Cause against the Emperor; I mean the Emperor *Leo Isauricus*, a great Enemy to Images. It is said, that this Prince, burning with Desire to be revenged of *John Damascen*, who exercised at that time the Office of Counsellor of State to the Calif, which his Father had exercised, made use of a forged Letter [C] with

[A] He flourished in the VIIIth Century. *Alphonse de Castro* deserves to be censured for two Reasons, since he said (1) that, according to *Tritheimius*, our *John Damascen* must be placed in the Empire of *Theodosius* the younger, about the Year 450. It is not true that *Tritheimius* said so: he transcribed *Sigebert*, who spoke of the Disputes of *John Damascen* against the Emperor *Leo*; this belongs to the Year 730 (2). But if it were true, that *Tritheimius* had been of that Opinion, *Alphonse de Castro* would not be excused; for he should have rectified him, instead of adopting his pretended Ignorance. We are going to see such another Anachronism.

[B] His Father was a good Christian. *John*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, having caused some Informations to be made concerning *John Damascen's* Family, found that his Father and Mother were Christians, and that they had bred him up in the Christian Faith. From whence one may conclude, that it is not true that That Father of the Church was ever converted from the *Jewish* to the Christian Religion; for he could not have done it without having first renounced his Baptism and the Gospel. Now those that have writ his Life say nothing like it, and it appears that he always had a very great Affection for the Gospel, such as it was then taught by the Bigots or Zealots: I mean chiefly the Monks infatuated with Images. A certain Author, called *Peter Galissard* (3), is therefore guilty of two Oversight, when he says that, in the Year 470, *John Damascen* abjured Judaism, and embraced the Gospel. The first Mistake concerns the pretended Conversion, the second conficts in the Time; for if this Man was converted, or perverted, it would not be in the Year 470, since he lived in the VIIIth Century.

[C] *Leo Isauricus* made use of a forged Letter. Some of the Letters, that *John Damascen* had writ against the *Iconoclasts*, fell into *Leo's* Hands, who 'caused a Man very well skilled in the Art of counterfeiting and falsifying Writings, to imitate his Hand so well, that it was impossible to distinguish the true one from the false one (4)'. Whereupon he caused a Letter to be written (5), wherein he supposed, that *John Damascen* exhorted him to draw his Forces towards *Damascus*, promising him, in the Quality of Governor of the Place, to dispose all things in such a manner, that the taking of it would be infallible. He sent that Letter to the Prince of the *Saracens*, and gloried in taking no Advantage of the Perfidiousness of a Traitor, and in being so generous as to discover to the Calif the Treason of one of his Subjects. The Calif, without hearing the Protestations of Innocence that *John Damascen* made, and without giving him leave to discover *Leo's* Trick, 'caused his Right-Hand to be cut off immediately, wherewith he pretended, that he had writ so treasonable a Letter, and commanded it to be exposed on a Gibbet in the public Place, in sight of the whole City (6)'. *Damascen* retired home, and petitioned the Calif to give him his Hand again, which was granted: he prostrated himself before an Image of the Virgin, and 'having applied his Hand to the Place where it was before, he supplicated the Holy Virgin to make use of her powerful Intercession with her Son, that he might have it restored, in order to maintain the Cause which he had hitherto so happily defended against the *Iconoclasts* (7)'. He fell asleep in his Prayer, and thought he saw in a Dream the Holy Virgin, who assured him, that his Prayer was heard. Whereupon 'awaking on a sudden, he found his Hand so perfectly restored,

(7) In his Abbridgement of the History of the World.

(8) He was the Emperor's Governor in *Stiria*, and General of the three Provinces of *Stiria*, *Carnitania*, and *Carniola*, and died the 27th of December, 1564, aged 71 Years. *Valvasor*, ubi supra, pag. 343.

(9) In his Epistles.

(10) *Valvasor*, ubi supra, pag. 343.

(11) *Id.* lib. 3. pag. 729.

(12) *Ibid.* pag. 349.

(13) *Ibid.* pag. 349, and 729.

(1) In *libris ad. vers.* *Heracles*, apud *Philippum Labbe*, de Script. Eccl. T. m. I, pag. 557.

(2) There is 830 in *Father Labbe*, *ibid.*

(3) In *Chronographia* apud *Theophilum Raynaudium* Flophi. Sect. 2, Serie 1, cap. 3, pag. m. 53.

(4) *Maimbourg*, Histoire des Iconoclastes, lib. 2, pag. m. 116.

(5) It is to be found at length with that of *Leo* in *Maimbourg's* History of the *Iconoclasts*, *ibid.* He quotes the Life of *John Damascen*, written by *John*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*.

(6) *Maimbourg*, *ibid.* pag. 122.

(7) *Ibid.* pag. 123.

with such great Success, that the Calif caused his Counsellor's Hand to be cut off. It is also said, that *John Damascen*, having recommended himself to the Prayers of the Holy Virgin, recovered his Hand, and fully vindicated his Innocence. The Minister, who answered *Maimbourg's* History of Calvinism, rejected, with Contempt, that Story as an impertinent Fable, and, not contented with that, made use of an Argument, which, properly speaking, is Blasphemy [D]. It is a ridiculous Conceit of *Bzovius* to place *Damascen* among the Physicians that have been famous for their Sanctity [E]. There is more reason to say, that it was he, who began, among the *Greeks*, to handle a Subject according to the Scholastic Method [F]. This appears chiefly from his four Books of the *Orthodox Faith*. He left the Court of the Prince of the *Saracens* after the Miracle that I have mentioned, and shut himself up in the Monastery of *St Sabas* at *Jerusalem*.

restored, that he had the free use of it as before, with a little Circle about his Wrist, which shewed the place where it had been cut from his Arm, left it should be said that another Man had voluntarily submitted himself in his place, and suffered that Punishment for him. The whole Town — ran in the Morning to see that Spectacle. The Calif, being informed of such a surprizing Wonder — would see it with his own Eyes, — confessed his Injustice and Precipitation, detested the Emperor's infamous Treason (8), and would have restored *Damascen* to all his Dignities, but he found him resolved to lead a solitary Life.

[D] A Minister — made use of an Argument, which, properly speaking, is Blasphemy. No body can think it strange that the Protestants should not believe the Miracle that I have just now mentioned; for it is certain, that a great many Catholics do not believe it: and the Writers for the Cause of Images have so composed their Histories, that they are only fit to make those very things suspected which they truly report. So that Mr *Jurieu* would have done nothing but what is reasonable, if he had been contented to reject what is said of *John Damascen's* Hand as a Monkish Story. His Reflexion upon the slight Punishment that was inflicted on him, is very good; for a Prince is not contented to have a Governour's Hand cut off when he promises to deliver a Place to the Enemies. But when that Minister adds, that, since the *Saracens* were not converted at the sight of such a Miracle, and the City of *Damascus* did not renounce Mahometism, it must be concluded, that what is said of *John Damascen* is false; he will permit me to tell him, that he advances an Impiety. The *Saracens* of those times were very hard hearted, says he (9); for I am persuaded that, if such a Miracle was wrought at *Mecca*, they would turn Christians immediately. Is not this to supply the Infidels with Weapons to refute all the Miracles of *Moses* and *JESUS CHRIST*? The *Egyptians* and the *Jews* of those times were very hard hearted; (might one say) if such Miracles had been wrought in Athens, and Rome, they would have immediately turned *Jews*, and afterwards Christians. It is somewhat strange that a Divine should suffer himself to be dazzled by a Reason, that is as strong against the Gospel Truths, as against the Monkish Fables; but if we consider how much the first Thoughts that come into the Mind work upon Men of a quick Imagination, we shall not wonder that the Minister of whom I speak should have argued as he has done. That which is very wonderful is, that there is but one Man, who has made it appear that he has observed that dangerous Doctrine: and it is a remarkable thing that no body seems to know that the Public was told of it. It is also a very remarkable thing, that Mr *Jurieu*, who might easily have saved his Orthodoxy, by declaring that he had advanced this unwarily, and without perceiving the Consequences of it, but that being sensible of the ill tendency of it, since he was censured upon that account, he disowns that pernicious Maxim: I say, it is very remarkable that That Author has neglected this short and easy way of shewing his Innocence, and has rather chosen, by being silent, to give a lawful Pretence to accuse him of persisting in the same Persuasion, viz. that if at this present time a Hand that is cut off should be restored at *Mecca*, that Town would immediately turn Christian. Nothing can be more impious (they are the words of him who has informed against some of Mr *Jurieu's* Errors (10); for it is to declare openly in the sight of Heaven and Earth, that he is persuaded that all the Miracles of *Moses*, and of *JESUS CHRIST* and his Apostles, are meer Fables, and consequently that the Scripture of the Old and New Testament is but a Romance

and a Legend. Who can hear this without horror? Might not Judaism and Christianity be overthrown by a like Argument? If the Miracle mentioned by Father *Maimbourg* is false, because the whole City of *Damascus* was not converted by it, it follows from thence, will the Unbelievers say, that *Moses* did no Miracles in *Egypt*, that *JESUS CHRIST* did none in *Judea*, that *St Peter* did not make the Cripple walk, who asked Alms of him in the midst of *Jerusalem*; for neither the *Egyptians* nor the *Jews* were converted. Note, that this lame Man was daily carried to the Gate of the Temple, and that afterwards all the People saw him walk, and knew him to be the same Man who had been lame (11), and that he was known to be the same by the Magistrates (12), and yet *Jerusalem* was not converted. The Miracle of *John Damascen*, such as it is related, had nothing more glaring than that of the lame Man, and was not attended with a pathetic Exhortation, as that was.

[E] *Bzovius* has placed him among the Physicians that have been famous for their Sanctity. *Bzovius* affirms, in his little Book about Physicians who have been holy Men, that *John Damascen* is one of them. The Conformity that is between *Manfur* and *Mesue* seems to some to be the Cause of that Mistake (13). *John Damascen* was called *Manfur*, that is to say, Redeemed; *Constantin Copronymus*, who hated him, called him *Manfer*, that is to say, Bastard (14). *Bzovius* might have confounded *Manfur* or *Manfer* with *Mesue*, and imagined that *John Manfur* of *Damascus* is the same with *John Mesue*, also of *Damascus*; and that, since the latter is a Physician, the other must needs be so. But he might easily have avoided that Fault, if he had remembered that *John Damascen* lived in the VIIIth Century, and that *Mesue* lived after the Year 1140. *William du Val* (15) follows *Bzovius's* Error, as *Bzovius* has followed that of some other Authors. Take notice of what *Gesner* says; for, having spoken of one *John Damascen* a Monk and a Priest, Author of the four Books of the Orthodox Faith, he quotes a Passage of *Symphorian Champier*, importing that he was a learned Physician, *Vir fuit in Medicinis doctus*, and who for his Learning, and the Purity of his Life, was elected Superior of a Monastery in *Constantinople*. Afterwards *Gesner* speaks of one *John Damascen* surnamed *Manfur*, who, among other Works, wrote several Parallels on the Scripture. He confutes those who take this *John Damascen* for *Mesue*, or who believe that those two Persons were cotemporary; I say, he confutes them by a Chronological Reason, which is, says he, that *Mesue* lived several hundred Years after the other, for he lived under *Frederic Barbarossa* in the Year 1163. He gives the Titles of *John Mesue's* Books, and says that they had been published not long before at *Basil*, under the Name of *Janus Damascenus*. Lastly, he speaks of one *John Damascen*, Author of the Books of the Orthodox Faith, and of the Parallels. Every body sees that this is to confound and multiply Authors prodigiously. *Tiraquellus* has a little intangled himself; for he reckons (16) one *John Damascen Manfur* among the Physicians. The word *Manfur* is the Proof of his Error, since it doth not permit us to say, that he only meant *John Mesue*, whose Works were printed at *Basil* under the Name of *Janus Damascenus*.

[F] It was he, among the *Greeks*, who began to handle a Subject according to the Scholastic Method. Mr *Arnould* observes, that 'St *John Damascen* was as it were the St *Thomas* of the *Greeks*, and that they followed his Opinions more, than those of any other Father (17). This is so certain, adds he, that St *John Damascen* has always been the Rule of their Belief concerning their Eucharist, that *Enthimius*, to represent

(11) Acts of the Apostles, cap. iii. ver. 9, 10, 11.

(12) Ibid. cap. iv, ver. 14.

(13) See Theophilus Raynaud de malis ac bonis libris, Partit. I, Erotamate 10, n. 214, pag. m. 137.

(14) Idem. Hypotheca, pag. 53.

(15) In Historia Monogramma SS. Medicorum, apud Th. Raynaud. de malis ac bonis libris, pag. 138.

(16) In Opere de Nobilitate, apud Theophil. Raynaud. Hypotheca, pag. 53.

(17) Arnould, perpetuité de l'Église, Tom. I, Book 2, chap. 6, pag. 229, of the Brussels Edition in 12mo.

(8) Ibid. pag. 124, 125.

(9) Apologie pour les Reformats. Tom. I, pag. 20.

(10) See the Book intitled, Declaration de Mr Touchant un petit écrit qui vient de paroître sous le titre de Courte revue des maximes de moralité, &c. pag. 15. It was printed in 1691.

(a) Taken from Mr Du Pin's Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, Tom. VI, pag. 101, & seq. of the Dutch Edit.

Jerusalem, where the Monk, that was chosen to conduct him, ordered him to keep a perpetual Silence. That Monk was so severe, that, because his Disciple did not observe that Order, he turned him out of his Cell, and for a Penance ordered him to empty the Filth of the Monastery: but seeing him ready to obey, he dispensed with it, and embraced him. *John Damascen* was ordained a Priest about the latter end of his Life by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and immediately returned to his Monastery. He died about the Year 750. *James de Billi* caused that Father's Works to be printed in the Year 1577: that Edition was reprinted in the Year 1619. Several Treatises are wanting in it, which *Leo Allatius* communicated to Mr *Aubert*, who designed a new Edition of *John Damascen* (a). Father *Labbe* had also promised one (b).

(b) See the Book he published in 1652, intitled, *Conspectus novæ editionis omnium S. Joannis Damasceni Opera in quatuor partes tributorum, ubi etiam de fore- going Editions.*

(18) Claude Reponse à la per- tuité defendue; Book ii. cap. 13, pag. m. 497.
(19) Id. pag. 515, & seq.

the Doctrine of the Greek Church concerning that Mystery against the Heresy of the *Paulicians*, mentions only the famous Passage of *S. Gregory Nyssen* in his *Catechesis*, and a Passage of *S. John Damascen*, wherein that Error of the *Stercoranists* is formally rejected. Mr *Claude*, in his Answer to Mr *Arnauld*, acknowledges the same: 'It is certain, says he (18), that, to judge well of the Opinion of the Modern *Greeks*, we must go back as far as *John Damascen*.' He explains, some few Pages (19) after, the Opinion of

that Author, which is no ways consonant to that of the Reformed; but he does not admit of Transubstantiation. It is an incomprehensible Nonsense, and such will ever be the Fate of those who go about to explain too particularly the mode of Mysteries. The best way would be to keep to the most general Expressions. There are some things, the Explication whereof does but increase their Obscurity: the greatest Divines should be put in mind of the common Saying, *Ne sator ultra crepidam*, considering the Sublimity of some Doctrines.

DAMIAN (PETER), Cardinal, Bishop of *Ostia*, flourished in the XIth Century. He had been a Benedictin; and it is thought he would always have preferred a solitary Life before the Dignities of the Church, had he not been, as it were, forced to accept of them. He openly condemned the Liberty which the Popes took to oppose the Emperors with temporal Arms [A], and made a lively Description of the enormous Vices of his Age in many of his Works. That which he intituled *Gomorrhæus* is commonly alledged: The Controversists speak much of it [B]. Pope *Alexander II* suppressed

(1) Coiffeteau, Reponse au My- stère d'Iniquité, pag. 667.

[A] He openly condemned the Liberty that the Popes took to oppose the Emperors with temporal Arms. His Doctrine is very orthodox upon this Head, and he confirms it by the Practice of the Primitive Church (1). 'He maintains, that the Offices of Emperor and Pope are distinct, and that the Emperors ought not to concern themselves with what belongs to the Popes, nor the Popes with what belongs to the Emperors, as, to handle Arms, make War, &c. As, says he, the Son of GOD overcame all the Obstacles of the World, not by the Severity of Revenge, but by the lively Majesty of an invincible Patience; so he has taught us rather steadfastly to endure the Rage of the World, than to take up Arms against those who offend us: especially considering that there is such a distinction of Offices between the Royalty and the Priesthood, that it belongs to the King to make use of temporal Arms, and to the Priest to gird himself with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of GOD, &c. — Do we read that St Gregory ever did, or writ, such a thing; he who suffered so many Outrages from the Lombards? Did St Ambrose take up Arms against the Arians, who thwarted him, and cruelly tormented his Church? Can we find that any of the holy Pontiffs did ever appear in Arms? Let therefore the Ecclesiastical Causes be decided by the Laws of Justice, or by the Decrees of a Council of Bishops, lest what ought to be done in a Court of Judges, or in an Assembly of Prelates, should tend to our Confusion by a Conflict of Arms.' Can any thing be more reasonable? And yet *Baronius* does not scruple to say, that this Doctrine of *Peter Damian* is erroneous, and even a Scion of the Doctrine of *Julian* the Apostate. These are the Words of that Cardinal, 'Errone lapsus convinctur Petrus quem communi totius Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consensu constat esse damnatum. Post Tertullianum Julianus Apostata fuisse convinctur originarius sator erroris, ex quo & iste nascitur propagatus (2). — We cannot therefore, says he, nor ought to, excuse him for having fallen into an Error which the Church has condemned. After Tertullian, Julian the Apostate is known to be the original Author of the Error from which That of *Damian* springs.' This is pitiful, since that Apostate Prince did only put the Christians in mind of the evident Maxims which their Master had left them.

(2) Id. ib. pag. 669. He quotes *Baronius*, ad ann. 1053.

[B] He intituled one of his Works *Gomorrhæus*; The Controversists speak much of it. By this Law of Celibacy Sodomy does so much prevail among the *Romish* Clergy, that *Peter Damian*, who was then in his Hermitage, was obliged to write a Book about it, intituled *Gomorrhæus*, wherein he laid open the several kinds of it, and dedicated it to *Leo IX*, in-

treating him to apply a Remedy. And *Baronius* himself confesses it in these Words; *Briars and Nettles had over-run the Field of the Father of the Family; all Flesh had corrupted its way, and Men deserved, not only a washing Deluge, but also a consuming Fire from Heaven, like that of Gomorrah*. Whereupon Pope *Leo* made some Regulations, and ordered some Penalties: But soon after *Damian* lost his Favour; and *Alexander II*, coming to be Pope, stole his Book from him under pretence of giving it to the Abbot of *St Saviour* to be transcribed, saying, that he had spoke too filthily of the matter, as if those Orders could be stirred without Stink. The good Man complained bitterly of it in one of his Epistles to Cardinal *Hildebrand* and Cardinal *Stephen*, and told them, not without a plain Irony, *It is in truth a sign of the sacerdotal Cleanness, or rather an Argument of the Papal Purity* (3). That my Reader may be sure that this Passage contains no Fallacies (4), I shall set down *Coiffeteau's* Answer to it (5). 'That in those times the Ecclesiastical Laws were not the cause of the Scandal which *Damian* bewails, is plain enough from the Letter which Pope *Leo IX* writ to him after he had received his Book, which he highly praised. The Clergy, says he, of whose most filthy Life you have discoursed in doleful Terms, but full of Reason, do not certainly belong to the Lot of the Lord's Inheritance, from which they separate themselves by such a dissolute Life. If their Conversation was chaste, they would not only be called the Temple of GOD, but also the Sanctuary wherein the Lamb, whose Whiteness exceeds that of Snow, and who takes away the Sins of the World, is offered up, &c. — 4. As for *Alexander II*, who used some Art to suppress *Peter Damian's* Book, wherein that horrid Lewdness was expressed a little too freely, any Man, who does but love civil Honesty, will never take it ill: for certainly, it is a sign of great Purity to be offended at the very Words that represent any Obscenity, though they be used to make it detested. The Pope was not the only one that was offended at it, but all good Men were generally displeased with such a Liberty; for that Filth could not be stirred without leaving an ill Smell behind it: and therefore the Pope's Artifice deserved to be praised for punishing those that were guilty, and suppressing such an obscene Book. But because sometimes we love our Works inconsiderately, *Peter Damian* could not bear that this Fruit of his Mind should be stifled, which he said he had produced with extraordinary Labour; for which reason he spoke of it with Passion. Nevertheless, after having taken the liberty to speak against the Pope, he cor-

* *Baron. Vol. XI, ann. 1049, art. 10. & seq. Petri Damiani, lib. qui in scribitur Gomorrhæus cui præfixa Epist. Leonis. IX.*

(3) Du Plessis, mystère d'Iniquité, pag. 223.

(4) That is, as to Matters of Fact.

(5) Coiffeteau, ubi supra, pag. 648.

† Epist. Leon. ad Damian. præfixa Gomorrhæo, extat apud Baron. ad ann. 1049.

‡ Du Plessis, pag. 223, lib 34.

† *Pet. Damiani Epist. ad Stephan. & Hildebrand. Card.*

suppressed it; nevertheless it is extant to this Day (a). The Author of the *Prejugez* (a) *See the Remark [C].*
legitimes contre le Papisme would be hard put to it, if he was to answer the Author who criticized him [C]. It appears from a Letter of *Peter Damian* (b), that some of the Clergy taught that Priests might be married. He ought to be praised on account of (b) *It is the 13th of the 5th Book.*
 the great Zeal he expressed for the re-establishment of good Discipline, which might be a Bar to the Vices of the Monks and the Clergy: but the Credulity wherewith he compiled many Examples of Apparitions of Bishops, or other Persons, condemned to the Torments of Hell, or to those of Purgatory (c), is inexcusable. He had a great Devotion (c) *See the 10th and 20th of his small Pieces.*
 for the holy Virgin. You will find his Country, the time of his Death, and some other Circumstances of his Life, in *Moreri's Dictionary*.

rects himself at the end of his Epistles: he confesses that there is some Presumption in him, that he went too far, and that the Pride of his Lips deserves to be punished.

[C] *This Book is extant to this Day. The Author of the Prejugez contre le Papisme would be hard put to it, if he was to answer the Author who criticized him.* These are the Words of the Author of the *Prejudices* (6). It is from Cardinal

(6) *Jurieu, Prejugez legitimes contre le Papisme, Tom. I, pag. 319.*

Baronius that we know that *Peter Damian*, Cardinal of the Church of *Rome* at that time, writ a Book intitled *Gomorrheus*, which he addressed to *Leo IX*, wherein he described the Manners of his Age, and particularly of the Clergy; and it may be guessed by the Title what it was: *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* came into the Description of those horrid things. *Baronius* says, that, besides the Crime of Simony, the Field of the Lord had been over-run with Thorns and Nettles, which shamefully came out of the Stink of the Flesh through the Dung of Corruption: for all Flesh had corrupted its way, so that it did not seem that a Deluge could be sufficient to wash off that Filth. Those horrid Sins called for the Fire of *Gomorrab*, which consumed the Country where the five Cities stood. For which reason *Peter Damian*, then a Hermit of *Mount Avelan* in *Umbria*, thought himself obliged to inform the new Pope of all those things, writing a Book to him which he intitled *Gomorrheus*, wherein he represented, as clearly as he could, the four sorts of carnal Sins that prevailed in the Church, desiring him that he would pierce through those infamous Men with the Sword of *Phineas*, and restore the Church to its former Purity. That Disorder had already continued an hundred and fifty Years, (viz.) from the beginning of the Xth Century to the middle of the XIth: If there was nothing but this, would it not be a sufficient Reason to be prepossessed against the Latin Church and Popery? Would God have suffered that the true Church, without ceasing to be the Spouse of *Jesus Christ*, should become a *Sodom* and a *Gomorrab*, and be sunk in the four Sins of the Flesh that are most enormous, and remain under that Deluge near two hundred Years? That Minister had already said in another Book (7), 'We produce for example *Peter Damian*, who wrote a Book in the XIth Century, intitled *Gomorrhai*; wherein he pretends to convict the Clergy of that time of the horrid Sin for which *Sodom* was burnt. The Book is lost, but we have the Monuments of it in the Annals of their great *Baronius*, who says that this *Peter Damian*, in that Book, *Quadrupertita vitia carnis quibus Ecclesia obrueretur, ut decuit quam potuit bonefide insinuasit*, pointed out as modestly as he could the four Vices of the Flesh wherewith the Church was overwhelmed.'

(7) *Jurieu, Apologie pour les Reformateurs, Tom. I, cap. 9, pag. 152.*

* Anno 1049, n. 20.

(8) *The Abbot Richard, Examen des Prejugez de Mr Jurieu, esp. 28. pag. 238.*

The following Censure hits *Baronius* no less than *Mr Jurieu*: for the Abbot *Richard* affirms that *Peter Damian* did not represent those Disorders as an Evil which had over-run the Church, but as the Corruption of some particular Persons. It is very remarkable, that the Abbot, instead of insulting *Mr Jurieu*, excuses him as much as he can. 'Mr *Jurieu*, says he (8), ingeniously confesses, that he never read that Book. — It is therefore no wonder if he is mistaken in the Idea which he formed of a Work that he never saw, and which he thinks to be lost. It is no wonder if judging of it only by the Title, and by what *Baronius* says of it in general, he imagined, &c.' Afterwards the Abbot shews him, 1. That that Book is not lost; 2. That it does not treat of the Manners of the Age, nor of the Clergy in general; and that it does not represent the Latin Church like a *Sodom* or a *Gomorrab*; 3. That, according to the Testimony of the same *Peter Damian*, there were many eminent Men in that Age. I shall not mention the Proofs of the third Point, being contented to transcribe in part those that

concern the other two. These are the Words of the Abbot *Richard*: (9) 'As to the first, It is so far from being true that this Work is lost, that I have it among my Books; and it was printed with the other Works of that Saint, in the beginning of this Age: nay, he that took care to publish them, dedicated them to Pope *Paul V*, who granted a Licence for that Edition in the Year 1606. If Mr *Jurieu* had been more careful to examine the Truth of the Proof that he brings, and to see it in the Original; and if he had enquired for the Book whence it is taken; the Booksellers of *Paris* would have supplied him with as many Copies of it as he had pleased, and would have informed him, that the *Gomorrheus* of *Peter Damian* is so far from being lost, that it is not much above twenty Years since it has been reprinted, with all the other Works of that Cardinal. For the second, If Mr *Jurieu* had been more careful to seek into the Original of the Truth of what he advances, and if he had read the Book which *Peter Damian* intitled *Gomorrheus*, he would have found there, that this Cardinal does not endeavour to convict the Clergy of that time of the horrid Sin that drew Fire from Heaven on the City of *Gomorrab*; and that he does not describe the Manners of the Age, nor of the Clergy in general; and lastly, that it is not true that he represents the Latin Church as a *Sodom* and a *Gomorrab*. For he would have found, that *Peter Damian* did only acquaint Pope *Leo IX* with the Lewdness of certain Clergymen of his Neighbourhood, that is, about *Mount Apennine*, whither he had retired, and where he lived with Anchorites. A certain horrid and infamous Vice is spread IN THESE PARTS, says he to that Pope, mentioning the Reasons which obliged him to write that Piece, in the Sequel of which we do not find he extends that Disorder and Corruption farther. Can it be said, with any Shew of Reason, that a Vice, which crept among the Clergy about *Mount Apennine*, is the Vice of the Age and of all the Clergy? And can all the Latin Church be, with any Justice, accused of a Sin, which some Clergymen of a particular Province were guilty of? How truly then, and how equitably, could Mr *Jurieu* have said, that *Peter Damian* endeavoured, in his *Gomorrheus* (10), to convict the Clergy of that time of the most horrid of all Sins, to describe the Inclinations of the Age and of the Clergy, and to represent the Latin Church as a new *Sodom* and a new *Gomorrab*, if he had known that in all that Book *Peter Damian* does only mention to the Pope the Impurities of some of the Clergy of a particular Province? So that Mr *Jurieu*, as well as *Baronius*, has alledged the Testimony of that Book, which says nothing of what he makes it say, only because he never read it, and believed it was lost.'

(10) This is not the Title mentioned by Mr *Jurieu*. We have in this Remark [C] an Instance of the Carelessness that I shall speak of in the Remark [B] of the Article DE METRIUS.

From hence we may learn, how much an Author is to be pitied when his Library is not furnished with all sorts of Books, and how much he is to be blamed, when, notwithstanding this, he boldly affirms, that such and such Books are not extant. Let us learn also, with what Caution we ought to speak of a Work that we know only by the report of others. Who would have thought that *Baronius* would have deceived the Protestants in the Idea of the *Gomorrheus* of *Peter Damian*, I say, have deceived them to the Disadvantage of his own Communion? But, will some say, is it a convincing Proof of *Baronius's* Error, to say, that the Abbot *Richard* maintains the contrary? No, it is only a strong Suspicion, that comes near a good Proof, since the Author of the *Prejugez* has not endeavoured to maintain what he had advanced. It is thought he would not have digested such an Affront, if he had been able to make his Apology. After all, do not we see that the Abbot *Richard* points at the Fountain head? He mentions an Edition of *Peter Damian's*

Works printed at Paris in the Year 1663. If any body is incredulous, let him read the Work in question. Mr Du Pin speaks briefly of it, and observes, that it is in the 7th of Peter Damian's *Opuscula*, in the third Tome of his Works (11).

(11) Du Pin Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. du XI. Siècle, pag. m. 94.

DANAË, the Daughter of *Leontium*. See the Remark of the Article *LEONTIUM*.

DANDINI (JEROM), an Italian Jesuit, born at *Cesena* in the Ecclesiastical State, is the first of his Order, who taught Philosophy at *Paris*. He had many honorable Offices in the Society; for, besides his teaching Divinity at *Padua* [A], he was Rector of several Colleges, as *Ferrara*, *Forlì*, *Bologna*, *Parma*, and *Milan*; Visitor in the Provinces of *Venice*, *Toulouse*, and *Guienne*; and Provincial in *Poland*, and in the *Milanese*. *Clement VIII* sent him to the *Maronites* of *Mount Libanus*. He died very old [B], at *Forlì*, the 29th of November, 1634. His Commentary on the three Books of *Aristotle*, *de Anima*, were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1611, in folio; and after his Death, his Morals were published. It is a Book in folio, that was printed at *Cesena* in the Year 1651, with this Title, *Ethica sacra, hoc est de virtutibus & vitiis* (a). This is all that the Historians of the Jesuits say of him (b). If we consider the great Character that Father *Simon* gives him, we shall find that those Historians have not flattered him too much, nor let him off to the greatest Advantage. *Dandini*, says Father *Simon*, was of a noble Italian Family, whereof there are still Counts of the same Name living at *Cesena*; he was a Man who had a penetrating Wit, a solid Judgment, and a great Experience - - - who, besides School Divinity, which he understood perfectly well, was also Master of the Theology of the Fathers, especially Moral Theology, of which he composed an excellent Work - - - so that the Pope could not choose a Man better qualified to treat with the *Maronites*. It is true he wanted the Knowledge of the Oriental Languages; but he easily supplied that Want by means of the Interpreters that he made use of (c). I omit the other Praises that he gives him [C]. There is no reason to suspect them, because it is usual with those that translate, or comment upon, a Book, to be extremely prepossessed in favour of the Author, and to make themselves the perpetual Protectors, or even the Panegyrist of his Opinions; for no Man can take more Liberty with an Author, than Father *Simon* has done with Father *Dandini* [D]: he criticizes him and confutes him on a thousand Occasions in the Remarks that he has added to the Translation of the *Journey to Mount Libanus*. This Book was unknown to Father *Southwell*. It was printed at *Cesena*, in 1656, with this Title, *Missione Apostolica al Patriarca e Maroniti del Monte Libano*. It contains the Relation of that Jesuit's Travels to the *Maronites*, and to *Jerusalem*. Father *Dandini* taught Philosophy at *Perugia* (d), in 1596 (e), when he was chosen by *Clement VIII* for the Nunciature of *Mount Libanus*. He took shipping at *Venice*, the fourteenth of July 1596, and returned to *Rome*, in the Month of August the following Year. Soon after he went from thence again, to exercise the Office of Provincial in *Poland*. The French Translation, that was made of his Travels by Father *Simon*, was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1675, and reprinted at the *Hague*, in 1685. It does not contain his Journey to *Jerusalem* [E].

(a) There is a Mistake in the *Acta Eruditorum*, 1685, pag. 284, where it is said, that the Author published that Book at *Paris*.

(b) Alegambe & Southwell.

(c) Simon, Preface to the Voyage du Mont Liban, which he has translated into French, from the Italian of this Jesuit.

(d) See his Relation.

(e) In the Dutch Edition there is 1599, which is a Fault.

[A] He taught Divinity at *Padua*. I durst not say that he was the first Jesuit who taught that Science in *Padua*; and yet it would have been the best thing that a Translator could have done, if those who write in Latin prescribed as rigorous a Law to themselves as that of our French Grammarians; but the Latin Writers take so little Care to avoid Equivocations, that a Translator who applies himself to the most obvious and exact Sense of their Words, is sometimes led into an Error. However it be, these are *Alegambe's* Words: 'Hanc (Philosophiam) etiam professus est primus à nostris Lutetiae Parisiorum: Theologiam verò Patavii' (1).—He was the first of our Society who taught Philosophy at *Paris*, and Divinity at *Padua*. Father *Southwell* made no Alteration in them. The Reader may do as he pleases; he may understand them, as if no body had taught Divinity at *Padua* before that Jesuit.

[B] He died very old. Father *Alegambe* made him Eighty Years old. 'Obiit demum Forlivii octogennarius die 29 Novembris anno salutis 1634 (2).—He died at *Forlì* aged eighty Years, the Twenty ninth of November 1634.' Father *Southwell* made no Alteration in those Words, and yet he should not have left them as he found them; for here is what he adds to the Text of his Predecessor: 'Co-optatus in societatem anno salutis 1569, ætatis 18, vota quatuor solemniter nuncupavit (3).—In the Year 1569 he was admitted into the Society, being then eighteen Years of Age, and made the four solemn Vows.' To say after this, that he died at eighty Years of Age, the Twenty ninth of November 1634, is not consistent with an exact Historian.

[C] I omit the other Praises Father *Simon* gives him. Father *Dandini*, says he (4), endeavoured to

cast off all the Prejudices that he ascribes to those, who had been at *Mount Libanus* before him. He did not altogether trust to the Pope's Bulls, though they made the best part of his Instructions, because he did not think they were infallible with respect to the Facts in question: but he heard with great Patience the Patriarch and the chief *Maronites*, who complained of some Jesuits who had been before him in that Employment: and all those Precautions are convincing Proofs of his wise Conduct. Neither did he seem to have had any thing else in view, than to discover the true Belief of the *Maronites*. And yet his Penetration and prudent Conduct could not hinder him from being imposed upon, as will appear in the Remarks that I have added to my Translation.

[D] No man can take more Liberty with an Author, than Father *Simon* has done with Father *Dandini*. The last Words of the foregoing Citation are an Instance of it. Let us see the Judgment he makes of that Jesuit's Style. 'His Style, says he (5), is sometimes so careless, and so full of superfluous Words, useless Epithets, and Exaggerations, that I thought it more proper to give his Sense than his Words, tho' on the other side I almost every where preserve something of his Character. And to write with greater Clearness, I have been often obliged to make two or three Periods of one of his.'

[E] It does not contain his Travels to *Jerusalem*. The Reason that the Translator gives for it is, that as we have many such Relations, he thought he might be excused from publishing this, because it contains almost nothing that has not been already observed by other Travellers.

(5) Id. ibid.

(1) Sotuel, de Script. Societ. Jesu, pag. 338.

(2) Simon, Preface to the French Translation of the Journey to *Mount Libanus*.

DANTE,

DANTE, one of the first Poets of Italy, was born at Florence, the Twenty seventh of May (a), in the Year 1265 (b). He was of a good Family [A], and carefully educated in polite Literature (c). Among other Masters, he had the famous Brunetti (d), who was one of the most learned Men of those times. He soon shewed the Inclination that Nature had given him for Poetry (e); and, as he fell in love as soon as his Age did permit it [B], he made many Verses in his Youth. He consecrated the First-fruits of his Muse to amorous Verses (f); but afterwards he undertook a more serious Work. He began it in Latin Verse, and ended it in Italian Verse. The Reason of that Change was, that he felt too much Slowness in the Motion of his Poetical Vein, when he made use of the ancient Roman Language. He did well to make use of his Mother-Tongue, since he excelled in the Tuscan Poetry (g). He would have been more happy if he had not meddled with any thing else; for being an ambitious Man, and having been promoted to the highest Posts of the Republic, he sunk under the Ruins of the Faction which he embraced. The City of Florence being divided into two Factions, the one called the White, and the other the Black, found itself reduced to such a tumultuous Condition, that Pope Boniface VIII sent Charles de Valois (h) thither in the Year 1301, to restore the public Tranquillity. No better way was found to pacify the City, than to drive the White Faction out of it. This is the Reason why our Dante, who had favoured

(a) Reußer in Diario, pag. 81.

(b) Volaterran. Comment. Urbanor. lib. 21, pag. m. 770.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Michael Poccianus, de Scriptor. Florentinis, pag. 33, 34. See Remark [K].

(e) Volaterr. ubi supra, pag. 771.

(f) Papyr. Maslo, Elogior. Tom. II, pag. 28.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) Brother to Philip the Fair, King of France.

[A] He was of a good Family. It is pretended that

Cacciaguida, his great great Grandfather (1), was the Son, or Grandson (2), of Eliska Frangipani, and that he married a Ferrarese Lady of the Family of the Alighieri. They add, that the Son of Cacciaguida, and of that Lady, took his Mother's Name and Arms, and that this is the Reason why the Family of Dante had the Surname of Alighieri (3). Note, that Cacciaguida was born at Florence in the Year 1160 (4). The Ancestors of Dante, being very much addicted to the Party of the Guelphs, were twice driven out of Florence by the Ghiblins (5). Some pretend that he ought to be called Dante d'Alighieri del Bello, and that Alighieri was his Father's Name, and Bello the Name of his Family. See the Proofs that Vincent Buonanni gives of it (6). For the rest, our Poet's Name was Durantes, which by Abbreviation was made Dantes, whilst he was yet a Child (7). Grangier is plainly mistaken in the Passage that I am going to quote; it serves for a Commentary to some Verses wherein Cacciaguida declares (8), that he had better say nothing of his Ancestors, nor of the Place they left to come to Florence, than to speak of it. This he says out of Modesty, (they are Grangier's Words (9), not that he did not know any other more ancient Original of his Family, or that beyond Cacciaguida it was but of a mean, obscure, and ignoble Descent. For Dante seems to intimate in his Inferno, that his Ancestors descended from the ancient Romans who built Florence, after having left the Colony of Fieszola. Complaining of his exile in the 15th Canto, and of the Wrong the Florentines had done him, he makes Ser Brunetto Latini speak thus:

Faccian le bestie Fieszolane frame
Di lor medesime, & non tocchin la pianta
S'alcuna furge ancor nel lor lettame,
In cui riviva la sementa fanta.
Di cui i Roman, che vi rimafer quando
Fu fatto il nido di malitia tanta.

Perish thy brutal Sons, a Dunghil-Breed,
O Fieszola, nor mingle with the Seed
Of Romans, who in Florence dwelt, when she
Became the Nest of so much Villany.

It is certain that Dante does not design to say there any thing particular in praise of his Ancestors; and that he only means that there were some Families in Florence that descended from the ancient Romans. How many Towns are there among those that have been Roman Colonies, wherein meer Tradesmen, descended from the Dregs of the People for twenty Generations, would not lye if they should say at a venture, that they are descended from the ancient Romans? What would this signify to prove that their Family is illustrious, and of an eminent Nobility?

[B] He fell in love as soon as his Age did permit it. Thus I thought I might translate these words of Volaterran: amavit in adolescentia Beatrix (10). This Beatrix was the Daughter of Folco Portinari (11). Some pretend that our Poet loved her very modestly, but that when she died he gave himself over to a lascivious Love (12). Others say, that the chaste Love he had for her, was the Reason why, after her Death, he turned a real thing into a Poetic Fancy, making Beatrix to be Theology (13). Those, who have read his Poem, know that Beatrix moralizes very much in it, and that she acts the Part of a grave Doctor. Read what follows, wherein you will find moreover, that she was only his second Mistress; but do not trust to that. It is observed, that he had two Mistresses in his younger Years: the one was called Gentucca, with whom he fell in Love when he was in the City of Lucca; the other, Beatrix Portinari, the Daughter of Folco Portinari, whom he loved with an ardent, but chaste Affection. That Love often mixed itself with the sublime Conceptions of his Mind; which was the Reason why he went about to immortalize her by his Verses, wherein Theology is veiled under the fine Name of Beatrix. Desiring to follow Virgil's Steps in the Descent of his Aeneas into Hell, he introduces this Daughter of the Empyrean Heaven, coming to him and giving him that Prince of the Latin Poets as a Guide in such dark and uneasy ways (14). It is certain that this Gentucca was not Dante's first Mistress; he did not love her till after his having been exiled, and during his Abode at Lucca after his Banishment (15). Note, that the Names of his Mistresses have been better preserved than those of his three Wives. Papyrius Maslo confesses that he does not know the Names of those three Wives. Uxoribus tres habuisse dicitur quarum incertum est nomen & mihi prorsus obscurum (16). He adds, that Dante left a Son who was a Lawyer and settled at Verona, and whose Posterity was illustrious. He mentions one PETER DANTE among his Descendants, to whom it is said that Philoebus dedicated the Life of our Poet; and another Dante, the third of that Name, who was exhorting by the Florentines to return to Florence in the Year 1495, but refused to do it. He says also that they all left the Name of Alighieri, and took only that of Dante, whereby they shewed, that the Glory of their Family came only from that great Poet (17). It is likely he did not know what Pierius Valerianus tells us of this third DANTE, which is, that he died exceeding poor. He was learned, and made good Latin Verses. When he began to digest his Compoſures, in order to publish them as a Viaticum of his Immortality, Scripta sua ceperat in classes instruere, & immortalitati suae viaticum comparare (18), the Enemies, whom Julius II had raised against the Venetians, took Verona (19). Dante, who fled with his Wife and Children to Mantua, found himself reduced to Poverty; and because Old-age made him more unfit to bear the Hardships of so sad a Condition, he fell sick, and died miserably in this Exile, after he had endured tedious Pains (20). Gyraldus mentions one Dante, who was reckoned the fifth: 'Fuerit ex eadem familia, says he, (21), & alii, in quibus Veronæ natus Danthi & ipse nomine qui, ut audivi, quintus ab illo est, & latine & vernacula lingua non sine laude versum scribit. — There were others of the same Family, amongst whom one Dante, born at Verona, is the fifth as I am informed, and is much admired for his Verses, both in Latin and Italian.'

[C] Our

(1) He says he is the Father of Dante's Great Grandfather, in the 1st Canto of That Poet's Paradiso, pag. 333.

(2) Vel nepos vel filius. Papyr. Maslo, in Eleg. Tom. II, pag. 336, should not have said the Nephew.

(3) See Dante's Paradiso, Canto 16, pag. m. 339.

(4) Ibid. pag. m. 350.

(5) Id. Canto 10, of the Inferno.

(6) In his Discorso sopra l'Inferno of Dante, pag. 2, 3, & 184.

(7) Volaterr. lib. 21, pag. 770.

(8) In the 10th Canto of the Paradiso.

(9) Grangier Commentaire sur le Paradis de Dante, pag. 351, 352.

(10) Volaterr. Com. Urban. lib. 21, pag. 771.

(11) Grangier upon the 30th Canto of Dante's Purgatorio, pag. 52.

(12) Vincenzo Buonanni, Discorso sopra l'Inferno de Dante, pag. 17.

(13) Grangier, ubi supra.

(14) Ballart, Academ. des Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 308.

(15) See his Purgatorio, Canto 24, pag. m. 416.

(16) Papyr. Maslo, ubi supra, pag. 27.

(17) Id. ib. pag. 23.

(18) Pierius Valer. de Literat. Infelicit. pag. 37.

(19) The third Dante was born there.

(20) Ex Pierio Valeriano, ibid.

(21) Lilius Gyrardus de Poet. Histor. Dial. 5, pag. 503.

(i) In the Article
CAPET.

voured it, was sent into Exile [C]. I have observed elsewhere (i), that this made him publish a ridiculous Falshood relating to *Hugh Capet's* Extraction. He did not bear that Disgrace with Resolution: his Repentment was very great: he endeavoured to revenge himself to the Prejudice of his Country; and would willingly have seen it involved in a bloody War [D]. All his Endeavours to be recalled proved ineffectual; for he could never return thither: he died in his Exile, in the Month of July 1321. He had Strength enough to compose his Epitaph, in *Latin Verse*, a little before he expired [E]. It must be remembered, that he applied himself diligently to study, during the time of his Banishment, and that he wrote some Books with more Life and Spirit, than he could have done if he had enjoyed a more quiet Life [F]. It is thought that the Indignation

[C] Our Dante — was sent into Exile. The Presence of *Charles de Valois* was so far from pacifying the Troubles of that City, that it served only to encrease them. The Faction of the Blacks, finding themselves favoured by that Prince, committed a thousand Violences; they drove away those of the contrary Faction, and burned or pulled down their Houses, not without murdering several People. Our Dante, who was then of the Council of Eight (22), and one of the chief Persons of the City that were called Priors, had been deputed to the Pope to negotiate a Peace. In his Absence he was condemned to Banishment; his House was pulled down, and all his Lands plundered (23).

[D] He would willingly have seen his Country involved in a bloody War. He animated *Can de la Scala*, Prince of *Verona*, to make War with the *Florentines* (24), and brought the Emperor to the Siege of *Florence* (25). Mention is made of a Letter that he wrote to that Prince during the Siege of *Brescia* (26). I fancy he made a pathetic Description of the Injustices that he had suffered in his Country, and exhorted the Emperor to punish it.

[E] He died in his Exile. — He had Strength enough to compose his Epitaph — a little before he died. He died at *Ravenna*, and it is thought that he died of Grief. He enjoyed an honourable Retreat with *Guy Polentian* Prince of *Ravenna*, when the Republic of *Venice* made Preparations for War against that Prince (27). The latter sent him to treat of a Peace at *Venice*. The *Venetians* behaved haughtily, and would neither receive nor hear Dante, so that he returned to *Ravenna*, his Journey having proved fruitless, and a little while after he fell into the Sickness of which he died, and Grief was thought to be the cause of it. *Revertens itaque Ravennam rebus infestis paulo post morbo contrasto uti existimatur ex animi dolore extinctus est* (28). *Papyrius Masso* speaks of that Embassy without saying any thing of the ill Success of it: he insinuates, on the contrary, that Dante was well received; for, he pretends that they shewed him the Arsenal, which Dante himself relates. 'Lustravitque nalem apparatus urbis & armamentarium sumptu atque opere visendum, ut primis statim verbis Cantici vigesimi primi inferorum indicat (29). — He viewed the Naval Stores and Arsenal, famed for their Sumptuousity and Workmanship, as he owns in the beginning of his Twenty first Canto of *Hell*. There is nothing more false than this last Assertion: and it may be the other is not truer. As for the Epitaph, this is my Authority for it (30). 'Obiit, adeo mentis compos quod sex versus in extremo vitæ suæ edidit postmodum in proprio tumultu incisos: & sunt hi,

Jura monarchiæ, superos, phlegetonta, lacusque
Lustrando cecini, voluerunt fata quousque:
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris,
Auctoremque suum petiit, felicior astris
Hic claudor Danthes patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit parvi *Florentia* mater amoris.
— His Senses continued so strong to the last, that at the point of Death he composed six Verses, which were afterwards inscribed on his Tomb, and are these.

Whilſt Fate allow'd, I Jung of Kings and Gods,
Of *Lethe's Lake*, and *Pluto's dire abodes*.
But now the better Part has wing'd it's Flight
To it's great Author, and the *Realms of Light*.
My Name was Dante; my Birth fair *Florence* gave,
But exil'd thence a Foreign *Clime's* my Grave.

Moreri should not have forgot the Circumstance of the Time, when he said that Dante himself composed that Epitaph. He adds, that *Bernard Bembo* caused the Tomb to be repaired in the beginning of the XVth Century. This does not agree with *Poccianti*, who observes, that That Reparation was made in the Year 1433 (31). But there are so many Errors of the Press in the Book of that Italian Author, that I would not warrant the Truth of that Date.

[F] He wrote some Books with more Life and Spirit, than he could have done, if he had enjoyed a quiet Life. This is *Paul Jovius's* Observation. 'Sed exilium, says he (32), vel toto *Etruriæ principatu* ei majus, & gloriosius fuit, quum illam sub amara cogitatione excitatam, occulti, divinique ingenii vim exaceruit, & inflammavit. Enata siquidem est in exilio comœdia triplex *Platonice* eruditionis lumine perillustri, ut abdicata patria totius *Italiæ* civitate donaretur. — But his Banishment, says he, procured him greater Honour, than the Dominion of all *Etruria* could have done: for under the bitterness of Reflexion, he pointed and improved the force of a great and surprising Genius. In his Exile was produced his tripple Comedy, beautifully enriched with *Platonic Learning*, which, though he was banished his own Country, intitled him to the Freedom of all *Italy*. *Latomus* explains the same Thought in the six Verses he made upon Dante, which you may see in *Paul Jovius* (33). The Question is, whether the Remembrance of his Exile did not too much excite his Anger; for it often falls out, that those, who write in such a Condition, carry their satirical Bitterness too far. Let us hear *Mr Bullart's* Paraphrase (34): 'He resolved to take that signal revenge on the Authors of his Exile, which he executed in his tripple Poem of *Paradise, Purgatory*, and *Hell*. He dipped his Pen as much in the Gall of his Anger, as in the Springs of *Helicon*: he added the Bitterness of his Soul, to the Sweetness of his Poetry: he was animated at the same time by his learned Muse, and his Repentment. The Partialities of great Men, and the Corruption of Manners, affording him all the Matter he could desire for such a Subject; he displayed that wonderful Satire in the sight of all *Italy*, which being levelled at Popes, Emperors, and Kings, discovers their private Actions with a Liberty that shews he was not afraid of their Power nor of their Indignation. He blackens particularly the Reputation of *Pope Boniface VIII*, because he had sided with his Persecutors. By his Verses he blemishes the Memory and the Race of *Charles de Valois*, the chief Instrument of his Exile, saying that *Hugh Capet* was a Butcher's Son. — Dante expresses also, in that Poem, his Indignation against the City of *Florence*, comparing it to a Nest of Thieves, and to a prostituted Woman, because they sold all Public Offices, and changed continually their Magistrates, their Coin, and their Customs, to bear the Inconveniences of their Government with less trouble.' *Mr Bullart* should have added, that he cries down *Florence* as a City, wherein Women give themselves over to Lewdness. He introduces *Foresse* (35) wondering, in *Purgatory*, that his Widow should live chafly in the midst of so many lewd Women. I shall set down his Words according to *Grangier's* Translation:

A Dieu tant plus est chere, & tant plus agréable
Ma vefve, que beaucoup au monde j'ay aimé,
Que plus seule à bien faire elle est par trop louable.
Pour ce que le pays de Sardaigne estimé
Barbare, est bien plus chaste en ce qui est des
femmes,
Que là où je la laisse au milieu des infâmes.

O frere

(22) Ostorvalli
supreme potestate
magistratus
infignem. *Paulus
Jovius* *Elog. cap.
4. pag. m. 19.*

(23) See *Spondanus*,
*Annal. Eccl.
ad ann.
1301, n. 3, & 4.*
He quotes Villani,
lib. 8, cap. 48.

(24) *Volaterr.*
ubi supra, pag.
771.

(25) It is *Volaterranus's* Ex-
pression: Etiam
Henricum sex-
tum ad *Florentinæ*
obsequium DUC-
ENDO. Id.
ib. It should be
septimum and not
sexum.

(26) See *Pocciantius* de *Script.*
Florent. pag. 4.
See *Papyr. Masso*.
Tom. II, pag. 29.

(27) *Volaterr.* ubi
supra.

(28) Id. ib.

(29) *Papyr. Masso*, ubi supra,
pag. 21.

(30) *Pocciantius*,
ubi supra, pag.
45, 46. See also
Paul Jovius, ubi
supra, pag. 9. I
have corrected
the Errors of the
Press, that are in
the Verses of the
Epitaph in *Pocciantius*.

(31) *Pocciantius*,
ibid. pag. 46.

(32) *Jovius*, ubi
supra, pag. 29.

(33) Ibid. pag.
20.

(34) *Bullart*, ubi
supra, pag. 307.

(35) He was
Uncle by the Fa-
ther's Side to
the *Civilian*
Francis Accor-
cusatus. *Grangier*,
ubi infra,
pag. 401.

Indignation he conceived against his Country gave a new Vigour to his Imagination and Pen. Some question what is said, that he went to study at *Paris* when he found himself exiled (k). The most considerable of his Works is the Poem intituled, *The Comedy of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise*. It has been commented upon by some Authors [G], and has furnished Matter of Dispute to several Critics [H]. It contains some things

O frere bon & doux que veux tu que je dye ?
Desjà le temps futur m'est au devant des yeux,
Qui suivra non de loing l'heure qui nous manie.
Lors l'on interdira pour adviser au mieux
En la chaire publique aux Dames Florentines
De monstrier leurs tetins, & leurs molles poitrines (36).

(35) Dante,
Canto 23, of his
Purgatory, pag.
m. 196.

The widow'd Chamer, who my Bed did share,
Merits by Virtue Heaven's peculiar Care;
Who chafely lives amidst a wanton Race,
Lewder than Those Sardinia's Coasts embrace.
What shall I say? Hope rises in my Breast,
And to my Sight the future stands confest'd.
I see reform'd the Ladies of the Town,
And Pulpits preach each wanton Fashion down.

(37) Grangier,
Commentaire sur
le Purgatoire de
Dante, pag. 404.

Here follows the Translator's Paraphrase (37). 'The time will speedily come, says he, that the Wrath of God will overflow in such a degree, to the great unhappiness of the Republic of Florence, for the Lewdness and Filthiness of the Florentine Ladies, that, in order to appease his Anger, the Preachers will be obliged to forbid them publicly to appear abroad with their Necks and Breasts uncovered. This is what he means by *Nel qual sarà in Pergamo* (so he calls the Pulpit of Truth) *interdetto A le sfacciate donne Florentine*, properly shameless, *L'andar mon-strando con le poppe il petto*, that is to say, to walk abroad open-breasted to shew their full Breasts, and high Chests.' A French Writer of the XVth Century expressed in a more lively manner this sort of Nakedness, for which he blames the French Women. 'As for our Women, says he (38), they have learned the Fashion of the Soldiers of these times, who make a shew of their gilded and shining Breast-plates when they are mustered; for, going to Mass, or walking abroad to Orchards or Gardens, or other private Places, not fit to be named, they shew their naked Breasts, their Diaphragms, Heart, Lungs, and other pectoral Parts that have a perpetual Motion, which those good Ladies move by Rule and Compass, like a Watch, or rather like a Smith's Bellows that kindles the Fire of a Forge. It is just so with our Ladies, who, with the blowing or respiration of their Lungs, kindle a Fire in the Hearts of the Heliogabalists of our Court, who are already but too much effeminated, and heated in their Lusts. But to inflame them the better or to burn them altogether, our Court Medea's invent all the Arts that Nature could produce for the good of Mankind, and convert them into lascivious, infamous, and base things.' The Abuse was not so great some Years after (39).

(38) Nicolas de
Montand, Miroir
des François,
Book I, pag. 17,
28, Edit. 1581.

(39) See, in the
Remark [B] of
the Article
DEMPSTER,
the Scandal of
the Parisians.

(40) See among others Flacius Illyricus in Catalogo Testium Veritatis, & Wolfius in the first Volume Lætionum memorabilium & reconditarum, pag. m. 612.

(41) I have seen an Edition of Venice, printed (I think) from that of 1578, in folio, dedicated, the 10th of June, 1578, by Gio. Ant. Rampazzetto, to William of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.

(42) And not to the Great Duke Cosmo, as Michael Poccianti de Scriptor. Flor. pag. 169, affirms.

(43) Leand. Albert. in Descript. Ital. pag. 493.

bot of St Bartholomew at Noyon, put them into French Rhime, and commented upon them. His Work was printed at Paris in the Year 1597, in three Volumes in twelves. Mr Baillet (44) will inform you of the Judgment that the Critics have made of those three Poems. He says, that in Castelvetro's Opinion they ought to pass for an Epic Poem, though the Italians call them a Comedy. You must observe, that the Author himself called them so (45). For the rest, those who, in order to prove that he had begun that Work before his Banishment, should tell us that the twenty first Canto of his Hell was composed in the Year 1300, would alledge but a weak Proof; for he played with Dates according to his Fancy. Does he not introduce some Persons, who foretel him what had already happened to him (46): and therefore he carries his Fancy to a Time anterior to that wherein he made his Poem.

[H] And furnished matter of Dispute to several Critics.] Some have censured Dante, and others have writ his Apology. James Mazzoni is accounted one of the most learned of his Apologists. He published two Volumes against one Castrovilla, who had criticized Dante (47). A learned Man of Siena, whose Name was Bellisarius Bulgarini, made some Notes against that Work of Mazzoni, at the Request of Horace Capponi Bishop of Carpentras. Some body stole them from him, and published them under his own Name, with the Title of *Brevis atque ingeniosa contra Dantis opus disputatio*. He was so plainly convicted of this Theft, that he was obliged to make a Recantation, which he published with a Book wherein he answered Bulgarini's Objections against Dante. A learned Man of Bologna, whose Name was Jerom Zobbius, concerned himself in this Quarrel, and published a Book in the Year 1583, which he intituled, *Dantes & Petrarcha ab Hieronymo Zobbio defensi*. Bulgarini, taking hold of this opportunity to shew more plainly the Fraud of his Plagiary, put out another Book, wherein he refuted what Capponi had opposed to the four first Parts of his Remarks against Mazzoni. He published two other Books, one against that of Zobbius, and another against the Recantation and Apology of the Plagiary. Here are already four Works of Bulgarini. He published another in Italian, wherein he refuted what Zobbius had writ in Defence of Dante concerning the Poetical Particles. The Title of his sixth Book is, *Bellisarii Bulgarini, Aperti, Academici intronati, notæ ad primam Dantis defensi partem Jacobi Mazzoni*. Lastly, he printed a Book against a Manuscript that was falsely ascribed to Speron Sperone, wherein Dante's Cause was maintained (48). It is pretended that he came off victorious from this long Combat, and that by the strength of his Reasons he made it appear that Dante's Comedy did not belong to any species of Poem, since it was not conformable to Aristotle's Precepts. 'Ne multis morer, finis fuit ejusmodi, ut Bulgarinus certaminis victor discederet, cum, certissimis validissimisque rationibus, adversariorum copias, pro Dante propugnantes, profligasset, obtinissetque, illius comœdiam veram poematis ejuspiam rationem non habere, quod ab Aristotelis præceptis longissime aberraret (49). — To conclude, the event was this; Bulgarini gained the Victory, having by most certain and convincing Reasons defeated his Antagonist's Forces, and proved that this Comedy was inconsistent with the true nature of any sort of Poetry, being intirely repugnant to the Rules of Aristotle.' Ugurgieri informs us, that Dante's Comedy raised one of the most memorable Wars among the learned and Virtuosi of Italy that ever was seen of that kind (50). He adds, that the Work of Mazzoni added Fuel to that Fire, and that the Piece that was stolen from Bulgarini, and which the Plagiary printed with his own Name to it, was the stumbling-block. Bulgarini reclaimed his own by publishing that Piece, and setting his Name to it. He was refuted by the Plagiary; but he returned to the Charge, and took Advantage of the Confession of the Theft. His Reply was printed at Siena in the Year 1588. I set down the Title of it, that the Name of this Plagiary may be known, who has not yet appeared

(k) See the Remark [K].

(44) At the beginning of the third Part of his Judgements sur les Poëtes.

(45) See the 16th and 21st Canto's of Hell.

(46) See Citation (76), below.

(47) Nicus Erythraeus, Pinac. 2, pag. 68.

(48) Taken from Erythraeus, Pinacoth. 2, pag. 72, 73.

(49) Id. ibid. pag. 73.

(50) Ugurgieri nelle pompe Sane, apud Lorenzo Crassi Istoria de Porti Græci, pag. 85, 86.

(1) See the Remark [1].

things, which those that favour the Popes are not pleased with, and which seem to signify, that *Rome* is the Seat of Antichrist (1). The Court of *Rome* was very much displeased with another Book of *Dante*, and cried him down as an Heretic [1]. I must not

in the List of that sort of Thieves. 'Il Bolgarino avvantaggiatosi nella causa per la confessione del furto rispose all' Avverfario con un libro stampato per Luca Bonetti in Siena l'anno 1588 che fu intitolato; *Difese in risposta dell' apologia e palinodia di Monsignor Alessandro Cariero Padovano in proposito della Commedia di Dante* (51). Lilius Gyraldus speaks of an Augustin Monk, who had been prepossessed in *Dante's* Favour from his Youth, and who, upon all occasions, confuted those who criticized that Poet. 'Certe in eo (*Dante*) poetica dispositionem majoremque diligentiam plerisque desiderare video, ejusque lingue nitorem: quos Joannes Stephanus eremita, & amicus charissimus, & municeps noster, qua est eruditione, & quo a teneris erga Danthem fuit studio, mirabiliter solitus est refellere (52). — It is true that many complain of *Dante's* want of a Poetical Disposition, Care, and Purity of Language; whom John Stephanus, the Hermit, my Fellow Citizen, and most intimate Friend has, out of an early respect for *Dante*, with great Learning often answered.' I do not find this John Stephanus in the *Apparato de gli huomini illustri della Città di Ferrara*, published in the Year 1620 by Agostino Surperbi da Ferrara Theologo e Predicatore de Minor Conventuali. Gyraldus adds, that the Olivetan Monks very carefully preserved the Latin Translation, that one of them had made of *Dante's* Poems into Hexameter Verses: 'Vidi qui Latinam Danthem fecerat carmine hexametro, ex Olivetanis videlicet sodalibus Pistoriensem quandam eorum temporum: quem librum (proh summe optime Deus, quanta custodia aservatum in Olivetano cenobio) ipsi non sine ambigitione mihi, tanquam rem sacram aliquam ostenderant (53). — Amongst the Olivetan Monks, I saw one born at Pistoia who had translated *Dante* into Hexameter Verse; which Book is kept with as much veneration, as the most sacred Reliques in their Monastery, and which they took no little Pride in shewing me.'

[1] Another Book — made him pass for an Heretic. It is his Book *de Monarchia*, wherein he maintains, that the Authority of the Emperors ought not to depend on that of the Popes. This is his Heresy: (54) Scriptit præter hæc opusculum de Monarchia, ubi ejus fuit opinio quod imperium ab ecclesia minime dependeret. Cujus rei gratia tanquam hæreticus post ejus exitum damnatus est, cum aliorum, tum Bartoli jurisperiti sententia super lege 1. c. præfules. lib. Digestorum de Inquirendis reis (55). — He wrote, besides these, a small Treatise upon Monarchy, wherein he is of Opinion, that the Temporal Power is independent of the Church; for which he was condemned as an Heretic after his Death by several, and expressly by Bartholus, &c. Spondanus, a French Bishop, appears upon this Occasion altogether Ultramontane; for he mentions this Remark of Volaterranus without adding any Corrective to it: He quotes the first Book of Volaterranus's *Antipropologia* (56). This Quotation transcribed by Moreri is wrong; for this *Antipropologia* is not divided into particular Books; it reaches from the thirteenth Book of the Author's Commentaries inclusive, to the twenty fourth exclusive; what is alleged by Spondanus is to be found in the twenty first Book. Spondanus also does the like by citing St Antoninus, who, he says, refuted at large the chiefest Error that is to be found in that Poet's Writings, which is his lessening the Pope's Power over the Temporalities of Kings. 'Quem (*Dantem*) egregias animi dotes ac scientiæ laudem & præclara scripta, tum aliis erroribus maculasse observavit sanctus Antoninus'; tum eo maxime, quo tertia parte tractatus sui de Monarchia conatus est depræmere auctoritatem Romani Pontificis supra Imperatores seu Reges Romanorum in temporalibus, quem idem Antoninus pluribus confutat (57). — *Dante*, as St Antoninus observes, disgraced the noble Qualities of his Mind, his great Knowledge and excellent Writings, with many Errors, but more especially in endeavouring, in the third part of his Treatise on Monarchy, to deprave the Authority of the Popes over the Roman Emperors in Temporals. Whom the same Antoninus largely confutes.' A true Disciple of the Sorbonne, and a true Son of the Gallican Church, would not have

spoke in that manner. Observe, that this Annalist dares not specify the other Errors that St Antoninus observed in our Poet. Poccianti was not so discreet; for he informs us, that St Antoninus censured *Dante*, for having forgot the Limbo of little Children, and for having looked upon the voluntary Abdication of Pope Celestinus, as a Meanness of Soul (58). He adds, that in this, and in the Doctrine concerning the Independence of Emperors, that great Poet deserves to be blamed. In his culpandum venit vates iste pergloriosissimus (59). He is so silly as to affirm, that both Divine and Humane Writings shew every where, how much the Opinion of Independency is erroneous; for, says he, as the Moon is enlightened by the Sun, so the Temporal Power is illuminated by the Spiritual Power. I shall set down his Words, lest my Readers should suspect the Truth of what I say. 'Cæterum in tertia parte monarchiæ affirmat Romanos Imperatores nullam dependentiam habere à Papa, sed à solo Deo, nisi in spectantibus ad forum animarum, non autem in rebus temporalibus, quod quam erroneum fit ubique locorum in humanis & divinis literis explicatur, sicut namque luna illuminatur à sole, ita potestas temporalis à spirituali (60). — In the third part of his Monarchy he maintains, that the Roman Emperors have no dependence upon the Pope, but only on God, in temporal things, which how erroneous it is, is every where clearly proved, both in sacred and human Writings; for as the Moon is enlightened by the Sun, so is the Temporal Power by the Spiritual.'

Du Plessis Mornai mentions several Opinions of *Dante*, that are but little conformable to Popery. (61) He wrote a Treatise intituled *de Monarchia*, wherein he proves, that the Pope is not above the Emperor, and has no manner of Right over the Empire: which is plainly against the *Clementine Pastorali*, which asserts both: nay, he goes so far as to say, in his *Purgatory*,

Di hoggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma
Per confonder in se due reggimenti
Cade nel fango & se bruta & la foma.

Rome, which two Governments crests in one,
Is by her own ambitious Pride undone.

He confutes also the Donation of *Constantine*, which he maintains to be fictitious and insignificant, if it were true: and therefore he was looked upon by some as an Heretic. He says, That the Decretists, Men that are ignorant of sound Divinity and Philosophy, affirm that the Traditions of the Church are the Foundation of Faith; which is an execrable thing, since it cannot be questioned, that those who before the Traditions of the Church believed in Christ the Son of God, either to come, or already come to suffer for us, and have been fervent in Charity, are his Coheirs in eternal Life. He complains in his *Paradise*, that the Pope is become a Wolf instead of a Shepherd, and makes the Sheep run afay; that for that Reason the Gospel and the Doctors are laid aside, and the Decretals are only minded; that the Pope and Cardinals are only intent upon that, and go no more with their Thoughts to Nazareth, where the Angel Gabriel opened his Wings, but to the Vatican, and other choice places of *Rome*, which have been the Burying Ground to St Peter's Followers, whose Doctrine they have buried at *Rome*; that formerly War was made against the Church with the Sword, but that at present they do it by taking from her the Bread that God gives her, and which he denies nobody, to wit, the preaching of his Word. But thou, says he, speaking to the Pope, who writest only to blot out, or by a Chancellor, think that Peter and Paul, who died for the Lord's Vineyard which thou spoilest, are yet living; but thou knowest neither the one, nor the other. He says in another place, That it is a shameful thing, that the divine Scripture should be altogether laid aside, or wrested; that they do not consider how much Blood was shed to plant it in the World; how pleasant it is to him that reads it with Humility; that, on the contrary, every one

(51) Id. ibid. apud eundem Crafio, pag. 86.

(52) Lilius Gyraldus, Histor. Poetar. dial. 5, sub. fin. pag. m. 308.

(53) Id. ibid.

(54) Raphael Volaterranus, lib. 21, pag. 771.

(55) Moreri's Quotation is wrong; for he quotes Bartoli, lib. 1. de Inquisitionibus, which implies these three Faults; 1. The Reader thinks he is refuted, not to the Civilian Bartolus, but to the Jesuit Bartoli. 2. Moreri should have quoted lege 1. and not libro 1. The third Fault lies in saying inquit, reis instead of inquirere, reis.

(56) Spondanus, ad ann. 1521, n. 7.

* Anton. Tit. 21, cap. 5, §. 2.

(57) Spondanus, ad ann. 1521, n. 7.

(58) Poccianti de Scriptor. Florent. pag. m. 45.

(59) Id. ibid.

(60) Id. ibid.

(61) Du Plessis, Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 429, 430.

not forget that this great Poet found some illustrious Patrons in his Misfortune; but he could not always preserve their Affection [K]; for, tho' he was a Man of few Words, yet

endeavours to set up his own Inventions, and the Gospel is silent. Vain Questions, and fabulous Stories, echo all the Year round from the Pulpit, and the poor Sheep go away fed with Wind. I might quote several Passages out of this Poet against the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences, and other Abuses of the *Romish* Church, which he describes in such a manner, as plainly shews that he knew very well the Whore mentioned in the *Revelations*. † *Coiffeteau*, answering this Passage (62), observes, 1. That *Dante* was a *Gibelin* (63), and full of Relentment for the Mischief the contrary Faction had done him. 2. That *Dante* acknowledges the Donation and the Cause that is alleged for it, to wit, the healing of *Constantine's* Leprosy. It is true that he endeavoured to prove in his Book *de Monarchia* (4), that *Constantine* could not make it, because it was to dismember the Empire; but a Poet is not a Judge of such a Matter of State. 3. That there is no Harm in what he said about Traditions, provided it be rightly understood. 4. That he only blames the Popes of his Time, whom he treats like his Enemies, and the Persecutors of his Faction. 5. That when he speaks of those Pontiffs, he protests that he reverences their Dignity, tho' he blames their Persons. 6. That he only condemned the Impostors, who preached false Indulgences, or made a sordid Traffic of the true ones. Here are some of *Dante's* Verses alleged by *Coiffeteau* as a Proof of his Orthodoxy concerning the Submission that is due to the Pope.

† *Dante*, del *Paradiso*, Cant. 9. & 29, & del *Purgatorio*, Cant. 23.

(62) *Coiffeteau*, Réponse au *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, pag. 1032, 1033.

(63) The *Gibelin* were the Faction contrary to the Popes.

‡ *Dantes* *Alig.* lib. 3. de *Monarch.* cap. ult.

(64) *Granger* translates this *ſeſt Verſe* thus: Pour les vœux, ô Chrétiens, ſoyez d'un cœur plus grave. The Poet had been ſpeaking of *raſſo* *Vœux*.

† Cant. 5. del *Paradiſo*.

Siate Chriſtiani à movervi più tardi (64),
Non ſiate come penne ad ogni vento,
Et non crediate ch'ogni acqua vi lavi,
Havete il vecchio, el novo teſtamento,
El paſtor de la chieſa, che vi guida:
Queſto vi baſti à voſtro ſalvamento ‡.

*Ye Chriſtians, learn more Conſtancy to know,
Nor turn, like Feathers, with all Winds that blow.
Think not, in every common Stream you may
Waſh the infeſtious Stains of Guilt away.
The ſacred Oracles will be your Guide:
The Church her Paſtor offers you beſide.
Theſe to direct a Chriſtian's Steps are given
Along the thorny Way, that leads to Heav'n.*

(65) *Rivet*, Remarques ſur la Réponse au *Myſtere d'Iniquité*, a. part. pag. 494 & ſeq.

Rivet answers to this (65), 'That the Author of the little Italian Book intitled, *Aviſo piacevole dato à la Bella Italia*, had collected the chief Pieces, out of which *Bellarmin* furniſhed *Coiffeteau* with Arguments; ſo that the Reader, who enters upon the Examination of thoſe things, muſt compare the Animadverſions of the learned *Junius* with *Bellarmin*, wherein he will find ſome ſolid Confirmations againſt all thoſe Illuſions and Shifts, and will clearly ſee, that That Man ſaw Antichriſt in a Seat reſpected by him, whoſe Profanation he deplored; in ſhort, the Man of Sin whom he deteſted, in the Temple of God which he revered.' *Rivet* exhorts his Adverſaries to take notice of theſe Verſes of *Dante*:

Di voi Paſtor ſ'accorſe l'Uvangelifta
Quando colei che ſiede ſopra l'acque
Puttaneggiar co' i Regi à lui vi viſta
Quella che con le ſette teſte nacque
Et da le dieci corna hebbe argomento
Fin che virtute al ſuo marito piacque *.

*To you, O Pope, St John apply'd his Words,
When he beheld the Harlot on the Floods,
Who, with ſeven heads; and ten horns from her birth,
Whores with the Kings and Monarchs of the Earth.*

* Cant. 19. del *Inferno*.

(66) *Rivet*, ubi ſupra, pag. 495.

'There certainly, continues that Miniſter (66), he acknowledges, that St *John* ſpoke of the Pope in the ſeventeenth of the *Revelations*, under the name of the Whore ſeated on the Waters, and of the Beaſt

with ſeven Heads and ten Horns, notwithstanding what he ſays of the Seat and Power of the Keys. No body denies that thoſe things conſidered in themſelves are very recommendable in all Churches: but if they are ulurped by a Tyrant, there is no reaſon why he ſhould not be deſcribed ſuch as he is. . . . As for *Constantine's* Donation, any one that minds it will find, that he mentions the common Opinion that was received in his Time (67), by way of Confeſſion, and not as believing it; for he never gave Credit to ſuch an Abſurdity. As for the ſix Verſes quoted by *Coiffeteau*, they are thus tranſlated by his Antagoniſt: 'Chriſtians, be more ſlow to move; be not driven like a Feather with every Wind, and do not believe that any Water will cleanſe you: you have the Old and New Teſtament, the Paſtor of the Church that guides you; this is ſufficient for your Salvation.' After which *Rivet* ſpeaks thus: 'Would *Coiffeteau* willingly adviſe all Chriſtians to take the Old and the New Teſtament to ſettle their Faith? He will take care not to do it. But he is not aſhamed to ſay, that the Pope is the Paſtor that is ſufficient for Salvation: He could willingly wiſh that *Dante* had uttered the ſame Blaſphemy; but doubtleſs he meant the true Saviour, who guides us with the Old and the New Teſtament.' We have here a remarkable Inſtance of the Illuſions into which we may fall, when we ſtick to the ſtrict Senſe that the Expreſſions of a Man offer to our Mind. They who read theſe ſix Verſes of *Dante*, and take them in ſenſu obvio quem ipſamet propoſitionum verba præ ſe ferunt (68), and underſtand them, I ſay, in ſuch a manner as *Innocent XII* will have the five Propoſitions of *Janeſenius* to be underſtood, believe that this Poet meant, that, in order to be ſaved, we need only conform ourſelves to the Old and New Teſtament, and follow the way that the Pope, as Paſtor of the Church, ſhews us. But perhaps this is not *Dante's* true Meaning, and his Words are to be underſtood as *Rivet* explains them. Let us learn from hence, that an Author, who has a mind to expreſs himſelf in ſuch a manner, that what he ſays may not be differently conſtrued in future Ages, deſires a thing that is almoſt impoſſible. If a Man could foreſee the Controverſies that will ariſe three or four hundred Years hence, he would expreſs himſelf more exactly: but I cannot tell whether Languages would ſupply as many Words as would be neceſſary to prevent Equivocations and Cavils.

Take notice of one thing, which is, that *Dante* affords ſome Proofs to thoſe who ſay that he was a good Catholic, and to thoſe who ſay he was not. The Author of the *Aviſo à la bella Italia* has collected the latter; *Bellarmin* has collected the former, and beſides, he has eluded all the Paſſages of that *Aviſo* as well as he could. *Gretſer* refers us to that Cardinal; and it is almoſt all the Answer that he makes to the Paſſage of *Du Pleſſis*: 'In *Dante*, ſays he (69), luculentiffima teſtimonia pro Pontificis Romani auctoritate, proque omnibus illis capitibus, quæ *Pleſſæus* & *Illyricus* attingunt, inveniantur. Quæ de re operæ pretium erit legere *Bellarminum* in libello proprio contra *Italum* quendam calumniatorem, qui ex *Dante* potiſſimum, *Romani* Pontificis majeltatem labefactare nitebatur: Ad omnia enim profani hominis objecta reſpondit illuſtriſſimus *Bellarminus*: & cap. 19. plurima loca ex *Dante* producit, quæ cum *Pleſſæi* & *Illyrici* delirationibus non magis conſonant, quàm dies cum nocte, æther cum Tartaro.—In *Dante*, ſays he, we meet with very clear Proofs for the Pope's Authority, and all thoſe Points which *Du Pleſſis* and *Illyricus* handle. Wherefore it would be worth while to read *Bellarmin's* Answer to a certain Italian Libeller, who endeavoured, chiefly from *Dante*, to weaken the Pope's Power. The Great *Bellarmin* answers all his Objections, and in the 19th chapter quotes many Paſſages from *Dante*, which have no more reſemblance to the wild Imaginations of *Du Pleſſis* or *Illyricus*, than Day has to Night, or Heaven to Hell.'

[K] He found illuſtrious Patrons in his Miſfortunes, but he could not always preſerve their Affection.] I find ſome Confuſion in the Accounts that concern his Travels after his Banishment. Some Authors ſay, that, being baniſhed, he earneſtly deſired to improve his Learning, and that he went firſt of all to *Bologna* to apply himſelf to the moſt ſublime Sciences, and

(67) See *Cant.* 19. of *Hell*, pag. 236.

(68) Theſe Words are taken from a Brief of *Innocent XII* to the Biſhops of the *Low Countries*, dated the 6th of Feb. 1624.

(69) *Gretſerus*, Exam. *Myſterii* *Pleſſæiani*, pag. 493.

yet on some Occasions he gave his Tongue a little too much Liberty (m). He left some Children

and afterwards to Paris. 'Exulem ubi se vidit, tum verò magis incensus est studio liberalium Artium, ac Bononiæ primùm dedit operam gravioribus scientiis, indeque Lutetiam Parisiorum profectus est.' This is what *Papirius Masso* tells us (70). Mr *Bullart* will have it, that he went from Bologna to Paris, to learn *Philosophy and the Principles of Divinity* (71). *Naudé* says (72), that *Boccace* has left us in writing, that Dante, being expelled from Florence by the Violence of the black and white Faction (73), went to Paris, and frequented the University very much: 'ubi sæpissimè adversus quoscunque circa quamcumque facultatem volentes responsionibus aut positionibus objicere disputans intravit Gymnasium: and in the tenth Canto of his Paradise, he himself expresses a great Esteem for one *Seguier*, an excellent Philosopher and Dialectician, who read in his time in the great Schools of the Rue aux Fournes, whose Doctrine was not, as he says, without envy.

(70) *Papir. Mass.* ubi supra, pag. 28.

(71) *Bullart*, ubi supra, pag. 307.

(72) *Naudé*, Addit. à l'Histoire de Louis XI, pag. 275, 276.

(73) He was only expelled by the Faction of the Blacks.

* Lib 15, *Coenolog.* cap. 6.

Questi, ond' à me ritorna il tuo riguardo
E' il lume d'uno spirto che'n pensieri
Gravi à morir, gli parv' esser tardo.
Essa è la luce eterna di Siggieri
Che leggendo nel vico de li strami
Sillogizzo invidiosi veri.

He on the left, where now you turn your Eyes,
Is the Great Siggieri, learn'd and wise,
Who, sick of Life and the World's empty Show,
Cbid tardy Death, and thought he mov'd too slow.
In Lectures, he deliver'd from the Chair
Such wond'rous Truths, as Envy pin'd to hear.

To know whether the Words of *Boccace* prove invincibly that our Poet studied at Paris after his Exile, it is necessary to consider what goes before. *Boccace* had been saying, 'Fuit inter cives suos egregia nobilitate verendus: & quantumcumque tenues essent illi substantie, & à cura familiari, & postremo à longo exilio angertur, semper tamen Physicis atque Theologicis imbutus vacavit studiis, & adhuc Julia fatetur Parisiis, in eadem sæpissime adversus quoscunque, &c.' (74). — He was of the first rank in his City, and though his Circumstances were very narrow, and he was oppressed with the care of a Family, and at last with a long Banishment, yet he always set apart time for his Physical and Theological Studies, and disputed very often at Paris, as appears, &c. It is plain, that, according to this Passage, Dante in his Exile used to dispute stoutly in the Colleges of Paris. Nevertheless, I know some Persons, who fancy that *Boccace* is mistaken in the time: they cannot believe that Dante, who had been one of the chief Governors of the Florentines, and who was extremely desirous to re-establish his Faction, should have trifled away his time in wrangling in several Colleges, being above thirty five Years of age (75), and therefore they are of Opinion that he did not dispute in the Schools of Paris, but when he was a young Scholar, and before his being promoted to the Council of Eight. They say that he was a Scholar of *Brunettus* at Paris, who died before Dante was banished. They prove it by the Tenth Canto of *Hell* (76). It is certain that we find there, that our Dante had been a Scholar of the late *Brunetto Latinus*.

(74) *Boccacius* de Geneal. Decorum, lib. 15, cap. 6, apud *Papir. Masson.* ubi supra, pag. 213.

(75) According to *Buonanni*, who places his Birth in the Year 1260, he must have been above 41 Years of Age. See his Discourse upon Canto 21, of the *Inferno*, pag. 237.

(76) Dante supposes that he found him in Hell; now he supposes that he travelled into Hell in the Year 1300, and he was not banished before the Year 1301.

(77) Dante, Canto 15, del *Inferno*, pag. m. 216.

Se fosse tutto pieno il mio dimando
Rispos' io lui, voi non fareste anchora
Dell' humana natura posto in bando,
Che'n la mente m'è fitta, & hor m'accorra
La cara buona imagine paterna
Di voi, quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora
Mi mostravate, come l'huom s'eterna,
Et quant'io l'abbia a grato mentr'io vivo
Convien, che nella mia lingua si scerna (77).

O! had the Gods in pity (I reply'd)
Heard Dante's ardent Wife, you had not dy'd:
The World had still enjoy'd it's Wonder, and it's
Pride.
Paternal Likeness I beheld in you,
And all your Father rises to my view.

Fixt in my Mem'ry lives your pious Care,
Which taught me first immortal Fame to share:
His Gratitude let Dante's Pen declare.

But we do not find there, in what City he had him for his Master. However it be, I shall set down *Grangier's* Note on these Words of Dante, *Siete voi qui ser Brunetto*. 'Brunetto Latinus was a Notary or Secretary of Florence, very much esteemed and versed in his Art, but a Man of a bad Conscience. Being accused of several Impostures, he went to live at Paris; where, reading public Lectures of Physics, he became Dante's Master, and, as a Mathematician, or Astrologer, he foretold him that he should be one of the most learned Men of his time. Our Poet feigns that he found him damned in that Place with the Sodomy, for the Crime of Sodomy (78). Add to this, that Dante supposes (79) that the Professor *Seguier* was dead. It is therefore likely that he heard and knew him before the time, wherein he feigns to have been led into Paradise. Now this was before his Banishment. Lastly, it may be observed, that many Authors, who speak of what he did after his Misfortune, do only say that he went to seek retreat among some Princes of Italy.

According to *Volaterranus* (80), he went first with those of his Faction to *Martel de Malespina*; he went afterwards to *Can della Scala* at Verona; and at last to *Guy Polentan* at Ravenna, four Years after his Banishment. Order and Time have not been well observed in this Account. We have it from Dante himself, that he went first of all to a Lord della Scala at Verona (81):

Il primo tuo rifuggio, e'l primo hostello
Sara la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
Che'n su la scala porta il santo uccello:
Ch'aura in te sì benigno riguardo;
Che del far & del chieder tra voi due
Fia prima quel, che tra gli altri è più tardo (82).

For Refuge to the Lombard King repair,
Whose Arms an Eagle on a Ladder are.
This Prince shall first your wand'ring Steps receive,
And Favour, faster, than you ask them, give.

and that he had been banished near six Years (83) when he fled to the Marquis de *Malespina*. *Freberus* says, that he retired first to Paris, and that he went from thence to the King of *Aragon*, who had invited him, and loaded him with Favours; and that he was afterwards invited by *Can della Scala* who took Delight in the Conversation of learned Men, and gave him several Marks of his Liberality (84). This Account is not better than that of *Volaterranus*. I confess that *Boccace* observes, that Dante was very well beloved by *Frederic* of *Aragon* King of Sicily (85).

To make an end of my Commentary, I must farther say, that Dante had not the good Fortune to please his Patron at Verona. The Great *Can della Scala* gave him to understand, that he was weary of him, and told him one Day, It is a wonderful thing that such a one, who is a Fool, should please us all, and make himself beloved by every body, which you, that are accounted a wife Man, cannot do. This is not to be wondered at, answered Dante; you would not admire such a thing, if you knew how much the Conformity of Characters is the source of Friendship. Every body sees that this Answer was too shocking not to put the Prince of Verona quite out of Conceit with our Poet. You may see this more at large in the following Passage. 'Dantes Aligherius, (they are) Petrarch's Words (86), & ipse concivis nuper meus, vir vulgari eloquio clarissimus fuit, sed moribus parum per contumaciam, & oratione liberior quàm delicatis ac studiosis ætatis nostræ principum auribus atque oculis acceptum foret. Is igitur exul patria, cum apud Canem magnum, commune tunc afflictorum solamen ac profugium, versaretur, primo quidem in honore habitus, deinde pedetentim retrocedere cœperat, minisque in dies domino placere. Erant in eodem convictu histriones ac nebulones omnis generis, ut mos est, quorum unus procacissimus obscenis verbis ac gestibus, multum

(m) Erat morosissimus & Philosophorum infans, ut qui tristitiam præ se ferre videretur, nec facile loqui & brevissime conceptiones animi exprimere solebat. *Papir. Masso*, *Elég.* Tom. II, pag. 28.

(78) *Grangier* upon Canto 15 of the *Inferno*, pag. 166, 167.

(79) In Canto 10, of the *Paradiso*, pag. m. 230.

(80) *Volaterranus* ubi supra, pag. 771.

(81) *Grangier*, upon this Place of Dante, calls him *Albuis*, and says he was the elder Brother to *Can* the Great.

(82) Dante on Canto 17 of his *Paradiso*, pag. m. 445.

(83) See Dante, Canto 8 of his *Purgatory*, pag. 138.

(84) *Paulus Freher.* in *Theatro*, pag. 142. He quotes the 50 *Lives of Boissard*.

(85) *Boccac.* *Geneal. Decorum*, lib. 15, cap. 11, apud *Papir. Masson*, ubi supra, pag. 214.

(86) *Petrarcha* *Rerum memorandarum*, lib. 42, apud *Papir. Masson*, ubi supra, pag. 22, 23.

(n) See the Remark [B].

Children (n). A remarkable thing is related concerning his Application in reading [L].

‘apud omnes loci ac gratie tenebat. Quod molestè ferre Dantem suspicatus Canis, producto illo in medium, & magnis laudibus concelebrato, versus in Dantem: Miror, inquit, quid causæ subit, cur hic cum sit demens, nobis tamen omnibus placere novit, & ab omnibus diligitur, quod tu qui sapiens diceris non potes? Ille autem: Minime, inquit, mirareris, si nosset quod morum paritas & similitudo animorum amicitiae causa est. — Dante Alighieri, lately my Fellow Citizen, was a Man famed for his Eloquence, but in Morals and Conversation too free for the delicate Eyes and Ears of the Princes of our Age. Being banished his Country, and having retired to the Grand Can, the common Sanctuary and Support of the unfortunate, he was at first in great Esteem, but he declined by Degrees in his Favour, and began to be daily less acceptable to his Patron. There were in the same Society, Strollers, and Cheats of all Degrees, as is customary, one of whom, distinguished for his Ribaldry and Obscenity, was much caressed by the rest; which Can suspecting Dante not to be pleased with, ordered that Man to come near him, and having bigly extolled him, turned to Dante, and said, I wonder that this Man, who is mad, should have found out the secret

‘to please us all, and make himself beloved, which you who pass for a Man of Sense have not hit upon; whereupon Dante replied, You would cease to wonder at the cause, if you considered how much Friendship depends upon a Conformity of Manners, and Parity of Inclinations.’

[L] A remarkable thing is related concerning his Application in reading. He went one Day to a Book-seller, whose Shop looked into the great Place of the City: His Design was to see some public Games that were to be celebrated there; but having met with a Book that he had a mind to consult, he applied himself so earnestly to the reading of it, that, as he was going home, he protested and swore that he had neither heard nor seen any thing of what had been done and said in the Celebration of the Games. ‘Dantem Florentinum ferunt ad spectacula ductum apud bibliopolum, quod ex ejus taberna in forum prospectus esset, confestim, librumque, cujus fuisset cupidus, invenisse; quem tam avidè attenteque legerit, ut domum rediens juramento tellatus sit, nihil se vidisse aut audisse ex iis, quæ in foro dicta factaque essent, quemadmodum de eo scribit Æneas Sylvius (87).’

(87) Philoppos Carolus, Animad. in Aul. Gellium pag. 592.

DANTE (PETER VINCENT), a Native of *Perugia*, and of the Family of the *Rainaldi*, was a Man of a great deal of Wit. He understood polite Learning, Mathematics, and Architecture; and composed such fine Verses in Imitation of *Dante*, that it was thought he revived, in some manner, the Sublimity of that great Genius. They gave him the Surname of *Dante*; which so pleased his Family, that his Descendants left the Name of *Rainaldi*, and took that of *Dante*. Our *Peter Vincent* invented some Machines that were admired by the best Judges, and composed a Commentary, in *Italian*, on the Sphere of *John de Sacrobosco* (a). He died very old in the Year 1512, and left a Son and a Daughter (b) [A], of whom I shall speak in the Remark.

(a) It was printed at *Perugia* in 1554, and reprinted there in 1574, enlarged with Notes, and with a Letter of the Author to *Alpiamus*, his Tutor. *Oldoini*, ubi infra.

(b) Taken from the *Athenæum Augustum of Augustin Oldoini*, pag. 198, 233.

[A] He left a Son and a Daughter, of whom I shall speak. JULIUS DANTE, his Son, was well versed in Architecture and Mathematics: He wrote a Book de *Alluvione Tiberis*, and some Notes in ornaments Architecture. He died in the Year 1575. I shall make a separate Article for his Son *Ignatius Dante*; wherein I shall speak of *Vincent Dante*, who was also his Son. *Theodora DANTE*, his Sister, being retired into the Country in the Year 1497, to avoid the Plague where-with the City of *Perugia* was afflicted, was so well in-

structed by her Father in the Mathematics, that she deserved an honourable Rank among the most famous Mathematicians of the time. She composed some Books on that Science, and taught it to her Nephew *Ignatius* with great Success (1). The Abbot de la *Rogue* was in the wrong to say that she flourished towards the End of the XVIth Century. See his *Journal des Sçavans* of the twelfth of December 1678, pag. 460, Dutch Edition.

(1) Taken from the *Athenæum Augustum of Augustin Oldoini*, pag. 198, 313, 314.

DANTE (IGNATIUS), Grandson of the preceding, born at *Perugia*, was a Jacobin Monk. He was well versed in Philosophy and Divinity, and much more in the Mathematics. Being invited to *Florence*, by the Great Duke *Cosmo I*, he explained to him the Sphere, and *Ptolomy's* Books. He read public Lectures on the same Subject, and had many Hearers, when he explained Geography and Cosmography in the University of *Bologna*. Being returned to *Perugia*, he made a fine Map of that City, and of all its Territory. The Reputation of his Learning moved *Gregory XIII* to invite him to *Rome*: he gave him a Commission to make Geographical Maps and Plans. Which he performed so well, that this Pontif thought himself obliged to make him a Bishop. He gave him the Bishopric of *Alatri* near *Rome*. That new Prelate did not fail to reside in it; but *Sixtus V*, who succeeded *Gregory XIII*, would have him with him, and ordered him to return to *Rome*. Dante was preparing himself for that Journey, when Death made him take a longer one, on the nineteenth of October, 1586 (a). He wrote some Books [A]. I shall speak of his Brother in a Remark [B].

(a) Taken from *Oldoini*, ubi supra, pag. 161, 162.

[A] He wrote some Books. In the Year 1569 he published at *Florence* a Treatise of the Construction and Use of the Astrolabe. He also wrote some Notes on the Sphere of *Sacrobosco*, on the Astrolabe, and the universal Planisphere. He made a Sphere of the World in five Tables. Add to this his Optics of *Euclid*, and of *Heliandorus Larissæus*, and his Commentary on the two Rules of *James Barrozzii*. These two last Works are in *Italian* (1). *Vossius* did not know that Author. We only find, in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, the *Commentario alle regole della prospettiva di Jac. Barrozzii*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1583.

[B] I shall speak of his Brother in a Remark. I mean *Vincent DANTE* the Son of *Julius*, and Grandson of *Peter Vincent*, and Nephew of the learned *Theodora*. He applied himself to the Studies of their Fa-

mily, in which he did very well succeed; for he was a good Architect, and a good Mathematician. He was, besides, an excellent Sculptor and Painter. He made a Statue of *Julius III* at *Perugia*. *Philip II*, King of *Spain*, would have made use of him to finish the *Escorial*, and offered him great Pensions; but Dante wanted Health to undertake that Journey. He continued in the Place of his Birth (2), where he applied himself to Poetry and the Mathematics. He composed several Works, and, among others, the Lives of those who excelled in the Design of Statues. *Monumenta plura reliquit, inter quæ connumerantur Vitæ Italico idiomate cælatorum statuarum illustrium* (3). He died at *Perugia* in the Year 1576, at the Age of Forty six Years (4).

(2) That is, at *Perugia*.

(3) *Oldoini*, ubi supra, pag. 329.

(4) Taken from *Oldoini*, ibid.

DANTE (JOHN BAPTIST), born at *Perugia*, was an excellent Mathematician. One of his most subtil Inventions was, to make Wings so exactly proportioned to the Weight of his Body, that he made use of them to fly. He made several times an Experiment of it [A] on the Lake *Thrasimenus*, with so good a Success, that he resolved to give that Diversion to the whole Town of *Perugia*. The Time he made choice of, was the Solemnity of the Marriage of *Barbolomeu d' Alviana* with the Sister of *John Paul Ballioni*. When the Crowd of the Spectators was assembled in the Great Place, on a sudden our *Dante*, soaring up from the highest Place of the City, appeared covered all over with Feathers, and fluttering with two large Wings, in the middle of the Air. He directed his Flight over the Place, and struck the People with Admiration. But it fell out unluckily, that the Iron, wherewith he directed one of his Wings, broke; and being no longer able to ballance the Weight of his Body, he fell on our Lady's Church, and broke one of his Thighs. It was set again by the Chirurgeons. He was afterwards invited to teach Mathematics at *Venice*. He died of Sickness before the Age of forty Years (a). It is needless to say why he was surnamed *Dædalus*. I do not question that he was related to the other *Dantes* of *Perugia*, whom I have mentioned; and I am surprized that *Oldoini*, who supplies me with this Article, says nothing either of the Family, or of the Age (b) that this *Dædalus* lived in.

(a) Taken from *Oldoini*, *Athenæum August.* pag. 168, 169.

(b) It appears from the Circumstance of the Marriage of *Barbolomeu d' Alviana*, that he flourished towards the end of the XVth Century.

[A] He made Wings so exactly proportioned to the Weight of his Body, that he could fly with them. He made several times an Experiment of it. I fancy that several of my Readers will not believe it; and yet it is said that such a thing has been practised in other places. See the last *Journal des Savans* of the Year 1678.

(a) He was Governor of *Perfia*, *Herod.* lib. 3, cap. 70.

(b) *Herod.* *ibid.* cap. 78.

DARIUS, the first of the Name, King of *Perfia*, was the Son of *Hystaspes* (a). He was one of the seven Lords, who put an end to the Tyranny of the *Magi*; and it was he who killed the pretended *Smerdis* (b) [A]. Not to repeat what may be found in *Moreri's* Dictionary, I shall only say, that the Epitaph of that King of *Perfia* contained a very remarkable Singularity [B]. *Darius* had more Wives than *Moreri* gives him [C]. That Author has reckoned very ill this Prince's Expeditions [D].

[A] It was he who killed the pretended *Smerdis*. I do not apprehend what *Moreri* tells us, that the Design, which the seven great Lords formed to dethrone *Smerdis*, was happily performed by *Cambyfes*, who died a little while after. For, I. It was not *Smerdis* who usurped the Crown. *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* had been put to Death by the Order of his Brother *Cambyfes*. The Usurper was a *Magus*, who gave himself out for *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*. II. The same Lords, who formed the Design of dethroning that Usurper, were those who put it in execution: and therefore all the Honour of that execution should not have been given to one *Cambyfes*. This is the less pardonable in *Moreri*, because he has not told us whether his pretended *Cambyfes* was one of those Lords. III. There was no *Cambyfes* concerned either in the Design of driving away the *Magi*, or in the Execution of that Enterprize. IV. Lastly, None of those who executed it died very soon after, and before they proceeded to the Election of a new Monarch.

[B] The Epitaph of that King of *Perfia* contained a remarkable Singularity. *Darius* boasts in his Epitaph of having been a great Drinker,

Titulo res digna sepulchri.

A Title for a Tomb-Stone fit.

Ἡδυνάμην καὶ οἶνον πίνειν πολλὸν, καὶ τῶτον φέρειν καλῶς (1). I could drink a great deal of Wine, and bear it well. It cannot be denied but that, physically speaking, it is a good Quality that *Darius* boasted of; for in short it is Strength, it is Power, it is the effect of a strong Constitution: but, besides, that it is a Quality most commonly attended with a moral Irregularity, I do not see why we should more value the Faculty of Drinking much, than that of Eating much. Now it is certain, that we have I know not what natural Aversion for great Eaters. *Demothenes* was in the right, to tell those who praised *Philip* King of *Macedonia* as a great Drinker (2), that it was not a Royal Quality, but the Property of a *Sponge* (3). But as every Nation has it's particular Taste, that of the *Perfians* was to esteem those who could bear a great deal of Wine. *Cyrus* the younger boasted of it, as of a thing that made him more worthy of the Scepter than his elder Brother (4).

(a) Νῆδ' ὅλα σωματικὰ ἰκανότατον, strennum profecto compositorem. *Plat.* in *Demoib.* pag. 853.

(3) *Id.* *ibid.*

(4) *Citat.* (29) of the Article *CYRUS*.

[C] *Darius* had more Wives than *Moreri* gives him. *Moreri* says, 'that, according to *Herodotus*, he had two Wives, *Atossa* and *Artystona*:' but if he had looked into *Herodotus*, he would have found there, that

Darius had three or four other Wives besides those two. That Prince's first Wife was the Daughter of *Gobryas*: he married her before he ascended the Throne, and had three Sons by her, whereof *Artabazanes*, the eldest, was excluded from the Succession in favour of *Xerxes*, who was the eldest by the second Wife. The Mother of *Xerxes* being the Daughter of *Cyrus*, and he being born after his Father reigned, he was preferred before *Artabazanes*, whose Mother was no Princess, and who was born before *Darius* reigned. This is what is found in the First Chapters of the seventh Book of *Herodotus*: and here are already two of *Darius's* Wives, the Daughter of *Gobryas*, whose Name I know not, and *Atossa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*, and the Mother of *Xerxes*. This Daughter of *Cyrus* had already been the Wife of his Brother *Cambyfes* (5), and afterwards of the *Magus*, who usurped the Crown under the false Name of *Smerdis*. She had a Sister still unmarried, whose Name was *Artystona*, whom *Darius* likewise married (6). Moreover, he married the Princess *Parmys*, Daughter of *Smerdis* Son of *Cyrus*, and *Phædima* the Daughter of *Otanes*, one of the seven Lords who destroyed the pretended *Smerdis* (7). This *Phædima* had belonged to *Cambyfes*, and was part of the Succession which the pretended *Smerdis* usurped; for he did not forget to take all the Wives of *Cambyfes*. This Woman, by her Father's Advice, lying with that Usurper, discovered that he had no Ears; which plainly shewed the Imposture (8). *Darius* took also *Pbrataguna* to Wife: she was the only Daughter and sole Heiress of *Atarner*, who was *Darius's* Brother (9). Here then are fairly six of that Monarch's Wives mentioned by *Herodotus*. It is said that he had a seventh Wife, whose Name was *Pantapla*, and who had belonged to the pretended *Smerdis* (10).

(1) *Herodot.* lib. 3, cap. 33.

(5) *Id.* *ibid.*

(7) *Id.* *ibid.*

(8) *Id.* *ibid.* cap. 68, 69.

(9) *Id.* lib. 7, cap. 224.

(10) *Hieronymus* in cap. 11 *Danielis*, apud *Christianum Mathematicum* in *Theatro quatuor Monarchiar.* pag. m. 207.

[D] *Moreri* has reckoned this Prince's Expeditions very ill. What I am to say now against *Moreri*, is not grounded on what he says, that *Darius* made considerable Expeditions, but on his mentioning only three, viz. those of *Samos*, *Babylon*, and *Scythia*, though he had spoken of five. Those who will find out the other two, will be obliged to reckon that for the fourth, which is but a Branch or Consequence of the third, and to add to it the Campaign of *Marathon*. After which, they must take the Punishment of the revolted *Egyptians* for the fifth. Thus by guessing at *Moreri's* Meaning, notwithstanding the Confusion of his Narrative, one may find the promised Number, I mean, the five Expeditions; but at the same time *Moreri* will appear guilty of several Blunders. These are his words:

* *Darius*

(11) This Word cannot relate to any thing that goes before.

(12) So a Body of Eighty thousand Men may be called, with respect to the whole Army of Darius.

* Darius, returning from Scythia, left his General Megabazus, with Eighty thousand Men, to conquer Europe. It (11) is memorable for the Defeat of the Persians in the Battle of Marathon — his Army, composed of above Five hundred thousand Men, was defeated by Twelve thousand Athenians. If Megabazus was left in Europe with a Detachment (12) of Darius's Army, it is but a Consequence of the Expedition of Scythia. To reduce the Exploits of Megabazus and the Battle of Marathon to a single Expedition, is to confound things prodigiously. There is an Interval of twenty Years between the Expedition of Scythia and

the Battle of Marathon: in which Interval Authors commonly place the fourth Expedition of Darius (13), which is the War of Ionia (14), during which the Athenians assisted the Rebel Aristagoras, and helped him to burn the City of Sardis. And it was to be revenged of that Affront, that Darius sent a formidable Army into Greece, that was defeated in the Plain of Marathon. This is reckoned Darius's fifth Expedition. As for what concerns the Revolt of the Egyptians, he died as he was making Preparations to punish it (15). He did not therefore employ any Troops against them, as Moreri affirms.

(13) See Christia and Matthie Theatrum, pag. m. 205.

(14) Moreri says nothing of it.

(15) Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 4.

DASSOUCI, or D'ASSOUCI (CHARLES COYPEAU, *Sieur*) a Musician, and a French Poet, in the XVIIth Century. He himself published his Adventures, which are very odd, in a kind of buffoon Stile. He says that he was born at Paris (a); that his Father Gregory Coypeau *Sieur d'Assouci*, Advocate in the Parliament (b), the Son of a Cremonese Cavalier, called d'Agnanis, an excellent Maker of Violins (c), was of Burgundy (d); that his Mother was of Lorrain (e), a very little Woman, and very cholerick, and that she and her Husband could not agree [A], so that, having divided their Children and their Effects, they parted by mutual Consent (f); that he lived with his Father in Paris, and that he was so ill used by the Maid-Servant, that it made him play many wild Pranks (g); and that at nine Years of Age (h) he took his Flight as far as Calais (i), where he made the People believe that he understood Astrology, and that he was the Son of that Great and Famous Navitv-Calculator (k) called Cæsar (l); that having by a little cunning Trick cured an imaginary sick Person, he passed for a famous Magician (m), though he was yet but nine Years of Age; that those, who received him into their Houses, having had a Hint that the foolish Mobb would throw him into the Sea — sent him privately out of Calais (n). I have not found the Sequel of his Adventures 'till the time

(a) D'Assouci, in the 2d Tome of his Adventures, pag. 55.

(b) Ib. pag. 57.

(c) Ib. pag. 56.

(d) Ib. pag. 54.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ib. pag. 62.

(g) Ib. pag. 64.

(h) Ib. pag. 69.

(i) Ib. pag. 68.

(k) Ib. pag. 73.

(l) See the Article RUGGERI, Remark [E], at the beginning.

(m) D'Assouci, ib. pag. 89.

(n) Ib. pag. 90.

[A] His Mother was — a very little Woman, and very cholerick, and that she and her Husband could not well agree. Here is an Instance of the Irregularity of those Authors, who set up for Jestlers and Burlesque Writers. They find themselves obliged to divert the Public at their own Cost, and to play the Buffoons against themselves, and to the Prejudice of those whom they ought most to spare. See here how our D'Assouci speaks of his Mother: 'She was a little bit of an Amazon, hasty and passionate, who, to make up her want of Stature, wore such high Pattins, that if they had been split, and the Cork taken out, it would have made good School Billets; so that whenever she put them off, she lost just one half of her illustrious Person: upon which account my Father, who was none of the most witty Men, used to say, that my Mother was so little that she lost herself in Bed; and not finding her between the Sheets, he complained that she had no Body, and that she was all Spirit. But, on the other side, she sung like an Angel, and played admirably well on the Lute; she was endowed with such a wonderful Spirit of Contradiction, and with such an imperious Humour, that not having agreed with my Father, the Advocate, about any thing, for the Space of Forty Years, he durst scarce open his Mouth any more for fear of exposing himself. And though I was yet very young, I remember, that my Father speaking one day of the Laws, and my Mother having also a Mind to speak of them, they had such a furious Dispute about a Passage of Justinian, that both took Sword in hand, and fought a Duel for the Explication of the Law, Frater à fratre (1). A little lower, he makes no difficulty to say, that his Father had made a Concubine of his Maid. 'Being exposed to the Caprices of a Servant-Maid, I began to taste the Sourness of Life before I had tasted the Sweets of it: for that Servant, or rather that Mistress, who took such Freedoms with my Father, which are rather to be imagined than expressed, hated me as much as I hated her, and so we were at Daggers drawing every Hour of the day (2).'

(1) D'Assouci, Tom. II, of his Adventures, pag. 58, & seq.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 62, 63.

Doubtless a Man of his Humour had read Father Garasse's Works; and I imagine that he took from thence what he relates concerning his Mother's Pattins. For here is a Passage of the *Doctrina Curieuse* of that Jesuit. 'St Vincent Ferrier relates in one of his Sermons, that a Man of Honour in his time having married a Woman by Proxy, whom perhaps he had never seen, but only her Picture, and who seemed to be of a good size, found himself much deceived when he saw her in his Chamber without Pattins; for she was shorter by half; which frightened him so

much, that he spoke these Words to her somewhat angrily, *Ubi posuisti reliquum personæ tuæ? — Where have you left the remaining part of your Person?* She had left off her Pattins, that made her appear twice as tall as she really was (3). If D'Assouci had read Brantome's Memoirs, it is likely he would have added to what he says of his Mother's Pattins, some Allusion to Hercules's Club, had it only been to conceal his Theft. Read this Passage: 'I remember, that once a Lady of the Court, very handsome and very tall, looking upon a fine and magnificent Hunting-Piece of Tapestry, wherein Diana, and all her Retinue of Hunting-Virgins, were very naturally represented, and being all dressed shewed their handsome Feet and Legs, had one of her Friends with her, a Woman of a very low and small Stature, who was also looking upon those Hangings, to whom she said, Ha, little one! if we were all dressed in that manner, you would be a great Loser by it; for your large Pattins would discover you, and you would not have so good a Grace in walking, and shewing your Legs, as we that are tall; and therefore you would be forced to hide yourself, and appear but seldom abroad: So that you are obliged to the Times, and to the long Cloaths we wear, which cover your Legs so dexterously, that, together with your Pattins, a Foot high, they look rather like Clubs than Legs; for if one had nothing to fight with, it is but cutting off one of your Legs, and taking it by the upper end, and with your Foot, armed with your large Pattin, one might do Wonders (4). Julius Caesar Scaliger observes, that the Women of Italy wore very high Pattins; and that his Father used to say, that the Men who had such Wives found but half of them in Bed, the other half remaining in their Pattins. Soccus humilis est. Italas mulieres altissimis usas vidimus, quavis diminutiva voce dicant Socculos. Patris mei perfactum dictum memini, ejusmodi uxorum dimidio tantum in lectis frui maritos, altero dimidio in focis deposito (5). One of those Husbands made a pleasant Complaint, that he had married a Wife divided into two parts, half Wood and half Flesh (6). Scioppius thinks to have found in Juvenal, that the two parts of that Division were not equal in some Women, and that the humane Body ought to be considered only as an Appendix. The Words of Juvenal run thus, in the printed Editions:

(3) Garasse, Doctrina Curieuse, pag. 323.

(4) Brantome, Dames galantes Tom. I, pag. 340, 341.

(5) Jul. Cæsar Scaliger, Poëtic. lib. 1, cap. 13, pag. m. 48.

(6) Unde etiam ejusmodi querela, qui se uxorem semiligneam dixisse dicebat. Comment. in Alciati, Emblem. pag. m. 589.

(7) Juven. Sat. VI, ver. 502.

— si breve parvi
Sortita est lateris spatium, breviorque videtur
Virgine Pygmæa, nullis adjuncta cothurnis,
Et levis creta confurgit ad oscula plantâ (7).

— but

- (o) *Ib.* pag. 47. time that the Duke of *St Simon* made him sing before *Lewis XIII* at *St Germain's* (o) [B]. He hit the *Humour* of that Prince (p) by a drunken Song that he made, and which every
- (p) *Ib.* pag. 48. Body sung at Court. The King listened to his Songs ever after, and permitted him to come freely into his Closet, and *D'Assouci* was called *Phœbus Warderobin*, because he had always his Lutes in the King's Wardrobe (q). He continued that Trade under the Minority of of *Lewis XIV*. That young Prince read the Verses of this Poet at his going to bed, and always laughed to the Purpose at the Jest, which many Courtiers, who laughed unseasonably, could not apprehend (r). He vouchsafed to lend an Ear to his Songs, and to sing them himself (s). *D'Assouci*, having a mind to return to their Royal Highnesses at *Turin* (t), set out from *Paris*, about the Year 1655, with so much haste that he had scarce time to pay part of his Debts (u). He had two Music-Pages along with him (x). He arrived at *Lyons*, after having undergone several unlucky Accidents, and got acquainted with a Man mentioned in a bye place of *Mr Boileau's* Satires, and who for that Reason deserves a Place in my Commentary [C]. He found many Charms at *Lyons*: he entertained with his Music all the Convents of the singing Nuns, and there was none of those devout Maids but had already a Copy of his *Ovid* in a merry Humour (y): so he intitled the Work wherein he translated part of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* into Burlesque Verses. He staid three Months at *Lyons*, in the midst of Sports, Comedies, and Feasts (z), very much caressed by *Moliere* and the *Bejars* (aa); and then he went with *Moliere* to *Avignon* (bb), and from thence to *Pezenas*, where the States of *Languedoc* were assembled (cc). He was maintained a whole Winter by those Comedians (dd), and he received considerable Presents from the Prince of *Conti*, *Mr de Guilleragues*, and several Persons of that Court (ee). He had lost one of his Music-Pages, and finding himself in the Province of France, which produces the best Voices as well as the best Fruits, he would not return into *Piedmont* before he endeavoured to fill up the Vacancy. He followed *Moliere* as far as *Narbonne* (ff); from whence he went to *Montpellier*, where he ran the hazard of his Life. That Accident
- (aa) They were Comedians and *Moliere's* Partners.
- (bb) *D'Assouci*, Tom. I, pag. 302.
- (cc) *Ibid.* pag. 315.
- (dd) *Ibid.* pag. 316.
- (ee) *Ib.* pag. 318.
- (ff) *Ibid.* pag. 319.

— but look behind

And then she dwindles to the Pygmy Kind.
Duck-legg'd, short-waisted, such a Dwarf she is,
That she must rise on tip-toes for a Kiss.

DRYDEN.

- But *Scioptius*, instead of *adjuta*, will have it to be *adjuncta*, and confirms his Conjecture by an Example: 'Parvam puellæ staturam exprimit dum eam cothurnis adjunctam ait, sicut Cicero de genero suo, qui meum generum alligavit gladio? (8). — He expresses the diminutive Size of the Woman, by saying she was fastened to her Buskins; as Cicero, speaking of his Son-in-law, said, who tied my Son-in-law to a Sword.'
- (8) *Scioptius*, Verisimil. lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. m. 243, 149.

[B] The Duke of *St Simon* made him sing before *Lewis XIII*. If we keep to the Author's Narrative, that Advantage was procured him in the Year 1640, more or less; for he supposes that in the Year 1655 one of the King's Footmen told him, *I have known you above these fifteen Years; for it was I who went for you, when the Duke of St Simon made you sing before the King at St Germain's* (9). This shews that *D'Assouci* had not been admitted to that Prince before that time. How comes it then, that he says in another place (10), that he diverted *King Lewis XIII* for twenty Years. It is not the first time I have observed that Authors are no good Chronologers in their own History. Note, that he informs us (11), that he had been in the Service of *Mr d'Angoulême*, Natural Son of *Charles IX*, and that he conquered all the Endeavours that were made to turn him out.

- (9) *D'Assouci*, Tom. I, pag. 47.
- (10) *Ib.* Tom. II, pag. 14.
- (11) *Ib.* pag. 10.

[C] He got acquainted with a Man mentioned in a place of *Mr Boileau's* Satires, and who for that reason deserves a place in my Commentary. *D'Assouci* tells us, in the Relation of his Journey from *Chalons* on the River *Saône* to *Lyons*, that, having made his Music Pages sing several passionate and moving Songs (12), a blind man came to him, who had very large Ears, so fine and so red, that tho' his Nose was no less high-coloured, yet it was hard to judge which carried the Prize, the Purple of his Nose, or the Cinnabar of his Ears (13). Being asked who he was? he answered, (14) 'I am —'

- (12) *Ib.* pag. 249.
- (13) *Ib.* pag. 251.
- (14) *Ib.* pag. 251.

'one of the Descendants of *Homer*, and I dare say that I have some Advantage over that Divine Man; for though he was blind as I am, and sung his Verses publicly from door to door as I do mine, he had only his Legs hairy; but I am as hairy as a Bear all over my Body — I am a famous Poet and Songster, but a Songster endowed with such a powerful Organ, and such a mighty and strong Voice, that provided I drink but a Dram of Brandy, if I should sing on the *Augustine's* Key, the King might hear me from the Windows of his Louvre. Having

said this, without being desired, he took a little Book covered with blue Paper out of his Pocket, giving it to a young Boy that served him for a Guide; they united their Voices, and with their Hats hanging over their Ears, they sung these agreeable Songs.

Helas mon amy doux, &c.

Alas dear friend, &c.

And this which *Guatier-Garguille* sung formerly:

Baïsez-moy *Julienne*.

Jeân Julien je ne puis.

Kiss me, *Juliana*.

That cannot I, *John Julian*.

After that, he sung one of his own making, newly coined; the Title whereof was this: *A lamentable and recreative Song on the Death of a Shoemaker, who cut his Throat with his Paring Knife, to be revenged on the Unfaithfulness of his Wife*. He was desired to tell his Name and the Place where he held his *Parnassus*. My Name, said he, is *Philippot*, at your Service, alias the *Savoyard*; and if ever you go over the *Pontneuf*, you will see my *Parnassus* on the steps of that Bridge; the Brazen Horse is my *Pegasus*, and the *Samaritaine* the Fountain of my *Helicon* (15). He presented a Book of his Songs to *D'Assouci* (16). My late Father, added he (17), to whom God give Peace, has sung *Guedron's*, and the late *Boësset's* Songs, a thousand times.

If *Boileau's* Satires remain an hundred Years without a Commentary upon them, there will be some Passages in them less intelligible, than the most obscure that are to be found in the *Catholic Confession of Sancti*, and in the *Catholicicon*. And I am persuaded, that a Commentator on those Satires in the XIXth Century would be very glad to meet with this small piece of the History of a famous Singer of the *Pontneuf*, and that he would willingly adorn with it his Notes on this place:

Le bel honneur pour vous, en voyant vos Ouvrages
Occuper le loisir des Laquais & des Pages,
Et souvent dans un coin renvoyez à l'écart
Servir de second tome aux airs du Savoyard (18).

What envy'd Honour, that your Works engage
Th' Attention of each Footman and each Page.

Or

(18) *Boileau*, Satire IX, v. 54.

is become very famous by the Account of *Bachauumont's* and *Chapelle's* Travels [D]. I shall speak of it in the Remarks. He remained three Months longer at *Montpellier* after he was released out of Prison (gg), and composed there a *Relation of that Tragi-Comical Adventure*; but he did not publish it, tho' the Chief Judge, who had seen it, had given him

(gg) Idem.
Tom. II. pag.
164.

*Or in some Place remote, at Wakes and Fairs,
Furnish a second Tome to the Savoyard's Airs!*

[D] He ran the Hazard of his Life at Montpellier. That Accident is become very famous by the Account of *Bachauumont's* and *Chapelle's* Travels. This Account being in every body's hands, I shall only take the Substance of it, which concerns our Musician. Mr de *Bachauumont* and Mr *Chapelle* relate, that they came to *Montpellier* on the Day that D'Assouci was to be burnt for a Crime that is abhorred by the Women. They describe the Indignation of the fair Sex very pleasantly; they say, that a Man of Quality had procured that wretched Man's Escape, and upon that Account the Women raised a Sedition in the City, and had already torn two or three Persons in pieces, for being only suspected to know D'Assouci; that they were afraid of being also taken for his Friends, and went suddenly out of that City; that they met him with a pretty handsome Page following him; that he told them all his Misfortunes in a few Words; that, after they had seen several Towns of *Provence*, they went to *Avignon*, and that one Evening, as they were taking the fresh Air on the Banks of the Rhone, in a clear Moonshine, they met the *Sieur D'Assouci*, and asked him, maliciously enough,

Ce petit garçon qui vous suit,
Et qui derrière vous se glisse,
Que sçait-il? en quel exercice,
En quel art l'avez vous instruit?
Il sçait tout, dit-il; s'il vous duit,
Il est bien à votre service.

The Youth, who after you comes trudging,
(He's an apt Scholar, we imagine)
What has he learn'd, since here you brought him?
What Exercises have you taught him?
O Gentlemen, the Spark replied,
The Boy's a knowing Boy, and tried;
Yet I can part with him with ease:
He's at your Service, if you please.

We thanked him then very civilly, as you would have done, and made him only this Answer:

Adieu, bon soir, & bonne nuit:
De votre Page qui vous suit,
Et qui derrière vous se glisse,
Et de tout ce qu'il sçait aussi,
Grand merci Monsieur d'Assouci;
D'un si bel offre de service,
Monsieur d'Assouci grandmercy (19):

Adieu, good Monsieur D'Assouci;
Thank you for your Civility;
But keep your Page, and all be knows:
Once more, Monsieur, A good Repose!

Few ingenious Books have been so much read and admired as the Account of those two Gentlemen's Travels, whereby they have more contributed to make the Name of the *Sieur D'Assouci* odious, contemptible, and abominable than any body else. It has been said, that his Enemies shewed that Account to *Pope Clement IX*, to undo him (20). This was a nice Business; for it contains a Passage somewhat malicious, and very capable to displease the Court of *Rome*. It is that, wherein it is supposed that D'Assouci, having escaped the Flames of *Montpellier*, is out of all Fear since he is come to *Avignon*:

Mais enfin me voila fauvé;
CAR je suis en terre Papale (21).

At length a safe Retreat I've found;
For now I stand on Popish Ground.
VOL. II.

The unfortunate *D'Assouci* experimented the Prejudice that the Relation of Mr *Bachauumont* and Mr *Chapelle* did him (22): he wrote against the latter, and gave him many hard Words; and, as he pretended to be the Person who had taught him to make Verses, and that some Poems had been seen in his Praise composed by Mr *Chapelle*, he charged him both with Ingratitude and Inconstancy (23). He maintained that it was false that he had been met by those Travellers either near *Montpellier* or at *Avignon* (24); he protested that he left *Montpellier* but three Months after his Release; so that they had published a great Lye, when they said that they had found him out of that Town the same Day that he was set at Liberty (25). He pretends that they did not go to *Montpellier* till two Years after his Adventure; from whence he concludes that they made use of a most malicious Fiction against him (26). The Mischief is, that, though he makes it appear that they represented the Matter as unfaithfully as the Writers of Romances, yet he cannot deny the main thing; for he owns that he was put into a Dungeon at *Montpellier*, and accused of an infamous Commerce. Instead of ascribing to my Art, says he (27), the care I took to find a Singing-boy for the Service of the *Duchess Dowager of Savoy*, the People said it was to make a Trade of him with the Princes of *Italy*, or that, under pretence of Music (28), I travelled thus in the World, looking for Children, not to teach them to sing, but to sell them to the Chirurgeons of *Montpellier*, to make Anatomies of them — (29). Nay, the Catholics called me *Parpaillot* (30), and the *Parpaillots* called me an Atheist; but the gallant Women, more fond of their Interest, and more speculative, called me an Heretic, not in point of Religion, but in point of Love, and without remembering the many Serenades I had given them, and the great Affection I expressed, for them when in my younger Years, coming to *Montpellier*, I taught them to play on the Lute. They accused me unjustly of the Cruelties that *Orpheus* had formerly for the *Bacchantes*, and all this without any other ground than their chimerical Imagination, already propounded by what they heard of my having been long acquainted with C. and the late D. B. and the late C, and fomented by the Malice of those angry Persons. Note, that he assigns for the cause of all this Persecution, the Anger of a Lady, who was adored. This Lady, who was adored by every Body at *Montpellier* (31), employed all her wit and utmost endeavours to undo him (32). Several precise Women took that Angry Woman's Part, and swore by their Patches, and their Painting, never to paint again before they had caufed his Ashes to be thrown into the Air (33). He was so imprudent as to use them roughly in a Poem that he handed about with this Title, *Articles de paix aux précieuses de Montpellier (Articles of Peace to the precise Ladies of Montpellier)*. They were very offensive and fatirical Verses. Those Women were the more offended at it, because he freely discovered the true Reason why, as he pretended, they persecuted him, and required that his Punishment might be a warning to others. He promised them to be more gallant for the future, and made an offer of his Services, though weakened a little by Age.

Mais rassurez vos cœurs jaloux,
Esclave des charmes plus doux,
J'adore par tout la nature
Sans m'appliquer à la torture,
Que la plus belle d'entre vous
Viennne un peu tenter l'aventure;
Je veux mourir sous l'impolture,
Si je n'appaise son courroux.
Sec & passé comme je suis,
Et non du tout si beau qu'un Ange,
Je fais pourtant ce que je puis,
Je ne suis pas un masle étrange;
Garçon loyal & bon Chrétien,
J'aime plus que vostre entretien.

7 N

Pourquoy

(19) Volage de
Bachauumont & la
Chapelle, pag.
m. 75.

(20) D'Assouci,
ubi supra, Tom.
II, pag. 271.

(21) Volage de
Bachauumont, ubi
supra.

- (bb) *Ib.* pag. 163. him leave to do it (bb). He travelled afterwards through several Towns in *Provence*; he waited, at *Monaco*, upon the Prince of *Morgues*, who gave him thirty Pistoles; he went over the *Col de Tende*, &c (ii). Being come to *Turin*, he had much ado to refuse, by his Presence, the false News of his Punishment, which they had read in the *Burlesque Gazette*. He used his utmost Endeavours to settle himself in that Court (kk); and he thinks he might have succeeded in it, if he had not spent his time in making Verses, if he had not been contented to make his Court to the chief Deities, and if he had not made the Musicians of the Country jealous of him (ll). He pretends that the Beauty of his Poems exposed him to the Indignation of a Poet of *Auvergne*, who set up for a considerable Man at *Turin*, and affected to criticize, and to persecute him (mm). He adds, that having neglected the Favourites, because he was so imprudent as to fancy that it was sufficient to make his Court to their Royal Highnesses [E], he exposed himself to the ill Offices of several Persons, which did him great Prejudice. He perceived that they grew cold towards him, and the worst was, that having desired his Dismission, or a Settlement (nn), he obtained the former to his great Grief (oo). I cannot give the Continuation of his Adventures; for I have only had the three first Parts of the History that he wrote of them. I remember, that, about the Year 1674, he published two small Volumes, which he had composed in the Prison of the *Chatelet* of *Paris*, where he was still, and I do not know the Particulars of his Enlargement. There is no need to consult the Satirical Writings of his Enemies to have a very ill Opinion of him. What he himself owns and relates, is sufficient for it. I cannot tell whether a Licence could be now (pp) obtained at *Paris* for printing a Book like the Relations of our
- (ii) *D'Assouci, Aventures d'Italie*, pag. 74.
- (kk) See the Remark [E].
- (ll) *Aventures d'Italie*, pag. 330, & seq.
- (mm) *Ibid.* pag. 153.
- (nn) *Ibid.* pag. 333.
- (oo) *Ibid.* pag. 342.
- (pp) I write this in October, 1699.

(64) *Ib.* *ibid.* pag. 122.

Pourquoy donc sexe au teint de roze,
Quand la charité vous impose
La loy d'aimer vostre prochain,
Me pouvez-vous hair sans cause,
Moy qui ne vous fis jamais rien.
Ha! pour mon honneur je voy bien
Qu'il vous faut faire quelque chose (34).

*This jealous Rage, ye Fair, give o'er;
Your Charms, I swear, I still adore:
Let but the fairest try my Love,
If to her Will I fail to prove,
May future Ages, to my Shame,
Brand me with an Impostor's Name.
Tis true, the Verge of Age I touch,
Nor can I brag of Beauty much:
Yet I do, Ladies, what I can;
And who does more, is more than Man.
The Fair, I vow, I never balk,
And can do something more than talk.
Why then this causeless Hate to me,
Who ne'er did ought? — Ha! now I see,
'Tis That: my Crime (and I repent me):
I must DO something, to content ye.*

(35) *Ibid.* pag. 268.

(36) Here is a Passage of *Chapelle's Account*: Seeing these Bachelors with dishevelled Hair, one would have thought that, at least, Mr *D'Assouci* had ravished them all, and yet he had never done any thing to them.

(37) *Ludovicus nihil fecit*. — *Lewis did nothing*. He was the last King of France of the second Race.

(38) In the Remark [C] of the Article *HENRY III*.

For the rest, he accuses *Chapelle* of having robbed him of that Thought (35). See the Margin (36). Do not mind the Reflexions of some invidious Men.

They say that, Incontinency being the strongest Pillar of the Empire of Gallantry, it is in vain to ask in a State of Disgrace, *But what have I done? What Crime can I be accused of? I do not find myself guilty of any wicked Attempt, I have been quiet, I have done nothing*. A wrong way to justify one's self; for it is chiefly by Quietism, or Inaction, that a Man appears guilty to those who govern that Empire. Lazy Men are looked upon there as very bad Subjects: Idleness is the greatest Felony that can be committed; it is the highest degree of Treason: The Sins of Commission are much more inconsiderable in that Country than the Sins of Omission: these are never venial; they are unpardonable Faults. Tyrants will be sooner deposed in a Political State, than those who are sluggish; but in the Empire whereof I speak, the most just Reason for deposing, banishing, &c. is that which the *French* alleged against the Kings of the first Race; and it were better for a Man to commit several Violences, than to deserve the Epithet that was given to a certain Prince (37). There are the Slanders which I advise you not to regard: but rather consider of the Reflexions that may be made on a Remark that I shall touch upon hereafter (38).

[E] *He was so imprudent as to fancy that it was sufficient to make his Court to their Royal Highnesses.* What he says upon this is very judicious, and is as good, not for the Phrases, but for the Thoughts, as one of

the most solid Passages of our new *Theophrastus* (39). Having no other aim, *says he* (40), than to please their Royal Highnesses, because, in order to satisfy my small Ambition, I thought it was sufficient to deserve their Esteem, instead of making my Court to those who could help me, and more still to those who could prejudice me; I did not so much as wait upon the Marchioness de *Lans*, nor Madam *Servien*, my chief Protectress; I neglected also all those that were in favour, and the Favourite himself. A great Folly indeed, and well deserving the Punishment I received for it, and which those must expect, who, like me, will be so high-spirited as to attempt to scale Heaven, and enter Paradise in spite of the Saints. A great Folly for a Man to trust to his Merit, to make his Fortune with Princes; and so much the greater, because most Princes, who think themselves free (because they command others), see but little, and even this with other Men's Eyes, and hardly command any thing but what they are ordered to command, so that they are most commonly the Slave of their Slaves, and consequently the greatest Slaves of all Mankind. I found it by experience in that Court, when, instead of caring for those that were in Favour, and kissing my Poet's Hands and Feet, admiring his Wit and Verses, and getting them printed in Golden Letters, I, a poor Mirmidon, fighting with a Giant in Favour, fought against my self, since as many Victories as I obtained over his Pen, were so many Trophies erected to his Glory, and as many Precipices that I digged for my Fortune. I was a greater Fool than *Jehn des Vignes*; for instead of abstaining from making Verses, or instead of making some like my Curate, who vexed no Body, I went about to contend with a Poet, who wore a Sword, and who was as noble as the King, and as Valiant as *Cæsar*. — Princes, as I have already said, see most things with other Men's Eyes, and consider People only as much as they are beloved by those whom they love. If I did not find myself quite forsaken, I found my self at least as much neglected as I had neglected others. The Present, that used to come every Week, came but once a Month; and, observing a certain Coldness mixed with the ordinary Bounties of those gracious Stars (which did not agree with my hopes of a Settlement). — I did, &c (41). A good Courtier does not imitate the *Huguenots*, who invoke none but God, but imitates the *Votaries of the Roman Communion*, who apply themselves much more to the Worship of Saints, than to the Worship of God. *D'Assouci* conformed his Devotion to the Notions of the Protestants, and did not find that it turned to good account. Here follows something of the Description he made of his Zeal for the *Duchess Royal*. 'It is scarce credible how much pains I took, for the space of fourteen Months that I was in that Court, in order to deserve a Settlement. I omitted no occasion to make my self necessary: though I had already but

(39) *Mr de la Bruyere*.

(40) *D'Assouci, Aventures d'Italie*, pag. 332, & seq.

(41) *Ibid.* pag. 337.

our Burlesque Poet; for they are intermixed with prophane Things. And it is to be observed, that, among other Crimes, he was accused of Impiety; yet he glories to have written in Defence of the Church of Rome [F]. He complains of Mr Boileau, who nevertheless said nothing against *Burlesque* but what was very reasonable [G]. The Place

too much Business in that Princess's Chamber, and though I had heard say many times that no Body goes into Heaven in spite of the Saints, yet I entertained her with Music in her Chapel. Whether she heard Mals in her Chamber, in the Church of the Holy Winding Sheet, or in any other Church, I followed her every where like a shagged Dog; my Lute, and my Boy *Pierratin*, were always seen in her Attendance. By this means I became, in a little time, the most devout Person in the World; for you must know that this pious Princess, who used to weep at the Altars, was not contented with one Mals; she heard every Day two at least, and most time three, during which time I made a very long and very devout Music, always kneeling on both Knees. Let the Reader judge whether I was not a very devout Man; and yet I assure you that the Thing, that was least in my Thoughts, was to put up Prayers to God: *Apollo*, who held me fast every where, was still more hard upon me in that Holy Place: My Imagination was at all times taken up with some fine *Mets*; and though the Words that I muttered were altogether Holy and Sacred, it was not so much for the Glory of God that I sung them, as for the satisfaction of that Mortal Deity, whom at that time I would have preferred to God himself, such a wretched Man I was (42). See the Margin (43).

[F] He glories to have written in Defence of the Church of Rome. One of the extravagant things, for which he blames his Enemies, is their accusing him of Irreligion. 'You have been so wicked and so foolish, says he (44), as to represent, — as an impious Man, a Person, whom God only exposed to your Persecutions, in order to refine him in the Exercise of Piety; and as a Writer, that is an Enemy to Holy Things, a Man, who in his Writings has defended Rome against the Attempts of the Enemies of it's Glory, and of it's Altars, and who has spent his Ink and Incense in favour of it's Holy Ministers and sacred Prelates.' He should not have made it a matter of Merit to have undertaken such a Work: Had Devotion any share in it? Was it not rather to obtain some Reward? It is the Pole Star of such Writers; they pass from a Prophane Subject to a Divine one, as soon as the Hopes of Gain appear on that side (45):

Græculus esuriens in cœlum jusseris, ibit (46).

[G] He complains of Mr Boileau, who nevertheless said nothing against *Burlesque*, but what was very reasonable. These words of Mr Boileau, *D'Assouci* refutes as well as he can (47).

— qu'enfin la Cour defabufée

Méprisa de ces vers l'extravagance aîcée.

— At length the Court, being undeceived, despised the easy Extravagance of those Verses.

It is very easy, says he (48), to affect a Scoundrel, who laughs at every thing; but it is very hard to move a confipated Stoic, who laughs at nothing: wherefore whatever may be said of the Heroic Stile, it is far from being so difficult as the fine Burlesque, which is the utmost Effort of the Imagination, and the Touch-Stone of Wit. Nor is it sufficient to have Wit in order to succeed in it: one must also be endowed with a particular Genius, which is so rare, chiefly in our Climate, that, except two Persons, of whom France will have me to be one, every Body knows that all those who meddled with this sort of Burlesque have only wasted Paper. — If I be asked why this Burlesque, which has so many excellent Parts and so many pleasant Turns, has ceased to divert our Court, after having diverted France so long; it is because *Scarron* has ceased to live, and I have ceased to write. If I would continue my *Ovid* in a merry Humour, that same Court, which is pleased to this Day with the Verses that I present it with, would be pleased with it as before, and my Bookellers, who

have re-printed that Work so often, would again make as many Editions of it (49). A Person, who declares so openly the high Opinion he has conceived of his Poems, may be looked upon as a Witness little to be credited, with respect to the Praises he bestows upon himself; but when he declares that he has been very sensible of the Injury contained in those words of Mr Boileau,

Et jusqu'à d'Assouci tout trouva des Lecteurs,

And even D'Assouci could Readers find,

he ought to be accounted a very sincere Witness. 'Ah! dear Reader, if thou didst but know how this *even* D'Assouci sticks to my Heart, thou wouldst pity my Fate; I am inconsolable, and cannot recover from my Fainting, especially when I consider that by that Verse, which looks like a Decree of the Court of Parliament, I find my self deprived of all my Honours, and that this *Charles d'Assouci* Emperor of the Burlesque, the first of that Name, is nothing at present, if you will believe him, but the meanest Reptile of *Parnassus*, and the Scullion of the Muses. Reader, what is to be done in this Extremity: after the Communication that he has fulminated against this poor disgraced Burlesque, who will vouchsafe to read it, or so much as to look upon it (50)?' He comforts himself with the Thought, that Jealousy was the Cause of that thundering Censure (51): 'Thus you see, dear Reader, what one gets by making good Burlesque Verses: for if I had made as bad ones as my Poet (52), he (53) would have spared me as well as the Author of the *Buffoon Ovid*: But it is no new thing to see jealous People rail against excellent Things, and blame what goes beyond their Capacity.' I shall set down the Judgment that he made of the most impertinent Poetry. 'It makes People laugh, says he (54), — but it is not enough to hit upon that Impertinence in it's highest Degree, which is so necessary to that kind of Verses; it must also be attended with a certain Simplicity, which the best Wits cannot attain to; and the more excellent a Man is, the less he can imitate it; as plainly appears from the great Bible of the *Christmas Carols*; for though several Wits have tried to imitate, in their new Carols, those precious Carols of Antiquity, no Body has found, or will ever find, the Secret of it; and the old Carols, which are upon all Occasions preferred before the new, will be always so much the more esteemed in all Ages, as they are more foolish and more excellently full of that admirable kind of Impertinency and Simplicity. For in short, is there any Man of Sense that knows for what, and when to laugh, that will not heartily do it, when he reads these Verses, which I have taken out of a Book, that was sold for twenty Pistols at an Auction, intitled, *Les Pois Pilez*. CHRIST takes his leave of St Matthew in these Words.

DIALOGUE.

C. Adieu Matthieu.

M. Adieu, Dieu.

C. Prens ta lance & ton épée,

Et t'en vas en Galilée.

M. Prendray je aussi mon épée?

C. Et quoy donc?

M. Adieu donc.

C. Adieu, Matthew.

M. Adieu, God.

C. Take thy Lance and Javelin, and go into Galilee.

M. Shall I also take my Sword?

C. And what then?

M. Adieu, then.

Is there any thing more foolish and more impertinent, than to make those Heavenly Persons speak in this

(42) Ibid. pag. 168, & seq.

(43) My Zeal was so great towards these benign Powers, says he, pag. 176, that if I had had as much towards God, I doubt not but that he would have rewarded me with Heaven before this time.

(44) D'Assouci, Tom. II, pag. 20.

(45) Si dolosi spes affullerit nummi. *Perfuit in Prologo. See the Conduct of Aretin, in Rem. [I] of the Article ARETIN. (PETER).*

(46) Juven. Sat. III. v. 78.

(47) D'Assouci, *Avantures d'Italie*, pag. 241.

(48) Ibid. pag. 252.

(49) Ibid. pag. 261.

(50) Ibid. pag. 263.

(51) Ibid. pag. 265.

(52) That is, a Poet of *Auvergne*, who was at *Turin*.

(53) That is, Mr Boileau.

(54) D'Assouci, *Avantures d'Italie*, pag. 320.

(qq) *Avantures d'Italie*, pag. 273, & seq.
(rr) The Pieces against *Soudais*, that are in his Works, concern *D'Assouci*.

Place, wherein he speaks of four foolish Poets (qq), is diverting; I shall only set down what concerns him whom he names, and who is an Author in Print [H]. *Cyrano de Bergerac* (rr), and *Loret*, were two of his Enemies. The latter abused him on all Occasions, in his *Burlesque Gazette*, and was so ready to spread any News to the Prejudice of *D'Assouci* [I], that he several times published an Account of his Death, tho' he was still living.

'this manner? Yet is there any thing more pleasant or more natural? You must needs grant me that those Verses, which would make St. *Matthew* laugh, and even God himself, if he was still on Earth, are better than all the Verses in the World, which taste neither of Salt nor Sage.'

[H] *I shall set down what concerns a foolish Poet — who is an Author in Print.* 'But who can better make this authentic Folly authentic, than the poor deceased *Ragueneau*? *Ragueneau* known to all *Parnassus*, *Ragueneau* beloved by all the Poets, and cherished by all the Comedians. Lastly, that famous Pastry-cook *Ragueneau*, who being always at Work with six Men in his Shop near a continual Fire, in a well accustomed Oven, laughed at all the Pastry-cooks in *Paris*; that famous Pastry-cook *Ragueneau*, who caused nothing but dainty Pies to rain on *Parnassus*. That Nursing Father of the Muses, after having well fed those ungrateful Maids, alas! What is become of him? I ask it of you, *Beis*, who inspired him with the Folly of making Verses; you, *Beis*, who took the most excellent Pastry-cook of *Paris* from us, to make him the worst Poet in the World. 'It is you, barbarous Wretch, who shall one Day answer in the Valley of *Jehosaphat*, not only for all the Ink and Paper that he has wasted, but also for all the Pies that (without reckoning those that *Parnassus* bilked him of) you have eat as they came out of his Oven. Yes, *Beis*, you only shall one Day be accountable for this harmless Creature; for, in short, he was the best natured Man in the World; he trusted the whole *Parnassus*, and when they had no Money, he was over paid, satisfied, and contented, when they vouchsafed to applaud his Works with the wink of an Eye. I remember that, for having only had the patience to hear one of his Pindaric Odes, he trusted me above three Months without ever asking a penny of me — (55). Being not paid by any Body, and his Creditors coming upon him for Money, poor *Ragueneau* was intirely buried under the Ruins of his Oven. It was a sad and lamentable Day for the Poets, who very early in the Morning were met wiping their Mouths, after they had got their last Breakfast at his House; it was, I say, a sad Day, when a Company of hungry Bailiffs, in the face of *Apollo*, whose Beard was still greasy with the Fat of so many delicate Patties, were so bold as to arrest and seize his well beloved *Ragueneau*, and to clap him up, without any respect for his Verses, or Muses, into Prison, from whence (after a Year of Captivity) he came out to impart to the World the excellent Works, which, in imitation of *Theophrastus*, he had composed there: but he found no Poet in *Paris* that would feed him in his turn, nor so much as hear one of his Verses; nor any Pastry-cook that would trust him with so much as a Pie on one of his Sonnets. Cursing the Age, and storming against the Ignorance of the Times, he left *Paris* with his Wife and Children, being in all five Persons, and a little Ass loaded with Epigrams, to go and seek his Fortune in *Languedoc*, where, having met with a Company of Players who wanted a Man to act a *Swiss*, he entred himself with them as an Underling; and though his Part was never above four Verses at most, he performed it so ill, that within less than a Year he had the Reputation of the worst Actor in the World; insomuch that the Players, not knowing what to employ him in, would make him snuff the Candles; but he would not except that Employment, as being repugnant to the Honour and Quality of a Poet. After which, not being able to resist the Power of his Destiny, I have seen him snuff the Candles very neatly with another Gang: this is the Fate of Fools when they turn Poets, and the Fate of Poets when they grow mad (56).

(56) *Ibid.* *ibid.*

[I] *Loret* — was — ready to spread News to the Prejudice of *D'Assouci*. 'As soon as I was arrested, my Enemies — sent immediately the News of my Death to *Paris*, which being not at all displeasing to the late *Loret*, without staying for the Confirmation of it, inspired him to make those fine Verses in my Praise, which to his Confusion we have seen rambling in his Gazette. Now this bad Poet is

gone to tell Lies in the other World, and I am still in this (57):' Here is another Passage: 'They are the same Fools, who, repeating meer Hear-says, have kill'd me so many times in their Gazettes, and who, having drowned me at *Ferrara* and *Venice*, before I had set a Foot there, have taken me out of the Sea, and of all it's Rivers, to roast me at *Montpellier*, and who at last, after having thrown me from the Frying-Pan into the Fire, bowelled, stewed and minced me, have restored me to my first State, to fry me again at *Avignon*; from whence of their Favour they have removed me without any Harm or Solution of Continuity, to confine me for the rest of my Days in the Inquisition, from whence I am nevertheless return'd as bright and as found as if I was newly born, without losing one Hair in all those Travels which those Fools have described (58). He reveng'd himself of *Loret* as much as he could, and accus'd him of an egregious Fraud. These are his words: 'What had I done to that Billing-gate Rhimer, that he should so haughtily insult the Honour of my Muses, who are more knowing and honest than his? Tho' his Trade of cheating at Play might very well excuse him for making such bad Verses: Did I call him a Sharper? Did I call him a Poetaster? Did not I always call him *Loret*? Did not he rob me of my Money with his false Cards, when I play'd with him at the late *Marchal de Schomberg's*? Why must he rob me also of my Honour and Fortune with his false Rhimes? Did my *Ovid* in a merry Humour so vex him, that he must revenge himself on my Verses, to the prejudice of my Reputation? Yet this barbarous Rhimer has reveng'd himself of them in that manner, since it is on that very thing that the foolish Mob, more barbarous than he, have since grounded their many Slanders, in order to persecute me in every place, as well as so many honest People, who will believe till the Day of the last Doom, that I have been most strangely abused at *Montpellier*, if my Writings, at least as lasting as his, did not verify the contrary. Yea, this Scoundrel has revenged himself in that manner; for it is he who supplied all my Enemies with Weapons, and all those that envied me with a pretence of Calumny, who has destroyed my Fortune and my Hopes, who made my best Friend my Persecutor, and who, in short, has exposed me to so many Dangers and mortal Disgraces. Good God! can any Body see such Assassinations without Horror? and can *France* suffer such Assassins without Shame (59)?' I think it was also published that he had been hanged in Effigy; for he complains that they represented him as a Man whose Picture had served for a Scare-crow in a Hemp-cloze, and for a public Terror to the wicked: but he maintains that this Print was never seen but at the Bookellers Shops of the Palace, that it appears still gloriously before all his Works, and that the most curious Painters look for it at this present Time, as an Original that deserves to be copied (60). I do not believe they will do it to draw a fine Face by; for that of *D'Assouci* is far from being such. I have not found in the Relation of *Bachaumont* and *Chapelle*, that he was represented as the *Tiberites* of our Age (61). Yet he complains of it (62), and alledges, against that injurious Reflexion, the Verses that were made upon his Picture.

On vous avertit que voicy
Le Portrait du grand d'Assoucy,
Cette merveille de nostre âge.
Contemplez le donc bien; & si
A peu près aux traits du visage
Vouz croyez qu'un tel personnage
Ne peut qu'avoir bien réussi,
Achetez vifste son ouvrage,
Et vous verrez qu'il est ainsi. CHAPELLE.

You are inform'd, that here you see
The Portrait of Great D'Assoucy.
View him, and, if his Looks proclaim
He must have gain'd immortal Fame,
Purchase his Work, and you will see
That it is just as I tell ye.

2

DATE

(a) See Leti's *Italia Regnante*, Parte 3, pag. 369, & seq. König refers us to pag. 170 of that Book. He has committed two Faults; for he does not specify the Volume, and quotes the Page wrong.

DATI (CARLO), Professor of Philology at Florence, where he was born, became very famous, as well for his Works, as for the Elogies which many Writers bestowed upon him [A]. He was very civil and officious to all learned Travellers who went to Florence; many of them expressed their Acknowledgment for it in their Writings (a). He was a Member of the Academy della Crusca, and in that quality he took the Name of *Smarrito*. He made a Panegyric upon Lewis XIV, in Italian, and published it at Florence, in the Year 1669 (b). The French Translation of it, was printed at Rome the Year following. He had already published some Italian Poems in praise of that Prince (c). You may thereby learn in what Time he flourished.

(b) Ibid. pag. 367.

(c) Ibid. pag. 363, 367.

(1) Leti, *Italia Regnante*, Tom. II, pag. 363, 364.

[A] He became very famous, as well for his Works, as for the Elogies that many Writers bestowed upon him. You may find the Commentary, that this Text requires, in the third Volume of Leti's *Italia Regnante*; I shall only transcribe a few Lines out of it. Leti (1) observes, that the Book intitled, *Lettera di Timauro Antiata à Filaleti, della vera storia della cicloide, e della famosissima esperienza dell' argento vivo*, was written by Carlo Dati: he refers us to the One hundred and forty ninth page of Placcius's *Treatise, De Scriptis & Scriptoribus anonymis atque pseudonymis*. This Reference is right; for we find in that Page, that the pretended *Timauro Antiata* is Carlo Dati, and that this appears plainly from the Twenty sixth Page of the Letter. We find there also, that this Piece was printed at Florence in the Year 1663, and that the Author proves two things: the one, that Father Merfenne is not the Inventor of the Cycloid, as is said in the History of the Cycloid, but that the Glory of that Invention belongs to Galileo; the other, that Torricelli is innocent of the Plagiarism imputed to him concerning the Hypothesis, whereby the Suspension of the Quick-silver is explained by the Pressure of the Air. He was the first Author of that Hypothesis, if we believe Carlo Dati. It is very likely, that Monconys confounds things, when he says, *The Sieur Carlo Dati gave me his printed Letter to prove that Torricelli was the first that found out the Cycloid* (2). The chief Work, to which our Dati applied himself, was *That della Pit-*

tura antica. He published an Essay, or a Piece of it, in the Year 1667. I will cite it hereafter (3). The Encomium that Chimentelli bestowed upon this Writer, is the only one that I shall transcribe among many others alleged by Leti. 'Nec secus inter rarissimos numerandus, qui Librum utendum permittit Clarissimus & amicissimus D. Carolus Datus nostræ flos illibatus Urbis, suadæque Etruscæ medulla, quam omni literarum paratu quotidie auget, atque illustrat. Parum enim mereri putat, qui per se tam egregie meretur, nisi ad bene merendum de Republica Literaria alios quoque omni ope & consilio adjuvet. Nihil ut minus suum habeat, quam quod in usum & gloriam eruditionis impendi possit; penè ipsum se sibi subtrahens, nedum temporis, aut operæ parvus (4). — Nor is Carlo Dati, an eminent Scholar, and a most obliging Friend, who favoured me with the Use of the Book, to be mentioned without the highest Esteem, as being the unsullied Flower of our City, the Soul of Tuscan Eloquence, which he daily improves and embellishes with acquisitions from all parts of Learning. Yet he esteems his Merit small, unless he assists others with all his Abilities to deserve well of the Common-Wealth of Learning; so that he may be said to have nothing less his own, than that which may be employed for the Advancement or Honour of Learning, and to overact his Strength, neither sparing Time nor Labour.'

(3) In the Roman [L.] of the Article ZEUXIS.

(4) Chimentellus de honore Biscilii, pag. 86, apud Leti *Italia Regnante*, Tom. III, pag. 373.

(2) Monconys, *Voyage*, Part. II, pag. 483, at the Year 1664.

DAVID, King of the Jews, was one of the greatest Men in the World, even though we should not consider him as a Royal Prophet, who was after God's own Heart. The first time that the Scripture makes him appear on the Stage of the World (a), is to inform us that Samuel appointed him King, and performed the Ceremony of anointing him. David was then but a meer Shepherd. He was the youngest of the eight Sons of Jesse the Bethlehemite [A]. Afterwards the Scripture tells us, that he was sent to King Saul (b), to cure him of his Fits of Frenzy, by the Sound of his Musical Instruments. A Service of that Importance made him so much beloved by Saul, that he kept him in his House, and made him his Armour-Bearer (c). The Scripture says afterwards (d), that David used to go home from time to time to take care of his Father's Flocks, and that his Father sent him one Day to Saul's Camp, with some Provisions for three of his Sons that were in the Army. David, performing that Order, heard the Challenge that a Philistine, called Goliath, proud of his Strength and gigantic Stature, made daily to the Israelites, which none among them durst to accept. He expressed his great Desire to fight that Giant; whereupon he was brought to the King, and assured him that he should triumph over that Philistine. Saul gave him his Armour; but David, finding it troublesome, put it off, and resolved to make use only of his Sling; which he did so happily, that he brought down that Swaggerer with a Stone (e), and killed him

(a) 1 Sam. xvi, 13.

(b) Ibid. ver. 10.

(c) Ibid. ver. 21.

(d) Ibid. chap. xvii, ver. 15.

(e) Ibid. ver. 49, 50.

(1) See the Journal des Scavans, July 14, 1692, pag. 465, Dutch Edit.

(2) In Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica, Part. II, pag. 4, apud Journal des Scavans, ibid.

[A] He was the youngest of the Sons of Jesse the Bethlehemite. Jesse descended in a direct Line from Judah, one of the twelve Sons of Jacob, and dwelt at Bethlehem, a small City of the Tribe of Judah. Some Modern Rabbins say, that, when David was conceived, his Father Jesse did not think that he lay with his Wife, but with his Servant Maid, and thereby explain the seventh verse of the Fifty first Psalm, wherein David affirms, that he was *shopen in Iniquity, and that his Mother conceived him in Sin*. This, say they, signifies that his Father Jesse committed an Adultery in begetting him, because, though he begot him by his Wife, he believed that he begot him by his Servant Maid, upon whose Chastity he had made an Attempt (1). This Explication does not well agree with the Doctrine of Original Sin, and for that reason Father Barolocci (2), having mentioned that Opinion of the Modern Rabbins, thought himself obliged to examine whether the ancient Jews acknowledged the Truth of that Doctrine. If the Supposition of those Rabbins was true, they would be in the right to say, that Jesse had

committed Adultery; but on the other side it must be said, that he would not have been guilty of it, if, sincerely believing that he was enjoying his Wife, he had got his Servant Maid with Child. This Rabbinical Supposition is very different from the Tradition mentioned by St Jerom. He says, that it was believed that Jesse, the Father of David, did never commit any actual Sin, and that there was no kind of Uncleaness in him but what he brought from his Mother's Womb. 'Mirum est quod de Isai patre Davidis refert Hieronymus, illum nunquam aliud peccatum commississe quam quod ex origine contraxit. Quo enim loco legimus: Amasa ingressus est ad Abigail filiam Naas sororem Sarvise; sic Hieronymus 4, Naas interpretatur coluber, quia eum nullum admisit moris tiferum peribent peccatum, nisi quod originaliter de serpente antiquo contraxit. Est autem Naas qui 5, Isai pater David. Eandem traditionem refert Abulensis 3, & monet Naas eundem esse qui & Jesse sive Isai patrem Davidis, quod quidem & antea Liranus 6 docuerat (3). — St Jerom relates something very

† Lib. ii, Reg. 17, 25.

† Hieron. Trad. Heb. in lib. 2. Reg. cap. 17.

† To lat. 2. Reg. 17, Quest. 27.

• Liran. ibid.

(3) They are Father Camar's Words, and Quotations, pag. 126, 127, de rebus gestis Elise.

VOL. II.

7 O

him afterwards with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to Saul [B]. That Prince asked his General, when he saw David go against Goliath, *Whose Son is this Youth* (f) [C]? The General answered, that he did not know, and received Orders from Saul to enquire about it: but Saul heard it himself from that young Man; for, being brought to him after the Victory, he asked him, *Whose Son art thou?* and David answered him, that he was the Son of Jesse (g). Then Saul kept him in his Service, without suffering him to return to his Father (h). But because the Songs, that were sung in all the Cities, on the Defeat of the Philistines, ascribed ten times more Glory to David than to Saul (i), the King conceived a violent Jealousy, which increased daily, because the Employments, that he gave to David to keep him from Court, served only to make him more illustrious, and to procure him the Affection and Admiration of the Jews. By a false Policy he would make him his Son-in-law: he was in hopes that the Condition, on which he was to give him his second Daughter, would deliver him from that Object of his Aversion; but he was deceived in his Cunning. He asked an hundred Foreskins of the Philistines for his Daughter's Dowry; David brought him two hundred in full tale (k): So that, instead of perishing in the Enterprize, as Saul hoped, he returned with a new Addition of Glory. He married Saul's Daughter, whereby he became still more formidable to the King (l): all his Expeditions against the Philistines were very prosperous; his Name grew famous; he was in very great Esteem (m); inso-much that Saul, who knew his Son-in-law's Virtue much less, than the Humour of the People, imagined that the Death of David was the only thing that could secure him from being dethroned. He resolved then to be rid of him, and trusted his eldest Son with that Design, who, far from siding with his Father's Jealousy, gave David notice of that black Conspiracy (n). David fled, and was pursued from Place to Place, till he had given undeniable Proofs of his Probity and Fidelity to his Father-in-law, to whom he did no manner of harm on two favourable Opportunities (o), wherein he might easily have killed him; upon which Saul resolved to let him alone. But as David feared this Prince might resume his wicked Designs, he still kept upon his Guard. Nay, he provided himself a safer Place of Refuge, than before, in the Land of the Philistines (p). He asked of the King of Gath a Town to dwell in, from whence he made frequent Incursions into the Countries round about [D]: and had he obtained his Desire, he would have fought

(f) Ib. ver. 55.

(g) Ib. ver. 58.

(h) Ibid. chap. xviii, ver. 2.

(i) And the Women answered one another, as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his Thou-sands, and David his Ten Thou-sands. Ib. ver. 7.

(k) Ibid. ver. 27.

(l) Ibid. ver. 29.

(m) Ibid. ver. 30.

(n) Ibid. chap. xix, ver. 1, 2.

(o) Ibid. chap. xxiv, ver. xxvi.

(p) Ibid. chap. xxvii.

* very singular of Jesse, Father of David, that he never was guilty of any Sin, except that which is called Original. For when we read, that Amasa went into Abigail, the Daughter of Nabal, Sister to Zeruiah; Tous St Jerom interprets it: Nabal signifies a Serpent; for it is said, that he never committed any deadly Sin, but what he originally contracted from the old Serpent, and Nabal is the same with Jesse David's Father. Abulenfis relates the same Tradition, and observes, that Nabal was the same with Isai or Jesse David's Father; which Liranus had already observed. For the rest, those, who would adopt the Impertinence of the Rabbins concerning David's Conception, might easily admit another impertinent thing, which would be to place David in the number of illustrious Bastards. The Physical Reason, that is alledged, why Bastards are born so often with such great Natural Talents, might take place here on the Father's Part.

[B] He killed Goliath with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to Saul. Goliath's Weapons were preserved as a Monument of the Glory of the Israelites. David carried them first into his Tent (4); but it is likely they were afterwards in a consecrated Place; for we read (5) that David, having asked the Priest Abimelech whether he had not a Spear or Sword for him, that Priest answered him: the Sword of Goliath is here wrapped up in a Cloth behind the Ephod; if thou wilt take that, take it. David caused it to be given him. As for the Head of Goliath, it was carried to Jerusalem (6), when David had chosen that City for the Capital of his Kingdom. Josephus says positively, that David himself consecrated Goliath's Sword to God (7).

[C] Saul asked his General — whose Son is this Youth? It is somewhat strange that Saul did not know David that Day, since that young Man had plaid several times on his Musical Instruments before him, to disperse those black Vapours that molested him. If such a Narrative as this should be found in Thucydides, or in Livy, all the Critics would unanimously conclude, that the Transcribers had transposed the Pages, forgot something in one Place, repeated something in another, or inserted some preposterous Additions in the Author's Work. But no such Suspicions ought to be entertained of the Bible. Nevertheless some have been so bold as to pretend, that all the Chapters, or all the Verses of the first Book of Samuel, are not placed as they were at first. It seems to me that the Abbot de Choisi removes

the Difficulty much better. David was brought before Saul, says he (8), who did not know him at first, though he had seen him several times, when he sent for him to play on the Harp: but as this was many Years before, and David was very young, and came to Court in the Quality of a Musician, and was then dressed like a Shepherd, it can be no wonder that a King, full of Business, and whose Mind was disordered, should forget the Features of a young Man's Face, who had nothing considerable in him. I only wish he had not said, I. That Saul had not seen David for many Years. II. That David was very young when he came to Saul's Court in the Quality of a Musician. There is no likelihood that he was much younger when he killed Goliath, than when he came the first time to Saul's Court; for when he made his first Journey, he was a mighty valiant Man, and a Man of War, and prudent in Matters (9); he was but Thirty Years of Age, when he was elected King after the Death of Saul; and there must be necessarily an Interval of many Years between the Death of Goliath, and that of Saul. See the Remark, wherein I criticize Mareri, and the Remark [L].

[D] He asked of the King of Gath a Town, — from whence he made frequent Incursions into the Countries round about. David, having dwelt some time in the chief City of King Achish, with his little Band of Six hundred bold Adventurers, was afraid of putting this Prince to Charges, and begged he would assign him some other place of Abode. Achish gave him the Town of Ziklag. David removed thither with his Adventurers, and suffered not their Swords to rust in their Scabbards. He often led them out in Parties, and killed, without Mercy, both Men and Women. He left nothing alive but Cattle, which was the only Booty he returned with. He was afraid, lest the Prisoners should discover the whole Mystery to Achish, and therefore he carried none of them away, but put all to the Sword, both Male and Female. The Secret, he would not have revealed, was, that the Ravages were committed not upon the Country of the Israelites, as he made the King of Gath believe, but upon the Lands of the ancient Inhabitants of Palestine (10). To speak plainly, this Conduct was very unjustifiable: in order to conceal one Fault, he committed a greater. He imposed upon a King, to whom he had Obligations, and exercised great Cruelty, to cover that Imposition. If any one had asked David, by what Authority

(8) Choisi, Histoire de la Vie de David, pag. 8, 9, Dutch Edit. 1692.

(9) 1 Sam. xvi, 18.

(10) 1 Sam. chap. xxvii.

(4) 1 Sam. xvi, 54.

(5) Ibid. chap. xxi, ver. 8, 9.

(6) Ibid. cap. xvii, ver. 54.

(7) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 6, cap. 13, & 14.

fought under the Banner of this *Philistine* Prince against the *Israelites* [E], in that unhappy War wherein *Saul* perished. After the Death of *Saul*, he returned into *Judea*, and was there proclaimed King by the Tribe of *Judab* (g). Nevertheless, the other Tribes submitted to *Ishbosheth*, the Son of *Saul*, which was effected by *Abner's* Fidelity (r). *Abner*, who had been General of the Army under King *Saul*, placed *Ishbosheth* upon the Throne, and supported him on it against the Attempts of *David*: but being full of Repentment, because *Ishbosheth* reproved him for having taken one of *Saul's* Concubines (s), he entered into a Treaty with *David* to procure him the Kingdom of *Ishbosheth*. The Negotiation would have been soon concluded, to the Satisfaction of *David*, if *Joab* (t), to revenge a private Quarrel, had not killed *Abner*. The Death of *Abner* only hastened the Ruin of the unfortunate *Ishbosheth*. Two of his chief Captains slew him, and brought his Head to *David*, who, far from rewarding them for it, as they expected, ordered them both to be put to death (u). The Subjects of *Ishbosheth* quickly submitted themselves to *David*. This Prince had reigned seven Years and a half over the Tribe of *Judab*: afterwards he reigned about thirty Years over all *Israel* (x). This long Reign was remarkable for great Success, and glorious Conquests. It was not much disturbed but by the wicked Attempts of this Prince's own Children [F]. These are commonly the Enemies which Sovereigns have most reason to fear. *David* was very near being reduced

(g) 2 Sam. chap. ii, ver. 4.

(r) Ibid. ver. 8.

(s) Ib. chap. iii.

(t) He was General of *David's* Army.

(u) 2 Sam. chap. iv.

(x) Ibid. chap. v, ver. 5.

thy dost thou these things? what could he have answered? Can a private person, as he was, a Fugitive, who finds shelter in the Dominions of a neighbouring Prince, have a Right to commit Hostilities for his own Advantage, and without a Commission from the Sovereign of the Country? Had *David* any such Commission? on the contrary, did he not act in Opposition to the Intentions and Interest of the King of *Gath*? If a private Man, how great soever by Birth, should behave himself now a-days, as *David* did on this Occasion, he would, undoubtedly, be called by Names of little Honour. I know the most renowned Heroes, the most famous Prophets of the Old Testament, have sometimes approved the putting to the Sword every thing that had Life; and therefore I should be very far from calling that Cruelty, which *David* did, had he been warranted by the Order of any Prophet, or if God, by Inspiration, had commanded him to do so: But it evidently appears, from the silence of the Scripture, that he did all this of his own accord.

REFLECTION
upon the Conduct of *David*
towards *Nabal*.

I shall add one Word in relation to what he had determined to do to *Nabal*. Whilst *Nabal*, who had vast Riches, was shearing his Sheep, *David* sent to beg of him some Gratuity, in a very obliging manner. The Messengers did not fail to tell him, that his Shepherds had never been injured by *David's* People. *Nabal*, being very churlish, asked, rudely, who *David* was, and upbraided him with having shaken off his Master's Yoke. In a Word, he declared he was not so imprudent as to give to Strangers and Vagabonds, what he had provided for his own Servants. *David*, enraged at this Answer, ordered Four hundred of his Men to arm, and put himself at their Head, being firmly resolved not to save a Soul alive, but to slay them all with the Sword. He even bound himself to it by an Oath, and if he did not execute this bloody Resolution, it was owing to *Abigail*, who came to pacify him with Presents and fair Words (11). *Abigail* was *Nabal's* Wife, a Woman of great Merit, handsome, witty, and so agreeable to *David*, that he married her after her Husband's Death (12). Now let us deal plainly: Is it not manifest, beyond Contradiction, that *David* was about to do a very criminal Action? He had no right to the Goods of *Nabal*, nor any Authority to punish him for his Incivility. He was roving up and down the World with a Gang of trusty Friends: He might, indeed, have asked some Gratuity of those who could afford it; but if they refused, he ought to have taken it patiently, and he could not compel them to it by Military Execution, without plunging the World again into the dreadful Confusion, which they call the State of Nature, where no Law obtained but that of the stronger. What would one say now of a Prince of the Blood of *France*, who, being out of Favour at Court, should make his Escape, with such Friends as would be willing to share his Fortune? What Opinion, I say, could we entertain of him, if he went about raising Contributions in the Countries where he cantoned, and put to the Sword, in those Districts, all that refused to pay his Taxes? What would we say, if this Prince should fit out some Vessels to infest the Seas, in order to seize all the Merchant-Ships he could lay hold of? In truth, had *Da-*

vid any more right to exact Contributions of *Nabal*, to massacre all the Men and Women in the Country of the *Amalekites*, &c. and to carry away all the Cattle he found there? If one should answer, that the Law of Nations, the *Jus Belli & Pacis*, about which so many fine Systems have been made, are now better known than formerly: and, therefore, such a Conduct was more excusable, in those Days, than now. I grant it; but, at the same time, the profound Respect we ought to have for this great Prince, this great Prophet, should not hinder us from disapproving the Blemishes that occur in his Life: otherwise we shall give occasion to Libertines to reproach us, and say, that, to determine an Action just, it is sufficient that it should be done by certain Persons we reverence. Nothing can be more prejudicial to Christian Morality. It is of great Importance to the true Religion, that the Lives of the Orthodox be judged by the general Notions of Justice and Order.

[E] Had he obtained his Desire, he would have fought against the *Israelites*.] Whilst *David*, with his little flying Camp, was employed in ravaging the Countries of the Infidels, wherever he could penetrate, the *Philistines* were preparing for War against the *Israelites*. They gathered all their Forces together. *David*, and his bold Adventurers, joined the Army of *Achish*, and would have fought like Lions against their Brethren, if the jealous *Philistines* had not obliged *Achish* to dismiss them. They were afraid that *David*, and his Men, in the Heat of Battle, would fall upon them, in order to make their Peace with *Saul*. When *David* understood that he must quit the Army because of these Suspensions, he was extremely concerned (13). He had a Mind, then, to contribute, with all his Might, to the Victory of the uncircumcised *Philistines* over his own Brethren, the People of God, the Professors of the true Religion. I leave it to nice Casuists to determine, whether or no these Sentiments became a true *Israelite*.

[F] His Reign was not disturbed, but by the wicked Attempts of his own Children.] The most remarkable of their wicked Attempts, was the Revolt of *Abshalom*, who forced this great Prince to fly from *Jerusalem* in a mournful Condition. He went with his Head covered, bare-footed, melting in Tears, and his Bars filled with the Lamentations of his faithful Subjects (14). *Abshalom* entered *Jerusalem* as in Triumph; and, that his Party might not abate of their Zeal, from a Notion that this Difference between Father and Son would be made up, he did one thing sufficient to make them believe he should never be reconciled to *David*. He lay with the ten Concubines of This Prince, in the sight of every body (15). It is very likely, this Crime would have been forgiven: the extreme Affliction, into which his Death threw *David*, is a Proof of it. *David* was the best Father that ever lived: his Indulgence to his Children was excessive, and he himself was the first that suffered for it. For, had he punished the infamous Action of his Son *Amnon*, as it deserved (16), he would not have had the Shame and Sorrow to see another revenge the Injury done to *Tamar*: and had he chastized, as he ought, the Person who revenged this Injury, he would not have run the hazard of being entirely dethroned. *David* had the Fate of

(13) And *David* did unto *Achish*, But what have I done? and what hast thou found in thy servant, so long as I have been with thee unto this day, that I may not go fight against the enemies of my Lord the King? 1 Sam. chap. xxix, ver. 8.

(14) 2 Sam. chap. xv.

(15) Ibid. chap. xvi.

(16) He revivified *Tamar*, and was killed for this Crime by the Order of *Abshalom*, who was *Tamar's* own Brother, both by Father and Mother. Ibid. chap. xiii.

(17) Ibid. chap.
xv, ver. 34, &c.

duced to the low Condition, in which *Samuel* found him. Humanly speaking, this Reverse of Fortune would have been unavoidable [G], if he had not found some Persons about his Son *Abshalom*, who acted the Part of Traitors (y). *David's* Piety is so conspicuous in his *Psalms*, and in many of his Actions, that we cannot sufficiently admire it. But there is another thing no less wonderful in his Conduct, viz. that he knew so happily how to reconcile so much Piety with the loose Maxims of the Art of Governing. It is generally believed, that his Adultery with *Bathsheba*, the Murder of *Uriah*, and the Numbering of the People, are the only Faults he can be charged with. But it is a great Mistake. There are many other things in his Life that deserve Censure [H]. He is a Sun of Holiness in the Church: he there diffuses, by his Writings, a fruitful Light of Con-

solation

of the most part of great Princes: he was unfortunate in his own Family. His eldest Son ravished his own Sister, and was killed by one of his Brothers for that Incest: the Author of this Fratricide lay with the Concubines of *David*. What Scandal is here given to pious Souls, to see so much Infamy in the Family of this King!

[G] He was very near being reduced to the Condition — in which *Samuel* found him — this reverse of Fortune was unavoidable. We may see by this Example, that there is no depending upon the Fidelity of the People; for, in short, *David* was both a great and good King. He was beloved, he was esteemed, and had all imaginable Zeal for the Religion of his Country. His Subjects, therefore, had reason to be satisfied, and if they had been to chuse a Prince, could they have wished him better qualified? Nevertheless, they were so unsteady in their Duty to *David*, that his Son *Abshalom*, in order to get himself declared King, needed only to make himself popular for some time, and keep some emissaries in each Tribe. This Maxim, *Casta est quam nemo rogavit*, — She is a chaste Woman that has never been solicited, may very well be applied to the People. The reason we do not see Princes oftener dethroned, is, because the People have not been solicited to revolt by Intrigues well enough managed. Nothing else is necessary: if the Prince be not wicked, it is they know how to make him pass for such, or for a Slave to wicked Counsel. Pretences are never wanting, and provided they be artfully supported, they pass for a just Reason, how weak soever they are in themselves.

[H] It is generally believed, that his Adultery, &c. are the only Faults he can be charged with. — There are many other things in his Life that deserve censure. I have already taken notice of some of them, which happened while he was a private Person: here are others which relate to the time of his Reign.

I. His Polygamy cannot well be excused: for, tho' God permitted it in those Days, we must not think one might stretch it very far, without indulging too much to Sensuality. *Michal*, the second Daughter of *Saul*, was *David's* first Wife: She was taken from him during his Disgrace (17): he married successively several others (18), and still continued to demand back the first. Before she could be restored to him, she must be forced from a Husband that loved her exceedingly, and who followed her as far as he could, crying like a Child (19). *David* did not scruple to match with a Daughter of an uncircumcised Prince (20): and tho' he had Children by several Wives, yet he took Concubines at *Jerusalem*. Undoubtedly, he chose the handsomest he could find: so we cannot say, with regard to the Pleasures of Love, that he took much pains to mortify Nature.

II. When he heard of *Saul's* Death, he bethought himself, without loss of Time, how to secure the Succession. He went to *Hebron*, and as soon as he arrived there, the whole Tribe of *Judah*, *abersuf* be had gained the chief Men by presents, owned him for King (21). If *Abner* had not preserved the rest of the Succession for the Son of *Saul*, doubtless, by the same Method, I mean the gaining the chief Men by presents, *David* would have been King of all *Israel*. But what happened after *Abner* by his Fidelity had kept eleven entire Tribes for *Ishbosheth*: the very same thing that would happen between two infidel and most ambitious Kings. *David* and *Ishbosheth*, made continual War upon each other (22), to see which of the two should get the other's Portion, in order to enjoy the whole Kingdom without Division. What I am going to say is much worse. *Abner*, displeased with the King his Master, contrives to strip him of his Dominions, and to deliver them up to *David*: He communicates his Design to *David*: He goes to him

himself to concert with him the means of bringing it about. *David* lends an Ear to this treacherous Villain, and is well pleased to get a Kingdom by Intrigues of this nature (23). Can it be said these are the Actions of a Saint? I own there is nothing in them but what is agreeable to the Maxims of Policy, and the Ways of human Prudence: but it can never be proved, that the strict Laws of Equity, and rigid Morals of a faithful Servant of God, can allow of this Conduct. It is to be observed, *David* did not pretend that the Son of *Saul* reigned by Usurpation; he granted he was a righteous Man (24), and consequently a lawful King.

III. I am of the same Mind, as to the Cunning *David* made use of, during *Abshalom's* Revolt. He would not suffer *Hushai*, one of his best Friends, to accompany him; he ordered him to go over to the Party of *Abshalom*, that he might give bad Counsels to this rebellious Son, and be able to inform *David* of all the Designs of the new King (25). This Cunning, without doubt, is very commendable, if we judge of things according to human Prudence, and the Policy of Princes. It saved *David*, and from that Age, even to our own inclusively, has produced a Multitude of Adventures, beneficial to some and destructive to others; but a rigid Casuist will never take this Cunning for an Action worthy of a Prophet, a Saint, a righteous Man. A good Man, as such, will rather lose a Crown, than be the Cause of his Friend's Damnation: now, it is to damn our Friend, as much as in us lies, to push him on to commit a Crime; and it is a crime to pretend, with Zeal, to espouse the Party of a man: to pretend it, I say, with a view to ruin that man, by giving him bad Counsels, and discovering all the Secrets of his Cabinet. Is it possible for one to act a more treacherous part than *Hushai* did? As soon as he perceives *Abshalom*, he cries out *God save the King, God save the King*; and when he was asked, how he came to be so ungrateful, as not to accompany his intimate Friend, he gives himself devout Airs, and alleges reasons of conscience, *His will I be*, says he, *whom the Lord hath chosen* (26).

IV. When *David*, by reason of old age, could not be warmed by all the cloaths they covered him with, it was thought proper to seek for a young virgin, who might take care of and lie with him. He suffered them to bring to him for this purpose, the most beautiful girl they could find (27). Now, can this be said to be the action of a very chaste man? Will a man who is filled with the Ideas of Purity, and intirely resolved to do what Order and good Morals require of him, ever consent to these remedies? Is it possible to consent to them without preferring the instincts of Nature, and the interests of the flesh to those of the Spirit of God?

V. *David* has been blamed long since, for having committed a flagrant piece of Injustice against *Mephibosheth*, the Son of his dear Friend *Jonathan*. The fact is, *David* no longer fearing the Faction of King *Saul*, was pleased to shew himself liberal to all those who might still remain of that Family. He heard, that a poor lame man called *Mephibosheth*, the Son of *Jonathan*, was yet alive; he sent for him, and gave him all the Land that had belonged to King *Saul*, and commanded *Ziba*, an old Servant of that Family, to improve it for him, and for the Maintenance of *Mephibosheth's* Son: as to *Mephibosheth* himself, he was to eat as long as he lived at King *David's* Table (28). When this Prince made his escape from *Jerusalem*, that he might not fall into the hands of *Abshalom*, he met *Ziba*, who brought him some Provisions, and told him in one word, that *Mephibosheth* staid at *Jerusalem*, in hopes of recovering the Kingdom amidst these Revolutions. Upon which, *David* gave him all that belonged to *Mephibosheth* (29). After the death of *Ab-*

(13) Ibid. chap.
iii.

(24) Ibid. chap.
iv, ver. 11.

(25) Ib. ch. xv.

(26) Ibid. chap.
xvi, ver. 18.

(27) 1 Kings,
chap. i.

(28) 2 Sam.,
chap. ix.

(29) Ib. ch. xvii
salom,

(17) 1 Sam.
chap. xxv, ver.
44.

(18) 2 Sam.
chap. iii, and v.

(19) Ibid. chap.
iii, ver. 16.

(20) Talmai,
King of Geshur.
Ibid. ver. 3.

(21) Histoire de
la Vie de David
par l'Abbé de
Cibisi, pag. 47.

(22) 2 Sam.
chap. iii, ver. 1.

folation and Piety, which cannot be enough admired; but that Sun had it's Spots, and even in his dying Words we find the Obliquities of Politics [1]. The Holy Scripture relates

salom, he found Ziba had been a false Accuser, and yet took from him but the half of what he had given him, and restored to Mephibosheth only the half of his Estate. Some Authors pretend that this Injustice, which was so much the greater as David had been infinitely obliged to Jonathan, was the reason God permitted Jeroboam to rend in two the Kingdom of Israel (30). But it is certain, the Sins of Solomon were the Cause that God permitted this Division (31). All the Interpreters have not left David without Apology. Some pretend, that Ziba's Accusation was not unjust, or at least it was grounded upon so much probability, that one might give credit to it without being guilty of a rash Judgment (32). But there are not many of this Opinion. Most of the Fathers and Moderns believe, that Ziba was a Slanderer, and that David suffered himself to be imposed on. The Opinion of Pope Gregory is to be taken particular notice of: he owns Mephibosheth was falsely accused, and yet pretends that the Sentence which deprived him of all his Estate was just. This he maintains for two Reasons: First, because David pronounced it; secondly, because a secret Judgment of God interposed in it. 'Non me latet, præter Interpretes in contrarium supra adductos, S. Gregorium contra Davidem stare lib. 1, Dialo. c. 4. Quamvis enim ait, latam a Davide contra innocentem Jonathan filium sententiam, quia per Davidem lata est, & occulto Dei judicio pronunciata, iustam credi, tamen disertè agnoscit Mephibosethum fuisse innocentem. Ex quo aperte sequitur sententiam Davidis non fuisse iustam. In quo cogimur S. Gregorio non adherere; cum competissimè sit Davidis sanctitas; nec eum postea facillè huiusmodi dispendium aliunde confect (33).—Besides the Interpreters above quoted for the contrary Opinion, I know St Gregory is against David l. 1. dialo. cap. 4. For tho' he says, the Sentence of David against the innocent Son of Jonathan is believed to be just, because it was passed by David, and pronounced by the secret Judgment of God, yet he expressly acknowledges that Mephibosheth was innocent. From whence it evidently follows, that the Sentence of David was not just. In which I am forced to differ from S. Gregory; since the Holiness of David is very well known, and it does not appear that he afterwards repaired this Injury. The Author I quote goes another way to work; since the Holiness of David, says he, is very well known, and since he never ordered that Satisfaction should be made for the wrong done to Mephibosheth, we must conclude the Sentence was just. This is to establish a very dangerous Principle: one would be no longer at liberty to examine by the Notions of Morality the Actions of the ancient Prophets, in order to condemn those which are not conformable thereto; and so, Libertines might accuse our Casuists of approving certain Actions, which are manifestly unjust: of approving them, I say, in favour of some Men, and thro' respect of Persons. Let us say rather, and apply to the Saints what has been said of great Wits, Nullum sine venia placuit ingenium. The greatest Saints have sometimes need of a Pardon.

VI. I shall say nothing of what Michal, one of David's Wives, reproached him with, in regard to the Figure he made when he danced in public. If he had uncovered his Nakedness, the Action might pass for an ill one, morally speaking; but if he only made himself contemptible by his Postures, and by not supporting the Dignity of his Character, it was at most but an imprudence, and not a crime. We must consider well upon what occasion he danced: it was when the Ark was brought up to Jerusalem (34); and consequently the excess of his Joy, and of his Capers, testified his Attachment and Sensibility for holy things. A modern Author has endeavoured to justify the Nakedness of Francis of Assise by that of David: Michal, David's wife, says he (35), having seen from a window her husband, who, being transported with an holy fervour, leaped and danced before the Ark of the Lord, despised him in her heart, and, rallying him, said, How glorious was the King of Israel to day, who uncovered himself in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself! These last words of the Holy Text seem to intimate that David stripped himself stark naked; however, as

the same text (ver. 14.), speaking of David's dance before the Ark, says he was girded with a linnen ephod, I do not think he was quite naked. But he uncovered himself so much, that he seemed to be naked, and that it was thought unbecoming the Gravity and Majesty of a King; especially as it was done publicly and before a great multitude. The action of David, attended with all these Circumstances, is not more justifiable than that of St Francis, who had very few Spectators (36): so that if the action of the one deserves censure, that of the other cannot be exempted from it; and indeed we read that Michal derided him for it. But let us see whether the Holy Spirit did so; and we shall judge by that whether we ought to ridicule the action of St Francis. Afterwards he relates the Answer David made to Michal, and what the Scripture observes concerning her Barrenness. A great many Ladies would deserve to be barren, if the having Michal's Tattle were a sufficient reason for it. It would be thought very strange all over Europe, if, upon a Day of Procession of the Holy Sacrament, Kings should dance in the Streets without any thing but a little Sash round the waist.

VII. The Conquests of David shall be the subject of my last Observation. There are some rigid Casuists, who do not think a Christian Prince can lawfully engage in a War, thro' a Desire only of aggrandizing himself. These Casuists approve of no Wars but those that are defensive, or in general such as tend only to restore to every one his own. At this rate, David had frequently undertaken unjust Wars: for, besides that the holy Scripture represents him pretty often as the Aggressor, we find he extended the bounds of his empire from Egypt to the Euphrates (37). That we may not then condemn David, it is better to say that Conquests may sometimes be permitted; and therefore we ought to take care, lest, in exclaiming against modern Princes, we should inadvertently asperse this great Prophet.

But if, generally speaking, the Conquests of this holy Monarch were glorious to him, without prejudice to his Justice, we can hardly agree they were so when we come to Particulars. Let us not by Conjectures rake into Secrets, which History has not revealed: Let us not conclude, that because David was pleased to make an Advantage of Abner's and Hushai's Treachery, therefore he practised all manner of Cunning against the infidel Princes, whom he subdued. Let us confine ourselves intirely to what the sacred History tells us of the way in which he treated the Conquered. And he brought forth the people that were in Rabbah (38), and put them under saws, and under barrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln: and thus he did unto all the cities of the children of Ammon (39). The Geneva Bible observes in the Margin of this Verse, that these were kinds of capital Punishments used in former times. Let us see how he treated the Moabites: He measured them with a line casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he, to put to death: and with one full line to keep alive (40). That is, he had a mind to put to death exactly two thirds, neither more nor less (41). Idumea met with rougher Usage; for there he ordered all the Males to be slain: six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom (42). Can one say, this way of making War is not to be condemned? Have not even the Turks and Tartars a little more Humanity? And if an infinite number of Pamphlets exclaim every day against the military Executions of our own time, which are indeed harsh, and much to be blamed, but gentle when compared with those of David, what would the Authors of these Pamphlets say, if they had the Saws, the Harrows, the Brick-kilns of David to complain of, and the general Massacre of all Males, old and young?

[1] And even in his dying Words we find the obliquities of Politics. Understand me right: I do not mean that David in this condition did not speak according to his Mind: but that the plain and free manner, in which he opened his Heart, shews he had formerly, upon two remarkable Occasions, sacrificed Justice to Interest. He knew very well Joab deserved Death, and to let the Murders, whereof he had been guilty, go unpunished,

(30) Id gravis peccati iniquitatis erga innoxium Mephibosethum, damnant Abulenſis 2 Reg. 16, q. 6, &c. 10, q. 20, & Richelins, ac Cajetanus ibi: nec non Salianus anno mundi 3010, à n. 21. & alii plerique antea, ut Lyranus Hugo, Rabanus, alique quibus ob hanc iniquitatem in Mephibosethum, nexa cum infidelitate magna & ingratitude in Jonathan ejus patrem, vium est scissum esse sub Roboano Dividis regnum. Et ita v. detur alteri apud Hieronymum in Tradit. Hebr. ad lib. 2, Reg. cap. 19. Theoph. Raynaudus, Hist. lib. 2, Sect. 2, Serie, 2, cap. x, pag. m. 231.

(31) 1 Kings, chap. xi, ver. 11.

(32) Vide Petrum Joannem Olivii apud Th. Raynaud. Hist. lib. 2, chap. 3, pag. 523, & apud Raynaud. pag. 232.

(33) Theoph. Raynaud. pag. 232.

(34) 2 Sam. chap. vi.

(35) Ferrand, Reponſe à l'Apologie pour la Reformation, pag. 364, 365.

(36) Francis of Assise being brought by his Father to the Bishop to renounce his Patrimony, and give up every thing he had, he delivered to his Father his very Cloaths, and stripped himself stark naked before the Company. The Bishop rose from his Seat, and covered him with his Cloak. Bonaventure, Life of St Francis, quoted by Ferrand, Reponſe à l'Apologie pour la Reformation, pag. 363, 364.

(37) L'Abbé de Choſi, Histoire de la Vie de David, pag. 64.

(38) This was the chief City of the Ammonites.

(39) 2 Sam. ch. xii, ver. 31.

(40) Ibid. chap. viii, ver. 2.

(41) See the Note of the Geneva Bible.

(42) 1 Kings, chap. xi, ver. 15.

(20) See Remark
[1] towards the
end.

lates them only historically, and therefore every one is at liberty to pass a Judgment upon them (2). Let us conclude with saying, that the History of *David* may comfort many crowned Heads against the Alarms, which rigid Casuists may give them, in maintaining, that it is hardly possible for a King to be saved. The Life of that great Prince, published by the Abbot *de Choisi*, is a good Book, and would be much more useful, if he had taken the Pains to set down in the Margin the Year of each Fact, and the Places of the Bible, or *Josephus*, upon which he grounds his Assertions. A Reader would be glad to know, whether what he reads flows from a sacred or prophane Source. I shall not observe many Faults in *Moreri* [K]. The

Article

(43) 1 Kings,
chap. ii, ver. 6.

(44) 2 Sam.
chap. xvi, ver.
5, &c.

(45) Ibid. chap.
xii, ver. 19, &c.

(46) 1 Kings,
chap. ii, ver. 9.

(47) 1 Sam.
ch. xxii, ver. 2.

(48) The Words
of Shimei, ac-
cording to the
Scripture, are
these: Come out,
thou bloody man,
and thou man of Re-
bel: the Lord
hath returned
upon thee all the
Blood of the
House of Saul,
in whose stead
thou hast reigned,
and the
Lord hath deliv-
ered the king-
dom into the
hands of Abi-
sai thy son, and
behold thou art
taken in thy
mischief, because
thou art a bloody
man. 2 Sam.
chap. xvi, ver.
7, 8.

(49) Antiq. lib.
7, chap. 8, pag.
220.

was a manifest injustice against Law and Reason. Nevertheless, *Joab* had kept his Posts, his Credit, and Authority. He was a brave Man; he served the King his Master faithfully, and to good purpose: and there was reason to fear some mutiny, if they had attempted to punish him. These were political Reasons, which made the Laws give place to Advantage. But, when *David* had no further Occasion for this General, he ordered him to be put to Death: This was one of the Articles of his last Will (43). *Solomon* his Successor was charged with the like order against *Shimei*. This Man, knowing *David* had made his escape from *Jerusalem* in great disorder, upon the account of *Abisai*'s Revolt, came to insult him by the way, and used reproaches yet harder than the Stones he threw at him (44). *David* bore this injury very patiently; he acknowledged and adored the Hand of God in it, with marks of singular Piety; and when his Affairs were re-established, he pardoned *Shimei*, who was one of the first that came to submit themselves, and implore his Mercy (45). *David* swore to him he would not put him to Death, and kept his Word to his Death-bed; but finding himself in this condition, he gave a charge to his Son to kill him (46); a plain Proof that he suffered him to live only to get himself at first the Name of a merciful Prince, and afterwards to avoid being reproached to his Face for having broken his promise. I should be glad to know, whether, in strictness of Speech, a Man, who promises Life to his Enemy, performs his promise, when by his last Will he orders him to be put to Death.

From what I have said, in this and the foregoing Remarks, it may be easily inferred, that if the *Syrians* had been such Libel-Makers, as the *Europeans* are now a-days, they would have strangely disfigured the glory of *David*. With what Epithets, with what infamous Names would they have branded that Troop of Banditti, that came to join him, after he retired from the Court of *Saul*? The Scripture informs us, that all those who were persecuted by their Creditors, all Malecontents, and all those who were in Distress, gathered themselves unto him, and he became their Captain (47). Nothing can be liable to a worse Construction than this. The Historians of *Catiline* and *Cæsar* would furnish Colours enough for a satirical Picture. History has preserved a small Specimen of the reproaches, to which *David* was exposed among *Saul*'s Friends. This Specimen shews they accused him of being a Man of Blood, and that they considered the revolt of *Abisai*, as a just Punishment for the Mischief, which they said he had done to *Saul*, and to all his House. I put the Words of Scripture in the Margin (48): and here follow those of *Josephus* (49): *Δαβὶδ δὲ γενομένην κατὰ χάρεμον ἔτα καλέμενον τόπον ἐπέρχεται τῷ Σαύλ συγγενὸς ὄνομα Σεμεὶ - - - καὶ λίθοις τε ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκακῶν ἔβρι. φίλων καὶ σκεπτόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον βλασφημιῶν διεβίβλει, μισαφόνων καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχηγῶν κακῶν ἀποκαλῶν ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὡς ἐναρξῆ καὶ ἐπάρξων ἐξείναι, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογεῖ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἀρελομένην, καὶ διὰ παιδὸς ἰδὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμαρτὴν εἰς διασπέρην δίκην αὐτῷ εἰσπεσέμεν. Davidi verò juxta locum Bachoram supervenit cognatus Sauli nomine Semeis . . . faxis eum simul & convitiis impetens, cumque amici eum protegerent, magis etiam exasperatus ad convitia sanguinarium & multorum malorum causam appellabat, jubens ut impurus ac execrabilis regione excederet; gratiaque agebat Deo quod per proprium filium poenam peccatorum ab illo exigeret, & eorum quæ olim in dominum suum commiserat. — But a *Kinsman* of *Saul*, whose Name was *Shimei*, came out upon *David* near *Bahurim*, . . . falling upon him at once with Stones and Curses; and as his Friends protested him, the more he reviled him, calling him a bloody Man, and the Author of much*

mischief, and thanked GOD for taking the Kingdom from him, and for making his own Son the Instrument of his Punishment, because of those things he had done against his Master. But they exaggerated Matters: It is true, *David* according to the Testimony of God himself was a Man of Blood; and therefore God would not permit him to build the Temple (50). It is true likewise, that, to pacify the *Gibeonites*, he delivered to them two Sons, and five Grandsons of *Saul*, who were all seven hanged (51). But it is false, that he ever made an attempt, either upon the Life or the Crown of *Saul*.

Those, who shall think it strange that I speak my Mind about some Actions of *David*, compared with natural Morality, are desired to consider three Things: I. They themselves are obliged to own, that the conduct of this Prince towards *Uriah*, is one of the greatest Crimes which can be committed. There is then only a difference of more to less between them and me: For, I agree with them, that the other Faults of this Prophet did not hinder his being filled with Piety, and a great Zeal for the glory of God. He was subject alternately to Passions and Grace. This is a Misfortune attending our Nature since the Fall of *Adam*. The Grace of God very often directed him: but on several Occasions Passion got the better: Policy silenced Religion. II. It is very allowable for private Persons, like me, to judge of Facts contained in Scripture, when they are not expressly characterized by the holy Spirit. If the Scripture in relating an Action condemns or praises it, none can appeal from this judgment: every one ought to regulate his Approbation or Censure upon the Model of Scripture. I have not acted contrary to this Rule: the Facts, upon which I have advanced my humble Opinion, are related in the holy Scripture, without any mark of Approbation affixed by the Spirit of God (52). III. It would be doing an injury to the Eternal Laws, and consequently to the true Religion, to give Libertines Occasion to object, that when a Man has been once inspired by God, we look upon his Conduct as the Rule of Manners; so that we should not dare to condemn the Actions of People, though most opposite to the notions of Equity, when such an one has done them. There is no Medium in this Case; either these Actions are not good, or Actions like them are not evil; now, since we must chuse either the one or the other, is it not better to take care of the Interests of Morality, than the glory of a private Person? Otherwise, will it not be evident, that one chuses rather to expose the Honour of God than that of a mortal Man?

[K] I shall not observe many Faults in *Moreri*. Only five.

I. *David* was Twenty two Years of Age, when *Samuel* anointed him with the Oil designed for the Consecration of Kings. This is inconsistent with what follows, and with what goes before. That Author had been saying that *David* was born in the Year of the World 2950; and a little while after he tells us, that *David* conquered *Goliath* in the Year of the World 2971. It is plain, that the Victory over *Goliath* was obtained after the Anointing of *David*; whereas, according to *Moreri*, the Ceremony of the Uncction was not performed till a Year after that Victory. To mend this Fault, it must be said, that *David* received the Uncction at twenty Years of Age (53). The rest needs no correction; for it is true that *David* conquered *Goliath* the Year after his Uncction.

II. It is not true that *Saul* renewed his Persecution against *David*, when the latter had twice obtained from doing him the least Harm, having the most favourable Opportunity in the World for it. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture, in order to aggravate *Saul*'s Crime, does not observe that he soon repented of his Reconciliation with *David*, and that he made himself guilty of a black Ingratitude. In the

(50) 1 Chron.
chap. xxii, ver.
8, and ch. xxviii,
ver. 3.

(51) 2 Sam.
chap. xxi, ver. 6.

A N important
Advice upon
what has been
said above.

(52) I have ob-
served, the Scrip-
ture informs us,
that *David* con-
fessed and fol-
lowed the Orders
of God, whom
he was to repel
the Aggressors,
1 Sam. chap.
xxiii and xxx;
but that he did
not consult God,
when he in-
tended to destroy
Nabal, nor
when he was go-
ing to destroy
the Neighbours
of King *Achish*,
and made him
believe he rava-
ged the Domi-
nions of *Saul*:
This is a Sign
God did not ap-
prove such kind
of Actions.

(53) According
to *Calvisius*, he
was born in the
Year of the
World 2860,
and anointed
by *Samuel* in the
Year of the
World 2880, and
he killed *Goliath*
the Year after.

Twenty

Article of *David*, which I have just read in the Dictionary of the Bible, will supply me with Matter enough for a Remark [L]. I forgot to observe, that *David* ought not to be

Twenty fourth Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, he is informed, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in a Cave, would do him no kind of Harm: he admires that Generosity; he desires God to reward it; he acknowledges that the Crown is designed for *David*; he recommends his Family to him, and returns to his House. In the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book, he hears, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in the Night in his Tent, goes away without doing him any harm; he admires that Generosity; he gives *David* his Blessing; he foretells him all manner of Prosperity, and goes Home. *Moreri* pretends that these two things, so like one another, happened in one Year. I repeat it again. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture does not make use of the first of those two Facts, to make *Saul's* Obstinacy in persecuting his Son-in-law more odious. Two or three lines would have had a great effect: The Reader would have been shocked to see that *Saul*, indebted to his Son-in-law for his Life, praises him, admires him, gives him a thousand Blessings, and yet a little while after pursues him to destroy him. Doubtless the Laws of a Narration require, that, in speaking of this new Pursuit, it should be observed, that it was a Violation of that solemn Agreement that followed the Adventure of the Cave; and yet there is not one title in the Scripture concerning that Circumstance. Here are other Subjects of surprise. *David*, representing to *Saul* that he did not deserve the Persecution he suffered, and that he could have killed him in his Tent, did not represent that it was the second time he had the King's Life in his Hands, and that the King had soon forgot what had happened in the Cave. *Saul* on his part, who owns himself in the wrong, and who speaks to *David* in most obliging Terms, does not observe that it is the second time that he owes his Life to him. It must be confessed that such Circumstances do not use to be forgotten. Moreover we see that, in the first of those two Adventures, *David* and *Saul* use almost the same Words as in the second. If I saw two Narratives of this Nature either in *Ælian*, or in *Valerius Maximus*, I should make no difficulty to believe that it is one and the same Fact, which having been reported two different ways, served for the Subject of two Articles, or of two Chapters. The Fact would be this: *David*, having *Saul's* Life in his Hands, who was his cruel Persecutor, did carefully preserve it. The two ways of relating it, would be, I. That *Saul*, being obliged by a natural necessity to go aside from his Men, went into a Cave where *David* was. II. That *David* slipped in the Night into *Saul's* Tent, the Guards being in a deep Sleep. I leave it to Father *Simon*, and the Critics of his Rank, to examine whether it be possible, that the Historical Books of the Old Testament should relate the same thing twice. It seems to me that the Action of the *Ziphites*, related in the Twenty third Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, is not different from that which is related in the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book. Whoever goes about to compare those two Accounts, will doubtless be of my Opinion. What is very certain, is, that *Saul* did not persecute *David* after the second Reconciliation. This is *Moreri's* second Fault.

The III^d consists in his saying, that *David* was so well received by Achish, King of Gath, that his new Favour was like to make the *Grandeess* rebel. There is not one Word of Truth in all this, and I see nothing that might occasion that Falsity, but the Suspicions that were entertained of *David*, when they saw him with his Men in the Rear of the Army of the *Philistines*. The Commanders would absolutely have had him return into the City that was given him (54). There was a great Difference between those Commanders, and the *Grandeess* of the King of Gath's Court.

IV. The pretended Discontent of the *Grandeess* did not oblige *David* to retire from that Court. But he retired out of Respect: he feared that he and his Men should incommode the Prince by their Abode in the chief City: therefore he desired Achish to assign him another Place to live in, which was granted him. This happened before the Commanders of the *Philistines* required that *David* should march out of their Camp.

V. *Moreri* should not have said, that *David* returned to Ziklag, since he had not said that he had already sojourned there.

[L] The Article of DAVID in the Dictionary of the Bible will supply me with Matter for a Remark.] The Printers were come thus far, when a Dictionary was shewed me (55), which I consulted immediately at the Article of the Prophet *David*, and I find some Passages in it that give me occasion to make the following Observations. I. It is not true that *David* was born One hundred and ten Years before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST: there is above One thousand Years (56) between the Birth of the one and the Birth of the other. II. He ought not to have suppressed the Incursions made by *David* on the Allies of his Patron, nor the Lye he made use of, in persuading King Achish, that he made them on the Lands of the *Israelites*. Neither ought he to have suppressed the unjust War he made on That People: he put to the Sword both Men and Women. It is not allowable, in a Dictionary, to imitate the Panegyricists, who take only the fair side of a Character: The Author should act the Historian; he should relate both the Good and the Bad; it is what the Scripture has done. III. One cannot then approve the Affectation, which appears here, of saying nothing of *David's* Artifices, both against *Ishbosheth*, and against *Absalom*, and of mentioning only the Wars, in which *David* was first attacked. Should not some notice have been taken of Those, in which the Scripture represents him as the Aggressor, and of the astonishing Severity with which he treated the Vanquished? IV. The Author does worse than suppress; he supposes, without the Authority of the Scripture, that the Syrians, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the other neighbouring People, attacked *David*. The sacred History plainly intimates, that they only endeavoured to defend themselves, in which they failed of Success (57). V. He supposes likewise, with as little Foundation in the Scripture, that this Prince married the young Girl, who was brought to him, to endeavour to keep him warm. I could excuse him this, without injuring what I have said concerning this fine Method of reviving the natural Heat. The least rigid of our modern Casuists, I believe, would not judge it fit that an old Man, utterly incapable of consummating the Marriage, should wed a young Girl, with the sole view of warming his Feet and Hands by her Side. Without doubt, they would think him guilty of a Sin, and that he would cause his Comfort to sin likewise. VI. The Author strives to remove the Difficulty that is obvious to all Readers, when they consider that *Saul* did not know *David* on the Day that *Goliath* was killed; I say he strives to remove it, and intangles himself more than he should; for he says in one place (58), that *David*, being seventeen Years of Age, went to play on the Harp before *Saul*; and, in another (59), he gives him but fourteen or fifteen Years, and the Stature of a very little Boy. A little after, going about to refute those who say, that the Fight with *Goliath* preceded the playing on the Harp, he raises a specious Objection against himself, grounded on this, viz. That those who proposed *David* as a fit Person to drive away, with his Music, the evil spirit that afflicted *Saul*, gave him the Character of a valiant Man and a good Warrior (60). I answer, says he, that it ought not to be concluded from these two words, Fortissimum & Bellicosum, that the Fight was before the playing on the Harp, since the Name of strong may be given to any one that is truly so according to his Age. Is it not a sign of great Strength to pursue Bears and Lions, and to fight with and choke them? This Answer supposes that *David* being, as yet very little, and a Youth of fourteen or fifteen Years of Age, fought with Lions, took them running, and strangled them, and might be called a strong Man, a Warrior, and a Man that spoke well. This Difficulty is great enough to deserve to be solved; how comes it then that our Author does not seem to have the least glimpse of it? Notwithstanding his Silence, the discerning Readers will easily perceive, that since *David* fought with *Goliath* at the Age of twenty one Years (61), he must have been near twenty Years of Age the first time he went to *Saul's* Court. And thus the Reason

(55) It is the Dictionary of the Bible compiled by Mr Simon, Priest, and Doctor of Divinity, and printed at Lyons, 1693, in folio.

(56) 1090, according to Calvin.

(57) 1 Kings, chap. i.

(58) Pag. 249.

(59) Pag. 259.

(60) Et respondens unus de pueris ait, ecce vidi filium Isai Bethleemitem scientem pugnare, & fortissimum robore, virum bellicosum, &c. Ibid. pag. 249.

(61) It is the Supposition of the Author of the Dictionary of the Bible, pag. 249.

OBSERVATIONS upon a Narration in the Books of *Samuel*.

(54) 1 Sam. chap. 29.

be blamed for excluding his eldest Son from the Succession [M].

(61) He quotes the Author of the History of the Bible, who reckons eight Years between the first and the second time that Saul saw David, and who supposes that David was but fifteen Years of Age the first time.

Reason that our Author gives for the best, why Saul did not know David the Day he fought with Goliath, is insignificant (61). That Reason is, that a little Boy alters so much in his Face in seven Years time, that those who do not see him till after an Absence of seven Years do not know him again. This is not David's Case, and therefore some other Reasons must be alleged. The Author mentions those which several Commentators have imagined. If they do not fully satisfy those, whom it is no easy thing to satisfy, it must be ascribed to the nature of the Question. VII. The Author forgets the strongest Proof, that can be alleged, against those who will have it that David was not sent for to drive away the evil Spirit from Saul, till after his Fight with Goliath. He does not say that they confound the Order in which things are related in the Scripture; he does not say that Saul's Servant, who praised David for being strong, valiant, eloquent, and handsome, did not speak of the Victory obtained over Goliath. Now it is impossible to apprehend that those, who had a mind to recommend him to the King after that Combat, should have been so stupid as not to tell the Prince, in a Word, *That same young Man, who killed Goliath, plays well upon Instruments, and he will cure you.*

For fear of being too long, I shall not examine whether the Author has wanted Exactness in the rest of the Article. He has avoided the Inconveniency which I have observed in the Abbot de Cboisi; for he sets down the Years wherein David did such and such things.

[M] He ought not to be blamed for excluding his eldest Son. David left his Kingdom to Solomon, in prejudice of the Right of Primogeniture; a right, which in hereditary Crowns ought to be inviolably preserved, unless we would open a Door to a thousand Civil-Wars. Nevertheless, David had very good Reasons to set aside this Right, since Adonijah his eldest Son had been so

impatient to reign, that he mounted the Throne before David's Breath was out of his Body (62). This good Father durst not shew his resentment against an Impatience, which in reality differed nothing from Ufurpation: he had always been very indulgent to his Children; and his almost decrepit age was not very proper to correct the easiness which accompanies tender Hearts; but Solomon's Mother, incited and directed by a Prophet (63), whom Adonijah had not invited to a Royal Festival (64), frustrated the Design: she and the Prophet obliged David to declare himself in favour of Solomon, and to give all necessary Orders for the Inauguration of this young Prince. Adonijah thought he was undone, and fled for Refuge to the horns of the Altar; but Solomon assured him he would do him no hurt, provided he behaved himself well (65). However, he caused him to be put to Death, for a Reason that seems frivolous enough: I mean because Adonijah had asked in Marriage the Shunamite, who had served to cherish David (66). This confirms what I said before, that this Royal Prophet was unfortunate in his Children. They had no natural affection, neither to him, nor one another. Here the wisest of them all sheds the Blood of his eldest Brother for a trifle: for, we must not imagine he would have put him to Death because of the Irregularity of his Love. All the Sons of David should have looked on the Shunamite as forbidden Fruit. Her Virginity had belonged to their Father; and he would actually have taken Possession of it, had he been able. Adonijah was therefore to blame to cast his Eyes upon this Girl; but it was not for this Reason his Brother killed him: it was because his demand roused the Jealousy of Solomon, and made him fear, that by the frequent practice of asking favours, he would soon bethink himself to make the best of his Birthright (67). A policy, in some respects, like that of the Ottomans, made him lose his Life.

(62) 1 Kings, chap. i.

(63) By the Prophet Nathan.

(64) 1 Kings, chap. i, ver. 10, and 26.

(65) Ibid, ver. 51, 52.

(66) Ib. chap. 14.

(67) 1 Kings, chap. ii, ver. 22.

Some EXCEPTIONS having been made by the Consistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam to the preceeding Article of DAVID, as it was drawn up in the first Edition of this Dictionary; Mr BAYLE, in compliance to the Desire of the Consistory, left out, in the second Edition, what he conceived had been disagreeable, and printed it in the following manner. (We have inserted both, as the same has been done in the subsequent Editions: viz. at Geneva 1715, Rotterdam 1720, Amsterdam 1730, and in France 1734.)

DAVID, King of the Jews, was one of the greatest Men in the World, even tho' we should not consider him as a Royal Prophet, who was after God's own Heart. The first time that the Scripture makes him appear on the Stage of the World (a), is to inform us that Samuel appointed him King, and performed the Ceremony of anointing him. David was then but a meer Shepherd. He was the youngest of the eight Sons of Jesse the Bethlehemite [A]. Afterwards the Scripture tells us, that he was sent to King

(a) 1 Sam. xvi, 13.

[A] He was the youngest of the Sons of Jesse the Bethlehemite. Jesse descended in a direct Line from Judah, one of the twelve Sons of Jacob, and dwelt at Bethlehem, a small City of the Tribe of Judah. Some Modern Rabbins say, that, when David was conceived, his Father Jesse did not think that he lay with his Wife, but with his Servant Maid, and thereby explain the seventh verse of the Fifty first Psalm, wherein David affirms, that he was *shapen in Iniquity, and that his Mother conceived him in Sin*. This, say they, signifies that his Father Jesse committed an Adultery in begetting him, because, though he begot him on his Wife, he believed that he begot him on his Servant Maid, upon whose Chastity he had made an Attempt (1). This Explication does not well agree with the Doctrine of Original Sin, and for that reason Father Barleacci (2), having mentioned that Opinion of the Modern Rabbins, thought himself obliged to examine whether the ancient Jews acknowledged the Truth of that Doctrine. If the Supposition of those Rabbins was true, they would be in the right to say, that Jesse had committed Adultery; but on the other side it must be said, that he would not have been guilty of it, if, sincerely believing that he was enjoying his Wife, he had got his Servant Maid with Child. This Rabbi-

nical Supposition is very different from the Tradition mentioned by St Jerom. He says, that it was believed that Jesse, the Father of David, did never commit any actual Sin, and that there was no kind of Uncleaness in him but what he brought from his Mother's Womb. 'Mirum est quod de Isai patre Davidis refert Hieronymus, illum nunquam aliud peccatum commisisse quam quod ex origine contraxit. Quo enim loco legimus: *Amasa filius Jesse ingressus est ad Abigail filiam Naas sororem Sarviae*; sic Hieronymus 4, Naas interpretatur coluber, quia eum nullum admisisse mortiferum peribent peccatum, nisi quod originaliter de serpente antiquo contraxit. Est autem Naas qui & Isai pater David. Eandem traditionem refert Abulenensis 1, & monet Naas eundem esse qui & Jesse filius Isai patrem Davidis, quod quidem & antea Liranus 2 docuerat (3). — St Jerom relates something very singular of Jesse, Father of David, that he never was guilty of any Sin, except that which is called Original. For when we read, that Amasa went in to Abigail, the Daughter of Nabash, Sister to Zeruiab; 'Tunc St Jerom interpretis it: Nabash signifies a Serpent; for it is said, that he never committed any deadly Sin, but what he originally contracted from the old Serpent, and Nabash is the same with Jesse David'

† Lib. II, Reg. 17, 25.

† Hieron. Trad. Heb. in lib. 2. Reg. cap. 17.

† Tostat. 2. Reg. 17, Quest. 27.

* Liran. ibid.

(3) They are Father Camar's Words, pag. 126, 127, de rebena gestis Eliae.

(1) See the Journal des Savans, July 14, 1692, pag. 465, Dutch Edit.

(2) In Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica, Part. II, pag. 4, and Journal des Savans, ibid.

- (b) *Ibid.* ver. 20. King Saul (b), to cure him of his Fits of Frenzy, by the Sound of his Musical Instruments [B]. A Service of that Importance made him so much beloved by Saul, that he kept him in his House, and made him his Armour-Bearer (c). The Scripture says afterwards (d), that David used to go home from time to time to take care of his Father's Flocks, and that his Father sent him one Day to Saul's Camp, with some Provisions for three of his Sons that were in the Army. David, performing that Order, heard the Challenge that a Philistine, called Goliath, proud of his Strength and gigantic Stature, made daily to the Israelites, which none among them durst to accept. He expressed his great Desire to fight that Giant; whereupon he was brought to the King, and assured him that he should triumph over That Philistine. Saul gave him his Armour; but David, finding it troublesome, put it off, and resolved to make use only of his Sling; which he did so happily, that he brought down that Swaggerer with a Stone (e), and killed him afterwards with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to Saul [C]. That Prince asked his General, when he saw David go against Goliath, *Whose Son is this Youth* (f) [D]? The General answered, that he did not know, and received Orders from Saul to enquire about it: but Saul heard it himself from that young Man; for, being brought to him after the Victory, he asked him, *Whose Son art thou?* and David answered him, that he was the Son of Jesse (g). Then Saul kept him in his Service, without suffering him to return to his Father (h). But because the Songs, that were sung in all the Cities, on the Defeat of the Philistines, ascribed ten times more Glory to David than to Saul (i), the King conceived a violent Jealousy, which increased daily, because the Employments, that he gave to David to keep him from Court, served only to make him more illustrious, and to procure him the Affection and Admiration of the Jews. By a false Policy he would make him his Son-in-law: he was in hopes that the Condition, on which he was to give him his second Daughter, would deliver him from that Object of his Aversion; but he was deceived in his Cunning. He asked an hundred Forekins of the Philistines for his Daughter's Dowry; David brought him two hundred in full tale (k): So that, instead of perishing in the Enterprize, as Saul hoped, he returned with a new Addition of Glory. He married Saul's Daughter, whereby he became

* David's Father. Abulenfis relates the same Tradition, and observes, that Nabab was the same with Isai or Jesse * David's Father; which Liranus had already observed. For the rest, those, who would adopt the Impertinence of the Rabbins concerning David's Conception, might easily admit another impertinent thing, which would be to place David in the number of illustrious Bastards. The Physical Reason, that is alleged, why Bastards are born so often with such great Natural Talents, might take place here on the Father's Part.

(a) That Book is entitled, *Precetti da esser imparati dalle donne*. See above, Rem. [A] of the Article ARODON.

(c) *Precetti da esser imparati, cap. 100, pag. 67.*

(f) Ancora che Hai non lo facesti con buona volontà dubitando che si pubblicasse sua vergogna. *Ibid.* pag. 68.

buono perché essendo la patrona vecchia, e la massera giovane, havea desiderio di haver altri figliuoli (7). A fine Apology this! If such Excuses would do, what a multitude of leud Women would be secured from Censure! Was there ever any Doctrine about the direction of the Intention more convenient than this?

[B] He was sent to King Saul to cure him of his Fits of Frenzy, by the sound of his Musical Instruments. Many things might be said on this Subject; but I refer you to the Collection of Caspar Læschnerus, Professor of Divinity at Wittenberg. Consult his *Dissertatio Historico-Theologica de Saule per Musicam Curato*. It was printed at Wittenberg in the Year 1688.

[C] He killed Goliath with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to Saul. Goliath's Weapons were preserved as a Monument of the Glory of the Israelites. David carried them first into his Tent (8); but it is likely they were afterwards in a consecrated Place; for we read (9) that David, having asked the Priest Abimelech whether he had not a Spear or Sword for him, that Priest answered him: *the Sword of Goliath is here wrapped up in a Cloth behind the Ephod; if thou wilt take that, take it*. David caused it to be given him. As for the Head of Goliath, it was carried to Jerusalem (10), when David had chosen that City for the Capital of his Kingdom. Josephus says positively, that David himself consecrated Goliath's Sword to God (11).

[D] Saul asked his General — *whose Son is this Youth?* It is somewhat strange that Saul did not know David that Day, since that young Man had plaid several times on his Musical Instruments before him, to disperse those black Vapours that molested him. If such a Narrative as this should be found in *Thucydides*, or in *Livy*, all the Critics would unanimously conclude, that the Transcribers had transposed the Pages, forgot something in one Place, repeated something in another, or inserted some preposterous Additions in the Author's Work. But no such Suspicions ought to be entertained of the Bible. Nevertheless some have been so bold as to pretend, that all the Chapters, or all the Verses of the first Book of Samuel, are not placed as they were at first. It seems to me that the Abbot de Choisy removes the Difficulty much better. 'David was brought before Saul, says he (12), who did not know him at first, though he had seen him several times, when he sent for him to play on the Harp: but as this was many Years before, and David was very young, and came to Court in the Quality of a Musician, and was then dressed like a Shepherd, it can be no wonder

(7) *Ib.* pag. 69.

(8) 1 Sam. xii, 54.

(9) *Ibid.* chap. xxi, ver. 8, 9.

(10) *Ibid.* cap. xvii, ver. 54.

(11) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 6, cap. 11, & 14.

(12) Choisy, *Histoire de la Vie de David*, pag. 8, 9, Dutch Edit. 1692.

- (l) Ibid. ver. 29. became still more formidable to the King (l): all his Expeditions against the *Philistines* were very prosperous; his Name grew famous; he was in very great Esteem (m); in-
 (m) Ibid. ver. 30. much that *Saul*, who knew his Son-in-law's Virtue much less, than the Humour of the People, imagined that the Death of *David* was the only thing that could secure him from being dethroned. He resolved then to be rid of him, and trusted his eldest Son with that Design, who, far from siding with his Father's Jealousy, gave *David* notice of that black Conspiracy (n). *David* fled, and was pursued from Place to Place, till he had given undeniable Proofs of his Probity and Fidelity to his Father-in-law, to whom he did no manner of harm on two favourable Opportunities (o), wherein he might easily have killed him; upon which *Saul* resolved to let him alone. But as *David* feared this Prince might resume his wicked Designs, he still kept upon his Guard. Nay, he provided himself a safer Place of Refuge, than before, in the Land of the *Philistines* (p). He asked of the King of *Gath* a Town to dwell in, from whence he made frequent Incur- sions into the Countries round about. After the Death of *Saul*, he returned into *Judea*, and was there proclaimed King by the Tribe of *Judab* (q). Nevertheless, the other Tribes submitted to *Ishboseth*, the Son of *Saul*, which was effected by *Abner's* Fidelity (r).
 (n) Ibid. chap. xix, ver. 1, 2.
 (o) Ibid. chap. xxiv, and xxvi.
 (p) Ibid. chap. xxvii.
 (q) 2 Sam. chap. ii, ver. 4.
 (r) Ibid. ver. 8. *Abner*, who had been General of the Army under King *Saul*, placed *Ishboseth* upon the Throne, and supported him on it against the Attempts of *David*: but being full of Resentment, because *Ishboseth* reproved him for having taken one of *Saul's* Concu- bines (s), he entered into a Treaty with *David* to procure him the Kingdom of *Ishboseth*. The Negotiation would have been soon concluded, to the Satisfaction of *David*, if *Joab* (t), to revenge a private Quarrel, had not killed *Abner*. The Death of *Abner* only hastened the Ruin of the unfortunate *Ishboseth*. Two of his chief Captains slew him, and brought his Head to *David*, who, far from rewarding them for it, as they expected, ordered them both to be put to death (u). The Subjects of *Ishboseth* quickly submitted them- selves to *David*. This Prince had reigned seven Years and a half over the Tribe of *Judab*: afterwards he reigned about thirty Years over all *Israel* (x). This long Reign was remarkable for great Success, and glorious Conquests. It was not much disturbed but by the wicked Attempts of this Prince's own Children [E]. These are commonly the Enemies which Sovereigns have most reason to fear. *David* was very near being re- duced to the low Condition, in which *Samuel* found him. Humanly speaking, this Re- verse of Fortune would have been unavoidable [F], if he had not found some Persons about his Son *Abshalom*, who acted the Part of Traitors (y). *David's* Piety is so conspicuous in his *Psalms*, and in many of his Actions, that we cannot sufficiently admire it. He is a Sun of Holiness in the Church: he there diffuses, by his Writings, a fruitful Light of Con- solation and Piety, which cannot be enough admired; but that Sun had it's Spots [G]. The Life of that great Prince, published by the Abbot de *Cboiss*, is a good Book, and would be much more useful, if he had taken the Pains to set down in the Margin the Year of

'wonder that a King, full of Business, and whose Mind was disordered, should forget the Features of a young Man's Face, who had nothing considerable in him.' I only wish he had not said, I. That *Saul* had not seen *David* for many Years. II. That *David* was very young when he came to *Saul's* Court in the Quality of a Musician. There is no likelihood that he was much younger when he killed *Goliath*, than when he came the first time to *Saul's* Court; for when he made his first Journey, he was a mighty valiant Man, and a Man of War, and prudent in Matters (13); he was but Thirty Years of Age, when he was elected King after the Death of *Saul*; and there must be neces- sarily an Interval of many Years between the Death of *Goliath*, and that of *Saul*. See the Remark, wherein I criticize *Moreri*, and the Remark [I].

[F] His Reign was not disturbed, but by the wicked Attempts of his own Children.] The most remarkable of their wicked Attempts, was the Revolt of *Abshalom*, who forced this great Prince to fly from *Jerusalem* in a mournful Condition. He went with his Head covered, bare-footed, melting in Tears, and his Ears filled with the Lamentations of his faithful Subjects (14). *Abshalom* entered *Jerusalem* as in Triumph; and, that his Party might not abate of their Zeal, from a No- tion that this Difference between Father and Son would be made up, he did one thing sufficient to make them believe he should never be reconciled to *David*. He lay with the ten Concubines of This Prince, in the sight of every body (15). It is very likely, this Crime would have been forgiven: the extreme Affliction, in- to which his Death threw *David*, is a Proof of it. *David* was the best Father that ever lived: his Indul- gence to his Children was excessive, and he himself was the first that suffered for it. For, had he punished the infamous Action of his Son *Amnon*, as it deserved (16), he would not have had the Shame and Sorrow to see another revenge the Injury done to *Tamar*: and had he chastized, as he ought, the Person who re-

venged this Injury, he would not have run the haz- ard of being entirely dethroned. *David* had the Fate of the most part of great Princes: he was unfortunate in his own Family. His eldest Son ravished his own Sister, and was killed by one of his Brothers for that Incest: the Author of this Fratricide lay with the Con- cubines of *David*.

[F] He was very near being reduced to the Condition in which *Samuel* found him — this reverse of Fortune was unavoidable.] We may see by this Example, that there is no depending upon the Fidelity of the People; for, in short, *David* was both a great and good King. He was beloved, he was esteemed, and had all imaginable Zeal for the Religion of his Country. His Subjects, therefore, had reason to be satisfied, and if they had been to chuse a Prince, could they have wished him better qualified? Nevertheless, they were so unsteady in their Duty to *David*, that his Son *Ab- salom*, in order to get himself declared King, needed only to make himself popular for some time, and keep some emissaries in each Tribe. This Maxim, *Castra est quam nemo rogavit*, — She is a chaste Woman that has never been solicited, may very well be applied to the People. The reason we do not see Princes oftener de- throned, is, because the People have not been solli- cited to revolt by Intrigues well enough managed. No- thing else is necessary: if the Prince be not wicked, they know how to make him pass for such, or for a Slave to wicked Counsel. Pretences are never wanting, and provided they be artfully supported, they pass for a just Reason, how weak soever they are in themselves.

[G] *David* was a Sun of Holiness in the Church of GOD — but that Sun had it's Spots.] The num- bering of the People was a thing which GOD looked upon as a great Sin (17). His Amour with the Wife of *Uriah*, and the Orders he gave to cause the same *Uriah* to be killed (18), are two very enormous Crimes. But he was so troubled for them, and attoned by so

(17) 2 Sam. chap. xxiv.

(18) Ibid. chap. xi.

admirable

of each Fact, and the Places of the Bible, or *Josephus*, upon which he grounds his Assertions. A Reader would be glad to know, whether what he reads flows from a sacred or prophane Source. I shall not observe many Faults in *Moreri* [H]. The Article of *David*, which I have just read in the Dictionary of the Bible, will supply me with Matter enough for a Remark [I].

admirable a Repentance, that this Passage of his Life does not a little contribute to the Instruction and Edification of faithful Souls. We learn by it the Frailty of the Saints, and it is a Precept for Vigilance: We may learn thereby in what manner to lament our Sins, and it is an excellent Example. As to the Remarks, which some Critics would make, to shew that in some other Actions of his Life he deserved to be much blamed, I suppress them in this Edition, and with the more Pleasure, because some Persons, who are much more knowing in these kind of Matters than I, have assured me that all those Clouds of Objections are easily dispersed when it is remembered: I. That he was King by Divine Right during the Life of *Saul*. II. That he had with him the High Priest, who consulted God to know what was to be done. III. That the Order given to *Jehoiada*, to exterminate the Idolaters of *Palestine*, was still subsisting. IV. That many other Circumstances drawn from Scripture may convince us of *David's* Innocence in a Conduct, which considered in general seems to be an ill one, and which would be so at this time.

[H] *I shall not observe many Faults in Moreri.* Only five.

I. *David* was Twenty two Years of Age, when *Samuel* anointed him with the Oil designed for the Consecration of Kings. This is inconsistent with what follows, and with what goes before. That Author had been saying that *David* was born in the Year of the World 2950; and a little while after he tells us, that *David* conquered *Goliath* in the Year of the World 2971. It is plain, that the Victory over *Goliath* was obtained after the Anointing of *David*; whereas, according to *Moreri*, the Ceremony of the Uncction was not performed till a Year after that Victory. To mend this Fault, it must be said, that *David* received the Uncction at twenty Years of Age (19). The rest needs no correction; for it is true that *David* conquered *Goliath* the Year after his Uncction.

II. It is not true that *Saul* renewed his Persecution against *David*, when the latter had twice abstained from doing him the least Harm, having the most favourable Opportunity in the World for it. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture, in order to aggravate *Saul's* Crime, does not observe that he soon repented of his Reconciliation with *David*, and that he made himself guilty of a black Ingratitude. In the Twenty fourth Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, he is informed, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in a Cave, would do him no kind of Harm: he admires that Generosity; he desires God to reward it; he acknowledges that the Crown is designed for *David*; he recommends his Family to him, and returns to his House. In the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book, he hears, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in the Night in his Tent, goes away without doing him any harm; he admires that Generosity; he gives *David* his Blessing; he foretells him all manner of Prosperity, and goes Home. *Moreri* pretends that these two things, so like one another, happened in one Year. I repeat it again. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture does not make use of the first of those two Facts, to make *Saul's* Obstancy in persecuting his Son-in-law more odious. Two or three lines would have had a great effect: The Reader would have been shocked to see that *Saul*, indebted to his Son-in-law for his Life, praises him, admires him, gives him a thousand Blessings, and yet a little while after pursues him to destroy him. Doubtless the Laws of a Narration require, that, in speaking of this new Pursuit, it should be observed, that it was a Violation of that solemn Agreement that followed the Adventure of the Cave; and yet there is not one tittle in the Scripture concerning that Circumstance. Here are other Subjects of surprise. *David*, representing to *Saul* that he did not deserve the Persecution he suffered, and that he could have killed him in his Tent, did not represent that it was the second time he had the King's Life in his Hands, and that the King had soon forgot what had happened in the Cave. *Saul* on his part, who owns himself in the wrong, and who speaks to *David* in most obliging Terms, does not ob-

serve that it is the second time that he owes his Life to him. It must be confessed that such Circumstances do not use to be forgotten. Moreover we see that, in the first of those two Adventures, *David* and *Saul* use almost the same Words as in the second. If I saw two Narratives of this Nature either in *Ælian*, or in *Valerius Maximus*, I should make no difficulty to believe that it is one and the same Fact, which having been reported two different ways, served for the Subject of two Articles, or of two Chapters. The Fact would be this: *David*, having *Saul's* Life in his Hands, who was his cruel Persecutor, did carefully preserve it. The two ways of relating it, would be, I. That *Saul*, being obliged by a natural necessity to go aside from his Men, went into a Cave where *David* was. II. That *David* slept in the Night into *Saul's* Tent, the Guards being in a deep Sleep. I leave it to Father *Simon*, and the Critics of his Rank, to examine whether it be possible, that the Historical Books of the Old Testament should relate the same thing twice. It seems to me that the Action of the *Ziphites*, related in the Twenty third Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, is not different from that which is related in the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book. Whoever goes about to compare those two Accounts, will doubtless be of my Opinion. What is very certain, is, that *Saul* did not persecute *David* after the second Reconciliation. This is *Moreri's* second Fault.

The III^d consists in his saying, that *David* was so well received by *Achish*, King of *Gath*, that his new Favour was like to make the *Grandeess* rebel. There is not one Word of Truth in all this, and I see nothing that might occasion that Falsity, but the Suspicions that were entertained of *David*, when they saw him with his Men in the Rear of the Army of the *Philistines*. The Commanders would absolutely have had him return into the City that was given him (20). There was a great Difference between those Commanders, and the *Grandeess* of the King of *Gath's* Court.

IV. The pretended Discontent of the *Grandeess* did not oblige *David* to retire from that Court. But he retired out of Respect: he feared that he and his Men should incommode the Prince by their Abode in the chief City: therefore he desired *Achish* to assign him another Place to live in, which was granted him. This happened before the Commanders of the *Philistines* required that *David* should march out of their Camp.

V. *Moreri* should not have said, that *David* returned to *Ziklag*, since he had not said that he had already sojourned there.

[I] The Article of DAVID in the Dictionary of the Bible will supply me with Matter for a Remark.] The Printers were come thus far, when a Dictionary was shewed me (21), which I consulted immediately at the Article of the Prophet *David*, and I find some Passages in it that give me occasion to make the following Observations. I. It is not true that *David* was born One hundred and ten Years before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST: there is above One thousand Years (22) between the Birth of the one and the Birth of the other. II. The Author strives to remove the Difficulty that is obvious to all Readers, when they consider that *Saul* did not know *David* on the Day that *Goliath* was killed; I say he strives to remove it, and intangles himself more than he should; for he says in one place (23), that *David*, being seventeen Years of Age, went to play on the Harp before *Saul*; and, in another (24), he gives him but fourteen or fifteen Years, and the Stature of a very little Boy. A little after, going about to refute those who say, that the Fight with *Goliath* preceded the playing on the Harp, he raises a specious Objection against himself, grounded on this, *viz.* That those who proposed *David* as a fit Person to drive away, with his Music, the evil spirit that afflicted *Saul*, gave him the Character of a valiant Man and a good Warrior (25). I answer, says he, that it ought not to be concluded from these two words, Fortissimum & Bellicosum, that the Fight was before the playing on the Harp, since the Name of strong may be given to any one that is truly so according to his Age. Is it not a sign of great Strength

(19) According to *Celsus*, he was born in the Year of the World 2860, and anointed by *Samuel* in the Year of the World 2880, and he killed *Goliath* the Year after.

OBSERVATIONS upon a Narration in the Books of *Samuel*.

(20) *Samuel* chap. 29.

(21) It is the Dictionary of the Bible compiled by Mr *Simon*, Priest, and Doctor of Divinity, and printed at *Lyons*, 1693, in folio.

(22) 1090, according to *Calvisius*.

(23) Pag. 249.

(24) Pag. 259.

(25) Et respondens unus de pueris ait, ecce vidi filium Isai Bethleemitem scientem pugnare, & fortissimum robore, virum bellicosum, &c. Ibid. pag. 249.

(60) It is the Supposition of the Author of the Dictionary of the Bible, pag. 249.

(61) He quotes the Author of the History of the Bible, who reckons eight Years between the first and the second time that *Saul* saw *David*, and who supposes that *David* was but fifteen Years of Age the first time.

(a) He is also called *Aurat*, d' *Aurat*, *Dorat*.

(b) Papyr. Masso in *Elog. Jo. Aurati*.

(c) Du Breul, *Antiq. de Paris*, pag. m. 565.

(1) Papyr. Masso in *Elogio Jo. Aurati*.

(2) La Croix du Maine *Biblioth.* pag. 201.

(3) Menage, *Remarq. sur la vie d'Ayrault*, pag. 186. Baillet, *Auteurs deguisez*, pag. 155.

(4) Viz. *The Custom of dining too soon*.

(5) Coulon, *Rivieres de France*, Part. 1, pag. 323.

(6) Menage, *ubi supra*, pag. 186. 499.

(7) Naud. *Prof. in Opusc. Niphi*.

(8) *Bibl.* pag. 685, 686.

(9) Matagonis de Matagonibus ad Italopoliam Matharelli, pag. m. 248.

to pursue Bears and Lions, and to fight with and choke them? This Answer supposes that *David* being, as yet very little, and a Youth of fourteen or fifteen Years of Age, fought with Lions, took them running, and strangled them, and might be called a strong Man, a Warrior and a Man that spoke well. This Difficulty is great enough to deserve to be solved; how comes it then that our Author does not seem to have the least glimpse of it? Notwithstanding his Silence, the discerning Readers will easily perceive, that since *David* fought with *Goliath* at the Age of twenty one Years (60), he must have been near twenty Years of Age the first time he went to *Saul's* Court. And thus the Reason that our Author gives for the best, why *Saul* did not know *David* the Day he fought with *Goliath*, is insignificant (61). That Reason is, that a little Boy alters so much in his Face in seven Years time, that those who do not see him till after an Absence of seven Years do not know him again. This is not *David's* Case, and therefore some other Reasons must be alleged. The Author mentions those which several Commentators have imagined. If they do not fully

satisfy those, whom it is no easy thing to satisfy, it must be ascribed to the nature of the Question. III. The Author forgets the strongest Proof, that can be alleged, against those who will have it that *David* was not sent for to drive away the evil Spirit from *Saul*, till after his Fight with *Goliath*. He does not say that they confound the Order in which things are related in the Scripture; he does not say that *Saul's* Servant, who praised *David* for being strong, valiant, eloquent, and handsome, did not speak of the Victory obtained over *Goliath*. Now it is impossible to apprehend that those, who had a mind to recommend him to the King after that Combat, should have been so stupid as not to tell the Prince, in a Word, *That same young Man, who killed Goliath, plays well upon Instruments, and he will cure you*.

For fear of being too long, I shall not examine whether the Author has wanted Exactness in the rest of the Article. He has avoided the Inconveniency which I have observed in the *Abbot de Chabisi*; for he sets down the Years wherein *David* did such and such things.

DAURAT (a) (JOHN), in Latin *Auratus*, a learned Humanist, and a very good Poet, was a *Limosin* [A], and of an ancient Family. It is said, that he left his Family-Name [B], to take another, which occasioned a great many Puns [C]. Being gone to the chief City of the Kingdom (b), to finish his Studies, he made an extraordinary Progress in Learning, and distinguished himself in such a manner by his Knowledge of the Greek Tongue, and his Genius for Poetry, that he became one of the Professors of the University of Paris. He is said to have succeeded *John Stracellus*, in the Year 1560, in the Office of the King's Reader, and Professor of the Greek Tongue (c); but before that

[A] He was a *Limosin*.] *Thuanus*, *la Croix du Maine*, *du Verdier*, Mr *Menage*, and several others make him a Native of *Limoges*. It may be question'd whether they are well grounded, since *Papyrius Masso* says, he was born near the Head of the *Vienne* (1). If he was born in the chief City of *Limosin*, I do not think that his Friends, in their Encomiums upon him, would have assign'd, for the Place of his Birth, a Village, which they do not so much as name.

[B] Of an ancient Family; whose Name, they say, he quitted.] He was of the Family of *Dinemandi* and *Bremondais* (2). It is said (3) that the Name *Dinemandi* signifying, in the Language of the Country, *Dine-matin*, (a Morning-Dinner) and having something mean in it, (4) did not please him, and that he chang'd it into that of *Daurat*, which signifies in *Gascon* the same thing as the French word *doré* (gilded), and was formerly given to one of his Ancestors, because of his light Hair. Others pretend, that our Poet took that new Name, because the Place of his Birth was situated on the little River *Aufante* (5). Mr *Menage* informs me, that *Daurat's* Mother was of the Family of *Bremondet* (6); and therefore *la Croix du Maine* is wrong, who calls it *Bremondais*. *Naudé* does not forget our *Daurat*, when he speaks (7) of those who changed their family Names: *Illud — pro Jeanne Manepiano, Auratum — exhibit*. Mr *Menage* denotes *Daurat* under the Name of *Orthobrogus*, in his *Metamorphosis of Gargilius Macro*. See hereafter the Remark [D] of the Article GOULU (NICHOLAS).

[C] To take another Name, which occasioned a great many Puns.] They could not fail of it in an Age, wherein Equivocations, Quibbles, and Puns, were in Fashion; but now they are quite out of Doors. We find in *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* (8) a Sonnet full of Gilding, or Allusions to Gold, in Honour of *John Dorat*. The Learned *Francis Hotman* thought, without doubt, that he had met with a happy Turn, when he made this Diffich against him:

Ex solido esse prius vulgus quem credidit auro,
Extrorsum auratus, plumbeus intus erat. (9).

He, whom Mankind pure Gold esteem'd before,
Proves but a lump of Lead just gilded o'er.

Neither *Daurat*, nor his Disciple *Ronsard*, found their Account in turning their Mules against the Protestants; the Match was not even. *Daurat*, using a very mean Metaphor, writ against the Frogs of the great Lake of Geneva, and compared them to the Frogs mentioned in the Revelation. Wisely done,

indeed, to mention to them the Revelation! The Protestants feigned, among other Things, in their Answer, that their Frogs, instead of croaking, cried out, AU RAT, AU RAT, de *Limouzin*, (the word *Rat* is an allusion to *Daurat*), and complained of the *RONSES* (*Briars*) of *Pandomois* (10), (*Ronses* is an Allusion to *Ronsard*.) They returned also his abuse in Specie, for they call'd him the *Limousin* Frog. (11) *Hotman* calls him *Turnip-eater* (§ a). 'Vidi multos, says he (12), qui dicebant quod illa carmina melius valebant aureum quam omnia poetarum epigrammata in fine tui libri posita duos denarios, etiam fine excipi endo suum vicinum Lemovicem raphanophagum Joh. Auratum. — I have seen many, says he, who maintained, those Verses were better worth a piece of Gold, than all the Poetasters Epigrams, placed at the end of your Book, were worth two Pence, not excepting those of their Neighbour John Daurat, the Turnip-Eater of Limosin.' I cannot tell whether *Daurat* ever put into Verse the Answer that he made use of against a Minister of Geneva, who had told him, that the sign of the Cross, which the Catholics make, seems to be intended to drive away the Flies. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who relates (13) that Answer (14) with great Approbation, pretends that *Daurat*, coming through Geneva, in his Return from Italy, was solicited to embrace Calvinism, and that they promised him a good Salary, but that he could not use himself to that Doctrine. Doubtless it was after that Journey, that he wrote that Poem, that drew a shower of Allusions upon him.

[§ a] The Word *Raphanophagus*, used by *Francis Hotman*, ought to be rendered by *maître-rabe* (*Turnip-Eater*) which is the nick-name of the People of the Country of *Limoges*, particularly the Peasants, such as *Daurat*, to judge of this Man by his rustic outsize. The Devil take this Turnip-Eater (*maître-rabe*) says *Pantagruel*, in *Rabelais*, book 2. chap. 6. speaking of a School-Boy of *Limoges*, who beset his breeches, whilst That Giant was preparing to devour him. We know besides the Magnificat of the Peasants of *Limoges*: 'Monfieur S. Marfau nostre bon fondateur, Préga pour nous nostre Seigneur, qu'il nous veuille bien garder nostra raba, nostra castagna, nostra fama. Alleluia. i. e. Monf. St Marfau, our good Founder, pray for us to our Lord, that he will be pleased to preserve our Turnips, our Chestnuts, and our Wives. Alleluia.' As the Peasants of *Limoges* are very poor, and, for want of Corn, feed upon a sort of Turnips, or large Navens, which they give themselves not even time to boil, hence came this Nick-name, which reproaches these poor People with their Poverty, and the ill Blasts one is exposed to, when near them. *John de la Bruerie-Champier*, lib. 9. cap. 2. of his Book *De re cibaria*, where

(10) *See Geraille, Doctrine Cur.* pag. 127.

(11) *Le Labreur. Addit. to Casteln. Tom. 2. pag. 674.*

(12) *Ubi supra*, pag. 247.

(13) *Protopopographie, Tom. III, pag. 2575.*

(14) *It turns upon this, that Bezezeb signifies Prince of the Flies.*

(d) Dinet, Vie de Ronfard.

(e) Ronfard began to study in that College about the Year 1545, since he was then above twenty Years of Age.

(f) Docuit diu summa cum gloria & discipulos habuit omnes fore præstantiores Gallie viros, vicinarumque gentium lectionissimos. Papyr. Mass., ubi supra. See also Thuan. lib. 89. Sammarth. Elog. lib. 3. pag. m. 55.

(15) Histoire de l'Acad. Franç. pag. m. 501.

(16) Dames Galant. Tom. II, pag. 140.

(17) Profograph. Tom. III, pag. 2575.

(18) In the 2d Scaligerana, at the Word Auratus.

that time he had been Principal of the College of Coqueret (d), after he had been Tutor to John Antony de Baif, at his Father Lazarus de Baif's House, who was Master of the Requests. He continued to instruct his Pupil in the College of Coqueret, and there also the famous Ronfard was seven Years his Scholar (e). It is a just and glorious Encomium upon Daurat, that a great Number of learned Men came out of his School (f). He had a good Method of teaching, and his rustic and disagreeable Aspect [D] did not stop the Success of his Lectures. He was accessible to every body, he loved witty Sayings, and even gave sometimes great Entertainments, appearing on all Occasions a great Enemy to Avarice [E], which, together with the Fatality attending his Profession, might be the Cause of the Poverty to which he found himself reduced [F], and which gave him a Place in the List of the learned who have almost died of Hunger (g). Nevertheless Charles IX honoured him with the Quality of his Poet, and took great Pleasure in his Conversation [G]. It was not in his Reign, but in the Reign of Henry II (b), that

where he speaks of several Species of this sort of Turnips. 'Sabaudis ac Lemovicis palma tribuitur, ut olim apud Romanos Nursinis. Vulgus Gallicum Sabaudis atque Lemovicis rediisse ad rellim clamat, ubi rapa gelu exulta fuerint, aut aliqua injuria soli cœlive perierint. . . . Inflationes crudiora minusque cocta facere creduntur. Unde crepitus Ventris ingentes velentibus hunt. i. e. The best are Those of Savoy and Limoges, as were Those of Nursia among the Romans. The common People of France have a Saying, That the People of Savoy and Limoges may go hang themselves, when their Turnips are blighted with Frost, or perish toward any injury of the Soil or Climate. . . . When raw and unboiled, they are thought to cause Wind; whence those who eat them are subject to loud Explosions from behind.' Rabelais, who, Book 2. ch. 27. speaking of those thick short Persons, that we call Nabottes (Sbrimps), compares them to this kind of Navews, might furnish Mr Menage with an Authority for the Etymology he gives of this Word. REM. CRIT.]

[D] He had a rustic and disagreeable Aspect. Moreri has stretched too far these words of Papyrius Masso: 'Tametsi vultu subullico & insuavi erat; which he renders, 'Those, who made his Elogy, confess that he was very ill shaped, and looked like a Country Clown'. This is a great Falsification, to the Prejudice of that famous Poet Laureat. The Latin Words, that you have just now read, differ but by one half from what has been said of Voiture. It has been said of the latter, that he had a simple Look, but nevertheless agreeable (15). I am willing to believe, that Daurat was infinitely short of the exquisite Politeness of Voiture; but I don't think that he was destitute of that Knowledge of the World, and of those Graces of Conversation, which the Learned ought to have, to be esteemed in a Court; for we shall see hereafter, that Charles IX took an extraordinary delight in hearing him, and that he admired his good Stories and Repartees; and we are informed by Brantome, that Daurat visited People of Quality. The first time, says he (16), that I heard the Story of the Ephesian Matron, it was from Mr d' Aurat, who told it to the brave Monsieur du Gua, and to some others who din'd with him. He adds, that Mr d' Aurat said, he had it from Lamprius; but he had it from Petronius, and I had rather impute that slip of Memory to Brantome than to our Poet. Du Verdier observes, that Daurat was a little Man in Stature and Mien, but great by his Wit (17).

[E] He was a great Enemy to Avarice. This Encomium, and the preceding ones, are altogether inconsistent with what Scaliger says of him. He was, says he (18), very Fantastical & sordidus like Moncaud, sed non tam. He cut off all the Margins of his Bartholus, and writ upon them. He has few Books. How shall we reconcile this with Papyrius Masso, who maintains, that this Poet valued Money no more than Dirt, and that he thought no Man deserv'd to be a Poet, who was too good a Husband? To which I add Thuanus's Testimony, which may be seen in the following Remark. If it be considered, that Scaliger praised Daurat very much for his Poetry and Critical Learning, one cannot believe that he was prepossessed against him; but, on the other side, how can one rely upon his Words? He affirms that Daurat had a Salary of 1200 Crowns at Padua or at Pisa; and yet who will believe that Daurat had ever a Professorship in either of those two Towns? Scaliger speaks as if Daurat had been still living; but how can this be consistent with a thousand other things that are in

VOL. II.

the Scaligerana, and which cannot have been said but ten or twelve Years after Scaliger had settled himself at Leyden, whither he came in 1593, five Years after Daurat's Death? To remove these Difficulties, must we not suppose a thing that is false, (viz.) that the two Nephews of Peter Pitbou, who collected the Scaligerana, liv'd fifteen or twenty Years with Scaliger? One of these two things must be true, either that Scaliger's Memory failed him often, in the Conversations he had with those young Men, or that they confounded what they heard him say. For the rest, it cannot be denied that he had seen Daurat: He tells us (19), that they went together to make a Visit to la Croix du Maine, and that Daurat, who could not pronounce a B, said to him, as they went out, *secura diligentia*. Such was his Opinion of the Works of the Man, whom they had visited. I had forgot a very strong Objection, which alone is sufficient to convince us, that there is a Mistake in the Words of Scaliger. Can it be said of Daurat, who minded nothing but Poetry and the Greek Tongue, that Bartholus was his Book? It belongs to a Professor of Law to signalize his sordid Avarice by writing on the Clippings of his Bartholus.

[F] Which might be the cause of the Poverty to which he found himself reduced. Thuanus, who says, on one side, that Daurat enjoyed, to his Death, the Pension that was allowed him, when he laid down his Office, confesses on the other, that he always neglected his Interests, and that for a long time he found himself reduced to a deplorable Necessity: 'Vir ad aliorum studia ac commodam promovenda natus, qui rem familiarem tota vita neglexerat, deploranda jam pridem egestate premeretur (20). — Born to promote the Interest of others, he had constantly neglected his own, and had been long reduced to the most miserable Circumstances.' Papyrius Masso acknowledges that he left no Estate, tho' King Charles IX had been a good Benefactor to him in his old Age. 'Excessit e vita dives opibus, iis præsertim quas virtus parit, non quibus mortalium genus avidum expleri nequit (21). — He left behind him great Riches, such indeed as Virtue gives, but not those of which Mankind is so insatiably fond.' This invincibly refutes the pretended Stinginess that he is charged with in the Scaligerana, nor can the Policy of Charles IX, with respect to Poets, be objected against it. Brantome (22) tells us, that this Prince 'was a great Lover of Verses, and did not reward those, who presented him with their Poems, all at once, but by little and little, that they might always be obliged to behave well, saying, that Poets were like Horses, that are to be fed, and not over stuffed and fattened, for then they are good for nothing.' This would be an insignificant Objection; for tho' the King had been never so sparing of his Gratifications to his Poet, he would at least have prevented the Poverty of a Man of a sordid Avarice.

[G] Charles IX took great pleasure in his Conversation. I shall set down the whole Passage of Papyrius Masso: it will afford me matter for a Criticism. 'Carolo nono, says he (23), Regi Christianissimo charissimus atque acceptissimus fuit (Dauratus). Is enim in decrepita ætate facetias hominis & argutias mirabatur, honestatque præmiis poetæ sui venerabilem senectam. — D'Aurat was highly carressed by the most Christian King Charles the IXth, who admired his Wit and Humour in his old Age, and honourably rewarded his venerable Bard.' It seems to me that this Writer is very much in the wrong to represent

(g) See Maturin Simonius, de literis percutibus, apud Barthium in Stat. pag. 447.

(b) About the Year 1544. See Thuanus, lib. 13, sub fin. pag. m. 276. See also the Remark [N] of the Article LORRAIN.

(19) Scaligerana, pag. m. 143.

(20) Thuan. lib. 89, pag. 175.

(21) Papyr. Masso, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 290.

(22) Vie de Charles IX.

(23) Papyr. Masso, ubi supra.

that Daurat was Preceptor to the King's Pages for a Year [H]. I cannot tell whether the Vexations, that made him leave that Post, came altogether, or in part, from the Petulancy of those Youths. Considering the Age he lived in, we ought to forgive him the Taste he had for Anagrams, of which he was the first Restorer (i); some will have it that he found the Pattern in *Lycophron*. He brought them so much into Fashion, that every body went upon them. He was accounted a great Conjuror in that kind, and several Illustrious Persons gave him their Names to be anagrammatized. He also undertook to explain the Centuries of *Nostradamus*, which he did so successfully [J], as some say, that he seemed to be invested with the Character of his Interpreter, or Sub-Prophet. These are not the most shining Parts of his Life (§ a). It is better still to see him married again, in an extreme old Age, to a Maid of nineteen Years [K], and to hear him say, for his Reason, that it was a Poetical Licence (k), and that, being to die by the Stroke of a Sword, he thought it more proper to perform the Execution with a bright, than a rusty one (l). That new Marriage proved fruitful; he got a Son by it, and used to play a thousand wanton Tricks with him (m). If *Thuanus* and his Translator had considered this, they had doubtless been more careful of their Expressions, for the Honour of the young Spouse [L]. Daurat had, among other Children, a Son by his first Wife, whose French Verses were printed (n), and a Daughter, whom he gave in Marriage to a learned Man, whose Name was *Nicolas Goulu* (o), to whom he resigned the Place of Regius Professor in the Greek Tongue [M]. He made many Latin, Greek, and even

French

(i) Papyr. Masso, ibid. Claudius Venderius, Cent. in Auctor. pag. 44. Dinet, Vie de Ronfard.

(k) Sammarth. in ejus Elog.

(l) Papyr. Masso, ubi supra. I shall set down his Words in the Remark [G].

(m) Id. ibid.

(n) They are in the Collection of the Verses of his Father; and if we believe the Title Page, they were made by the Author at ten Years of Age. Menage, Remarq. sur la Vie d'Ayrault, pag. 137.

(o) Sammarth. in ejus Elogio. La Croix du Maine, pag. 201. This Daughter was very learned, as you may see in the Article GOULU (NICOLAS).

(24) Id. ibid. pag. 289.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 290.

(26) Tisor. de Poeti, pag. 265.

(27) See Teissier, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 108.

(28) Remarks upon Ayrault's Life, pag. 187.

(29) Teissier, ibid. pag. 110.

(30) Biblioth. pag. 330.

(31) Profograph. Tom. III, pag. 275.

(32) Teissier, ubi supra.

(33) Bull. Acad. des Sciences. Vol. II, pag. 360.

(34) Remarks upon Ayrault's Life, pag. 187.

(35) So these Latin Words, Ob senium inutilis ejus opera esse cupisset, have been rendered.

our Poet as a decrepit old Man in the Reign of Charles IX. This cannot be said of a Man, who is but sixty or sixty five Years of Age, who lives above eighty Years almost without any Sickness, and who gets Children a few Years before his Death. Now this is Daurat's Case, according to Papyrius Masso, whose Words are these (24): 'Prope octogenarius aliquot jam pridem procreatis liberis, amissaque priori conjugē adulescentulam duxit, ex eaque Polycarpum, seniles delicias, filiolum incredibili gaudio suscepit, blandiusculē cum eo colludens, & infans finitæ manibus effrensus . . . (25) decessit prospera fere semper usus valetudine . . . anno Domini 1588 . . . major octogenario. — Being near eighty, having had some Children, and left his former Wife, he married a young one, and had by her, to his incredible Satisfaction, Polycarp, the delight of his grey Hairs, with which Infant he used to play like a Child, or like a Monkey dandle him in his Arms. Having for above Four score Years enjoyed his Health without any considerable Interruption, he died in the Year 1588.' On the other hand it is notorious, that the Reign of Charles IX extends no farther than from the Year 1561 to the Year 1574. To conclude, I shall observe, that Lorenzo Craffo, who thought that King Henry III conferred the Title of Poeta Regius (26) on Daurat, did not know that this Honour was of a more ancient Date. You see Papyrius Masso says, that Charles IX used Daurat as his Poet.

[H] He was Preceptor to the King's Pages for a Year.] *Thuanus* does not say how long that Employment lasted; he only says, that Daurat exercised it before he was Professor: *Primum pueris regis erudiendis adnotus, dein . . . in regio gymnasio diu professor*: a Passage wherein the Translator has committed a Mistake: for he renders it thus; he was first intrusted with the Education of the King's Sons (27); but Mr Menage cites (28) some of Daurat's Verses, whereby it appears that he did not continue in that Post above a Year, and that it had given him a great deal of Vexation:

Aulica nam passus fastidia mille per annum;
Hunc tandem in portum ventis jactatus & undis,
Nauseam ut evomerem tanti maris, alter Ulysses
Evasi.

Twelve tedious Months their courtly Snarls I bore,
E'er Fortune threw me on the wif'd for Shore,
On which I might discharge the nauseous load
Like Ithacus of old.

Mr Menage adds, that Papyrius Masso speaks of that Tutorship: I find no such thing in the Elogies of Papyrius Masso.

[I] He undertook to explain the Centuries of *Nostradamus*, . . . which he did successfully.] Mr Teissier (29) quotes Papyrius Masso, and *Sainte Marthe* for this, who say nothing of it: he should have cited *la Croix du Maine* (30) and *du Verdier Vau Prigias*. The words of the latter are remarkable; Dorat, says he (31), set up

for an Interpreter of Dreams: he set a great value upon the Centuries of *Nostradamus*, containing certain Prophecies to which he gave Interpretations, confirmed by several Events, and he used to say that an Angel had dictated them to Michael *Nostradamus*.

[K] He married a Maid of nineteen Years.] So these words of *Ste. Marthe*, *undeviginti annorum puella*, must be translated. *Moreri*, *Teissier* (32), and *Bullart* (33), who say she was twenty two Years of Age, would doubtless find it hard to quote a cotemporary Author for it, as credible as the Writer, whom I oppose to them. Mr Menage says she was but eighteen (34).

[L] For the Honour of the young Spouse.] In effect *Thuanus* says, that the thing that moderated the Grief of Daurat's Death, was that Old Age had made him incapable of all the Functions of his Office (35). Who would not believe from these words, that he was not able to get a Child? Who would believe that a good old Man, who had not Spirit enough to explain a Verse of *Homer* to his Scholars, had the necessary Vigour to consummate a Marriage with a young Maid? And therefore one could not literally give any Credit to *Thuanus*'s Narration, without entertaining strong Suspicions of our Poet's young Wife, as if she had practised this Maxim, that a skillful Woman never wants Heirs, or as if her Husband might have applied to himself this old Saying,

Qu'autant vieillard à la barbe fleurie,
Pour ses voisins que pour lui se marie.

An old Man marries as much for the benefit of his Neighbours, as for his own.

So *Amist* renders these Greek words (spoken by an Old Man): *ταυτὸ γέρον, εὐ οἶδα, καὶ τοὺς γείτονας. Duco uxorem, probe scio, vicinis quæque* (36). Truly nothing would appear more contradictory to those, who pay the Pensions of Professors and Ministers, than to see, that, in order to get a Man declared *Emeritus*, whose Wife should be big with Child, they should alledge that Age had rendered him intirely unfit to mount the Chair.

Note, That some say (37) that, some time before he died, he married a young Servant Maid, though he was eighty Years of Age . . . and that it is not said that he had any Children by her (38), as he had by a very honest Lady who was his first Wife. Thus here is a Man to be placed in the Catalogue mentioned by Mr Menage (39).

[M] A Daughter whom he gave in Marriage to . . . *Nicolas Goulu*, in whose favour he resigned his Place of Regius Professor in the Greek Tongue.] *Sainte Marthe*, without setting down the Time, says, that Daurat having been made Poeta Regius, resigned his Professorship to *Goulu* his Son-in-law. *Thuanus* speaks of it in a more undeterminate manner: he only says (40) that Daurat, having for a long time discharged the Duties of his Professorship in the Royal College, became *Emeritus*, laid down that Employ, and had a Pension that was paid him till he died. But *du Breul* sets down the Time; for he says, that *Nicolas Goulu* was provided with

(36) Plut. an sen sit gerenda resp. pag. 789.

(37) Peter de Romuaid Journ. nal. Chronol. & Histor. of the facts of Orob. pag. m. 396. He places Ronfard's Death on that Day, 1583.

(38) That is not true. See the Remark [G], Citat. (24).

(39) See the Article BRISSEIS, Citat. (15).

(40) Lib. 83, sub. fin.

French Verses [N]; and indeed he made too many; for whenever a Book was printed, or a Person of Note died, he made Verses on that Subject, as if he had been the common Poet of the Kingdom, or his Muse had been a hired Mourner. This was the Reason, why, if his poetical Vein was not drained to the Lees, it was at least like a low pierced Cask [O], whose Wine, being destitute of the best Part of it's Spirits, runs but faintly.

(41) *Antiquitez de Paris*, pag. 565.

with Daurat's Place by the King's Writ, the eighth Day of November 1567 (41). I shall make two Remarks upon this; one is, that *Thuanus* should not have said that the Loss of our Poet was less lamented, because Old Age and the Civil-War, which had driven all the Youth from Paris, began to make his Labours unnecessary. This signifies that he might still have been serviceable, if there had been any Scholars in Paris, and that he had actually been so, till he was overwhelmed by the Infirmities of Old Age. He had not therefore quitted the functions of his Professorship in the Year 1567, in which his Son-in-law succeeded him; for if he had done it at that time, the two Reasons alleged by *Thuanus*, why the Loss of that Professor was less lamented, would be very false: it seems therefore that this great Historian contradicts himself, with regard to *Daurat*. He says somewhere, that this Professor laid down his Professorship before the Death

(42) *That is before 1572.*

of *Turnebus* (42), and retired to the Suburb of St Victor, whither he (*Thuanus*) went often to see him. 'Jam Joannes Auratus professioni renunciaverat, & in Sanvictorianum suburbium concesserat; quo frequens itabat Thuanus, ex ejusque colloquiis semper intrinsecus elior redibat, de Budæo quem ille puer viderat, Germano Brixio, Jacobo Tufano sedulo eum percontatus' (43). — John Daurat had now quitted his Professorship, and retired into the Suburbs of St Victor, whither *Thuanus* often went, and returned always improved by his Conversation, having enquired of him particularly concerning Budæus, whom he had seen when a Boy, as also concerning Germanus Brixius, and Jacobus Tufanus. My second Remark is, that *la Croix du Maine* declares, in 1584, that *Aurat* still reads every Day the usual Lectures of his Professorship at Paris; so great is his Desire of being useful to the Public, and of making Scholars. *Thuanus*, or *la Croix du Maine*, must needs have been mistaken. What seems most probable to me is, that *Daurat*, having obtained leave to resign his Professorship to his Son-in-law, did nevertheless teach as before, at least in private.

(43) *Biblioth. pag. 685.*

[N] He made many Verses.] It is likely that *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* tells us a meer Story, when he says (44) that the Odes, Epigrams, Hymns, and other Poems in Greek and Latin, composed by Dorat, were above Fifty thousand Verses; but, though you abate as much as you please, yet it is certain, that he wrote a great many Poems in those two Languages, to which we must add those which he writ in French: for the same *Du Verdier* observes, that, although he applied himself wholly to Greek and Latin Poetry, yet he also made French Verses of which but very few have been printed. He gives the Titles of two French Poems, and Mr *Teissier* gives the Title of the Latin. See the Margin (45). Moreover Mr *Menage* had no reason to say, that *Daurat* made no French Verses, and to maintain thereby that Mr *Baillet* was in the wrong to affirm, that the *Pleiad*, imagined by *Ronsard*, was only made up of French Poets (46). If what Mr *Menage* asserts was true, viz. that *Daurat* the chief of this *Pleiad* made no French Verses, Mr *Baillet* would have been justly criticized: but this Assertion is false; for besides what hath been just now cited out of *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, we find in *la Croix du Maine*, that *D'Aurat* wrote many very learned Poems, as well in Greek and Latin, as in French. We find elsewhere (47), that *Ronsard* gave the Name *Pleiad* to John Antony de Bayf, Joachim du Bellai, Pontus de Tyard, Stephen Jodelle, Remi Belleau, Dorat, and himself, because they were the first and the most excellent, by whose Diligence the FRENCH Poetry was raised to the highest pitch. Agreeably to this, Mr *Menage* himself had said in his Remarks on *Malherbe*, that, in imitation of the *Pleiad* of the Greek Poets, *Ronsard* made one of the French Poets that were in his time . . . and that those French Poets were *Ronsard*, du Bellai, Pontus de Tyard, Jodelle, Belleau, Baif, and Dorat. And I find the following Words in the One hundred and eighty sixth Page of his Remarks on the Life of *Peter Ayraut*: Dorat is the first Poet of the *Pleiad*; for all those, who have mentioned these

(44) *Anti Baillet*, Tom. II, pag. 28.

(45) *In Ronsard's Life.*

These Verses are addressed, *Ad Helenam Vendraminam Virginem Venetam*. — To *Helen Vendramina*, a young Venetian Lady. REM. CRIT.] [O] His poetical Vein was reduced to the condition of a low pierced Cask.] Here is a Passage of *Sainte Marthe*. 'Nullus novus liber in lucem exibat, quin sibi commendatricem Aurati Musam pro Mercurio itineris duce & auspice deposceret. Nullus in tota Gallia paulo nobilior è vivis excedebat, quin ab Aurati liguibribus Camænis tanquam Præfatis solemnes funeri questus & lacrymæ sufficerentur: quo fiebat ut in tanta similibus argumentorum multitudine beata illa quondam uberioris ingenii vena non arefceret quidem, sed fundo propior languidius negligentiusque flueret ac se traheret

Poets, name them in this order, *Daurat*, *Ronsard*, *Du Bellay*, *Belleau*, *Antony de Baif*, *Pontus de Tyard*, and *Jodelle*. I will not make use of *Thuanus's* Authority, who says (48) that *Ronsard* and *Daurat* made some Verses that were sung by the Queen's Maids, at the famous Interlude that was represented for the Entertainment of the Embassadors of Poland in the Year 1573. For it may very well be, that on such an occasion the Verses sung by the Ladies were in Latin, and some Authors say in express Words, that *D'Aurat* made the Latin Verses that were recited at the Interlude, that was represented in the Thuilleries in the Year 1573, when the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Poland (49). But though it be certain that *Daurat* made Verses in his Mother Tongue, it must be confessed that his Merit did not appear so much by that Poetry, as by his Latin Verses. It is also in the Quality of a Latin Poet that he made himself famous in the Republic of Learning, notwithstanding the gross Faults that escaped him sometimes against the Rules of Quantity. *Barbinius* gives him that stroke by the by, in the One thousand five hundred and sixty ninth page of his Commentary on *Statius*, and adds one thing of him that deserves to be related (50); which is, that he admired this Epigram of *Ausonius* (Epigr. 105.)

(48) *Lib. 57.*

(49) *Du Breul, Antiq. de Paris, pag. 565.*

(50) *He had mentioned this before, pag. 94.*

Dum dubitat natura, marem faceretve puellam,
Factus es, ô pulcher, pene puella puer,

Nature, in forming thee, O lovely Boy,
Doubted so long, which Sex she shou'd employ,
That both she blended in thy gentle Frame,
And Boy and Girl, in thee, are but the same.

to such a degree, that he maintained that some Dæmon was the Author of it (§2).

[(§2) We find, at Page 339 of a Book, intituled *Veneres Blyenburgicæ, sive Amorum Hortus &c. Opera Damasi Blyenburgii Batavi*. Dordraci, 1600, in 8vo, these Verses of a Poet called, *Evangelista*, which are an imitation of those of *Ausonius*:

Dum dubitat, faceretne Deam, faceretne puellam,
Juppiter, ecce Dea es facta, puella simul.
Sed Dea dum fieres, dubitat, Venus, anne Minerva,
Virgo, fores; subito es facta Minerva, Venus. &c.

Thus paraphrased.

Long did great Jove the weighty Point debate,
Uncertain, Nymph, or Goddess, to create.
Irresolute, he cry'd, what must be done?
We'll form a Nymph and Goddess both in one.
But from what Pattern of celestial Race
The Features of her Heav'nly Part to trace?
Shall lovely Venus to the Picture sit?
Or shall we copy Pallas' Main and Wit?
Still unresolv'd, thus to the Heav'nly Maid,
As from his hand she rose, he both at once, he said.
Hence both in thy lov'd Composition meet,
As Pallas graceful, and as Venus sweet.

These Verses are addressed, *Ad Helenam Vendraminam Virginem Venetam*. — To *Helen Vendramina*, a young Venetian Lady. REM. CRIT.]

[O] His poetical Vein was reduced to the condition of a low pierced Cask.] Here is a Passage of *Sainte Marthe*. 'Nullus novus liber in lucem exibat, quin sibi commendatricem Aurati Musam pro Mercurio itineris duce & auspice deposceret. Nullus in tota Gallia paulo nobilior è vivis excedebat, quin ab Aurati liguibribus Camænis tanquam Præfatis solemnes funeri questus & lacrymæ sufficerentur: quo fiebat ut in tanta similibus argumentorum multitudine beata illa quondam uberioris ingenii vena non arefceret quidem, sed fundo propior languidius negligentiusque flueret ac se traheret

(p) Scaligerana
1, pag. m. 18.
See Guil. Cante-
rus in Lycophron.
ver. 308.

(g) Thuan. Hist.
lib. 89. sub fin.

faintly. He was so good a Critic, that *Scaliger* knew none but him and *Cujacius* that were able to reftore the ancient Authors (p); but he published few Things of that nature [P]. According to *Scaliger*, He began to be trifling [Q], and pretended to find all the Bible in Homer. He died at *Paris*, the first of November, 1588, being above eighty Years of Age [R]. The Collection that was made of his Verses, was not for his Honour: the Bookfellers had more regard to Their Interest than to his Reputation. They foisted in some Poems which were none of his, and some Pieces that he would not have owned for his, though he was the Author of them (q).

[§ (a) The Memoirs of the State of France, &c. Tom. I. fol. 28, verso, after having spoken of the Massacre of the Admiral *Châtillon*, and the manner in which the Body of That Lord was dressed up by the Mob: John Dorat, the Poet, wrote some Latin Verses, in which he derides the Admiral, blazoning each of the Members of his mutilated Body. I question whether This Passage of the Life of *Daurat* be more to his Credit, than others, with which he has been reproached. REM. CRIT.]

(51) Sammarth.
Elog. lib. 3.
pag. m. 55, 56.

traheret (51). — No new Treatise was published, but it's Author requested of *Daurat* some Commendatory Verses, like a Gentleman-Usher to introduce it to the World; and no Person of Quality in all France died, but *D'Aurat's* Elegies, like Mourners, attended his Corpse: whence it happened, in such variety of similar Subjects, that his happy Vein of copious Wit was not indeed drained, but, being reduced nearer to the Bottom, flowed with less Force and Ease. I have said in the Remark [D] of the Article AFER (DOMITIUS,) that Poets should leave *Apollo's* Service betimes. I add, that if they feel the Return of any Poetical Fit, they should take it for a temptation of an evil Genius, and put up the same Prayer to the Goddesses of *Parnassus*, that one of their Brethren addressed to the Goddess of Love:

— parce, precor, precor,
Non sum qualis eram bonæ
Sub regno Cynaræ. Define, dulcium
Mater sæva Cupidinum,
Circa lustra decem fletere mollibus
Jam durum imperis: abi
Quò blandæ juvenum te revocant preces (52).

(52) Horat. Od.
1, lib. 4. ver. 2.

O spare, for pity, Venus, spare!
I am not what I was
In lovely Cynara's easy Reign,
When Heat warm'd every Vein,
And manly Beauty fill'd my Face.

Cease, Queen of soft Desires,
To bend my Mind grown stiff with Age,
And fifty Years engage
To crackle in thy wanton Fires:
But Youth and Beauty bear.

CREECH.

The Service of the Muses is in many things like the Service of the Ladies; it is better to leave it too soon than too late, and to say in time, with a firm Resolution to keep one's Word:

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus,
Et militavi non sine gloria:
Nunc arma, defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit (53).

(53) Id. Od. 26,
lib. 3. ver. 1.

Once I was gay and great in Charms,
Success still waited on my Arms,
In Venus Battles bravely fought,
I fought and conquer'd when I fought.
But now my Arms and wanton Lyre,
Whose Tunes could spread harmonious Fires,
In Venus Shrine unheeded lie,
With all my Love's Artillery.

CREECH.

(54) Remember that you are a Mortal Man. This is said of Philip of Macedon. Remember the Athenians. Herodotus, lib. 5. cap. 105, concerning Darius Son of Hyaspes.

It is said, that certain Kings ordered some of their Domestics to tell them every Day, remember such a Business (54). If it be allowable to compare little things with great ones, old Poets should have somebody to tell them every Morning, Remember your Age. *Horace* boasts of having had such Advices given him.

Est mihi purgatam crebro qui perfonet aurem,
Solve senescientem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus & illa ducat (55)

(55) Hor. Epist.
1, lib. 1, ver. 7.

And still methinks sounds thro' my well purg'd Ear
A little Voice, fond *Horace* have a care;
And while 'tis well release thy aged Horse,
Lest, when he runs, but with unequal Force,
And stretches hard to win, he break his Wind,
Derided, distant'd, basely lag behind.

And here is what I find in the *Menagiana*. 'Mr du Perier desired his Friends formerly to be so kind as to tell him, when his Poetical Vein should grow faint, and he should no longer be in a condition to make Verses to his Honour. It is time to do it (56).' (56) *Menagiana*, pag. m. 384. If *Daurat* had used such a Precaution, he would not have out-lived his own Glory. But nothing did him more harm than his undertaking to verify on all the Books that were printed. What a sad thing is it, said Balzac (57), to be obliged to praise all new printed Books, that is to say, to be in a worse condition in Prose, than *Auratus Poeta Regius* was, who did willingly, what I do as a Criminal and Slave. There has been a French Poet of later date (58), who prepared Sonnets for Books that were to come out. See how he is bantered in the Continuation of the *Parnasse Reformé*.

(57) Letter 25
to Chupelain,
Book 4, pag. m.
194.

(58) His Name was Pelletier. See la guerre des Auteurs, pag. m. 163.

[P] He was . . . a good Critic . . . but he has published but few things of that nature.] Some of his Critical Remarks on the Verses of the Sibyls, are to be seen in the Edition of *Ophiopæus*. He had much laboured that Subject in his Lectures, as a Letter of *Stuckius* to *Goldast* informs us (59). 'Quam doleo, says he, me Jo. Aurati præceptoris mei viri ingenio, summi, & in emendandis antiquis Poëtis Græcis acutissimi dicta, & annotationes in illa carmina ante multos annos, & ejus ore calamo exceptas cum aliis nonnullis meis libris Lutetiae amississe! — What concern is it to me to have lost at Paris among other Books the *Diſtates* of John *Daurat*, my most ingenious Master, a Man peculiarly happy in his emendations of the old Greek Poets, as also his Annotations on these Verses which I long ago copied from his own Mouth.'

(59) It is the 13th of the Collection of the Letters, written to *Goldast*, published at France, in 1688.

[Q] He began to be trifling.] *Scaliger* speaks in the Present Tense, he begins to be trifling, &c. Upon which see the Remark [E] of this Article.

[R] He died . . . above eighty Years of Age.] *La Croix du Maine* gives *Daurat* ten Years less than others do: he places his Birth in the Year 1517, and therefore he must have believed that *Daurat* died at Seventy one Years of Age. Mr *Baillet* (60) was in the right not to rely much on that Opinion to the Prejudice of that of *Papyrius Masso*, *Touanus*, and *Scævola de Sainte Marthe*, who all knew *Daurat* very particularly, since it is certain that *la Croix du Maine* is mistaken. Here are four Verses of *Daurat* that demonstrate it: they were made on the Death of *Leodegarius à Quercu*, who had lived eighty five Years.

(60) Jugem. seu les Poët. Tom. III, pag. 403.

Ostoginta annos quo natus quinque supraque,
Officio functus, plenus honoris obit.
At tuus Auratus pare pœnæ ætate superstes,
Hos elegos tumulo donat habere tuo.

A wondrous Stage! Years, eighty five and more,
Roll'd on, yet be fresh wreaths of Honour wore.
Almost æqueval I this Tribute send
To sweep the parting of a much lov'd Friend.

Mr Menage

(61) Remarg.
sur la Vie d'Ay-
sault, pag. 499.

(62) An't-Bail.
Tom. I, pag.
265.

(63) Remarg.
sur la Vie d'Ay-
sault, pag. 187.

(64) The 27th of
Dec. 1585.

Mr *Ménage* makes use of them (61) to prove that *Daurat* lived above eighty Years; in which he is incomparably better grounded than when he accuses Mr *Baillet* (62) of having said, that that Poet lived but Seventy one Years: for it is true that Mr *Baillet* says it, as a different thing from the common Opinion; but he observes at the same time, that this common Opinion is preferable to that of *la Croix du Maine*. I shall observe another small Mistake of Mr *Ménage*. He says that all the Poets of the time made Verses on the Death of *Daurat*; and among the rest, *Ronsard*, his beloved Scholar (63). But it is certain that *Ronsard* died (64)

some Years before his Master; and if he had but cast his eyes on these words of *Papyrius Massé*, he would have known that That Scholar could not do any poetical Service to *Daurat's* Memory. 'O si hodie discipulus ejus Petrus Ronsardus insignis Poëta videret, quas ille nœnias, aut quæ epitaphia scriberet?' — Was his Scholar Peter Ronsard, that excellent Poet, still living, what *Elogies*, and what *Epitaphs* would he write? I chuse rather to follow *Papyrius Massé* than *Tibullus*. The latter says, *Daurat* died about the end of November, being near eighty Years old.

(1) He latinized
his Name (which
was d'Auque,
as Swertius says,
Athen. Belg.
pag. 178) et esse
tres several
ways.

(6) Valer. An-
drea, Bibl. Belg.
pag. 140.

DAUSQUEIUS, or DAUSQUIUS, or D'AUSSQUEIUS (a) CLAUDIUS, Canon of *Tournay*, was born at *St Omer*, the fifth of December 1566 (b). He entered into the Society of *Jesuits* I cannot tell when, and left it I know not when neither, nor for what Reason. He was still in it, when Father *Scribanus* published his *Amphitheatrum Honoris*, in the Year 1607. He was praised in that Work as one of the most learned Men of his Age (c). It is certain that he was learned both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and in all which is called Literature; but he did not write well: his *Stile* is too affected, too obscure, and too full of obsolete Phrases. He is praised for having been a good Preacher (d). His Father *Robert DAUSQUEIUS*, the fourth Son of *Antony DAUSQUEIUS*, Bailiff of *St Omer*, was killed in the King of *Spain's* Service, during the War that the Duke of *Alençon* raised in the *Netherlands* (e). I shall speak of the Canon of *Tournay's* Writings [A], without forgetting the Imposture of a Bookseller of *Paris* [B].

(c) Amphitheatr.
Honoris, lib. 2.
cap. 13.

(d) Valer. And.
ibid.

(e) Claud. Daus-
quius in S. Jo-
sephi sanctifica-
tione, pag. 228,
229.

(1) See Baillet,
Jugem. des Sa-
vans, Tom. IV,
pag. 493.

(2) Alegambe,
Biblioth. Societ.
Jesù, pag. 81.

(3) Val. Andr.
Bibl. Belg. pag.
140.

[A] I shall speak of *Claudius Dausqueius's* Writings. He made a *Latin* Translation of the forty Homilies of *St Basil of Seleucia*, and published it with Notes in the Year 1604, in 8vo. It is not good, if we rely on the Judgment of the Dominican *Combesis* (1). He published some Notes on *Quintus Calaber* in the Year 1614, and *Silius Italicus*, with a large Commentary, in the Year 1611, in 4to. His *Scutum D. Mariæ Aspicillii*, and his *Justi Lipsii scutum adversus Agricola Tractat satyricas petitiones*, were printed at *Duñay* in the Year 1616, in 8vo. The Approbation of those two Books, and the Epistle Dedicatory, being dated in the Year 1616, I cannot but believe that there is a Fault in the Place, where *Alegambe* (2) and *Valerius Andreas Desillus* (3) affirm that they were printed in the Year 1610. They are moreover mistaken in saying that they were composed *adversus Agricola Tractat*. That *Agricola Tractatus* is no other than *George Thomson*, a Scotchman, who published a Book at *London*, in the Year 1606, against *Lipsius*. This is the Piece which *Dausqueius* confuted. He had a Quarrel with some *Franciscans*, who maintained that *St Paul* and *St Joseph* had been holy in their Mothers Womb. Upon this he published his *Sancti Pauli sanctitudo in utero, extra, in solo, & in celo*, at *Paris* 1627, in 8vo; and his *Sancti Josephi sanctificatio extra uterum, seu bimotium adversus F. Marchantii Minoritæ Exprovincialis inania, item Apophysarum F. Minorum Audomopolitanorum sponsia*, at *Lyons* 1631, in 8vo. His two best Books are those of which I shall speak in the following Remark.

[B] Without forgetting the Imposture of a Bookseller of *Paris*. Mr *Chevillier* tells us wherein it consists. They give themselves too much liberty, and play a thousand Tricks with printed Books, without any regard to Sincerity. Whatever the Bookseller may say, who, since the Year 1677, sells *Dausqueius's* Book intitled *Antiqui novique Latii Orthographica* (4), he should not have suppressed the fine Print, wherein are engraved ten Persons, Authors of the *Latin* Tongue, and wherein we read that the Book was printed at *Tournay* by *Adrian Quinqué* in the Year 1632: neither ought he to have left out some other Leaves, whereby one might have known the time of the Impression. And it is no good Reason to say,

that the King having taken *Tournay*, *Dausqueius*, who was kept there, is become a *Frenchman*; *De Hispano factus jam Gallus*. Hereupon he takes the liberty to substitute a first Leaf, wherein he puts his Cypher, and his Sign, with this Subscription, *Parisii apud, &c.* 1677. As if Victory extended also her Empire over the Difference of Times, and the Distance of Places, or had the Power to make the Year 1632 to be 1677, and the City of *Tournay* in the County of *Flanders* to be that of *Paris* in the *Isle of France*. I defy those who have bought his *Dausqueius*, and have seen no other Copy of it, to say who is the Printer of it, and out of what Printing-house it came. Yet this is what our Kings would have us to know. These are the words of their Ordinances, in such a manner that the Buyers of Books may easily know in what Printing-house the Books have been printed. All that he could do, having got into his hands the Copies of that Author that were still left, was to put them off with a Leaf containing these words, *Venerunt Parisiis apud, &c.* but without altering or leaving out any thing in the Title; letting the Reader see that it was printed at *Tournay* by *Adrian Quinqué* in the Year 1602. The most learned Library-keepers have much a-do to discover all the Booksellers Tricks: it is a difficult thing not to be deceived by them. The Library-keeper of the *Archbishop of Reims* was not imposed upon in his *Dausqueius* by this Trick; he writes the Date of this Book in his printed Catalogue in these words, which are a Reproach to that Bookseller, *Parisii 1677, vel potius Tarnaci 1632, in folio* (5). I think such another Fraud was made use of with respect to another Work, which *Dausqueius* caused to be printed at *Tournay* in 4to in the Year 1633, with this Title, *Terra & aqua, seu terræ fluctuantes*; for the *Journal des Savans* spoke of that Work (6), and of the *Antiqui novique Latii Orthographica* (7), as if they had been but newly printed. I must observe, that *Salmasius* thought that the *Antiqui novique Latii Orthographica* was worth reading. See what he writ to *Vossius* about it, in his Sixty sixth Letter. See also the Praises that *Vossius* bestowed upon the same Book (8), and consult Mr *Baillet*, who believed that this Book had been reprinted in the Year 1676 (9).

* Edit. of Francis I, at Fontainebleau, the 28th of Dec. 1541, and of Charles IX, at Gaillon in May 1574, inserted among the Edits and Ordinances collected by Fontanon, pag. 468, and 474, Tom. IV, Edit. of 1611.

(5) Chevillier, Origine de l'imprimerie de Paris, pag. 210.

(6) Journ. des Savans, August 2, 1677, pag. 233, Dutch Edit.

(7) Ib. Febr. 15, 1677, pag. 55.

(8) Vossius de Philologia, pag. 29.

(9) Baillet, Jugem. des Savans, Tom. IV, pag. 12, 13.

(4) It is a Work in two Volumes in folio.

(1) Near Milan.

DECIUS (PHILIP) natural Son of *Tristan de Dexio* [A], who made a pretty good Figure in the Court of the Dukes of *Milan*, was a very famous Civilian. He was born in the Year 1454, and was carefully instructed in Philological Learning at *Milan*. The Plague having obliged him to leave that City, he retired to his Brother,

[A] He was natural Son of *Tristan de Dexio*. His Ancestors, having left the Village of *Dexio* (1), settled at *Milan*, and took the Name of the Village, where they

were born (2). That Family had continued above three hundred Years (3) at *Milan*, with some lustre, when our *Tristan* was born.

(2) Panzirolus, de Claris Legum Interpretibus, lib. 2, cap. 135, pag. m. 299.

(3) Ultra CCC. annos cum dignitate vixerunt, Id. ibid.

[B] He

who was Professor of the Civil-Law at Pavia [B]. He began to study the same Science at seventeen Years of Age, and gave a great deal of Trouble, by his disputing Humour, to *Jafon Mainus* and *James Puteus*, his Masters [C]. He puzzled them several times with his Objections. He also tired his Brothers in such a manner with his Objections, that the Censures he received from him forced him to seek for the Solution of his Doubts elsewhere. He maintained some public Thefes, with very good Success, in the second Year of his Studies of the Civil-Law, and succeeded perfectly well. The next Year he went to *Pisa* with his Brother, who was invited thither to be Professor of the Civil-Law. He gave so many Proofs of his great Parts and Knowledge in that University, that at the Age of Twenty one Years he was made Professor, to teach the *Institutes*. He had a great many Auditors, and, among other things, he was admired for his witty Sayings in his public Disputations (a). His Reputation encreased, when, some time after, he was promoted to the Place of Extraordinary Professor of the Civil-Law; nevertheless he was not contented, and complained of the Smallness of his Salary [D]. *Francis Accolti*, who had been alone Ordinary-Professor for the Evening Lectures, having been dis-

(a) Plura alia que provocatus perleptia dilectis, iocoseque scommata inter disputandum dicebat sepius excepta pro junculis vulgo recitabantur. *Panzir. ubi infra, pag. 301. See also Fortioris, Hist. Juris Civil. lib. 3, cap. 39, pag. m. 533.*

(4) Id. ibid.

[B] He retired to his Brother, who was Professor of the Civil-Law at Padua. He was born in lawful Wedlock, and his Name was *Lancelot*. He died at Pavia in the Year 1500 (4).

(5) Id. ibid.

[C] And gave a great deal of Trouble by his disputing Humour to . . . his Masters.] *Panzir. ubi supra, pag. 301.* Quos argumentis quandoque exagitat, atque assuantes reliquit. Fratri quoque assiduis interrogationibus molestus non semel cum objurgatione re- jectus est (5).—Whom he sometimes puzzled with his Arguments, and left in Confusion; being likewise often reprimanded by his Brother, whom he perpetually teased with Questions. There is nothing more troublesome, than a young Scholar, who has Wit, and loves disputing, and therefore I do not wonder that this young man was reprimanded by his Brother. It is likely that he chid him very much, since the young man durst no more harass his Brother, and even did not consult him when he undertook a public Disputation (6). *Lancelot* gave him a new Reproof, and called him a rash young man, and disputed with him, thinking, if I am not mistaken, to run him down and humble him; but he was repulsed so warmly, that, being struck with Admiration, he confessed before the Assembly, that his Brother would speedily out-do him. Such an Acknowledgment would not be so hard to a Father as to an elder Brother. *Impugnanti problematica Lanceloto tanto acumine argumenta rejecit, ut admiratus coram assistantibus se brevi ab illo superatum iri prædixit* (7). *Paul Jovius*, speaking, as an Eyewitness, says, that our *Philip* disputed with more eagerness than any body else. *Enarrabat subtilissime, & uti sæpe vidimus, longe omnium acerrime disputabat* (8). I shall mention another Particular: *Decius*, being Professor at *Pisa*, made *Laurence Pucci* (9) dispute against the Thefes, which *Bartolomew Socinus* had advised a Scholar to maintain publicly. The next Day after the Disputation, a Paper was posted up, importing, that, within a Week, those same Thefes, converted into Problems, would be maintain'd, on both Sides, by *Pucci*, among the Students, and by *Decius* among the Doctors. People were alarmed at it, and feared the Consequences of it; for they were sensible that such a Proceeding tended to the Dishonour of the other Regent Doctors. For which Reason, the Principal of the College forbade *Decius* to proceed any farther upon pain of Imprisonment (10).

(6) Inconulto fratre propositiones publice disputandas edidit. Id. ibid.

(7) Id. ib. pag. 300.

(8) *Paul. Jovius, Eleg. cap. 88, pag. m. 207.*

(9) Who was afterwards Cardinal.

(10) *Panzir. ubi supra, pag. 301, 302.*

[D] And complained of the smallness of his Salary.] This Passage reflects upon his Memory: I confess it would be a greater Blot, if this Fault did not appear often; but in short the great number of mercenary Professors, too self-interested, and soliciting too warmly an increase of Salary, does not excuse the blame of such Conduct. However it be, our *Philip*, tho' crowned with Glory, and honoured with the public Applause, vexed himself, thinking he had not a sufficient Salary, and complained of it to the Curators of the University. One of them gave him very good hopes; for, said he, I am very well persuaded of your Merit. The Professor answered, I had rather you should have a mean Opinion of me. Being desired to tell the Reason of such an extraordinary Answer; It is, replied he, because if you had an ill Opinion of me, I should hope for a better Salary by undecieving you: But since my Pension is very small whilst you have an Esteem for me, I have nothing to hope for. *Panzir. ubi supra* expresses this much better; and therefore I shall set down his own words. Cum

tenui stipendio se ali apud Gymnasii Praefectos queretur, Alomanusque Renuitius inter illos senior cum bono animo esse jussisset, quod bene apud se audiret; *Philippus*, Mallem, inquit, ut finitram de me opinionem haberetis. Illis responsi novitatem mirantibus, & rationem perquirentibus, Si de me, respondit, prava concepta esset opinio, detecto errore, amplius stipendium sperare possem; sed cum benediciens parvo adhuc digner honorario, nihil mihi spei reliquum esse potest (11). I have observed a thousand Times, in the Lives of the Civilians, written by *Panzir. ubi supra, pag. 301.*

to heighten the Glory of the Professors, he takes an exact notice of the Augmentations of their Salaries. This shews, that they were looked upon as Men well qualified to raise the Lustre of an University; 'tis therefore a sign of their great Parts and Ability. Self love, always ready to justify itself, and more ingenious on that Point than can be expressed, does not fail to make use of this fine Turn, and by that means to elude the Reproaches of Venality and Avarice; but it can hardly remove these two Difficulties. The one is, that those Amplifications of Wages are commonly an Effect of the importunate Complaints and Solicitations of those that are gratified with them, or of their threatening to retire, in order to get a more profitable Place (12). The other is, that those Places, which are more profitable, would not be offered to such as are thought to be disinterested, and only sensible of true Glory. This was not the Character of our *Decius*. He, like a Buck, leaped from place to place, and from one University to another; he went out, and returned according to the Value of the Pensions that were promised him, and he himself thought fit to set down in his Epitaph, that his Wages amounted at last to fifteen hundred Gold Pieces. He was afraid that the word aureus would not sufficiently express the great Price that his Lectures had cost; and therefore he added the barbarous words in auro. *Philippus Decius . . . vocatus in Italiam ab excelsa Florentinorum Rep. posleaquam stipendium M. D. aureorum in auro pro leatura consecutus fuisset, de morte cogitans, hoc sepulchrum sibi fabricari curavit.* (13) — *Philip Decius*, being recalled into Italy by the Republic of Florence, and having obtained a Salary of fifteen hundred Crowns of Gold, thought of Death, and caused this Monument to be raised. He intimates that he did not think of Death till he had attained to that great Pension. *Titulo res digna sepulchri.* That Epitaph was more liable to Censure upon that Account, than for the Grossness of the Style (14). It must not be said that he refused the thousand Crowns of Gold, which the Senate of Milan, the City of Bologna, and the Republic of Venice, offered him, when he had but eight hundred at *Pisa*; for doubtless he refused them in hopes to be paid, for his Refusal, with Usury; and indeed, it appears, that the University of *Pisa* augmented his Pension, and made it much more considerable than any he could have got in other Universities. Demum *Pisas* cum DCCC. aureorum stipendio omnium supremus conductus est, ubi & a Mediolanensi Senatu, & a Bononiensibus, Venitiis, que mille aureorum annua promissione frustra sollicitatus per multos annos perseveravit, donec ad MD. aureorum honorarium pervenit (15). Note, by the bye, that Mr *Wharton* is somewhat unexact, when he says, that the Florentines recalled him into Italy by a Pension of fifteen hundred Crowns of Gold (16).

(11) Ibid. pag. 301.

(12) Compare this with what is said in Rem. [A] of the Article ACCARISI (FRANCIS C18); and in Rem. [C] of the Article ALCIAT (ANDREW.)

(13) *Panzir. ubi supra, pag. 309.*

(14) It was ridiculed. See *Paul. Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 208.*

(15) *Panzir. pag. 308.*

(16) *Henricus Wharton, in Appendice ad Historiam Literariam Guilelmi Cave, pag. 208.*

[E] He

pened with on Account of his old Age, *Bartholomew Socinus* was put in his Place. Our *Decius* left no Stone unturned to share that Employment, and had already obtained his Wish [E]; but he was deprived of it, when it was known, that *Socinus* threatened to retire, if it was divided. To make *Decius* amends, they gave him the Professorship of the Canon-Law. This was done by the Intrigues of *Socinus* (b), who was in hopes that *Felinus*, who had taught the Canon-Law for a long time, and understood it perfectly, would have all the Glory of that Function. *Socinus* was mistaken in his Conjectures; for *Decius* was more followed than *Felinus*, who was so vexed at his Superiority of Glory, that he absented himself. *Felinus* retired abruptly (c). The Curators of the University, knowing the Reason of his Retreat, were very angry with *Decius*, and deprived him of his Places. They were reproved for it by *Laurence de Medicis*; which was the Reason, that, when he went to *Florence* to receive his Salary, they told him angrily, that he might return to *Pisa*. He answered that he would not, since he had accepted the Professorship, which those of *Siena* had offered him; but he was forced to resign it, and to take up again his Employ at *Pisa*, for they threatened to keep from him the Arrears of his Pension, and forbid him to remove his Effects. They granted him some Favours, and promised to associate him with *Socinus* at two Years end. *Socinus*, who was at *Siena*, having heard this, sent word that he would not return to *Pisa*, if that Promise was performed. This Menace made such an Impression, that they declared to our *Philip*, that he might retire, if *Socinus* should come to resume his Professorship. Accordingly, as soon as *Socinus* returned, he retired to *Siena*, where he was Professor of the Canon, and afterwards of the Civil-Law. He went to *Rome* about the Year 1490, where he was appointed Auditor of the *Rota* by *Innocent VIII*. He consecrated himself to the Ecclesiastical State; but, having received the first Orders, he could proceed no farther, because he was a Bastard. Some Authors suppressed this Obstacle, and chose rather to say, that out of Complaisance to his Father and Brother, and being weary of repeating his Breviary every day, he left *Rome*, and returned to *Siena* (d). He found himself exposed there to the Envy of some other Professors, which obliged him to go to *Pisa*, where he taught sometimes the Canon, and sometimes the Civil-Law, but not without many Quarrels [F]. He was invited to *Padua*, to be first Professor of the Canon-Law, in the Year 1502. *Lewis XII*, looking upon him as his Subject, and having a mind to make him Professor at *Pavia*, demanded him of the *Venetians*; who, after a great Opposition, yielded at last to that King's Desire [G]. *Decius* came to *Pavia* about the End of the Year 1505, where he answered the Expectation of *Lewis XII*. After he had been Professor seven Years, he obtained a Salary of two thousand Livres, which was more than any Professor ever had in that University. The Differences between *France* and the Court of *Rome*, brought many Misfortunes upon him. Being consulted by *Lewis XII* about the Convocation of a Council, his Opinion was, that a small Number of Cardinals had a Right to call one; and he

(b) See *Forsterus*, Hist. Juris Civilis lib. 3, cap. 39, pag. m. 534.

(c) About the Year 1483.

(d) Alii ejus natales celantes rem aliter narrant. Cum *Trifolius* pater, & *Lancelotus* frater factum non probarent, & ipse in canonicis horis quotidie recitandis tunc assideretur, relicta *Roma*, iterum ad *Senenses* remeavit. *Panzirulus*, *ibid.* pag. 305.

wrote

[E] He left no Stone unturned to share the Employment of *Accolti*, and had already obtained his Wish.] Some affirm, that he actually exercised the Functions of that Place, and that it was not taken from him till after *Socinus*, who was vexed to see his School empty, desired, that He, or *Decius*, should be dismissed. *Bartholomæus Socinus* Juris Cæsarei in eodem Gymnasio Professor, cum se discipulis viduatum doleret, aut semetipsum aut *Philippum* munere suo dimitti petit (17). I find the Narrative of *Panzirulus* more likely, which is, that *Socinus* desired this, as soon as he heard of the Promise that was made to our *Philip*, and before he could have observed, that such a Competitor was prejudicial to him.

[F] He taught at *Pisa*, but not without many Quarrels.] *Socinus* was not the only Person that would not have him for an Antagonist; I mean, that would not make his Lectures on the same Subject, and at the very same Hour with him. It appears by *Panzirulus*'s Work, that, in the Universities of *Italy*, they match'd Professors in that manner; and that those, who were thus matched, passed for Rivals, Competitors, and Antagonists of one another. They were commonly in open War; and sometimes they grew so hot, and so furious, in their public Disputes, that People went to them, as if it had been a Fight of Gladiators. Our *Decius* had made himself so dreadful, that few Professors would be matched with him. They complained of his Slanders, and of the Artifice he made use of to get Auditors. 'Ibi (*Pisus*) eum omnes concurrentem recusare, hominem ut maledicum, male lingue artibus auditores captantem criminari (18). *Antony Coccius* had the Courage to enter the Lists with him; they engaged in a violent Quarrel, and railed at one another in a most shameful manner, unworthy the Gravity of their Character. 'Mox ad matutinam ejusdem Juris (*Pontificii*) sedem translatus *Antonium*

'Cocciū Florentinū ob veterem æmulationem durum adversarium concurrentem invenit. In ea contentione ita se exagitarunt, ut nec scædis socommatibus præter omnem gravitatem abstinuerint (19). *Jason Mainus*, being appointed Professor of the Civil-Law, would not have *Decius* for his Antagonist; he represented, that Decency would not permit that two Professors, born in the same City, should oppose each other: whereupon it was ordered, that our *Philip* should teach again the Canon-Law (20). *Mainus* was not always so reserved; for he had a violent Quarrel with *Decius* (21).

[G] *Lewis* the XIIth demanded him of the *Venetians*.] The French Ambassador made such pressing Instances in the Senate of *Venice* to obtain *Decius*, that the Envoy of the *Florentines* could not forbear saying he would make a Report of it to his Masters. He found the thing somewhat singular. 'Ludovicus Galorum Rex *Decium*, velut subjectum, Ticinum revocat, sed *Venetis* eum dimittere recusantibus, Regius Orator maximam in Senatu contentionem exercuit, quod admiratus *Joannes Bernardi* Oricellarius, qui ibi pro *Florentinis* Legatus aderat, se ingentem ob unum hominem inter Excellos Principes ortam altercationem vidisse *Florentinis* relaturum dixit (22). — *Lewis*, King of *France*, demanded *Decius*, as his Subject, to return to *Pavia*; but the *Venetians* refusing to let him depart the King's Ambassador raised an extraordinary Dispute, at which *John Bernardi*, who was there as Ambassador from the *Florentines*, being surprized, declared he would inform the *Florentines*, that he had seen a hot Dispute between two mighty Powers for one Man.' This shews that *Paul Jovius* is mistaken; for he says, that the French Governor caused our *Decius* to come from *Pisa* to *Pavia* (23). Mr *Wharton* has committed the same Mistake (24).

(19) *Id.* *ibid.*

(20) *Id.* *ibid.*

(21) See the Article MAINUS, Rem. [F].

(22) *Panzirulus*, *ibid.* pag. 307.

(23) Ab ipso *Pisus* ubi uxorem duxerat Ticinum à Gallo præfite opimis stipendiis evocatus. *Jovius* ubi supra, pag. 207.

(24) *Wharton*, ubi supra, pag. 202.

[H] *Abej*

(17) *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 203.

(18) *Panzirulus*, ubi supra, pag. 205.

wrote a Book on that Subject. Pursuant to that Doctrine, a Council was held at *Pisa*, and he followed the Prelates of the *French* Party thither, which so exasperated *Julius II.*, that he excommunicated him. It is likely he bore it more patiently than the plundering of his House when *Pavia* was taken [H]. Not finding himself safe in *Italy*, he retired into *Fance*, where he was made Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble* [I]. By the King's Order, he went to join the Remainder of the Assembly of *Pisa* at *Lyons*; and afterwards he taught the Civil-Law in the University of *Valence* (e). After the Death of *Julius II.*, he was absolved by *Leo X.*, who offered to make him Professor of the Canon-Law at *Rome*. But being afraid of displeasing the King, if he should accept those Offers, he refused them (f). After the Death of *Lewis XII.*, he was invited to *Pisa*; but *Francis I.* would not permit him to go thither, and sent him to *Pavia* to teach there the Canon-Law. He left that Town because his Salary was not paid, and, seeing that *Milan* was besieged by the Emperor *Maximilian's* Forces, he returned to *Pisa*, where his Professor's Salary amounted at first to Eight hundred Crowns of Gold, and at last to Fifteen hundred. He died at *Siena*, the thirteenth of October 1535, being Eighty one Years old, and was buried at *Pisa*, in the Marble Tomb that he had caused to be made for himself. He had a natural Daughter, whom he loved very much, and who was very leud [K]. His Memory was much decayed in the last Years of his Life (g) [L]. There are several Books of his writing: it is observed, that he wrested the Interpreters, and that sometimes his Quotations were false (h). His Commentaries on the Decretals are very much esteemed (i). I will take notice of some of *Moreri's* Mistakes [M].

(e) See the Remark [I].

(f) Mr. Doujat *Præm. Canon.* pag. 617, did not rightly apprehend this; for he says, that Decius accepted them.

(g) Taken from *Panzirulus de claris Legum interpretibus*, lib. 3, cap. 135.

(h) Id. *ibid.*

(i) Doujat. *Præm. Canon.* 618.

[H] They plundered Decius's House when *Pavia* was taken. *Pavia* being taken, the Cardinal of *Sion* caused Decius's House to be plundered; his Library was dispersed. Nay, they had a mind to take that Professor's Daughter out of *St Andrew's* Nunnery, though she was but ten Years of Age; but they left her there at the Request of the Nuns, after having taken all her Estate from her. To compleat their Revenge, it was ordered that Decius's Effects should be delivered to the Public (25). *Paul Jovius* says, that the Cardinal of *Sion* suffered none but Decius's House to be plundered in *Pavia* (26). This happened in the Year 1512. *Forsterus* is therefore grossly mistaken; for, after having said that this great Civilian complains, 'se egenum, inopem, à patria ejectum, fortunis omnibus absque sua culpa spoliatum, præter spem (unicum miserorum solatium) nihil habere, he adds, hæc autem perpeffus est anno 1498 (27). — That he was reduced to Poverty and want, expelled his Country, unjustly plundered of all his Fortune, and had nothing left but hope, the sole comfort of Persons in his Circumstances. These Misfortunes beset him in the Year 1498. *Varillas* should have mentioned that Misfortune, since he thought fit to mention a lesser one. 'Philip Decius,' says he (28), was not free from *Julius's* Resentment. He had exasperated the Court of *Rome* to the highest degree, by offering the Council of *Pisa* to digest the Matters of which they were to treat, and to afford the Authorities necessary to support them. The Court of *Rome* was also afraid that he would write in favour of the Resolutions that should be taken in that Council, and that his Authority would make them acceptable where-ever it was respected. An Excommunication was fulminated against him to prevent it; and he was put into such a condition, that though he was generally beloved and esteemed in *Milan*, where he discharged so worthily the first Professorship of the Civil-Law, he durst but seldom stir out of his House, and then very well attended.' He is mistaken when he says that Decius was Professor of the Civil-Law in *Milan*.

[I] He was made Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. That City does not belong to the *Gallia Narbonensis*, as *Panzirulus* pretends. In *Narbonensis*, *Provincia*, (says he) *Gratianopoli cum CCL aureorum honorario Senator est declaratus* (29). He does not mention the Year. I cannot tell whether *Mr Alard* mentions it right, when he says that Decius was honoured with that Office in 1514 (30). And I question what *Panzirulus* says, that Decius taught the Civil-Law at *Valence*, after having been Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. I should rather believe that he was Counsellor in that Parliament after he had professed the Law in the University of *Valence*.

[K] He had a natural Daughter — who was very leud. It is said that her Leudness was attended with Imprudence, so that her Father had the Grief to know it, but pretended to be ignorant of it. She had not the Power to save Appearances: she used to play wanton Tricks with Boys in the Streets; which is not an equivocal sign of Leudness in *Italy*, as in some

other Places, but a convincing Proof of it. Here is another Disorder: instead of getting Money by her ill Behaviour, she spent much by it; for she bought the Careless of young Men very dear. I shall cite *Panzirulus's* Words: 'Filiam naturalem in deliciis habuit, quæ citharam edocta, dissimulante patre, minus honestam cum adolescentibus, quos magna etiam pecunia conducebat, vitam egisse dicitur, & cum illis in publico joci non erubescerebat (31).' We may rank Decius in the Catalogue that I have mentioned in another place (32). For the rest, if we believe *Paul Jovius*, his only Daughter (33) was married to a noble *Sienese*.

[L] His Memory was much decayed in the last Years of his Life. It failed him when he was to confer the Doctor's Degree on *Corras* (34). Others say, that he could no longer remember any Paragraph, or any Law, and that he could hardly speak a word of Latin. 'Sub finem vitæ adeo factus est obliviosus ut nullius legis vel paragraphi reminisci, & vix Latine quid proloqui potuerit (35).' I have not found these Words in the Author quoted by *Freherus*; but I find the whole Matter somewhat at large in a Work of *Corras* himself. These are his Words (36): 'Quin & nostra hac ætate Philippus Decius, egregius Jurisconsultus, anno 1536 (37) (quo tempore me in Senensi Academia Doctoratus titulo donavit) adeo senectute emarcuerat, ut nullius legis aut paragraphi ex jure nostro recordaretur: imo ægre quicquam Latine proloqui posset. Quare quum mihi ipsa gradus insignia conferre conaretur, alium quendam e collegis oportuerit prodire, qui verba solita nuncuparet. — And in our own time Philip Decius, an eminent Civilian, in the Year 1536 (from whom at that time I received the Degree of Doctor in the University of *Siena*) was so impaired by Age, that he remembered no Chapter or Paragraph of our Law, nay, could scarcely speak a word of Latin: inasmuch that when he attempted to have conferred the Degree upon me, another was obliged to appear and speak for him.'

[M] I will take notice of some of *Moreri's* Mistakes. I. Exactness will not permit one to say, that Decius lived in the beginning of the XVIth Century; for he was born in the Year 1454, and had got a great Reputation before he was thirty Years of Age. II. He studied first under his Brother at *Pavia*, and afterwards at *Pisa*: and therefore *Moreri* ought not only to have mentioned *Pisa*. III. *Jafon*, *Bartholomew Socinus*, and *Jerom Zanetini*, were not his Preceptors: he heard their public Lectures; but that is not what is meant in our Language, when we say that such a one had such and such Preceptors. IV. I question whether he was married: *Panzirulus* says nothing of it, tho' he follows him step by step in the least Passages of his Life, and says, in express Words, that he had a natural Daughter. This negative Argument seems to me to be preferable to the Affirmation of *Paul Jovius* (38). V. Decius did not retire to *Pavia*; for he was invited thither by *Lewis XII.* VI. He did not go to *Pavia* when he left *Pisa*: for he was Professor at *Padua* when *Lewis XII* sent for him to *Pavia*. *Paul Jovius* has deceived many People: 'Ab ipsis Pisis,

(31) *Panzir. ubi supra*, pag. 308.

(32) In the Article *STILPO*, Rem. [G].

(33) *Jovius, ubi supra*, pag. 207.

(34) *Senio confectus memoriam adeo infirmæ fuit ut Joanni Corrasio insignia Doctorum traditurus decesseret. Panzir. ubi supra*, pag. 309.

(35) *Freherus in Theatro*, pag. 874. *Hæc quæ Forsterus in Hist. Juris Civ. Rom. lib. 2, cap. 39.*

(36) *Joh. Corrasius Notis in Aræstium Parliamenti Tholosiæ*, pag. m. 71. 'I have not the French Edition, and therefore I quote the Latin Version made by Hugh Sureau.'

(37) *Panzirulus*, and all the other Biographers, place the Death of Decius in the Year 1535.

(38) *Pisis ubi uxorem duxerat Jovius Elegiarum*, pag. 207.

(25) Taken from *Panzirulus*, ubi supra, pag. 307, 308.

(26) *Unam omnium Decii domum militi diripiendam dedit Jovius, ubi supra*, pag. 207. *Wharton, ubi supra*, says the same, pag. 302.

(27) *Forsterus, ubi supra*, pag. 535. He quotes the Epistle dedicatory of Decius's Confilia.

(28) *Varillas, Histoir. de Louis XII.*, lib. 8, sub fin. pag. m. 85, ad. an. 1512.

(29) *Panzir. ubi supra*, pag. 308.

(30) *Allard, Biblioth. de Dauphiné*, pag. 87.

(39) Jovius, lib. Wharton, Freher Theatr. Vir. illust. pag. 114, say the same.

(40) In civitate Biturum jus divinum edocuit per duos ferme annos. Jovius El. g. pag. 207. Wharton, Freher, &c. say the same.

'says he (39), ubi uxorem duxerat, Ticinum à Gallo præfide, opimis stipendiis evocatus. — He removed, says he, from Pisa, where he married a Wife, to Pavia by the Persuasion of the French Governor, and a large Salary.' VII. Being retired into France after the plundering of his House, he did not stay two Years at Bourges, as Moreri affirms after Paul Jovius (40). Panzirolus's Silence seems to me demonstrative against it; and besides, the Chronology is not favourable to Moreri. He will have it, that Decius, after two years Stay at Bourges, was sent for to Valence, by Lewis XII, and honoured with a Place of Counsellor in the Parliament. The House of that learned Civilian was plundered in the Year 1512; and it is very likely that he did not come into France 'till towards the end of the same Year. Now

Lewis XII died the first day of January 1515. It is better to believe those, who say that Decius was provided with a Counsellor's Place at his Arrival in the Kingdom. Mr Doujat is mistaken in placing this in the Year 1510 (41). VIII. Decius was not buried at Pavia, but at Pisa. IX. Instead of nimis venuste, in Latomus's Verses, it should be minus venuste.

Take notice of another Fault in Paul Jovius. He says, that Decius, being returned into Italy, engaged himself in the Service of the University of Siena. It was in the Service of that of Pisa. Note also a Mistake of Mr le Laboureur: he says, that John James de Mêmes, Professor of the Law at Toulouse, had Philip Decius for his Colleague (42). But the latter never taught there.

(41) Doujat. Prænot. Canon. pag. 617.

(42) Le Laboureur, Additions to Castelnau's Mémoires, Tom. II, pag. 835.

DEJOTARUS, one of the Tetrarchs of Galatia, aggrandized himself by degrees in such a manner, that he encroached upon most of the Rights of the other Tetrarchs, and obtained the Title of King, and the lesser Armenia, from the Senate of Rome (a). He became at last the only Tetrarch (b). He did the Romans good Services in all their Wars in Asia [A]; and not doubting but that Pompey's Party was the Cause of the People of Rome, and that those who favoured Cæsar were Rebels, he declared for Pompey [B], and brought him a good body of Troops. He was severely censured for it some time after, when Cæsar, returning from Egypt to fight with Pharnaces, King of Pontus, drew near Galatia. Dejotarus, intending to make him forget his Attachment to Pompey, and to be supported against the other Tetrarchs, had supplied him with a great deal of Money (c), and quartered Domitius Calvinus's Forces in his Dominions (d). This was not unserviceable; for, after some sharp Reprimands, he found favour with Cæsar [C]. He asked his Pardon; and, to do it with more Humility, he put off his Royal Robes. Cæsar made him put them on again, and forgave him what was past (e), and confirmed the Title of King to him and his Son (f); but took him along with him to the War against Pharnaces (g), and afterwards he took Armenia, and Part of Galatia from him (b). Some time after, Dejotarus had a troublesome Affair at Rome. He was accused of an Attempt against Cæsar's Life. It was maintained, that, when Cæsar lodged at the House of Dejotarus, the latter had a Design to kill him. Cæsar, the Son of

(a) Hirtius, de Bello Alexand. cap. 67.

(b) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 390.

(c) Cicero, Orat. pro Dejotaro, cap. 5.

(d) He was Cæsar's Lieutenant in Asia.

(e) Hirtius, ibid. cap. 68.

(f) Cicero, ubi supra, cap. iii.

(g) Hirtius, ubi supra.

(b) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 2, cap. 8, & 36, & Philipp. 2, cap. 78.

[A] He did the Romans good Services in all their Wars in Asia Cicero speaks magnificently of it. These are his Words (1): ' Quid de patre (Dejotaro) dicam? ejus benevolentia in populum Romanum est ipsius æqualis ætati: qui non solum socius imperatorum nostrorum fuit in bellis, verum etiam dux copiarum suarum. Quæ de illo viro Sulla, quæ Murena, quæ Servilius, quæ Lucullus, quam ornate, quam honorifice, quam graviter sæpe in senatu prædicaverunt? Quid de Cn. Pompeio loquar? qui unum Dejotarium in toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum, vereque benevolum, unum fidelem populo R. judicavit. Fuimus imperatores ego, & M. Bibulus in propinquis finitimisque provinciis: ab eodem rege adjuti sumus, & equitatu, & pedestribus copiis. — What shall I say of the Father (Dejotarus), whose attachment to the Roman People is equal to his Age, who was not only our Ally in War, but who also headed his own Forces? With what Force, Esteem, and Eloquence, have Sulla, Murena, Servilius, and Lucullus, often extolled him in the Senate? What shall I say of Cneius Pompey, who looked upon Dejotarus as above all Mankind as a sincere Friend, and a hearty Well-wisher to the Roman People? I and M. Bibulus have commanded in the neighbouring Provinces, and have received, from the same Prince, Assistance, both of Horse and Foot.' See also what he writ whilst he commanded in Cilicia (2).

(1) Philipp. 11, cap. 13.

(2) Id. Epist. 4, lib. 15, ad Famil. pag. m. 388.

[B] Dejotarus declared for Pompey. Immediately after the foregoing Passage, which I have just now set down, Cicero goes on thus: ' Secutus hoc est acerbissimum & calamitosissimum civile bellum: in quo quid faciendum Dejotaro? quid omnino rectius fuerit dicere non est necesse, præsertim cum contra ac Dejotarus sensit victoria belli judicaret. Quo in bello si fuit error, communis ei fuit cum Senatu: sin recta sententia, ne victa quidem causa vituperanda est. — After this, burst out that most bloody and destructive Civil-War. What part was Dejotarus then to act? It is needless to say what had been the fittest, especially since Fortune declared herself quite contrary to the Sentiments of Dejotarus. In which War, if he was guilty of Error, it was the same Error which the Senate followed; but if his Opinion was just, the Cause ought not to be condemned because it wanted Success.' These Words inform us, that Dejotarus believed that Pompey would overcome; so that he engaged in that Party as well for political Reasons, as out of a Principle of Justice. We shall see in the following Remarks, that he always believed he had declared for the good Cause, but that he took care not to speak his Thoughts before Cæsar.

[C] After some sharp Reprimands, he found Favour with Cæsar. He asked Cæsar Pardon for having fought against him in the Battle of Pharsalia; he represented to him the Situation of his Country, which was such, that he could not be maintained by Cæsar's Forces: he added, that it did not belong to him to be a Judge of the Differences of the Roman People, but to obey those, on all Occasions, that were in Possession of the Command. To speak the Truth, they were false Excuses; for he had been fully persuaded that Pompey's Cause was that of the Roman People, and that Cæsar was a rebellious Subject; and therefore he had behaved himself like a Judge of the Differences of the Romans. Nevertheless, it ought not to be thought strange that he concealed his Thoughts; for there is hardly any Man, except the Saints of the highest Order, or Philosophers full of Contempt for worldly Things, that would have been more ingenuous than he was. All his Excuses were rejected; and he was told that his Imprudence was visible, and that he could not be ignorant that Cæsar was Master of Rome, that is, of the Seat of the Senate, and the Center of the Authority of the Roman People. Let this be said in favour of those, who do not understand Latin; for they, who understand it, will rather desire that I should cite Hirtius's Words, which are as follows (3): ' Cum propius Pontum finesque Gallogræciæ accessisset (Cæsar), Dejotarus, Tetrarchæ Gallogræciæ tunc quidem penè totius, quod ei neque legibus neque moribus concessum esse ceteri Tetrarchæ contendebant: sine dubio autem Rex Armeniæ minoris à Senatu appellatus, depositis Regiis insignibus, neque tantum privato vestitu, sed etiam reorum habitu supplex ad Cæsarem venit oratum, ut sibi ignoscere, quod in ea parte positus terrarum, quæ nulla præsidia Cæsaris habuisset, exercitiis imperii in Cn. Pompeii castris affuisset. Neque enim se debuisset judicem esse controversiarum populi Romani, sed parere præsentibus imperiis. Contra quem Cæsar, cum plurima sua commemorasset officia, quæ consul ei decretis publicis tribuisset, cum-

(3) Hirtius de Bello Alexand. cap. 67.

(i) He was come to Rome with the Ambassadors of Dejotarus.

Dejotarus's Son-in-law, carried on that Accusation, and suborned the Physician (i) of his Grandfather, by the Mother's side, to depose against his Master. Cicero pleaded the Cause of the Accused (k), and succeeded admirably well; nevertheless he did not gain the Cause: *Cæsar* would decide nothing on the one side or the other [D]: those who

(k) Vide Oratorem Ciceronis pro Dejotaro, passim.

que defensionem ejus nullam posse excusationem imprudentiæ recipere coarguisset, quod homo tantæ prudentiæ ac diligentis scire potuisset quis urbem Italianque teneret, ubi Senatus populusque Romanus, ubi Respublica esset, quis deinde post L. Lentulum & M. Marcellum consul esset: tamen se concedere id factum superioribus suis beneficiis, veteri hospitio & amicitia, ac dignitati etatque hominis, precibus eorum qui frequentes concurrissent hospites atque amici Dejotari ad deprecandum. De controversis Tetrarcharum postea se cogniturum esse dixit: regnum vestitum ei restituit. Legionem autem unam quam ex genere civium suorum Dejotarus natura disciplinæ nostræ constitutam habebat, equitatumque omnem ad bellum gerendum adducere jussit. — When he (*Cæsar*) was arrived near Pontus, on the Confines of Galatia, Dejotarus, undoubted King of Armenia the First, though his Title to the Tetrarchat of Galatia was disputed by the other Tetrarchi as being repugnant to Law and Equity, having put off not only his Regal Ornaments, but even the Habit of a private Gentleman, attended *Cæsar* in a Suppliant's Habit, humbly begging Pardon, that, since Fortune had placed him in a Country, where *Cæsar* had no Forces, he had assisted Pompey: for it did not belong to him to decide the Controversies of the Roman People, but to obey the present Power. To which, *Cæsar*, first reminding him of the many friendly Offices he had done him during his Consulship, to convince him the Defence, he had made, was no Excuse for what he had done, replied, it was impossible for a Person of his Prudence and Experience to be ignorant who was Master of Rome and Italy, where the Senate, People, and Republic were, or who was elected Consul after L. Lentulus, and M. Marcellus: however he forgave him for the former Services he had done, the ancient Acquaintance there had been between them, the Suppliant's Dignity, his Age, and the Entreaties of Numbers of People (*Dejotarus's* Friends) who interceded for him. Having restored him his kingly Apparel, he declared he would hereafter decide the Dispute about the Tetrarchat, but commanded Dejotarus to attend him to the War, with all his Cavalry, and the Legion which he had caused to be instructed in the Roman Discipline.

[D] He was accused of an Attempt on *Cæsar's* Life

..... *Cæsar* would pronounce nothing on the one side or the other.] I can only cite Father Abram on this Subject: he says, 'Videtur *Cæsar* sententiam distulisse, dum ut statuerat primo quoque tempore proficisceretur in Orientem: certe non fuit absolutus, ut constat è 2 Philippica (4). — *Cæsar*, says he, seems to have deferred his Sentence, till, according to a Design which he had formed, he should go into the East. It is plain from the second Philippic that he was not acquitted.' I here insert the Words that he quotes out of the second Philippic. 'Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Dejotaro *Cæsar*? ... à quo vivo nec præfens nec absens quicquam æqui bonive impetravit ... at ille nunquam (semper enim absenti affui Dejotaro) quicquam sibi quod nos pro illo postularemus, æquum dixit videri (5). — Who was ever more an Enemy to another than *Cæsar* to Dejotarus? who neither present or absent could obtain Justice from him whilst he lived. ... I had an intimate Correspondence with Dejotarus; but *Cæsar* never assented to what we moved in his Favour.' This puts in mind of a thing I have observed elsewhere (6), which is, that Advocates are very often subject to contradict themselves, because they make use of one and the same Fact, or of one and the same Reason, sometimes in one sense, and sometimes in another, according as the Causes they have in hand require. When Cicero confuted the Accusers of Dejotarus, he said that it was no ways credible, that a Prince, who had received so many Benefits from *Julius Cæsar*, should conspire his Death. Quæ quidem à te in eam partem accepta sunt, C. *Cæsar*, ut eum amplissimo regis honore & nomine affeceris. Is igitur non modo à te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus arguitur domi te suæ interficere voluisse, quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, suspicari profecto non potes.

(4) Abram, in Cicero's Oration. Tom. II, pag. 467.

(5) Cicero's Philippic, 2, cap. 37.

(6) Before, in the Remark [B] and [C] of the Article ANTONY (MARCE) the Orator.

A CONTRADICTION OF Cicero.

'Ut enim omittam ejus ... tam inhumani & INGRATI animi à quo rex appellatus esset in eum tyrannum inveniri (7). — Which Services, O *Cæsar*, were so acceptable to you, that you distinguished him by the greatest Marks of Honour, and the Name of King; it is he therefore, whom you saved from Danger, and loaded with Honours, who is accused of an Intent to murder you at his own House; of which crime you cannot suspect him guilty, unless you think him distracted. For, not to insist on the Inhumanity and INGRATITUDE of that Man must be guilty of, who proves a Tyrant to him that made him a King. But when, some Months after, he undertook to prove a Decree to be spurious, which was put forth under the Name of *Julius Cæsar*, he argued in this manner: This Decree is favourable to *Dejotarus*, and therefore *Cæsar* is not the Author of it, since he was always against *Dejotarus*, and never did him any Favour nor Justice; and thereupon he alledged particularly how *Dejotarus* had been hardly used by *Cæsar* even in the midst of Galatia, that is to say, where and when *Dejotarus* had a mind to kill him, as the Accusers said. Compellat hospitem præfens, computat, pecuniæ imperat, in ejus tetrarchia unum ex Græcis comitibus suis collocat: Armeniam abstulerat à Senatu datam (8). — He had made a positive demand, calculated, and given orders for levying the money, had placed one of his Attendants, a Greek, in his Tetrarchat, and had deprived him of Armenia, which the Senate had given him. Thus Cicero made use of *Cæsar's* Behaviour towards *Dejotarus* to different purposes. When there was occasion to prove, that *Dejotarus* was very much obliged to *Cæsar*, he said that *Cæsar* had been very kind to him; but when there was occasion to prove, that *Dejotarus* never had any share in *Cæsar's* Friendship, he said that the latter had behaved himself very unkindly towards him. What had been favourable to *Dejotarus* in *Cæsar's* Conduct, served for a Proof against the Accusers; and what had been contrary to that Prince, served for a Proof against *Marc Anthony*. I would fain know what Cicero would have answered to a Man who had told him, I understand by your second Philippic, that when *Cæsar* went through Galatia, he treated *Dejotarus* very harshly; it is therefore probable that *Dejotarus*, to be revenged, conspired against *Cæsar*: you must therefore strike out of the Plea for *Dejotarus*, the Proof that you made use of against his Accusers, grounded upon the Gratitude which the great Favours of *Julius Cæsar* inspired him with.

If the Cunning of Politicians was not well known, it would be a wonder to see that *Cæsar* did not give a Sentence of Absolution in *Dejotarus's* Cause; for if we judge of the Accusation by the Answer of the accused, there was never a greater Calumny forged than that of *Dejotarus's* Accusers. Besides, one of that King's Embassadors offered *Cæsar* to surrender himself a Prisoner, and to answer for his Master's Innocency, Body for Body: Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipi, & criminibus illis pro rege se supponit reum (9). It seems to me that the most likely thing the Accusers said was, that, during the War of Africa, *Dejotarus* was very inquisitive after News from that Country, and desirous to hear some bad news concerning *Cæsar*. Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una Regem semper in speculis fuisse ... sequutum est bellum Africanum, graves de te rumores qui etiam furiosum illum Cælium excitaverunt. ... Eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicæam, Ephesumque mittebat qui rumores Africanos exciperent, & celeriter ad se referrent (10).

— The remaining parts of the Accusation consists of two heads, the first that the King was always very curious in learning what passed. ... After this the War in Africa broke out, which was attended with Reports injurious to you, which stirred up the furious Cælius ... at which time, says he, he sent Persons to Nice and Ephesus to receive the Rumours from Africa, and bring them back to him. It concerned him to be no longer in fear of him, that fear being the only thing that hindered him from re-assuming the Possession of what he had lost. *Cæsar* did not question it; and for that Reason he had no mind to acquit him: by that means he kept him in awe, and encouraged

(7) Cicero pro Dejotaro, cap. 55.

(8) Idem Philippic, 2, cap. 37.

WHY *Cæsar* decided nothing on either side.

(9) Cicero pro Dejotaro, sub fine.

(10) Id. ibid. cap. viii.

(1) Cicero, Phil.
lib. 2.

who affirm the contrary, are mistaken [E]. Some Months after, he was murdered. As soon as Dejotarus heard of it, he retook all that *Cæsar* had taken from him (l). His great Age did not hinder him from joining *Brutus* in Asia (m); and by that Action he confirmed the Promises of his good Designs that were made to the Senate (n). He was not so good-natured as his Orator represents him [F]: he caused his Daughter

(m) Dio, lib. 47.
pag. 388.

(n) Cicero, Phil.
lib. 13, cap. 12.

and

encouraged Spies and Accusers. It was his Interest, that the Punishment of the Calumny in that case should not free his Enemies from the Apprehension they might be in of being calumniated. It is not improper to keep up such a Fear, when one is in such a Post as *Cæsar* was. What *Cicero* represented is very fine: if it be permitted to suborn Domestics to depose against their Masters, and if those false Accusers are not punished, it will be declaring War against all heads of Families, no Man will be safe in his own House; and by a strange Metamorphosis, Masters will be Slaves to their Servants, and the latter will become Tyrants over their Masters. *Servum sollicitare verbis, spe, præmiisque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra dominum armare, hoc est non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis bellum nefarium indicere.* Nam ista corruptela ferve, si non modo impunita fuerit, sed etiam à tanta autoritate approbata, nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullæ leges, nulla jura custodiant: ubi enim id quod intus est atque nostrum impune evolare potest, contraque nos pugnare, sit in dominatu servitius, in servitute dominatus. O tempora, o mores (11)! — To inveigle Servants with hopes and promises, to corrupt them with Presents, to decoy them from and arm them against their Masters, is not only declaring open War against one, but all the principal Members of Society; for if the debauching of Servants does not only pass with Impunity, but receives also the Sanction of such Authority, it will be in vain for a Man to hope for security in his own House, or expect it from the Laws. For where the secrets of Families are suffered to be divulged, and rise up against their Masters, the World must be turned upside down, Servants become Masters, and Masters Servants. *Cicero* was not aware that the Disorder he spoke of will ever be fomented by Tyrants and Uliurpers. They would have us fear lest the Walls and the Floors of our Chambers should witness against us. Observe, that Spies and Informers have at all times taken notice of the manner how People talk of News. It was one of the Crimes that was objected against *Dejotarus*.

(11) Id. ibid.
cap. 11.

[E] Those who affirm the contrary are mistaken. A Political Discourse printed in the Year 1660, shewing the Reasons of one of the Courts of Accounts of France for ratifying the Patents of the Naturalization of Foreigners, though Protestant, contains these Words (12): If you had read those Pamphlets, perhaps the Opinion, that you have brought with you from home, would drop as easily as the Case of *Cæsar's* Condemnation against *Dejotarus*, after he had heard the Great *Cicero* speak so eloquently and strongly for his Discharge. The Author of these Words has taken *Dejotarus* for *Ligarius*. See the Article *LIGARIUS*, Remark [A].

(12) In the Leaf
A 5 verso.

[F] He was not so good-natured as *Cicero* represents him. It was objected against *Dejotarus*, that he had applied a Verse to two Pieces of News which he had received at the same time, one good, and the other bad: one was, that his Friend *Domitius* had been cast away at Sea; and the other, that *Cæsar* was besieged in a Castle. *Cicero*, in order to shew that this was a Calumny, says, among other things, that *Dejotarus* was a good-natured Man, and that the Verse in question is the most barbarous in the World. Let our Friends persevere, provided our Enemies persevere likewise. This is the Sense of that Verse. *Quum esset ei nunciatum Domitium naufragio perisse, te in castello circumfideri, de Domitio dixit verbum Græcum eadem sententia qua etiam nos habemus Latinum, Pereant amici dum una inimici interdicant.* Quod ille si esset tibi inimicissimus nunquam tamen dixisset: ipse enim manifestus, versus immanis (13). *Plutarch* gives us a quite different Notion of *Dejotarus*. According to *Chrysippus*, says he, God resembles *Dejotarus* King of *Galatia*, who, having several Children, killed them all, except him to whom he designed to leave his Kingdom. To understand this, the Reader must see somewhat at length what goes before and what follows. As Cities over-charged with People send forth Colonies into other Places, and make War upon some, so does God, according to *Chrysippus*, send the begin-

(13) Cicero, ib.
pag. 650.

ning of some Mortality. And he brings in *Euripides* for a Witness with others, who says, that the Trojan War was caused by the Gods, to exhaust the Multitude of Men. . . . Consider, how *Chrysippus* always attributes to the Gods specious and kind Appellations; but at the same time, cruel, barbarous, and Galatian Deeds. For those so great Slaughters and Carnages, as were the Productions of the Trojan War, and again of the Median and Peloponnesian, were no way like Colonies, unless these Men know of some Cities built in Hell, and under the Earth. But *Chrysippus* makes God like to *Dejotarus*, the Galatian King, who, having many Sons, and being desirous to leave his Kingdom and House to one of them, killed all the rest; as he that cuts and prunes away all the other Branches from the Vine, that one, which he leaves remaining, may grow strong and great; but the Vine-dresser does this, the Sprigs being slender and weak. *Τὸ Γαλάτῃ Διοτάρῳ ποιεῖ Χρυσίππῳ ὁμοίον τὸν θεόν, ὅς παλαιοὶ νεν εὐτὴ παίδων γενομένων, ἐνὶ βελόχευος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολαίπειν καὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἀπαντας ἐκείνους ἀπέσφαζεν, ὥστερ ἀμύδι βλαστὸς ἀπολαίπειν καὶ κολλᾶσαι, ἵνα εἰς ὃ λεπτοὺς ἰσχυρὸς γένῃται καὶ μέγας.* *Dejotaro* Galatæ similem deum *Chrysippus* facit. Qui cum haberet complures filios, cum vellet uni regnum domumque relinquere, cæteros omnes necavit: tanquam vitis palmites si præcideret, ut unus aliquis superstes, validus magnusque fieret (14). And we, to favour a Bitch, take from her many of her new-born Puppies, whilst they are yet blind. But *Jupiter*, having not only suffered and seen Men to grow up, but having also both created and increased them, plagues them afterwards, devising Occasions of their Destruction and Corruption; whereas he should rather not have given them any Causes and Beginnings of Generation (15). These words of *Plutarch* contain a Comparison, which puts me in mind of an Impertinence of *Vanini*, which I have read in the *Doctrina Curieuse* of Father *Garasse*, pag. 815. As for Men, said he, we should do with them as the Fellers of Wood do in great Forests; they go and view them, to see the dead and green Wood, they cut off all that is useless and superfluous, or prejudicial, and keep only good Trees, or young hopeful Tillers. In like manner, said that wicked Atheist, a strict search ought to be made every Year of all the Inhabitants of great and populous Cities; and those that are useless, and hinder the rest from living, should be put to Death: such as those who have no Profession useful to the Public, decayed old Men, Vagabonds, and idle Fellows: Nature ought to be pruned, and Cities cleared; a Million of People should be put to death every Year, that are like Briars and Brambles to the rest, and hinder them from growing.

(14) Plutarch de
Stoic. Repugn.
pag. 1049. C.

(15) Idem ibid.

The Action, which *Plutarch* imputes to *Dejotarus*, does not seem very certain, when compared with the Praises that *Cicero* bestowed upon this King of *Galatia*, and with the Silence of the Accusers concerning such an Inhumanity. Would *Cicero* have said that *Dejotarus* was a very good Father, *optimus pater familias* (16), if his Grandson *Cæsar* could have reproached him with the Murder of his Children? Would he have said that his Probity, known to every body, was a sufficient Confutation of the Calumny? *Hoc loco Dejotarum non tam ingenio & prudentia, quam fide & religione vitæ defendendum puto. Nota tibi est, C. Cæsar, hominis probitas, noti mores, nota constantia: cui porro, qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, Dejotari probitas, integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non sit audita (17)? — Heretn *Dejotarus* may be defended, not so much for his great Capacity, and Wisdom, as his Integrity, and Sanctity of Life. You, O *Cæsar*, are no Stranger to his Honesty, his Morals, or his Constancy: and who, that has ever heard the least mention of the Roman People, has not also heard of the Honesty, Sincerity, Constancy, Virtue, and Integrity of *Dejotarus*? Observe, that *Dejotarus* had but one Son at the time of the Accusation. Nay, he had but one when *Cæsar* lodged in his House (18). I may be*

(16) Cicero calls
him so, pro *Dejotaro* cap. 9.

(17) Ibid. cap. 6.

(18) Ib. cap. 3.

told

and his Son-in-law to be put to Death, and demolished the Fortrefs where they lived. It is very likely that *Castor* escaped from him [G]; and that it was he, who obtained, in the Seven hundred and fourteenth Year of *Rome*, the Country, that *Dejotarus* and *Attalus* left vacant by their Death in *Galatia*. *Dejotarus* had another Son-in-law, against whom he undertook a Religious War [H]; for, being the Patron of the Temple, and of the Priests of the Goddess *Cybele*, he could not endure that his Son-in-law *Brogitarus* should prophane that sacred Place: he armed against him, and drove him from thence. He

was

(19) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 391.

(20) Ibid. pag. 387.

(21) Ibid. pag. 390.

(22) Pro Dejotaro, cap. 7.

(23) Others read Luceium.

(24) Cicero pro Dejotaro, cap. 6.

(25) Id. ad Att. c. Epist. 17, lib. 5, pag. m. 525.

(26) Id. pro Dejotaro, cap. 3.

(27) Id. Epist. 21, ad Attic. lib. 5.

(28) Idem Philippi, 11, cap. 7, 35.

(29) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 390.

(30) Dio, lib. 49, pag. 469.

(31) Philipp. ubi supra.

(32) Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. 5, pag. 715.

(33) Dio, lib. 45, pag. 479.

(34) Id. lib. 48, pag. 437.

(35) Post pugnam Philippiensem scribit Dio, lib. 48, *Castor etiam eadem Attali & Dejotari in Gallia decesserunt* &c. A. U. 714. debuit dicere *Dejotaro* non *Castori*. Dio non semel filios alieno nomine videlicet patrum eorumdem appellat. — Dion says, lib. 48, that after the Battle of Philippi, the Territories of Attalus and Dejotarus, who died in Galatia, were given to one Castor, in the Year of Rome, 714. He ought to have said to *Dejotarus*, and not to *Castor*. Dion often gives to the Sons the Name of their Fathers.

(36) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 387.

(37) Dio, lib. 50, pag. 488.

(38) Strabo, ubi supra.

(39) Lib. 12, pag. 391.

told that *Strabo* (19) mentions a thing that favours *Plutarch*, which is, that *Dejotarus*, having taken the chief City of his Son-in-law *Sacondarius*, caused him to be put to death, as he did his Daughter, the Wife of *Sacondarius*, demolished the Fortrefs, and plundered most of the Houses. In answer, that this is very different from *Plutarch's* Narrative. Doubtless *Dejotarus* did this, to revenge the horrid Treason of that Son-in law, who, probably, had been the chief Director of the Accusation against *Dejotarus*.

I shall observe by the bye, that the chief City of *Sacondarius* was called *Gorbis*: but because *Strabo* a few Pages before (20) calls the chief City of *Sacondarius's* Grandson, *Morzeus*, there is some likelihood that those Names have been altered. *Cassaubon* conjectures it. The same thing may be conjectured concerning the chief City of *Dejotarus*; it was called *Blucium* (21) according to some Manuscripts, and *Blabium*, according to others. Doubtless there is a Fault in it, since *Cicero* (22) calls the Castle, where *Dejotarus* was to receive *Cæsar*, *Castellum Luceium* (23)?

[G] It is very likely that *Castor* escaped from him. *Castor* was the Promoter of the Accusation at *Rome*, where he suborned *Dejotarus's* Physician to make him depose against his Master (24). Judge whether *Dejotarus*, who did not spare his Daughter, would have spared such a Grandson? We must therefore believe that *Castor* did not fall into his Hands. I cannot tell what became of *Dejotarus's* Son, for he did not succeed his Father: he had obtained the Title of King from the Senate (25), and afterwards from *Cæsar* (26), and was to marry a Daughter of *Artavasdes* King of *Armenia* (27). *Cicero* praises him very much (28). He, who succeeded *Dejotarus*, was called *Amyntas*, if we believe *Strabo* (29). Now this *Amyntas* had been *Dejotarus's* Secretary (30), and afterwards General of his Forces in *Brutus's* Army (31): He forsook *Brutus's* Party, and went over to *Antony's* Camp. Doubtless that was it which moved *Antony* to give him *Pisidia* in 714 (32), and *Galatia*, *Lycania*, and *Pamphilia* in 718 (33). Now because *Dion* says, that, in 714, the *Triumviri* gave *Castor* the Dominions of *Dejotarus*, deceased in *Galatia*, and those of *Attalus*, deceased in the same Country (34), I could easily believe that *Strabo* is mistaken when he says, that *Amyntas* was *Dejotarus's* immediate Successor. I think it is better to say, with *Dion*, that *Castor* succeeded *Dejotarus*, and then we may say that *Amyntas* succeeded *Castor*. Though *Father Noris* shews by some Examples, that it is usual with *Dion* to give a Son the Name of his Father, yet I cannot believe that this happened as to *Castor*; and if it were so, *Father Noris* would nevertheless have committed a Fault (35): for in such a case *Dion* could not have taken *Castor* for *Dejotarus*, since *Castor* was not the Son of *Dejotarus*, but only his Daughter's Son. It is likely that *Castor*, who accused his Grandfather at *Rome* of having attempted upon *Cæsar's* Life, is he, whom *Dion* mentions, as having succeeded *Dejotarus*. As for *Dejotarus Philadelphus* King of *Paphlagonia*, the Son of *Castor* (36), I confess I know not from whence to derive his Extraction. I cannot tell whether his Father is the same *Castor* who accused his Grandfather; that might be: I only know that he left *Marc Antony* in the War of *Asia*, to join *Octavius* (37), and that he was the last King of *Paphlagonia* (38).

I will not end this Remark without informing the Reader, that when I spoke of *Sacondarius*, *Dejotarus's* Son-in-law, I understood *Strabo's* Words otherwise than they are commonly understood. Τὸ τῷ Κάσορ-ρῳ βασιλεῖον τῷ Σακκονδάρει, ἐν ᾧ γαμετρὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιπαρῶν Διόταρος, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν εὐνύ. They are *Strabo's* Words (39), which may signify, either The Chief City of *Castor* *Sacondarius*, wherein his Father-in-law *Dejotarus* caused him and his Wife to be put to Death, or else The chief City of *Castor* the Son of *Sacondarius*, in

which the latter was put to Death with his Wife by *Dejotarus* his Father-in-law. This last Translation (40) seemed better to me than the other, because I am certain that *Castor* was the Son of *Dejotarus's* Daughter, and that, not knowing his Father's Name, I may be allowed to call him *Sacondarius*, as well as by any other Name. Note, by the bye, an advantage of our Language over the Greek. The latter allowed of a Disposition of Words, wherein a Name might as well be taken for the Sir-name, as for the Father of a Man.

Perhaps *Suidas* may be alledged against me, who called *Dejotarus's* Son-in law, *Castor*; but *Suidas's* Authority is of no Weight in this Case. He supposes that *Dejotarus* was accused before *Cæsar* by his Son-in-law, which is a very unexact Account. *Cicero* the Advocate of the accused, and consequently infinitely more credible than a hundred thousand *Suidas's*, says plainly and expressly in several places of his Plea, that *Castor*, Grandson of *Dejotarus*, was the Accuser, and speaks but faintly and indirectly of *Castor's* Father in relation to the Plot. I make no doubt that the Son had his Father's Approbation, and that *Dejotarus* made use of it as a Pretence for the Barbarity wherewith he used his Son-in-law; but after all, Exactness requires that here we should follow the Testimony of *Cicero*. Moreover does not good *Suidas* say, that *Dejotarus* was a Roman Senator? Is it not such a gross Ignorance as makes him altogether unworthy to be believed on this Head? We shall see hereafter whether *Dejotarus's* Son-in-law was learned, and Author of several Books.

[H] He had a . . . Son-in-law, against whom he undertook a Religious War. The abominable *Clodius*, having found a Man in *Phrygia* ready to give a good Sum of Money, upon condition that he should be invested with the Pontificate of *Pessinus*, gave him a Patent for it. That Man was married to a Daughter of *Dejotarus*, and his Name was *Brogitarus*. He was put in possession of the Temple, and the Priests were expelled. But *Dejotarus*, full of Zeal for the Worship of *Cybele*, drove out that Usurper, who prophaned all those Holy Ceremonies. See how *Cicero* displayed his Eloquence upon that Occasion. Sed quid

ego id admiror? he directs his Speech to *Clodius* (41), qui accepta pecunia Pessinuntum ipsam, sedem, domiciliumque Matris deorum vastavit, & Brogitaro (42) Gallogræco impuro homini ac nefario totum illum locum fanumque vendideris: sacerdotem ab ipsis aris pulvinaribusque detraxeris: omnia illa quæ vetulas, quæ Perse, quæ Syri, quæ reges omnes qui Europam Asiamque tenuerunt, semper summa religione coluerunt, perverteris? quæ denique nostri majores, &c. Quod quum Dejotarus religione sua castissimè tueretur, quem unum habemus in orbe terrarum fidelissimum huic imperio atque amanissimum nostri nominis, Brogitaro, ut ante dixi, additum pecunia tradidit. — Quum multa regia sunt in Dejotaro, tum illa maxime, quod tibi nullum munus dedit: quod eam partem legis tuæ, quæ congruebat cum judicio Senatus, ut ipse rex esset, non repudiavit: quod Pessinuntum per scelus à te violatum, & sacerdotem sacrisque spoliatum recuperavit, ut in pristina religione fervaret: quod ceremonias ab omni vetustate acceptas à Brogitaro pollui non finit, maulitque generum suum munere tuo, quam illud fanum antiquitate religionis carere. — But why should I wonder at that? (says he, addressing himself to *Clodius*) when for Money you gave up Pessinus its self, the sacred seat of *Cybele*, to plunder, selling the Place and Temple to *Brogitarus*, a Galatian profane and villainous, tearing the Priest from the Altar, and laying your sacrilegious Hands on those things, which the Persians, Syrians, and all the Kings of Europe and Asia for many Ages, had honoured with uncommon Zeal, nay, and our own Ancestors, &c. which though *Dejotarus*, the most sincere Friend of this Empire, and who has the most tender Affection for the Roman

(40) Father *A. dram* keeps to it all along in his Commentary upon *Cicero's* Oration for *Dejotarus*.

(41) Cicero, Orat. de Harusp. cap. 13.

(42) Add to this the following Passage out of the Oration for *Sex-tius*, cap. 26. Lege tribunitia Matris Magnæ Pessinuntis ille sacerdos expul-sus, & spoliatum sacerdotio est.

Annusque sanctissimus, atque antiquissimus religionum venditum pecunia grandi Brogitaro, impuro homini, illi religione, præsertim cum ea sibi ille non colendi, sed violandi causa appetivisset. . . . By the Tribunitian Law, the Priest of *Cybele*, was deprived of his Office, and that ancient and venerable Temple sold for a small Sum of Money to *Brogitarus*, a Wretch unworthy of so sacred a Charge, especially as he did not seek it for the sake of Religion, but of Plunder.

Name,

was most superstitiously fatuated to Auguries [I]. Cicero has made very good Reflexions upon this [K]. It does not well appear at what time Brutus pleaded Dejotarus's Cause

'Name, had with a sacred awe maintained, yet, as I said before, you basely sold to Brogitarus for Money. . . . Though Dejotarus has many Royal Virtues, yet that of his never bribing you deserves especial Notice, his not abolishing that part of your Law, which was agreeable to the Senate, his recovering Pessinus, which you had impiously profaned, and plundered, his not suffering it's Rites, which had through unknown Ages been religiously kept, to be trampled on by Brogitarus, and his choosing that his Son-in-law should rather lose his Money, than that the Temple should be deprived of that Veneration it had always enjoyed.'

[I] Dejotarus was most superstitiously fatuated to Auguries.] He undertook nothing without consulting the Flight of Birds, and he was so governed by that kind of Auspices, that he often interrupted his Journeys, and went Home again after he had been several Days in March. He had no other Reasons to do so, but the Prefages which he discovered in his Way. The flight of an Eagle once hindered him from pursuing his Journey; and it was well for him, for, if he had continued it, he had been buried under the Ruins of the Chamber, that was designed for him. It fell the following Night. Being very well skilled in those things, he was his own Prophet, and Soothsayer. He did not forget to furnish himself with the most necessary Qualification for that Profession; which is, never to be at a stand, never to confess he is mistaken, and have always some Evasion at Hand. He found a Subterfuge that was full of Morality, when he lost the greatest part of his Dominions, and a great Sum of Money, for having been in Arms against Cæsar. He led his Forces to Pompey; the March was long, and he had always good Omens on the Way; which made him flatter himself that Cæsar would be defeated. Things turned quite otherwise; Cæsar was victorious, and made Dejotarus feel his Repentment in a very troublesome manner. What did Dejotarus? Had he Honesty enough to acknowledge that his Science had deluded him? Did he shew any Sorrow, or Repentance, for his too great Credulity? None at all; but he had recourse to the finest Maxims of Morality: he said that the Auguries, which had moved him to continue his March to Pompey's Camp, were truly good Auguries, since under their direction he had followed the Party of Justice. It is true that it cost him the best Part of his Dominions; but, said he, the Glory of having performed my Duty is dearer to me than all the Riches of the World. For fear I should be suspected to sophistificate this Passage of Cicero, I insert it at length. 'Quid ego hospitem nostrum clarissimum atque optimum virum Dejotarium commemorarem, qui nihil unquam nisi auspicio gerit? qui quum ex itinere quodam proposito & constituto revertisset, aquilæ admonitus volatu, conclave illud ubi erat mansurus si ire perrexisset proxima nocte corruit. Itaque ut ex ipso audiebam, persæpe revertit ex itinere, quum jam progressus esset multorum dierum viam. Cujus quidem hoc præclarissimum est, quod postea quam a Cæsare tetrarchiæ regno, pecuniæque multatus est, negat se tamen eorum auspiciorum, quæ sibi ad Pompejum proficiscenti, secunda eaverunt pœnitere. Senatus enim autoritatem & P. R. libertatem atque imperii dignitatem, suis armis esse defensam, sibi quæ eas aves, quibus autoribus officium & fidem secutus esset, bene consuluisse: antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse possessionibus suis gloriam (43). — Why should I mention that great good Man Dejotarus, who never undertakes any thing without first consulting Omens? Who, warned by the flying of an Eagle, returned from a Journey he had begun, when the Room wherein he designed to have lodged, had he proceeded, the next Night fell down. So that, as I have heard him often say, he has many times turned back, though he has been advanced several Days Journey. Of whom there is one thing very singular. That, after his being deprived of his Tetrarchat, and fined by Cæsar, he denies ever to have repented the Omens of Success, which attended his going to join Pompey; since the Authority of the Senate and Roman People had been supported by his Arms, and those Birds, which had directed him to follow what his Duty and Honour demanded, had advised him well, for that his Glory was Prior to his Do-

minions.' Observe that this Man, who had such a religious Respect for the Orders of Providence, as to the Doctrine of Auguries, made no difficulty to usurp his Neighbours Dominions, and to put his Son-in-law and his Daughter to Death for Quarrels, which doubtless Ambition had created. It is likely he would not have spared his Father in a like Case.

[K] Cicero has made very good Reflexions upon this.] He observes, that the Principles of the Romans in the Science of Auguries differed strangely from those of Dejotarus, and that in some things they were quite contrary. This is a very strong Observation against the doctrine of Prefages; for since God only knows things to come, it is he alone that sends them. Now God does not contradict himself, and therefore he does not make the same things serve to foretel Good and Evil. 'Solebat ex me Dejotarus percontari nostri augurii disciplinam, & ego ex illo sui. O dii immortales quantum differat, ut quædam essent etiam contraria (44)! — Dejotarus frequently enquired of me the Principles of our Augury, and I of him those of theirs; but, O heavens! how widely did they differ! nay in some cases were directly contrary.' Here is a Consideration of greater weight. Could Dejotarus say any thing more frivolous, than to maintain, that he did not repent of having followed the Auspices which Heaven had offered him, whilst he marched to join Pompey; that he did not repent, I say, since he had always preferred Glory before the Possession of a Kingdom? What is this to the Auspices? Did you not know, before they were presented to you, what you owed to the Friendship of the Roman People; what Fidelity and Justice required from you? Was you not fully persuaded that Glory, Honour, and Virtue, are preferable to a Crown? The croaking of a Crow in your March was not therefore designed to teach you those Truths. You knew them before as well as now. Auguries do not teach Moral Doctrines, but good or bad Events: if they promised you a good Success, they deceived you: you fled with Pompey, and the Conqueror deprived you of your Dominions. 'Nam illud admodum ridiculum, quod negas Dejotarum, auspiciorum quæ sibi ad Pompejum proficiscenti facta sunt, non pœnitere, quod fidem secutus, amicitiamque Po. Ro. functus sit officio. Antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse laudem & gloriam quàm regnum & possessiones suas. Crederet id quidem, sed hoc nihil ad auspicia. Nec enim ei cornix canere poterat recte eum facere, quod Po. Ro. libertatem defendere pararet: ipse hoc sentiebat sicuti sensit. Aves eventus significant aut adversos, aut secundos. Virtutis auspiciis video esse usum Dejotarum, quæ vetat spectare fortunam dum præstetur fides. Aves vero si prosperos eventus ostenderunt, sefellerunt. Fugit è prælio cum Pompejo, grave tempus: discessit ab eo, luctuosa res: Cæsarem eodem tempore & hostem & hospitem vidit &c. (45). —

It is very ridiculous to say, Dejotarus never repented the Omens he had, when he went to join Pompey, that he had followed the dictates of Honour and Friendship to the Roman people, and had therein discharged his duty, for that Honour and Fame were dearer to him than his Kingdom and Territories. I believe so, but what relation has this to Augury? For neither could the Crow tell him he did well, in endeavouring to defend the Liberty of the Roman people. He was equally sensible of this at that time as at this. The Birds denote good or bad Success. But Dejotarus followed the dictates of Honour, which allows no enquiry into the Success, but the Justice of the Cause. If the Birds promised him Success, they deceived him; he fled with Pompey from the Battle; dreadful day! He parted from him, a melancholy Circumstance! He saw Cæsar at the same time his Enemy and his Guest! It is most certain, that Dejotarus did not examine the Auspices, to know whether by joining with Pompey he should embrace the Good Cause, but to learn whether his Journey should be attended with good Success. He only consulted and studied the Auguries, to know whether he acted prudently: he was fully persuaded that he acted justly; for if, after having seen the entire Ruin of the Republican Party, he continued firmly persuaded that Pompey's Party was the just Side, he could not doubt of it, when Pompey was in a prosperous Condition. It was therefore an unfair thing in him, and an effect of an ill-grounded

(44) Ibid. lib. 2, cap. 8, & 36.

(45) Ibid. cap. 36.

(43) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 2, cap. 15.

Cause before *Cæsar* [L]. If the Women of the Old Testament might be compared with those of *Paganism*, we may compare *Sarah*, the Wife of *Abraham*, with *Stratonice*, the Wife of *Dejotarus* [M]. The latter made an ingenious Answer to *Craſſus's* Raillery concerning his old Age [N]. *Moreri* is very short upon *Dejotarus*, tho' he had plenty of Matter, and nothing to do but collect it. Notwithstanding his Brevity, he has committed gross Mistakes [O]. I shall mention them in the last Remark.

ill-grounded Shame to make use of this shift; the Auguries have not deceived me, since I am better pleased for having acted like a good Man, and a Man of Honour, than if I had purchased a Kingdom. This puts me in mind of a very common Subterfuge among those who, during the Wars for Religion, preach to their People that God promises them good Success, that all Presages are favourable to them, &c. It frequently happens, that all those fine Promises are attended with the Loss of a Battle. The Preacher is not disturbed at it; but finds an hundred admirable Evasions: had we been victorious, says he, we had trusted too much to the Arm of Flesh, we too much praised our Strength; a Defeat teaches us that we are not humble enough; the Finger of God will be more sensible hereafter: after all, the Presages were happy, since the Victory will become fatal to the Conqueror, and the Vanquished will learn the better to trust in him who is the Rock of Ages.

[L] It does not well appear at what time *Brutus* pleaded *Dejotarus's* Cause. *Cicero* speaks of it in this manner: 'Erat à me mentio facta causam *Dejotari* si delissimi atque optimi regis ornatissime & copiosissime à *Bruto* me audisse esse defensionem (46).—I have observed before, that I have heard the Cause of *Dejotarus*, a King of uncommon Honour and Fidelity, gallantly, and with great Eloquence, defended by *Brutus*. It is not questioned but that the Book, wherein he speaks thus, was written before the Death of *Cato Uticensis* (47): and therefore it must be said that *Brutus* did not plead for *Dejotarus* in *Cæsar's* Accusation, for it was at the Return from Spain, and after the War of Africa, that *Cæsar* examined that Accusation. Nay, we may be sure that *Brutus* did not plead for *Dejotarus* at Rome, but at *Nicaea*; and therefore there is reason to believe that he only justified *Dejotarus* for bearing Arms against *Cæsar* in *Pompey's* Army. 'De (*Bruto*) *Cæsa*rem solitum dicere, magni refert hic quid velit: sed quidquid volt, valde volt, idque animadvertisse, cum pro *Dejotaro* *Nicaeæ* dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum & libere dicere (48).—*Cæsar* used to say of *Brutus*, that he never intermeddled but in Affairs of Consequence, but that whatever he undertook, he prosecuted in earnest, and that he had made this Observation, when he pleaded for *Dejotarus* at *Nicaea*, when he spoke with great Freedom, and an uncommon Resolution.' That Speech of *Brutus* is not so much praised by the Author of the Dialogue de *Causis corruptæ eloquentiæ* as by *Cicero*. *Plutarch's* Memory did not serve him well upon this Occasion: he tells us of a King of *Libya*, whose Cause was stoutly maintained by *Brutus*. He could not justify him; the Crimes were too great, and too evident; but by his many Intercessions he secured him part of his Kingdom (49). This does not concern a King of *Libya*, but *Dejotarus*.

[M] *Sarah*, the Wife of *Abraham*, may be compared with *Stratonice*, the Wife of *Dejotarus*. *Stratonice*, Wife of *Dejotarus*, was barren, and being informed that her Husband passionately desired to have Children, that might succeed him in his Kingdom, she advised him to make Use of another Woman, and promised him to own the Children he should get by her. He admired that Counsel, and declared that he would do what she pleased. Upon which she made choice of a very beautiful Maid among the Captives (50), dressed and adorned her, and presented her to *Dejotarus*. She owned all the Children that were born in that manner, and educated them tenderly and splendidly (51). *Plutarch* in another Place calls *Dejotarus's* Wife *Berenice*, Βερρονίκη. He says one thing of her, which the Sceptics make use of: Which is, that a Woman of *Lacedæmon* coming near *Berenice*, it happened that those two Women turned their Heads from each other immediately; *Berenice*, because she could not endure the smell of Butter; and the other, because she could not endure the smell of Perfumes. Ἦρδς δὲ Βερρονίην τὴν Διοσίπαι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τινὰ γυναῖκα ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν. ὥς δὲ ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων περσέησαν, ἐνθὺς ἀποστρέφονται, τὴν μὲν τὸ μύρον, ὡς

ῥοινη, τὴν δὲ τὸ βύτρυον δυσχερύνονταν. Et ferunt *Spartanam* quandam mulierem accessisse ad *Berenicem* *Dejotari uxorem*, cumque in vicem appropinquassent, averſas fuisset, quod unguentum altera, altera butyrum olfaciens averſaretur (52). The Greek Termination of *Stratonice* and *Berenice* might perhaps confound *Plutarch's* Ideas, so far as to give the same Queen sometimes the first of those Names, and sometimes the last. It may be also, that *Dejotarus* had two Wives, one called *Stratonice*, and the other *Berenice*.

[N] He made an ingenious answer to *Craſſus's* Raillery concerning his old Age. That Roman Captain went thro' *Galatia*, in his Expedition against the *Partians*, and found King *Dejotarus* there, who, though a very old Man, was building a new City. He told him in jest, it appears to me, Sir, that you begin very late to build, since you begin at the last Hour of the Day. That King of *Galatia* immediately answered him, neither are you set out very early to make War against the *Partians*. For *Craſſus* was above sixty Years old, and his Face made him look older (53). *Dejotarus* must needs have been very old then; for *Cicero*, speaking of a time very near that, says, that it was a Wonder how that Prince had the Strength to keep on Horse-back, after several Persons had set him on. *Dejotarus* quum plures in equum sustulissent, quod hæere in eo senex possent admirari solebamur (54). It was when *Cicero* commanded in *Cilicia* in the Year 702. *Craſſus* had been defeated two Years before. *Cicero* contracted a very strict Friendship with King *Dejotarus* whilst he was in *Cilicia*, and received all manner of Assurances from him (55). He gave his Son and his Nephew to *Dejotarus* the Son, who carried them into *Galatia* (56). I have another proof of *Dejotarus's* old Age. He was already an old Man when *Pompey* made War against *Mithridates*. He recommended his Children and his House to *Cato of Utica* (57). We have seen above (58) that he had but one Son in the time of the War against *Pharnaces*.

[O] *Moreri* has committed gross Faults. It is not true, I. That *Dejotarus* was accused of having caused his Daughter and his Son-in-law *Cæsar* to be put to Death. II. And that this gave *Cicero* an occasion to make that admirable Oration in his Defence which is still extant. The true Subject of the Accusation, and of *Cicero's* Oration has been mentioned in the Text of this Article. III. It is very unlikely that *Cæsar* the Historian was the Son of *Dejotarus's* Son-in-law. Why then does *Moreri* affirm it as an undoubted thing?

Saligner (59), *Vossius* (60), *Father Hardouin* (61), and several other great Men, are of Opinion that *Cæsar*, firamed the *Chronographer* by *Josephus* (62), is the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus*. Three Reasons hinder me from adopting that Opinion. The first is, that this *Cæsar*, as they own, wrote a Book intituled, χρονικά ἀνομήματα, Chronological Ignorances. Now that Work was cited by *Apollodorus* (63), who flourished under *Ptolemy Evergetes* the second of that Name (64): it must needs be then that *Cæsar* flourished at latest in the same Reign. How then could he be the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus*? for that Son-in-law was still living when *Cicero* pleaded for *Dejotarus* (65), that is to say, in the Year of Rome 709, or thereabout. Could a Man, who had flourished in the Reign of *Evergetes*, which extends from the Year of Rome 608, to the Year 636, be yet living in the Year 709? I draw my second Reason from this, that *Cæsar* the Chronographer had composed many Books, on Matters that required the whole Time of a Man. An Author like him must needs have studied extremely, and done almost nothing else. This does not suit *Dejotarus's* Son-in-law. He is spoken of as a Man who warmly espoused *Pompey's* Party, inasmuch that his Son out of Complaisance for him was unwilling to lay down his Arms after the Defeat of *Pharsalia*, though *Cicero* did his best to persuade him to it. 'Hic vero adolescens . . . cum in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis equitibus, quos una cum eo ad *Pompeium* pater miferat, quos concursus facere solebat? quam se iactare? quam se ostentare? quam nemini in illa causa studio & cupiditate

(52) *Plut. ad-
versus Craſsum*,
pag. 1109. B.

(53) *Id. in vita
Craſſi*, pag. 553.

(54) *Cicero pro
Dejot. cap. 10.*

(55) See the 426
Letter of the 126
Book ad *Familia-
res*, and the Oration
pro *Dejot.*
cap. 13.

(56) *Epist. 17
de 18, lib. 5, ad
Atticum.*

(57) *Plut. in
Catoe minore*,
pag. 765. E.
He uses the plural
Number *quidam*.

(58) In the Re-
mark [F], *Cicero*,
(18).

(59) *Anima dv.
in Euseb. pag.
16, & 56.*

(60) *Vossius de
Histor. Græc.
pag. 159.*

(61) In *Indice
Autorum Flinii*.

(62) In *Appian-
lib. 2.*

WHETHER
Cæsar, Author
of several Books,
is the Son-in-
law of *Dejotarus*.

(63) *Biblioth.
lib. 2, pag. m.*

(64) *Vossius, ubi
supra*, pag. 132.

(65) *Cicero, pro
Dejot. cap. 10*,
where directing
his Speech to
Cæsar, he clearly
intimates,
that his Father
had a Hand in
the Accusation.
He had said a
little before, that
Cæsar, after the
Battle of *Phar-
salia*, perished in
Pompey's Party
to please his Fa-
ther. This you
will see in the
next Quotation.

(45) *Cicero in
Bruto*, cap. 5.

(47) See *Fabric-
ius in the Life
of Cicero*, ad
ann. 707.

(48) *Cicero ad
Attic. Epist. 1,
lib. 14.*

(49) *Plut. in
Bruto*, pag. 986.

(50) *Her Name
was Eletra.*

(51) Taken from
*Plutarch, in his
Treatise de Vir-
tutibus Mulie-
rum*, pag. 258.

* & cupiditate concedere? Cum vero, exercitu amisso, ego, qui pacis auctor semper, post Pharsalicum praelium, suavis fuisset armorum non deponendum, sed abjiciendum, hanc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere; quod & ipse ardebat Audio ipsius belli, & patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur (66).

(66) Cicero, ib. pag. 654.

— *What noble Sallies did that brave Youth make in our Army at the head of his chosen Horse, which his Father had sent to Pompey? With what a Majestic Mien, with what a Grace, with what an Ardor and generous Ambition did he enrol himself in that Cause? When the Army was lost in the Battle of Pharsalia, I, who was always an Advocate for Peace, and advised them not only to lay down their Arms, but cast them away, could not prevail upon him to listen to my Authority: his Soul glowed with heroic Ardor, and stood resolute to answer his Father's Expectations.* Add to this, that Cicero, in his Plea for Dejotarus, does not say a word whereby it appears that the Son-in-law of that Prince was a Man of Letters. He could not well have been silent about it, if that Son-in-law has been as illustrious by his Books as the Chronographer Castor was. I may be told that this Silence was an Address of Cicero's Rhetoric; he was afraid that the Father's Doctrine would be a favourable Presumption for the Son, who was Dejotarus's Accuser; but this Objection is of no force. Cicero might have aggravated the Fault of the Son a thousand ways, and even that of the Father, by the Consideration of the Learning of the latter. I may be told again, that perhaps Dejotarus's Son-in-law had not yet published his Books. But how comes he then to be cited by Apollodorus? And when was it that he published them? Did not Dejotarus, who did not survive the Process he had at Rome above three or four Years at most, cause him to be put to Death (67)? Besides, I observe that Cicero lays it down for matter of Fact, that Dejotarus's Son-in-law was not known in the World, but by the Honour Dejotarus did him to grant him his Daughter. Before that time, he was an obscure Man. A great Author is not thus spoken of. The vast and prodigious Distance that is between him and Sovereigns, is not a Reason to say that he is unknown, and that he lives in Obscurity; and nothing would persuade me more that he had got a very great Reputation, than to see a Prince make choice of him for his Son-in-law. So that I believe, that if the learned Castor had married Dejotarus's Daughter, he would have attained to that Honour by the Lustre of his Learning, and consequently that Cicero had not dared to say of him what he did say: 'Rex Dejotarus vestram familiam abiecit & obscuram de tenebris in lucem vocavit: quis tuum patrem antea qui esset, quam cuius gener esset, adivit (68)? — King Dejotarus raised your Family mean and obscure: who ever heard of your Father till it was known whose Father-in-law he was?' My third Reason is, that, though several ancient Writers have cited Castor, yet none calls him Dejotarus's Son-in-law: Yet such a Quality is seldom forgotten; for as it is very rare among Authors, and the Lustre it gives to the Person that has it, spreads itself in some manner over all the Common-Wealth of Learning, a Writer takes Pleasure in saying, when he can do it, that the Author, whom he cites, is the Son, or the Son-in-law of a King. If ever such a rare Circumstance ought to have been remembered, it is when a Royal Father-in-law has been as well known to the learned, as Dejotarus was since Cicero's Harangue. How comes it then that the Son-in-law of Dejotarus is never cited under that

(67) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 391.

(68) Cicero, ubi supra, cap. 11.

Title? Varro (69), Josephus, Plutarch, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Eusebius, St Cyril, Ausonius, and Stephanus Byzantinus have cited Castor, but none of them calls him Dejotarus's Son-in-law. If I am not mistaken, none but Suidas has done it. But who is ignorant of the prodigious confusion of his Dictionary: almost every thing is in disorder: How many times doth he divide what ought to be joined, and join what ought to be divided? We have seen already that Suidas takes Dejotarus for a Roman Senator.

What I have said, that Castor must needs have continually applied to his Studies, will appear most likely to all those, who shall consider the nature of his Works. It appears that he undertook to reform Chronology, and to observe the Errors of the ancient Historians. He is cited (70) concerning the Kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, and Athens, and concerning the Monarchy of the Assyrians. He wrote a Book concerning the City of Babylon, and concerning the Nations which had been successively Masters of the Sea (71). He wrote a Treatise concerning the Nile, and another wherein he compared the Customs of the Romans with those of the Sect of Pythagoras (72). I do not mention the Rhetorical Books that Suidas ascribes to him, for it may be that they are of another Castor. All good Judges will easily grant that, of all the Productions of the Pen, none requires more Time, Application, and Patience, than those wherein a Man proposes to himself to rectify Chronology, and to criticize the Historians. This is what Castor did: Witness his Errata of Chronologers, *ἑσπερινὰ ἀστρονομία*, and the Book hinted at by Ausonius (73).

I have been not a little surprized to see, that Antonius CASTOR, mentioned by Pliny, has been confounded with the Son-in-law of Dejotarus. This Father Hardouin has done (74), not considering that Antonius Castor lived in Pliny's time, and above an hundred Years. He was an excellent Botanist, who cultivated a very great number of Plants in his Garden, and spoke learnedly of them. He had never been sick, and being above a hundred Years old, he had still a good Memory, and a great deal of Vigour. Pliny had seen that Garden, and learned a great deal from that Botanist. 'Nobis certe, exceptis admodum paucis, contigit reliquas contemplari scientia Antonii Castoris, cui summa auctoritas erat in ea arte nostro ævo, vivendo hortulo ejus, in quo plurimas alebat: centesimum ætatis annum excedens, nullum corporis malum expertus, ac ne ætate quidem memoria aut virore concussus (75).' Can this suit with the Son-in-law of Dejotarus? Was he not killed with his Wife by his Father-in-law before the Seven hundred and fourteenth Year of Rome, and above fifty Years before Pliny was born (76)? When Father Hardouin conjectures from a Passage of Pliny, that Antonius Castor composed some Volumes concerning Plants, he is much more in the right: nevertheless it may be, that Pliny's words (77) signify only that Castor sowed the Plant in question in his Garden, or that he made the Description of it to the Curious that went to see it. What makes me doubt of the Conjecture of that learned Commentator, is, that if Castor had published some Books of Botany, Pliny would have said something of it, when he speaks of that Man's Garden, and Knowledge (78). However it be, Father Hardouin has been more lucky than Vossius; he applies the Passage of the twentieth Book of Pliny to Antonius Castor, whereas Vossius understood it of Castor the Chronographer cited by Apollodorus.

(69) In libris de Vita Populi Romani. Vossius de Hist. Græc. pag. 158, 159, will tell you in what Places the other Authors mentioned by me have cited Castor.

(70) Eusebius in Chron.

(71) Περὶ θαλάσσης καταστάσεων.

(72) Plutarch, in Questionibus Romanis, citet it.

(73) Quod Castor cunctis de Regibus ambiguis. Ausonius in Proseffor. Burdig. Epig. 23, ver. 7.

(74) In Indice Author. Plinii.

(75) Plinius, lib. 25, cap. 2. Mori quod the 1st Chap. of the 15th Book.

(76) He was born in the 774th Year of Rome, and he died, being about 56 Years of Age, more or less, in the Year 834.

(77) They are at the beginning of the 17th chapter of the 20th Book.

(78) In the 2d chap. of the 25th Book.

DELLIUS (QUINTUS), a Greek Historian. Plutarch mentions him twice: I. When he relates that Marc Antony sent to signify to Cleopatra, that she should come into Cilicia to justify her Conduct (a), for she was accused of having supplied Brutus and Cassius with Succours. II. When he mentions the Disgrace of some of Marc Antony's good Servants (b). The first Passage informs us, that Dellius was sent to Cleopatra, to notify to her the Order to come into Cilicia: the second tells us, that Dellius withdrew from Marc Antony's Court, on the Advice he received that Cleopatra designed to have him killed. In the first Case Plutarch makes him act a cunning Part [A]; and

(a) Plut. in Marc. Antonio, pag. 926.

(b) Ib. pag. 943.

[A] Plutarch . . . makes him act a cunning Part. As soon as he saw and heard that beautiful Queen, he judged there would be quickly occasion for her, and that her Beauty, assisted by her Eloquence, would give her an intire ascendancy over Marc Antony. For which Reason he began to make his court to Cleopatra,

and advised her to appear in Cilicia, with all her Ornaments. He assured her that she had nothing to fear from such a polite and courteous General as he that sent for her. She found her self wonderfully confirmed by this Discourse in the hopes she had conceived of making her self beloved by Marc Antony. She argued

and in the second, represents him as guilty of a great Indiscretion [B], in relation to what is called good Fortune in point of Galantry. It is in this last Passage that we learn that *Dellius* was an Historian [C], and that he published the Reason why he withdrew from *Marc Antony's* Court. He did it in a Circumstance of Time very favourable to *Augustus*. It was a little before the Battle of *Actium*, and he was well acquainted with *Marc Antony's* Designs, and able to inform *Augustus* of the Condition the Enemy was in (c). *Seneca*, the Father, relates several things, which are not to the Honour of *Dellius* [D]. It is thought, with great Probability, that the *Dellius* mentioned in the third Ode of the second Book of *Horace*, is the same with him that is mentioned by *Plutarch* [E], and who was sent several times Embassador by *Marc Antony* (d). I shall put together, in one Remark, the Faults I have observed upon this Article [F].

(c) Dio, lib. 50. pag. m. 495.

(d) See the Remark [C], at the end.

(1) This puzzles the Critics, for it does not appear at what time *Pompey's* Son could be in Love with *Cleopatra*, before the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. See *Mark Vellus's* Letters.

(2) Plut. in *Marc. Antonio*, pag. 925, 927.

(3) Ibid. pag. 927. D.

(4) See his Words in the Remark [F], Citat. (16).

(5) Lib. 49, pag. 474.

(6) That is of *Marc Antony*.

(7) Voss. de Hist. Græcia, pag. 477.

(8) Lib. 21, pag. 360.

gued with her self in this manner: since *Cæsar*, and the Son of the great *Pompey* (1), who only saw me when I was a young unexperienced Girl, and unacquainted with the World, became nevertheless my Conquest, what may I not expect at present, now that my Beauty and my Wit are in their full Perfection? 'H δὲ καὶ Δελλίῳ πεισθεῖσα, καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Γναίον τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα πρότερον αὐτῇ γενημένοις ἀφ' ὧρας συμβολαίοις τεκμαίρεσθαι, μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κέρην καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπειρὸν ἐγνώσαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐμὲν ποιεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ὡς τε λαυπετότητι ἔχουσι καὶ τῷ φεσθῆναι ἀμύχουσι. Illa tunc ab *Dellio* induita, tunc conjecturam ducens ex prioribus suis formæ cum *Cæsare* & *Cneo Pompeii* filio commercii, facile *Antonium* speravit se subitum: quando fuellam adducit illi & rerum rudem cognoverant, ad hunc vero ventura erat quo maximè tempore speciem habent sœmine florentissimam & ingenio vigent (2). This way of arguing is much better than those imagine, who speak only of Girls of fifteen Years of Age, of Roses half blown, and in whose Opinion twenty Years is an entrance into Old Age. Impertinent People, who may easily know, both by what passes in their Time, and by the Histories of past Ages, that the Ladies, who have most charmed great Princes, and who made the greatest Noise in a Court, were of an Age that permitted them to acquire the experience of Affairs, and to perfect their Wit; and that there are but few whose Empire is of any long continuance, if the charms of the Body are not assisted by Graces of the Mind. *Plutarch* observes that *Cleopatra* was more Charming by the agreeableness of her Words and Conversation, than by her Beauty, which was not extraordinary. Καὶ γὰρ ἢν (ὡς λέγουσιν) αὐτὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἢ πᾶν δυσπαράκλητον, εἰς δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλήξαι τὸς ἰδόντας. Neque enim erat (ut perhibent) figura ejus per se usque adeo incomparabilis, neque ut obstupesceret spectatores (3). — Her Beauty (by report) was not in itself so surprizingly great, or such as could dazzle the Spectators. [B] As guilty of a great Indiscretion [B] He complained at Table that they made them drink Vinegar, whilst *Sarmentus* drank the most delicious Wine at *Rome*. This *Sarmentus* was a young Boy whom *Augustus* loved passionately. That Comparison went far, and *Cleopatra* was offended at it; it is a Sign that *Dellius* had complained that this Queen did not well entertain those, who made her taste the Sweets of Love. This is somewhat extraordinary; for when a Woman is able to buy the most juicy Meats and the best Liquors for such Men, she willingly does it to increase or revive their Vigour. *Plutarch* does not say in what Author he had read that Cause of *Cleopatra's* Anger against *Dellius*; it is not likely that it was to be found in the History of the latter, as it was found there that a Physician, whose Name was *Glaucus*, gave *Dellius* notice that *Cleopatra* had a Design upon his Life. However it be, *Plutarch* (4) observes that *Dellius* was one of those, who forsook *Marc Antony*, being moved to it by the Injuries and the Scurrility of *Cleopatra's* Flatterers. We shall see, by and by, a Passage of *Seneca*, which is a Proof that there was an amorous Intrigue between *Dellius* and that Queen. *Dion* (5) speaks of a much more criminal Conversation. Κύντον τινὰ Δέλλιον παιδικὰ ποτὶ ἐαυτῷ γυνόμενον περιέλας. Missio ad eum Q. quodam *Dellio* exoleto suo (6). — Sending to him one *Quintus Dellius* his Catamite.

[C] *Plutarch* says that *Dellius* was an Historian.]

Vossius (7) approves *Cassaubon's* Conjecture on a Passage of *Strabo* (8), wherein *Adelphius* is cited as the Author of the History of *Marc Antony's* Expedition against the Parthians. *Strabo* adds, that the Author of that History had commanded part of the Forces in that Expedition, and that he was a good Friend to *Marc Antony*. All this agrees with *Dellius*: So that there being no Writer that mentions the Historian *Adelphius*, it is likely, as *Cassaubon* conjectures, that we should read *Dellius*, and not *Adelphius*, in that Passage of *Strabo*. When I say all this agrees with *Dellius*, I do not mean that there is any Authority, whereby it appears that he had a command in the War that *Marc Antony* made against the Parthians. I only mean, that it is very likely he had. And indeed we know that *Marc Antony* took him along with him in the Expedition of *Armenia* in the Year of *Rome* 720 (9), and that he sent him twice to negotiate with *Artavasdes*.

[D] *Seneca*, the Father, relates several things that are not for the Honour of *Dellius*.] The Name that was given to *Dellius*, can hardly be expressed in the French Language; *Quem Messala Corvinus desultorem bellorum civilium vocat* (10). They called him the Runner of Civil Wars. He sided with all Parties, and turned like a Weather-cock. He left *Delabella* to join *Cæsius*; he had his Life promised him provided he killed *Delabella*. He left *Cæsius* to side with *Marc Antony*, and lastly, he left *Marc Antony*, and embraced *Augustus's* Party. It is he, adds *Seneca*, of whom there are some lascivious Letters written to *Cleopatra* (11). *Seneca* calls him *Dellius*. Doubtless it is of him that *Seneca* the Philosopher speaks, when he says that *Augustus* had so much Clemency, that he made Choice in the Enemies Army of those, whom he intended to admit to his greatest familiarity, the *Cocceus's*, the *Duilius's*, &c (12). According to the Remark of *Lipsius* it must not be read *Duilius*, but *Dellius*, or rather *Dellius* (13). If the Reader remembers what I have said in the Remark [A] of the Article of *CHARLES* the Fifth, he will be persuaded that *Augustus's* Clemency was mixed with exquisite Policy.

[E] *Dellius*, mentioned in the third Ode of *Horace*, is the same with him who is mentioned by *Plutarch*.] This is Mr *Dacier's* Opinion. What he adds does not seem to me in all respects so probable. 'It is probable, says he (14), that he had a share in the Favours, which he pretended to manage for his Master, and that he received from *Cleopatra* the same Pleasure, which she furnished to *Antony*; for *Seneca* speaks of some very free Letters which he had writ to that Princess.' This Passage contains two principal Facts. The one is that *Dellius* used his skill with *Cleopatra* to make her comply with *Marc Antony's* Love; the other is, that he solicited for himself at the same time, and not unsuccessfully. The first is not very likely; *Marc Antony* had no need of a Solicitor: *Cleopatra* went to him as to her Judge, and notwithstanding the good Opinion she had of her Beauty and Wit, she conceived new Hopes from what *Dellius* had told her of *Marc Antony's* Humour: She dressed herself to the best advantage, and at the first Interview, the omitted nothing to make a Lover of him, and easily succeeded in it: so that a third Person would have been as needless at all times, as he would have been troublesome in some Cases. As to the second Fact, I find it very likely; and after all I do not question, but that if *Dellius* had acted the Part of a Solicitor for his Master, he would have done what most others do in the like Case: he would have paid himself with his own Hands; and if he had not imitated those who are employed to buy Wine, and who taste it first, he would at least have imitated the Domestics of the second Rank, who eat what comes from their Master's Table.

[F] I shall put together the Faults I have observed.] *Andreas Schottus* says, that *Dion* gives *Dellius* the Title of

(9) Dio, lib. 49, pag. m. 474.

(10) *Seneca* Father, *Saufloria* 1, pag. m. 12.

(11) Hic est *Dellius* ejus epistole lascivæ ad *Cleopatram* feruntur. Id. ib.

(12) *Cocceus* & *Duilius* & totam cohortem primam admissionis ex adversariis ejus castris concitavit. *Seneca* de *Clementia*, lib. 1, cap. 10.

(13) *Lipsius*, in *Tacit. Annal.* lib. 1.

(14) Remarks upon the 3d Ode of the 2d Book of *Horace*.

of Historian, and that *Plutarch* reckoned him among *Cleopatra's* Flatterers: *Οὗ Δέλλιος ὁ ἰσοεικὸς Διονύσιον* lib. 50. & *Plutarch* in *Antonio* inter *Cleopatra's* adulatores numeratur (15). These two Facts are false. *Plutarch's* Words have not been well understood by *Andreas Schottus*; he refers the Relative *ἔν* to *κλέακας*, but it ought to be referred to *φίλων*. The Sequel of the Discourse shews it plainly. See what trouble the Languages give, whose Grammar is not so rigorous as that of the *French*. I insert the Words quoted by *Andreas Schottus*, and I add the *Latin* Translation to it. Πολλὰς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κλέακας ἐξέβαλον, τὰς παρρησίας καὶ βοήθειας

ἐν ὑπομένοντι, ἔν καὶ *Μάρκῳ* ἢν Σίλανος καὶ *Δέλλιος* ὁ ἰσοεικὸς. *Complures alios illius amicos expulserunt Cleopatram adulatores, quod contumelias & procacitatem eorum non sustinerent: in quibus M. Syllanus fuit, & Dellius historicus* (16). It will appear from them that *Plutarch* is so far from placing *Dellius* among *Cleopatra's* Flatterers, that he says the Flatterers of that Queen drove him away. *Lippius*, having cited *Plutarch's* Words, adds, *eadem Dio, quinquagesimo libro* (17). But it is not true that *Dion* says the same things; he does not speak of *Cleopatra's* Flatterers; he does not say that *Dellius* was an Historian, nor why he retired.

(16) *Plut.* in *Antonio*, pag. 943.

(17) *Lipf.* ubi supra.

DELPHINUS (PETER), General of the Order of *Camaldoli* in the beginning of the XVIth Century. There are some Letters of his that were written before he was General, in the Time that passed from the Year 1462 to the Year 1480 (a). A curious Passage was left out in the printed Edition, which is to be found in a Manuscript of those Letters [A]. *Delphinus* died the fifteenth of January 1525, and was buried at *Murano*, near *Venice*, in the Monastery (b) of *St Michael* (c).

(a) *Mabillon*, *Museum Italic.* Tom. I, pag. 202.

(b) *Of the Order of Camaldoli.*

(c) *Mabillon*, ib.

[A] They have left out . . . a curious Passage, which is to be found in a Manuscript of those Letters.] The curious and learned Father *Mabillon* tells us what it is (1). The Passage that was left out was in the Thirty fifth Letter of the seventh Book, and contains this. The Inhabitants of *Arezzo* had thrown into a Well a Lion (2) of Stone, that was at the top of the great

Church. When the *French* entered that Town under *Charles VIII*, the Lion was taken out of the Well, and placed in the middle of the great Street; and all the Inhabitants of *Arezzo*, that went by, were obliged to kneel before that Lion, and ask Pardon for their Revolt.

(1) *Mabillon*, *Museum Italic.* Tom. I, pag. 279.

(2) It was the Arms of Florence.

DEMETRIUS (MAGNES), a Greek Author, cotemporary with *Cicero* [A], writ some Books, the Loss whereof is very grievous to those, who apply themselves to know, or compose, the Lives of the ancient Writers. He wrote a Book concerning Authors and Towns of the same Name [B]. That Work was useful and necessary, considering

[A] Cotemporary with Cicero.] This may be proved by these words: 'Memini librum tibi afferri a Demetrio Magnete (ad te missum scio) *περὶ ὁμωνύμας*. Eum mihi velim mittas. Vides quam caussam mediter (1). — I remember you received (for I know it was sent) a Treatise on CONCORD from Demetrius Magnete. As you know what I am employed about, you would oblige me by sending it.' What follows is a much clearer proof: 'Hæc igitur videbis, & quod ad te ante scripsi, Demetrii Magnetis librum quem ad te misi de concordia, velim mihi mittas (2). — You shall see these things: And I again desire you to send me the Treatise on CONCORD, which Demetrius Magnete sent you.' You see there that Demetrius had sent his Book on Concord to *Pomponius Atticus*: and therefore he lived at the same time with that good Friend of *Cicero*. If *Vossius* had remembered the second Passage that I have cited, there had been no occasion for him to use any Arguments to prove (3), that in the first Passage we must read *ὁμωνύμας* and not *ὁμωνύμων*. The learned *Maussac* was for this last Reading. 'Ego dico restituendum *περὶ ὁμωνύμων*, de hoc enim opere loqui voluit Cicero. De Concordia autem scripsisse Demetrium illum adhuc non legi (4). He did not therefore remember that he had read *Cicero's* Letter, wherein the same Book of Demetrius is intitled, *De Concordia*. Let us learn by this Example how apt the most learned Critics are to give us very false Corrections. *Henricus Valefius* takes no notice of this Fault of *Maussac*. Let us observe a Mistake of *Jonsius*: he says that *Cicero* reckons Demetrius Magnete among those who taught him Rhetoric, and he cites the *Brutus* of *Cicero* (5). I have consulted that Work, but have not found this in it: I only find that *Cicero* frequented the School of Demetrius the Syrian, and that *Dionysius Magnete* was constantly with him. 'Eodem tempore Athenis apud Demetrium Syrum, veterem & non ignobilem dicendi Magistrum studio exerceri solebam . . . (6) assiduissime autem mecum fuit Dionysius Magnete (7). You will find in *Plutarch* (8), that one of *Cicero's* Masters in the Art of Oratory was called *Dionysius Magnete*. It is easy to see from whence *Jonsius's* Mistake proceeds: his Memory transposed the Surnames of the two Persons mentioned by *Cicero* in the same Page. *Mollerus* follows *Jonsius's* Error (9).

(1) *Cicero* ad *Atticum* Epist. 11, lib. 8, pag. 78, 788. Edit. *Græv.*

(2) *Id.* Epist. 12, ejusd. libri, pag. 799.

(3) *Vossius* de *Hist. Græc.* lib. 1, cap. 23, pag. 149, 150.

(4) *Maussac* not. ad *Harpocrat.* voce *μεδών*.

(5) *Jonsius* de *Script. Hist. Phil.* pag. 207.

(6) *Cicero* in *Bruto*, cap. 91.

(7) *Id.* ibid.

(8) *Plut.* in *Cicero*, pag. 862, E.

(9) *Mollerus* de *Script. Homonymis*, pag. 901.

libro de Poëtis ac Scriptoribus æquivocis (10). In another place (11) he observes, that the Author had mentioned six Persons who were called *Thales*. I omit the other Passages wherein he cites him. A learned Commentator (12) was of Opinion that the Word *ὁμωνύμων* ought to be inserted instead of *συνονόμων* in this Passage of *Plutarch* (13): *Οὐ μὲν ἔγνωμεν πάντη, ἀλλὰ Σαμίᾳ τινι συνώκισεν, ἃς ἰσοπέδι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνονόμων*. Non duxit eam tamen uxorem (*Demosthenes*) sed Samiam quandam, ut tradit Demetrius Magnete in libris de synonymis, in matrimonio habuit. — He was not married to her, but to a Samian, as Demetrius Magnete relates in his Treatise of Authors, who bore the same Name. The same Commentator observes, that Demetrius was not the only Person that writ on that Matter, and that the Greeks cite *Dionysius* the *Sinopian* in *ὁμωνύμοις* and one *Simarefius* in *συνονόμοις* (14). The first of those two Observations has been very ill understood by *Vossius*, or rather he trusted too much to his Memory, and it failed him. He pretends (15) that *Cajaubon* said, that instead of reading *περὶ συνονόμων* in *Diogenes Laërtius*, it must be read *περὶ ὁμωνύμων*. He adds, that nothing must be changed, since Demetrius wrote some Books upon those two Subjects. He proves it by *Plutarch's* Words above cited. This is to suppose, that there is *περὶ συνονόμων* in *Diogenes Laërtius*, which is false. Nor is it true that *Cajaubon* would have introduced that Term there; it was only in the Life of *Demosthenes* composed by *Plutarch*. *Ménage* (16) has taken notice of those two Faults of *Vossius*, which nevertheless made a learned Man (17) say lately, that *Cajaubon* was in the wrong to pretend that *ὁμωνύμων* must be put in *Laërtius's* Life of *Thales*. He accuses *Jonsius* wrongfully of having pretended the same thing. *Ménage* might have observed a third Mistake of *Vossius*, for under pretence that *Plutarch* quotes the Work of *Synonymis*, it must not be imagined, that it is a different Book from that which others quote with this Title, *de homonymis*. *Cajaubon* should not therefore have desired that an Alteration should be made in *Plutarch's* Text. It is very likely that *Plutarch* writ those Words *ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνονόμων*. An Historian, who quotes many Books, does not confine himself to denote them precisely by the same word that the Authors of them made choice of in their Titles; he is contented to denote them by Words that signify the same thing: now it is certain that in the common Language the word *Synonymis* was as much made use of as the word *Homonymis*, when one had a

(10) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 1, in *Epimenide*, n. 112, & lib. 5, in *Aristot.* n. 3.

(11) *Id.* lib. 1, in *Thalete*, n. 38.

(12) *Isaac. Caubon.* in *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 1, n. 38.

(13) *Plut.* in *Demosthene*, pag. 853, A. He cites him also pag. 858, F. without mentioning the Title of the Book, and pag. 850, B. without firming him Magnete.

(14) See below, *Citat.* 27.

(15) *Vossius*, ubi supra, pag. 150.

(16) *Ménage* in *Laërt.* lib. 1, n. 38.

(17) *Joh. Mollerus* de *Script. Homonymis*, pag. 902.

[B] He wrote a Book concerning Authors of the same Name.] *Diogenes Laërtius* gives the Title of it: *Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων Ποιητῶν τε καὶ Συγγραφέων*. Demetrius Magnete in VOL. II.

sidering the many Poets, and Philosophers, &c. who had the same Name. *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laërtius*, *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *Harpocration*, &c. have cited this *Demetrius*. The

(18) See above, Rem. [F], of the Article AL-LATIUS.

mind to say that such and such Poets, such and such Towns, &c. had the same Name. It was only in the Logical Books that they made a difference between ὁμώνυμα homonymous, and συνώνυμα synonymous. At present, by the caprice of Custom, we are brought to another Method: we cannot say indifferently, such a Man made a Treatise of Equivocal Writers, or of Synonymous Writers, or of Writers of the same Name (18). The Ideas that are annexed to the Word equivocal, do not allow of such an indifferency, and consequently in the common Language, as well as in Logical Books, we ought to make some Distinction between ὁμώνυμα equivocata, and συνώνυμα synonyma, when we have a mind to express the Sense of those Terms. *Plutarch*, as I have already said, needed not make any such Distinction upon such an occasion. He was as free to quote the same Book of *Demetrius*, either with the word ὁμώνυμον, or with the word συνώνυμον, as we are free to quote the same Work of *Father Rapius*, either with the Title of *A Comparison between Plato and Aristotle*, or with the Title of *A Parallel between Plato and Aristotle*. A perfect exactness would require, that in quoting a Book the very words of the Title should be made use of, instead of some that are equivalent, but most Authors cannot confine themselves to it. Some remember Things better than Words; as for example, they remember that *David Blondel* wrote a Book on the *Eucharist*, and do not remember that this Book is intitled *Eclaircissement familier de la controverse de l'Eucharistie*. Nay, they fancy that instead of the word *Eucharist*, the Author made use of the word *Lord's-Supper*; so that without any scruple they cite *Blondel* in his *Treatise of the Lord's-Supper*, as soon as *Blondel* in his *Treatise of the Eucharist*, or *Blondel* in his *Eclaircissement sur la controverse de l'Eucharistie*. Some question whether there is *Lord's-Supper*, or *Eucharist*, in the Title, but fearing to lose some precious Moments, if they should lay down the Pen to clear the Matter by opening the Book, they are contented with an equivalent Term. Let us apply this to *Plutarch* as to the difference that is between him and *Diogenes Laërtius*, with respect to the Book of *Demetrius Magnes*. He minded the Thing itself more than the Word: he knew that That Author had composed a Book about the Writers of the same Name, and that there was in it a Circumstance of *Demosthenes's* Marriage; he knew that the Word συνώνυμα was as good to represent the Matter of that Book, as the Word ὁμώνυμα, and that was sufficient for him; he did not think the thing was worth the trouble of interrupting himself, even though he had doubted whether the Author's Title was περὶ ὁμώνυμων, and not περὶ συνώνυμων. I would not have enlarged on these little things, had I not thought it might serve to shew us the Illusions of the Critics. How often do they think that certain Passages ought to be corrected under Pretence of some difference of Letters? How often, say I, do they believe it without any Reason, and how often do they unjustly exclaim against the Transcribers? What shall I say of so many Authors, and of so many Books, which they wrongfully multiply, under Pretence, that they do not find the same Orthography in the Ancients who cite them? Oh, what strange Blunders would be committed by virtue of those Rules a thousand Years hence in commenting upon our Writers, who with the utmost Negligence spell the Names of our Authors (19), and mention the Titles of Books, just as they please (20).

(19) See the Republic of Letters, Sept. 1685, Art. IX, pag. 1024, and following.

(20) See, above, the Article DAMIEN, Citat. (10).

(21) Mauff. Differtat. Critica de Harpocrat. pag. 398.

(22) Steph. Byzant. in 'Αλὰ βίω.

(23) Harpocrat. in Μεθώνυ.

If the learned *Mauffac* had sufficiently considered this, he would not have thought that the Book of *Demetrius Magnes*, quoted by *Plutarch* περὶ συνώνυμων, differs from that which others quote περὶ ὁμώνυμων (21). It is in vain for him to alledge, as a Proof of his Opinion, the Passage of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, wherein *Demetrius* is cited, ἐν συνώνυμοις (22). I wonder he did not cite *Harpocration* (23), who observes that *Demetrius Magnes* ἐν τοῖς συνώνυμοις πύλασι, in opere de urbibus synonymis, said, that there were four Cities called *Metheone*. We may infer from thence, that those two Titles suppose no difference, and that in the Notion of those, who quoted them, ὁμώνυμα and συνώνυμα, are the same thing. One may also maintain, that if the Author

made use of one of these two Words to intitle one of his Books, and of the other for the Title of the other Book, it was not with a Design to shew any Distinction; for it is plain that the Notion, according to which one writes a Treatise of Towns that are called *Antioch*, is the same Notion that is followed in writing a Book concerning Authors named *Thales*, or *Aristophanes*; so that the Distinction of Logicians between ὁμώνυμα equivocata, and συνώνυμα univoca, can have no place here. *Mauffac* should have remembered that the Book quoted by *Stephanus Byzantinus* and *Harpocration*, ἐν τοῖς συνώνυμοις, treated of Cities that were called by the same Name. Now it is not likely, that *Plutarch* meant that Book; doubts he quoted the Book wherein *Demetrius* spoke of the Persons who had the Name of *Demosthenes*; and therefore *Mauffac* has not well confused *Cajaubon's* Conjecture by saying, *Stephanus Byzantinus* has cited *Demetrius Magnes* ἐν συνώνυμοις; therefore the Term συνώνυμον, must be left in *Plutarch*. 'Composuerat & hic autor libros περὶ συνώνυμων, ut scaturit *Plutarchus* in vita *Demosthenis*: male enim illo loco vir quidam doctissimus legendum censet 'Δημήτριος Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμώνυμων pro συνώνυμων, autor *Stephanus* apud quem voce ἀλλὰ citatur idem *Demetrius* ἐν συνώνυμοις (24). The Confutation would not be so bad, if it could be maintained that the Book, the Title whereof is to be found in *Diogenes Laërtius*, is not that which *Plutarch* mentioned. But this cannot be maintained without offending against Probability; and it is certain, that *Cajaubon* looked upon the Books mentioned by *Plutarch* and *Diogenes Laërtius* as one and the same Book; he ought therefore to be attacked on that side. Note one particular thing: *Berkelius* had no Notion of our *Demetrius Magnes*, as it appears from the Note he made on these Words of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, 'Δημήτριος ἐν συνώνυμοις, Fortassis intelligendus *Demetrius* cognomento *Ixion*, qui ut *Suidas* auctor est quædam ad Grammaticam spectantia conscripsit (25). — Perhaps we are to understand *Demetrius*, surnamed *Ixion*, who, as *Suidas* has observed, wrote something relating to Grammar.' It is a surprising thing that his Memory could not supply him with any thing concerning our *Demetrius*, of whom several ancient and modern Authors have said many things; besides, he is liable to censure for believing that *Stephanus Byzantinus* quotes a Grammatical Book. It was more natural to say that it was a Treatise that related to History or Geography, for *Stephanus* quotes him about the Name of a City and of a River. This sort of Homonymous or Synonymous Words do not belong to a Grammarian as such. I add this Restriction, because there is a kind of Homonymies or Synonymies, that belong only to Grammar, and about which the Ancients published some Treatises. *Mauffac* (26) is in the right to observe, that when the Multitude of Books composed by Authors of the same Name, or upon the same Matter, caused the Writings of one Man to be confounded with those of another, the Critics, who made it their only Business to discern whether a Work was supposititious or genuine, had then a new Task, which was to discern the Works that belonged to each of the Homonymous Writers. He names three Authors, who applied themselves to that part of the Critical Art; the first is our *Demetrius Magnes*: he calls the second *Simarestus*, and the third *Dionysius Sinopenis*. 'Ita *Simarestus* quidam libros περὶ συνώνυμων composuerat. Hinc etiam *Dionysii Sinopenis* περὶ ὁμώνυμων tractatus apud *Ulpianum* *Demosthenis* ἐξήγησιν (27). Consult *Wowerus* in the sixteenth Chapter of his Treatise de Polymathia (28). But I must not forget what *Jonsius* observes, (29), viz. that the Work of *Dionysius Sinopenis* was a Comedy (30), and that of *Simarestus* a Grammatical Performance (31), and therefore *Cajaubon* and *Mauffac* have matched them wrong with *Demetrius Magnes*. They would have done better if they had matched him with *Agrippon* (32), mentioned by *Suidas* (33). They make no mention of him: this Omission is less pardonable than their omitting what *Aulus Gellius* tells us concerning a Book, wherein the Author examined, among other things, quot fuerint *Pythagoræ* nobiles, quot *Hippocrate* (34).

(14) *Mauffac*, ubi supra.

(25) *Ber. el. in Steph. Byzant.* pag. 87.

(26) *Mauffac*, ubi supra.

(27) *Id. ibid.*

(28) *Pag. 126.*

(29) *Jonsius, de Scrip. Hist. Philosoph. pag. 250.*

(30) *See Athenæus, lib. 9, cap. 7, pag. 381.*

(31) *Jonsius, ubi supra, pag. 448.*

(32) *See, above, Remark [H] of the Article A-POLLONIUS (TYRANÆUS).*

(33) *Suidas in 'Απτολόγειος.*

(34) *Aulus Gellius, lib. 14, cap. 6.*

The thing for which *Athenæus* quoted him is very remarkable, viz. that *Theotimus*, who had writ against *Epicurus*, was accused by *Zeno* the *Epicurean*, and condemned to Death (a). There is a Passage in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, of which I shall speak [C].

(a) Athen. lib. 13, pag. 611.

Of all the Moderns, who have applied themselves to that part of Critical Learning, which concerns the ancient Authors of the same Name, none has been so successful in it as *Meursius* and *Jonsius* (35). But because the Conformity of Names has not occasioned fewer Mistakes among the Authors of the later Ages, it was necessary to write something on that Subject. A learned *German* (36) went about it with good Success. His Design takes in the ancient and modern Homonymous Writers. His Book (37) was printed at *Hamburg* in the Year 1698. He has observed a vast number of Faults which consist in ascribing a Book to an Author who did not write it, and who had nothing common with the true Author but the Name, &c.

(35) Do not forget what I have said of ALLATIS, in the Remark [F] of his Article.

(36) *Joannes Mollerus*, *Flenburgensis*.

(37) *It is intitled Homonymos, copia Historico-Philologica Critica, five thesaurus quædam de Scrip-toris Homonymis quadrupar-titus, &c. in 2vo.*

[C] There is a Passage in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* of which I shall speak. That Author, who was both a Critic and a good Historian, observes, that *Callimachus*, and the other Grammarians of *Pergamum* had writ nothing but what was very imperfect concerning the Orator *Dinarchus*. He adds, that *Demetrius Magnus*, who was accounted a very learned Man, and who had given a very great Character of that same Orator in his Work of the Homonymous Writers, was

nevertheless mistaken (38). He sets down the whole Passage, whereby it appears that *Demetrius* first of all observed that there were four *Dinarchus*'s, and that afterwards he said something of each of them, beginning with the Orator. We find also in that Passage all that he said of that Orator. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* makes a very good Criticism upon it: he complains that *Demetrius* says nothing of *Dinarchus*'s Birth, or of the Time he lived in, or of the Country where his Eloquence was made use of. *Demetrius* might have been very well informed of those things, if he had taken the Pains to inquire into them. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* proves it by setting forth what he had discovered upon that Subject by his Inquiries. I am very well pleased to have had a like tale before I read that Passage of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; I did not know that he had observed those Defects in our *Demetrius*'s Narrative, when I blamed those who write an Elogy upon a Man without mentioning the Place, or the time of his Birth and Death, &c. (39). Notwithstanding those Defects, we ought to be sorry for the loss of that Author's Writings; for his Narratives, tho' imperfect, would be of great use to us.

(38) *Δημος* (read Δημήτριος) ὁ Μάγνης δὲ ἔδειξε πολὺν ἔργον ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ὁμωνύμων πραγματείᾳ. *Demetrius Magnus* qui poly-histor fuisse videtur, in tractatu de homonymis, &c. *Dionys. Halicarn. in judicio de Dinarcho*, pag. m. 349.

(39) See the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, June 1684, Art. V. pag. 500, Edit. 1686.

DEMOCRITUS, one of the greatest Philosophers of Antiquity, was born at *Abdera* in *Thrace* (a). He was educated by the *Magi* [A], who taught him Theology and Astrology. Afterwards he heard *Leucippus*, and learned of him the System of Atoms, and a Vacuum. The extraordinary Inclination he had for Learning moved him to travel in all the Parts of the World where he hoped to find some great Men. He went to the Priests of *Egypt*; he consulted the *Chaldeans*, and the *Persian* Philosophers; and it is said that he went far into *India* and *Ethiopia*, to confer with the *Gymnosophists*. In those Travels he spent all his Patrimony, which was worth above a hundred Talents (b), after which he was obliged to his Brother for his Maintenance; and if he had not given sensible Proofs of his great Parts, he would have incurred a Note of Infamy for not preserving his Estate [B]. The Spirit of great Travellers was pre-

(a) See the Remark [A].

(b) A Talent is worth about 600 French Crowns.

[A] He was educated by the *Magi*. *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, having lodged in the House of *Demetrius*'s Father, presented him with some *Magi*, who were the Preceptors of *Democritus* (1). Now as there is a very great difference between lodging King *Xerxes*, and treating his Army, one cannot excuse the Author, who says that *Democritus*'s Father sealed that *Monarch*'s Army without incommoding himself (2). *Moreri* is trapped here, which he would not have been if he had minded the words of *Diogenes Laërtius*; but he does not seem to have consulted him. If he had, would he have said, that, according to *Diogenes Laërtius*, *Democritus* was a Native of *Miletus*? *Laërtius* does not say so; he says only that it is the Opinion of some. I shall observe by the bye that *Moreri* should not have cited *Herodotus* without some further Addition. His Readers would be apt to fancy that the thing he speaks of is to be found in the Muses of *Herodotus*. Which is not true, and it is not likely that *Diogenes Laërtius* meant the Author of those Muses. I believe that in that place, and in some others, he means a different *Herodotus* from him that is extant.

(1) *Diog. Laërt. in vita Democriti*, lib. 9, n. 34.

(2) *Val. Maxim. lib. 8, cap. 7, n. 4. ceter.*

[B] If he had not given proofs of his great Parts, he would have incurred a note of Infamy for not preserving his Estate. The Laws of the Country enjoined that those who spent their Patrimony should not be buried among their Ancestors. To avoid the Reproaches and Vexations of those, who envied him, and the trouble which they might have given him, in consequence of those Laws, he endeavoured to free himself from the Punishment which he might have incurred. For that end he chose among his Works that which surpassed all the rest (3), and read it to the Magistrates. They were so charmed with it, that they made him a Present of five hundred Talents, and erected Statues to him, and ordered that after his Death the Public should take care of his Funeral. Which was performed (4). The account which *Diogenes Laërtius* gives of it is so short, that I have thought fit to add here some small Circumstances. *Athenæus* (5) relates the thing better: He says that *Democritus* was formally accused, and obliged to plead his Cause, and that having read one of his Books (6), and represented that the Expences he had been at to qualify himself to com-

pote it, had swallowed up his Patrimony, he was acquitted. Every Body knows *Horace*'s Verses, which shew how careless *Democritus* was in relation to worldly Goods:

Miramur si Democriti pecus edit agellos

Cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox (7).

(7) *Horat. Epist. 12, lib. 1, ver. 12.*

— — is it strange to find

Democritus grown poorer, whilst his Mind

Was gone abroad, and left his Limbs behind?

(8) See *Lambin* upon that Passage of *Horace*.

(a) Ἀναξαγόρας τὴν χώραν κατέλιπε (μηδιστάτον). *Anaxagoras agrum ovibus pascendum reliquit. Plat. de vitando are alieni*, pag. 871. E. τὴν οὐρανὴν ἐκείνην ἐξέλεγε, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφῆκεν ἀργῶν καὶ μηδιστάτον ὅτ' ἐκαστασμέναι καὶ ἀεγασθῶσι σύνῃς. *Hic nominis afflatus et animi ductus celsitudine doctum deferunt, & agrum reliquit incultum vastatumque. Id. in Pericle*, pag. 162. B. See the Remark [A] of the Article ANAXAGORAS.

Simon Bostius (8) was wrong to think that, by a slip of his Memory, *Horace* said of *Democritus* what he should have said of *Anaxagoras*. It is true that *Plutarch* informs us, that *Anaxagoras* left his Lands untill'd (9); and so might *Democritus* too for any thing we know. Did not *Cicero* say so before *Horace*? *Democritus*, 'qui (vere falso ne quaereremus) dicitur oculis se privasse, certe ut quam minime animus a cogitationibus abduceretur, patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos, quid quaerens aliud nisi beatam vitam (10)? — *Democritus*, who is reported to have put out his own Eyes, that his Mind might be the less diverted from Contemplation, neglected his Estate, and suffered it to lie waste. What could he propose by this but 'an happy Life?' *Pbilo* testifies, that the *Greeks* said that *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus* had left their Lands untill'd, that they might with less distraction apply themselves to the Study of Wildom (11). But how, will some say, can this be reconciled with the Narrative of some Authors, who said (12) that *Democritus*, dividing his Father's Estate with his two Brothers, chose the least share which consisted in Money, and consequently was fitter for a Traveller? I answer that we ought to be contented to know the several Accounts that are given of those things: it were most times too difficult to reconcile them, and to chuse the best. *Valerius Maximus* tells us that *Democritus* gave all his Estate to his Country, except a very small Sum. He represents that Patrimony as a prodigious Estate, and makes no mention of *Democritus*'s Brothers. This is to relate things very

(3) *It was intitled Μέγας δὲ ἄριστος.*

(4) *Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 39.*

(5) *Athen. lib. 4, cap. 19, pag. 188.*

(6) *It was the Great Diacrismos, and the History of Hell, τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾧδου.* Id. ibid.

(10) *De finibus*, lib. 5.

(11) *De vita contemplat.* pag. 891.

(12) *Apud Laërt. in Democrito*, n. 35. See also *Ælian*, lib. 4, cap. 20.

(c) See *Valerius Maximus* criticized upon this Account, towards the end of the Remark [B].

dominant in him; he travelled to the furthest Parts of *India* in quest of the Riches of Learning, and cared but little for the Treasures that were almost at his Door. If we believe some Authors, he was never at *Athens* (c); or if he was there, as some others affirm, he did not discover himself to any Body. He gave two Proofs of an extraordinary Sagacity [C], which made him admired by the great *Hippocrates*. But we must not

very carefully. There are some other Faults in the account he gives of it. 'Democritus cum divitiis censeret posset, quæ tantæ fuerunt, ut pater ejus Xerxis exercitui epulum dare ex facili poterit, quo magis vacuo animo studiis literarum esset operatus, parva admodum summa retenta, patrimonium suum patriæ donavit. Athenis autem compluribus annis moratus, omnia temporum momenta ad percipiendam & exercendam doctrinam conferens, ignotus illi urbi vixit: quod ipse in quodam volumine testatur (13). — *Democritus, whose Fortune was so great, that his Father could with Ease furnish out an Entertainment for Xerxes's Army, gave his Patrimony to his Country, reserving only an inconsiderable part to himself, to disengage his Mind from every thing but Study, which he prosecuted for many Years, with the utmost Application, at Athens, unobserved, as he owns in one of his Works.*' I have already censured what the Historian says of the Entertainment of that prodigious Army. It is not probable that *Democritus* made a long stay at *Athens*, since some Authors say that he never was there. The great Travels of that Philosopher, wholly omitted by *Valerius Maximus*, deserved to be mentioned much more than his Stay at *Athens*. The same Author says nothing of a wonderful Circumstance of it. He should have particularly taken notice of the Contempt, which *Democritus* expressed for the Glory he might have acquired, if he had been willing to make himself known.

[C] He gave two proofs of an extraordinary Sagacity. *Democritus* went to visit *Hippocrates*, who called for some Milk. It is not said whether he did it to try *Democritus's* Skill; it is only affirmed that *Democritus* positively determined that it was the Milk of a black Goat that never had but one Kid. *Hippocrates* had brought a Female with him: the first time that *Democritus* saw her, he called her Maid, but the next Day he called her Woman; and it came to be known that she had been deflowered the preceding Night. This no doubt was a very penetrating Wit, and I should not wonder that *Hippocrates* admired him for it. If I should be asked what I think of this Story, I should answer without any hesitation that I take it to be false. Not but that I think it possible, that the cause of the blackness of a Beast, and a reiterated Teeming should produce a particular Quality in Milk. It is not impossible that it should be so, and on the other side it is possible that it should not be so. The same may be said of the other Article. It is possible that the loss of Virginity should produce some alteration in the out side of a Woman, and it is possible it should produce none. These two opposite things being possible, let us suppose that there is a particular Quality in the Milk of a black She-Goat that never bred but once, which arises from the Blackness and the First-bearing, is it possible for a Man to know that Quality? I answer that this does not seem impossible to me; but I do not believe that hitherto any Man has attained to that degree of Knowledge. It is said that Bees have the Faculty of discerning, among several Persons that come near their Hives, those who have lately tasted the Venereal Pleasure (14). There is nothing in this but what is probable; for the Organs of Insects are so nice that an Emanation of Corpuscles, which excites no Sensation in a Man (15), may provoke the smell of Bees and Ants. But *Democritus's* Knowledge would surpass that of Bees, since it is not said that they can discern whether it be the first time that the Venereal Act has been performed or not. I say then, that tho' all that is said of Bees were true, and though it were certain that the loss of Virginity makes some alteration in the out side, it could not be inferred from thence that ever any Man knew that Alteration. However it be, I am persuaded that *Democritus* did not know the two things in question. Nevertheless I may relate them without being guilty of a Lie; for I only alledged what I find in *Diogenes Laërtius*.

I should be less innocent than I am, if I should venture to relate this Story with some Additions not to be found in old Authors; and therefore here charge those

with a Lie and a Falsification, who say that *Democritus* knew by the Eyes of the Maid, that waited on *Hippocrates*, that she had spent the Night with a Man. 'Paellam Hippocratis comitem virginem primo, sequenti verò die sceminam salutavit, quod nocturnæ deflorationis vestigia in ejus oculis perciperet, invisa generis humani dimidio sagacitate (16). What they add, that this Sagacity is odious to one half of Humankind, might pass, if they did not take it from a false Supposition; for it is certain that it would be a most troublesome thing, to be afraid of People, that should know by a Maid's Eyes whether she has lost her Virginity or not. Those, who love pious Frauds, should endeavour to make it believed that many Persons know this; but it were to be feared that this Error would be more strenuously and effectually opposed than any Superstition. A great many People would believe nothing of it, and would not fail to show their disbelief by opposing that pious Fraud. Some say that *Democritus* knew the deflowering of that Maid by her Voice (17). He observed, say they, that the Tone of her Voice was not as it was the Day before; and hereupon they tell us that *Albertus Magnus* discovered the mis-conduct of a Servant Maid, without coming out of his Closet. She had been sent to fetch Wine at a Tavern; and came back singing. *Albertus*, though intent upon his Studies, observed that the Voice of that Maid was not so clear as it was before, and concluded from thence that she had lost her Maiden-head in that small Journey. 'Nec minus vocis mutationem ob eandem fere causam, quo tantum signo ferunt Albertum Magnum ex mulæo suo puellam ex ceno polio vinum pro hero apportantem in itinere vitiatam fuisse deprehendisse, quod in reditu subinde cantantibus ex acuta in graviores mutatas voces agnovisset (18). See the last Paragraph of this Remark.

I have nothing to say against *la Mothe le Vayer*; for if he says that *Democritus* knew the Qualities of the She-Goat by the smell of the Milk, he tells us at the same time, that, according to *Diogenes Laërtius*, it was the Sight, and not the Smell, that discovered it to *Democritus*. So that *la Mothe le Vayer* does not deceive us; he does not give room to believe that his Conjecture is a Fact that he took out of ancient Authors. It will not be unacceptable to the Reader to find here the grounds of his Conjecture. *Democritus*, says he (19), made himself admired in his Conference with *Hippocrates*, judging in like manner (20) that the Milk that was brought to them was of a black She-Goat, which had never bred but once. I know very well that the Writer of his Life mentions this judgment as an effect of the fight. But what we read, in *Philophrastus*, of a young Shepherd, who knew by the smell that some Milk was not pure, makes me think the same thing of this Action of *Democritus*. That Clown, who was a very tall and strong Man, and whose Name was *Agathion*, desired the Sophist *Herod* to get him the next Day a Vessel of pure Milk in his Opinion, that is to say, not milked by a Woman's Hand. But as soon as it was brought to him, he perceived that it was not such as he had desired, protelling that the Scent of her Hands who had milked it offended his Nose. *Philophrastus* calls him a Diviner upon that account.

Though the Story which I have related of *Albertus Magnus's* Discovery be never so frivolous, yet some learned Physicians do carefully examine the Relations which they pretend to observe between the Organs of Generation, and the Throat; and it is not an uncommon thing to see some Persons, even among the common People, who observe that a Preacher the first Year of his Marriage has a more dry, broken, and hoarse Voice than he had before. *Meurfius* says, that in ancient Times the Nurses measured every Morning, with a Thread, the Necks of the Maids whom they had under their care, to know whether they had lost their Virginity, or not (21). He proves this by a Passage of *Catullus*; but I had rather say, that this Passage

(16) Jo. Chrysostomus Magnæ in vita Democriti, pag. 7.

(17) Gaspar à Reies, in Elysio jucundar. quest. Campo, quest. 39, n. 7, pag. m. 474.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Tom. X, Letter 4, pag. 31.

(20) That is, as Pherecydes had foretold an Earthquake by the Smell of Well-water.

* Diog. Laërt.

(21) Meurt. Avet. Philol. cap. 16, apud Almelov. Specim. Antiquit. & sacris profanarum, pag. 67.

(13) Valer. Maximus, lib. 8, cap. 7, extern. n. 4.

(14) Plutarch. in Præc. Conjug. pag. 144.

(15) However, see what is said of Father Cotton in the Rem. [C] of the Article MARIANA.

not believe what has been said about it: there is more Reason to think that the History of the ancient Philosophers has been intermixed with as many prodigious Adventures as that of the Knights Errant, and it is certain that, in point of Bravery, the Exploits of the Famous Roland would not be more admirable, than those two Discoveries of *Democritus* with respect to the Secrets of Nature. Some say that he lived One hundred and nine Years [D]; and that he put off his Death for some Days on his Sister's Account [E]. He wrote many Books (d): which ought not to be wondered at, even tho' he had not lived so long; for he loved a retired Life, and applied himself to study after a very singular manner [F]. Besides, he had a fine Genius, a vast Understanding, and

(d) Taken from Diogenes Laërtius, Book 9, in vita Democriti, n. 34, & seq.

shows only that their Necks were measured on their Wedding-day, and the Day after. See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* for January 1686, p. 27. Isaac Vossius, commenting upon this Passage, makes a Note, wherein he mentions a pretended Book of *Democritus*, which shews how the Neck ought to be measured: and therefore this of right belongs to this part of my Commentary. 'In veteri scripto de sympathia & antipathia, quod perperam tribuitur Democrito, ita hæc referuntur; Λαζών βυζάδειον καὶ λαμπρῶσαν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ εἰς αὐτοῦ. καὶ μὴν ἴσον ἔχει, παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰσι. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξοφανταί. Nempe si solum aut funiculum ex lino aut papyro accipias, & anterioris colli spatium ab aure ad aurem, & deinceps cervicem seu averfam metiaris colli partem similiter ad aures, fuerintque hæc intervalla inæqualia, desloratam esse sponfam, contra si æquales fuerint illi semicirculi, esse etiamnum virginem. Aliud quoque addit signum, scilicet si collum fuerit calidum & nates frigidae, & hoc quoque amissæ virginitalis esse indicium (22). — In an old Treatise of Sympathy and Antipathy, which is falsely ascribed to Democritus, There is this Nostrum. Take a String, Cord, or slip of Paper, and measure the fore Part of the Neck from Ear to Ear, and afterward the back Part in the same manner; if these Semicircles be equal, then is she a Virgin, otherwise not. To this be added another Criterion; namely, if the Neck be warm, and the Nates cold, it is a sign of lost Virginity.' There was another Method of measuring: Severin Pineau speaks of it in the fifth Chapter of the first Book of *notis Virginitatis*, and Gaspar à Reies in his Thirty eighth Question.

(D) Some say that he lived One hundred and nine Years. We have no certain Account of the time of his Birth, or of the time of his Death: and therefore Scaliger does only shew wherein Authors contradict themselves (23). According to the Chronicle of Eusebius, Democritus flourished in the beginning of the LXXth Olympiad, and died in the second Year of the XCIIIrd (24). By this Account he must have lived much above One hundred and nine Years, or flourished from his nineteenth Year. Diodorus Siculus says, he died being ninety Years old, in the first Year of the XCIVth Olympiad (25). Lucian affirms, that Democritus starved himself to death at the age of One hundred and four Years (26). If we had any thing certain about the Age of Anaxagoras, we should better know the Chronology of Democritus; for the latter said, in one of his Works (27), that he was forty Years younger than Anaxagoras. But the Authors, who mention the time of Anaxagoras, do not agree together. It is said he was Thirty two Years of Age (28) when Xerxes went into Europe, and that he lived Seventy two Years, and died the first Year of the LXXVIIIth Olympiad. I omit several other Confusions, which are no less difficult to be cleared. One may boldly affirm, that Ælian is mistaken (29) in supposing that Democritus laughed at Alexander's Uneasiness for not having yet conquered one World, there being an infinite number of them, according to that Philosopher. The One hundred and nine Years, which are ascribed to him, cannot bring him to Alexander's Conquests. Aulus Gallius's Opinion is solid: he came by it the right way: he says, that Socrates was younger than Democritus (30). Now Socrates died the first Year of the XCVth Olympiad, at seventy Years of Age (31): therefore Democritus must have been then at least eighty Years old: so that he would have been above One hundred and forty Years of Age, if he had been alive when Alexander ascended the Throne the first Year of the CXIth Olympiad. I will not forget that Marcus Antoninus (32) says, contrary to all other Writers, that Democritus died of the lousy Distemper: it is likely he took Pheretides for Democritus. You will see several Authorities in the Remark [E]

concerning our Philosopher's voluntary Death. They may be added to these three Verses of Lucretius:

Denique Democritum postquam matura vetustas
Admonuit memorem motus languescere mentis,
Sponte sua leto caput obviu obtulit ipse (33).

(33) Lucret. lib. 3, ver. 1052.

Democritus perceiving Age invade,
His Body weaken'd, and his Mind decay'd,
Obey'd the Summons with a cheerful pace,
Made haste to welcome Death, and met him half
the Race.

DRYDEN.

[E] He put off his Death for some days on his Sister's account. His Sister did grieve, not to see his Resolution to die, but because his Death would prevent her being at the Feast of Ceres. To ease her of that Trouble, he caused hot Bread to be brought to him every Morning; and only with the Steam of that Bread he kept himself alive till the three Days of the Feast (34) were over: after which, he softly fell into the Arms of Death. Thus Diogenes Laërtius relates the Matter (35), which looks very much like an idle Story. Athenæus does not relate the Thing with the same Circumstances. He says that Democritus, weary of his Old-age, resolved to hasten his Death by lessening his Diet every Day. The Festival of Ceres was at hand, and the Women of the House were very much afraid he should die during that Anniversary; for they could not have assisted at that Ceremony if he had died at that time. Wherefore they desired him to put off his Death till after the Feast, that they might joyfully celebrate fame: he consented to it, and ordered a Pot of Honey to be brought to him. The Smell of that Honey alone kept him alive for some Days: after which he had it taken away, and died (36). A modern Author has rashly attempted to criticize Athenæus (37). He makes him say that Democritus's Sister, who was a Priestess of Ceres, desired her Brother not to die during the Feast, and that Democritus caused a great Pot of Honey to be brought to him, and eat nothing but Honey for several Days. This is not probable, says the modern Author; it is much more likely that this good old Man, being ready to expire, and incapable of Nourishment, prolonged his Life only by the Smell of Honey, as my Country-Man Cælius Rhodiginus affirms: 'Et hæc quidem minus probabiliter Athenæus, cum vero sit propius moribundum senem omnisque alimenti incapax non ipso melle, sed sola mellis evaporatione vitam produxisset, ut asseruit Rhodiginus meus (lib. 21. cap. 3.) (38)'. Who can forbear laughing in reading this? For, I. It is not true that Athenæus says that Democritus did eat Honey: he says that That Philosopher only received the Scent of it. Διαζῆσαι ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς τὸν ἀνθρώπον τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος ἀναφορᾷ μὲν χρῶμενον: In multos dies vitam prorogasse solo mellis odore & balitu continuatam (39). II. It is not true that the Smell of Honey is more proper to prolong a Man's Life for some Days than the Honey it self. Suppose that Man within an inch of his Grave, I will not recall my words. III. Athenæus does not speak of Democritus's Sister, so far as he from making her a Priestess of Ceres, a Dignity which Laërtius does not give her. It is this last Historian who mentions the Intreaties of Democritus's Sister. IV. Lastly, It is ridiculous to cite Cælius Rhodiginus for a Matter of Fact that happened above Two thousand Years ago.

[F] He applied himself to Study after a very singular manner. He made choice of a Room in a House seated in the middle of a Garden, and shut himself up in that Room, with so little concern for every thing that was done round about him, that when they came

(34) It lasted nine Days, according to Ovid; four, according to Helychius; five, according to Aristophanes. See Castellan de festis Græcorum, pag. 173. Ca-fambon, in Laërt. lib. 9, n. 43, will have it, that that Festival lasted but three Days in the Place where Democritus lived; but that it was otherwise at Athens: and yet, in his Notes upon Athenæus, pag. 537, he says, that it lasted but three Days at Athens.

(35) In ejus vita, lib. 9, n. 43.

(36) Athenæus lib. 2, cap. 7, pag. m. 46.

(37) He quotes Athenæus, lib. 2, cap. 31: it should be cap. 7.

(38) Balthaf. Bonifacius, Hist. Ludicra, lib. 1, cap. 11, pag. m. 13.

(39) Athen. ubi supra.

(22) If Vossius in hæc verba Catulli Epith. Pelei & Thetidi: Non illam natrix orienti late recubans Hespero collum poterit circumdare fib. When the pleas'd Goldens' rose next Morn from Bed, Th' officious Nurse in vain essay'd the Thread. pag. 248.

(23) Scalig. in Euseb. n. 1016, pag. 109.

(24) Menage, Not. in Laërt. lib. 9, n. 41, says, that Eusebius places the Death of Democritus in the fourth Year of the XCIVth Olympiad. Jonnius, who says 5, pag. 23, deceived him.

(25) Diod. Sicul. lib. 14, cap. 11.

(26) Lucian, in Macrobiis, pag. m. 639, 640, Tom. II.

(27) In parvo Discurso, apud Laërtium in Democrito, n. 41.

(28) Laërt. lib. 2, n. 7.

(29) Ælian. Histor. divers. lib. 4, cap. ult.

(30) Aul. Gell. lib. 17, cap. 21.

(31) See his Life, written by Mr Charpentier, pag. 284.

(32) Περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν lib. 3, lect. 3.

and a penetrating Wit. He studied every thing: Natural and Moral Philosophy, the Mathematics, polite Learning, and the fine Arts, were all within the Sphere of his Activity. He got a very great Skill in all those things, so far as to raise himself to the Glory of Invention; as we read in Seneca [G]. I have read in some modern Authors, that his long Life was an effect of his Chastity [H]; but I do not find it in the Ancients.

came to call him one Day to a Sacrifice, he had neither perceived that the Ox that was to be killed was tied near his Chamber, nor that his Father was come to give Orders for that Ceremony (40). He must needs have been a great Lover of Solitude, since he took delight in shutting himself up in the Tombs.

(40) Diog. Laërt. ubi supra, n. 36.

Ἡσκη δὲ καὶ ποικίλως δοκιμαζέειν τὰς φαντασίας ἐπιμαζών ἐνίοτε καὶ τοῖς ταύροις ἐνδίατριζων. Nisiabatur autem etiam varie probare imaginationes, sæpe solitarius vivens atque etiam sepulchra incolens (41). He did it to try the Strength of his Imagination, and the different ways it might be employed.

(41) Ib. n. 38.

Lucian tells a pretty Story upon this: he says, that Democritus shut himself up in a Tomb without the City, where he spent Days and Nights in Studying and Writing. Some young Men endeavored to fright him; they appeared in the Disguise of dead Bodies, and put on the most frightful Vizards they could get; they came skipping and capering about him. He did not so much as look upon them; and said only, as he was writing, Leave off playing the Fool. Ὁ δὲ ἔτε ἔδρασε τὴν προσποίησιν αὐτῶν, ἔτε ὅλως ἐνέβλεψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ γράφειν, παύσασθαι ἐβή παύσας. ἔτε βεβαίως ἐτίθει μὲν εἶναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν τῷ γυνόμεναι τῶν σωμάτων. Hic neque ipsorum simulationem timuerit, neque ipsos omnino respexerit: sed inter scribendum dixerit, desinite ineptire: adeo firmiter credidit animas nihil esse postquam de corporibus exierint (42). He appeared undaunted, says Lucian, because he was fully persuaded that the Soul dies with the Body, and consequently, that what is said of Apparitions and Ghosts, and the return of Spirits, is a meer Chimera. There is scarce any one who has heard of Democritus, but knows that Hippocrates was called to cure him. Some very good Critics (43) are persuaded, that the Letters that are to be seen upon this, amongst those of Hippocrates, are supposititious: but it cannot be doubted, that this is a very ancient Fiction. For they feign a long while ago, that the Alderites wrote to Hippocrates, to desire him to come and see Democritus. They were afraid he would grow mad, and that his great Knowledge would impair his Brains; which they looked upon as a great Misfortune to the Public. Hic præ multa quæ detestantur ipsum sapientia ægrotat, ut timor sit ne nostra urbs Alderitarum pefundetur, si Democritus mente fuerit motus (44). They saw that Democritus cared for nothing, and laughed at every thing: he said that the Air was full of Images; he enquired what the Birds said, and boasted that sometimes he travelled in the immense Space of things. It appears by one of those Letters of Hippocrates, that the love of Solitude had exposed Democritus to the bad Reports that were spread of him. In veritatis regione quam sapientia collustrat, non est pater, nec mater, uxorve, aut cognati, non liberi, nec fratres, neque famuli, fortunaque, vel aliud ex his quæ tumultum faciunt. Democritus illuc præ sapientia commigravit, & infania teneri creditur ob solitudinis amorem (45). — In the Region of Truth, illuminated by Wisdom, there is neither Father nor Mother, Wife nor Relations, neither Children, Brethren, Servants, Fortune, or any thing else which here creates such a bustle; Democritus took up his abode there, and was from his love of Solitude accounted a Madman. For the rest, Notwithstanding the Forgery of those Letters, I would not deny that Hippocrates was sent for by the Alderites, and that he who forged those Letters built upon a Matter of Fact, grounded upon a good Tradition (46). But here is something yet stronger. Dr Drelincourt, Professor of Physic at Leyden, one of the most learned Men of our Age, assured me, that there is no room to doubt whether the Letters that concern Democritus, amongst those of Hippocrates, are genuine. This he says is the common Opinion of Physicians.

(42) Lucian. in Philopseude, Tom. II. pag. 435.

(43) Menag. in Laërt. lib. 9, n. 4.

(44) Apud Hippocrat. in Epist. n. 5. citante Magneno, ubi supra, pag. 24.

(45) Magnen. ibid. pag. 26.

(46) I do not then destroy what I said before in Citation (47) of the Article ABDERA.

[G] Got a very great Skill. . . . so far as to raise himself to the Glory of Invention, as we read in Seneca.] Here follows the Elogy bestowed upon him by his Historian: Ἦν ὁ ἀλυσῶς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πάντα-δλος. τὰ γὰρ φυσικὰ, καὶ τὰ ἠθικὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ, καὶ τὰς ἐξουκλιδεῖς λόγους καὶ περὶ τεχνῶν πᾶσαν εἶχεν ἐμπειρίαν.

Erat revera in Philosophia quinque certaminum peritus. Namque naturalia, moralia, mathematica, liberalium disciplinarum orbem, artiumque omnem peritiam callebat (47). — He was actually a great Master of Natural and Moral Philosophy, Mathematics, Languages, and the liberal Arts. As for the things that he invented, you will not find that Seneca praises him much for them. Democritus, inquit, invenisse dicitur formam, ut lapidum curvatura paulatim inclinatum medio saxo alligaretur. Hoc dicam falsum esse. Necesse est enim ante Democritum, & pontes, & portas fuisse, quarum fere summa curvantur. Excidit porro vobis, eundem Democritum invenisse, quemadmodum ebur molliretur, quemadmodum decoctus calculus in smaragdum converteretur, qua hodieque coëtura inventi lapides coctiles colorantur. Illa sapiens licet invenerit, non qua sapiens erat, invenit. Multa enim facit, quæ ab imprudentissimis aut æque fieri videmus, aut peritius, aut exercitius (48). — Democritus, says he, is reported to have invented Arches, that, by a regular Inclination of the Stones, the whole Curvature might be compassed by the middle Stone, which I dare affirm to be false; for there must undoubtedly have been Bridges and Gates before his time, whose summits are most commonly Curves. You seem to have forgot that the same Democritus invented the Method of softening Ivory, how a Pebble might be changed into an Emerald by boiling, and by what Methods Stones might be coloured. Though these things were invented by a wise Man, the Invention is no proof of his Wisdom. For we have seen the most ignorant succeed in such things as happily, nay, have brought them to greater Perfection.

(47) Laërt. lib. 9, n. 37.

(48) Seneca, Epist. 90, pag. m. 37.

[H] I have read in some Modern Authors, that his long Life was the consequence of his Chastity. An Author, whom I have already confuted (49), affirms, that Democritus, who owed his long Life of above a hundred Years to Honey, and to his exact Continency, detested the Work of Love as a thing that made a Man come out of a Man. He quotes Pliny in the sixth Chapter of the Twenty eighth Book; but you will only find these Words in Pliny; Venerem damnavit Democritus, ut in qua homo alius exsiliet ex homine

(49) Ba'tha's Bonifacius. Hist. Ludicæ, lib. 11, cap. 5, pag. 317.

(50). Not a Word of the Virtue of Honey, or of Continency, with respect to the long Life of Democritus. As for the Honey, our modern Authors might have found an Authority for it, since Athenæus assures us, that Democritus had always been a great Lover of Honey, and that he thought, that, to preserve one's Health, one ought to apply Honey to the inward Parts, and Oil to the outward (51): nay, it seems that this Philosopher even promised a Resurrection to Bodies buried in Honey; for it is very likely that these Words of Pliny, Similis & de aservandis corporibus hominum ac reviviscendi promissa Democrito vanitas qui non revixit ipse (52). — Of the same stamp is the Folly of preserving human Bodies, in expectation of their coming to Life again, as Democritus would have persuaded, but the Experiment miscarried on himself, have a Relation to the following Passage of Varro.

(50) Dr Drelincourt has acquainted me with two such like Passages: the one is of Galen, Comm. 3, in 6 Epidemior. pag. 478, lib. 7: the other of Tertullian de Anima, cap. 27, pag. 330. C. See also Clem. Alexandrin. lib. 2, pag. 193, D.

Quare Heraclides Ponticus plus sapit qui præcepit ut comburerent, quam Democritus qui ut in melle servarent: quem si vulgus secutus esset, peream si centum denariis calicem multi emere possemus (53). — Wherefore Heraclides Ponticus, who ordered them to be burnt, was more in the right than Democritus, who would have them preserved in Honey; for had the People followed his Opinion, a Cup of honeyed Wine would bear an exorbitant Price. As for the other Head, I cannot tell where our Modern could find an Authority for it. Give him leave to argue; he will not attain his aim: if he says that Democritus blamed the Sport of Love, only because he found much good by abstaining from it, he will suppose a false Principle, since a great many Persons advise Chastity, because they experience the sad Consequences of Incontinency. Another Modern goes too far, when he says, that Democritus recommended, both by Reasons and by his Example, to come very seldom near the Fair Sex. Morum præterea integritas pudicitiaque tanta, ut rationibus exemploque rarum Veneris usum commendaret (54). He cites Pliny, and the fourth Chapter of the third Book

(51) Athen. lib. 2, cap. 7, pag. 45.

(52) Plin. lib. 7, cap. 55.

(53) Varro in libro 4to pag. 24. Φῶς ἀπὸ Νουμίου, voce vulgari.

(54) Magnenus in vita Democriti, pag. 8.

icients. If all that is cited of him was taken from his true Writings, it cannot be denied but that in some respects he fed himself with Chimeras [1]; for it is pretended that he had a Secret to understand the Singing of Birds. We must also believe that he

Book of *Rodericus à Castro de Natura Mulierum*. He does not say what place of *Pliny* must be consulted; but without doubt he means the Words which I have cited out of the sixth Chapter of the Twenty eighth Book, wherein we do not find that *Democritus* gave himself for an Example. *Rodericus à Castro* does not say that *Democritus* alleged himself; and if he should say so, he would be but a blind Man who leads another blind Man.

I do not say this to reflect in the least upon the Continuity of *Democritus*: I would only make modern Authors sensible of the Obligation they lie under, to advance nothing but what they find credible Witnesses for. We shall see hereafter (55) that *Tertullian* gives him no good Testimony on this Head.

(55) In Remark [K].

[1] It cannot be denied but that in some respects he fed himself with Chimeras. *Columella* (56) quotes the Book which *Democritus* writ concerning Antipathies. *Democritus* said in that Book, that if a Woman, in the time of her Terms, walks three times round each Knot in a Garden, bare-footed, and with her Hair loose, she would destroy all the Caterpillars in it. Sed *Democritus* in eo libro qui Græce inscribitur *περί ἀντιπαθειῶν*, affirmat has ipsas bestias, las enecari, si mulier, quæ in mensuris est, solutis crinibus, & nudo pede unquamque aream ter circumeat, post hoc enim decidere omnes vermiculos, & ita emori. Can any thing savour of a greater Superstition? *Democritus* said likewise that, to make a Woman confess the Truth, the Tongue of a Frog must be applied to her Heart when she is asleep. *Democritus* quidem tradit, si quis extrahat ranæ viventi linguam, nulla alia corporis parte adherente, ipsaque dimissa in aquam, imponat supra cordis palpitacionem mulieri dormienti, quæcumque interrogaverit, vera responsuram (57). But it must be a Tongue plucked out of a living Frog, without holding the Frog by any other part (58). Moreover, the Frog was to be put into the Water again. If you desire to know what Judgment *Pliny* made of that Operation, you need only consult him in the Place where he relates such a like Virtue that was attributed to the Heart of an Owl. It was pretended that, when put on the left Breast of a Woman asleep, it made her tell all her Secrets: Nec omitam in hac quoque alite (bubone) exemplum magicæ vanitatis: quippe præter reliqua portentosa mendacia, cor ejus impositum mammæ mulieris dormientis sinistra tradant efficere ut omnia secreta pronunciet (59). Nor, amongst other monstrous Absurdities of magical Vanity, will I omit that, which is reported concerning the Owl's Heart, which, they pretend, being laid on the left Breast of a Woman asleep, will make her discover all her Secrets. *Pliny* calls it Magical Romancing: doubtless he made the same Judgment of *Democritus*'s Story; for he observes, immediately after, that the Magicians added some other things, which, if true, would make Frogs more useful to human kind than the Laws. Frogs would supply an infallible Expedient to make Gallantry cease among Women. *Pliny*'s Words are not clear enough, either with respect to the Application of the Remedy, or with respect to a notable Circumstance. He does not say whether the Expedient prevented Cuckoldom, or whether it only hindered a Woman from persisting in Adultery. This is no Logical Distinction; the thing is of great Consequence: all the Words should have been weighed, and the least Ambiguities should have been avoided. They should also have been avoided as to the manner of applying the Expedient: it will appear from the Passage of *Pliny* that they have not been avoided.

(57) *Plin. lib. 32, cap. 5, p. 826.*

(58) Or rather, without any other Part remaining fastened to it.

(59) *Plin. lib. 29, cap. 4.*

Addunt etiamnum alia Magi, quæ si vera sunt, multo utiliores vitæ existuntur ranæ, quam leges. Namque arundine transfixa natura per os, si furtivus in mensuris defigatur à marito, adulteriorum tedium fieri (60). *Da Pinet renders those Words thus*: If a Frog is spitted upon a Reed from the Head to the Pudenda. *Father Hardouin supposes that one was to begin with the Pudenda*, arundine transfixa per ranæ pudenda ad os usque. *Pliny is therefore obscure as to the Ceremony*. I omit his other Obscurities.

(60) *Idem, lib. XXXII, cap. V.*

Here follow some other idle Conceits of *Democritus*. He said that the Blood of certain Birds, which he named, being mixed, would produce a Serpent of such

an admirable Virtue, that whosoever did eat it might understand what the Birds said to each other. *Pliny* is in the right to laugh at this Chimera. Qui credit ista, & Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuct: vel quæ *Democritus* tradit nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem quisquis ediderit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia (61). Since he finds him so credulous that he thinks he may justly insult him, and applaud himself for not adopting such Fooleries, no doubt *Democritus*'s Stories must have been very strange. The Book, which that Philosopher had composed concerning the Cameleon, was, I think, one of the best Magazines of his extreme Credulity. Jungemus illis, says *Pliny* (62), si millima & peregrina æque animalia: priusque chamæleonem peculiari volumine dignum existimatum. *Democrito*, ac per singula membra defecatum, non sine magna voluptate nostra cognitis proditiq; mendaciis Græcæ vanitatis. Let us add to these, says *Pliny*, some other Animals of the same Class, and equally Strangers to our Country; and first the Cameleon, which *Democritus*, in a whole Treatise, has thoroughly anatomized, and has afforded us no small Entertainment by his absurd Series of Grecian Imperinence. After this Preamble, *Pliny* gives some ridiculous Extracts of that Book; and then ends thus: Utinam eo ramo contactus esset *Democritus*, quoniam ita loquacitates immodicas promissit inhiberi: palamque est virum alias sagacem & vitæ utilissimum nimio juvandi mortales studio prolapsum (63). I wish *Democritus* had himself had a Touch with that famed Bough, since it has, as he pretends, such a Virtue in restraining immoderate talking. It is plain that the Man, otherwise sagacious enough, and a useful Member of Society, had lost himself in an everlast Desire of benefiting Mankind. We shall see some other Passages in the following Remark.

(61) *Plinius, lib. 10, cap. 49. See also lib. 29, cap. 4.*

(62) *Id. lib. 28, cap. 8.*

(63) *Ibid.*

Pliny is to be praised for mentioning the pretended occult Virtues of the Cameleon, in order only to decry, and laugh at them: but he would be still more worthy of Praise, if he had kept part of his Incredulity for *Democritus*: I mean if he had not too lightly believed that Philosopher to be the Author of that Work, and of several others that went unjustly under his Name. *Aulus Gellius*'s Thought seems very reasonable to me, viz. That *Democritus* is not the Author of those Stories concerning the Cameleon, and the understanding of the Singing of Birds, but that some Quacks had covered themselves with the Authority of that famous Philosopher. Librum esse *Democriti* nobilissimi Philosophorum de vi & natura chamæleontis: eumque se legisse *Plinius Secundus* in naturalis historię vicesimo octavo refert; multaque vana atque intoleranda auribus deinde quasi à *Democrito* scripta tradit. His portentis atque præstigiis à *Plinio Secundo* scriptis non dignum esse cognomen *Democriti* puto. Multa autem videntur ab hominibus istis male sollicitibus hujusmodi commenta in *Democriti* nomen data, nobilitatis auctoritatique ejus profugio utentibus (64). *Pliny, the Younger, relates that there was then extant a Treatise of Democritus, an eminent Philosopher, on the Virtue and Nature of the Cameleon, and that he himself had read it; then quotes several monstrous Absurdities from it, as though they had been wrote by Democritus; but the Name of Democritus ought never to be put to such palpable Fictions. They seem rather to be the Imposition of some Quack, who strove to shelter them under the Protection of so awful a Name.* We cannot but make this Judgment, when we remember the Character that *Lucian* gave him. He reckons *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Metrodorus*, among those stubborn Free-Thinkers, who will by no means give credit to those that would make them believe Prodigies. According to his Account, *Democritus* remains always persuaded, that the makers of Miracles do nothing but by Artifice; he endeavours to find out their way of deceiving Men, and though he cannot find it out, he believes it is all Imposture: ὥστε πᾶν τὸ μυστήριον εἶναι διανοητὸν τινός. . . . ἀδελανθῶντες τοὺς ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντες ὡς ἀπίστους. Ut res planè *Democritum* aliquem requireret . . . qui adversus

(64) *Aul. Gell. lib. 10, cap. 12.*

he was very much addicted to Magic [K]; I mean the Magic that is grounded upon a Compact with the Devil. I do not think he was such an Enthusiast as to put out his

(65) Lucianus in Pseudem. pag. 83. Tom. I. adversus hæc & similia mentem haberet adamantinam ut non crederet, &c. (65). — It would require the Incredulity of a Democritus, whose Mind was sealed against the Belief of these and such like miraculous Performances, &c.

(65) Plin. lib. 30, cap. 1.

(67) Futher Hardouin cites, upon this Occasion, Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. 1, Stromat. pag. 303, who says that Democritus explained a Column of Aciuri, a Babylonian Author, and inserted the Explanation of it in his Writings.

(68) Plin. lib. 24, cap. 17.

(69) This is a weak Reason; for how many bad Books come out under great Names, especially in point of Magic?

SOME Remarks concerning the Book intitled, CHIROCINETA.

[K] We must also believe, that he was very much addicted to Magic.] This does not at all agree with the Words of Lucian, which I have just now alleged. However it is just to hear Pliny (66). 'Certè Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato ad hanc (Magicen) discendam navigare, exiliis verius, quam peregrinationibus, susceptis. Hanc reveri prædicare, hanc in arcanis habere. Democritus Apollobechem Coptiten, & Dardanum à Phœnice illustravit: voluminibus Dardani in sepulchrum ejus petitis: suis (67) vero ex disciplina æro editis: quæ recepta ab aliis hominum, atque transisse per memoriam, æque ac nihil in vita, mirandum est. In tantum fides istis fasque omne deest, adeo ut ii qui cetera in viro illo probant, hæc ejus esse opera incipient. Sed frustra. Hunc enim maxime affixisse animis eam dulcedinem constat. Ple-numque miraculi & hoc, pariter utrasque artes effloruisse: Medicinam dico, Magicenque, eadem ætate illam Hippocrate, hanc Democrito illustrantibus. — Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato, went abroad to learn Magic, and may be rather said to have banished themselves, than to have undertaken Voyages. At their return they boasted of what they had learned, and proclaimed it a Mystery. Democritus explained the Works of Apollobeches the Coptic, and Dardanus the Phœnician. The Works of Dardanus were deposited in his Grave, but his own were founded upon his Books. It is matter of the greatest wonder to me how they have been handed down to us. Truth and Probability are such entire Strangers to them, that they, who approve his other Works, deny these to be his. But to no end. For it is certain his Mind was strangely addicted to such Reveries. Nor does it seem less than a Miracle to me, that Magic and Physic should flourish together, the former under Democritus, and the other under Hippocrates. I have set down this Passage somewhat at length to inform my Reader. I. That the Favourers of Democritus have always denied that he was the Author of the Magical Books ascribed to him. II. That Pliny maintains against them, that are in the wrong to deny it. Let us proceed to another Passage of Pliny (68). 'In promissio herbarum mirabilium occurrit aliqua dicere & de magicis: quæ enim mirabiliores sunt? Primi eas in nostro orbe celebrare Pythagoras atque Democritus consecrati magos. — In his Narratives of uncommon Plants, he makes mention of the magical ones. For what can be more uncommon than they? Pythagoras and Democritus, in Imitation of the Magi, were the first, in this Quarter of the World, who ever bustled themselves about them.' He observes, a little after, that some denied that certain Books, ascribed to those two great Men, were written by them: to which he answers: 'Nec me fallit hoc volumen ejus à quibusdam Cleomporo Medico adscribi: Pythagoræ pertinax fama antiquitasque vindicavit. Et id ipsum auctoritatem voluminibus affert (69), si quis alius curæ suæ opus illo viro dignum judicavit: quod fecisse Cleomporum cum alia suo & nomine ederet, quis credat? Democriti certe chirocineta esse constat. At in his ille post Pythagoram magorum studiosissimus quanto portentosiora tradit? — Nor am I ignorant that this Part of his Works is ascribed to Cleomporus the Physician. But all Ages have consistently asserted the Title of Pythagoras. This likewise may be another Argument. Had Cleomporus judged a Treatise of his own worthy Democritus, he would have published it under his own Name, as he did others. It is certain the Chirocineta is Democritus', who after Pythagoras was the greatest Admirer of the Magi, but what more monstrous things does he publish than his Predecessor?' Before I proceed farther, I shall dwell a little upon the Title of the Book just now mentioned by Pliny. Salmasius happily found out that this Book ought not to be intitled Chirocineta; and therefore he corrected that Word which was in Pliny's Editions, and shewed that Chirocineta must be put in the room of

it. He corrected at the same time a Passage of Vitruvius, wherein the same Work of Democritus is mentioned: 'Multas res attendens, says Vitruvius (70), admiror etiam Democriti de rerum natura volumina, & ejus commentarium quod inscribitur χηροκινητων, in quo utebatur annulo signans cera molli quæ esset expertus. — Among other things, says Vitruvius, I admire Democritus's Treatises on the Nature of Things, and his Commentary intitled, χηροκινητων, wherein he sealed, with soft Wax, all those Accounts which he himself had experienced to be true.' We read before, in Vitruvius, χηροκινητων in quo etiam utebatur annulo signans cera ex milio quæ esset expertus. By the same means Salmasius corrects a Passage of Diogenes Laërtius, where it is said that Democritus composed χηρικη α ευσικη αρο-ελημαδα. It ought to be χηροκινη α ευσικη αρο-ελημαδα (71). Casaubon's Criticism went no farther than to conjecture, that perhaps the Passage of Diogenes Laërtius might be mended by the Chirocineta of Pliny (72). But this had been to drive out one Evil by another. Those, who believe that the Word Chirocineta ought to be left in Pliny, explain it according to their Fancy: Some say that That Title signifies, that the Work was to be handled often (73); others believe that this Book was so intitled, because it was to be handled with great Ceremony (74). He-sychius wonderfully confirms Salmasius's Corrections; for he informs us, that the Critics put a Piece of Wax upon such Places of a Book as seemed obscure to them, and worthy to be further examined. There remains a great Objection. If the Chirocineta of Democritus was a Work, wherein he had put his Seal on all the things of which he spoke by experience, how came that Book to be so full of Fables, and ridiculous and superstitious Stories? Pliny is not contented to say in general, In his Democritus post Pythagoram magorum studiosissimus quanta portentosiora tradit? but he quotes several things out of it which favour of black Magic.

I find something very perplexing in all this, and I think the best Expedient is the NON LIQUET, or the εἰς τὴν α of the Sceptics. It may be that Democritus, without too nicely examining the Consequences of his System, was in hopes to discover several occult Qualities, and the Art of doing a thousand extraordinary things by the help of Magic. This being once granted, we may imagine that he eagerly read all the Books of Magic, and compiled all the pretended Wonders that he saw in them, and those that he might hear viva voce. He might have made some surprising Experiments of the Virtue of certain Herbs, and put his Seal to the Passages of his Chirocineta wherein he set forth his Experiments. That Book might have been intitled in that manner, though most things contained in it were not approved by the Author; and so Pliny might have found many Fables in it. This is one way of explaining the thing; but it is not that which seems to me the best. I had rather say that Democritus did not write the superstitious, fabulous, and magical Books that went under his Name. Diogenes Laërtius (75) gives a long List of that Philosopher's Works, and then adds, that others were falsely attributed to him (75). Columella (76) acknowledges it as to a certain Book, whereof the true Author was one Dollas (77) Mendefus. It seems Suidas assigns but a very small number of Books for the true Works of Democritus. We have seen, above, the Complaint that Aulus Gellius makes. Lastly, It may be said, that, if Diogenes Laërtius did not reject more, it proves only that there were some Impostors, who, a little after Democritus's Death, published several Books under his Name; they were looked upon as genuine, and the following Ages believed it likewise: this was sufficient for Pliny (78), and Diogenes Laërtius (79), to receive those Works as the genuine Productions of Democritus. And what easily deceived People at first is, that the excessive Curiosity of that Philosopher, his Love of Solitude, his Application to Experiments, and the Success of some of his Predictions, easily persuaded them that he had left in writing all the Secrets and Remarks that were seen in the Books which appeared under his Name.

Petronius says, that Democritus spent his Life in making Experiments on Vegetables and Minerals: 'Omnium herbarum succos Democritus expressit: & ne lapidum

(70) Vitruv. lib. 9, cap. 3.

(71) Salmasius in Exercit. Plinianis, pag. 1100, 1101.

(72) Casaubon. in Laërt. lib. 9, n. 49.

(73) Nec melius interpretantur ita dicta quod assidue manibus tractanda essent. Salmasius, ibid. pag. 1100, C.

(74) Du Pinet in the Margin of his French Translation of Pliny.

(75) In ejus vita, sub fin.

(76) Colum. de Re Rustica, lib. 7, cap. 5.

(77) Or rather Bolus according to Suidas.

(78) Pythagoram pertinax fama antiquitasque vindicavit. It is the Proof alluded by Pliny, lib. 24, cap. 17.

(79) The Works rejected by him are those, which had been rejected by a general consent, ἐπελα-γμινος ἐκ τῶν ἀλλότριά, omnino aliena consensum omnium sunt.

his own Eyes [L], as some have said. His manner of comforting *Darius* was ingenious

* lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem inter experimenta consumpsit. — *Democritus extracted the Juices of every Herb, and, to discover the Virtues also of Fossils and Shrubs, spent his whole Life in making Experiments.* It is said that, having foreseen that it would be a bad Year for Olive Trees, he bought a great Quantity of Oil at a low Price, and got prodigiously by it; of which nevertheless he made no advantage, being contented to make it appear that he might be rich if he would. People wondered that a Man, who was never seen to mind any thing besides his Studies, should on a sudden concern himself with Trade: Doubtless when the Reason of it came to be known, many looked upon him as a Magician: Others thought he deserved Divine Honours. *Ὅς δὲ πρὸς πᾶσι τὰς τῶν μελλόντων εὐδοκίμους, λοιπὸν ἐνθάδε δόξας παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ὑψίστην* (80). Ubi vero futura quedam prædixerat, sequensque rerum eventus fidem fecerat, divinis jam honoribus dignus à plerisque judicatus est. — *Having foretold certain things, which accordingly came to pass, he was esteemed by some worthy of divine Honours.* Here is a Passage that concerns his trading in Oil, and the rest: *Ἐκέρυεντο* Democritum, qui primus intellexit, ostenditque cum terris cœli societatem, spernentibus hanc curam ejus opulentissimis civium, prævisa olei caritate ex futuro Vergiliarum ortu, qua diximus ratione, ostendimusque jam plenius, magna tum vilitate propter spem olivæ, commississe in toto tractu omne oleum (81), mirantibus qui paupertatem & quietem doctrinarum ei sciebant in primis cordi esse. Atque ut apparuit causa, & ingens divitiarum cursus, restituisse mercedem anxie & avidæ dominorum penitentiae, contentum ita probasse, opes sibi in facili, cum vellet, fore (82).

(80) Diog. Laërt. lib. 9, n. 33.

(81) Cicero lib. 2, de Divinatione, cap. 3. Aristotele, lib. 2, Politic. cap. 7. Diogenes Laërt. in Thaletæ, ascribes it to Thales, but with this Difference, that Thales bought the Oyl to come according to Cicero, and the Oyl Presses according to Aristotle and Diogenes Laërtius. See Father Hardouin upon this Passage of Pliny, and Menæse upon Laërtius, lib. 1, n. 20.

(82) Plin. lib. 18, cap. 28, pag. 524.

(83) Plin. ibid. cap. 35.

— *It is said that Democritus, who first discovered and demonstrated that the Heavens had an influence upon the Earth, foreseeing, from the rising of particular Stars, that Oil would be very dear, notwithstanding the promising Prospect of Plenty, bought up great Quantities at a cheap Rate, to the Admiration and Astonishment of all who knew his fondness for Poverty, and a retired studious Life; but when the reason appeared, and a vast profit offered itself, he generously restored it to the Persons from whom he had purchased the Oil, who being now convinced of their Error had heartily repented, and meanly begged for Relief, contenting himself with shewing them that Riches were at his call, whenever he pleased to command them.* Another time he advised his Brother to set all his Reapers to work, to carry into the Barn what Corn was already cut down, for he forelaw a furious Storm, which happened soon after. *Tradunt eundem Democritum, metente fratre ejus Damaso ardentissimo æstu, orasse ut reliquæ segeti parceret, raperetque defecta sub tectum, paucis mox horis sævo imbre vaticinatione approbata* (83). — *The same Democritus is reported to have desired his Brother Damasus, who was reaping on an excessive hot day, to leave the rest of the Corn standing, and carry what was cut into the Barn, foreseeing that a terrible Storm would immediately follow, which accordingly did.* I have been told that a Gentleman of Normandy, perceiving by his Barometer that it would quickly rain, housed his Hay whilst it was very fine Weather, which made the Country People of the neighbouring Villages say that he kept Correspondence with the Devil, since he could so well foresee the alteration of the Weather. Were People less rash in their Judgments upon their Neighbours in the Age of Democritus? Were not the Secrets of Nature in fewer Hands at that time than they are now? Democritus was therefore more exposed to magical Suspicions than he would be at present.

I shall occasionally observe, that *Salmastus* does not seem to confute *Solinus* well, concerning the contest of Democritus with the Magi. *Solinus* says, that That Philosopher made use of the Stone *Catocrites* to advantage against them. *Accipimus Democritum Abderiten ostentatione scrupuli hujus frequenter usum ad probandam occultam naturæ potentiam in certaminibus quæ contra magos habuit* (84). — *I am informed that Democritus often made use of this Stone, to prove the hidden Power of Nature in his disputes with the Magi.* *Salmastus* (85) alleges against *Solinus* several Passages of Pliny, which, as we have seen in this Remark, shew that Democritus applied himself

(84) Solin. cap. 3, sub fin.

(85) Salmast. in Exercit. Plin. p. 6. 98, 99.

very much to the Magicians. But who told *Salmastus* that Emulation does not prevail among such People? Is it not very likely that they contend for Reputation? Is not this confirmed by our Demonographical Writers? Do they not tell us that some Magicians can undo what others do? It is likely that *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who resisted *Moses* (86), took him for a Magician. In like manner Democritus might for a considerable time have been an humble Sectator of the Magicians, and then, when he thought he knew as much or more than others, have contradicted those he met with, to raise his Reputation above theirs.

[L] *I do not think he was such an Enthusiast as to put out his Eyes.* Several Authors mention this foolish Story. The most common Reason that is given why he did so, is, that he hoped to meditate more profoundly, when the Objects of Sight should create no Diversion to the Intellectual Power of the Soul (87). Democritum Philosophum in monumentis historiarum Græcæ scriptum est luminibus oculorum suæ sponte se privasse, quia exilimaret cogitationes commentationisque animi sui in contemplandis naturæ rationibus vegetiores & exactiores fore, fit eas videnti illecebris, & oculorum impedimentis liberasset (88). — *In the History of Greece it is recorded, that Democritus voluntarily deprived himself of Sight, thinking that the Operations of his Mind would be more vigorous and regular, when freed from the Impediments and bewitching Diversion which the Eyes occasion.* Was it not sufficient for him to shut himself up in a dark Place, or to keep his Eyes shut during the time of his Meditation? *Laberius*, in a Dramatic Piece, feigned that That Philosopher blinded himself, that he might no longer see the Prosperity of the wicked. I say, *Laberius* feigned this without any other Reason, but because that Hypothesis was convenient for him to act the Part he had in hand. He even explained how Democritus had blinded himself; it was, said he, by exposing himself to the Light, which a Shield reflected upon him (89). *Cautiam voluntarie cœcitatæ finxit aliam Laberius* (90) veritque in eam rem, quam tum agebat, non inconcinne. Est enim persona, quæ hæc apud *Laberium* dicit, divitis avari & parci sumptum plurimum aotiamque adolescentis viri deplorantis.

(86) 2 Tim. chap. iii, ver. 8.

(87) Cicero, de finib. lib. 6, cap. xxix, neither affirms nor denies the thing; but if he had affirmed it, he would have given this Reason for it.

(88) Aul. Gell. lib. 10, cap. 17.

(89) Idem. ibid.

(90) In mimo quem scripsit Rationem. Ibid.

Democritus Abderites phisicus philosophus
Clypeum constituit contra exortum Hyperionis,
Oculos effodit ut posset splendore æreo.
Ita radiis solis aciem effodit luminis,
Malis bene esse ne videret civibus.
Sic ego fulgentis splendorem pecuniæ
Volo elucidicare exitum ætati meæ;
Ne in re bona esse videam nequam filium.

Laberius assigns another cause of this voluntary Blindness, and turns it agreeably to his Subject. The Person, whom Laberius introduces, speaks in this manner of a rich old Miser, fretting at the prodigality of a rakish Son.

*When Virtue griev'd, and Vice triumphant rode,
Abdera's Sage with Indignation glow'd.
His honest Heart was mov'd; with eager haste,
Full in the Sun a beamy Shield he plac'd.
Then, from such Sight to free his troubl'd Mind,
Catch'd the full Blaze, and as he look'd grew blind.
So shall my Gold, the Rival of it's Sire,
Pour on these Eyes an ever streaming Fire,
Till Sight be lost; for I will never bear
To see it squander'd by a wanton Heir.*

Plutarch had heard say that Democritus had made use of Burning-Glasses, upon which he fixed his Eyes that no Object might hinder his Meditation. *Ὅθεν ἐκείνο μὲν ἡεὶ εἰς τὸ Δημόκριτον ἐκείνιος σέβεται τὰς ὁφθαλμοῦ ἀπερὶσσομένην εἰς ἑσπέρην πυρρὴν τὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνάκλασιν δεξάμενον.* Equidem falsum est quod dicitur Democritum sponte sua oculos extinxisse in ignem speculum eos deflentem luminisque reflexionem accipientem (91). — *So the Report, which says, that Democritus voluntarily deprived himself of Sight, by catching the Reflexion of a Burning-*

(91) Plut. de curiositate, pag. 521, C.

nious enough [M]. His laughing at human Life may be excused [N]: it was better for him to do so, than to imitate *Heraclitus*, who cried continually. He was the Forerunner of *Epicurus* [O]; for the System of the latter differs only from that of *Democritus* in some Amendments. It is also *Democritus*, who supplied the Sceptics with what they said against the Testimony of the Senses; for, besides that he used to say, that Truth was hid in the bottom of a Well, he maintained that there was nothing real but the Atoms and Vacuum, and that every thing else consisted only in Opinion (e). This is what the *Cartesians* say now concerning the corporeal Qualities, Colour, Smell, Sound, Savour, Heat, Cold; they are only, say they, Modifications of the Soul. *Democritus* was very far from being orthodox concerning the Divine Nature [P], and he believed

(e) Laërte ubi
supra, n. 44.
Sext. Empiricus
adv. Mathemat.
p. 163. See also
Cicero (lib. 1) of the
Article ARCE-
SILAS.

Burning-Glass, is false. But he rejects this as a meer Fable. The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, having mentioned the Reason, which, according to *Laberius*, moved that Philosopher to blind himself, adds, 'Others say that he blinded himself to meditate with less distraction. This is more probable, though perhaps false; for is it likely that *Democritus*, who laughed at every thing, should have been vexed at the Prosperity of a wicked Man? Such a thing must needs be a Subject of Diversion to such a Philosopher as he, who made it his Business to turn the World into Ridicule (92).' He might thereby have fed himself with an imaginary Triumph over Religion.

(92) Nouv. de la
Rep. des Lettres,
for February.
1686, pag. 155.

Quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim
Obteritur, nos exæquat victoria cælo (93).

(93) Lucrét. lib.
1, ver. 79.

Thus by his Conquest we our Right regain;
Religion be subdued, and we now reign.

Tertullian alleges another Reason of that Philosopher's Conduct. He pretends, that *Democritus* could neither look upon a Woman without desiring to enjoy her, nor miss the Enjoyment, without vexing and tormenting himself, and therefore he thought the best Way was to deprive himself of his Sight. *Tertullian* gives this as an Instance of the Triumph of the Faithful over the wife Heathens. 'Democritus excæcando semetipsum, quod mulieres sine concupiscentia aspicere non posset, & doleret si non esset potius, incontinentiam emendatione proficetur (94).' It is a very imaginary Triumph; for what we most certainly know concerning *Democritus* overthrows *Tertullian's* Supposition. He was a Man weaned from his Senses, given to Meditation, who despised Honour and Riches, and travelled till the Age of eighty Years (95). But a Man will hardly undertake great Journeys when he is blind; and if those, who are above eighty Years old, stand in need of losing their Eyes, it would not be because the sight of Women kindles the Fire of Love in them. A desire, attended with vexation for not enjoying the beloved Object, will not be cured by the loss of one's sight: the Lewdness of the Heart wants another Remedy. *Clemens Alexandrinus* says a thing, which, if we take it right, irrefragably confutes *Tertullian*. I have mentioned it at the end of the Text of this Article. These are that Father's own words: Δημήκετος δὲ γάμον καὶ παιδοποιήσαν παρστύται, διὰ τὰς πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνδρίας τε καὶ ἀρεκάας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων. *Democritus* autem repudiavit matrimonium & procreationem liberorum propter multas quæ ex ipsis oriuntur molestias, & quod abstrahant ab illis quæ sunt magis necessaria (96). — *Democritus* was averse to Matrimony, and the increase of a Family, from the Troubles which attend them, and because they divert the Mind from things of greater Consequence.

(96) Clem. Alex.
Stromat. lib. 2,
pag. 421.

(97) La Mothe
de Vayer, Tom.
VIII, pag. 340.
See also Father
Garasse, Doctrine
curieuse, pag.
297.

(98) Essais, lib.
1, cap. 50.

(99) Letter 21,
pag. 715.

(100) See Cicero,
lib. 1, de finib.
cap. 5, 6.

[M] His manner of comforting Darius was ingenious enough. I shall not mention it; it may be read in *Moreri*, and in an Author, whose Books are to be had every where (97). The latter has a little flourished upon it. He quotes no Body; and therefore, to supply that Fault, I shall observe, that this Story is only to be found in a Letter of the Emperor *Julian*.

[N] His laughing at human Life may be excused. See upon this *Montagne* (98), quoted by the Author of the new Letters against *Maimbourg's* History of *Calvinism* (99).

[O] He was the Forerunner of *Epicurus*. I cannot approve those who say, that the few Innovations, that were seen in the System of *Democritus*, after it was adopted by *Epicurus*, are as many Depravations (100). But I own, that *Epicurus* did not add many things to

it, and that he spoiled some of them. 'Quid est in Physicis Epicuri non a Democrito? Nam etsi quædam commutavit, ut quod paulo ante de inclinatione atomorum dixi, tamen pleraque dicit eadem, atomos, inane, imagines, infinitatem locorum, innumerabilitatemque mundorum, eorum ortus & interitus, omnia fere quibus nature ratio continetur. . . . (101). *Democritus* vir magnus in primis cujus fontibus *Epicurus* hortulos suos irrigavit (102). — What is there in the Physics of *Epicurus* that is not to be found in *Democritus*? For though he has altered some few things, as I observed above, concerning the Inclination of Atoms; yet in general, where Nature is concerned, they agree, viz. in Atoms, Vacuum, Images, Infinity of Space, Infinity of Worlds, with their Formation and Dissolution. . . . *Democritus* was an eminent Philosopher, from whose Fountains *Epicurus* watered his own Nurseries.' He did himself wrong in not owning his Obligations to *Democritus*, and in calling him a Dotard, or a trifling Man, ἀνήμετος, nugarum censor. This was one of his Quibbles.

[P] He was very far from being orthodox concerning the Divine Nature. If he had only said, that God was a Spirit placed in a Sphere of Fire, and the Soul of the World (103), he would be an hundred times less intolerable than he is; but I find that other Doctrines much more dangerous are attributed to him in *Cicero's* Books. 'Quid? *Democritus*, qui tum imagines, earumque circuitus in Deorum numero refert, cum illam naturam quæ imagines fundat ac mittat, tum scientiam intelligentiamque nostram, nonne in maximo errore versatur? cumque idem omnino, quia nihil semper suo statu maneat, neget esse quicquam sempiternum, nonne Deum ita tollit omnino ut nullam opinionem ejus reliquam faciat (104). — Is not *Democritus* guilty of an egregious Error, when he reckons both the Images of Objects, which present themselves all around us, and that Nature from which these Images flow, as also our Knowledge and Perception, in the number of Gods? Does he not likewise destroy the Being, nay, the very Idea of a God, in denying any thing to be eternal, because every thing he sees is placed in a fleeting State?' These are the Doctrines, which *Velleius*, one of *Cicero's* Interlocutors, attributes to *Democritus*: they are such, that it may be affirmed of those who embrace them, that they are truly in the case of him, who said, O Jupiter, I know nothing of thee but thy Name (105). For Nature, which *Democritus* called God, had neither Unity, nor Eternity, nor Immutability, nor the other Attributes that are essential to the divine Nature. He lavished the Name of God upon the Images and Ideas of Objects, and upon the the Act of our Understanding whereby we know Objects. I dare say that this Error, though never so gross, will never come from a Man of mean Understanding, and that none but Men of a great Genius are able to produce it. I cannot tell whether any Body took notice, that the Opinion of one of the most sublime Wits of this Age, That we see all things in the Infinite Being, in God, is *Democritus's* Doctrine unfolded and mended. Observe that *Democritus* taught, that the Images of Objects, which are scattered round about us, or which turn on every side to present themselves to our Senses, are Emanations from God, and are themselves a God, and that the actual Idea of our Soul is a God. Is there a great difference between this Thought, and saying, as Father *Maillebranche* does, that our Ideas are in God, and that they cannot be a Modification of a created Spirit? Does it not follow from thence, that our Ideas are God himself? Now our Ideas and our Knowledge may easily pass for the same thing. Though *Cicero* brings in one of his Interlocutors, saying, that those Thoughts of *Democritus* became an *Abderite*, that is a Sot, and a Fool, I am sure that a Man of mean Parts will never

(101) Cicero de
Nat. Deorum,
lib. 1, cap. 12,
20, & 43.

(102) Ibid. cap.
33. See also
Plutarch. adversus
Calotem,
pag. 1168.

(103) Plut. de
Plac. Philosoph.
lib. 1, cap. 7,
pag. 881. D.
Ἀντιφύσιος τοῦ
τῶν Θεῶν ἑστῶτος
ποσῶς, τὸν τῶ
ἀέρος φύσιν.
Democritus men-
tem Deum in
igne globoso,
mundi animam.

(104) Cicero de
Natura Deorum,
lib. 1, cap. 12,
& 33.

(105) See Plu-
tarch's Treatise
of Love, cap. 12.

(17) Cicero de
finib. lib. 5.

believed that our ultimate End is the Tranquillity of the Mind (f). Plato hated him, and was very near burning all Democritus's Books; which seems to me to be more glo-

rious

(106) Cicero de
Nat. Deorum,
lib. 1, cap. 43.

form them. In order to form them, a Man must comprehend the whole extent of Power that belongs to a Nature capable of representing in our Minds the Images of Objects. Democritus . . . tum censet imagines divinitate præditas inesse universitati rerum: tum principia mentisque quæ sunt in eodem universo Deos esse dicit: tum animantes imagines, quæ vel prodesse nobis solent vel nocere: tum ingentes quædam imagines, tantæque ut universum mundum complectantur extrinsecus. Quæ quidem omnia sunt patria Democriti quam Democrito digniora (106).

— Democritus thought the whole Universe was filled with Images, endued with a divine Nature, and says, that the Principles and Spirits, which exist in the same Universe, are Gods, as also those Images which are endued with an animal Virtue, and are accustomed to affect us with Pleasure or Pain: to these he adds certain Images of immense size, capable of containing the whole Universe. All which Imaginations are more worthy of Democritus's Country than of himself. The Species Intentionales of the School-men are the shame of the Peripatetics: a Man must be I know not what to persuade himself, that a Tree produces its Image round about in all Parts of the Air, to the very Brains of an infinite number of Spectators. The Cause that produces all those Images is quite another thing than a Tree. Seek for it as long as you please; if you find it any where but in the Infinite Being, it is a sign that you do not understand that matter well. I do not deny that those Doctrines of Democritus are at the bottom very absurd. St Augustin has solidly confuted them, and shewn a difference between Democritus and Epicurus, which few Authors have mentioned. He observes, that, according to Democritus, there was in the Atoms either an animated and spiritual Virtue, whereby the Images of Objects partook of the divine Nature, or at least a Soul capable to do us good or harm; but Epicurus acknowledged only the nature of Atoms or Corpuscles in his Principles. Democritus hoc distare in naturalibus questionibus ab Epicuro dicitur, quod iste sentit, inesse concursionem atomorum vim quandem animalem & spiritalem: quæ vi eum, credo, & imagines ipsas divinitate præditas dicere, non omnes omnium rerum, sed deorum, & principia mentis esse in universis, quibus divinitatem tribuit; & animantes imagines, quæ vel prodesse nobis solent, vel nocere: Epicurus vero neque aliquid in principii rerum ponit, præter atomos (107). — Democritus, in his natural Questions, is said to have differed in this from Epicurus, that he thought that there was an Animal and Spiritual Nature in the concourse of Atoms, by the Virtue of which, I think, he makes the Images themselves to be indued with Divinity, not all the Images of all things, but of the Gods; and that the Principles of Spirit are inherent in all, to which he allows a divine Nature, and Images invigorated with Soul, which are capable of doing us good or harm: Whereas Epicurus in his Principles supposes nothing but Atoms. I cannot tell whether St Augustin did well understand the words of Cicero which he paraphrases. He would be excusable if he had not understood them; for Cicero did not explain himself very clearly. However here is a piece of St Augustin's paraphrase: 'Quanto melius ne audissem quidem nomen Democriti, quam cum dolore cogitarem, nescio quem, suis temporibus magnum putatum, qui deos esse arbitraretur imagines, quæ de solidis corporibus fluere, solidæque ipsæ non essent, easque hac atque hac motu proprio circumeundo atque illabendo in animas hominum facere, ut vis divina cogitur; cum profecto illud corpus, unde imago fluere, quanto solidius est, tanto præstantius quoque esse judicetur? Ideoque fluctuavit, sicut isti dicunt, nutavitque sententia, ut aliquando naturam quandam, de qua fluere imagines, deum esse diceret; qui tamen cogitari non posset; nisi per eas imagines, quas fundit ac emittit, id est, quæ de illa natura, quam, nescio quam, corpoream & sempiternam, ac etiam per hoc divinam, putat: quasi vaporis similitudine continuâ velut emanatione ferrentur, & venirent atque intrarent in animos nostros, ut Deum vel Deos cogitare possemus (108). — It had been infinitely better, I had never heard the Name of Democritus, than with Grief to reflect, that one, who in

(107) August.
Epist. 56, pag.
m. 273.

(108) Id. ibid.

his own time was esteemed EMINENT, should imagine to be Gods: those Images which flow from solid Bodies, and are not themselves solid, and by winding themselves in a peculiar manner round us, and making their way into our Souls, should give us the Idea of a divine Nature, when in reality the Body, from which the Image flows, is by so much more excellent, as it is more solid. Therefore he doubted, as they say, and wavered in his Opinion, whether he ought not to have made that Nature, from which the Images flowed, a God, but in what manner it is impossible to conceive, unless those Images which it emits, that is, which from that Nature (which he imagines to be somehow Corporeal, Eternal, and Divine) rise like Vapours by a continual Emanation, come and present themselves to our Souls, and give us an Idea of a God or Gods. See the Margin (109).

[2.] Plato hated Democritus, and was very near burning all his Books. He carefully collected them, and was going to throw them into the Fire, when two Pythagorean Philosophers represented to him, that it would be to no purpose, because several People were already furnished with them. Plato's Hatred to Democritus appears by this; he mentioned almost all the ancient Philosophers, and yet he never cited him, no, not in those Places where he contradicted him. Diogenes Laërtius, who says this, adds, that it was a well contrived Policy, since by that means no Body knew that Plato contradicted the most excellent of all Philosophers. It is likely that Historian had better hit the Mark, if he had made use of a Thought of Mr Salo, when he made the Extract of a Book (110). 'People find fault with that Cardinal, says he (111), because he makes it appear that his chief Design is to shew all the Faults that are in Fra Paolo, and because he names that Author almost in every Chapter. It is said that Baronius went more cunningly to work; because, though he undertook his Annals to oppose the Heresies and Fallacies of the Centuriators of Magdeburg, yet he took care not to contradict them visibly in his Book: But he composed his History without naming them otherwise than by the general Name of Heretics and Innovators. And the Reason why he did so, is, that he thought the less they were spoken of, the better it would be; for fear of raising the Curiosity of the Readers, and exciting a desire to see a Book, whose reading is always dangerous: Whereas Cardinal Palavicini used such a Method, that his Book cannot be understood without reading that of Fra Paolo. And then it is to be feared that Fra Paolo's History, which is very well done, will be preferred before that of the Cardinal, which may be more true, but is not more probable.' It seems to me that the Inconvenience, which Baronius intended to avoid, is the same with that which Plato was aware of. This is all the Cunning, Diogenes Laërtius was little acquainted with the Stratagems of Authors, since he did not mention this, speaking of Plato's Conduct. It has been said, that Aristotle did really what Plato had a mind to do, and that, in order to be the only Philosopher that Posterity should have the Knowledge of, and to appropriate to himself with Impunity the Treasures of those, who had philosophized before him, he burned all their Writings. A Professor of Pavia says this as a certain Truth, and pretends that Pliny speaks plainly of it. 'Quod Plato designaverat, exequutus est Alexandri ope Aristoteles, quasi parum esset Alexandro, si se monarcham redderet Asia, nisi Aristoteli jus in philosophos daret, qui quod sua tantum de tot antiquis monumenta supersse voluit, tyrannidem in ingenia videret affectasse. . . . Dum itaque Regum fortunas unica vincendi libidine ductus everteret Alexander, superbissimo furore ambitiosus nominis Aristoteles in philosophorum Principes est debacchatus, unoque incendio congestas triginta sex seculis tot sapientiæ divitias absumpsit, & si quæ voluit supersse fanerit, ea omnium ludibrio diceritque laceffenda tradidit posteris, dum in optimorum bona invehens, abscissis perditisque sapientiæ statuarum capitibus, suum imposuit singulis: neque obscure literarii peculatus reum facit Aristotelem curiosissimus Plinius, in præfat. ad D. Vespasianum Imp. (112). — What Plato designed, Aristotle, by the help of Alexander, performed; as though Alexander

(109) We shall see, in the Remark [E] of the Article LEUCIPPUS, a Passage of Plutarch, whereby it appears, that Democritus seems to have ascribed some Sensation to the Atoms.

(110) The History of the Council of Trent, by Cardinal Palavicini.

(111) Journal des Savans, March 23, 1665.

(112) Jo. Chrysostomus Magnus in Prologomenis Democriti revivificatis, pag. 23.

(g) Suidas mentions it.

(h) See Lærtius, n. 41.

(i) He was a Physician of Cafres in Language. The Catalogue of the Books he promised, is prefixed to his Antiqu. Gauloises, printed at Paris, in 1655. See also the Preface to the second Century of his Observations Medico-Physicæ.

(k) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 1, cap. 23.

rious than prejudicial to the latter. The System of Atoms is not by much so absurd as Spinozism [R]: but what *Moreri* says, that, according to *Democritus*, the Atoms were infinitely great, is very comical: for on the contrary they were of an unconceivable Smallness. I shall say, in the Remark [K], that many Books have been ascribed to him, which are none of his. Doubtless we might see more clearly into this matter, if we had the Treatise of *Callimachus* (g), or the Treatise of *Thrasyllus* concerning his Works (h). I cannot tell whether *Peter Borel* (i), who promised three Volumes in folio, *De Vita & Philosophia Democriti*, could have given us any light into it. If *Ælian* (k) said, that *Protagoras* was the Son of *Democritus*, he is mistaken. *Democritus* did not approve of Marriage, or of amusing one's self to get Children; which, says he, occasions a great deal of Trouble, and keeps a Man off from more necessary Employment. See the Remark [L], towards the end. He said also that the Pleasure of Love was a little Epilepsy [S].

What they say of the Displeasure his Servant-maid did him, by informing him of a thing, for which he was seeking a natural Reason, is curious enough [T].

xander thought it too little to make himself Monarch of Asia, unless he likewise established Aristotle's Supremacy over the other Philosophers, who seems to have usurped a Tyranny over the learned World, by destroying so many Monuments of Antiquity, that his own might be the only remaining. . . . Whilst the Thrift of Victory solely prompted Alexander to overturn Kingdoms, the same ambitious Spirit lighted up the Flames to those Treasures of Learning, the Labours of the Princes of Philosophy for Thirty six Ages, which Aristotle consumed in one Pile; and those which he spared, he spared out of Cruelty, reserving them only for the scorn and ridicule of Posterity; On the most valuable he exercised his sacrilegious Hand, by cutting off the Heads of Busts consecrated to Wisdom, and placing his own on their Shoulders. Pliny, in his Preface to Vespasian, plainly convicts Aristotle of Plagiarism. He is mistaken as to the second Head. Pliny says nothing whereby it may appear that he makes Aristotle a Plagiarist rather than any other Author, and I do not question but that he is mistaken as to the burning of the Books. See what Charles Emanuel Vizzani observes upon this in his Commentary on Ocellus Lucanus (113). The Jews tell a foolish Story, that Aristotle, having learned all his Philosophy in the Books of Solomon, that were found in Jerusalem when Alexander made himself Master of that City, burnt them to appropriate to himself the Wisdom contained in them (114).

(113) Pag. m. 144.

(114) Bartolucci in Biblioth. Rabbin. in the Journ. des Savans, 1692, pag. 464. See above Citat. (27) of the Article ARISTOTLE.

[R] The System of Atoms is not . . . so absurd as Spinozism. For the Atomists acknowledge at least a real Distinction between the things that compose the Universe; and so it is not incomprehensible that whilst it is cold in one Country, it should be hot Weather in another, and that, whilst one Man enjoys a perfect Health, another should be sick. In Spinozism, according to which the whole Universe is but one Substance, it is a perfect Contradiction; I say it is such a Contradiction, as to maintain that *Peter* is a learned Man, whilst *William* is an ignorant Man, and so with all sorts of contrary Attributes that are verified all at once in many Persons, some in one and some in another. Supposing an infinite number of Atoms really distinct from each other, and all essentially endowed with an active Principle, one may conceive Action and Re-action, and the continual changes that are observed in Nature: but where there is but one only Principle, there can be no Action and Re-action, nor any change of Scenes. So that he, who departs from the right Way, which is the System of a God, who freely created the World, must necessarily admit of a multiplicity of Principles, acknowledge Antipathies and Sympathies among them, and suppose them independent from each other as to their Existence and Power of Acting, and yet capable to annoy each other by Action and Re-action. Do not ask why in certain Cases the affect of Re-action is rather this than that; for no Reason can be given of the Properties of a thing, but when it has been made freely by a Cause, that had some Reasons and Motives in producing it.

[S] He said, that the pleasure of Love was a little Epilepsy. This Thought was ascribed to *Democritus*,

if we believe *Galen*. Τίς γὰρ ἀνέγνω γράφειν Δημόκριτον μὴ εἰρηναίως μὴδ' ἐπιληπτικῶς εἶναι τὴν συνέσιαν (115). Where is the Necessity of saying, that *Democritus* maintained Enjoyment to be a little Epilepsy. *Clement Alexandrinus* meant the same thing (116); for his Sophist of *Abdera* is no other than *Democritus*; but he did not understand that Philosopher's meaning; for he says that *Democritus* gave to understand by it, that the Venereal Act is a Distemper that cannot be cured (117). *Aulus Gellius* ascribes the Definition I speak of to *Hippocrates*, and not to *Democritus*. These are his words. 'Hippocrates autem, divina vir scientia, de coitu venereo ita existimabat, partem esse quandam morbi terribissimi, quem nostris comitalem dixerunt, namque ipsius verba hæc traduntur, τὴν συνέσιαν εἶναι μὴδ' ἐπιληπτικῶς' (118). — *Hippocrates, a Man of more than human Knowledge, thought thus of Enjoyment, that it was a branch of a very bad Distemper, which he calls Epilepsy, &c.* *Macrobius* (119) has transcribed this whole Passage of *Aulus Gellius* word for word according to his Custom, so that there is but one Evidence for ascribing this Thought to the great *Hippocrates*, viz. *Aulus Gellius*. Now the Authority of *Aulus Gellius* is not comparable to that of *Galen* upon such a matter of Fact as this. No Body knew better than *Galen* whether *Hippocrates* had not said such a thing; and therefore, since he ascribes it to *Democritus*, it is a strong Presumption that it came from that Philosopher, and not from the Physician *Hippocrates*. The learned Perizon, whom I have cited before (120), has done me the Honour to write to me, that he does not doubt *Aulus Gellius* is mistaken. His reason is, that *Galen's* exactness in a thing relating to Physic is much more likely than that of *Aulus Gellius*. Besides, those words are not to be found in any Book of *Hippocrates*, tho' it is true that he insinuates that Opinion in some Places of his Works (121): and further, we see that *Clement Alexandrinus* agrees with *Galen*, and not with *Aulus Gellius*. I see also that *Menage* declares for *Galen* against *Aulus Gellius*. He cites *Stobæus*, who attributes that Definition of the Venereal Act not only to *Erysimachus*, but also to *Democritus* (122).

(115) *Galen*. Comment. 1, in librum 3, Epilepticorum Hippocratis.

(116) Μὴδ' ἐπιληπτικῶς, τὴν συνέσιαν δ' Ἀβδερῆος Ἰπποκράτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιληψίας διεκρίθησαν. *Sophista Abderites*. *Clem. Alex. lib. 2. Paedagog. pag. 193.*

(117) Νέον ἀνέγνω γράφειν, τὴν συνέσιαν δ' Ἀβδερῆος Ἰπποκράτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιληψίας διεκρίθησαν. *Id. ibid.*

(118) *Aul. Gell. lib. 19, cap. 2.*

(119) *Macrobi. lib. 2. Saturn. cap. 8.*

(120) Dr *Drelincourt*, Professor of Physic at Leyden. See the Remark [G], towards the end, and the Remark [H], Citat. (50).

(121) Sub initium, lib. de Genit. pag. 27, lin. 35, & lib. de Off. nat. pag. 62, lin. 19. I am no less certain that these Quotations are right, than if I had verified them. I give them as I find them in Dr *Drelincourt's* Letter to me.

(122) *Menage*. in *Lært. lib. 9, n. 41*, pag. 410, 411.

(123) *Kuhnus*, in *Diog. Lært. lib. 9, n. 38*, pag. 539.

(124) *Plut. Sympos. lib. 1, cap. 10.*

[T] What they tell of the Displeasure his Maid-Servant did him . . . is curious enough. I have as yet found no Modern that cites any ancient Author for this: thus *Montagne* tells the Story. '*Democritus*, having eat at his Table some Figs, which smelled of Honey, immediately began to revolve in his Mind: whence this unusual Sweetness should proceed, and, to find out the Reason of it, he arose from Table to see the Situation of the Place where the Figs were gathered. His Maid, hearing the Reason of this riling, told him laughing, that he need not trouble himself, for she had put them into a Vessel that had had Honey in it. He was vexed that she had deprived him of a Subject for his Curiosity. Go, said he, you have vexed me; I shall nevertheless enquire into the Cause, as if it was a natural one; and he would not have failed finding some true Reason for a false and imaginary effect.' Mr *Kuhnus* relates the same Story (123), without citing any Author. He might have cited *Plutarch* (124).

DEMONTJOSIUS, or DEMONTJOSUS (LEWIS). See MONTJOSIEU.

DEMPSTER

DEMPSTER (THOMAS), taught Claſſical Learning at *Paris*, towards the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He was a *Scotchman*, and ſaid, when he came into *France*, that he had left a great Eſtate in his Country for the Catholic Religion. He boated alſo of a great Nobility. Though his Buſineſs was to teach a School, he was as quick at drawing his Sword, and as quarrellſome as a profeſſed Duelliſt. He either fought with a Sword, or boxed almoſt every Day, inſomuch that he was the Terror of all the Schoolmaſters. He did a courageous Action at *Paris*, in the College of *Beauvais* [A]; which brought him into great Trouble, that he durſt not hazard the Conſequences of; therefore he retired into *England*, where he found, not only a Place of Refuge, but alſo a handſome Wife, whom he carried with him to *Paris*, when he returned thither. One day, as he was going along the Streets with that Woman, who ſhewed her fine naked Breſt and white Shoulders [B], he found himſelf ſurrounded with ſo many People, that it is likely the Crowd would have ſmothered them both, if they had not retired into a Houſe. A Beauty, thus ſet forth in a Country, where ſuch a thing was not practiſed, drew in that multitude of gazing Fools. He went into *Italy*, and taught Philological Learning in the Univerſity of *Piſa* with a good Salary. Returning one day from the College, he found that his Wife had been ſtolen away; his own Scholars had lent an helping Hand to that Elopement. He bore it patiently like a Stoic. Perhaps he was not ſorry to be rid of a Treafure, the keeping whereof was ſo troubleſome to him. He removed to *Bologna*, where he was Profeſſor for the remaining part of his Life. He was alſo admitted there into the Academy *della notte* (a). There are ſeveral Books of his writing [C]. He died in the Year 1625, according to *Moreri's* Dictionary, where you will find ſeveral Univerſities, wherein he taught, but not all [D]. He was a Man of a prodigious Memory [E], indefatigable, a zealous Friend, and a violent Enemy (b): he had no great Judgment (c), nor much Honesty,

(a) Taken from Nicus Erythreus. Pinac. I, pag. 24, 25.

(b) Moribus appetitis & ſimulandi neſcius, live amore odlove quempiam proſequatur utrumque palam. Ut amicis obſequentiſſimus, ita inimicis maxime inſenſus. . . . He was of an open Temper, an entire Stranger to Diſſimulation, profeſſing his Hatred or Reſpect to all the World; a hearty Friend, and an inveterate Enemy. Aub. Miræus in Script. Sæc. XVI. pag. 161.

(c) Homo multæ lectionis, ſed nullius plane juvenis. Uſurus. Antiq. Brit. Eccl. cap. 11.

[A] He did a courageous Action in the College of *Beauvais*. Grangier, Principal of that College, being obliged to go a Journey, made *Dempſter* his Substitute. The latter exerciſed Juſtice on a Scholar, who had challenged one of his School-fellows to fight a Duel; he ordered him to be taken up upon the Shoulders of a luſty Fellow, and whipped him ſeverely in a full Claſs. The Scholar, to revenge this Affront, brought three Gentlemen of his Relations, who were Life-guards, into the College. *Dempſter* made the whole College take up Arms, ham-ſtrunged the Horſes of thoſe three Guards before the Gate of the College, and put himſelf into ſuch a poſture of Defence, that thoſe three Gentlemen were forced to beg Quarter. He granted them their Lives, but had them dragged into the Belfry, where he kept them Priſoners, and did not reſeaſe them till ſome Days after. They went another way to revenge themſelves, and cauſed an Information to be made of *Dempſter's* Life and Behaviour, and had ſome Witneſſes heard againſt him: which obliged him to go for *England* (1).

[B] His Wife ſhewed her fine naked Breſt and white Shoulders. I ſhall cite *Nicæus Erythreus*. Ubi (in Anglia) non modo totum ab inſectatoribus ſuis perſugium, verum etiam mulierem naſtus eſt, forma & vultu, adeo liberali, adeo venuſto, ut nihil ſupra, quam in uxoris habuit loco. Quæ mulier, cum luce quadam, Pariſiis, quo rursus Thomas cum ea ſe receperat, conſpecta eſſet, & quia forma præſtabat, ut diximus, & quia habitu erat dementiſſimo; nam & pectus & ſcapulas, nive ipſa candiores, omnium oculis expoſitas habebat; tantus, viſendi gratia, hominum concurſus factus eſt, ut niſi ſe in domum cujuldam, una cum viro, recepſiſſet, nihil propius factum eſſet, quam ut ambo à multitudine opprimerentur (2). — In *England* he not only found Refuge from his Perſecutors, but a Woman alſo of incomparable Beauty, and of an air ſo noble and graceful, that nothing could be more charming, whom he took for his Wife. As ſhe was one Day ſeen at *Paris*, whither *Dempſter* had carried her in his return, and being as I ſaid extremely beautiful, and in a moſt enchanting dreſs, expoſing to public view a Neck and Breſt, whiter than the pureſt Snow, ſuch a crowd of People ſtocked together from all ſides to her, that, had they not taken ſhelter in a neighbouring Houſe, it is more than probable they would have both been cruſhed to death. From this we may learn how much it concerns every Body to conform to the Cuſtoms of the Places where they are, particularly with reſpect to public Decency.

[C] There are ſeveral Books of his writing. His Supplements to *Reſponſus de Antiquitatibus Romanis* ſhew that he was a Man of great reading. He wrote Commentaries upon *Claudian*; and *Corippus* (3); four Books of Letters; ſeveral Dramatic Pieces, and ſome other

Poems (4); ſome Law Books; an *Apparatus* to the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, a Martyrology of *Scotland*, and a Liſt of the *Scotch* Writers (5); I may truly call it a Liſt, for he only names thoſe Writers.

[D] You will find in *Moreri's* ſeveral Univerſities where he taught, but not all. *Moreri* does not mention the Academy of *Nîmes*, where *Dempſter* diſputed for a Profeſſor's Chair, and carried it, as he himſelf informs us (6): "Quem (locum Virgilii) ut nodum mihi inſolubilem obſect quidam, dum profeſſionem in Regia Nemaufenſium Academia, diſputationi commiſſam, magno licet concurſu, obtinui, reſectiſque aliis, ſolus, quod inter plures dividere volebant quidam addeſiones, ſummo cum honore conſequabar, ſenatu faventiſſimo, unico Barnerio in tot egregiis viris, & omni literarum genere eminentibus, contradicente, maximo conſenſu Conſulum, Civiumque aliorum, exceptis quibuſdam, quos ſi mererentur nominare; nunc quia indigni ſunt tanto honore, cum ſuo livore, imo & malignitate callida intermori patiar, potiùs quam nominibus compellatos vivere meo beneficio velim. — Which Paſſage of *Virgil* was objected to me as a difficulty not to be ſolved; when I obtained the Chair in the Royal Academy of *Nîmes*, by Diſputation, from a Multitude of Candidates; and, with the univerſal Applauſe and Favour of the Senate, alone carried off the prize, which ſome buſy People would have had divided, Barnerius being the only one, amongſt ſo many eminent and learned Men, who oppoſed it; The Conſuls and all the Citizens applauding the choice, except a few, whom I ſhall not mention, becauſe they are unworthy of that Honour, but ſuffer their Malice and Envy to be buried in Oblivion, rather than cauſe them to live by taking notice of them." The Paſſage that was propoſed to him as an indiſſoluble Knot is this:

Non ego te, menſis & diis accepta ſecundis

Transieram, Rhodia, & tumidis, Bumafte, racemis (7).

The Rhodian, grateful to the Gods above,

In ſecond Services is pour'd to Jove;

Nor muſt Bumafte his old Honours loſe,

In length and largeneſs like the dugs of Cows.

It is very likely that he was then accounted a Huguenot (8); for the Academy of *Nîmes* was only deſigned for the Proteſtants.

[E] He was a Man of a prodigious Memory. He ſaid that he did not know what it was to forget any thing. Mentis acumine ſatis valuit, ſed memoriae tenacitate longe plurimum, adeo ut multoties diſceret ignorare ſe quid ſit obliſio (9). — His Conception was ready enough, but his ſtrength of Memory was moſt ſurpriſing, being often heard to ſay, he knew not

(7) Virgil. Georg. lib. 2, verſ. 101.

(8) Hankins de Script. Rom. lib. 2, pag. 174, ſays, that *Dempſter* left his Eſtate for having preferred the Reformed Religion to the Romiſh; but he had put a wrong Senſe upon the Words of *Nicæus Erythreus*.

(9) Miræus, ſupra.

(1) Ex Nicæo Erythreo, Pinacoth. I, pag. 24.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 25.

(3) Erythreus has committed a Fault here; inſtead of *Corippus* he ſays *Criſpus*.

Honesty; for he published I know not how many Fables without Shame [F]. Some of his Books were condemned by the Inquisition of Rome [G]. His passionate way of writing could not but bring such a Disgrace upon him.

(10) *Id. ibid.* 'what it was to forget.' I can hardly forbear taking this for a Romance. We are told that he remembered the most hidden Passages of Antiquity. 'Nihil adeo abditum in antiquitatis monumentis cuius non meminisset, ita ut Franciscus Cupius vir in literis omni comparatione major Dempsterum magnam Bibliothecam loquentem compellere consueverit (10). —

'There was nothing in the Monuments of Antiquity so hidden but what he remembered, inasmuch, that F. Cupius, a Man of incomparable Learning, used to call him the great speaking Library.' This being so, he very well deserved to be called a speaking Library, as some Authors have called him. Besides being extremely laborious, for he used to read fourteen Hours every Day without Intermission (11), he could not but know a vast number of things. If his great Reading would have permitted him to write with great Politeness, and with all the Beauties of a very exquisite Judgment, he would have been a greater Prodigy than his Memory was: but he could not write judiciously and politely (12): I remember a Passage of Balzac, which I cannot produce upon a better Occasion. 'If our Courtiers, says he, cannot endure our young Doctor, who sacrificed to the Graces, how would they treat the wild Heinsius, if he should appear amongst them? With how many hootings would they have driven away the nasty Crassot, and the clownish Dempster? Who could secure from their insults those two Anticourtiers, Frederic Morellus, and Theodorus Marcius, who always seemed to come from another World, and spoke a Language, that was neither human, nor articulate, so far was it from being common, and intelligible. Those Men were unpolite and wild, yet they had their Value, as well as rough Diamonds (13).'

(11) *Stylus ei copiosus, confragiosus tamen. Ib.*

(12) Balzac, Letter 3, 10. Chaplain, Book 4, pag. m. 209.

(13) Jac. Warreus de Script. Hibernie, pag. 219, apud Blount, Censura Author. pag. 643.

(14) Jac. Usserius de Britan. Eccles. Primord. pag. 463, apud eund. ib.

[F] He published I know not how many Fables without shame. In his Catalogue of Scotch Writers, he not only mentions many Authors, who were English or Irish, but also many Books that were never extant. Dempsterus in suum scriptorum Scotia Catalogum pro libidine sua Anglos, Wallos, & Hibernos passim retulit, & ad assertiones suas firmandas finxit sapissimæ authoræ, opera, locos & tempora (14). — Dempster, in his Catalogue of Scotch Authors, has not only often inserted those of England, Wales, and Ireland, in a peremptory manner, but, to prove his Assertions, has also very frequently quoted imaginary Authors, fictitious Treatises, Times, and Places. See what the learned Archbishop Usser said of Dempster. Comment genus est illi homini non minus familiare, quam librorum qui nunquam scripti sunt esse in otioso deprompta cerebro recensio (15). — There is

'a sort of Invention no less familiar to him, than that of his mentioning Authors, which never existed, but in his own Brain.' Here follow the words of a third Author: 'Quod verò Dempsterus Hist. Scot. lib. vi. num. 536. affirmat Fastidium nostrum Scotorum Chronicon scripsisse, id homini nugivendolo, & in gentis suæ rebus pene semper ineptienti condonandum est (16). — What Dempster affirms in his History of Scotland, Book VI. Num. 536. That our Fastidious wrote a Chronicle of the Scots, may be pardoned in a retailer of Trifles, and a Man that is always playing the Fool with the Affairs of his own Nation.' It cannot be said, that they are only English Authors, who judge so disadvantageously of him; for their Judgment is approved by the Catholics of other Nations. I shall only quote Mr Baillet, a French Priest. 'Thomas Dempster, says he (17), has given us an Ecclesiastical History of Scotland in nineteen Books, wherein he very much speaks of the learned Men of that Country. But though he was a Man of Learning, he had not a more solid Judgment, nor a better Conscience for it. He could have wished that all learned Men had been Scotchmen; he forged several Titles of Books, that never appeared in the World, to set off the Glory of his Country, and committed several other Cheats, that have cried him down among the Learned. These are in some measure the Complaints, that Usser, Ware, Father Labbe, Sandius, Nicolas Antonius, &c. make of him.' Father Labbe observes in the place quoted by Baillet, that he never saw the *Judicium de omnibus omnium Gentium & Temporum Historicis*, which is ascribed to Dempster. I believe the Title is not well set down, and that Father Labbe only means the Judgment, which Dempster made of a great many Authors, and that in very few words, prefixed to his Supplement to *Relinquin*.

[G] Some of his Books were condemned by the Inquisition. You will find, in the Decree of the sixteenth of March 1621, *Thomas Dempsteri de Antiquitate Romanorum, donec corrigatur*; and in the Decree of the seventeenth of December 1623, *Scotia illustrior, seu Mendicabilia repressa modesta parechasi Thomæ Dempsteri*. Sir Thomas Pope Blount says (18), that in this latter Decree is found, *Liber inscriptus Hiberniæ sive antiquioris Scotia vindiciæ adversus immodestam parechasi Thomæ Dempsteri*. This is not to be found in my Edition (19). We see in the *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* of Father Labbe (20), that the Author of the Book intitled, *Hibernia sive antiquioris Scotia vindiciæ*, is called G. F. Federicus Hibernus, and that his Book was printed at Antwerp in the Year 1621, in octavo.

(16) Gul. Cave ad ann. Chr. 423, apud eund. ib.

(17) *Jogem. des Savans*, Tom. II, pag. 183.

* Jac. Usser. de Britan. Eccles. Primord. cap. 13, pag. 463.

† Jac. Warreus, Rer. Hibernicæ.

‡ Ph. Labbe Biblioth. Bibl. pag. 159.

† Christoph. Sand. Animadv. in Voff. pag. 175.

* Nic. Anton. Biblioth. Hisp. Præfat. pag. 34.

(18) Ubi supra, pag. 643.

(19) *Thot of Geneva*, 1667, printed from that of Rome of the same Year.

(20) Pag. 192, Edit. Rhotom. 1678: the Passage is misplaced.

DES-BARREAU (JAMES DE VALLEE, Lord), born at Paris in 1602, of a very noble Family [A], was one of the Wits of the XVIIth Century. He made a great Progress in his Studies, under the Jesuits, who, perceiving he had a Genius capable of the greatest things, endeavoured to get him into their Society; but neither he nor his Family would hearken to such a Proposal. He did not love them, and would sometimes inveigh against them very agreeably. His Intimacy with Theophile [B] no doubt contributed very much to this, as well as to the Libertinism which made him so famous. He was yet very young, when his Father procured him a Counsellor's Place in the Parliament of Paris. His Wit was admired there, though he would never report a Cause [C]. We shall see, in the Remarks, what obliged him to quit this

Post

[A] He was of a very noble Family. He was the Son of JAMES DE VALLEE Lord Des-Barreaux, who died Master of the Requests, and President of the Great Council, and Grandson of JAMES DE VALLEE, Knight, Lord des Barreaux, Chateaufort, and Chenaillen, Comptroller-General of the Finances, a Man so considered in the Reign of Henry III, and the beginning of the following Reign, that he had a great share in the Councils, and the King often held a Council at his house, and frequently wrote to him with his own hand upon important Affairs. Mr Des-Barreaux, who is the Subject of this Article, was second Cousin to Mr de Laubespine Chateaufort, Keeper of the Seals, and by his Mother's side he was first Cousin to the Countess of Bouville (1), and conse-

quently Uncle, after the custom of Bretagne, to the Marshal de Luxembourg, and to the Duchs of Mecklenburg. Mary de Vallée, his eldest Sister, left no Children by her Marriage with the President Viole. Elizabeth de Vallée, his other Sister, was married to Mr du Boulay-Favier, Master of the Requests, Intendant in Normandy. From this Marriage proceeded two Daughters, one of which was married to Mr Talon, (2), and the other to Count de Tilieres and de Carouge.

[B] He had a great intimacy with Theophile. He was a very beautiful Youth, and it is pretended that Theophile loved him, and sometimes was jealous of him. That Poet, speaking of him, somewhere, says *Valleus noster qui fuit olim meus*. Some say he had abused him; but we are assured by persons, who are intimate

(1) Advocate-General, and afterwards President au Mortier, in the Parliament of Paris.

Post [D]. He was too great a Lover of Pleasure and Liberty not to think himself happy in parting with the Gown. He made abundance of French and Latin Verses, and some very pretty Songs; but he never published any thing, minding nothing but good Chear and Diversions. He was admirably entertaining at Table, known and beloved by the greatest Lords, and the most worthy Men in the Kingdom. He had his particular Friends in every Province, whom he visited very often, taking a Pleasure in changing his Quarters according to the Seasons of the Year [E]. Four or five Years before his Death, he entirely reformed his disorderly Life, paid his Debts, and gave up to his Sisters the Remainder of his Estate (a), reserving to himself an Annuity of Four thousand Livres; and retired to Chalon upon the Soane, which was, he said, the best and purest Air in France. Here he hired a small House, and was visited by the best sort of People, and particularly by the Bishop, who gave him a good Character. He died at this Place like a good Christian, in 1674. Two or three Years before his Death, he made a devout Sonnet, which is an excellent one, and known by every body [F].

Neither

ly acquainted with Mr Des-Barreaux, that he always abhorred that unnatural Sin, and that *ne agens nec patiens voluit unquam interire præposteræ libidini*. See the margin (3).

[C] His Father procured him a Counsellor's Place . . . he would never report a Cause. He said it was a forbidden Employment, and unworthy a Man of sense, to apply himself to unravel wrangling papers. Once he undertook to report a Cause: it was of no great Consequence; but, being pressed by the Parties concerned, he sent for them, and burnt the Writings in their presence, paying the money that was demanded.

[D] We shall see in the Remarks what obliged him to quit this Post. It was, they say, an Amour of Cardinal Richelieu with the famous Marion de Lorme, who was in love with our Des-Barreaux. I shall produce my Author. 'The Cardinal saw Marion de Lorme without being seen by her, and found her a thousand times more charming than he had imagined. He desired to know whether St Mars was loved by her, and ordered Bois-robert to find it out. The Abbot immediately gave his Eminence all the Information he desired, acquainting him, that Vanity had a greater share in Marion de Lorme's Complaisance for the King's Favourite than Love, but that she had a real tenderness for Des-Barreaux, Counsellor in the Parliament, a young man of Wit, well made, and of a lively Conversation, but debauched and impious to the last degree. The Cardinal bid Bois-robert offer Des-Barreaux, that, if he would yield up his Mistress to him, and engage her to be favourable, he would gratefully accept the Sacrifice, and do any thing to promote his Fortune that he should desire. Bois-robert discharged his Commission with the greatest address; but Des-Barreaux only answered in a jelling way, always pretending to believe the Cardinal incapable of such a weakness: this provoked the Cardinal to such degree, that he persecuted Des-Barreaux as long as he lived, and forced him to lay down his Office, and leave the Kingdom (4).

He that furnished me with some Memoirs concerning Des-Barreaux, had promised to consult this Passage in the Gallantries of the Kings of France; but a long Sickness has hindered him from doing it.

[E] He took a pleasure in changing his quarters according to the Seasons of the Year. He went to seek the best Fruits, and the best Wines, in the climates where they excelled, but especially he went in Winter to enjoy the warmth of the Sun, upon the Coasts of Provence. The three worst months of the Year, he spent at Marseilles. The House, that he called his favourite House, was in Languedoc: It was that of the Count de Clermont de Lodeve, where he used to say, good Chear and Liberty were upon their Throne. He had in Anjou the house of Lude, which was formerly the resort of the greatest Wits, and the best sort of People. He went sometimes to visit Mr de Balzac (5) upon the banks of the Charante; but his chief Post was at Chenailles upon the Loire, an agreeable House and formerly a House of Pleasure and good Chear. It belonged to one of his Uncles, and afterwards to Mr de Chenailles, his first Cousin, Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris (6). I must add that sometimes the pleasures of the Mind were the cause of his Journeys, as when he went on purpose to Holland to see his Friend Mr des Cartes, and to improve by the Instructions of that great Genius (7).

[F] He made a devout Sonnet . . . which is known by every body. I shall insert it here at length.

Grand Dieu, tes jugemens sont remplis d'équité;
Toujours tu prens plaisir à nous être propice:
Mais j'ai tant fait de mal, que jamais ta bonté
Ne me pardonnera sans choquer ta justice.
Oùy, Mon Dieu, la grandeur de mon impiété
Ne laisse à ton pouvoir que le choix du supplice:
Ton intérêt s'oppose à ma félicité,
Et ta clémence même attend que je périsse.
Contente ton desir puis qu'il t'est glorieux;
Offense toy des pleurs qui coulent de mes yeux:
Tonne, frappe, il est temps, rends moi guerre pour
guerre:
J'adore en périssant la raison qui t'aigrit:
Mais dessus quel endroit tombera ton tonnerre,
Que ne soit tout couvert du sang de JESUS-CHRIST.

Great God, thy Judgments equitable are:
Mercy is still thy darling Attribute:
Yet such a Wretch, so full of Guilt am I,
Thou Mercy pleads, Justice forbids to save.
Yes, yes, my God! my great Impiety
Leaves thee the choice of Punishment alone:
Thy Interest is against my Happiness,
And even thy Clemency awaits my Fall.
Then satisfy thy Glory's just demand,
And let my falling Tears provoke thy Wrath:
Now, thunder, strike, and give me War for War;
Falling, I own the Justice of the Blow:
But, marked for Vengeance, let me not despair:
Fall where thy Thunders will, the Blood of Christ is
there.

The Author of the Art of speaking finds the Sonnet admirable. He inserts it in his Book as an example of the figure Rhetoricians call *Epistrophe*, or *Consent* (8). We find this Sonnet in a letter of Mr Bourfault. The Title of this letter shews it was written to Mr Des-Barreaux; who did not believe in God, but when he was sick (9). The Author mentions to him 'the death of an unhappy Woman, who was the disgrace of her Sex, and who left Children the heirs of her Infamy.' He pretends, that by her death 'God had removed the Obstacles which hindered Des-Barreaux from drawing near to him.' From hence we conclude, that this Woman had been Des-Barreaux's Mistress. He adds, 'that he did not doubt, but by the mutual ill Examples they gave one another, she had also learned from him to believe in God, only in time of sickness.' He represents to him what the Mercy of God had often done for him. 'Was is not that Mercy, says he him (10), which, in order to reclaim you from your disorders, sent you the last Sickness you had, when, touched by the greatness of your Sins, you made that Sonnet, which has procured you as much Glory, as one day it will cause Confusion to you, that, having had a Capacity of thinking so well, you should be so unhappy as to live so ill. Let us for a moment lay aside the Christian, and speak only of the honest Man. Tell me, I beseech you, whether a Man who should have said to another what you say to God, and should have basely violated his word as you do to him, could be an honest Man? . . . What are you going to do, with death that follows within two,

(a) His Share of his Father's and Mother's Estate amounted to above 400,000 Livres, besides some collateral Succession.

(1) The Collection of Des-Barreaux's Letters, published by M. yret, contains two French, and several Latin ones, from Des-Barreaux to Des-Barreaux, and one Latin one from him to Des-Barreaux.

(4) Gallantries des Rois de France, Tom. II, pag. 189, Edit. Holland. 1695.

(5) See Balzac's Letter to him of Oct. 12, 1641: it is the 20th of the 2d Book of his Lettres Choisies: the Cousin he mentions, that would not marry again, is doubtless the Countess of Bouville.

(6) He retired to the Hague for his Religion, in 1694.

(7) Baillet Vie de Des Cartes, Tom. II, pag. 176.

(8) Art of Speaking, lib. 2, cap. 3, pag. 100, Dutch Edit. 1679.

(9) Lettres Nouvelles de Mr Bourfault, pag. 18, Dutch Edit. 1698.

(10) Ibid. pag. 21.

Neither his Friends nor Relations can deny that he was a great Libertine

(11) *Ib.* pag. 22.

two steps of you, to day at the Capuchins, to-morrow at the Menims, but seek what you ought to shun, and, if I dare say so, insult God where others adore him (11). He refers him to the Fable of the sick Falcon, and maintains 'that if there is any thing in the World more extravagant than not to believe in God, it is to have the weakness to invoke him without believing in him; and as he is no more God when we are sick than when we are well, there is neither more nor less reason to believe in him one time than another (12). He supposes this to be the answer of the Falcon's Dam; and declares, 'that he knows none but *Æsop* that could put such a judicious Answer into her Mouth.' Lastly, he earnestly exhorts Mr *Des-Barreaux* not to weary the Divine Mercy. Note, the Fable of the Falcon, or, to say better, of the Kite, runs thus in the new Edition of *Phædrus*.

(12) *Ib.* pag. 24.

Multos cum menses ægrotasset milvius,
Nec jam videret esse vitæ spem suæ,
Matrem rogabat, sancta circumiret loca,
Et pro salute vota faceret maxima.
Faciam, inquit, fili; sed opem ne non impetrem
Vehementer vereor; sed qui delubra omnia
Vastando, cuncta polluisti altaria
Sacrificiis nullis parcens, nunc quid vis rogem (13)?

(13) See the *Phædrus*, printed at Amsterdam, 1698, pag. 325, of the Commentary of Goussier, Appendix. Feb. 7, in Edit. P. Bussm.

Kite had lain ill three months or more.
And all the Quacks had giv'n him o're.
Mamma be calls, then thus began,
All Fleß is Grass, and Life a Span,
Eut Prayers, perhaps, may still prevail,
The Gods can cure, when Doctors fail.
I'd pray, my Son, Mamma reply'd,
But fear, alas, to be deny'd.
They'll say, this sudden Reformation,
Is nought but base Dissimulation.

(14) They are in the time Edition of *Nevelet*.

I do not find this Fable among those which are attributed immediately to *Æsop* in *Nevelet's* Edition; but I have found it among those, which are turned into Verse by an anonymous Author (14), and which he gives as the genuine Fables of *Æsop*: but I can see no footsteps in it of the Thought Mr *Boursault* mentions, and which he believes *Æsop* alone capable of inspiring. This is by the by.

(15) *Rom. x.*, 24.

He is in the right to say, that it would be the utmost Extravagance to direct Prayers to a Deity, that we do not believe to exist; but I do not know that ever *Des-Barreaux* was guilty of such a Folly. St *Paul* seems to suppose, that such an Extravagance is not to be found among Men. How shall they call, says he (15), on him, in whom they have not believed? It seems to me possible enough that those, who are come to no positive Determination, either for or against the Existence of God, should address their Prayers and Vows to him upon the sight of imminent Danger. Now this is the Condition of almost all the Incredulous. They doubt of the Being of a God; they do not clearly know that he exists; but then they are not certain that he does not exist. The Bishop of *Tournay* begins his Reflections upon Religion with this Thought. It is natural for such Men, at the approach of Death, to take the surest side, and *ad majorem Cautelam* to recommend themselves to the Divine Favour and Mercy (16): They hope for something from their Prayers, in case there is a Being than hears them, and can help them; and they have nothing to fear in case there is no such Being. But if any one was arrived to such a degree of Infidelity, as to be firmly perverted of meer Atheism, and should continue in that Persuasion till he is seized by a dangerous Sickness, I do not conceive it possible for such a one, from the bottom of his heart, to call upon God. Let us not imagine then, that *Des-Barreaux* fell into the Extravagance he is charged with of crying to God, without believing there was a God; but rather say, that his Custom of praying to God in his Sickness is a sign that either in the time of his health he did not doubt of the Existence of God, as the Memoirs which are sent me, assure me,

(16) See Remark [E] of the Article *BION* (*BORISTRE-NITA*).

or that, at most, he made a Problem of it, the affirmative of which he embraced when he was afraid he should die. His Inclination to Pleasure made him return to his former Course and Language, when his health was restored. This does not prove that he was really an Atheist. It only proves, either that he rejected all the particular Doctrines of positive Religion, or that, thro' a Principle of Pride, he was afraid of being rallied for quitting the Title of a Free-thinker, if he did not continue to talk as a Libertine. It is probable enough that those who, in Company, affect to oppose the most common Truths of Religion, say more than they think. Vanity has a greater share than Conscience in their Disputes: they imagine the singularity or boldness of the Sentiments they maintain will procure them the Reputation of great Wits. Thus they are tempted, against their own Persuasion, to expose the difficulties, to which the Doctrines of Providence, and the Gospel are subject. By little and little, they get a habit of impious Talk, and, if their Vanity is attended with a sensual Life, they make a swift Progress in Wickedness. This ill habit, contracted on one hand under the guidance of Pride, and on the other prompted by Sensuality, deadens the Impressions of Education. I mean that it suppresses the sense of those Truths they learnt in their Infancy concerning the Deity, Heaven, and Hell. But it is not a Faith quite extinguished; it is only fire concealed in the Ashes. They perceive the Activity of it, as soon as they reflect within themselves, and particularly on the approach of any Danger. Then they are more afraid than other men (17); nay, they grow superstitious. The remembrance of having expressed more contempt for holy Things, than they were convinced they deserved, and of having endeavoured to destroy their Power upon the mind, redoubles their uneasiness. It is seldom ever known that a grave Man, free from sensuality, and the Vanity of the World, argued, in Company, for Impiety, even tho', by a long series of profound, but ill conducted, Meditations of Things, he has inwardly rejected all Religion. Such a Man is so far from banishing out of the Minds of young People the Doctrines which may preserve them from Debauchery, so far from desiring to inspire them with his Opinions, which they might make an ill use of, or which might deprive them of the comfort, which the hopes of a happy Eternity make them feel in their miseries, that he would rather strengthen their belief in that respect from a principle of Charity and Generosity. He keeps his Sentiments either entirely to himself, or communicates them only to Persons, whom he thinks capable of receiving them without injury. This is the practice of speculative Atheists, who have not been spoiled by Vanity or Vice (18). The unhappiness of having been too much struck with a certain Principle, and following its Consequences too far, has led them to a certain Persuasion. The grace of God may reclaim them from it, at the sight of Death; but, without that Grace, they persist in their indolence in the midst of Diseases and Storms; and, if they conform to the funeral Ceremonies of the Church, it is to free their Relations from any Inconvenience on account of such Refusal. This inclines me to believe, that Libertines, such as *Des-Barreaux*, are not much perverted of the Truth of what they say. They have but a little examined things; they have learnt some objections, which they are always harping upon; they talk out of a swaggering Principle, and in time of danger believe themselves (19). Mr *de Balzac* has drawn the just Character of them, when he ridiculed a Grammarian of *Gascogne*, who heftored the Deity, and yet upon every little thing would fall into the most timorous Superstition. His words are so fine both in Verse and Prose that I cannot forbear relating them. 'Audisti in quotidianis Comædiis Pyrgopolinicus partes bellè agere. Audisti usurpantem crebro, sibique affingentem Virgilianum illud:

(17) See, before, the Passage of *CHARRON*, in the Rem [I] of his Article.

(18) See the Rem. [C] of the Article *VAYER*, at the End.

(19) See the Article of *BION* (*BORISTRE-NITA*), Rem. [E]; and the Article *HE-NALT*.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
Subject pedibus, stetitque Acherontis avari.

Ne vobis imponat verborum illa magnificentia: Hic Trio & Recitator Virgilianus est, non Philoprophus Virgilianus.

(b) This, and whatever, in the Remarks, is not warranted by a public Citation, is taken from Memoirs which come from a good Hand, the Original of which I keep by me.

tine [G]; but they pretend that common Fame, according to Custom, has aggravated Matters [H], and that towards the Close of his Life he acknowledged the Truth of Religion; and as to other things they maintained, that according to the World he was always a good Man, and a Man of Honour, *that he had an honest Heart, was kind, courteous, charitable, a good Friend, generous, and liberal* (b). He was never married, nor had any Brother, but only two Sisters (c).

(c) See Rem. [A].

Virgilianus. Meticulosissimum omnium animal timet etiam non timenda. Neque ignem modo sed suspicionem quoque ignis, & fumum & longinquo volentem, & sublustriorem umbram timet.

Vilis Grammaticus, gentis pars fœda togatæ,
Impuro tantum ore ferox, ne credite verbis,
Corde pavet gelido, quamvis verba ardua jactet
Sæpius, & tragicas effundat in æra voces.
Non furor huic constans, non Numina fortiter odit,
Intrepidusque Polos audet ridere tonantes,
Ut quondam Capaneus Thebana ad mœnia pugnant,
Cum non arma Jovis flammæque timeret Olympi.
Hic dubii imbellis ventura pericula casus,
Et simulachra malorum, & larvas horret inanes,
Contemptor placidique Jovis Cœlique fereni.

Quas non ille aras humili formidine tactâ
Mente peter, quos non Superos in vota vocabit,
Si videat maris iratos insurgere fluctus,
Sentiat aut propriis ardere incendia venis,
Insolite ve urgeri oppressum pondere pectus,
Æger, inops animi, atque instantis victima Fati (20)?

(20) Balzac, Ep. Select. p. m. 279.

You have heard him daily at some part of a ranting Play, and repeating these lines of Virgil, which he has had the Impudence to ascribe to himself.

Happy the Man who studying Nature's Laws,
Thro' known effects, can trace the secret Cause;
His Mind possessing in a quiet State,
Fearless of Fortune, and resign'd to Fate.

DRYDEN.

Let not his Rhodomontade impose upon you, tho' he may at and repeat what Virgil has wrote, he will never reason like him. Fear is his predominant Passion, even when there is no danger nigh. He is not only terrified at the sight, but at the name of Fire: a smoke rising at a distance, or the shadow of a Pest in the Moon-shiny-night, make him tremble as tho' he had got an Ague.

Grammarian Vile! of base Plebeian mould,
In Soul how tim'rous! and in Tongue how bold!
In Buskins tread, in Tragic numbers roar,
Yet thy base Fear's a Comedy all o'er:
Defy the Thunder of a sleeping God,
And stand as fast at the imperial Nod.
Not like Capaneus on the Theban Plain,
Who unappall'd provoked the Thunderers train.
The empty Forms and Phantoms of the night,
The Dreams of danger or of ill's affright,
In mild Serenity securely rave,
With Arrogance condemn the peaceful Wave;
But if a Tempest rouse the angry Flood,
Or wastful Fires boil feverish in thy Blood,
All wild with fears that labour in thy Breast,
To every Sbrine, and every God a jest,
Low, prostrate low, for Mercy shalt thou crave,
A base distressed Victim of the Grave.

We may observe, upon this Occasion, that many Persons, who are thoroughly persuaded of the Truth of the Christian Religion, yet forget their Vows, when the danger is over. From hence comes the Proverb, *Passato il pericolo gabbato il Santo*. How many Orthodox Sinners are there, who, when they are in danger of being cast away, or dying by a Distemper, promise Almighty God, how religiously they will live if they escape? They do escape, and live as ill as ever. Would not one think they allude to those human Laws, which dispense with promises obtained by Force, in Prison, by an Enemy that holds a pistol to your Throat; or, in a word, when a Man is seized

with a just fear, *meta cadente in constantem virum*.

[G] His Friends cannot deny he was a great Libertine. They say he was not averse to the Truths of Christianity, and that he wished he could have been persuaded of them; but he pretended there was nothing so difficult to a Man of Wit as to believe. He was born a Catholic, but he had no manner of Faith in the Worship or Doctrines of the Romish Religion; and he used to say, if the Scriptures and Gospel are the Rule of our Belief and Actions, then there was no better Religion than the Reformed.

[H] But they pretend that common Fame has aggravated Matters. Many, without knowing him, spoke of him as an impious Man, and an Atheist: but the Truth is, that, excepting some fallies in the heat of Dispute, when he pushed his Argument too far, he never made it appear that he denied the existence of God. He was sometimes too free in his loose Songs. This is the import of the Memoirs, which have been communicated to me. In the second Edition of the *Menagiana*, there is a thing which I think deserves no Credit; for it is told every where, and imputed to a thousand different People. However this is Mr Menage's Story. That one Day Mr Des-Barreaux and Mr D'Elbeuf, being together in Lent, were resolved to eat Flesh, but they could get nothing but Eggs, of which they had an Omelette made: Whilst they were eating it, there happened so terrible a Storm of Thunder, that they thought the House where they were would have been overthrown. Monsieur Des-Barreaux, without being concerned in the least, opened the Window and threw out the Dish, crying out, what a Noise is here for an Omelette (21). I give no more Credit to another Story I have heard. It is pretended, that Des-Barreaux, being very ill, sent for the Priests with as much Diligence as if he had been an old Votary. His Bed was surrounded with the holy Water, the holy Candles, the Crucifix and Images, and all the Apparatus of the Romish Devotion. Some body asking him how he did, he answered *You may judge of the ill Condition of my Body and Soul by the train that surrounds me*. It is probable they have forged this Story upon the Model of the answer Pericles made, when he suffered an old Woman's Remedy to hang about his Neck. Ο γυναιξὶς Θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς νηκτοῖς διαπορισσῶς ἐν ἀπὸς τῶν τυχῶν ἀνέστηται τὰ πόνη καὶ κινεμένα τοῖς τὰ σώματος ἀδελφῶν, ἐξίσταται τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἰσθρῶκεν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπισκοπῶν τινὶ τῶν φίλων δεξιᾶς περιπαλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ πρῶτον πειρητημένον, ὡς σφόδρα κακῶς ἔχων ὅπου καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ μνησιν τῆς ἀδελφίας. Scriptum reliquit in Ethica Theophrastus, ubi disputat an mutantur cum fortuna mores, & corporis agitata affectibus deficiant a virtute, agrum Periclem amico culpam, qui ipsum invisebat, amuletum ostendisse à mulieribus ex collo suo suspensum, quasi, quum eas etiam toleraret ineptias, graviter admodum aegrotaret (22). — Theophrastus in his

* A Pancake made of Eggs.

(21) Menagiana, pag. 240, 241, Edit. 2, of Holl.

(22) Plutarch, in Pericle, pag. 173. A.

Ethica, *tabere be bapdes this Question*, Whether a change of Fortune creates a change of Manners; or whether the Affections of the Body have any Moral effect on the Mind, reports, that Pericles in his sickness shewed to a Friend, who came to see him, an Amulet which some old Woman had hung about his Neck, intimating that he must be in a very bad way when he suffered himself to be amused with such fooleries. What I am going to relate, is taken from the Letters of Guy Patin. I am just informed, that the Libertine Mr Des-Barreaux is dead, a fine Soul before God, if he had believed in him! At least he spoke like a Man who had no Faith in the Affairs of the other World, but he has infected abundance of young Men with his Libertinism; his Conversation was dangerous and contagious to the Public: it is said he was tinctured with Irreligion before he went into Italy, but at his return he was perfected in it. One wittily said, his too frequent Conversation with the Monks had spoiled him, not with the Anchores of the Thebaid, or those good Souls who apply themselves to Devotion and Study, but those who are in such Plenty in the Cities of Italy, who think of no

(23) It is the 40th Letter. See Tom. III, pag. 203.

(24) Letter 407.

'thing less than of God.' As *Patia* wrote this the twenty eighth of May 1666 (23), it is plain he went upon a false report of *Des-Barreaux's* Death. He was not undeceived the eighteenth of June following; for thus he writes in a Letter dated that Day (24). 'They say nothing of *Des-Barreaux*, I know not where he is at present. He was of the Sect of *Créminius*: he took no care of his Soul, and but little of his Body. He has corrupted the Minds of a great many young Men, who were infatuated by that 'Libertine.' What he wrote four Years after concerning *St Pavin*, shews that he had discovered the falsity of his News, for he speaks of *Des-Barreaux* as alive and doing penance. Here died lately, says he (25), a great Servant of God, called Mr de *St Pavin*, a great Friend of *Des-Barreaux*, who is another very illustrious Israelite, si credere fas est. — If you will believe it. This Discourse I think plainly intimates, that these two famous Libertines were willing the World should think they were converted, and thus the event would soon have proved contrary to Mr *Boileau's* predictions, who had put the Conversion of *St Pavin* among the Moral Impossibilities.

Avant qu'un tel dessein m'entre dans la pensée,
On pourra voir la Seine à la Saint Jean glacée,
Arnaut à Charenton devenir Huguenot,
Saint Sorlin Janféniste, & SAINT PAVIN BIGOT.

(25) *Boileau*, Sat. 1, ver. 125.

Sooner may the Seine be frozen over at Midsummer,
Arnaut of Charenton turn Huguenot, St Sorlin a Janfénist, and St Pavin a Bigot.

No doubt *St Pavin* was still in a bad way when *Boileau* said this of him. Whence comes it then that the learned *Hadrian Valesius* places the Conversion of *St Pavin* on the Day of *Theophile's* Death? He was certainly mistaken. See the *Valesiana* (27); where you will find something also concerning our *Des-Barreaux*. 'When I was young, I saw Messieurs *Des-Barreaux* and *Bardouville*, who were great Friends; they were the Disciples of *Theophile*. . . . As to *Des-Barreaux*, after he had made himself much talked of at *Paris*, and perceiving old-age creeping upon him, he devoted himself to Religion. Somebody, who did not believe this change of Life proceeded from a Principle of Piety, made this invidious Epigram upon him:

Des-Barreaux ce vieux débauché
Affecte une Réforme austère:
Il ne s'est pourtant retranché
Que ce qu'il ne sauroit plus faire (28).

So *Des-Barreaux* in *Vice* grown old,
His Strength decay'd and Vigour spent,
Is by his feeble Members told
Repentance is his Punishment.

(27) Pag. 325,
Dutch Edit.

(28) Ibid. pag.
31. *Valesiana*.

DIACCETO. Look for JACCETIUS.

DIAGORAS, a famous Wrestler of the Isle of *Rhodes*, reckoned one of his Ancestors among the most illustrious Men of Antiquity [A]. The Glory he obtained by his Victories in the public Games of *Greece*, became very remarkable by his Sons and Grandsons also carrying away the Crowns there (a). He once brought two of his Sons with him thither; they obtained the Crown, and taking their Father upon their Shoulders, carried him through an incredible multitude of Spectators, who threw whole handfuls of Flowers upon them, applauding their Glory and Success (b). Some Authors say, he was so transported with Joy upon this Occasion, that he died of it [B]. But there is reason to think this is false [C]. The Time he lived in may be seen in one

(a) See Rem. [C] of the Article *BERENICE*, Daughter, Sister, and Mother, &c.

(b) Taken from *Pausanias*, lib. 6, pag. 184.

[A] He reckoned among his Ancestors one of the most illustrious Men of Antiquity. I mean that he was descended from a Daughter of *Aristomenes*, the greatest Hero that was among the *Messenians*. This *Aristomenes* had given two of his Daughters in Marriage, a third remaining with him. *Damagetus*, King of *Salamis*, in the Island of *Rhodes*, desired her, the *Delphic* Oracle having advised him to marry the Daughter of the honestest Man in *Greece*. *Aristomenes* not only granted him his Daughters, but brought her himself to *Rhodes*. *Damagetus* had by her a Son, named *Diagoras*. If *Pausanias*, who has furnished me with this Account (1), means that *Diagoras* the Wrestler, Father and Grandfather of so many victorious Wrestlers, was the Son of *Damagetus* and of the Daughter of *Aristomenes*, he did not consult Chronology well; on one side he says (2), Death prevented *Aristomenes* from visiting *Arctus* and *Praortes*, the former King of *Lydia*, and Son of *Gyges*; the latter King of the *Medes*; and in another place (3), he assures us, that *Dorieus*, the Son of *Diagoras* the Wrestler, lived in the Time of *Conon* the Athenian General. Now the Reign of this *Arctus* extends from the second Year of the XXVth Olympiad, to the third Year of the XXXVth (4). *Praortes* reigned from the second Year of the XXXIst Olympiad, to the last Year of the XXXVth, and *Conon* flourished in the XCVth Olympiad, or thereabout; therefore it is not probable that *Dorieus*, Cotemporary with this *Conon*, should be the Son of a Man, whose Father married under the Reign of *Praortes*. See the Remarks [D] and [F].

(1) Lib. 4, pag. 134.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Lib. 6, pag. 185.

(4) See *Calvisius*.

Note, That by examining the *Greek* of *Pausanias*, a little better than *Romulus Amosius*, his Latin Translator, examined it, we find he says, That *Diagoras* the Wrestler, was the Son of one *Damagetus*, whose Father was named *Dorieus* (5), and was the Son of *Damagetus* and of the Daughter of *Aristomenes*. [B] Some Authors say he was so transported with joy that he died with it. I believe this is only to be found in *Aulus Gellius* among the Ancients; and that it is he, who in this respect ought to be reckoned

(5) It is *τῷ Δωριέῳ* in the Editions of *Pausanias*, lib. 4; but, according to the Conjecture of *Camerarius*, it should be read *Δωριέως*, as in the sixth Book.

the Original of an infinite number of Moderns, who have cited this Instance every time they have mentioned Joy, as capable of causing Death. When I say that *Aulus Gellius* was their Original, I do not mean that they have all consulted him; he is the immediate Original of some, and by reduction of all the rest. These are his words, in which he does not merely relate the matter of fact, as *Pausanias* does; but, without doubt, he adds some Rhetorical Embellishments. 'De Rhodio etiam *Diagoras* celebrata historia est. Is *Diagoras* tres filios adolescentes habuit, unum pugilem, alterum pancratiastem, tertium luctatorem; eoque omnes vidit vincere coronari eodem Olympiae die: & quum ibi eum tres adolescentes amplexi, coronis suis in caput patris positis, suaviarentur, quumque populus gratulabundus flores undique in eum jaceret: ibi in studio, inspectante populo, in osculis atque in manibus filiorum animam efflavit (6). — There is a famous Story of *Diagoras* the Rhodian. This *Diagoras* had three Sons, who were Combatants in the Olympic Games, all of whom he saw crowned Victors on the same day; after which the three Sons, embracing their Father, placed their Crowns on his Head, whilst the People congratulated him with all the Marks of Honour. The Father was so transported that he died in the Stadium, in the Arms and Endearments of his Sons, in the Sight of all the People.'

[C] We have reason to believe that this is false. The Fact was too singular to have been omitted by those, who have spoken of *Diagoras* at large. I cannot imagine that *Pausanias*, who speaks so tediously of him (7), and with several Digressions, could have passed over in Silence a Death of that nature, if he had heard it talked of as a certain Event. Now, without doubt, he would have heard of it, if the thing had been true. Note, he not only explains to us the Situation of the Statues erected to *Diagoras*, his Sons and Grandsons, and touches upon several particular Circumstances relating to that Family, but also speaks of that glorious Day, when he was honoured with so many Applauses and Congratulations on his Sons Victory.

(6) *Aulus Gell.* Noct. Atticar. lib. 3, cap. 15.

(7) Lib. 6, pag. 184.

of the Authors cited by *Moreri* [D]; but those Authors do not say there are various Reports of the Cause of his Death, though *Moreri* affirms it [E].

Since the first printing of this Article, I have found an Ode in *Pindar's* Works in Honour of *Diagoras*. It informs us (c), that this Wrestler had twice obtained the Victory in the *Rhodian* Games, four times in the *Isthmian*, and twice in the *Nemean* Games; and that he had been victorious in the Games celebrated at *Aibens*, at *Argos*, in *Arcadia*, at *Thebes*, in *Boeotia*, in the Isle of *Ægina*, at *Pellene* (d), and at *Megara*. That Ode was made on the Crown of the *Pugilate*, which he obtained in the Olympic Games in the LXXIXth Olympiad (e). His Father *Damagetus* and *Tlepolemus*, the Founder of the *Rhodians*, and the Stock of the Family, are not forgotten. It may be said, on the contrary, that *Pindar's* Digression about *Tlepolemus's* Adventures is somewhat prolix. However, we are informed by it, that our *Diagoras* descended from *Jupiter* [F]. Others say his Extraction was immediately divine

(c) *Pindar. Ode* 7, Olympior.

(d) *Six times.*

(e) See *Benedictus* in *Pindar. pag.* 123.

Could he on this occasion have omitted this Remark, that *Diagoras* died of Joy under the Flowers they threw upon him, and under the good Wishes of the Assembly: therefore we may take *Pausanias's* Silence for a Proof of *Aulus Gellius's* Want of Discernment. *Cicero* and *Plutarch* afford us another Proof: they both relate what was said to *Diagoras* on the Day of that famous Victory. A *Lacedæmonian* came up to him, and exhorted him not to lose so fair an opportunity of dying. What need had there been of such a Remonstrance, if he had indeed died of Joy? Would he not have prevented that *Lacedæmonian's* Saying, and taken due Care, that neither *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, or any other Moralist, should ever be able to cite *Diagoras* in the manner they have done: they have cited him, not as a Man that died for Joy, in the Height of his Happiness, but as a Man whom they advised to die at such a Conjunction. Is not this a convincing Proof against *Aulus Gellius*? I must observe, that *Cicero* and *Plutarch* relate so differently what the *Lacedæmonian* said, that Light and Darknels are not more contrary. They agree only in their general Drift, which is to prove, that Death ought not to be grievous to those who are in the Enjoyment of great Happiness. Die, *Diagoras*, for thou wilt immediately go to Heaven. Secundis suis rebus volet etiam mori, non enim tam cumulus bonorum iucundus esse potest, quam molesta decessio. Hanc sententiam significare videtur *Laconis* illa vox, qui quum *Rhodus* *Diagoras* *Olympionices* nobilis uno die duos suos filios victores *Olympiæ* vidisset, accessit ad senem. & gratulatus, morere, *Diagora*, inquit. Nunc enim in celum ascensus es. Magna hæc & nimium fortasse. *Græci* putant, vel tum potius putabant. Ique qui hoc *Diagoræ* dixit permagnum exultans patrem quum duobus filiis treis *Olympionicas* una ex domo prodire, cunctari illum diutius in vita fortunæ obiectum inutile putabat ipse (8). . . . He would chuse to die in his Prosperity; for the Tide of Success is not so pleasing as it's Ebb is troublesome: which seems to be the meaning of that Saying of the *Lacedæmonian*, who, when *Diagoras*, of *Rhodes*, a noble Victor in the *Olympian* Games, saw his two Sons crowned at the same place, came to him, and congratulating him, said, Now die, *Diagoras*, and thou shalt go to Heaven. The *Greeks* perhaps think, or rather than thought, an Instance of this nature even too grand; and he who spoke it esteemed it prodigious, that a Father, and two Sons, should be Victors in the *Olympic* Games, and that a longer Life would be no Reward to him, since it would expose him to the Caprice of Fortune. This was the Compliment according to *Cicero*: *Plutarch* has it thus: Die, *Diagoras*, for thou canst never go to Heaven. Οὐ γὰρ (ὡς Αἰγὼς ἔφασκεν) χαλεπωτάτος ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν εὐτυχύνον θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μαχαριώτατος εἰς ἀθάνατον ὡς αὐτὴν τὰς εὐτυχίας καλῶν ἰδόμενον τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τυχῶν μετὰ βέλους ἀπολιπόν. διδόντα μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο τὸν εὐτυχεῖν ἔχοντα, ἐπιδόνα δ' οὐδὲν καὶ θυγατέρας, ἀπαρσάμενον, κατὰ θυμὸν (εἶπε) *Διαγόρας*, κ. εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἀναέρων. Non enim (ut *Alopus* ait) mors est felicius acerbius, verum beatissima: quæ res bonorum virorum lætas securo loco deposuit, & fortuna declinavit conversionem. Melius ergo *Lacon* ille qui *Olympionices* *Diagoram*, quum spectasset filios ille victores *Olympiæ*, spectasset etiam nepotes ex filiis & filiabus, salutans, Morere, *Diagora*, inquit: non enim in celum ascensus es (9). For Death is not (as *Alopus* said) the greatest Calamity, but the greatest Blessing, to the Favon-

rites of Fortune, fixing their Happiness on a solid Foundation, and placing it out of the reach of Fortune. With good reason therefore did the Spartan compliment *Diagoras* a Victor in the *Olympic* Games, who saw his Sons also crowned, and Grandsons both from sons and daughters, in this manner. Now die, *Diagoras*; thou shalt never mount the Skies. I must confess the *Lacedæmonian's* Reasoning is obscure to me, turn it which way you will, either to *Cicero* or *Plutarch's* Sense: I should understand it best according to the latter. I should imagine he argued in this manner: You are arrived at the highest pitch of Glory you can aspire to: for you must not flatter your self, that if you lived much longer you should ascend to Heaven. Die then, that you may not run the risque of a Fall. I desire those who have nothing more important to do, to examine all this. *Volaterran* makes an Innovation in it. *Diagoras* *Rhodus* cum se victorem duosque *Olympionicas* filios vidisset, Nunc ait tibi *Diagora* moriendum, ne amplius *Olympiam* ascendas, quod sane præ gaudio accidit: *Autores* *Plin.* *Gellius* (10). — *Diagoras* the *Rhodian*, having been himself Victor in the *Olympic* Games, and seen his two Sons crowned with the same Success, Now die, *Diagoras*, said he, and never more go up to *Olympia*, which he did in Excess of Joy: my Authors are *Pliny* and *A. Gellius*. The Subject will afford many subtil and learned Observations: for my part, I shall only quote the Poet *Terence*, who makes one of his Actors say,

Nunc est profecto interfici cum me perpeti possum, Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aegritudine aliaque.

(10) *Volaterran. lib. 15, pag. 539.* *Pliny* says nothing of this, and *Aulus Gellius* does not tell it in this manner.

(11) *Terent. Eunuch. Act. III. Scen. V. ver. 3.*

[D] The time he lived in may be seen in one of the Authors cited by *Moreri*. Not exactly, but in general Terms thus. *Dorieus*, the third Son of *Diagoras*, was expelled *Rhodes* with his Brother *Pisidorus*. They retired to *Thurium* in *Italy*: for which reason, when they were crowned, at the Games, the public Crier called them *Thurians*. *Dorieus* returned to *Rhodes*, when the Faction that drove him thence had no longer the Ascendant. He embraced openly the *Lacedæmonian* Party in the War of *Peloponnesus*, fitted out Ships at his own Charge, and fought like a Lion against the *Athenians*. They hated him to such a Degree, that, having taken him Prisoner, they resolved to be very severe with him; but the Assembly were struck with his Presence: and being touched with Pity to see a Person captive, whose Glory had been so eminent, they set him at Liberty (12). The *Lacedæmonians* were not so generous: they took him as he was travelling near *Peloponnesus*, at the time the *Rhodians*, by the Instigation of *Conon* made an Alliance with the *Persians* and *Athenians*, and treated him as a State-Criminal, that is, they put him to Death. *Conon* brought off the *Rhodians* from the Alliance with the *Lacedæmonians* (13) in the CXVth Olympiad (14); whereby may be known, in general, at what time *Diagoras* lived.

(11) *Terent. Eunuch. Act. III. Scen. V. ver. 3.*

(12) *Pausanias, lib. 6, pag. 184, 185.*

(13) *Andronicus in Comment. Rerum Atticarum, apud Pausaniam. Ibid.*

(14) *Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14.*

(15) These are the four Authors *Moreri* cites.

[E] But those Authors do not say . . . what *Moreri* affirms. If *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Cicero* (15), related a little differently the Cause of *Diagoras's* Death, as Mr *Moreri* assures us, some must have attributed his Death to one Cause, and some to another; but they do not do this. *Aulus Gellius* makes him die of Joy; the other three say nothing at all of his Death.

[F] Our *Diagoras* descended from *Jupiter*. For *Tlepolemus* was the Son of *Hercules*, and of *Astydemia*

(8) *Plut. in P. Iopeida, pag. 297. A, B.*

divine [G]. That Ode of Pindar, written in golden Letters, was placed in Minerva's Temple (f).

(f) Ibid.

(16) Pindar. Ode 7. Olymp.

(17) See Benediculus in Pindar. pag. 129.

(a) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, & 2. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 13, cap. 6. Laëtant. de Ira Dei, cap. 9, & multi alii.

nia the Daughter of Amyntor (16). Some say that Amyntor also derived his Extraction from Jupiter (17); and thus Diagoras might have traced his Genealogy up to the greatest of the Gods, both by male and female Line, beginning with Telephus.

[G] Others say that his Extradition was immediately divine. An ancient Scholiast says, there was a Tradition that Diagoras was the Son of Mercury, which happened in this manner: His Mother taking a walk in the Country, and finding herself incommoded with the excessive Heat, retired into the Shade of a Wood to repose herself; Mercury, to whom the Wood was consecrated, took hold of that Opportunity and enjoyed the Woman, and she was delivered of Diagoras.

DIAGORAS, surnamed the Atheist (a), lived in the XCIII Olympiad [A]. He may be called an Athenian Philosopher, for he philosophized in that City; but he was not a Native of it. The Isle of Melos, one of the Cyclades, or the City of Melia in Caria, was the Place of his Birth [B]. An insatiable and excessive Fondness for a Production of his own Mind hurried him into Impiety [C]. He was one of the most barefaced and determined Atheists in the World; using no equivocating Subterfuges, but boldly denying there were any Gods [D]. The Athenians summoned him

[A] He lived in the XCIII Olympiad. It was then that he left the Country of the Athenians, for fear of being punished for his Atheism (1). Therefore Eusebius is mistaken when he places him under the LXXIVth Olympiad. Scaliger (2) took notice of this Fault, wherein he finds sixty six Years misreckoned: He ought to have said sixty seven; for he observes, that in the second Year of the XCIII Olympiad, the Athenians promised a Talent to him that should kill Diagoras, and two Talents to any one that should bring him alive. Now Eusebius places Diagoras under the third Year of the LXXIVth Olympiad; so that he is mistaken by sixty seven Years. Vossius (3) has not avoided the same Error. Laëtantius is more mistaken in another sense, that is, by making Diagoras less ancient than he was. He not only makes him live after Epicurus, but also after the Ages in which Philosophy flourished. He places him in the times when that Science was decayed. Verum his postea temporibus quibus jam philosophia desoluerat, extitit Athenis quidam Diagoras, qui nullam esse omnino Deum diceret, ob eamque sententiam nominatus est Atheos (4). — But afterwards when Philosophy had ceased to flourish, there appeared at Athens one Diagoras, who entirely denied the Being of a God, and for his Doctrine was surnamed the ATHEIST.

[B] The Isle of Melos . . . or the City of Melia . . . were the place of his Birth. He was surnamed Melius, the Melian. This Epithet is given him by Cicero (5), Ælian (6), and Diogenes Laërtius (7). Eusebius (8), who calls him the Melian, is mistaken, as is also Vossius, who makes him an Athenian. I say he makes him an Athenian; for, after speaking of Diagoras the Philosopher, he adds, puto eandem esse Diagoram Atheniensem, qui reliquit sermones Phrygiis (9). — I take him to be the same Diagoras who wrote the Sermones Phrygiis. He quotes Tatian's words, who says, that Diagoras was of Athens. Διὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἢν. Ctesyllus (10) speaks only of one Diagoras of Athens, who is the same that is cited by Tatian; so that, in all probability, as Tatian had no other in view than Diagoras surnamed the Atheist, we may conclude they none of them knew of what Country he was. Volætan and Benediculus have followed Eusebius's Error, the former in the fifteenth Book of his Compilation, and the other in his Commentary upon Pindar (11).

[C] An Insatiable . . . hurried him into Impiety. It happened in this manner. He took a pleasure to make Verses, and had composed a Poem, which a Poet stole from him. He prosecuted the Thief, who swore he had not taken it, and presently after published it as his own, which gained him a great Reputation. Diagoras, considering that the Person, who had done him this injury, was not only unpunished for this Theft, and Perjury, but had also got Glory by it, concluded there could be no Providence or any Deity, and wrote Books to prove it. This Story is told us by the Account Hesychius Illustrius (12) gives. It must be confessed, never was Author more fond of his own Perfor-

ras. No body, since Hercules, was born after this manner. Ὅς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπ' Ἡρακλέους ἀγέλαται τοῖς ὕστεροις γένεσθαι, they are the Words of the Scholiast (18). Benediculus has translated them very obscurely, qui primus, says he (19), ab Hercule tantus dicitur habitus. Note, it is very true, that they did say, that, after Hercules, there was no Woman that had a Child by Jupiter (20); but it is not true that this was said of all the other Gods, with respect to the whole time that passed between Hercules and Diagoras; the latter was alive in the LXXIXth Olympiad, long after the Birth of Romulus, the Fruit of the Embraces of the God Mars and Rhea Silvia.

mances than Diagoras, or that ever durst rate them at such a Price. What, because Diagoras is deprived of the Glory he promised himself from one of his Books, must the Universe suffer for it, must all Nature be robbed of her Governor and Preserver? What proportion is there in this? Let it not be said that my Reflexion is forced. I grant there is something wrong and aggravated in this turn; but I maintain that Diagoras would not have argued as he did, if he had not had a very particular and intimate Affection for what he lost. I know not whether ever the Prosperity of a wicked Man made those question a Providence, who shared in that Prosperity, or who at least never received any damage from it. We shall see, in the following Remark, other Causes of Diagoras's Impiety.

[D] Boldly denying there were any Gods. In this manner his Doctrines are characterized, when they would distinguish them from those of Protagoras, who only looked on Religion as a Problematical thing. In hac questione plerique, quod maxime verisimile est, & quo omnes duce natura venimur, deos esse dixerunt: dubitare se Protagoras; NULLOS ESSE OMNINO Deos Melius & Theodorus Cyrenæicus putaverunt (13). — The generality of those, who have been engaged in this Controversy, have agreeably to the light of Nature maintained the Existence of a GOD; Protagoras made it a doubt; Diagoras the Melian, and Theodorus the Cyrenæian thought there was no such thing. Therefore it is very probable Valerius Maximus is mistaken when he says, Diagoras was banished Athens for saying, he did not know whether there were any Gods, and that, if there were any, he knew nothing of their nature. Athenienses Diagoram Philosophum populerunt, quia scribere ausus fuerat, primum ignorare se an Dii essent: deinde, si sint, quales sint (14). This agrees perfectly well to Protagoras, but not to Diagoras, so that we may suppose Valerius Maximus took the one for the other (15): which is an usual thing with him. Mr Moreri copies him without distrust, and according to his Custom is guilty of many Omissions. See the Passage of Athenagoras below (16), and the Remark [G], where we shall say something of the Title of a Book of Diagoras against the Deity. What Sextus Empiricus observes, is worth our Consideration. Diagoras had been superstitious to the last Degree, and had begun his Poem in a devout manner; but as soon as he perceived that the perjured Man, who had wronged him, escaped unpunished, he maintained there was no God. Διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δὲ ὁ Μήλιος, διδουμένης αὐτῷ, ὡς φασὶν, τὸ πρῶτον γενόμενος, ὡς εἴτις, καὶ ἄλλος δεισιδαιμονῶν, ὅς γε καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως αὐτῷ καθήκετο τὴν τρίτον τέτον κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ τύχην πάντα τελεῖται ἀδικηθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἐπιπονήσαντος καὶ μηδὲν ἐνεκα τῶν παθόντος, μεθινομήσαντο εἰς τὸ λέγειν μὴ εἶναι θεόν. Diagoras autem Melius, qui fuit, ut dicunt, primum Dithyrambicus, ut si quis

(18) See the Greek Summary of Pindar's 7th Olympic Ode, pag. 77. Oxford Edit. 1698.

(19) Benediculus, in Pindar. pag. 123.

(20) See the Remark [N] of the Article HERCULES.

(1) Diodor. Sic. lib. 13, cap. 6.

(2) Ad n. 1535, pag. 101.

(3) Vossius, de Hist. Græc. pag. 436.

(4) Laëtantius de Ira Dei, cap. 9.

(5) De Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

(6) Var. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 23.

(7) In Diogene, lib. 6, n. 59.

(8) In Odyss. lib. 3.

(9) Vossius, de Hist. Græc. pag. 436.

(10) Theatr. Sophist. pag. 72.

(11) Benediculus in Pindar. Ode 7, Olymp. pag. 123.

(12) In Diagoras.

(13) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, initio. He says in the same Book: Quid Diagoras, Atheos qui dictus est, postea quæ Theodorus, nonne aperte Deorum naturam sustulerunt?

Nam Abderites quidem Protagoras . . . cum in principio libri sui se posuisset, de Dii neque ut non sint habere dicere, Atheniensem iussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus. See Laëtantius de Ira Dei, cap. 9.

(14) Val. Max. lib. 1, cap. 12, sub. fin.

(15) See Leontius, Emendat. lib. 11, cap. 12.

(16) Citat. (35).

(b) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 13, pag. 611.

(c) Athen. lib. 13, pag. 611.

(17) Sext. Empiric. adversus Mathematic. pag. 318.

(18) Scholiast. Arist. in Nub. Act. III, Scen. I.

(19) "Ο: Χρηματα παραδιδόντες τὴν καὶ ἀποστρέφοντες εἰς ἀθίαν ἐργασίαν. Having lodged some Effects with a certain Person, and being defrauded thereof, he turned Atheist. Ibid.

(20) *Η διότι μῆλον ἐτολμῶσαν Ἀττικοί. Ibid.

(21) Schol. Arist. in Avib. fol. 193, verso. Edit. Florent. 1525.

(22) Perhaps he should have said, Pellonians, that is, the Inhabitants of Pellene, a Town in Attica, according to Stephanus Byzantinus.

(23) *Εν ἧ ἐπακέρυεν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸς ἐκιδόντας Πελαγονεῖς. In which Edit they professed him, and the Inhabitants of Pellene, who published his Writings. Schol. Aristoph. in Avib. folio 193, verso.

(24) Idem. in Nub. Act. 7, Scen. 1. fol. 78.

(25) Διεβέβηται δὲ ἐπὶ ἀθίαν οἱ Μελῖαι ἀπὸ Διαγόρου. Id. ib.

(26) In Nub. Act. 3, Scen. 1.

(27) Diod. Sicul. lib. 13, cap. 6.

to give an Account of his Doctrine, but he fled, and they set a Price upon his Head (b). They promised, by Sound of Trumpet, a Talent to any body that should kill him, and two Talents to bring him alive; and they ordered that Decree to be engraved on a Pillar of Brass. Their Severity extended very far [E]; but they could not take him; for he took Shipping, and was cast away (c). Tatian (d) says, he was punished for having divulged the Athenian Mysteries [F]. It is the Conjecture of some

alius superstitiosus, qui etiam poësim suam inchoavit hoc modo, A Dæmone & fortuna fiunt omnia. Injuria autem affectus ab aliquo qui pejeraverat, & propterea nihil passus fuerat, eo deductus est ut diceret non esse Deum (17). — *Diagoras the Melian, a Ditbyrambic Poet by report, was at first addicted to Superstition, and no one more so; He began his Poems in this manner,*

On Jove and Fate all human things depend.

But having received an Injury from a Villain, who triumphed unpunished in his Perjury, he was induced to maintain there was no God. The Scholiast upon Aristophanes assures us, that *Diagoras*, who before was very religious, was precipitated into Impiety, by having lost, in a fraudulent way, what he had deposited with a Man he confided in. Διαγόρης ὁ Μήλιος ὅς τὸ περὶ τὸν ἦν θεοσεβὴς, παρκαταθήκην ὑπὸ τινος ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἀθεῖον ἐξέδραμεν (18). This Deposit did not consist in Verses, but in Effects or Money (19). The same Scholiast says, *Diagoras* became an Atheist, because the *Athenians* had subdued his Country (20). To this I think we may refer what the same Scholiast relates in another place; that the Edict of Proscription against this impious Man for divulging the Mysteries, and hindering People from entering themselves into them, was chiefly published at the taking of *Melos*; for before that time he did not hinder any Body from initiating themselves. The Edict promised one Talent to whoever should kill him, and two Talents if he was brought alive. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐκέρυξαν τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντα αὐτὸν ταλαντὸν λαμβάνειν. τὸν δὲ ἀγαγόντα δύο. ἐκέρυχθη δὲ τὸ τοῦ διὰ τὸ ἀσεβὲς αὐτῷ ἐπεὶ τὰ μυστήρια πᾶσι διηγείτο κοινοποιῶν αὐτὰ. καὶ τὸς βυλομένους μυσεῖσθαι ἀποτρέπων καθάπερ Κρατερὸς ἰσορεῖ. ἐκκεκρυκται δὲ μέλιστα ὑπὸ τὴν ἀλωσιν τῆς Μήλου ἐδὲν γὰρ καλύει πρῶτον (21). Craterus did not forget this Edict in his Collection of the *Athenian* Decrees. We have just now seen that the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* cites this Collection. He cites it also in his Notes upon the Comedy of the *Frogs*, at the seventh Scene of the first Act. See the 105th Leaf of the Florence Edition 1525.

[E] The severity of the Athenians extended very far.] For, besides setting a price upon *Diagoras's* Head, as we have just observed, they persuaded all the People of *Peloponnesus* to do the same. This may be collected from the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, in the place I have quoted of the Notes upon the Comedy of the *Frogs*. He borrows it from *Craterus*. In another place he cites *Menander*, who said, in his Treatise of Mysteries, that the Proscription not only concerned *Diagoras*, but also all the *Pellonians* (22), because they had published his Work (23): the same Scholiast relates, that the Rage of the *Athenians* against *Diagoras* prompted them to do a great deal of Mischief to *Melos*, the Birth-place of that Atheist. *Εὖ ὅ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀγανακτήσαντες, τὴν Μήλον ἐκάκωσαν (24). The *Melians* got such an ill Character after the affair of *Diagoras* (25), that it is thought *Aristophanes* (26) gave *Socrates* the surname of *Melian*, for no other reason than to make him pass for an Atheist. **Aristophanes* gave *Socrates* that name, because he had been the Disciple of *Aristagoras*, who was of the Isle of *Melos*, and because all the *Melians* had the Reputation of being Atheists ever since the Philosopher *Diagoras*, who took upon him to deny the Deity. These are the words of *Madam Dacier* in the Three hundred and forty ninth page of her Notes upon the Clouds of *Aristophanes*. She had them from the old Scholiast, and consequently it is not against her, but against him, that I am going to make an Observation. The *Athenian* Decree against the impious *Diagoras* was made the first Year of the XCIII Olympiad (27); therefore it is after that time that the *Melians* must have been under this ill Character. Now *Socrates* was at that time above fifty Years old. Therefore

many Years had passed since he had heard the Lectures of *Aristagoras*, and it would have been a very sorry Jest to have gone so very far back, and ascribed such a remote effect to the scandals *Diagoras* raised against his Country. *Aristagoras* must have been then in his Grave, or at least very old. Who can imagine that *Aristophanes* should think to do *Socrates* a great injury, by putting the People in Mind that he had been taught by *Aristagoras* the *Melian*? I might raise another Objection. The Comedy of the Clouds, in which *Socrates* is called the *Melian*, was acted before the Proscription of *Diagoras* (28): but if the Scholiasts are to be believed (29), there are things in that Comedy referring to Facts later than the Proscription: so that I do not insist on this difficulty. Now, as neither *Diogenes Laërtius*, nor his Commentators, have any Knowledge of this *Aristagoras* the *Melian*, the Master of *Socrates*, I am apt to suspect that the word *Aristagoras* crept into the Scholia upon *Aristophanes* instead of *Diagoras*. What confirms my Conjecture is to see that the Scholiast gives two Characters to his *Aristagoras*, which agree with *Diagoras* (30): he makes him a *Ditbyrambic*, and a profaner of the Mysteries: in another place of the Scholia (31) it is said, that *Diagoras* was cotemporary with *Simonides* and *Pindar*. According to this Supposition he might have been *Socrates's* Master.

[F] Tatian relates that he was punished for divulging the Mysteries of the Athenians. Tatian's words are (32): Διαγόρης Ἀθηναῖος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶτον ἐξορχισάμενον τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις μυστήρια, τιμιωρήκατε. καὶ ποῖς Φρυγίοις αὐτὰ λόγους ἐντυγχάνοντες ἡμᾶς μεμισήκατε. *Diagoras Atheniensis erat, sed quod mysteria apud Athenienses probassisset, punitus est: bujus Phrygiis libros can legatis, nos odisti.* I know not whether a good Rhetorician would have reasoned in this manner: You have punished a Man who profaned your Mysteries, and too you read his Books, yet you hate us. Tatian's design is to make it appear, that the hatred of the Gentiles against the Christians was unjust, and, order to prove it, he alleges two Things: one, that they had punished the profane *Diagoras*; the other, that they read his Books. I think it was no great Prudence to recall to their Mind the ancient Severity of the *Athenians* against those who ridiculed the Religion of the *Greeks*, as the Christians also did. And might not *Tatian* see that it was easy to answer him? When you are used as *Diagoras* was, your Books shall be used as his were: there will be curious Men, who will peruse the Writings you compose against our Gods: do not trouble your self about it. Only suffer such a Punishment as *Diagoras* suffered, which you put us in mind of. I hope I may be pardoned for criticising sometimes false Reasonings. It is more useful to discover it to young Readers, than to point out false Facts. But return to my Text.

Both *Athenagoras* and *Suidas* inform us of this divulging of the *Athenian* Mysteries. I shall here insert *Suidas's* Words. Τὰ δὲ μυστήρια ἔως νῦν τιλίζον, ὡς πολλὰς ἐκτρέπειν τῆς ἀρετῆς. . . . τὰ μυστήρια πᾶσι διηγείτο, κοινοποιῶν αὐτὰ, καὶ μικρὰ ποῖων καὶ τὸς βυλομένους μυσεῖσθαι ἀποτρέπων. *Mysteria adeo contemnebat ut multos a virtute averteret. . . . mysteria narrabat omnibus ea vulgans & extenuans, & illos, qui volebant initiari, avertere.* (33). They shew that this impious Man was not content to discover those Mysteries to every body, but he laughed at them, and dissuaded those from initiating themselves who were willing to do it. We have already cited (34) the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* for this Fact. Let us see what *Athenagoras* says. Διαγόρα, μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἀδύνητα ἐπεκάλον Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸν ὄρεον ἐν μέσση κατατιθεῖν λόγον, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ καὶ τὰ τῶν Καβείρων δημεύοντι μυστήρια, καὶ τὸ τῷ Ἡρακλέει, ἵνα τὰς γομφύλας ἐλπί, κατακλύπτωντι ἔσαν. ἀντικρυς δὲ ἀποφαινομένων μὴδ' ὧλας εἶναι Θεῶν; *Diagoræ quidem sacrilegum*

(d) Suidas in Διαγόρα, & Melanthes in libro de Mythesi, apud Scholiasten Aristophanis, in Avib. fol. 193, verso. Edit. Florent. 1525.

(18) The first Year of the XCIII Olympiad, and revised the next Year. See Samuel Petit. Mifcel. lib. 1, cap. 6.

(20) Sam. Petit. ibid.

(30) *Ἐπειδὴ τις Ἀρισταγόρας διθυραμβικός ἐξορχισάτο τὰ ἑλευσίνια. Schol. Aristoph. ibid.

(31) Id. ibid. fol. 105.

(32) Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos, pag. 164.

(33) Suidas in Διαγόρα.

(34) In Rem. [D], Cisar. (21).

some learned Men, that the Book he attributes to him treated of the Mysteries of the Goddess Cybele [G]. Others say, that *Diagoras* dictated very good Laws to the Legislator of the *Mantineans* [H]. *Cicero* mentions some prophane Repartees of *Diagoras*

gam impietatem jure damnabant Athenienses, qui cum arcanos Orphei sermones vulgo exponerent, tum Eleusinia & Cabirorum mysteria publicabant: & Herculis statuam, ne ligna rapis coquendis deessent, dissecabant: denique palam & disertè Deum esse negabant (35). -- The Athenians justly condemned *Diagoras* for Atheism, since he not only publicly expounded the mysterious Discourses of Orpheus, but likewise divulged the mysteries of Ceres, and the Cabiri, clove Hercules's Statue to boil his Pulse; and, lastly, openly denied the Being of a God. Read the sequel of his discourse, in which you will find solid reasoning, founded upon the vast difference between the Christians and *Diagoras*. The latter laughed at the Gods, and mysteries of the Greeks, without substituting better in their room; but the Christians substituted the true Deity. I find one thing here, which very few prophane Authors have mentioned. I mean *Diagoras's* Treatment of an *Hercules*. Father *Garasse* speaks of it, and flourishes too much. His words are (36): 'I expect our pretended Wits will tell me, that *Diagoras* the Milesian

(35) Athenag. in Legat. pag. m. 36.

(36) Doctrine Curieuse, lib. 2, Sect. 5, pag. 139.

(37) It is wrong, it should be Milesian.

(38) Among all the Pagans I find only one Author, who relates this Adventure. It is the Scholiast upon *Arifophanes*, in *Nob. Al.* 3. Scen. 1. However, it is false that Antiquity praises this Action. St *Epiphanius*, in *Anchirastis*, pag. m. 106, reproaches the Heathens with not hearkening to *Diagoras's* Lesson; and thereupon he relates, somewhat at large, this Action of his against the Idol of *Hercules*. *Clement Alexandrinus* tells it also. *Admonit. ad Gentes*, pag. 15.

(39) I do not know that this is said of *Diagoras*. *Valerius Maximus* tells it of *Pabius Claudius*, lib. 1, cap. 4, n. 3.

(40) De Histor. Græc. pag. 437.

(41) Έννεσθων ε Διαγόρας λυπηθείς, έγραψε τις αποπυγίζοντας λόγους. Έκπασιον έχοντας της περι το θετον δεύης. Quam ob rem maxime *Diagoras* λόγους έscribit αποπυγίζοντας que deificationis euliam a communi de Dis persuasione continebant. *H. F. B. Illustrius*, in *Diagoras*, de *For. fine* *Hadriani Junii* *Emilii* *Portus*, the Translator of *Suidas*, saith, que continent refutationem opinionis de divino numine.

thrown down the Gods from Heaven, into the Abyss of nothingness; according to that of *Emilius Portus*, he boasted, he had levelled the Ramparts that Religion was fortified by. Perhaps his Book was levelled at *Cybele*, as *Vossius* pretends; at *Cybele* I say, the Mother of the Gods, a Goddess all covered with Towers.

Qualis Berecynthia mater

Invehitur curru Phrygiæ TURRITA per urbes,
Læta Deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
Omnes cœlicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes (42).

(42) Virg. Æn. lib. 6, ver. 785.

High as the Mother of the Gods in Place,
And proud, like her, of an immortal Race;
Then when, in pomp, she makes the Phrygian round,
With Golden Turrets on her Temples crown'd;
An hundred Gods her sweeping train supply,
Her Offspring all, and all command the Sky.

DRYDEN.

Perhaps he imagined that, by destroying the Mother, he destroyed the whole Family, without taking the trouble of attacking each God, one after another. According to this conjecture, which does not appear to me very solid, *Tatian* might easily be reconciled with *Suidas*, and *Hesychius*, concerning the Title of *Diagoras's* Book.

[H] Others say that he dictated very just Laws . . . to the Legislator of the *Mantineans*.] There will be nothing in this Remark but what deserves our Attention. *Ælian*, having said (43), that the Laws of *Mantineia* were most just, and as good as the Laws of the *Locrians*, *Cretans*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, adds, that he, who gave these Laws to the people of *Mantineia*, was *Nicodorus* the Wrestler, very famous for his Victories: but, in his old age, applying himself to the framing of Laws, he did his Country a much more useful service, than the Proclamations of the Prize, he was honoured with, could do (44). Ός της ηλικίας, και μετά την άδελφειαν και νομοθέτης αυτοίς έγένετο, μακρότερον άμεινον πολιτευσάμενος τη πατρίδι των κληρονομήτων των τοίς σοδοίς. *Ætatis sue tempore, έx αλλία pugilatione legislator eis extitit, longe utiliorem se patriæ in ea re præstans, quam quum publice victor in stadiis proclamaretur* (45). This is not all: *Ælian* observes that, according to the common Opinion, those Laws were composed by *Diagoras*, who gave them ready drawn up to his Friend *Nicodorus*; in short, *Ælian* declares that he could say a great deal of *Nicodorus*, but he forbears, least the Praises he should bestow on him, should seem to belong also to *Diagoras*. This is very remarkable. A downright open Atheist giving Laws to a State, as just as the Laws of *Solon* or *Lycurgus*. On the other side, behold a Priest, who sets up for an Historian, and who suppresses the Praise that *Nicodorus* has justly deserved, who suppresses it, I say, for fear the Glory should redound to *Diagoras*. Not that *Diagoras* did not deserve to partake of the Praise; but he denied the Deity, and consequently the Historian must not be equitable to him; he must prevaricate with the Laws of History, since by this he deprives an Atheist of what is due to him. One would be more astonished at this depraved Morality, if it was not remembered, that a Pagan Priest is the Author of it. Wretched Men! you look upon yourselves as necessary to the Deity; you think he stands in need of the political use you make of Injuries and Applauses. You would not think so, if you had any Faith in the Oracles of *Job* (46).

(43) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 22.

(44) The Greek Cities accounted themselves most happy and glorious, when any of their Inhabitants carried away the Prize at the public Games.

(45) Ælian. ubi supra, cap. 23.

I must observe here a strange whim of the Civilian *Baudouin*. He gives an account of the Legislator of the *Mantineans*, and then makes this Reflexion: That Impiety is not only a great grievance to the Laws, but also the ruin of States; and that it is rather to be witheld, there were no Laws, no Government, no Society, than that the Administration of Justice should be in the hands of Impiety; that he will always maintain, the Laws of *Diagoras* are to be suspected. Narrat Ælianús, quendam olim pugilem *Nicodorum* apud *Mantineas*,

(46) Chap. xiii, ver. 7.

goras [I]. Some say, the impious *Diagoras* owed his Liberty to *Democritus* [K]. *Peter Gregory* of *Toulouse* is guilty of a strange Blunder, to imagine that *Diagoras* was accused of having stolen the Poems of another Author [L]. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was not

Mantinenfes factum esse præstantissimum Legislatorem: nec alio quàm *Diagoræ* athei hominis consilio ulum esse, ab eoque leges accepisse, quas ferret. De *Diocletiano*, & ipsi adeo Romani juris auctoribus, idem dici posse videtur. Ego verò in ea perisso sententia, magnam esse & legum labem, & civitatum perniciem, impietatem: & potiusquam hæc jus dicat, optandum esse, nullam planè esse jurisdictionem, nullam legem, civitatem nullam. Fremant licet Epicuræi hujus ætatis legulei: ego tamen *Diagoræ* leges suspectas esse contendam (47). — *Ælian* speaks of one *Nicodorus*, who, from a famed Wrestler, became an excellent Lawgiver at *Mantineæ*, who never consulted any Person but *Diagoras* the Atheist, from whom he received his Laws. The same may probably be said of *Dioclesian*, and the Founders of the Roman Laws. But I am confirmed in my Opinion, that Impiety is a great blemish to Laws, and detriment to Society, and it were rather to be wished there were no Laws, no Society, than that the executive Power should be lodged in the hands of an impious Man. Let pettifoggish Epicuræans bawl: I shall still maintain, that the Laws of *Diagoras* are suspicious. An accurate Man would not have spoken in this manner, but would have set down with more care what ought to be distinguished. If those who administer Justice, either by enacting of Laws, or by the execution of the Edicts and Ordinances of the Legislator, were both Atheists and open Enemies to Piety and Virtue, it is certain it would be better to live without Laws and without Tribunals, than to be subject to such a Jurisdiction: but if, notwithstanding their Atheism, they were zealous for the public Good, and endeavoured to promote the Execution of such Laws as they judged most proper to restrain offenders, to prevent disputes, to maintain the Rights of Widows and Orphans, faithfulness in Trade, peace in Families, &c. Who doubts that it would be incomparably more beneficial to live under such Legislators, or such Judges, than without any Jurisdiction at all: but, the better to know what wrong notions *Baudouin* had, when he composed this part of his work, it is sufficient to consider two things, one, that having no other knowledge of *Diagoras's* Laws than what he had acquired by reading *Ælian*, he does not scruple to say they are to be suspected, and nevertheless *Ælian*, though never so much inclined not to do *Diagoras* Justice, had extolled them exceedingly. The second thing to be considered is, that *Baudouin* compares the Emperor *Dioclesian*, and the Authors of the Roman Laws, with the *Mantinean* Legislator, directed by our *Diagoras*. He admires the fine Laws they made, and only wonders that such impious Men could form so excellent a Work, and yet three Lines after he tells us, that it were better to have no Laws, nor any Policy, than that they should be framed by Impiety, that is by the Emperors who persecuted the Christians. Equidem cum sæpe cogito, in rebus civilibus præstantissimos fuisse leges, quos hæcenus Ecclesiæ hostes acerrimos fuisse dixi: & eorum quotidie nomina & tituli in iis, quos sæpe volvimus, libris Juris Civilis occurrant, sæpe etiam attonitus obstupesco tam & à vera religione averfam esse sapientiam (ut vocantur) hominum mentem, tamque omnium propè regnorum imperiorumque omnem constitutionem esse à recta pietate alienam & abhorrentem: ut quos aliqui prudentissimos nomothetas laudare solemus, insanos carnifices in hac causa excrari cogamur (48). — Indeed when I reflect, that those, whom I have hitherto called the most inveterate Enemies to the Church, have, in civil Matters, been excellent Legislators; and that their Names and Titles are often recorded in the Books of Civil-Law, I am often amazed, that the Minds of Wise Men, as they are named, should be so averse to true Religion, and that the Constitution of almost all States and Empires should be so contradictory to the Rules of Piety, that they, who in other Respects must be allowed most prudent Lawgivers, must in this case be branded with the Character of inhuman Butchers. The more I read, the more I am persuaded that it is not so difficult to find Writers that have good and fine Thoughts, as it is to meet with those who express their Concep-

tions without entangling themselves in false reasoning. A good Logician is scarcer than is imagined.

[I] *Cicero* relates some prophane Repartees of *Diagoras*. Being at *Samothracia*, they shewed him several Pictures of Persons that had escaped Shipwreck, which had been vowed and hung up in the Temples: look upon them, say they to him, you who do not believe there is a Providence. I do not wonder, answered he, to see the Pictures of those who have escaped; it is customary to draw such Persons; but those are no where represented, who perished at Sea. *Diagoras* cum *Samothraciam* venisset, *Atheos* ille qui dicitur, atque ei quidam amicus, tu qui Deos putas humana negligere, nonne animadvertis ex his tabellis pictis quam multi votis vim tempestatis effugerint, in portumque salvi pervenerint? Ita fit, inquit, illi enim nusquam picti sunt qui naufragium fecerunt, in marique perierunt (49). *Diogenes Laërtius* tells it after a much better manner: he discovers at first sight the sting of it; but as *Cicero* relates the Story, it is almost impossible to understand the sense of it. *Θαυμάζοντες γὰρ ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ ἀναθήματα, ἔχον, πολλὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ πᾶσι καὶ οἱ μὴ σωθέντες ἀντιθέσαν.* Admirante quodam ea quæ in *Samothracia* sunt donaria, longe, ait, plura essent si qui servati non sunt ea dedicassent (50). — As a certain Person seemed surprized at the number of votive Pictures which hung up in *Samothracia*, he said there would be many more, had those that have been lost hung them up. What follows is better displayed. *Diagoras* being on board a Ship in a terrible Storm, in the height of it they told him, they well deserved what they suffered for taking such an impious Wretch as he was on Board: he replied, behold the great number of Vessels that are in the same Tempest with ours; do you think that I am also in every one of those Ships. Idemque cum ei naviganti vectores adversa tempestate timidi & perterriti dicerent, non injuria sibi illud accidere qui illum in eandem navem receperunt, ostendit eis in eodem cursu multas alias laborantes, quasvisque num etiam in iis navibus *Diagoram* vehi crederent (51). This should teach the Faithful and the Orthodox not to urge all sorts of Unbelievers with the Reasons, which are drawn from the common course of Providence.

[K] Some say he owed his Liberty to *Democritus*. It is reported that That Philosopher, seeing him exposed to sale among other Slaves, examined him, and found such fine natural Parts in him, that he bought him for ten thousand Drachms, and made him, not his Servant, but his Disciple (52).

[L] *Peter Gregory* thought he was charged with stealing the Poems of another. These are his words. *Diagoras* *Teleclidis* filius impius dictus, quod plagii accusatus à Poëta quodam, de surrepto pæane à se conscripto ejurasset furto se non teneri, atque ille paulo post prolatum in lucem pæane secunda fama hominum uteretur, quamobrem & mœstus *Diagoras* orationes scripsit *ἀποπρυγίζοντας*, quasi de turribus præcipitantes dicas, quæ defectionis causam à communi de Diis persuasione continebant, ut scribit *Helychius* *Milesius* *Illustrius* (53). — *Diagoras*, Son of *Teleclides*, called the Impious, being accused by a certain Poet of stealing from him an Hymn, forswore the Plagiarism: the other soon after published the Hymn, whereby he gained a great Applause. *Diagoras*, uneasy at this Success, wrote his Orations *ἀποπρυγίζοντες*, (that is, casting from the summit of a Tower), which, as *Helychius Illustrius* writes, contained his Reasons for dissenting from the received Opinion concerning the Gods. *Peter Gregory* did not understand the Author he cites. *Diagoras* was not the Accused, but the Accuser. This falsehood deserves to be taken notice of; for one may be deceived by it. An innocent Man purging himself upon Oath, and calling the Gods to witness his Innocency, is likely enough to be terribly provoked, when he sees his Calumniator triumphing over him. Wherefore the Narration of *Peter Gregory*, being almost as probable as that of *Helychius*, is very capable of misleading People from the Truth.

[M] *Clemens*

(47.) *Franciscus Balthusius* ad *Edicta Principum Romanorum* de Christianis, pag. m. 111.

(49) *Cicero*, de *Natura Deorum*, lib. 3, cap. 37.

(50) *Diog. Laërt.* in *Diagora*, lib. 6, n. 59.

(51) *Cicero*, de *Natura Deor.* lib. 3, cap. 37.

(52) *Suidas*, & *Helych. Illust.* in *Διαγόρας*.

(53) *Syntagm. Juris Universi*, lib. 36, sub fin. pag. m. 745. *Thomasius* observes this Error in *Tractatu de Plagio Literario*, n. 405.

(48) *Id. ibid.*

not well acquainted with the Doctrines of this Philosopher [M].

[M] *Clemens Alexandrinus* was not well acquainted with the Doctrine of this Philosopher. He thought that *Diagoras*, and some others who passed for Atheists, had that ill Character only for knowing more distinctly the falsity of the Pagan Religion; and he wonders that Men of so regular Lives should be diffamed as impious Men (54). They were not arrived, says he, to the Knowledge of the Truth, but they were sensible of Error, and that sense is a good Seed to produce the Light of Truth. Εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν μὴ νενοκώτας, ἀλλὰ τὴν πλάνην γε ὑποπτεύοντες ὅπερ ἡ σμικρὴν εἰς ἀληθείας φρονήσεως ζώουσιν ἀναφύεται σπέρμα: *Etiam si veritatem ipsam non consideraverint, sed errorem quidem certe suspicati sint; quod quidem non parvum exoritur semen ad excitandam scintillam intelligentiæ veritatis* (55). This is a Do-

ctrine very different from the Judgment of a great many People, who imagine it is more easy to convert a superstitious Pagan to the true Religion than an Atheist. Muret (56) approves the Opinion of that Father concerning the Cause of *Diagoras*, and some others, being reckoned Atheists: but it is certain they are mistaken. *Diagoras* had the Reputation of an Atheist, because he rejected absolutely, and without any restriction, the Existence of a Deity. See, above, the Remark [D]. What is said in the Scholia upon *Aristophanes* deserves no regard. Διαγώρεος καλῶν ποιητῆς ἄθεος, ὃς καὶ κατὰ δαιμόνια εἰσενέειτο: That is, *Diagoras the Poet, an Atheist, who also introduced new Gods*. Such a Testimony as this, opposed to the contrary Authorities, is like setting a Fly against an Elephant.

(56) Muret. Variar. Lect. lib. 10, cap. 17.

DIANA (JOHN NICOLAS DE), a Jesuit, is only known to me by the Persecution he suffered for a Sermon he preached on St *Lucifer*. The Inquisitors of *Sardinia* condemned this Sermon, and shewed great Animosity against that Jesuit. He did not submit to their Judgment; but employed so many Methods to vindicate himself, that at last he obtained the Victory, in the thirteenth Year of the Process. *Diego Arze-Reynoso*, Inquisitor-General, annulled all the Proceedings of the Tribunal of *Sardinia*, and punished some of the Assessors; and, the better to restore *Diana's* Reputation, he created him Qualificator of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, clearing him from all Disgrace by a Decree issued out the nineteenth of December 1653 (a). I shall set down part of it [A], that the Iniquities of those Proceedings may be seen, which are not always unpunished.

(a) Taken from a Writing, intituled, Libellus supplicis à Patribus Societatis Jesu Provinciae Toletanae Catholico Hispaniarum Regi oblatum Madridi anno 1696, mense Aprilii, contra Libellum supplicem eidem regiae Majestati oblatum à R. R. P. P. Carmelitis ad studendum ut universis imponatur silentium circa antiquitatem Ordinis Carmelatici tenendum, post Decretum Inquisitionis Toletanae contra 14 Volumina de Actis Sanctorum.

[A] He was cleared by a Decree of the nineteenth of December 1653. I shall set down part of it. I take it from the Petition presented by the Jesuits of the Province of *Toledo* to the King of Spain, in the Year 1696 (1). They pretend, that the Petition, presented by the Carmelites to the same Prince, is unjust, since it tends to obtain, that silence should be kept on both sides, after the Inquisition of *Toledo* had condemned fourteen Volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. These Jesuits, among other things, set forth that, according to the Stile of the holy Office, it is permitted to provide against the Decrees of the Inquisition, and that, when the Inquisition has condemned any Book, it does not pretend to hinder the Author from vindicating his Sentiments. They show, that sometimes the Apology for a Book, condemned by that Tribunal, has been found so convincing, that the Inquisition has revoked its Sentence, and they prove it by the Issue of the long Process against the Jesuit *John Nicolas de Diana*. 'Quod ita non raro factum est ut Inquisitio edicta sua revocaverit, ac propositiones modo confixas suo pristino restituerit splendori, quin & novis approbationibus ac laudibus exornarit (2). — It is no uncommon thing that the Inquisition should re-call its Edicts, and reverse Propositions before condemned to their pristine Honour, and recommend them, moreover, by peculiar marks of Approbation.' His Reputation was stained for many Years, but, having shown the partiality of his Judges, he gloriously obtained the annulling of their Sentence. 'Per annos omnino duodecim & quinque menses gravissimè passus est optimus ille Jesuita pro defensa veritate: & fuit hæc quidem veritas densis adeo passionum obfusca nebulis ut tantum non pateretur eclipsim. Fuit auctori necesse aduersus Sardiniae Inquisitores excipere velut parciales & passioni obnoxios. Suam autem exceptionem illam & dam-natas propositiones eâ probavit Diana argumentorum energia & evidentia ut, &c (3). — For twelve Years and five Months did that good Jesuit suffer in the Cause of Truth, and so thick were the Clouds of Passion which overshadowed it, that it was well nigh eclipsed. The Author was under a necessity of excepting against the Sardinian Inquisitors, as being partial, and liable to Passion; and Diana proved his Exception, and the Propositions which had been condemned, with that force and clearness of Argument, that, &c.' And because the proceedings of the Inquisitors of *Sardinia* had caused great scandal, the supreme Council of the Inquisition thought themselves obliged to remove it by a public Decree, part whereof you have here. 'Ut in omni

tempore præfenti perinde ac futuro constet, innote-scat atque publica fiat innocentia dicti Patris Diana; ut item illi ad quos hujus rei notitia pervenerit quique proinde scandalum fuerint passi ex processibus in illa causa commissis, & in libello impresso supra relatis, publicam hanc satisfactionem habeant super dicta præfati Patris innocentia & catholica illius in Evangelio exponendo doctrina. . . . Pariter sciant omnes quod Tribunal atque supremum sacre Inquisitionis Concilium non solum convictos contra fidem castiget, sed innocentiam etiam præmet inculpatorum, addita satisfactione publica contra notorias inde impactas injurias, ad Deum denique Dominum nostrum omnipotentem remittente dicto P. Diana, publicam ac justam vindictam de gravi sibi illata injuria per delatorem, conjuratores æmulos ac falsos testes, minisque bene affectos ministros, supplicando divinæ Majestati ejusque pie clementiæ quatenus omnium talium mentibus lucem dignetur infundere, qua illustrati errore suo cognito correctoque & peculiariter in hoc casu commissa culpa animas suas possint salvas facere, &c (4). — That the Innocence of the said Father Diana may stand confirmed, and be publicly known by all future Ages, as well as the present, that likewise those to whom the Knowledge of this Matter may come, and also they who have been injured by the Processes in that Cause carried on, as has been related in the printed Case, may have their public Satisfaction of the Innocence, and Orthodoxy of the said Father in expounding the Gospel. . . . Be it therefore known unto all Men, that the Tribunal and grand Council of the holy Inquisition do not only punish those that are convicted of Heresy, but will likewise reward the Innocent, and make them public Satisfaction for the Injuries they may suffer. Lastly, the said Father Diana resigning to GOD our Almighty Lord the public and due Punishment of the wrongs he has suffered from the Informer, Contrivers, Abettors, false Witnesses, and ill affected Persons, beseeching his divine Majesty, and holy Clemency, so to enlighten their Minds, that they might see their Error, and the Crimes they have in this case committed, and by Repentance save their Souls alive, &c. I am satisfied many Readers will be glad to see the other like Instances, which the Jesuits mention in their Petition. The first is that of *Julian Archbishop of Toledo*. He wrote a Book de tribus Substantiis, which was condemned by Pope *Benedictus II*. He justified what he had done by a vigorous Apology, and gave such strong Reasons, that the Pontiff took off the Prohibition, and commended

(1) See the Title of it in Citat. (a) of this Article.

(2) Libell. Supplex, pag. 5.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Ibid. pag. 6.

(5) Ibid. pag. 20, commended highly the Archbishop (5). The second instance is that of *Stephen Fagundes* a Jesuit. He published a Book (6), which was forbid to be read: but when his Apology came out intitled, *Apologeticus Tractatus pro suo libro in 5 Præcepta Ecclesiæ ad questionem de latitiorum eorumque usu tempore quadragesimæ*, they ordered his Book to be re-examined, and it was found that none of the condemned Propositions were worthy of Censure; so that by a new Decree of the eighteenth of April 1630, the Tribunal of the

Inquisition permitted the reading of his Book. The third instance is that of the great *Tostatus*. Some of his Opinions having been condemned, he desired to be heard, but could not obtain it: by the Intrigues of his Enemies this Justice was denied him. He made such loud Complaints of this that it reached the Ears of *Eugenius IV.*, who ordered *Tostatus* to appear personally at the Court of *Rome*, there to maintain his Opinions. *Tostatus* appeared, and made so good a Defence, that he obtained a glorious Victory (7).

(7) Libell. Supplic. pag. 21, et Proemio Apologeticæ Tostati, Part. 2.

DICÆARCHUS, a Disciple of *Aristotle*, composed a great Number of Books, which were very much esteemed [A]. *Cicero*, and his Friend *Pomponius Atticus*, set a great Value upon them [B], and I even believe their Esteem extended also to that Book, wherein he opposed the Immortality of the Soul [C]. Mr *Moreri* attributes this

[A] He composed a great number of Books which were very much esteemed. It is thought his Work upon Music contained not only the Description of the Customs and Method concerning the exercise of that Art, but also the History of the Theatrical Pieces, which had contended for the prize: therefore they judge his Treatise *περί μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*, de *Certaminibus Musicis* (1), was but a part of the Treatise *περί μουσικῆς*, de *Musica* (2). They will have it also that the Treatise *περί διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων*, de *Certaminibus Dionysiacis* (3), and even another Treatise intitled *παλαιωναιων* (4), were parts of the Treatise *περί μουσικῶν ἀγώνων* de *Certaminibus Musicis*.

Jonfius says: 'Liber hic Dicæarchi *περί μουσικῶν ἀγώνων* de quo diximus, omnino pars fuit ejusdem operis *περί μουσικῆς* de *Musica*, quo & de ipsis antiquis Musicis atque Poëtis eorumque fabulis, de saltationibus & de certaminibus musicis eum egisse verisimile est (5). — This Treatise of *Dicæarchus* *περί μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*, of Musical Contests, of which I have been speaking, was only a part of the same Author's Treatise *περί μουσικῆς*, of Music, wherein it is probable he spoke about the ancient Musicians, and Poets, and their Fables, of Dances, and Musical Contests.' Such a book as this would be an excellent Repertory for the Author of an Historical Dictionary, as also *Dicæarchus*'s Book *περί βίων, de Vitis*, cited by *Diogenes Laërtius* (6). I have the same Opinion of a Work of his intitled *περί τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίῶν, de Vita Græciæ* (7), where he gives a Description of *Greece*, and of the Laws and Customs of the *Greeks*. St *Jerom* (8) has cited this Book, and I doubt not but *Porphyry* had this Book in view, when he placed *Dicæarchus* among those who had briefly and accurately collected what concerned the *Greeks* (9). See in *Vossius* (10) the Title of some other of *Dicæarchus*'s Works. Consult also what I am going to say.

(1) It is cited by the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, ad *Vespas*, folio 519, apud *Jonfium* de *Scriptor. Hist. Philol.* pag. 36.

(2) It is cited by the same Scholiast, ad *Nub.* fol. 99, apud *Jonfium*, pag. 89.

(3) It is cited by the same Scholiast, ad *Aves* folio 606, apud *Jonfium*, pag. 88.

(4) It is cited by the Scholiast, ad *Vespas*, folio 457, apud *Jonfium*, ibid.

(5) *Jonfius*, ibid. pag. 89.

(6) Lib. 3, in *Platone*.

(7) *Athenæus*, lib. 13, pag. 595, & lib. 14, pag. 636.

(8) *Adversus Jo-vinianum*, lib. 2, and not *as More-ri* says lib. 11.

(9) *Τὸν συντό-μας τὰ καὶ ἀ-ντιβῆζε τὰ ἑλ-ληνικὰ συνα-γαγόντων*. Unus eorum qui res Græcicas breviter & accurate collegunt. *Porphyry*, lib. 4, de *Abstinent.* apud *Vossium* de *Hist. Græc.* pag. 47.

(10) De *Hist. Græc.* pag. 46, 47.

(11) See the 18th Letter of the 7th Book to *Atticus*.

(12) *Athenæus*, lib. 13, pag. 504, cites *Dicæarchus*, *Περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφονίῳ κα-ταβάντος*, De descensu in an-trum *Trophonii*.

(13) *Cicero* *Epist.* 2, lib. 6, ad *Atticum*.

showed it to *Dionysius*. He was likewise at first somewhat surprised, but having no less an Esteem for *Dicæarchus* than you for *C. Vestorius*, and I for *M. Cluvius*, he questioned not but that we might credit him. I took therefore the whole passage from *Dicæarchus* word by word. This passage is corroborated by the words of the twelfth Letter of the second Book (14): 'Dicæarchum rectè amas: luculentus homo est & civis haud paulo melior quam isti nostri ἀδικαίᾳχοι; and by these (15), Nunc profus hoc statui ut quoniam tanta controversia est Dicæarcho familiari tuo (16) cum Theophrasto amico meo, ut ille ruus τὸν ἀπακτινὸν βίῳ longe omnibus anteponat, hic autem θεωπετι-κὸν, utrique à me mos gestus esse videatur. Puto enim me Dicæarcho assatim satisfecisse. — You have reason to esteem Dicæarchus. He has an extensive Genius, and is a much more valuable member of Society than our ἀδικαίᾳχοι (unjust people): — since therefore there is such a controversy between your Dicæarchus, and my Friend Theophrastus, the former preferring a Life of Practice, the other that of Theory, I was determined to observe a due Decorum, and I imagine I have entirely satisfied Dicæarchus.' But *Cicero* shows no where more esteem for *Dicæarchus* than in the second letter of the second Book (17). He cries out *O magnum hominem!* see the whole passage. It is justly wondered at, that *Vossius* did not observe it (18). He has also omitted that of the third book of *Legibus*, and says nothing of the Book *de interitu hominum*. In the third Book *de Legibus*, *Cicero* informs us that this Philosopher had published some very good political Discourses. 'Theophrastus institutus ab Aristotele abundavit ut scitis in eo genere rerum, ab eodemque Aristotele doctus Dicæarchus huic rationi studioque non defuit. — Theophrastus, as you know, being instructed by Aristotle, abounded in Precepts of that Nature, and Dicæarchus taught by the same Aristotle spent much time in the same Study.' In another place he mentions a very curious Thing, which is, that *Dicæarchus*, having made a Computation of all the accidents which occasion the Death of Men, found that War destroys more Men than any other thing. 'Est Dicæarchi liber de interitu hominum, Peripatetici magni & copiosi, qui collectis ceteris causis eluvionis, pestilentiae, vastitatis, bellorum etiam repentinæ multitudinis, quarum impetu docet quædam hominum genera esse consumpta, deinde comparat quanto plures deleti sint homines hominum impetu, id est bellis & seditionibus, quam omni reliqua calamitate (19). — Dicæarchus, an eminent and copious Peripatetic, wrote a Treatise of the Death of Men, who, having collected the several causes thereof, as Deluges, Plagues, Tempests, the sudden Irruption of wild Beasts, by the Violence of which he shews some part of Mankind is taken off, then calculates how many more are cut off by the Fury of their own Species, that is, by Wars and Seditions, than by all other Calamities put together.' All this is a proof of *Cicero*'s esteem for the Author. I shall quote a passage by and by, wherein he calls him his Delight.

[C] And I even believe their esteem extended also to that Book wherein he opposed the Immortality of the Soul. He composed two Treatises upon that subject, each divided into three Books. Dicæarchus in eo sermone, quem Corinthi habitum tribus libris exposuit doctorum hominum disputantium, primo libro multos loquentes facit, duobus Pherecratem quandam Phthiotam senem, quem ait à Deucalione ortum, differentem

(14) Ad *Attic.*

(15) *Epist.* 16, lib. 2, ad *Attic.*

(16) See also *Epist.* 13, lib. 13, ad *Atticum*.

(17) Ad *Attic.* See also the 4th Letter of the 8th Book.

(18) *Rupertus*, *Epist.* ad *Reine-* sum, pag. 503.

(19) *Cicero* de *Officiis*, lib. 2, cap. 5.

this to another *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedæmon* [D], the Disciple of *Aristarchus*: but he is wrong

• differentem inducit, nihil esse omnino animum, & hoc esse nomen totum inane, frustra & animalia & animantes appellari, neque in homine inesse animum vel animam, nec in bestia. Vimque omnem eam, qua vel agamus quid, vel sentiamus, in omnibus corporibus vivis æqualiter esse fufam, nec separabilem a corpore esse, quippe quæ nulla fit, nec sit quicquam, nisi corpus unum & simplex, ita figuratum ut temperatione naturæ vigeat & sentiat

(20) *Id. Tusc. I. fol. m. 250. A.*

(21) *Ibid. fol. m. 250. D.*

... (20). Accerrime delitiae meæ *Dicæarchus* contra hanc immortalitatem differuit. Is enim tres libros scripsit qui *Lesbiaci* vocantur quod *Mitylenis* sermo habetur, in quibus vult efficere animos esse mortales (21). — *Dicæarchus*, in his discursibus inter multos philosophos, disputans at Corinthi, quibus se dividit in tres partes, introducit in his primis fœderatim Speakers, in the other two he makes one *Pherecrates* of *Pbibia*, whom he derives from *Deucalion*, to argue that the Soul was nothing but an empty Name, and that the word *Animal* was an insignificant Term, since neither Man nor Beast had either Soul or Mind, and that the Power by which we either act or think was equally diffused through all living Bodies, inseparable from them, being nothing but a simple and uniform Body, so modelled as to move and think by the Direction of Nature. My beloved *Dicæarchus* has argued very warmly against this immortality. For he has wrote three Books called *Lesbian*, because the scene is supposed to be at *Mitylene*, wherein he endeavours to prove the Soul to be mortal. *Cicero* says in one of his Letters, that he wanted these two Books, and desires *Pomponius Atticus* to send them to him (22).

(22) *Dicæarchi xxi. 1. utroque velim mittas. Idem, Epist. 32. lib. 13. ad Atticum.*

INVINCIBLE Objection against *Dicæarchus* about the Immortality of the Soul.

I must observe by the way that this Opinion of *Dicæarchus* is unworthy a Philosopher. Such a way of arguing betrays a want of Principle, and overthrows the harmony of a System. If once you lay it down, as this Author does, that the Soul is not distinct from the Body, that it is nothing else but a Power equally common to all living Things, and which forms but one simple being with the Bodies called living; either you know not what you say, or you are obliged to maintain that this Power is always inseparable from the Body; for what is not distinct from Body is essential to Body, and, according to the first Principles, it is a Contradiction to say that a Being is ever without it's essence. From whence it plainly results, that the Power of Sensation does not cease in dead Bodies, and that the parts of living Bodies preserve each their Life and Soul when they are corrupted. Then there is no room to flatter our selves that Sensation ceases after Death, and that we shall not be subject to any pain. If a Body is capable of pain when it is placed in the Nerves, it is also capable of it, wherever it is found, either in stones or metals, in the Air or in the Sea, and if an Atom of Air was once destitute of all Thought, it seems utterly impossible that being converted into that Substance, which is called Animal Spirits, should ever make it think. This seems as impossible, as it is to give a local Preference to a Being, that has been for some time without any local Preference. So that to argue consequently, it must be concluded either that the Substance which thinks is distinct from the Body, or that all Bodies are thinking Substances; since it cannot be denied that Men have Thought. From whence it follows, according to *Dicæarchus*'s Principle, that there are a certain number of Bodies that think. *Cicero* argues very ill against *Dicæarchus*: he pretends that according to this Philosopher, a Man must feel no pain, since he cannot feel that he has a Soul. *Dicæarchum* vero cum *Aristoxeno* æquali & condiscipulo suo doctos sanè homines omitamus, quorum alter ne condoluisset quidem unquam videtur qui animum se habere non sentiat: alter ita delectatur suis cantibus, ut eos etiam ad hæc transferre conetur (23). — I shall pass over *Dicæarchus* with his Cotemporary and School-fellow *Aristoxenus*, the one of which never seems to have been concerned at his not perceiving he had a Soul. The other is so pleased with his Fiddle, that he would make the Soul to consist in Harmony, so great a Bigot was he to his Profession. This Philosopher might easily have answered, I do not deny that Man feels, and that he is conscious of his feeling, but I deny that

(23) *Cicero, Tusc. I. fol. 248. B. He had said, Citat. (10). that Aristoxenus, a Musician and Philosopher, made the Soul to consist in an harmonious Agreement of the Organs, hic ab artificio suo non recellit. See Laërtius, in lib. 7. cap. 13, & de Opificio Dei, cap. 16.*

he knows that That, which feels in him, is a Soul distinct from Body. It is very true he does not feel it, for he knows it only by reasoning; *Laërtius* makes use of this fallacious Syllogism of *Cicero* (24).

I just now perceive that some may prepossess themselves against the argument I have opposed to *Dicæarchus*'s System. Which obliges me to obviate an Objection. It may be said, that Sensation may be only a Modification of Body; from whence it would follow that Matter, without losing any thing of what is essential to it, may cease to feel when it is no longer inclosed in the Organs of a living Machine. I answer, this is an absurd Doctrine; for all the modes of existence, that we have any knowledge of, are of such a Nature, that they do not cease, but only to give place to another Mode of the same kind: there is no Figure that is destroyed but by another Figure; and no Colour that is destroyed, but by another Colour (25). I confess that, according to the old Philosophy, Cold and Heat, which expel one another from a Subject, are not accidents of the same Species; but it must be owned that at least they belong to the same Genus of Qualities, that are called *Tactiles*: so that to argue aright, it ought to be said that no Sensation is expelled from it's Substance, but by the Introduction of some other Sensation; nothing hinders but that Sensation should be a Genus, having other Genus's under it, before we arrive at what we call *species infima*. According to this, my Objection loses no strength by the answer I have refused, and I shall always affirm, that if the Animal Spirits have not the Sensation out of the Nerves, which they have in them, it is because they lose it by acquiring another kind of Sensation. It will be said perhaps, that there are Modifications which cease without any other positive Modification succeeding to them, as Motion for instance; for they will say nothing of Figure, as being too plainly contrary to *Dicæarchus*'s Axioms; but I answer, that Motion and Rest do not differ, as they suppose, after the manner of positive Modifications and Privations. Both Rest and Motion are a most real and positive local Preference: their difference consists only in external Relations which are perfectly accidental. Rest is the Duration of the same local Preference, Motion is the Acquisition of a new local Preference, and consequently that which ceases to move does not lose it's Modification without obtaining another of the same Nature; it has always a Position equal to it's Extension among the other parts of the Universe. When they can give us an example of a Body that loses one place without acquiring another, we will agree that certain Bodies may lose a Sensation without obtaining another; but as it is impossible to produce such an instance as this, we have a Right to maintain that every body that once has had a Sensation will always have it. Is not the Conversion of being to nothing impossible in the order of Nature? Would not the Conversion of a Figure into the Privation of all Figure, or the Conversion of local Preference into the Privation of all local Preference, be the Conversion of something real and positive into nothing? therefore they are impossible in the order of Nature, and therefore the Conversion of Sensation into a Privation of all Sensation is impossible, for this would be the Conversion of something real and positive into nothing. Lastly, I say that all the modes of Bodies are founded upon the essential attributes of Bodies which are the three Dimensions. This is the Reason that the loss of one Figure, or of one local Preference, is always accompanied with the Acquisition of another Figure, or of another local Preference. Extension never ceases nor is ever lost; therefore the Corruption of one of it's modes is necessarily the Generation of another; for the same Reason no Sensation can cease but by the existence of another; for by the System which I am refusing, Sensation would be a mode of Body, as well as Figure, and Place. If you would found Sensation upon some Attribute of Matter, different from the three Dimensions, and unknown to our Mind, I answer that the changes of that Attribute ought to resemble the Alterations of Extension: the latter cannot make all manner of Figure or local Preference to cease; and so the Alterations in this unknown attribute would never cause

(24) *Lib. 7. cap. 13.*

(25) I mean only of Bodies visible to Man.

wrong to make him the Author of several Books since *Suidas*, who, perhaps is the only one that mentions this *Dicæarchus*, ascribes no Books to him at all. This furnishes me with a Remark against *Meursius* [E]. There is a Passage in *Pliny*, which shews that *Dicæarchus* was employed by some Princes to take the Height of the Mountains [F]. Geography was one of his chief Studies (a), and we have a Treatise still extant that he wrote upon that Subject (b). His Book concerning the Republic of *Lacedæmon* was extremely honoured (c). He held it for a Maxim, that a Man ought to behave himself so as to be beloved by all, but should contract an intimate Friendship with none but good Men (d). What he found fault with in *Plato* deserves to be censured [G]. *Vossius* ought not to have imputed to him a Treatise upon

Dreams 659.

(a) See *Strabo*, lib. 2, pag. 71, who observes that *Polybius* often censures *Dicæarchus*.

(b) It was printed at *Augustus* by the Care of *Hæschellius*, in 1600.

(c) See Remark [E].

(d) *Plut. Sympo.* lib. 4, Init. pag. 659.

all Sensation to cease; they would but be the passage from one Sensation to another, as the Motion of an extended Body is but the removal of it from one Place to another.

[D] Mr *Moreri* attributes it to another *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedæmon*. I cannot imagine how he fell into this Error; for after having cited the Passage of *Cicero* concerning the Impiety of *Dicæarchus* upon the nature of the Soul, he adds, that *Tertullian* does also take notice of the Error of that Philosopher. Now these are *Tertullian's* words produced by *Moreri*. *Denique qui negant principalem ipsam prius animam nihil censuerunt, Messenius aliquis Dicæarchus*. The Philosopher whose Error *Tertullian* takes notice of is *Dicæarchus* of *Messina*; why therefore does *Moreri* impute that Error to *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedæmon*? He heaps fault upon fault, by referring us to a great number of Authors who have mentioned *Dicæarchus*, since he appropriates all their Testimonies to one *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedæmon*, to whom *Suidas* ascribes no Book great or small, and since it cannot be denied that part of these Testimonies do not concern *Dicæarchus* of *Messina*. A learned Critic (26) thought that the Arguments of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* Tragedies, cited by *Sextus Empiricus* (27), are the Productions of the Grammarian *Dicæarchus*, mentioned by *Athenæus* in his first Book (28). I confess that such a work would better suit with *Dicæarchus*, the Grammarian of *Lacedæmon*, and the Disciple of *Aristotle*, than with *Dicæarchus* the Messinian, and Disciple of *Aristotle*; but nevertheless, when I consider that *Suidas* attributes no Book to the former, and that he assures us the latter was a Philosopher, Orator, and Geometrician, I rather chuse to ascribe to *Aristotle's* Disciple all the works that are cited under the name of *Dicæarchus*. If he that *Athenæus* speaks of in the fourteenth page of his first Book, without calling him Grammarian, whatever *Reinesius* says of it, was the *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedæmon*, he would rather have attributed to his Country, than to the City of *Sicyon*, the Invention spoken of in that place, since there are Authors which ascribe it to the City of *Lacedæmon*. This Invention concerns Dancing, and probably it is in the Book *περί μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, de Certaminibus Musici*, that *Dicæarchus* treated of it, and also of the Dance called the Crane (29).

[E] To whom *Suidas* . . . ascribes no sort of Books. This furnishes me with a Remark against *Meursius*. He pretends (30) that *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedæmon* wrote for excellent a Book upon the Government of *Sparta*, that it was read every Year before the Youth in the Assembly of the *Ephori*, and that the Edict for that Practice was executed for a long time. What he cites from *Suidas* is very just, except one Clause; which is, that *Suidas* speaks there of no other than *Dicæarchus* the Messinian. *Ἐργαὶς τὴν πολιτείαν Σπαρτιατῶν. καὶ νόμος ἐτίθη ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, καὶ ἕκαστος ἔτος ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τὸν λόγον εἰς τὸ τῶν Ἐφῶρων ἀρχαίων. τὰς δὲ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν ἀνεγχεσθαι. καὶ τὸτο ἐκράτισσε μέγχι πολλῶν. Scripsit Republicam Spartanorum. Et Lacedæmonæ lex est lata, ut quotannis liber iste in prætorio Ephorum legeretur, & juvenis auscultaret. Idque diu obtinuit* (31).

[F] *Pliny* says, he was employed by some Princes to take the height of the Mountains. These are his words. 'Globum tamen effici mirum est in tanta planitie maris camporumque. Cui sententia adest *Dicæarchus* vir in primis eruditus, regum cura permixtus montes, ex quibus altissimum prodidit *Pelion*. 1250 passuum ratione perpendiculari, nullam esse eam portionem universæ rotunditatis colligens (32). — It is wonderful that a Globe could be formed where there is such a flatness of Sea and Land. Which Opinion is confirmed by *Dicæarchus*, a Man of great Learn-

ing, who, having measured the Mountains by the direction of some Princes, found *Pelion* to be the highest, being 1250 Paces in perpendicular height, which he concluded to be no portion of the universal round. I wonder that *Father Hardonin* should not observe that this Passage is not consistent with what he cites from *Geminus*; for *Geminus* affirms (33) that, according to *Dicæarchus's* Calculation, *Mount Cellene* in *Arcadia* is 15 Stadia high, or thereabout, that is to say, near 1500 Paces. Then it is not true that *Mount Pelion* which is but 10 Stadia high was the highest Mountain *Dicæarchus* measured. However that be, we have here a Confirmation of what is found in *Suidas*, that *Dicæarchus* wrote a Book upon the measure of the Mountains of *Peloponnesus*. The Passage in *Pliny* had escaped the Diligence of *Vossius*.

[G] What he censures in *Plato* deserves to be censured. He blamed *Plato* for giving too much Power to Love, as *Cicero* informs us (34), and I believe his words will help us to understand those of *Diogenes Laërtius*, which seem to have been ill translated. *Laërtius's* words are (35): *Λόγον δὲ πρῶτον γέγραπται αὐτὸν τὸν Φαίδρου καὶ γὰρ ἔχει μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχαίαν. Δικαίτατος δὲ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον τῆς γράφης ἵλον ἐπιμεµέναι ὡς πορτικόν* (36). They are translated in this manner. *Phædrum primo illum scripsisse fama est, habet enim questio illa nonnihil juvenile. Porro Dicæarchus totum id scribendi genus ut grave ac molestum carpit*. This Translation does no Honour to the Original: it supposes that *Laërtius*, after having said that there is something that betrays the young Man, in the *Phædrus* of *Plato* the Philosopher, thought to confirm what he had said by quoting a Man who looked upon that Philosopher's way of writing in that Treatise as harsh and heavy. I think it will be better to suppose that *Diogenes Laërtius* means thus. It is pretended that *Plato's* first Work was that called *Phædrus*, and indeed the question he examines in it favours of a young Man. Therefore *Dicæarchus* condemns the whole Character of that Piece, for the excessive Sallies, and impetuous Flights of Imagination he observes in it; this is what is insinuated by *Cicero*, as I have already said; for the Excess, which he pretends *Dicæarchus* charged *Plato* with, on account of the Power of Love, no doubt related to the *Phædrus*. One of the Commentators upon *Cicero's* Letters (37) makes use of this Passage of *Laërtius*, to confirm a very ingenious Conjecture. He pretends that *Dicæarchus* wrote a Book intitled, *Φαίδρου πειρασμοί, The superfluities of the Phædrus*, and that *Cicero* asks his Friend *Atticus* for this Book. *Cicero* expresses himself in this manner. 'Libros mihi de quibus ad te antea scripsi velim mittas, & maxime *Φαίδρου πειρασμῶν* & *Ἑλλάδος*.' Upon which *Bosius* makes this Note. 'Videntur his verbis duo libri *Dicæarchi* significari, quorum primo auctor ille multa de *Phædro* Platonis ut superflua & redundantia rescandenda esse docuerat: altero virorum illustrium quos *Græcia* tulisset vitam conscripserat, huncque librum vocarat *Ἑλλάδος βίον*, ut illum *Φαίδρου πειρασμοί*. *Laërtius* vulgo traditum refert *Platonem* (38) omnium dialogorum totam ejus scripti rationem ut nimis insolentem & fastidiosam damnasse. — I entreat you to send me those which I mentioned in a former Letter, but especially *Φαίδρου πειρασμῶν*, and *Ἑλλάδος*.' Here is *Bosius's* Note. 'By these words seem to be meant, the two Treatises of *Dicæarchus*, in the former of which that Author had shewn that many useless Parts, and superfluous Branches, were to be lopped off in *Phædrum* con- *Plato's* *Phædrus*; In the other he had wrote the Lives of the most celebrated Men of Greece, to which he had given the Name of *Ἑλλάδος βίον*, and to the former *Φαίδρου πειρασμοί*. *Laërtius* says, that it was generally reported that *Plato* wrote his *Phædrus* first, and

(31) In *Element. Astronom.* cap. 14, pag. 55, and *Hardonin* in *Plin.* Tom. II, pag. 217.

(34) *Quem* (*Platonem*) non injuria *Dicæarchus* accusat qui amoris auctoritatem tribuerit nimis.

(35) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 2, in *Platone*, n. 38.

(36) See Remark [E] of the Article *BION* (Box 19, THEATRE) Citat. (8).

(37) *Simeon* *Bosius* in *Epist.* *Cicero*, ad *Attic.* 39, lib. 13.

(38) I relate this Passage according to the Edition of Mr *Grævius*. It is plain the Editors have left out three or four Words, which might be these, *primus* and *superfluous* Branches, were to be lopped off in *Phædrum* con-

(26) *Reinesius*, *Epist.* 69, pag. 608.

(27) *Adv. Mathem.* cap. 19.

(28) *Pag. m. 14.*

(29) See *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theæus*.

(30) *Meurs.* *Miscell. Lacon.* lib. 4, pag. 334.

(31) *Id. ibid.*

(32) *Plin.* lib. 2, cap. 65.

Dreams [H]. *Laëtantius* does not assign the true Time he lived in [I]. I never was more surprized than to see how barren the Jesuit *Jerom Ragusa* [K] has been upon so illustrious a Subject as that of *Dicæarchus*, who has done so much Honour to Sicily, his native Country (e).

A Person, who was not pleased to make himself known, has sent me some Objections, which I shall examine. They are concerning the Argument I have proposed (f) against *Dicæarchus* concerning his Opinion of the Nature of the Soul [L]. This gives me

(e) He was of the City now called *Messina*, but formerly *Messana*, *Suidas*.

(f) In Remark [C].

(33) In *Eutico*.

(40) *Re'nefius*, *Varior. Lect.* lib. 3, cap. 3, pag. 377.

(41) *Menag.* Not. ad *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 3, n. 4, sub. fin.

(42) *Vossius de Hist. Græcis*, pag. 47.

(43) *Cicero de Divinat.* lib. 1, cap. 3.

(44) *Id. Ibid.*

(45) In Remark [C], *Citat.* (20).

'and that *Dicæarchus* had condemned the manner in which all his Dialogues were wrote, as being too insolent and overbearing.' *Bosius* alleges the Greek of *Diogenes Laërtius*, and quotes a Passage out of *Plutarch* (39), wherein certain Descriptions inserted in the *Phædrus* are condemned as superfluous. See *Re'nefius* and *Mr Menag.* The former (40) thinks that *Cicero* asks for the Book of *Phædrus*, an Epicurean Philosopher, *περί Θέων*, and that of *Dicæarchus* *βίος ἑλλάδος*. Thus he partly agrees with, and partly differs from *Bosius*; but he did not know that *Bosius* had committed an Error here, which is his confounding *Dicæarchus*'s Book intituled *Bios*, with that intituled, *βίος ἑλλάδος*. The first contained the Lives of illustrious Men; the second was a Description of Greece, and the Customs of the Greeks. *Mr Menag* has observed this Mistake (41).

[H] *Vossius* ought not to have attributed to him a Treatise of dreams. Let us hear *Vossius*'s Words. 'Nec magis ambigere licet de libro quem Tullius eum de divinatione, & somniis scripsisse auctor est (42).

— Neither need we doubt concerning the Treatise which *Cicero* makes him to have wrote on divination and dreams.' He cites no proof of this Fact. It is probable he depended upon some Author who had said the same thing, without quoting any body for it, and he would not take the trouble to look for it in *Cicero*. I do no doubt but if this Particular is to be found any where in *Cicero*, it must be in his Book de *Divinatione*. Upon perusing it, I found four places concerning *Dicæarchus*. In the first, he assures us that he rejected all sorts of Divinations, except that of Dreams and that of Fury. 'Dicæarchus Peripateticus cætera divinationis genera fustulit, somniorum & furoris reliquit (43).' From whence I infer, that, at the worst, it must be confessed that *Vossius* ought to have said de *divinatione ex somniis*, and not de *divinatione, & somniis*. The second place is a confirmation of the first, and I should not have mentioned it, if it did not furnish me with an incidental reflexion. 'Nec vero unquam animus hominis naturaliter divinat nisi quum ita solutus est & vacuus, ut ei planè nihil sit cum corpore; quod aut vatibus contingit, aut dormientibus. Itaque ea duo genera à Dicæarcho probantur (44).' Either *Cicero* did not understand *Dicæarchus*'s Doctrine, or the latter contradicts and does not understand himself. Can a man, who does not acknowledge any distinction between a human Soul and the Body, believe that Fanatics, Enthusiasts, and Dreamers, have Thoughts which are not material: that is to say, that in that State their Soul is perfectly disengaged from any Correspondence it had with the Body? It is certain, that if such a man should believe this, he knows not what he says, and must involve himself in an evident Contradiction. Now we have seen (45), that *Dicæarchus* admitted of no distinction between the Souls of living Bodies, and the living Bodies: so that if he believed, as *Cicero* will have it, that because in Extasies and Dreams the human Soul is perfectly disengaged from all Commerce with the Body, therefore the Divinations of Enthusiasts and Dreamers are not to be rejected, he contradicts himself and ruins his own Hypothesis by unintelligible Nonsense. But let us not condemn him before we have heard him. Perhaps his Reasons for retaining the Divinations of Extasies and Dreams, whilst he rejected all other ways of foretelling future Events, are not well related by *Cicero*. This Exception in favour of Dreams, and Alienations of Mind, was an ill step of *Dicæarchus*, and I would fain know how he extricated himself out of that plunge. The third Passage says no more than the second; however I think it not amiss to give it a place here. 'Me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat & veteris Dicæarchi, & ejus qui nunc floret Cratippi, qui censent esse in mentibus hominum tanquam oraculum aliquod ex quo futura presentiant; si aut furore divino concitatus animus aut somno relaxatus solute moveatur

ac libere (46). — There seems to me to be more weight in the Opinion of the Peripatetics, of old *Dicæarchus*, and of *Cratippus* who flourishes at present, who imagine there is in the minds of Men something like an Oracle from which they receive a knowledge of what is to happen, as when the mind is transported with a Divine Fury, or released by sleep has a full Liberty to move.' The fourth is more favourable to *Vossius* than any of the others. 'At nostra interest scire ea quæ eventura sint. Magnus Dicæarchi liber est nescire ea melius esse quam scire (47). — It would be of great use to know what shall happen. But *Dicæarchus* has largely shown it would be much better not to know, than to know.' But that book of *Dicæarchus* is not the same that *Vossius* speaks of; it is neither intituled de *divinatione ex somniis*, nor de *divinatione & somniis*, and perhaps is not different from the Book of the Descent into the Cave of *Troponius*. In a word, that Philosopher might have explained his Opinion upon the Subject of Divinations, in one of the Books which *Vossius* had already given the Title of, and therefore it was not necessary to quote, by itself, that de *divinatione & somniis*.

[I] *Laëtantius* does not assign the true time he lived in. He justly condemns *Dicæarchus* upon the mortality of the Soul; but he is mistaken when he charges him with being the forerunner of *Democritus*, with respect to that false Doctrine; for *Dicæarchus* having been one of *Aristotle*'s Disciples did not flourish till long after *Democritus*. 'In eadem sententia fuit etiam Pythagoras antea, ejusque præceptor Pherecydes: quem Cicero tradit primum de æternitate animarum disputavisse. Qui omnes licet eloquentia excellenter; tamen in hac duntaxat contentione non minus auctoritatis habuerunt, qui contra hanc sententiam differebant, *Dicæarchus* primo, deinde *Democritus*, postremo *Epicurus* (48). — Pythagoras was of the same Opinion before, and his Master Pherecydes, whom Cicero mentions as the first who disputed concerning the Eternity of Souls. Who, although they were Men of great Eloquence, yet in this one Controversy, those who disputed against it, namely *Dicæarchus* first, then *Democritus*, and lastly *Epicurus*, had no less Authority.'

[K] I was never more surprized than at the Barrenness of the Jesuit *Jerome Ragusa*. His *Elogia Siculorum qui veteri memoria floruerunt*, printed at Avignon in 1690, contain only the Titles of a small part of *Dicæarchus*'s Books, and an extract of *Charles Stephens*'s. This Extract imports, that, according to that Philosopher, Mankind had no beginning, and the Soul perisheth with the Body. This latter Doctrine is agreeable to his Notions, and *Cicero*, cited by *Charles Stephens*, ascribes it to *Dicæarchus*, as we have seen above (49): but I know not in what Author *Charles Stephens* found that; the other Doctrine was also taught by that Philosopher. If the Jesuit had been content with copying *Charles Stephens*, he would not have committed such a gross mistake, he would not have charged him with believing, that the *Dicæarchus*, who held those ill Opinions, was not the *Messinian* (50); for *Charles Stephens* plainly ascribes them to that *Dicæarchus*. It is true, by a most gross Error, he imagines that *Dicæarchus*, Native of *Messana*, and Disciple of *Aristotle*, is not *Dicæarchus*, the *Messinian*, which the Jesuit ought to have reproved him for.

[L] I shall examine some Objections . . . concerning his Opinion of the Nature of the Soul. The Author of those Objections begins by explaining the System of our Philosopher. He pretends that *Dicæarchus*'s meaning is, that living Bodies differ only from Bodies void of Life, in this, that their parts are figured and disposed after a certain Manner: he compares this Opinion with that of *Des Cartes* thus. If a Dog differs from a Stone, it is not that he is composed of a Body and a Soul, while the Stone is only Body; but it is solely in this, that he is composed of Parts

(46) *Cicero de Divinat.* lib. 2, fol. 320. B.

(47) *Id. ib. C.*

(48) *Laëtant.* *Divinat. Instit.* lib. 7, cap. 8. See also cap. 72 and 13.

(49) *Rem. [C].*

(50) Qui tamen *Dicæarchum* talis opinionem aliam fuisse à *Dicæarcho nostro opinatur. Hier. Ragusa*, pag. 94.

me an Opportunity to say something of a Dispute which has made a great Noise in England [M].

ranged after such a manner as to form a Machine; which the ranging of the Particles of a Stone does not. This is the Opinion of Mr *Des Cartes*. This Idea is very proper to make us understand the Opinion of *Dicæarchus*: We are only to suppose that he extended to all sorts of living Bodies, what the *Cartesians* say only with respect to Beasts: We are only to suppose that he reduces Man to the Condition of a Machine; from whence it will follow that the human Soul is not distinct from the Body, but that it is only a machinal Construction and Disposition of several parts of Matter. This being supposed, the Author of the Objections pretends that the difficulty I have started is so far from being considered as invincible, that it does not in the least affect the System of *Dicæarchus*. I affirmed that *Dicæarchus* either did not know what he said, or that he was obliged to maintain, that the Virtue, which he made the Soul to consist of, always accompanied the Body: he answers that he was obliged only to maintain that it always accompanies the living Body; he adds, that if I had always joined together these two Terms, *Body* and *living*, my Consequence might have been entirely admitted by *Dicæarchus*, and so would have done no injury to his System: he pretends then that *Dicæarchus* may deny that, because the Soul is a Virtue of living Bodies, it therefore follows that this Virtue is found in dead Bodies; for if it does consist in nothing but the machinal Disposition of certain Bodies, as he supposes, it evidently follows that it ought to cease as soon as that Disposition ceases, as soon as the machine is dissolved. Thus, continues he, a *Cartesian* would answer those who should maintain, that according to his Hypothesis the Souls of Beasts subsist even after they are killed: you are mistaken, would he say, for, since I suppose that it consists only in a certain Disposition of the Organs, I must necessarily suppose that it perishes as soon as that Disposition is destroyed. The Author of the Objections supposes, that it was never concluded against the *Cartesians*, that the Virtue of Sensation does not cease in dead Bodies, and that the Parts of living Bodies preserve in themselves their Life and Soul when they are corrupted. It is certain this Consequence is not objected to the *Cartesians*, but it is because they attribute no Sensation to the Soul of Brutes; for if they made it sensitive, the same difficulties, that I have objected to *Dicæarchus*, would fall upon them, and they would be obliged as well as he to obviate them. Lastly, he objects that what I have said, that all the Modifications we know of do not cease to be, but by making room for other Modifications of the same kind, from whence it follows that a Body, which once has had Sensations, will always continue to have them; he objects, I say, that *Dicæarchus* is little concerned in this, for he never attributed Life to matter, till after the requisite Modification to make it a living Body, to wit, by the various disposition of it's Parts; so that I had no right to make him ascribe Life to any part of matter after it's Dissolution, though, before and after, it is Body, but not living Body. This is the Conclusion of the Author of the Objections. Note, he does not enter the Lists in defence of the Doctrine itself of *Dicæarchus*. He acknowledges the Falseness and Impiety of it. His design is only to shew that I was in the wrong to charge him with Inconsistency, and that the System was justly connected together, although the Philosopher did not admit of Sensation, and an unperishable Life, in Bodies that had been once alive.

You see here the full state of the Question: the Question is to know, whether a Philosopher, who believes that there are Bodies who think, and Bodies that do not think, reasons consistently: I say he does not, and that whoever once admits that, for example, a Collection of Bones and Nerves, feels and reasons, ought to maintain, on Pain of being declared guilty of not knowing what he says, that every other System of Matter thinks, and that Thinking, which did subsist in a Combination of Matter, does still subsist under other Modifications in the separated Parts, after the Dissolution of that Combination. I shall not repeat the proofs I have already given upon this Subject; nor is it necessary to strengthen them, for the Author of the Objections has not attacked them. He has only observed that *Dicæarchus* ought not to trouble himself about it, considering he has declared that Matter does not begin to live till

VOL. II.

after a certain Disposition of it's Parts. But it is chiefly upon this very thing that I would charge him with not knowing what he said: he did not mean merely, by Life, breathing, eating, walking. He meant all the Operations of a Man; the Action of the five external Senses; the Imagination, Reflexion, Reasoning, &c. I maintain that he supposes what has hitherto been inconceivable to all Mankind, if he supposes that the sole Disposition of the Organs of a human Body should cause a Substance to become thinking, that never thought before. All that the Disposition of these Organs can do, is confined to local Motion, variously modified, as in a Clock; all the difference being only from more to less. But as the ranging of the several Wheels, which compose a Clock, would signify nothing to produce the effects of that Machine, if each Wheel, before it was placed after a certain Method, had not actually an impenetrable extension, the necessary Cause of Motion, as soon as it was pushed forward with a certain Degree of force: so I say also, the ranging of the Organs of a Man's body would be of no Service to produce Thought, if each Organ, before it was fixed in it's place, had not actually the faculty of thinking. Now this faculty is quite another thing from impenetrable Extension; for all you can do to this Extension by pulling, striking, or pushing it all manner of ways, is a change of Situation, the whole Nature and Essence of which you can fully conceive, without having recourse to any Sensation, and even when you deny there is any Sensation in it. There have been some great Genius's, who have shewed themselves a little too slow of Heart to believe the Distinction of the Soul of Man from the Body; but no Body that I know of ever dared hitherto to say that he clearly conceived, that, in order to make a substance pass from the privation of all thought to actual thinking, it was sufficient to put it into Motion (51), so that this change of Situation was, for instance, a sense of Joy, an Affirmation, an Idea of moral Virtue, &c. and tho' some should boast that they had a clear Conception of it, they would not deserve to be credited, and we might apply to them a Passage of *Aristotle* that I have quoted in another place (52). What an absurdity would it be to maintain that there are two species of Colour, one which is the Object of sight, and no more, and the other the Object both of sight and smell. It is yet more absurd to maintain that there are two Species of Roundness, one which consists merely in the parts of the Circumference of a body being equally distant from the Centre, the other, which together with that is also an Act by which the round body perceives that it exists, and fees round about it several other Bodies. It is the same absurdity to assert that there are two kinds of circular Motion, one which is nothing else but the change of Situation upon a line, the parts of which are equally distant from the Centre, the other, which together with this is an Act of Love to God, of Fear, Hope, &c. What I have said of Roundness, with respect to Vision, may be applied to all sorts of Figures, with respect to all kinds of Thought; and what I have said of circular Motion is equally strong, with respect to all other lines in which a Body can move, slowly or swiftly: and therefore we ought to conclude, that Thought is distinct from all the Modifications of Body that are come to our Knowledge, since it is distinct from all Figure, and from all change of Situation: but this not being the Question here, I shall content my self with concluding that *Dicæarchus*, in order to argue consistently, ought to have admitted that every System of Matter is endued with the faculty of thinking; for without that it was absurd to pretend that provided several Veins, Arteries, &c. were placed one by another as the different parts of a Machine, it would produce the Sensations of Colour, Taste, Sound, Smell, Cold, Heat, Love, Hatred, Affirmation, Negation, &c. See the Margin (53).

[M] This will give me an Opportunity to say a word upon a dispute which has made much Noise in England. Methinks if I had plainly and absolutely affirmed, that no body had hitherto boasted of having a clear Idea of a Modification of Matter, which is an Act of Sensation, I should not have proceeded with Rashness; for I see in the News from the Republic of Letters, that Mr *Locke*, one of the profoundest Metaphysicians in the World, confesses ingenuously that a Body, endowed with

(51) Note, The Peripatetics in ascribing Thought to Beasts do not ascribe this Power to Matter, but to a substantial Form, which, according to them, is neither Matter nor Body; and which is produced anew in Matter, without being composed of Matter. So that they agree Matter never acquires Sensation or Knowledge.

(52) In the Article ARRIA-GA, Citat. (8).

(53) He believed that the Soul was the Harmony of the four Elements, *Plat. de Plac. Phil. lib. 4. cap. 2.* He ought then to believe, that all mixt Bodies have a Soul. For the four Elements must needs be reduced there to Harmony. But is it not as absurd to suppose, that the Harmony of the four Elements produces Thought, as to suppose that a certain Consort of Music should be a Sound that is conscious of itself, and should know the neighbouring Objects.

8 E

with Thought is an incomprehensible thing. And observe he makes this Confession in answer to an Objection, founded upon this Incomprehensibility. It was therefore very much his Interest to deny the Foundation of this Objection, from whence it must be concluded that this Confession was very sincere, and an effect of the Power of Truth, and a proof that all his utmost endeavours to comprehend the Union of Thought with a material Substance were fruitless. Now since so great a Man confesses this, is it not probable that never any Person durst boast to comprehend such an Union? This would be too general, if I added nothing more to it. Let it be observed then, that the Question, whether the Soul of Man is distinct from Matter, is part of the famous dispute between *Dr Stillingfleet* (54) and *Mr Locke*: the former maintained that Matter is incapable of thinking, and thereby became the Defender of a fundamental Article of Philosophical Orthodoxy. Among other Arguments he makes use of this, *That it cannot be conceived how Matter can think* (55). *Mr Locke* confesses the Truth of this Principle, and contents himself with denying the Consequence; for he pretends that God can do things which are incomprehensible to human Understanding, and therefore, because Man cannot comprehend, that a Portion of Matter can acquire the faculty of thinking, it does not follow that God, who is Almighty, 'cannot give if he pleases some degrees of Sense, Perception, and Thought, to certain Collections of created Matter, combined together as he thinks proper' (56). 'All the difficulties that are raised, says he (57), against the possibility of there being thinking Matter, derived from our ignorance, or the narrow Limits of our Conceptions, do not in the least affect the Power of God, if he pleases to communicate to Matter the faculty of thinking, and they do not prove that he has not actually communicated such a faculty to certain parts of Matter disposed as he thought fit, till it can be made out that it is a Contradiction to suppose such a thing.' This is a formal Confession of the Incomprehensibility of the thing, and a recourse to the Almighty Power of God, for Effects which are beyond the limits of our Understandings. It is much after the same manner that the Schoolmen suppose an

Obediential Power in the Creatures, whereby God might, if he would, raise them to any State whatsoever. A Stone might become capable of the beatific Vision, and a drop of Water capable of washing away all the pollution of Original Sin. Note, That in order to confute this Obediential Power of Matter, with Respect to Knowledge, one might make use of an Argument, which it does not appear (58) that *Dr Stillingfleet* has made use of. That Argument always seemed to me very proper to shew the impossibility of joining Thought, and the three Dimensions, together in the same Subject. You will find the Particulars of this proof in the Book I quote (59). A passionate Divine, arguing against the Abbot *de Dangeau*, who had urged this Argument, criticized him as well as he could; but he only talked impertinently (60).

Consider well my expression of *Philosophical Orthodoxy*; for I do not pretend that, with respect to Theological, Evangelical, or Christian Orthodoxy, *Dr Stillingfleet* is superior to *Mr Locke*. To affirm that because the Soul of Man thinks, it is therefore immaterial, is, I think, right Reasoning, and is also establishing a most solid Foundation of the Immortality of our Souls, a Doctrine which ought to be considered as one of the most important Articles of true Philosophy; but this Truth, as it is grounded upon such a Principle, does not belong to Christian Theology. A Christian Divine, every Christian in general, as a Christian, believes the Immortality of the Soul, Heaven, Hell, &c. because these are Truths which God has revealed to us. It is upon this account only that his Faith is a true Act of Religion, a meritorious Act (61), acceptable to God, the State of a Child of God, and of a Disciple of Jesus Christ; and those who should believe the Immortality of the Soul, purely upon those Philosophical Ideas, which their Reason furnishes them with, would be no farther advanced in the Kingdom of God, than those who believe that the Whole is greater than its Part. Therefore since *Mr Locke* founds his Belief of the Immortality of the Soul upon the Scripture, he has as much Christian, Evangelical, and Theological Orthodoxy, as he can have. What he says upon this Subject is admirable (62). I shall probably cite it in some other place (63).

(58) In the *Extraits of the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Novemb. 1699, Art. 1.

(59) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, August, 1684, Art. VI.

(60) *Ibid.* Janu. 1685, pag. 12.

(61) I speak here upon the Hypothesis of the Merit of Works.

(62) See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Novemb. 1699, pag. 512, and the Book intitled, *Portiana*, pag. 388, and following.

(63) In the last Remark of the Article PERROT (Nicolas Sieur d'Abancourt).

(54) One of the most learned Men in Europe; he died Bishop of Worcester, in 1699.

(55) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Novemb. 1699, pag. 500.

(56) *Ibid.* pag. 497.

(57) *Ibid.* pag. 500.

(a) Taken from Polyb. Histor. lib. 17, cap. 35, pag. m. 705.

DICEARCHUS, Commander of the Fleet which *Philip*, the last King of *Macedon* but one, fitted out, to attack, contrary to all Right and Justice, the Islands *Cyclades*. He began this unjust Enterprize by a most abominable Action; for, as if he would, at the same time, have terrified both Gods and Men, he was no sooner in a Condition to sail, than he erected two Altars, one to Impiety, and the other to Injustice, upon which he celebrated the very same Divine Service, and paid the same Homage to those two Crimes, as he would have done to the Gods. *Polybius*, if we had him entire, would have informed us of the Success of this War, and the Sequel of *Dicearchus's* Actions: the Fragments we have remaining of that Author only let us know, that this impious Wretch, engaging in a Conspiracy, expired under the Torture (a).

DIEU (LEWIS DE), Minister of *Leyden*, and Professor in the *Walloon College*, in the same City, was a very able Man, and very well versed in the Oriental Languages. He was born the seventh of April 1590, at *Flushing*, where his Father DANIEL DE DIEU, a Man of Merit and Quality [A], exercised the holy Ministry. He studied under *Daniel Colonius*, his maternal Uncle, who was Professor at *Leyden*, in the

[A] His Father DANIEL DE DIEU was a Man of Merit and Fortune. He was a Native of *Brussels*, and had been a Minister there twenty two Years: from thence he removed to serve the Church at *Flushing*, after the Duke of *Parma* had taken *Brussels* (1). He understood Greek, and the Oriental Languages, and could preach with great Applause in High Dutch, Italian, French, and English. He was much beloved by *Sainte Aldegonde*. The *Netherland Churches* sent him with some other Ministers, in 1588, to Queen *Elizabeth* to inform her of the Intrigues of the Duke of *Parma*, who secretly amused her with Proposals of Peace, whilst the King of *Spain* was fitting out a powerful Fleet against *England*. LEWIS DE DIEU, the Father of *Daniel*, was a long time Domestic to *Charles V.*, and obtained Patents of Nobility for himself and his Posterity, as a Reward for his Services. He embraced the Reformation, and died in that Persuasion, so that his Friends were obliged to conceal his Body for six Weeks at *Brussels*, and then

removed it to *Antwerp*, where it was interred by Night. He had married the Daughter of *Peter van Ceulen*, better known under the Name of *Colonius*, which his Schoolmaster gave him. This *Colonius* (2) insinuated himself into the favour of *Robert Stephens*, who advised him to go to *Geneva*, where he was recommended to *Calvin*, who instructed him in his Opinions, and exhorted him to study Divinity. He devoted himself to the Ministry, and performed the first Functions of it at *Metz*, where the Baron de *Clermont* had procured a new Church to be built. *Francis de Beaucaire*, Bishop of *Metz*, wrote a Book full of Reflections upon the Ministers and their Doctrine. *Colonius* vigorously confuted him in a few words. This Answer was published at *Geneva* in 1566. He was persecuted by the Catholics of *Metz*, and kept some time in Prison: and when that Church was ruined by the Persecution, and the Temple demolished in the King's Presence, he retired into the *Palatinate* with *John Tufsin* his Colleague. They were both Ministers at *Heidelberg*:

(a) See his Article under the Word COLOGNE.

the Walloon College. He was for four Years Minister of the French Church at Middleburg [B]. He might have succeeded Uytenbogard, who had been the Court-Minister at the Hague [C]; but his natural Aversion to the Manners of a Court would not allow him to comply with the Desires of Prince Maurice in this Matter. He was called to Leyden, in the Year 1619, to teach, together with his Uncle Colonius, in the Walloon College; and he diligently discharged that Office 'till his Death, which happened in the Year 1642. He published a Commentary upon the four Gospels [D], and Notes upon the Acts of the Apostles, and upon the Apocalypse of St John, which he printed in Hebrew and Syriac [E], with a Latin Version (a). I shall give an Account of his other Books in the Remark [F]. He refused the Employment that was offered him of Divinity-Professor in the new University of Utrecht, and if he had lived long enough he would have had the same Post in that of Leyden (b). He married the Daughter of Henry Rogard, Counsellor of Flushing, by whom he had eleven Children, one of which practised Physic at Leyden (c), and afterwards at Amsterdam; and another studied Divinity, and was Minister at Woubrugge. The Physician left two Sons; one follows his Father's Profession at Amsterdam, and the other studies the Civil-Law (d).

(a) Ex Epistola
Dedicatoria &
Præfatione novæ
Editionis, 1693.

(b) Leydeckerus,
Præf. Aphorismi
Lud. de Dieu.

(c) Ex Oratione
Funebris.

(d) Ex Epist.
Dedicator. novæ
Edit. 1693.

(3) Ex Oratione
Funebris Ludov.
de Dieu.

(4) Aphorismi
Theologici Lud.
de Dieu, cum
Præfatione Mel-
chioris Leydeckeri.

(5) Melchior.
Leydeckerus
Præf. Aphorismorum
Theologicorum Lud.
de Dieu, ex Con-
cione Funebris
Lud. de Dieu,
habita Belgice ab
Abrahamo Hei-
dano.

(6) Leydecker.
ibid.

(7) This is a re-
markable Fact,
and I believe un-
known to all
those who have
writ of Calvin,
no Body that I
know of having
observed that he
travelled into
England.

(8) Leydeckerus
Præf. Aphorismorum
Theologicorum
Lud. de Dieu,
ex Concione
Fun. Lud. de
Dieu.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) In Præf.

berg: Tassin preached in French, and Colonius in German. The latter died young, and left a Son named Daniel Colonius, who was Minister and Principal of the Walloon College at Leyden (3). I have already said, that the Sister of Daniel Colonius was the Mother of Lewis de Dieu. A Book (4) lately fell into my hands which obliges me to add something to this Remark. I find there that Lewis de Dieu, the Grandfather of him, that is the Subject of this Article, accompanied Charles V, his Master, in his Expeditions into Africa and Germany; and did not conceal from him his being a Protestant. Only the Emperor advised him to take care of himself, for it would not be in his Power to screen him from the Inquisition (5). Lewis de Dieu was forced to conceal himself soon after the Abdication of Charles V; for that Prince was no longer able to secure him against the Hatred of the Jesuits (6). It is pretended that this honest Man was instructed by Calvin himself. He was going over to England, in Company with other young Men; Calvin, who was also going over in the same Ship (7), represented to them that they ought not to swear at Cards: Lewis de Dieu was the only one that submitted to his reproach, the others laughed at it: for this Reason Calvin taking his Opportunity, when he was alone with him, spoke to him of God, and converted him so effectually, that the young Man wrote to his Friends, that nothing should ever make him depart from the Faith of John Calvin (8). He devoted his Son Daniel to the Ministry. They also tell another Circumstance; That a certain Jesuit informed this Daniel that those of his Order were seeking for the dead Body of Lewis de Dieu, in order to hang it on a Gibbet: whereupon Daniel dug it up, and hid it. The Jesuit, who gave him the Information, offered to assist him in taking up and concealing the Corpse (9).

[B] He was four years Minister . . . at Middleburg. Mr Leydecker, Professor of Divinity at Utrecht (10), assures us that Lewis de Dieu, after he had been two years Minister of Flushing, went to Leyden in 1619. I have followed Polyander, Author of the funeral Oration; but I must inform my Reader, that it appears by the sequel of Polyander's discourse, that Lewis de Dieu was Minister of the Church of Flushing, and not of that of Middleburg.

[C] He might have succeeded Uytenbogard, who had been the Court-Minister at the Hague. Mr Leydecker mentions some Circumstances in this Affair, which deserve to be known. Prince Maurice, being in Zeland, heard Lewis de Dieu preach, who was then but a Student, and sent for him to Court some time after; the young Man modestly excused himself, declaring that he would satisfy his Conscience in the discharge of his Ministry, and freely censure what he thought deserved it, a Liberty which was not endured in a Court; moreover he thought the Post they offered him was fitter for a Man in Years than for a Student. His Modesty and Prudence were commended by Prince Maurice.

[D] He published a Commentary upon the four Evangelists. This was in 1631. His first care had been to examine the Latin Versions of the New Testament in Syriac, made by Tremellius and Guy le Fevre de la Boderie, and that of St Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew, by Munster and Mercerus. He found many Errors in these Versions. This put him upon examining the vulgar Version, those of Erasmus, and Theodorus Beza,

the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. He compared them one with another, and all of them with the Greek Text. He made no scruple of censuring Beza in what he thought deserved Censure, and he did justice to the Author of the vulgar Translation. 'Magnus vir fuit Beza, says he (11), eximie eruditionis, ac cœrissimi judicii; quique suis in Novum Testamentum laboribus nunquam laudatam satis operam Ecclesiis navavit, æternumque & supra invidiam nomen comparavit. Verum si Vulgatum quoque Interpretem, quisquis is tandem fuerit, doctum imo doctissimum virum fuisse asseram, non me peccasse judicavero. Suos habet, fœtor, nævos, habet & suos barbarismos. Sed quin passim ejus fidem judiciumque admirer, etiam ubi barbarus videatur, negare non possum . . . Beza was a Man of great Abilities, an extensive Knowledge, and a refined Judgment, whose Labours on the New Testament, for the service of Religion, can never be sufficiently commended, and which have gained him immortal Honour beyond the reach of Envy; and should I likewise say the Author of the Vulgate, whoever he be, was a very learned Man, I shall think I only do Justice. I own he has his failings, nor is he intirely free from Barbarisms, Yet even in them I cannot but admire his Fidelity and Judgment.' Mr Simon speaks well of Lewis de Dieu's Writings in the thirty fifth Chapter of his Critical History of the Commentators of the New Testament.

[E] He printed the Apocalypse in Hebrew and Syriac. This must be explained; it must not be imagined that he published two Apocalypses, one in the Hebrew Tongue, and the other in the Syriac. Lewis de Dieu only published the Apocalypse in Syriac, but he got one Impression made in Syriac Characters, and another in Hebrew Characters. Mr de la Roque, Minister at London (12), gave me this Information.

[F] I shall give an account of his other Books. He published, with learned Notes, the History of the Life of JESUS CHRIST, written in the Persian Language by the Jesuit Jerome Xavier, and he added to the Original a Latin Translation: he also published, with Notes, the History of St Peter written in the Persian Tongue. As to the two first Chapters of Genesis, translated into Persian by James Taivasus, he only published them with an Advertisement to the Reader. I say nothing of the Rudiments of the Hebrew, and Persian Tongues, which he published, nor of his Parallel of the Grammar of the Oriental Languages (13). After his Death, they printed his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, with a Collection of Observations on all the other Epistles of the Apostles, and a Commentary upon the Old Testament (14). His Treatise de Avaritia, his Rhetorica Sacra, and his Aphorismi Theologici (15), have appeared in the World by the care of Mr Leydecker. They reprinted at Amsterdam, in Folio, in 1693, his Observations upon the Scriptures, corrected and enlarged, together with the Apocalypse in Syriac. Note that Alegambe owns that Lewis de Dieu has faithfully translated Jerome Xavier's Book; but he charges him with annexing to it heretical Observations that deserve to be burnt; 'additis Animadversionibus hereticis & rogo dignis. Ceterum non infideliter textum interpretatus est, si nonnulla demas que fortasse codex ipse vitiata habuit.' Thus he expresses himself in the 189th Page of the Bibliothecæ of the Writers of his Order.

(11) Ibid.

(12) See, before, Citat. (30) of the Article COLOMIES.

(13) Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by Polyander.

(14) Witte in Diario Biograph.

(15) Those Aphorisms were printed at Utrecht, in 1693.

DIGBY (*Sir KENELM*), became very illustrious in the present Age, by his Virtue and Learning. He was descended from a very ancient Family in England. His Great-Grand-father, *Everard Digby*, accompanied with his six Brothers, fought bravely, at the Battle of *Bosworth*, for *Henry VII.*, against the Usurper *Richard III.* His Father, named also *Everard*, did not follow this Example of Loyalty; but suffered himself to be engaged in the Gunpowder-Plot against *James I.*, for which he lost his Head. His Son, the Subject of this Article, gloriously effaced this Blemish, and presently rendered himself so worthy of this Prince's Esteem, that he restored him to his Estate. He afterwards appeared with Splendour at Court, being no less beloved by *Charles*, than he had been by King *James*. *Charles I.* made him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, First Commissioner of the Navy, and Governor of the *Trinity-House*. He granted him Letters of Reprisals against the *Venetians*, by Virtue of which he took several Prizes from them, and with the small Fleet under his Command, made his way through the *Venetian Fleet*, near *Scanderoon*, and brought off his Booty. As he was all his Life a Lover of Learning, he attained to a very great Knowledge in Languages, and the Sciences, and became a good Philosopher. He translated several Authors into his Mother-Tongue, and in his Treatise of the Nature of Bodies, and the Immortality of the Soul, he has discovered an excellent Judgment, and a great Understanding. His particular Attachment to the Mathematics did not hinder him from a studious Enquiry into Chymical Secrets, in which he found out some excellent Remedies, which he freely gave away to all sorts of Persons, and especially to the poor. At *Montpellier* he made a public Discourse upon the Sympathetic Powder, which was published, and sold in great numbers. In the Year 1661 he published his Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul, upon which he had long Conferences with *Mr Des Cartes*. Those two Philosophers met at the College of *Bon Court*, at *Paris*. The principal Subject of their Conversation was the Nature and Condition of the Soul. And though they could not agree upon some Articles, yet they parted full of Esteem for each other. These were the least considerable Qualities of *Sir Kenelm Digby*. His Attachment to the Royal Family driven from the Throne of *England*, his two Embassies to *Innocent X.*, from the Queen, Widow of the unfortunate *Charles I.*, whose Chancellor he was, the Resolution with which he confessed to the Parliamentarians his being a Catholic, and his Courage in undergoing the Confiscation of his Estate, and Banishment on that Account, conspire to render him more illustrious. He retired into *France*, where he made himself beloved by all Men of Wit and Honour. Upon the Restoration of *Charles II.*, *Sir Kenelm Digby* returned to *London*, where he continued, till having been long troubled with the Stone, and perceiving his Kidneys ulcerated, he resolved to go back to *France*. He was carried in a Litter towards the Sea; but his Distemper increased upon him in such a manner, that they were forced to bring him back to *London*; he died at *London*, the eleventh of *March* (his Birth-day) 1665, in the sixtieth Year of his Age. He married the only Daughter of *Sir Edward Stanley*, Son of the Earl of *Derby*, by a Daughter of the Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom he had three Sons, the eldest of which was killed near *Brentford*, in an Engagement with the Rebels, and left no Children. The youngest died in his Infancy, the other Son left only two Daughters (a).

(a) Bullart. Acad. des Scien. Tom. II, p. 137, and following.

DIYLLUS, a Greek Historian, Native of *Athens*. I should not mention him, but to observe an Error of *Mr Moreri* [A].

[A] I speak of it only to observe an Error of *Moreri*. He assures us, that *Diyllus* began his History at the Place where *Ephorus* ended his: he is mistaken (1); but if this Circumstance were true, yet would he deserve to be blamed, since he gives his Reader the Trouble to go and seek where the History of *Ephorus* ends. In vain would he look for it where it is most natural to expect he should find it, I mean in the place where *Moreri* speaks of *Ephorus*; for he forgets to inform us of it there as well as here. But to pass over his Omissions, and say something of his Fault of Commission. He is the more inexcusable, as he is guilty of this Error, as I may say, under the Eye of *Vossius*, who pointed out so clearly what he ought to have said. *Vossius* (2) quotes two Passages, in one of which it is affirmed (3), that *Diyllus* had composed a History divided into Twenty seven Books, beginning at the taking of the Temple of *Delphi*, and containing the Transactions of those times in *Greece* and *Sicily*. The other Passage imports, that *Ephorus* finished his History at the Siege of *Perinthus*, and that *Diyllus* begins at

the same Siege the other part of his Work (4), and ends it at the Death of King *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*. It is therefore undeniable that *Diyllus*'s History reached from the Invasion of *Delphi* to the Death of *Philip*; that is to say, it began at the time that *Philomelus*, General of the *Phocians*, made himself Master of *Delphi*, towards the end of the CVth Olympiad, about the Year of *Rome* 337. The Siege of *Perinthus* falls in the second Year of the CIXth Olympiad, and the CCCCXth of *Rome*. *Moreri*'s Citations are false (5), and if he had considered well what the passage of *Athenæus*, quoted by *Vossius*, contains, he would not have advanced such a wrong Conjecture. *Diyllus*, according to *Athenæus*, speaks of *Demetrius Phalereus*; therefore he is not to be placed, as *Moreri* does, in the CCCCXth Year of *Rome*, since that *Demetrius* flourished after the Death of *Alexander*. For the rest, *Cassaubon* has happily restored in *Athenæus* the Citation of *Diyllus* (6), which made *Mausæus* do the same in *Harpocration*'s Dictionary (7).

(4) Διύλλος δ' Ἀθηναῖος τῆς δευτέρης συντάξεως ἀρχὴν πεποιμέναι τῆς ἑξῆς ἱστορίας τὴν τελευτὴν τὴν Διύλλου καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίου alterum opus exoritur inde ut Ephorus Historiam finierat. Id. ibid. cap. 47, pag. 795.

(5) He cites Diod. Siculus, Book 10; and Vossius, pag. 30.

(6) Cassaub. in Athen. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 281.

(7) In Voce Ἀπικύων.

(1) The learned *Reinsius* committed the same Error. See the Place where he speaks of *Diyllus*, in his *Varia Lectiones*.

(2) Voss. de Hist. Grec. pag. 360.

(3) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16, cap. 14, pag. m. 747.

(a) Lewis Gulicard, Descript. Belgii, pag. m. 507.

DINANT, a City in the *Netherlands*, upon the *Meuse*, between *Charlemont* and *Namur*. It's Situation near the Mines of Iron and Copper, and several Quarries of black Marble, and other sorts of Stones, enabled the Inhabitants to carry on a Trade that greatly enriched them (a); but they were divers times reduced to a miserable Condition by the Calamities of War: especially in the Year 1466, they suffered grievously,

grievously, as I have said elsewhere (b). An Italian Author has committed an Error which may mislead his speculative Readers [A]. This City was very ill treated by the French in the Year 1554. Count de Souches, General of the Imperial Troops, made himself Master of it in 1674. The next Year it was taken by the French. By the Treaty of Nimègue it was agreed, that, if they restored it, Spain should yield up Charlemont to them; and that, if Spain chose rather to keep Charlemont, it should obtain of the Bishop of Leige, that Dinant should be yielded to the French (c). This Cession not having been obtained, France got Charlemont delivered up, and kept Dinant till the Peace of Reswic, by Virtue of which this City returned to the Obedience of its first Master, the Bishop of Leige.

[A] An Italian Author has committed a fault which may mislead his speculative Readers.] A Monk, called Remigio Fiorentino, has writ a Political Discourse upon the misfortunes which may arise from the Infotence of those people who affront the Effigies of a Prince. He gives, for an Example among others, what Charles Duke of Burgundy did to the inhabitants of Dinant. Carlo Duca di Borgogna ultimo non ufo tanta e si memorabil crudeltà contra di Nantes, se non perche i Nantesi havevono fatto la statua sua e d'alcuni altri Gentiluomini suoi amici, e l'havono appiccate per la gola alle forche (1).—Charles, the last Duke of Burgundy, would not have practised such a remarkable Cruelty to Nantes, if the Inhabitants had not banged up his Effigies, and that of a Gentleman who was his Friend. It is plain he names Nantes for the City that did this, and was chastised for it (2). His mistake arises from taking the first Syllable of Dinant for an Article. Now as there is a City called Nantes, it is evident this mistake is likely enough to deceive the Reader: for if the State of Learning should be a thousand Years hence in the

same Condition it was in the XVth Century, there would be Critics who would pretend that it was at Nantes in Bretagny, and not at Dinant, upon the Meuse, that the Burgundian shewed himself so revengeful: they would boast of a discovery, that no Body had mentioned before, I mean of an Expedition of the last Duke of Burgundy against the Bretons. They would seek for the Time, the Cause, and the Circumstances of this War, and would find a great many things to support their Conjectures. In short, this would make a fine long Chapter of their *Adversaria, variae Lectiones & Emendationes, sive Racemationes*. Those, who have read this sort of Works, will agree with me that I argue from what is past to what is future. But not to pry into future Ages, let us content ourselves with the present. I am sure many perions have already been deceived by Remigio Fiorentino, or by those who deceived him. I doubt not but more than one Compiler will place Nantes among the Cities that have been ravaged for insulting the Statues of a Sovereign Prince.

(b) In the Article BURGUNDY (CHARLES Duke of) Remark [C].

(c) See the thirteenth Article of the Treaty of Nimègue, concluded between France and Spain, September 17, 1678.

(1) Remigio Fiorentino, Con sulatione Civili sopra l'Historie di Guicciardini e d'altri Historici, cap. 43, fol. m. 59.

(2) He says in the Margin: Carlo Duca di Borgogna gastica con severità la città di Nantes. . . . Charles, Duke of Burgundy severely chastised the City of Nantes. The same is to be found in the Table of Contents.

DINOTH (RICHARD), was of Coutances in Normandy, and lived in the XVth Century. Among other Latin Books he published the History of the Civil-Wars made upon account of Religion in France and the Low Countries [A]. There is no question but he was of the Protestant Communion, and I suppose he settled at Montbelliard, under the Character of a Refugee. He had made some stay at Strasbourg before that time (a). His Style is pretty moderate.

[A] He published, among other Latin Books, a History of the Civil-War . . . in France, and the Low Countries.] The Epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca (1) informs me, that they printed at Basil in 4to, in 1582, Richardi Dinoti de Bello Civili Gallico Religioni causa suscepto libri VI. The Oxford Catalogue mentions three other Books of Richard Dinot, viz. de Bello Civili Belgico libri VI, in 4to, at Basil in 1580; *Adversaria Historica*, in 4to, at Basil 1581; de Rebus & Factis memorabilibus Locis communes Hi-

storici, & Sententiæ Historicorum, in 8vo, at Basil in 1580. I know not whether this date of the History of the Civil-Wars of the Low Countries is right; for the Edition, I make use of, is of the Year 1586, and I have observed nothing in it to induce me to think it is the second Edition: the Author dedicates it to the Senate and Academy of Strasbourg, and dates the Epistle Dedicatory from Montbelliard, the eighteenth of August 1586.

(a) See his Epistle Dedicatory to the History of the Civil Wars in the Netherlands.

DIOGENES, the Cynic, was one of those extraordinary Men who are upon Extrems in every thing, without excepting Reason, and who verify this Maxim, That there is no great Wit without a Mixture of Folly. He was born at Sinope, a Town in Pontus, and expelled from it for the Crime of coining false Money (a). His Father (b), who was a Banker, was banished for the same Crime. Diogenes retired to Athens, and by his great Perseverance prevailed upon the Philosopher Antisthenes to become his Master [A] (c). He not only gladly submitted to that kind of Life, which was peculiar to the Followers of that Founder of the Cynics, but also added new Degrees of Austerity to it; so that there never was a Philosopher who did so much despise the Conveniences of Life. It were a Mistake to think, that with his Staff and Waller, and the

(b) His Name was Iseus. Some said that he died in Prison, and that his Son made his Escape before the Judges gave Sentence against him. Diog. Laert. ib.

(c) Id. ib. n. 21. Aelianus, Var. Hist. lib. 10, cap. 16.

[A] By his great Perseverance he prevailed upon the Philosopher Antisthenes to become his Master.] A very learned Man, who mentions this, has committed a great Fault in Chronology. These are his Words: (1): 'It is reported of the same Diogenes, that the Philosopher Antisthenes, the Founder of the Sect of the Cynics, his Master, having turned Socrates's Disciple, and accordingly dismissed all his Scholars, Diogenes would not leave him; whereupon Antisthenes, being angry with him, took a Cudgel to turn him out: But Diogenes was not frightened at it: he bent his Head to receive the Blow, and said, 'There is no Stick, tho' ever so hard, but I can bear, to learn some good things of you.' Socrates died the first Year of the XCVth Olympiad; and the Death of Diogenes ought to be placed in the same Year with that of Alexander the Great, or a few Years after (2).

But that Prince died the last Year of the CXIIIth Olympiad, according to Eusebius; or the first Year of the CXIVth, according to Petavius. We may therefore suppose, that Diogenes died the third Year of the CXIVth Olympiad: and therefore, since he died being about ninety Years old, he was born the first Year of the XCIIId Olympiad: and therefore he was only about twelve Years of Age when Socrates died, and so could not have been turned out of Antisthenes's School, for the Reason alledged by Mr Joly. If we should strictly keep to the Account of those, who say that Alexander and Diogenes died the same day, we may get some Years by it; but it will not remove the Difficulty: for we must remember, that Socrates's Trial lasted some time; but during the Proceedings against him, Antisthenes did not shut up his School to go to that of Socrates: this is plain.

8 F

Besides,

(1) Mr Joly, Avis Chrétiens, & Mœurs pour l'Institution des Enfants, pag. 4 & 5. He quotes no Body, but he might have quoted Aelian. Var. Hist. lib. 10, cap. 16, as to Diogenes's Answer after he had received a Blow with a Stick.

(2) See the Remark [H].

the Tub, which served him for a Dwelling [B], he was more humble than those who pamper themselves, and fare deliciously [C]. He looked upon every body with Scorn; he censured all Mankind magisterially; and doubtless thought himself much above all other Philosophers. One cannot help seeing something great in his Behaviour, if it be considered in a certain Sense; and it must have been so, since *Alexander the Great*, who was a good Judge, acknowledged the same [D]. We are not to trust to those who

Besides, *Diogenes* did not remove to *Athens* till after he had coined false Money in his own Country, and even exercised an Office in the Mint (3), and till he went to *Delphi* to consult the Oracle (4). How then can it be said, with any shew of Reason, that he was but fifteen or sixteen Years of Age, when he desired to be admitted among *Antisthenes's* Scholars at *Athens*?

(3) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 20.

(4) *Ibid.* n. 21.

[B] A Tub served him for a dwelling. He ordered somebody to prepare a Cell for him; but because his Order was not speedily performed, he grew impatient, and lodged himself in a Tub, that was in the Temple of the Mother of the Gods. This is what he himself said in one of his Letters (5). I with the Commentators upon *Diogenes Laërtius* had enquired, how he came to be permitted to appropriate to himself a thing that belonged to a Temple.

(5) *Ibid.* n. 23.

He had not always the same Tub: A young insolent Fellow broke the first in pieces, for which he was condemned to be whipped. The *Athenians*, who insisted that Punishment upon him, presented *Diogenes* with another Tub (6); which was, without doubt, different from that which he had at *Corinth*, where he lived when *Philip* King of *Macedonia* designed to attack that Place. All the Inhabitants worked hard on the Fortifications of the Town. *Diogenes*, being unwilling to be the only Man that should be idle, fell a rolling his Tub (7): From whence *Menage* infers, that this Tub was not made of Clay; but he owns at the same time, that a Tub made of Clay may be rolled without breaking to pieces.

(6) *Ibid.* n. 43.

(7) *Lucianus de de conscrib. Historia*, Tom. 1, pag. m. 659.

‘*Testaceum non fuisse Diogenis dolum, sed ligneum, illud convicerit, quod illud, ne otiosus esset, saepe verfaret; de quo est apud Lucianum in Libello Quomodo conscribenda sit historia. Quamquam testaceum dolum versari & circumagi potuit; in simeto, vel solo subacto, vel restitilibus agris, vel in aquato etiam pavimento; cum praesertim ampla illa & capacia dolia pro amplitudinis modo solida fuisse & spissa credibile sit*’ (8). — That *Diogenes's* Cask was not made of Potter's Ware, but of Wood, may be proved, by his often rolling it without any damage from Place to Place, that he might not be idle, which *Lucian* relates in his Treatise on writing History; tho' an earthen Cask might be rolled and removed in manured or tilled ground, or on a smooth Pavement, since those large and capacious Casks may probably have had a thickness and Solidity proportionate to the Size. He did not make this Remark without Reason: he had in view the Verses of a Latin Poet (9), who says, that Tub was made of Clay:

(8) *Menag. Not. ad Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 23, pag. 234.

(9) *Juven. Sat.* 14, ver. 308.

Dolia nudi
Non ardent Cynici: si frigeris, altera fiet
Cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
Sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
Magnum habitorem, quanto felicior (10) hic, qui
Nil cuperet, quam qui torum sibi posceret orbem.

(10) *Moret reads feliciter, and says, it is thought Juvenal designed these Verses in praise of Diogenes. The thing is undoubtedly certain; so that his it is thought is good for nothing.*

*The naked Cynic's Jar ne'er flames; if broken,
'Tis quickly fodder'd, or a new bespoken.
When Alexander first beheld the Face
Of the great Cynic in that narrow Space,
His own Condition thus he did lament;
How much more happy thou, that art content
To live within this little hole, than I,
Who after Empire that vain Quarry fly?*

D R Y D E N.

I should not think it strange, if any one should blame *Diogenes* for affecting so great a Poverty, as to desire no other Lodging than a Cask; but it is ridiculous to infer from it, that he was a Drunkard. Here follows a long train of Impertinences, which will not be so tiresome as the remainder of this Article.

As for *Diogenes* the Cynic, his name shews what he was; for it is as if one should say, *Diogenes* who lived like a Dog. This Spark pretended to be a Philosopher. And his most remarkable Actions are these. 1. He lived Night and Day in a Cask. Thus the Companions of *Aeneas* eat their Plates, having made an end of their Meat, *menfas consumimus* inquit *Iulus* (*Aeneid* lib. VII. v. 116.) in like manner, *Diogenes*, having drunk the Wine, made use of the Cask; that is, he loved it so well, that he was resolved to live in it. Thus an Old-woman in *Aristophanes* ordered that she should be buried in the Cellar, under a Cask, to wet her Bones. Thus Tipplers, when they have emptied the Bottle in a Tavern, make use of the Neck of it for a Candlestick, to play after eating. Thus *Buchanan*, in his last Sickness, would have a Hoghead of *Bordeaux* Wine set by his Bed-side, that he might give up the Ghost with the Smell of such a delicious Liquor (11). Thus *Betteau* the Fisherman, says *Ronsard*, would be buried in his Boat. Thus *Diogenes* lived Night and Day in his Cask, being, no doubt, very sorry that it was empty. Thus our pretended Wits live Night and Day in the Tavern (12). No Man did ever less deserve to be called a Toss-pot than *Diogenes*. He thought it very strange that those who are thirstily do not drink at the first Spring they meet with; they seemed to him more unreasonable than Beasts, and the River Water was the only Remedy he wanted to quench his Thirst. ‘*Ἡδίων ἔπινα τὸ πρῶτον ὕδατος, ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸν ἄριστον εἶνον. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ δὲ τὸν ὕδατος διδόντα τὰς μὲν κρήνας παρερχομένων. Ζητήσαντες δὲ ὅπισθεν πάντας ὥρῃσαντο χεῖρον ἢ λίαν. καὶ πολλὸν ἔρασκον ἀπορροεῖν εἶναι τῶν βοσκημάτων. Jucundius bibit fluentem aquam quam alii vinum Thasum. Deridebat autem eos qui quum sitirent, praeferrent fontes, quarenterentque unde omnino emerent Chium vel Lesbium, & multo hos dicebat esse insipientiores jumentis*’ (13). — He drank with more Pleasure the running Water, than others the most delicious Wines; and laughed at those who, being thirsty, passed by a Fountain, and sought for Chian and Lesbian Wine, saying they had not near so much sense as Brutes. But after all, it is not certain that he had no other Lodging than a Cask. Being asked one day, *Who shall bury you when you die, since you have neither a Man nor a Maid?* he answered (14), *Any one who wants a House: Which supposes that he had a House.*

(11) See the Remark [D] of the Article BUCHANAN.

(12) *Gossie, Doct. Curienae*, pag. 134, 135.

(13) *Dio Chrys. Orat.* 6, pag. 39.

(14) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 52.

[C] It must not be thought that he was more humble than those who pamper themselves, and fare deliciously. He said that all the Curies of the Stage had fallen upon him, since he was a Vagrant, had no Country, nor House to dwell in, a Beggar, ill clothed, and one that lived from Hand to Mouth. And yet, says the Historian, he took as much Pride in those things, as *Alexander* could do in the Conquest of the World. *Διογένης ὁ Σινωπεὺς συνεχῶς ἐπέλεγεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὰς ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας ἀπὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκπληροῖ, καὶ ὑπομένει. εἶναι γὰρ πλάνους, ἀοικον, πατρίδα ἐσχημένον, πτωχόν, δυσέμουν, βίον ἔχον τὸν ἐρήμειον, καὶ ὅμως ἐπὶ τέτοις μέγα εὐφρονεῖ ἔδεν ἥτιον, ἢ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρχῇ, ὅτε καὶ Ἰνδὸς ἐλθὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ὑπέσπευεν. Diogenes Sinopensis de seipso dicere solitus est, se implere & ferre tragicas exco-rationes. Nam errantem se esse, domo & patria carere, mendicum agere, male vestiri, & in diem vivere. Nihilominus tamen in his sibi non minus placebat, quam Alexander in terrarum orbis imperio, quam subactis Indis in Babylonem reverteretur* (15).

[D] *Alexander the Great* found something great in his behaviour. That Prince must have found something great in that Philosopher, since he said that, if he was not *Alexander*, he would be *Diogenes* (16). I do not wonder that he admired a Man, who, though he might have obtained great Advantages from him, would ask him nothing, and even bad him, without any

(15) *Aelian. Var. Hist.* lib. 2, cap. 29.

(16) *Plot. in Alex.* pag. 67.

who criticize *Alexander* upon this Head [E], nor to those who blame that Philosopher's Behaviour towards that Prince [F]. Some are of Opinion, that there are Contradictions in

(17) Id. ib. Val. Max. lib. 4, cap. 3, sub fin. Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 38.

(18) Plut. ubi supra.

(19) Plut. ubi supra, etiam de Fortun. vel Virtute Alex. pag. 331.

(20) Seneca de Benefic. lib. 5, cap. 6.

(21) Id. ibid. cap. 4.

(22) Plut. ubi supra.

(23) He says, lib. 6, n. 60, that Alexander came unexpectedly to Diogenes, and told him, I am the Great King Alexander. Εὖναι αὖτις Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς. And I am Diogenes the Dog, replied the Philosopher, καὶ γὰρ Φύλαξ Διογένης ὁ κύων. Which is to suppose, that Alexander had then vanquished Darius; for when he saw Diogenes, he was only King of Macedonia, and it did not belong to him to stile himself the Great King.

(24) Balzac, Socrat. Chretien. pag. 243.

any Complement or Ceremony, to stand off, and not keep the Sun from him (17). Can a Prince, who is daily beset with craving People, and who, notwithstanding his great Power, is not in a capacity to satisfy them all, forbear admiring a private Man, who refuses the Riches that are offered him? Statesmen and Philosophers flocked to *Alexander* from all Parts (18): every body was fond to make his Court to him: *Diogenes* was the only Man who did not stir out of his Place. *Alexander*, who expected he should come to him, was obliged to give him a Visit: such an Indifference appeared uncommon to him, and he admired the greatness of Soul which that Philosopher expressed by his Answer. Λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ διατρίβειν καὶ θανάτῳ καταφρονεῖν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ. Peribetur in tantum permotus *Alexander* fuisse & obsequisse contemptus despicientiam hominis & animi celsitudinem ut, &c (19). *Seneca* is in the right when he says, that upon this occasion *Alexander* was overcome by a meer private Man. 'Eadem re gloriari Socrates potuit, eadem *Diogenes* a quo victus est (*Alexander*). Quid ni victus fit illo die quo homo supra mensuram humanæ superbæ tumens, vidit aliquem cui nec dare quidquam posset nec eripere (20). — In the same thing might *Socrates* glory, in the same might *Diogenes*, by whom he (*Alexander*) was conquered. For what could be said of a Man, who, elate with Pride, that day fancied himself a God, yet saw one to whom he could give nothing, and from whom he could take nothing away, but that he was conquered? It plainly appears from these Words, that *Seneca* believed *Alexander* discoursed with *Diogenes* after the Conquest of *Persia*, and when that Prince, dazzled with the Lustre of his Fortune, would be called a God. But if any one should think that this Opinion of *Seneca* is not clearly contained in those Words, he needs only read the following Passage. 'Necesse est à Socrate beneficio vincari: necesse est à *Diogene*, qui per medias Macedonum gazas nudus incessit, calcatis regis opibus. Nonne ille tunc merito & sibi & ceteris, quibus ad despiciendum veritatem non erat offensa caligo, supra eum eminere visus est, infra quem omnia jacebant? Multo potentior, multo locupletior fuit, omnia tunc possidente *Alexandro*. Plus enim erat, quod hic nollet accipere, quam quod ille posset dare (21). — I must submit to *Socrates*, and to *Diogenes* also in Generosity, who walked naked through the Macedonian Wealth, treading under his Feet the Royal Treasures. Might he not seem to himself, and to the rest, whose Eyes were not dimmed to that degree, that they were incapable of seeing Truth, to look down on him, who had all things under him? He was much more powerful and wealthy than *Alexander* who had every thing. For there was more which the one would have refused, than the other could have given.' Here is an instance of those Mistakes that are committed for want of Attention. Every body knows, I. That *Alexander* never returned into *Greece* after he went into *Asia*. II. That *Diogenes* continued in *Greece* whilst *Alexander* was subduing *Asia*: and therefore *Seneca* has confounded times here for want of Attention, and because he was too intent upon his Antitheses. It is certain that *Alexander* and *Diogenes* discoursed together before the *Persian* War. *Alexander* saw that Cynic at *Corinth*, when he was declared Captain-General of all *Greece* to make War with *Darius* (22). *Diogenes* *Laërtius* seems to be guilty of the same Anachronism (23).

[E] We are not to trust those who criticize *Alexander* upon that head. 'If *Alexander* had not been *Alexander*, he would have been *Diogenes*: so true it is that an honest Poverty will be esteemed even by the greatest Princes.' These words are to be found in a Sermon which *Balzac* criticized. His Censure upon them runs thus (24). 'The Preacher thought this a very good saying; but I think it a very bad one: for in truth what is it to be *Diogenes*? I will tell you what it is, translating the Greek Text, without adding any thing of my own. To be *Diogenes*, is to violate the Laws and Customs established; to be deprived of all Shame and Modesty; to know neither Relations, nor Guests, nor Friends; to be continually barking at or biting People; to

eat a raw Sole or bloody Meat in a full Market; to be guilty of still more filthy Actions in every body's sight. Actions which cannot be performed with too great secrecy and retirement. This it is to be *Diogenes*, and what *Alexander* wished to be, had he not been *Alexander*! The Disciple of *Aristotle* could not have uttered a worse thing, and the Preacher could not have said any thing more disobliging to those whom he intended to praise, than by using a Comparison that is so odious, at least to those who are not unacquainted with good Books.' *Balzac* criticizes two Persons here, *Alexander* and the Preacher: The latter seems to deserve the Censure put upon him; for those who praise the Monks for their begging, should take all possible care to prevent the Reader's thinking on the Cynic Philosophers. As for *Alexander*, I maintain that he is unjustly censured, as it will appear from these Words of *Cæsar* (25): 'Do you think, Sir, that *Balzac* has fully apprehended *Alexander*'s Meaning? That Conqueror was ignorant of this Definition of *Diogenes*, and desired only to be like him in what he had then observed in that Philosopher, which was a very great Contempt of the most shining and glorious things of this World. He offered him his Riches and his Protection; and the only Favour That ragged wild Man desired of him was, that he would stand out of his Sun; as if he had meant, Do not deprive me of the good Things of Nature, and I leave you those of Fortune, which I think below my care. *Alexander* was very sensible of the Firmness of so noble a Soul; and turning to the Lords of his Court, told them, Do not laugh at that Man: if I was not what I am, I would be what he is; that is, if I was not in possession of all manner of Wealth and Glory, I would think myself happy in despising them, as that Philosopher does. Notwithstanding what *Balzac* says to the contrary, this is certainly a delicate and fine Thought for a Disciple of *Aristotle*. A Man of never so little Judgment must needs perceive that *Cæsar* is in the right, and that *Balzac*'s Criticism is very false. *Plutarch*'s Paraphrase upon that Saying of *Alexander* is worth reading (26).

[F] Nor to those who blame that Philosopher's Behaviour towards that Prince. 'He was so brutish, that when *Alexander*, who went to see him in his Tub, asked him a Question, he answered him just as *Brusquet* (27) used to speak to the King; who making a wry Face, and showing him, *Alexander*, said he, art thou not afraid that I should bite thee, for I am a mad Dog; that is, I am enraged against thy Luxury, thy Excesses, and thy insolent Majesty. And then, being asked by some in *Alexander*'s Retinue, who laughed at him as if he had been the Fool of a Play, Whether he had ever seen any good and wise Princes, he fell a laughing, and said, in a bantering way, ἐς κολαίων ἀετομένων, I have seen as many as there are Crows and May-bugs in the Spring. Such was the Wit and Civility of that Man, who deserved to be exemplarily punished (28). There are many things to be censured in these words besides that which Prior *Ogier* censured (29). I. *Alexander* did not go to *Diogenes* to divert himself; it was a serious Visit. II. When a Man acts honestly, he does not relate things as he finds them in Books of no Authority; he takes them out of grave and credible Writers, as those are, with respect to this Visit, who have writ the Life of that great Prince, or that of *Diogenes*. But what has *Father Garasse* done? he has wholly suppressed *Plutarch*'s and *Laërtius*'s Narrative, and given a quite different one, without saying from whom he had it (30). III. Nothing can be more absurd, than to alledge this Visit of *Alexander*, in order to cast a Blot upon the Memory of *Diogenes*; for every body knows that Prince conceived a great Admiration for him; and whoever thinks of such an Admirer, will be more inclined to admire *Diogenes* than to despise him: and therefore, though *Garasse* took care not to mention what *Alexander* said upon that Occasion, he acted the part of a wretched Orator; for he put his Readers in the way of remembering a thing quite contrary to his design.

If any one desires to see an Answer to *Garasse*'s Investigations against *Diogenes*, let him read *la Motte le Vayer*. One of our Writers, says he (31), was so unjust (I will

(25) Cæsar, Suite de la Défense de Voiture, pag. 39.

(26) Plut. de Fortuna vel Virtute Alexandri, Orat. 1, circa fin. pag. m. 331, 332.

(27) He was the King's Jester.

(28) Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 135.

(29) He laughed at Garasse, for his Ignorance, who did not know that every body was Thoud in *Greece*, and that therefore *Diogenes* did not Thoud *Alexander* out of Incivility. Censure de la Doctrin Curieuse, pag. 175.

(30) *Dion Chrysostome* made a whole Oration about *Alexander*'s and *Diogenes*'s Conference, wherein, doubtless, there are an hundred things of his own Invention. What *Garasse* says is not to be found in it.

(31) *Traité de la Vertu des Païens, in the fifth Volume of his Works, Edit. in 12mo, pag. 133, 134. He does not name the Writer whom he refutes: It was Father Garasse.*

in the things related of *Diogenes* [G]; but they ought to consider, that a Man of his Humour must needs have been of a very uneven Temper. He had a great Presence of Mind: this appears from his witty Sayings and quick Repartees, most of which are very smart. He, who called him a mad *Socrates* (d), had a right Notion of him. He spent a considerable part of his Life at *Corinth*, where he died in a very old Age. They do not agree when, or what sort of death, he died [H]. Though he little cared to be buried, he had an honourable Burial [I]. The Reason why he lived at *Corinth* was,

(d) Plato called him so. See *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 14, cap. 33.

(32) The King's Jester.

(33) Theo. in Progygn. cap. 5, pag. m. 71.

will not use a harsher Word) that he made no Scruple to compare *Diogenes* and *Democritus* with *Brusquet*, and such another Man commonly known by the Name of *Maître Guillaume* (32), whom he affirms to have been at least as wise as those Philosophers. How can any one allow himself the liberty of talking at that rate? He says, that *Plutarch* and *Laërtius* needed not transmit to us the Fooleries of these two Scoundrels, one whereof, viz. *Democritus*, deserves no other Title than that of a *Merry Andrew*, and the other of a sturdy Beggar. In short, says he, there is no other Difference between them than what is between *Maître Guillaume* and *Jack-Pudding*, or *Brusquet* and *Pantalon*, *Diogenes* being a downright Madman, and *Democritus* a continual Buffoon: They are his own words. Certainly every reasonable Man, though never so little acquainted with the nature of Things, will be offended at it, and express his Indignation at such extravagant Comparisons.

It is reported (33) that *Alexander*, finding *Diogenes* asleep, spoke the Twenty fourth Verse of the second Book of the *Iliad*,

Οὐ χρεὶ παννύχιον εὐδῆιν βυλνφόρεν ἀνδρῶν.

Stertere perpetuam non dignum est principe noctem.

Ill fits a Chief the Night in Sleep to spend.

And that *Diogenes* spoke immediately the Words that come next to that Passage of *Homer*:

Ωὐ λαοίτ' ἐπὶ[ε]ράφα[ι]αι καὶ τόσσα μέμλε.

Cui populiue salus, & tanta negotia curæ.

On whom his People and their Hopes depend.

That Philosopher could not have answered with a greater Presence of Mind, nor more to the Purpose. He vindicated himself, and shewed at the same time what *Alexander* was bound to do. He made it appear that if it be a Fault to sleep all Night, it is when a Man is intrusted with the Government of a Nation.

[G] Some find Contradictions in the things related of *Diogenes*. We are told, on the one hand, that he had no other Lodging but a Tub, and that he threw away his wooden Cup, when he perceived that he could drink in the hollow of his hand. Quodam vero tempore habens ad potandum cavum ligneum vidit puerum manu concava bibere, & elisive illud fertur ad terram dicens, nesciebam quod natura haberet poculum (34). — He used a wooden Bowl to drink out of; but observing, on a time, a Boy drinking out of the hollow of his hand, he broke it, saying, I was indeed ignorant that Nature had supplied us with cups.

This is taken from *Diogenes Laërtius*, who says Θεασάμενος ποτὶ παιδίον ταῖς χερσὶ πίνειν, ἐξέβρι-ψεν τὴν κοῦλην, εἰπὼν παιδίον με νενίκηκεν ἐν τέλει. Intuitus aliquando puerum manibus bibentem, cotylam pera produciat abiecit dicens, puer me vilitate superavit. And it is expressly said, that he had neither a Man nor a Maid (35). But on the other hand, we are told, that his Man ran away from him. Some might think that this was inverted, in order to ascribe a witty Saying to *Diogenes*. It is said that he answered those, who advised him to make an Enquiry after that Fugitive, Were it not a ridiculous thing if *Menades* could live without *Diogenes*, and if *Diogenes* could not live without *Menades* (36)? For my part, I do not find any Contradiction in those Stories. Could such a cross-grain'd Man be uniform in all his Actions? There is no doubt that he was sometimes for one thing, and sometimes for another. His life was long enough to afford some Years in which he had Servants, and some in which he had no other Cup than the hollow of his hand. This is what might be said, if the Life

of that Cynic, written by *Diogenes Laërtius*, was the only historical Monument concerning him; but there is a Chapter in *Ælian*, which dispenses us from making use of such a Solution. *Ælian* informs us, that *Diogenes* was not yet a Philosopher when his Servant left him. It was at his coming away from *Sinope* that he took along with him one of his Slaves, who left him. He had then some Notions of Philosophy, which made him say, It would be a shameful thing if *Manes* could be without *Diogenes*, and *Diogenes* could not be without *Manes*; Οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Μάνην μὲν μὴ δεῖσθαι Διογένην, Διογένην δὲ Μάνην; An non turpe esset quum *Manes* *Diogenes* non egeat, *Diogenem* *Manis* indigere (37)? but he was not a Cynic, and did not lay aside all Superfluities, till a long time after. *Ælian* adds, that this Servant wandered from place to place till he was at last torn in pieces by Dogs at *Delpi*.

[H] They do not agree when, or what sort of death, he died. Some say (38) he died of an overflowing of the Gall, occasioned by eating a Neat's Foot raw (39); others, that he stifled himself by holding his Breath (40); others, that he died of the biting of a Dog (41); others, that he threw himself headlong down a Precipice (42); others, that he strangled himself. This last Opinion is mentioned by *St Jerome* as the true one, and with some Circumstances that deserve to be known. His Death, says he, shews his Temperance and Virtue; for as he was going to the Olympic Games, a Fever seized upon him. He laid himself down under a Tree, and refused the Assistance of those who accompanied him, and offered him a Horse or a Chariot. Go to the Games, said he, to them; this Night, will determine my Dis temper; if I recover, I will go to morrow to the Olympic Games; if I die, I will go into the Elysian Fields. He strangled himself that very Night, pretending that he lost his Fever, rather than his Life. Abite quæso, & spectatorem per-gite. Hæc me nox aut victorem probabit aut victum. Si febrem vicero, ad agonem: si me vicerit, ad inferna descendam: ibique per noctem eliso guttore, non tam mori se ait quam febrem excludere (43). Some (44) say that he and *Alexander* died on the same day, in the CXIIIth Olympiad. He was near Ninety Years of Age (45). But if he had not lived after *Alexander*, how could *Perdiccas* have sent for him, and threatened to kill him if he did not come (46)? Could *Craterus* have desired a Visit from him (47)?

[I] Tho' he little cared to be buried, he had an honourable Burial. It is said, that when he was a dying, he ordered that his Body should not be buried at all, or only covered with a little duff in a ditch. He was willing that all sorts of Beasts should feed upon him (48). Besides, we find in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that he desired to be thrown into the *Ilfus*, for the Service of his Brethren: but those Words have been soited into the Text of that Historian; for can any Writer be so absurd as to say, that this Philosopher desired to be thrown into a River, to be of some use to the dogs? and therefore it is not likely that *Laërtius* should have said so. Those words were at first put into the Margin to shew *Ælian's* Opinion (49), viz. that our Cynic ordered his dead body should be thrown into the *Ilfus*; and then some Transcriber foolishly inserted them in the Text. Take notice, that the *Ilfus* is a River of *Attica*, and that *Diogenes* died in a Suburb of *Corinth* (50); from whence you may conclude, that *Ælian* has committed a Mistake. *Menage* made a very learned Note upon this (51). There is a Passage in *Cicero* that deserves to be set down: we find in it, that *Diogenes* being asked by his Friends, Whether his desire of lying unburied tended to the Benefit of wild Beasts or Birds? answered them, that he would have them put a Stick into his Hands, that he might fright them away: How will you be able to do it? said they: you will feel nothing. Well then, replied he, what's that

(37) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 13, cap. 28. *Seneca* says the same thing de Tranquill. c. 8.

(38) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, cap. 76.

(39) *Bois pîda*. It is doubtless a Fault, which ought to be mended by *παλόςδεα*; for many Authors quoted by *Menage*, in *lure locum*, are agreed, that the eating of a raw *Polytus* occasioned the Death of *Diogenes*.

(40) 'Αλλ' ἀνέβα χυλός ποτ' ὀδόντας ἐπείλας καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνδακύν. Item qui sibilatus est cum labris dentes obfirmasset, & spiritum continuisset. *Coricoides* apud *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 77.

(41) *Diog. Laërt.* ibid. *Suidas*.

(42) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 8, cap. 14.

(43) *Hieronymus*, lib. 2, ad Jovinianum.

(44) *Demet.* in *Æquivocis*, apud *Laërtium*, n. 79. *Plutarch.* Sympos. lib. 8, c. 1. *Suidas*.

(45) *Laërt.* lib. vi. n. 76.

(46) *Id.* n. 44.

(47) *Id.* n. 57.

(48) *Id.* n. 79.

(49) *Var. Hist.* lib. 8, cap. 14.

(50) 'Εν τῷ Κρανίῳ, τῷ πρὸ τῆς Κορίνθου γυμνασίου. In *Cranio* id erat gymnasium ante *Corinthum*. *Diog. Laërt.* n. 77.

(51) In *Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 79.

* *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 37. See also *Seneca*, *Epist.* 90.

(35) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 52.

(36) *Id.* ibid. n. 55.

was, that a Man of that Town bought him [K], and made him Tutor to his Sons. Notwithstanding his being a Slave, he kept up his whole Character (e). What is most impudent and inexcusable in his Life, is, that he brutishly would commit Acts of Impurity in the public View of the World [L], for which he gave very bad

ibat to me, whether I be devoured by Beasts? • Durior • Diogenes, & idem quidem sentiens, sed ut Cynicus • asperius, proci se iussit inhumatum. Tum amici, • volucrisbusne an feris? Minime vero, inquit, sed • bacillum prope me quo abigam, ponitote. Qui poteris? illi, non enim senties. Quid igitur mihi ferarum laniatus oberit nihil sentienti (52)?

(52) Cicer. Tusc. 1, cap. 43.

No regard was had to his great Indifference for his Sepulchre. His Friends, finding him dead, did not doubt that he had put an end to his Life by holding his Breath. Every one of them was fond of having the Honour of burying him; and they grew so hot upon it, that they were like to come to Blows: but some Persons of Authority composed their Difference. Diogenes was buried near the Gate of the *Isthmus*, and his Tomb was adorned with a Column, on which they placed a Dog of Marble (53). *Pausanias* mentions that Tomb (54). The Inhabitants of *Sinope* erected Statues of Brals to that Philosopher, who was their Country-man (55). I had almost forgot to say, that there is an Opinion importing that he was buried by the Sons of *Xeniades*, whose Tutor he had been (56). It is further said, that *Xeniades* asked him how he would be buried; and that he answered, *with his Face downwards*: for, replied he, being asked what was his Reason for such a Fancy, *there will quickly be an overturning, that will put things upside down*. He meant, if we may believe the Historian, that the Kingdom of *Macedonia* would become very great, though it was inconsiderable, *Διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν ἡδὲ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἢ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὕψους γίνεσθαι*. *Quia Macedones jam potentia majori dominantur, atque ex humilibus sublimis ferent* (57). This

(53) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 77, 78.

(54) Pausan. lib. 2, pag. 45.

(55) Diog. Laërt. n. 78.

(56) Id. n. 31.

(57) Id. n. 32.

Explanation is not right, since *Diogenes* died when the *Macedonians* were arrived to the height of their Power. Some say he died the same Day that *Alexander* did; and therefore he had seen the Glory of that Nation prodigiously raised. According to some others, he outlived that Prince, and saw the Divisions of his Successors; and therefore he should rather have foretold the Declension of the *Macedonians* than their Grandeur. The Expression of *Diogenes Laërtius* cannot be right, unless it be supposed that it relates to *Philip King of Macedonia*. It was under *Philip's* Reign that that Nation, which had made but an indifferent Figure, began to grow formidable.

[K] A Man of *Corinth* bought him.] Passing by the Isle of *Ægina*, he was taken by some Pirates, who brought him to the Isle of *Crete*, and exposed him to sale. He answered the Crier, who asked him *what he could do*, that he knew how to command Men (58); and perceiving a *Corinthian*, who was going by, he shewed him to the Crier, and told him, *Sell me to that Gentleman, for he wants a Master* (59). That *Corinthian's* Name was *Xeniades*. He bought *Diogenes*, and carried him to *Corinth*, and made him Tutor to his Sons: He also committed to him the Management of his House. *Diogenes* did so well discharge the Duties of those Places, that *Xeniades* could not forbear saying every where, that a good Genius was come into his House. *Diogenes's* Friends had a mind to redeem him. You are silly Fools, said he (60), *Lions are not Slaves to those who feed them, but the latter are the Lions Servants*. He roundly told *Xeniades*, *You must obey me; for Governours and Physicians, though Servants, require the Obedience of those whose Governours and Physicians they are* (61). He gave a good Education to *Xeniades's* Children, and was so well beloved by them, that they recommended him earnestly to their Father and Mother. He grew old in that Family; and some say he died there, and was buried by his Pupils (62). The Sale of *Diogenes* was a Subject for some Authors. *Menippus* and *Eubulus* wrote some Tracts intitled, *Διογένης πωρεῖς*, *Diogenis autio* (63). *Suidas* observes, that *Diogenes* was already an old Man when the Pirates took him. But if he spent the remaining part of his Life in *Xeniades's* Service, how can what *Dion Chrysostom* says be true, that *Diogenes* was in the Winter at *Athens*, and in the Summer at *Corinth*? Whoever will consider the persuasive Eloquence *Laërtius* ascribes to him, and the Effects of that Eloquence (64), will not wonder that he had so good a Success

(58) Philo mentions this with other Circumstances. See his *Tract* quod omnis probus liber, pag. 883.

(59) Laërtius, who says this, n. 74, had been saying, n. 50, that *Diogenes* earnestly desired the Crier to say, Who will buy this Master?

(60) Taken from Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 74, 75.

(61) Id. Diogen. n. 30.

(62) Id. n. 31.

(63) Ibid. n. 29, 30.

(64) Ibid. n. 75.

in the Education of *Xeniades's* Children. *Onesicritus* sent one of his Sons to *Athens*: that young Man having heard *Diogenes*, settled in that Town; and his eldest Brother did the same, as soon as he was sent thither by *Onesicritus*. *Onesicritus* himself, who had the Curiosity to hear that Philosopher, became his Disciple; so great were the Charms of *Diogenes's* Eloquence (65). *Onesicritus* was a considerable Man: he was very much esteemed by *Alexander* (66); he followed him in his Wars, where he had great Posts bestowed upon him; and he wrote a History. *Phocion*, a more illustrious Man than he, was also *Diogenes's* Disciple (67); and so was *Stilpo* of *Megara* (68).

[L] He brutishly would commit Acts of Impurity in the public View of the World.] He argued thus: It is not a Sin to dine; therefore it is not a Sin to dine in the Streets (69). Upon this Ground he eat in any Place whatsoever, and pretended that his Principle was to be extended to all natural Necessities; so that, as he believed that it was a lawful thing to lie with a Woman, he concluded that there was no harm in lying with her in public (70). This was calling Reason to the Assistance of his Passions; he strained it; he did not understand it by using too many subtleties to understand it: it was in a manner *resā cum ratione infingere*, — *Going mad with Reason*. This Verse of *Terence* may be applied to the Cynics,

Facient nā intelligendo ut nihil intelligant (71).

By over acting their Knowledge they appear like Fools.

Diogenes, an Enemy to all Superfluity, and seeking as much as possible to be independant, committed publicly what the *Casuists* call the Sin of *Effeminacy*, and would impudently say he wished he could in like manner satisfy the cravings of his Stomach. *Χειρουργῶν τε ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνεχές, εἶδε ἡν, ἔλεγε, καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν παρῆρται· λαμβάνον τὴν λιμὴν παύσασθαι*. *Cumque ante ora omnium turpiter sepe operaretur, utinam liceret, ojebat, perfricatio ventre a fame conquiescere* (72). He gloried in this Impudence, pretending to find in himself, and without any charges, what brings other Men to a thousand Expences and Ravages. He added, that if all the World had been like him, *Troy* had not been taken, nor *Priam* murdered upon the Altar of *Jupiter*. *Οὐ γὰρ εἶδε αὐτὸν ἑδαιμόσει ἐλθεῖν ἀπερδισίαν ἐνεκεν, ἀλλὰ παύζων ἔλεγε, ἀπανταχῶ παρῆρται αὐτὸν τὴν ἀπερδίστην παρῆρται*. *Neque enim usquam illi eundem erat ob rem venerem, sed jocans dicebat ubique sibi adesse venerem gratis* (73). He endeavoured to justify himself from Nature and Mythology. He alledged the Example of some Fishes. *Ἐφ' οὗ δὲ τὸς ἰχθύδας σχεδὸν τι φρονιμωτέρως φαίνεται τὸν ἀνδρῶπων ὅταν γὰρ δύνανται τὸ σπέρμα ἀποβαλεῖν ἐλθόντες ἔξω πρηνῶσθαι πρὸς τὸ τελεῖν*. *Dicebat autem et pisces nonnihil prudentiores apparere quam homines. Quum enim illis opus est ut semen emittant, egredi et sese affricare ad aspera* (74). He urged also the Example of *Pan*. He said, that *Mercury* pitying his Son *Pan*, who ran Night and Day over the Mountains mad for Love of a Mistress he could not enjoy, (it was the *Eccho*), taught him this way of Relief, and that *Pan* taught it afterwards to the Shepherds (75). *Martial*, as lewd as he was, understood the Voice of Nature, better than this Philosopher.

Ipam crede tibi NATURAM dicere rerum, Istud quod digitis, Pontice, perdis, homo est.

Thus he speaks, in the Forty second Epigram of the ninth Book, to a Man who followed the Maxims of *Diogenes*. This filthiness is to be found, not only in the two Authors I have cited, but also in *Athenæus* (76), in *Plutarch* (77), in *St Chrysostom's* Homily upon the Martyr *Babylas*, in the Thirty fourth Homily of the same Father upon *St Matthew*, in the *Antologia*, in *Galen*, &c. It is very surprising therefore that *Erasmus*, who was so well acquainted with the *Babylas* of *St Chrysostom* (78), should be so grossly mistaken on the place where *Diogenes Laërtius* mentions the impure

(65) Τολαύση τὴν προσὶν ἰσχυρὴν διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. Τὰτα Διογένης sermonibus illecebra inerat. Id. n. 76.

(66) Plutarch in Alexandro, pag. 701, & de de Fort. aut Virt. Alexandri, pag. 331, affirmat, that Onesicritus, one of Alexander's Court, had been the Disciple of Diogenes.

(67) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 76.

(68) Id. ib.

(69) Id. n. 69.

(70) Εἰδὼς δὲ πάντα τοῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ ἀπορδις. Solebat autem omnia palam facere & que ad Cicerem & que ad Venerem pertinent. Id. ibid.

(71) Terent. in Prologo Andrie, ver. 16.

(72) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 69, and also 46.

(73) Dio Chryf. Orat. 6, pag. m. 90.

(74) Id. ibid.

(75) Idem. ibid.

(76) Athen.

(77) Plut. de Stoicor. Repug. pag. 1044.

(78) See the Remark [C] of the Article BABYLAS.

(f) See Remark [K], at the end.
(g) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 30.

bad Reasons [M]. He had some illustrious Disciples (f), and wrote many Books (g); but it is questioned whether the Tragedies, that went under his Name, were his. One cannot certainly tell whether he was an Atheist [N]; but it is certain that his Precepts

Practice of *Diogenes*. It can hardly be imagined, if one did not see it with ones Eyes, that *Erasmus* could have made such a Blunder. He thought *Diogenes Laërtius* had said, that his Cynic, having applied himself to bodily Labour, and having by this means got a very good Appetite, wished he could satisfy his Belly by rubbing it. *Erasmus* discovers in this the humour of studious Persons, who are sorry that their bodily wants take them off from their Books, and he places this Saying among the Apophthegms of *Diogenes*. He has been cruelly censured for it by *Robertel*, and very ill defended by *Nannius*. *Erasmus's* words are (79). 'Quum in foro in conspectu omnium fuisset operatus, utinam quoque liceat (inquit) sic perfricō ventre à fame esse quietum, sentiens agitatione corporis acui stomachi orem, à qua necessitate cupiebat esse liber.' Itidem studiosi graviter ferunt, à literis naturæ necessitatibus advocari. Here are two Verses out of the *Antibologia*.

Πάντ' ἄρα Διογένης ἐρυγαν τάδε τὸν δ' ἐμύ-
ναλον

Ἥειδεν παλάμη λαίδος ἢ χατῶν.

Omnia sane *Diogenes* effugit hæc: nuptias verò
Perfricta dextra, Laide nihil opus habens.

(80) The Scab of *Agathias* gives a Catalogue of many Inconveniences a Man is exposed to, that devotes himself to the fair Sex, and which *Diogenes* delivered himself from. I am surprized that *Galen* should rather endeavour to extenuate than condemn this Crime. He says that this Cynic Philosopher, though the firmest of all Men against the pleasures of Sense, yet tasted that of Love, not thro' the allurements of Voluptuousness, but to avoid the mischief that a *Retentio seminis* usually causes. A Woman of the Town had made an Appointment to meet him, but staying too long, he could not have patience, and . . . ; afterwards when she came, he sent her back, telling her, he had already took care of it, and had no occasion for her.

Βραδύνοσις αὐτῆς, ἀπετρί-
λατο τὸ σπέρμα προ-
σαπτόμενος τῇ χειρὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα παραγενομένην ἀπέπεμψε, εἰπὼν τὴν
χείρα φάσαι τὸν ὑμναῖον ἄσαι. Cum diutius
essaret ipse manu pudendis admota semen excussit, ac
venientem deinde mulierculam remisit, inquit, manus
hymenæum celebrando prævenit te (81). He did not
serve the celebrated Courtesan *Lais* after this Man-
ner. The scandalous Chronicle says, that this Woman
who by her Charms drew so many fine People to
her, and who set so high a price upon her Favours,
bestowed them freely upon our Cynic, as slovenly as
he was with his dusty Feet (82). She permitted him
to enjoy her for nothing: Σὺ μὲν αὐτῇ τοσούτον
ἀργύριον δίδως, ἢ δὲ προῖκα Διογένης τῷ
κυνὶ συγκαλίσται. You give her so much Money,
said *Aristippus's* Footman to him, and she lets that
Dog *Diogenes* tumble with her without a Farthing
(83). We shall see *Aristippus's* answer in the Article
L A I S (84).

(82) He always went bare footed.
Dio Chrysost.
Orat. 6, pag. 89.

(83) Athen. lib. 23, cap. 6, pag. 583.

(84) Rem. [F].

[M] For which he gave very bad Reasons. I have mentioned them in the beginning of the preceed-
Remark, and shall speak more fully of the same in the Remarks of the Article *HIPPARCHIA*.

[N] We cannot certainly tell whether he was an Atheist. For they bring nothing but dubious Proofs of it. Father *Garasse* alleges two: one that he laughed at the Gods which were commonly adored by the People; the other, that he taught that we ought not to be ashamed of doing whatever Nature dictates to us (85). The first of these Proofs is impertinent; for nothing was more worthy a Philosopher, fully persuaded of the Existence of the true God, than to laugh at the Superstitions of the Pagans. The second Proof is not conclusive, since it is possible to believe a God, and at the same time be persuaded that shame is only founded upon a positive Law. Did not the *Adamites* maintain their Errors by Scripture misunderstood? They were not therefore Atheists. But here are other Proofs of *Diogenes's* Atheism. I.

He said, when he saw Tutors, Physicians, and Philosophers, that Man was the wisest of all Animals; but when he saw Interpreters of Dreams (86), Diviners, those that gave credit to them, the Covetous, and the Ambitious, he thought Man was the most foolish of all Beings (87). II. He refused to be initiated, and when they told him that those, who had that advantage in this World, reigned in the other; he replied, that nothing would be more ridiculous than to see *Aggeilaus* and *Epaminondas* in the Mire, whilst many initiated Scoundrels would sit upon the Throne of the Blessed (88). III. They impute to him the Raillery I have mentioned in the Article of *DIAGORAS* (89) viz. that many more perish notwithstanding their Vows, than those whose Prayers are heard (90). IV. He said that the long Prosperity of *Harpalus* bore Witness against the existence of God (91). 'Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo foelix habebatur, contra Deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tandiu viveret. . . . Improborum igitur prosperitates secundæque res redarguunt, ut Diogenes dicebat, vim omnem Deorum ac potestatem (92). Of these four Proofs, the two first are so weak that they deserve no Examination. The third is a little better, but not a convincing one: for how many people are there now a days, who, notwithstanding they are Papists, might think and say, when they see the *Ex voto's* of our Lady of *Loretto*, what they make *Diogenes* say upon the *Ex voto's* of *Samostracia*? There are so many other Proofs of the existence of God, besides those which are drawn from the efficacy of Prayers, that a Man, who should reject this, might nevertheless be fully persuaded, that there is a God who governs all Things. If the fourth was a convincing Proof, *Claudian* would also be reckoned an Atheist, who said the very same thing of *Ruffinus*, that *Diogenes* said of *Harpalus* (93). He said the Punishment of *Ruffinus* was a Sentence of Abolution for the Gods: therefore he thought that *Ruffinus*, during his Prosperity, bore Witness against the Gods. *Malherbe*, a Christian Poet, had the same Thought, concerning the Marshal *d'Ancre* (94). If all those, who have said that the long Prosperity of the wicked is a Reason to doubt of a Providence, were Atheists, there would have been abundance of Atheists among Authors; but they are two very different things to say, such a Fact furnishes me with a strong Objection against the existence of God, and to say, That Objection convinces me that there is no God.

What has been said may be confirmed by three Observations. I. The Ancients, as far as I can remember, who have treated of Atheists, have never reckoned *Diogenes* the Cynic for one of that number (95). II. St *Jerom* ascribes a Discourse to this Philosopher, which favours of the Immortality of the Soul (96). III. Among the witty Sayings of *Diogenes*, there are some which seem to prove that he believed a God. Being asked one day, if he believed there were Gods? How can I doubt of it, said he to the Person that asked him, since I am persuaded they hate thee (97). Another time, perceiving that a Woman transported with Devotion had prostrated herself before the Gods in a very indecent Posture, he ran to her, and told her that God was every where present, and that she should take care not to behave indecently. Θεσάμενος ποτὲ γυναῖκα ἀσχημονέστερον τοῖς θεοῖς προσπίπτουσαν, βολόμενος αὐτῆς περιελεῖν τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν κατὰ φησι Ζεῦλος ὁ Περγαιός, προσελθὼν εἶπεν, ἢ εὐλαβῆ ὁ γυναι μὴ ποτὲ θεῷ ἐπισθῆν ἐσώτος (παύ-
τα γὰρ εἰν αὐτῇ πλήρη) ἀσχημονήσης. In-
spexerat mulierem inbonestius coram diis procedentem, ejus superstitionem auferre volens, ut *Zoilus Pergeus* ait, accurrit dicens, non vereris mulier ne forte stante post tergum Deo, (cuncta enim plena ipso sunt) inboneste te babeas (98). It must be confessed ingenuously, that the last of these three Observations has no great strength in it; for these two Sayings of *Diogenes* might be nothing but meer Raillery, and indeed the first is attributed to a professed Atheist (99). Generally speaking, it cannot be concluded from a Man's witty

(86) See, in *Diog. Laërt. n. 40*, what he says against those who are terrified at their Dreams. You are not afraid, says he, of what you do when awake, and yet are concerned for what you dream of in your Sleep.

(87) *Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 24*.

(88) *Id. n. 39*.

(89) *Rem. [I]*, *Citat. (50)*.

(90) *Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 58*.

(91) See the Article *HARPALUS*, *Rem. [I]*.

(92) *Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. 3, cap. 34*.

(93) *Abbas, hunc tandem Rufini pœnis tumultum, a mœnibus vitæ Deos*.

(94) See the Article *CONCINI*, *Rem. [F]*.

(95) See *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 31*; also *Petri Petiti Observationes Miscell. lib. 1, cap. 1*.

(96) See, above, *Rem. [H]*, *Citat. (43)*.

(97) *Diog. Laërt. n. 42*.

(98) *Id. n. 37*.

(99) To Theodoros. See *Laërt. lib. 6, n. 42*.

cepts of Morality were very good in some things [O], and appeared so to several Fathers of the Church. His way of confuting the Philosopher, who denied the Existence of Motion, has been admired [P]. But I will shew that his Answer was much more sophistical than the Arguments of that Philosopher.

witty Sayings, whether he has really any Religion or not: for the Passion for a witty Saying is commonly so strong, that Men had rather gratify it than preserve a Friend, or prevent an unhappy turn of Fortune. Rather than lose a witty Saying, a merry Man, who believes a God, will speak like a prophane Man (100), and a prophane Man will speak like one who believes a God. Therefore I do not depend upon the Hypothesis of our Cynic, *All Things are full of GOD*; for he made no other use of it than to build a jest upon it. The Principle, by which he proved that all things belong to the Wife, would not induce me to think him no Atheist. *All things, said he, belong to the Gods, now wise Men are the Friends of the Gods, and all Things are common among Friends, therefore all Things belong to wise Men.* This Argument, in the Mouth of such a Scoffer as *Diogenes*, is no better a warrant of his Religion, than if *Bio* the *Borysthenite* should alledge the Dilemma which I have already mentioned (101).

To conclude with the Text of this Remark: *It cannot be certainly said whether Diogenes was an Atheist or no. La Mothe le Vayer goes no farther than this in his Apology for this Cynic. I would not affirm, says he (102), that Diogenes was not as great an Atheist as that Writer makes him, nothing making me suspend my belief in that respect, but the Authority of the Fathers who speak so favourably of him; but to maintain he was one, because he laughed at the Gods of the Populace, is a very wrong Consequence.* Observe that this Man, whose belief of the existence of a God is so uncertain, did nevertheless give some very excellent precepts of Morality. I shall say something of it in the following Remark.

[O] *In some things his moral Precepts were very good.* They were abominable upon some Heads, as we have already seen (103); but it cannot be denied that upon others they were very excellent. He preached against Luxury, Avarice, Ambition, and Revenge, as strongly as could be. He shewed the Vanity of human Occupations chiefly by this Reason, that we neglect to cultivate the Mind, being wholly intent on external Things. For instance, he censured the Grammarians, who carefully seek after the Misfortunes of

Ulysses (104), whilst they are ignorant of their own Disorders. To use the Words of a celebrated Author: 'As to his Philosophic System, says he (105), which concerned . . . nothing but meer Morality, nothing can better serve to acquit his Professors of the vile Impurities which are laid to their charge, than the single Approbation of the Stoics, who were acknowledged to be the strictest of all the Philosophers, and who would have been far from giving their Suffrage in Favour of Persons that led such abominable Lives. Now it is well known they lived in a good understanding with the Cynics, as having one and the same end, to live according to Virtue, in which they placed their supreme Good: therefore the same Stoics called Cynism † the shortest way to attain to that exalted Virtue . . . As to the Person of *Diogenes*, the greatest Men of antiquity were admirers of him. *Alexander* had such a Value for him, that he protested, having discoursed with him, that if he had not been *Alexander*, he would have been *Diogenes*. *Seneca* is never weary of praising him, and having called him *virum ingen-tis animi*, in his Book of the Tranquillity of Life, he adds this great Encomium to the rest, that whoever doubts of the Felicity of *Diogenes* may as well doubt of the State and Blessedness of the immortal Gods. St *John Chrysostom* proposes him for a Pattern of many religious Virtues, in his second Book against the Despisers of a monastic Life. St *Jerome* † speaks honourably of him; he calls him greater and more powerful than *Alexander*, displaying all his Virtues before *Jovinian*, to make him ashamed (106). I shall add but one thing to this Passage, which is, that *Dio Chrysostom* in some of his Orations proposes the most rigid maxims of Morality under the name of *Diogenes*.

[P] *His way of confuting the Philosopher, who denied the existence of Motion, has been admired.* After having patiently heard the Lecture of this Philosopher, he took two or three turns in the Auditory (107). See the Remark [K] of the Article *ZENO Eleates*, where we shew, that he neither removed the difficulty, nor understood it.

(104) He laughed at the Grammarians, says Mr Moreri, who seek for the Errors of *Ulysses*, and neglect their own. The Word Errors is not current there. It was not the Faults of *Ulysses*, but his Adventures from Place to Place, that the Grammarians looked for.

(105) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. V, pag. 127, 128.

† *Σύντομον ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς*, *Diogenes* in *Mened.* in *Zenone*.

† Lib. 2. contra *Jovin.* cap. 9.

(106) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. V, pag. 129.

(107) Consult *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 39, compared with *Sextus Empiricus*, *Pyrrohon.* Hypotypos. lib. 1, cap. 22, & lib. 3, cap. 8.

DIOGENES, a Native of *Apollonia*, in the Island of *Crete* [A], was a considerable Man among the Natural Philosophers, who flourished in *Ionica* before *Socrates* taught

[A] *He was a Native of Apollonia in the Island of Crete.* We should not have known this if we had not had what remains of *Stephanus Byzantinus*; who is the only Author that can be quoted for it. He mentions Twenty five Cities named *Apollonia*, and he says the Twenty third was in the Isle of *Crete*, that it was formerly called *Elutbera*, and that *Diogenes* the Philosopher was born there (1). *Meursius* did not remember this Particular when he made a list of all the illustrious Men of *Crete* (2); for he has not put our *Diogenes* among them, though he made use of this Passage of *Stephanus Byzantinus* in a Chapter of the same Book (3). This Omission is a much less fault than the Error we find in the Jesuit *Lesca-potier*. He pretends, that the *Diogenes Apolloniates* mentioned by *Cicero* is *Diogenes of Apollonia*. *Diogenes ex Apollonia urbe Illyrica, bodie Aulona* (4). — That *Diogenes*, whom *Cicero* calls *Apolloniates*, is *Diogenes of Apollonia a City of Illyricum now called Aulona*. Mr *Ménage* falsely imagines, that certain Authors have said that this *Diogenes* was of *Smyrna*. He makes *Diogenes Laërtius* one of these Authors, supposing it should be read, in the Life of *Anaxarchus*, not *ἐτος δὴν καὶ Διογένης τῷ Σμυρναίῳ* (5), as it is in the printed Copies, but *ἐτος δὴν καὶ Διογένης τῷ Σμυρναίῳ: hic (Anaxarchus) Diogenis Smyrnaei auditor fuit*. So far he is right, and the Proofs he alledges are very good. He quotes a Passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus* (6), and a Passage out *Eusebius*, where he says, that *Anaxarchus* was the Disciple of *Diogenes of Smyrna* (7). But when he adds that the *Diogenes*, who is named *Σμυρναῖος*, in the Life of *Anaxarchus*, is the same with him that, in the preceding Chapter,

has the Surname of *Ἀπολλωνιδῆς*, he is mistaken. Notandum autem, says he (8), *Diogenem Smyrnaeum à Laërtio hoc loco appellari qui supra Apolloniates eidem dictus fuit, non enim diversi sunt Smyrnae-us & Apolloniates. . . . It must be observed, that this is the same Diogenes, whom Laërtius here calls Smyrnaeus, with that Diogenes whom he before surnamed Apolloniates, they being the same Person.* To understand this mistake aright, two things must be observed. I, *Diogenes Laërtius* had said that *Diogenes of Apollonia* was the Disciple of *Anaximenes*, and Cotemporary with *Anaxagoras* (9). Is it credible that a few lines after he should make *Anaxarchus* his Disciple who, as he says expressly, had several Conversations with *Alexander*? From the Death of *Anaxagoras* to the Reign of *Alexander*, there had been three Successions of Philosophers at *Athens*: *Archelaus*, who had been the Disciple of *Anaxagoras*, left his Chair to *Socrates*, who, after he had sat long in it, left it to *Plato*, and *Plato* had *Alexander's* Preceptor for his Disciple. Chronology must be strained to find a Disciple of the Disciple of *Anaximenes*, who followed the Court of that *Macedonian King*. In the second Place, we see that the same *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who clearly insinuates that *Diogenes of Apollonia* was the Disciple of *Anaximenes* (10), and consequently one of the Members of the *Ionian Sect*, observes expressly that *Diogenes* the *Smyrnesan*, the Disciple of *Metrodorus*, who had been the Disciple of *Protagoras*, was of the *Eleatic Sect*, and taught *Anaxarchus* (11). How could he imagine that the same Philosopher had been the Disciple of *Anaximenes*, and the Disciple of *Protagoras's* Disciple?

(8) *Ménage*. in *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 58, pag. 423.

(9) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 1. c. 1. lib. 6, n. 58, pag. 423.

(10) *Clem. Alex.* in *Protrept.* pag. 42. C.

(11) *Clem. Alex.* Stromat. lib. 1, pag. 301.

[B] He

(a) See Rem. [A] of the Article ARCHELAUS, the Philosopher.

taught Philosophy at Athens. He was a Disciple of Anaximenes, and there is some Probability that he taught after him in the Ionian School (a). He rectified in some measure his Professor's Opinion concerning the first Cause [B]; for he taught that the

Air

[B] He rectified in some Measure his Professor's Opinion concerning the first Cause. I know no Author that has given a detail of this Matter to well as St. Austin. 'Ille (Anaximander) Anaximenem discipulum, & successorem reliquit: qui omnes rerum causas infinito aëri dedit, nec Deos negavit, aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipsis aërem factum, sed ipsos ex aëre ortos credidit. Anaxagoras verò ejus auditor, harum rerum omnium, quas videmus, effectorem, divinum animum sensit: & dixit, ex infinita materia, quæ constaret dissimilibus inter se particulis, rerum omnium genera pro modulis & speciebus propriis singula fieri, sed animo faciente divino. Diogenes quoque, Anaximenis alter auditor, aërem quidem dixit, rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent: sed eum esse compotem divinæ rationis sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset (12). — Anaximander left his Scholar and Successor Anaximenes, who ascribed the cause of all Things to infinite Air; he did not indeed deny the Being of Gods, but thought that the Air was not created, but that they derived their Origin from it. Anaxagoras, his Scholar, made a Divine Intelligence to be the Author of every thing we see, and said that out of infinite Matter, which was composed of dissimilar Particles, all things were created by this Divine Intelligence according to their different Modes, and Species. Diogenes, another Scholar of Anaximenes, said indeed, the Air was the Matter from which all Things were made, but that it was endued with Divine Reason, without which it could create nothing.' Cicero gives a much shorter account of this Doctrine of Diogenes. Quid? aër, says he (13), quo Diogenes Apolloniatus utitur Deo, quem sensum habere potest, aut quam formam Dei? — As to Air, which Diogenes makes his God, what sense or form of a God can it have? Lescapier the Jesuit finds a great deal of foul play in these words of Velleius the Epicurean, one of Cicero's Interlocutors. We shall see with what an Air he lectures him (14). 'Quandiu impones, Vellei, extinctis, sepulstique philosophis, qui reclamare non possunt, & illis errores affinges in quos nunquam impegerant? ecce hic quoque aërem Diogenis Apolloniatus Deum facis, quem ille pro Deo nunquam habuit: nam dixit quidem libro nono Laërtii, aërem esse στοιχείον i. e. elementum, non autem Deum, & libro octavo de Civitate Dei, capite secundo, aërem esse materiam rerum de qua omnia fierent; sed eum esse compotem divinæ rationis, sine qua nihil fieret. Jam verò in altissima illa, divinaque ratione frustra sensum, frustra figuram requiris, quæ, nisi in corporea natura, non inveniri, opinor, intelligis; est enim illa ratio divina mere spiritualis. — How long, O Velleius, will you trudge the memory of Philosophers laid long since in their Graves, and who cannot now answer for themselves? How long will you impute Errors to them into which they never fell? Lo, here you make Air to be the God of Diogenes the Apollonian, which he never dreamed of. He said indeed, in the ninth Book of Laërtius, the Air was an Element, but not a God, and in the eighth Book de Civitate Dei, that Air was the Matter whereof all things were made, but that it was endued with a Divine Reason, without which nothing could be made. But it is in vain to call out for Sense or Figure in that sublime and divine Reason, which, as you cannot be ignorant, are only to be found in corporeal Natures, but That divine Reason is altogether spiritual.' The Jesuit's complaint is not just; for it is certain that the Passage in Cicero contains all the substance and force of that of St. Austin, and terminates in the same sense, which is to say that, according to the Hypothesis of Diogenes, the Air was God. He taught, if we may believe St. Austin, that there were two things in the Air. First, Matter, of which all the Bodies of the Universe might be produced. Secondly, a divine Virtue, without which nothing could be produced out of the said Matter. Was not this to make of the Air, and a divine Virtue, a Whole or Compound, in which, if Air was the Matter, a divine Virtue was the Soul or Form. Now, as it is the Form which specifies and denominates the Compound, it follows that Air,

animated by a Virtue, or a divine Nature, ought to be called God; and consequently, when Cicero supposes, that, according to Diogenes, the Air was God, he supposes no more than what necessarily results from the Explication of the Doctrine of this Philosopher, as St. Augustin has given it. The Objection which the Jesuit sounds upon the word στοιχείον is null; for, as I have already said, our Diogenes admitted two Things in the Air, Matter and an efficient Cause, and he united them intimately together (15); upon which Supposition, the Air, as Matter, was the Element, or the στοιχείον of the different Bodies of the Universe (16); Yet this did not hinder, but that the Air, considered jointly with the divine Virtue it was endued with was God. This may be confirmed by a new Observation. By the words of St. Augustin we may judge, that this Reason, or divine Virtue, which Diogenes joined to the Air, was rather an Attribute than a form or a Soul distinct from the Air; that is to say, that, according to Diogenes, there was but one Substance in the Air, which was at the same time the material Principle of all Things, and the Reason, Wisdom, Intelligence, which, as the efficient Cause, directed the Production of all Things; Therefore it is with all the justice imaginable, that the Velleius of Cicero charges Diogenes with having taught that the Air is God. Aristotle will wonderfully favour those who understand St. Augustin's Phrase in this manner. He informs us, that, according to Diogenes, the Soul of Man was of Air, and that it had a knowledge and self-Motion by virtue of its Aerial Nature; its Knowledge proceeded from this, that the Air is a principle of all Things: its moving Virtue was founded on the Air's being the most subtle of all Beings. διογένης δ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἑτεροὶ τινες, ἀέρα τῶν οὐρανίων πάντων λεπτομερέστατον εἶναι, καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦτο γινώσκουσιν τε καὶ κινεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ μὲν πρῶτον εἶσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ λοιπὰ γινώσκουσιν ἢ δὲ λεπτομερέστατον κινήτικόν εἶναι. Diogenes autem, sicut & alii quidam, aërem ipsam censuit esse: hunc subtilissimam substantiam, rerumque principium esse putans. Ideo cognoscere atque movere, animam dixit: hoc quidem cognoscere, quo primum est, & ex hoc ipso cætera constant: hoc autem esse motivum, quo subtilissimum est (17). — Diogenes, and many others, thought it, the Soul, to be Air, as being the most subtle and principle of all Things; and that it thence had the Power of thinking and moving: of the former as being the first, and of the latter as being the most subtle. These words of Aristotle plainly shew that Diogenes gave to the Air the Nature of a first Principle, That of First Mover, Knowledge, and the highest degree of Subtlety, as Attributes, which constituted, per modum unius, one only and identical Substance, which was God. From whence it follows, that his System hardly differed at all from Spinozism: God was made by it to be at the same time the material, and efficient, cause of all Things; he was the immanent cause of all Beings; he produced in himself all the Bodies of the Universe, That infinite number of Worlds which Diogenes acknowledged (18). Observe, by the way, that the Verses of Sidonius Apollinaris, which I quote in another Place (19), agree infinitely better to the Doctrine of Diogenes, than to That of Archelaus to whom Savaron applied them. Justus Lipsius had a good deal of Reason to take them for the Description of Diogenes's Opinion (20).

Let us see how he philosophized upon the Production of the World: his Thoughts in certain Respects, and in the main, are conformable enough to the Hypothesis of Mr. Des Cartes. All things being in Motion, says he, some were condensed, and others rarified: now in the Places where the Condensation was made, bodies wheeled about, they turned round, and drew others along with them in their Revolutions; what was highest and most subtle mounted upwards, and formed the Sun in the superior Region. I shall copy his Greek for my warrant. διογένης δ' ἀπαλαυνιδίτης, ἀέρα ἰσίδεται στοιχείον κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἀπείρους τε εἶναι τὰς κόσμους κοσμοποιεῖ δὲ ὅτως ὅτι τὰ πάντως κινεῖσθαι, καὶ ἢ μὲν ἀεὶ, ἢ δὲ σικνὴ γινώμενη, ὅπως

(15) Aërem compotem divinæ rationis. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8, cap. 2, pag. 711.

(16) Note, That, according to Diogenes, there was no difference between ἀρχή, Principle, and στοιχείον, Element: for he acknowledged but one Element. Citat. (22).

(17) Aristot. lib. 1. de Anima, cap. 2, pag. 479. E, Tom. II. Oper.

(18) Diog. Laërte lib. 9, n. 57.

(19) Citat. (9), in the Article ARCHELAUS, the Philosopher.

(20) Lipsius Manuduct. ad Philosoph. Stoic. lib. 1, Dissert. 8, pag. m. 645.

(12) August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 8, cap. 2, pag. m. 711.

(13) Cicero de Nat. Deorum, lib. 2, cap. 12.

(14) Lescapier. in Cicero. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1, pag. 43, 49.

Air was the Matter of all Beings; acknowledging, at the same time, that nothing could be produced out of this Matter without the divine Virtue, which he attributed to the Air. *Anaximenes* had not explained the Generation of things in this manner. According to him, Air was the sole and universal Cause of all things, the Gods themselves having been produced from it [C]. *Cicero* has been wrongfully accused of not reporting faithfully this Doctrine of *Diogenes* (b). It cannot be doubted that *Plutarch* sometimes alledged the Opinions of this Philosopher [D], when he barely observes, that *Diogenes* taught this, or that. It is a very ill way of quoting, since there were many illustrious Philosophers of the Name *Diogenes*. He that is the Subject of this Article had a great deal of Eloquence (c). His Merit exposed him very much to the Envy of some Persons at *Athens* (d); so that he ran the Hazard of his Life there. The beginning of his Work is still preserved; by which Specimen we have an advantageous Idea of his Capacity. We see there that it was his Opinion, that a Doctor should first lay down incontestible Principles, and chuse a Style full of Gravity and Simplicity (e). I say nothing of the Opinions imputed to him by *Diogenes Laërtius*: they may be seen in *Moreri*. His Opinion upon the Origin and Distribution of the Winds is found in *Aristotle* (f). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (g) relates what he said of the Nature of the Seed, and from whence he derived the Etymology of the Word ἀσπιδία, that is to say, *venereal Affairs*. There is some Conformity between the Doctrine of this Philosopher and that of Mr *Des Cartes* concerning the Generation of the World (h).

(b) See Rem. [B] *Cicero*. (14).

(c) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 9, n. 57.

(d) *Id. ibid.*

(e) *Idem. ibid.* and lib. 6, n. 81.

(f) *Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 3, cap. 2.*

(g) *Clem. Alex. Paedag. lib. 1, pag. 105.*

(h) See Rem. [B].

συνεχίσθη τὸ πᾶν, συνεσθὲν παύσαι, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ λοιπὰ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τὰ κρυπτάτα τὴν ἀνὰ τὸν λαβόντα, τὸν ἥλιον ἀποτελέσαι. *Diogenes* Apolloniata, Aërem elementum ponit, moveri autem universa, & infinitos esse mundos affirmat. Cæterum ejusmodi somniat eorum molitionem: scilicet cum universum ita moveretur, ut rarius hic, alibi densius fieret, ubicunque major densitas contingeret, ibi convulsionem quandam effecisse, tum similem in modum cætera: quæ autem omnium levissimæ partes essent, eas regione superiori occupatâ Solem produxisse (21). — *Diogenes the Apollonian makes Air the Element, puts all Things in Motion, and maintains an Infinity of Worlds, which he forms in this manner; all Things being in Motion, some parts were condensed, and others rarified: where the Condensation prevailed, there arose a circular Motion, by which means the biggest Parts ascending to the superior Region produced the Sun.* It is not easy to reconcile this Hypothesis with what *Aristotle*, as we have seen above, says of the Opinions of this Philosopher. He charges him with teaching, that the Air is the most subtle of all Beings. How then could he say after that, that, in the beginning of the World, there were some Bodies that were condensed, and others rarified; that which is subtle, and attenuated to the utmost Degree, is not susceptible of Rarefaction. I see but one way to remove this difficulty; which is to suppose, that, at the first Agitation of the Air, it thickened, as we see Wine will grow foul upon shaking the Cask. The Motion continued, and, in the Progress of the Agitation, some parts were made thicker, and others clarified themselves. The latter did not attain a degree of Rarefaction, superior to the essential subtilty of the first Principle, but only superior to the Density, to which the whole Mass of the Air was reduced by the first Motion. If we had the writings of *Diogenes*, no doubt we should see that he had obviated or explained all these sorts of difficulties: but as his System is only known to us by a very small number of scattered Fragments, we are forced to feel in the dark, when we would attempt to adjust the disjointed Parts of it. Note, that *Aristotle* (22) praises him for having acknowledged, that, if all things were not made from one single Principle, there could have been no such thing as Action and Re-action; for cold and hot cannot be metamorphosed into one another: therefore they require a common Subject, which may be successively hot and cold. *Aristotle* found his account in this general Notion; he, who deprived the four Elements of the nature of a first material principle, to bestow it upon one single Being, which he called first Matter.

I believe that *Diogenes Laërtius* is mistaken when he says, that *Diogenes of Apollonia* admitted an infinite Vacuum (23). I rather chuse to follow *Plutarch*, who assures us, that all the Philosophers from *Thales* to *Plato* rejected a Vacuum (24).

[C] Air was the only Cause . . . the Gods them-

selves were produced from it.] It is a very strange thing, that ever there should have been any Philosophers blind enough to assign so low an Original to God. Order required their affirming, that God produced Bodies, and, on the contrary, some of them asserted that Bodies produced God. Can the Effect be more perfect than the Cause? Therefore an intelligent Nature cannot be caused by brute Matter. I know not whether the Experience of the human Species has not obscured the Notions of common Sense. They saw Heroes, wise Men, the greatest Men, proceed, from whence? The Eyes, the Imagination can hardly bear the object, so vile, so distasteful, so hideous it is. Nevertheless there you must find the Principles of the greatest Souls, unless God reveals to us, that he creates a Spirit to unite it to the Machine of the human Body. We shall see in another place (25), if what passes in the Propagation of the reasonable Animal might not cause that great Mistake in the minds of those, who have vented so many Chimeras concerning the Origin of the Gods.

[D] It cannot be doubted but that *Plutarch* sometimes alledged the Opinions of this Philosopher. I consider here only his Books of the Opinions of the Philosophers. The Places, where he relates the sentiments of *Diogenes*, as far as I can find, are these; the first, the eighth, and the thirteenth Chapters of the second Book: the fifth and sixteenth Chapters of the fourth Book: the fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty third Chapters of the fifth Book. I am persuaded he almost always means *Diogenes of Apollonia*, and I should think so without any exception, if Mr *du Rondel* had not writ to me, that we ought rather to believe, the Passage hereafter mentioned (26) concerns *Diogenes the Cynic*. This Passage is in the twentieth Chapter of the fifth Book of *Plutarch*, and seems to signify that the *Diogenes*, he cites, deprived the brute Beasts of Sensation. There is one Circumstance, which is a strong Temptation to think that he refers, in that place, to *Diogenes of Apollonia*. We have seen before (27) that he said the Soul was Air; now the *Diogenes* of this Passage in *Plutarch* taught that Animals partake of Understanding, and the Air (28). This was the Language that *Diogenes of Apollonia* ought to speak, being only desirous to take from Brutes actual Intelligence and Sensation; but not the Soul or Principle of Intelligence and Sensation. It plainly appears that this was his design: he admitted a Soul in Brutes, but he thought that the grossness and humidity of their Organs blunted the Activity of it. *Francis de Fongrolles*, who has translated into French, and paraphrased *Diogenes Laërtius*, ascribes this sentiment to *Diogenes of Apollonia*. He thought, says he (29), . . . that all sorts of Animals had Understanding, but that the greatest part of them being of a gross Constitution, have not the free use of Reason, no more than mad Persons, through certain Impediments. It is plain he aims at the Passage in *Plutarch*; but he does not give it us with any sincerity.

(25) In the Article JUPITER, Rem. [G].

(26) In the Article PEREIRA, Rem. [E].

(27) In Rem. [B], *Cicero*. (17).

(28) *Marséus* μὴν αὐτὸς τὸ νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν. Rationis & acris participes eas esse. *Plut.* de Plac. Philo. lib. 5, cap. 20, pag. 909.

(29) *François de Fongrolles*, Addit. a *Diog. Laërt.* pag. 655.

(21) *Euseb. Præpar. Evangel.* lib. 1, cap. 8, pag. 25, B.

(22) *Aristot. de Generat. & Corrupt.* lib. 1, c. 6.

(23) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 9, n. 57.

(24) *Plut. de Placitis Philo.* lib. 1, cap. 18, pag. 883.

(25) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 6, n. 81. See also *Strabo*, lib. 16, pag. 512.

DIODORUS, a Philosopher of the Sect of the Stoics, was surnamed the *Babylonian* (a), though he was not of *Babylon*, but of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*. The Neighbourhood of these two Cities was the Cause of this Surname (b); besides that sometimes

(b) *Id. Diog. ib.*

(c) See Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 2, cap. 8.

(d) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 1, cap. 3.

the latter has been called by the Name of the former (c). This Philosopher was the Disciple of Chrysippus (d), and composed several Works [A]. His Reputation must have been very great, since he was deputed Ambassador to Rome by the Athenians with Carneades, the Head of the Academics, and Critolaus, the Chief of the Peripatetic School. I have elsewhere mentioned this Embassy (e). Our Diogenes lived Eighty eight Years (f), and philosophized to the end of his Life (g). He gave an Instance of great Moderation [B] when an insolent young Fellow spit in his Face. I think he ought not to be confounded with him that is censured by Athenæus [C]. But I do not distinguish him from

(e) In the Article CARNEADES, Rem. [F].

(f) Lucian. in Macrob. pag. 641, Tom. II.

(g) Cicero, de Senectute, cap. 7.

(1) Cicero lib. 1, de Divinat. c. 3.

(2) Athen. lib. 4, cap. 19, pag. 168.

(3) Id. lib. 12, cap. 6, pag. 526.

(4) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 1, cap. 15.

(5) Id. de Officiis, lib. 3, cap. 12.

(6) Id. ib. c. 23.

(7) Seneca de Ira, lib. 3, cap. 38, pag. m. 580.

[A] He composed several Works. A Treatise of Divination (1), another of Nobility (2), another of the Laws (3), another of Minerva. He explained Physically, in this latter, what was said of the extraordinary Birth of that Goddess. 'Quem (Chrysippum) Diogenes Babylonius consequens in eo libro qui inscribitur de Minerva partum Jovis ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens, disjungit à fabula (4). Whom (Chrysippus) Diogenes the Babylonian imitating in his Treatise which he intitles de Minerva, accounts for the delivery of Jupiter, and the Virgin's Birth, by natural Causes, and separates them from the Fable.' I know not in what Work he taught what Cicero observes: it relates to uprightness in dealing. His Morality in that Respect was a little less rigid than that of his Disciple Antipater. 'In hujusmodi causis aliud Diogeni Babylonio videri solet, magno & gravi Stoico, aliud Antipatro, discipulo ejus, homini acutissimo. Antipatro omnia patefacienda, ut ne quid omnino, quod venditor norit, emtor ignoret: Diogeni venditorem, quatenus jure civili constitutum sit, dicere vitia oportere, cetera sine invidiis agere, & quoniam vendat, velle quam optime vendere (5). — In cases of this nature, the Opinions of Diogenes the Babylonian, a great Stoic, and Antipater, his Scholar, a Man of nice Distinction, clash; Antipater was of Opinion, that there ought to be no secrets in Contracts, but that the Buyer ought to be acquainted with all the Imperfections in the commodity, as well as the Seller; Diogenes, on the contrary, thought that, so far as the Civil-Power had directed, the Seller ought to discover the Faults; in other Respects to act without fraud, and then to make the best of his Market.' Here is another Passage: 'Querit etiam (Hecaton in libro sexto de Officiis) si sapiens adulterinos nummos acciperet imprudens pro bonis: cum id resecerit, soluturum se eos, si cui debeat, pro bonis. Diogenes ait, Antipater negat, cui potius assentior. Qui vilius num fugiens vendat sciens, debeatne dicere. Non necesse putat Diogenes: Antipater viri boni existimat. Hæc sunt quasi controversa jura Stoicorum (6). — If a wise Man should inadvertently receive false Money for good, whether, when he knew it to be false, he should pay it to his Creditors for good. Diogenes allows it; Antipater, whose Opinions I prefer, disapproves it. Or if a Vintner, who knows his Wine is upon the fret, ought to tell it. Diogenes thinks it not necessary; Antipater thinks an honest Man would. These are the controverted points of Justice among the Stoics. I should imagine that Diogenes treated of these things in his Book of Laws.

[B] He gave an instance of great Moderation. Seneca will inform us of the Fact. 'Contumeliam tibi fecit aliquis. Num quid majorem quam Diogeni, Philosopho Stoico? cui de ira cum maxime differentis adolefcentis protervus inquit. Tulit hoc ille leniter ac sapienter, non quidem inquit, irascor: sed dubito tamen an irasci oporteat (7). — Suppose some Person has affronted you. Is this affront greater than what Diogenes the Stoic received? Whom an impertinent young Fellow spit upon as he was warmly declaiming upon Anger; the Philosopher bore it with prudence and patience. I am not angry, says he, but I doubt whether I should not be angry. I am not angry, said he, and yet I question whether I ought not to be angry; this was preaching by Example. He was reading a Lecture upon Anger; he was combating with this Passion in the Pulpit; nothing is more easy. They gave him an Opportunity to practise what he advised others to; an enormous affront was put upon him in the midst of his Sermon upon Patience, and he shewed no Relentment. Here was a practical Stoic: but a word escaped him, which did not perfectly quadrate with the Doctrine of his Sect. As a Stoic, he ought to have been well assured, that it was his Duty not to be angry.

[C] I think he is not to be confounded with him that

Athenæus has censured. He mentions (8) one Diogenes an Epicurean Philosopher, a Native of Seleucia near Babylon: he mentions him, I say, as a Man of some Eloquence and Learning, but as immoral, envious, satirical, without sparing even Kings themselves in his jelling Humour (9). He made himself acceptable to a King of Syria, who was, notwithstanding, prepossessed with the precepts of the Stoics (10). 'Αναδοχὸς δ' ἐτύχωνε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας λόγοις χαίοντι (11). Acceptus gratulæ regi fuit quamvis Stoicorum placitis gaudenti. It was Alexander Bala: This Philosopher, by a boldness which was not consistent with his Character, asked the King's leave one Day to dress himself in a Purple Robe and a Crown of Gold, in the midst of which appeared the Image of Virtue. The Prince made him a present of both: immediately after the Philosopher presented them to a Woman he loved. Alexander, being informed of it, invited some Philosophers, and other illustrious Persons to Dinner, and ordered Diogenes to sit at the Table with the Purple Garment, and the Crown of Gold. The Philosopher excused himself, as it would be an indecent thing. The King made a sign for the Music to enter, and among the rest appeared Diogenes's Mistress with the Purple Robe, and the Crown of Gold, he had presented to her. The Company fell a laughing. Diogenes waited till it was over, and then made a long Harangue in praise of that Woman. Antiochus, who succeeded Alexander (12), could not bear the abusive Tongue of this Philosopher; he ordered him to be put to Death (13). A great many things convince me that this account does not concern our Diogenes. In the first place Athenæus says expressly, that he that was beloved by Alexander King of Syria was of the Sect of the Epicureans: but that Prince's Prepossession in favour of the Stoics did not prevent his Friendship to him. This shews that he does not speak of a Philosopher, who was a Stoic in Theory, and an Epicurean in Practice; therefore he does not speak of the Disciple of Chrysippus, and Colleague of Carneades in the Embassy to Rome. In the second place Cicero assures us, that Diogenes the Stoic philosophized all his Life, that is to say, that he read Lectures in the Portico at Athens till his Death. 'Num Philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum, quem vos etiam Romæ vidistis, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in studiis obmutescere fenestras? an non in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitæ aequalis fuit (14)? — Can you say that any of the greatest Philosophers, Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, Xenocrates, or, after them, Zeno, Cleanthes, or Diogenes the Stoic, whom ye also have seen at Rome, desisted from writing by reason of their old Age? Were not their Studies exactly measured by their Lives? Could he say this of a Philosopher, who, after his Embassy to Rome, had spent the rest of his Life in the Court of the Syrian Kings? In the third place the Diogenes of Athenæus was alive in the Year of Rome 610; for Antiochus, who put him to Death, began his Reign at that time. Now Diogenes the Stoic was dead when Cato said of him what I have just quoted from the Treatise de Senectute, and it is certain that the Epoch of that Work, by some Years, preceeded the 610th Year of Rome (15). Lastly, it is utterly improbable, if the celebrated Philosopher, whom the Republic of Athens sent to the Roman Senate, had sullied his Reputation by a shameful old Age, and by a violent, but justly deserved, Death, that no Author should have taken notice of it. Let us conclude then, that Athenæus did not speak of him, and that Jonstus is mistaken (16) in placing his Death under the CLIXth Olympiad; for this Chronology has no other Foundation but Athenæus's account of it.

Note, I am a little diffident of the third reason, when I consider on the one side, that, according to Lucian,

(8) Athen. lib. 5, cap. 13, pag. 211.

(9) Τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἀνδρὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀρετῆς μόνον. Διὸ καὶ τὸν καπνὸν καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν οὐκ ἐδέχθη. Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Thus it must be read, as Mr. Mease observes in Diogen. Laert. lib. 6, n. 8, and not χαίοντι, as it is in the Editions of Athenæus.

(12) Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον. Καὶ οὗτος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀσέβητος ἦν. Id. ibid. This is not exact, for there was one King between Alexander and Antiochus.

(13) Taken from Athenæus, lib. 5, cap. 13, p. 211.

(14) Cicero de Senect. cap. 7.

(15) Since Cato says, cap. 70, that he is in his 84th Year, it is the Year of Rome 603.

(16) Jonstus de Script. Hist. Philol. pag. 115, 190.

from the Person who taught Carneades Logic [D]. I shall observe an Error of Mr Moreri [E]. See the last Remark.

ian, Diogenes lived eighty eight Years; and on the other, that his Embassy was in the 598th Year of Rome. It follows from thence, that if he died before the time, in which it is supposed Cato said what we read in his Book de Senectute, he came Embassador to Rome at the Age at least of eighty three Years. Now as there is no body that observes this Circumstance, and as Cicero himself, who might have seen it, does not suppose that Cato took notice of it, I think it may be said this Philosopher was not so old, when he came to Rome, on account of the affairs of the Athenians. Let us not imagine that Cicero observed Chronology so nicely in his Dialogues, as never to mistake in that Respect. Nothing is more difficult than such an exactness, when we make a Man speak who lived before us. Sometimes we make him speak according to our Ideas. What he says of the Death, or of the old-Age of Persons, seems to be false, only because, instead of putting ourselves in his place, we put him in ours. Cicero might join Diogenes with the ancient Philosophers who had continued their Studies to the end of their Lives: but Cato could not do this; for, if I am not mistaken, he died before Diogenes. And yet, in the Dialogue de Senectute, he is made to discourse like one who survived that Philosopher.

[D] I do not distinguish him from the Person who taught Carneades Logic. The place where Cicero observes this is curious; for which reason I shall quote it. When Carneades happened to fall upon any subtle and intangled disputes, he would mix a little Jest with it: if my consequence is good, said he, I have gained the Cause, if not, let Diogenes return me my Money. Cum aliquid ejusmodi inciderat, sit ludere Carneades solebat: si recte conclusi, teneo; sin vitiose minam Diogenes reddat, ab eo enim Stoico Dialecticam didicerat, hac autem merces erat Dialecticorum (17).

(17) Cicero, Academ. Quest. lib. 4, cap. 30.

DIONYSIUS, Tyrant of Heraclea, a City in Pontus, took Advantage of the Weakness of the Persians after they had lost the Battle of Granicus against Alexander. He durst not aggrandize himself whilst he was in fear of them: but he feared them no longer when he saw them engaged in a War, wherein Fortune had declared for the Macedonians. However, he soon found himself deceived in the Hopes he had built upon the weak Condition of the Persian Monarchy. For he had more reason to dread the Conqueror than ever he had to stand in awe of the Persian Court. Those, who had been banished from Heraclea, fled to Alexander for Protection; they found him so favourable to their Interest, that, for their sakes, he was very near deposing Dionysius. It would certainly have been done, if Dionysius had not warded off the Blow by a thousand politic Artifices [A], one of which was his Application to obtain the Favour of Cleopatra. He saw himself delivered from all his Uneasiness by the Death of Alexander. This

News

[A] Alexander would have dethroned him, if he had not warded off the blow by a thousand politic Artifices. One of these Artifices was making his Court to Cleopatra: this is the usual way; nothing can be done without the fair Sex; in all Countries, if a Man would succeed in his designs, he must engage them in his Interest. Εξέπεσεν ἀνέι μὴ συνείη πολλὰ καὶ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τῇ τῶν ὑπὸ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ ἀγαπᾶται Κλεοπάτρας, τὰς ἀπειληδύντας αὐτῷ πολεμικοῦ δόξουσι. Et excedisset sane, nisi prudentia & sagacitate mentis, & studiis civium, & suis erga Cleopatram obsequiis, bella, cum minis sibi denuntiata, effugisset (1). — He had certainly been deposed, had he not diverted the threatened Storm by great Conduct and Policy, the Love of his Subjects, and the good understanding which he cultivated with Cleopatra. But I would fain know who is this Cleopatra. Was it Alexander's Sister, that Philip married to the King of Epirus (2), and who seized on Macedonia upon a false Report of Alexander's being killed (3)? The same in all probability. No doubt her Interest was very great, both with Olympias her Mother, and Alexander her Brother. It was very great after the Death of that Prince: We see that Eumenes went to see her at Sardis, to authorize himself with that Princess's Fame. Inde Sardis profectus est ad Cleopatram sororem Alexandri Magni, ut ejus voce centuriones principesque confirmaret, existimaturus ibi majestatem regiam verti unde soror Alexandri foret. Tanta veneratio magnitudinis Alexandri erat, ut etiam

(1) Photius, Biblioth. pag. 709, n. 224.

(2) Justin. lib. 9, cap. 7, lib. 13, cap. 6.

(3) Plat. in Alexandro, pag. 702.

[E] I shall observe an Error of Moreri. He pretends that our Diogenes was sent to Rome with Carneades and Critolaus, under the Consulship of P. Scipio and M. Marcellus in the time of the second Punic War. This is not doubted of, says he: nevertheless it is certain many question it, and that Lescapier, the Jesuit, condemns those who do not distinguish this Diogenes from him who was sent to Rome upon the Affairs of the Athenians. Cave tamen hunc (Diogenem Babylonium, Chrysippi discipulum, Stoicum) confundas cum altero Diogene Stoico qui cum Carneade Academicum ab Atheniensibus legatus Romam de maximis rebus missus esse dicitur libro secundo de Orat. quippe quos docti viri scire distinctos volunt (18). — But take heed you do not confound this Diogenes (named the Babylonian) a Stoic, and Scholar of Chrysippus, with the other Diogenes the Stoic, whom Tully mentions to have been sent Embassador extraordinary, with Carneades the Academic, from the Athenians; for they are Persons whom the Learned would have entirely distinguished. If Moreri had said, there is no reason to doubt, &c. I should not have blamed him; for it is certain, whatever the Jesuit may say of it, that there is but one Diogenes here. But this is not the principal fault I am to observe. He is much more to be censured in another place, since there is no Year during the second Punic War, in which a Scipio and Marcellus were Consuls, and the Embassy of these three Philosophers was after the end of the second Punic War. I have given demonstrative proofs of this in the Article of CARNEADES (19). Note, that Vossius supplied Moreri with this Mistake (20). I say nothing of some small Faults, part of which are not in the Dutch Edition (21). It was necessary to have shewn what Sect Diogenes was of; for by this means one Omission would have been remedied.

(18) Lescapier in Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. pag. 65.

(19) Rem. [N].

(20) Vossius de Philof. Sectis, pag. 103.

(21) They have corrected in it some Errors of Expression, but not the false Citations; for Instance, that of the sixth Book of Cicero de finibus, which Work contains but five Books. This Citation, and all the rest were taken from Vossius de Philof. Sectis, pag. 103.

per vestigia mulierum favor sacraei ejus nominis quaereretur (4). — From thence he went to Sardis to see Cleopatra, Sister to Alexander the Great; that she, by her Exhortations, might animate the Chiefs and Officers of his Army, who would be apt to flatter themselves that Success would declare for the same Party which Alexander's Sister espoused. So great was the Veneration paid to Alexander's Memory, that even the Women, who were related to him, were imagined to inherit a share of his Virtues, and a Power of conferring the same Favours. The Historian, from whom I have borrowed these Words, said before, that Perdicas sought her in Marriage in order to be King (5). Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonus, Ptolemy, and each of the Heads of a Party, did the same; for they believed the Macedonians would chuse for their Master whosoever the should marry, and thus each of them hoped to obtain the Empire by being her Husband. Antigonus kept her under Confinement in Sardis: from whence she endeavoured to make her escape, and join Ptolemy; for she did not love Antigonus. The Governor of the City prevented her escape, and at length by Antigonus's Order, and the help of certain Women, he put her to Death. Antigonus, to avoid the Infamy of such a murder, ordered some of the Women to be executed, and buried the Princess in a magnificent Manner (6): Thus is the Public played upon, and some Princes better deserve the name of Comedians, than they who act on the Stage.

(4) Justin. lib. 14, cap. 11.

(5) Ut viribus auctoritatem regiam acquireret. Justin. lib. 13, cap. 6. See also Diodor. Sic. lib. 18, cap. 23.

(6) Taken from Diod. Sic. lib. 20, cap. 38, at the first Year of the CXXIIIth Olympiad.

(a) Taken from the History of the Tyrants of Heraclea, writ by Menan: the Extracts of it are in Photius, *ibid.* n. 214, p. m. 708, and following.

(b) *Ælian.* Hist. div. lib. 8, cap. 13. *Athen.* lib. 12, cap. 12, pag. 143. They mention also the Needles they ran into his Body to awake him.

(c) *Apud Athen.* *ibid.*

News was so exceedingly agreeable to him, that it almost turned his Brain [B]. After Alexander's Death, Perdiccas was no less inclined than Alexander to favour the Exiles of Heraclea; so that Dionysius was forced to have recourse again to a thousand Wiles to divert the Storm that threatened him. But this Difficulty was of a short Continuance, for Perdiccas was soon killed. From that time Dionysius's Affairs were always prosperous, to which his marrying AMASTRIS contributed not a little [C]. The voluptuous Life he led made him grow so fat, that he did little but sleep, and his Drowsiness was so great, that they could hardly awake him by running long Needles into his Flesh. He died at the Age of Fifty five Years, of which he had reigned thirty. His Subjects regretted his Death, for he had governed with much Lenity. He left his Wife Guardian of his Children, and Regent of the State (a). She built the City of Amastris [D]. I forgot to say, that our Dionysius was ashamed of his Fatness; and for that reason, when he gave Audience, or administered Justice, he placed himself in some Closet, that nothing might be seen but his Face (b). Some banished Persons of Heraclea call him the fat Swine, in one of Menander's Comedies (c).

[B] Alexander's Death was so exceedingly agreeable to him, that it almost turned his Brain. This is a very singular effect of Joy, and, if I am not mistaken, more rare than the causing Death. It is reckoned that several Persons have died of excess of Joy (7); but I do not remember ever to have read, that many people have lost their Reason by it: this makes me cite Photius's own Words: Εὐθυμίας μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος ἀγαλμα τὴν ἀσχηλίαν ἀκούσας ἰδρυσατο παθὼν τὴν πρῶτην προσβολὴν τῆς πολυλῆς χαρᾶς, ὅσα ἂν ἡ σφόδρα λύπη δράσειε μικρὰ γὰρ περιτρωπείε, εἰς τὸ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ χυβὶ καὶ ἀνὰ ἄρβυ γινόμενος. Laetitia statim consecravit: & ad primum famæ adventum eo affectus est modo præ exuberanti gaudio quo repentina hominem confirmatio adfecit. Nam prope erat ut vertigine corruptus prolaberetur, & à sana mente conficeretur alienus (8). — Dionysius, at hearing the News, dedicated a Statue to Joy, and from the first Impulse of Transport felt the same Emotion as another would from the excess of Grief. For he was seized with a fainting and dizziness in his head, and seemed to be quite besides himself. What can we do against the machinal Passions? Reason required, that, upon the first News of the Death of Alexander the Great, his greatest Enemy, he should have made serious Reflections upon the Inconstancy of humane Affairs, not without admiring the extraordinary Qualities of that Prince. But our Dionysius was so little in a Condition to reflect gravely upon the Homage due upon such an Occasion to the fate of Heroes, that he had very near lost his Senses, so violent were his first Motions which were far from being voluntary.

[C] His Marriage with Amastris did not contribute a little. He married her after the Death of his first Wife. Amastris was the Daughter of Oxatres, Brother to the last Darius; therefore she was Cousin-German to Stotira, the Daughter of that Darius, and Wife of Alexander the Great. They had been brought up together, and loved each other exceedingly. When Alexander married Stotira, he would have Amastris marry one of his most intimate Favourites. This was Craterus. He lived very happily with her till his Interest, and perhaps his Inclination also, after Alexander's Death, prompted him to marry Phila, Antipater's Daughter. Then Amastris, with Craterus's own consent, married Dionysius: she brought him a great Fortune, and, as he had an opportunity to buy the Furniture of Dionysius Tyrant of Sicily, he made a splendid appearance in his House, and with his great Treasures, and being also supported by the Affections of his Subjects, he made Conquests, and sent a powerful Assistance to Antigonus, during the Cypriot War (9). In Acknowledgment for these Succours, Antigonus married his Nephew Ptolemy, Governor of the Hellespont, to one of Dionysius's Daughters by a first Wife. Dionysius had three Children by Amastris, two Sons and a Daughter; the Daughter's name was the same with that of her Mother. One of the Sons was called Clearchus, and the other Oxatres. Every thing went well under the Guardianship and Regency of Amastris; for Antigonus declared himself Protector of Heraclea, and the Pupils, and, when he left it, Lyfimachus took his Place, and even married the Widow of Dionysius. He loved her passionately, till he fell in love with Arsinoë Daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This new Amour caused a Rupture between Lyfimachus and A-

mastris, for which Reason that Lady governed alone in Heraclea, till her eldest Son Clearchus was of Age. That Prince and Oxatres his Brother were wicked enough to make their Mother perish at Sea, for very slight Reasons. Εἰς ἐκθεσμον δὲ καὶ μαρτύρων ἐργον ἐξέπεσον. τὴν γὰρ μνῆρα μὲν ἐν περὶ αὐτὰς μέγα πλημμελήσαντων μηχανῇ θείῃ καὶ κακουργίᾳ ἐπιδόσαν τῆς Σαλασσῆς ἀποπνιγνῶναι κατεργάσαντο. Ad nefarium & execrabile facinus sunt delapsi. Matrem enim quæ nihil in eis grande peccaverat cum navi se commisit infigni commento & flagitio mari sufficandam curaverunt (10). Lyfimachus, who reigned at that time in Macedonia, upon hearing of this horrid Murder, felt his first Passion for her revive, and resolved to be revenged, and punish them. He dissembled his design, which no Man upon Earth knew better how to do; Κρύψει τὸ βελομενὸν θεινότητος ἀνθρώπων γυγονεῖαι λέγεται. Oculare enim quæ vellet ingeniosissimus mortalium fuisse peribetur (11); and expressing to Clearchus the same Affection as before, he was received into Heraclea as a good Friend. He put the two unnatural Princes to Death for destroying their Mother, seized on their whole Estate, and restored the Heracleans to their Liberty. They did not preserve it long; for Lyfimachus, returning Home, made so lively a Description of the flourishing Condition, in which the good management of Amastris had put Heraclea, and two other Cities, that Arsinoë his Wife begged them of him for a Present. At first he refused her; but as she was artful, and his great Age began to impair his Understanding (12), she obtained, at length, that fine Present, and sent a Governor into Heraclea, who treated the Inhabitants very harshly (13). We must not forget that Lyfimachus had a Son by Amastris named Alexander. Polyænus informs us of this (14): but the Passage is so corrupted, that it was very difficult to find out the true reading. *Cosabon's* Manuscript had it 'Αλεξάνδρος Λυσιμάχου καὶ Μαστρίδ' ἡδὲ. That great Critic corrected Μαστρίδ' by Μαστρίδης. *Gretementil* has conjectured more happily; for he thinks it ought to be read 'Αμαστρίδης. Another learned Man (15), who at bottom is of the same mind, chuses rather to read 'Αμαστρίδης or 'Αμαστρίδης. He shews (16) by a Medal of our Amastris, that the Genitive of that Name was 'Αμαστρίδης, as well as 'Αμαστρίδης; and he cites *Herodotus*, who says 'Αμαστρίδης in the genitive Case. He observes that *Salmasius* (17), and *Trifan* (18), are mistaken in believing Amastris to be the Sister of Darius.

[D] She built the City of Amastris. This City was one of the three that Lyfimachus boasted of to his Wife. *Stephanus Byzantinus* acknowledged that this City borrowed its Name from Amastris; the Niece of the last Darius, and Wife of Dionysius, Tyrant of Heraclea (19); but he pretends that before it was called *Cromna*. He had better have stuck close to *Strabo*, who tells us (20) that Amastris, the Daughter of Oxatres, &c. joined four Villages together, forming one City out of them, which was called Amastris. The four Villages were, *Sesamus*, *Cytarus*, *Cromna*, and *Teius*. They were in *Paphlagonia*. It is surprising that *Mela* (21) should make mention of *Sesamus*, *Cromna*, *Cytarus*, and *Teius*, without saying a Word of Amastris. It cannot be replied that the Union of those four Places under the Name of Amastris continued no longer than during the Life of Queen Amastris, and that afterwards each grew independent

(7) See *Valerius Maximus*, lib. 9, cap. 12, and *Pliny*, lib. 7, cap. 53.

(8) *Phot.* Bibl. pag. 709, n. 224.

HISTORY OF AMASTRIS.

(9) Αντιγόνου τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέλαβον: λαμπρὸς συμμάχος ἦν. Antigono Asiā tenenti, magnifice suppetias tulit. I chose rather to translate it thus, than as it is in my Photius, pag. 703 (of the Edit. of Roan, 1653: Antigono etiam jam magnifice Asiā tenenti suppetias tulit.

(10) *Phot.* pag. 712.

(11) *Id.* *ibid.*

(12) Ἦν γὰρ θεινὴν περιεβύβη ἡ Ἀρσινόη, καὶ τὸ γυγόνειον ἔδωκε Λυσιμάχῳ εὖ. Xen. ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρσινόῃ. Ingeniosa enim ad circumvenendum fuit Arsinoë, & jam senectus inde manifestum dederat Lyfimachum. *Phot.* Bibl. pag. 713.

(13) All this is taken from *Menon*, in *Photius*, n. 224.

(14) *Lib.* 6, pag. 443, apud *Ezech. Spanhemium* de *Præf. Numismat.* pag. 466.

(15) *Spanheim.* *ibid.*

(16) *Id.* p. 465.

(17) *Ad Solinum*, pag. 339.

(18) *Comment.* Tom. 1, p. 683.

(19) *Cataneus*, in *Plin. Epist.* 10, lib. 10. *Id.* charges *Stephanus* with saying that Amastris was the Wife of Dionysius, Tyrant of Sicily.

(20) *Lib.* 12, pag. 375.

(21) *Lib.* 1, cap. 10. *Father* *Hardouin*, in *Plin. lib.* 6, cap. 2, pag. 600, charges him with saying, that the Fortes of Amastris was called *Sesamus*. *Mela* does not say so.

- (22) Strabo, lib. 3, cap. 19.
 (23) Plin. lib. 6, cap. 2, pag. m. 650.
 (24) Mr. Spanheim, de Præf. Num. pag. 465, observes, that Holstenius has corrected this Fault in his Notes upon Apollonius.

dependant, and took again their former Name; for if that was true, *Strabo* would not have affirmed that *Tæius* alone broke the Union. He adds (22), the three others preserved their Community, and one of them, to wit *Sesamus*, was the Fortrefs of *Amasris*. We find such another fault, in *Pliny*, as that of *Stephanus Byzantinus*. *Sesamum oppidum*, says he (23) *quod nunc Amasris*. These two Authors may be excused by saying that *Amasris*, with respect to some parts of it, was formerly called *Cramna*, and *Sesamus*. There is a mistake in the Scholiast of *Apollonius*, on the 943d Verse of the second Book (24). It should be read that *Sesamus* changed it's Name, not into that of *Damatrix*, on account of *Darius's* Niece, but into that of *Amasris*. This City has been famous. The Bi-

thynian Kings made themselves Masters of it (25). It is greatly extolled by *Pliny* the younger. 'Amasris, a city of the Strianorum, says he (26), civitas & elegans & ornata, habet inter præcipua opera pulcherrimam eandem, que longissimam plateam. — *Amasris, a fine City, has, amongst it's other Rarities, one Street of uncommon Lengib and Beauty.*' He requests of *Trajan*, to furnish the necessary Charges for covering the Common-sewers, which ran by the great Square of that City. He received a favourable Answer. *Lucian* says (27), that he found many Philosophers in it who were the Disciples of *Timocrates*. The Medals of *Homer*, which were struck by the Inhabitants of *Amasris*, are a Proof of their attachment to Literature (28).

- (25) Photius, Biblioth. p. 720.
 (26) Epist. 99, lib. 10.
 (27) In Pseudomanti.
 (28) See Spanheim, de Præf. Num. pag. 490.

DIONYSIUS, of *Heraclea*, a debauched Philosopher. Look for HERACLEOTES.

DIOSCORIDES, in Latin *Dioscoridu* (a), an Island in the Red-Sea, according to *Stephen* of *Byzantium*. It is supposed that it is now called *Zocotora*. If it is the same that *Montagne* speaks of, several different Relations must have been made of it; for, according to *Moreri* (b), the Inhabitants of *Zocotora* have no other Religion but the Mahometan, and tolerate the Exercise of no other, and are naturally Cheats. But, according to the Author cited by *Montagne*, they are Christians, and the best People in the World, without any other Defect than that of understanding nothing of the Religion they profess. This is a more common thing than one would imagine, and agrees in some manner with the Principles of the Quietists [A], whose pretended Devotion is loaded with so many mysterious Follies, that there is scarce any Extravagance, or Blasphemy, which they do not border upon in some Point or other. But let us hear what *Montagne* says [B].

- (a) So Pinedo in Steph. Byzant. pag. 230, affirms it should be called.

- (b) He cites Daviti and Linichos.

- [A] And agrees in some manner with the Principles of the Quietists. Their wretched Doctors teach (1) that 'the perfection of Contemplation does not consist in knowing God more perfectly than others, but in not knowing him. That (2) the true contemplative Person forms no Idea of God to himself, that he has no distinct Knowledge of any of his Attributes, that he does not know him by Ideas, by Reflexions, and by Reasoning, but by an obscure, general, and confused Faith, without distinction of Perfections, Attributes, or Persons. That true and perfect Contemplation has the essence of God for it's sole Object, considered under the most possible abstract Idea.' That (3) the Soul ought to be persuaded, that the Creatures are too gross to serve for a Master and Guide in the Knowledge of God. Therefore Love is to go before and leave the Understanding behind. That the Soul loves God as he is in himself, and not as the Imagination represents him. That if the Soul cannot know him, such as he is, it must love him without knowing him, under the obscure Veil of Faith, almost as a Child who never saw it's Father, and who, trusting to those that speak of him, loves him as much as if he had seen him! That all that the holy Scriptures say of God (4) 'must pass only for Flowers, and to stop there, would be to stop at the Superficies, because as God cannot be comprehended by the Mind, so neither can he be explained by Words, and when we would thereby raise ourselves to him, we fall still lower. That (5) God has caused those Books to be writ only to give us a high Opinion of his Greatness, that if we love him in what is said of him, we may love him yet much more in himself (6). But if the Soul should love God as he is represented in the Scriptures, it would love a Phantom, or the Mask of God, and not God as he really is.' That (7) God is nothing of what reason conceives, because all that we know can be comprehended, but God is incomprehensible. When we pretend to know God, we idolatrously change the Creature into God, and abase God to the Creature (8). That while the Soul knows any thing by Images or Similitudes of what nature soever, even though infused and supernatural, it does not know God. That the Idea St Paul gave of God to the Athenians adoring an unknown God (9) 'is false, in that it does not represent God as he is, for he cannot be either comprehended or known. That we are obliged to make use of terms proportioned to our weakness in speaking of him: but those expressions have nothing worthy of him, and the Ideas they form in us are not the true Idea of God. That it may be said of God VOL. II.

that he is Just, Gracious, a Rewarder, an Avenger, Almighty, &c. (10). But all that is not God. Faith does not behold him in this manner, having no other object than an unknown omnipresent God. See at the end of the following Remark a Passage of the false *Dionysius* the Areopagite.

[B] Let us hear what *Montagne* says (11) 'A Bishop has left in writing, that at the other end of the World there is an Island, that the Ancients called *Dioscorides*, blessed with all kinds of Trees, Fruits, and a wholesome Air: the Inhabitants of which are Christians, having Churches and Altars, which are adorned only with Croffes, without any other Images; they are great observers of Fasts and Fasts, exact payers of the Tenth to the Priests; and so chaste, that none of them can have above one Wife all his Life-time. Moreover they are so content with their Condition, that in the midst of the Sea they are ignorant of the use of Shipping: and so simple, that they do not understand one word of the Religion they observe so carefully. An incredible thing to those who do not know, that the Pagans, who were such devout Idolaters, were only acquainted with the Name and Figure of their Gods. The ancient beginning of *Menalippa*, one of *Euripides's* Tragedies, shewed this.

- (10) Ib. p. 322.

- (11) *Montagne*, *Essais*, lib. 1, cap. 56, pag. m. 545.

- (12) See the Remark [P] of the Article DEMOCRITUS.

- It is not a Name of the Pagans concerning God.

- (13) Acts, chap. xvii, ver. 23.

- (14) The noble Inscription St Paul saw, was according to St Jerom, Diis Afiæ, & Europæ, & Africæ, Diis ignotis & peregrinis. — To the Gods of Asia, Europe, and Africa, to the unknown and foreign Gods. Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. 1.

- (15) Quinta illa non nominata magis quam non intellecta natura. — The fifth was as little known by Name as by it's own Nature. Cicero, Tufcul. 1, c. 17.

O Fove, of whom we here below Nothing besides the Name do know (12).

What *Montagne* observes of the ancient Pagans is very true: The Idea they annexed to the word GOD did no ways resemble the divine Nature, but was infinitely remote from it; so that the Athenians were not the only People to whom St Paul might have said, that they erected Altars to the unknown God (13). All their Altars deserved the same Inscription, and I cannot think of the distinction they made at Athens between the known, and unknown Gods (14); I cannot, I say, think of it, without remembering the distinction that was made, in the Schools of *Aristotle*, between occult and manifest Qualities. Among the Peripatetics there is no other difference between manifest and occult Qualities than this, that they have a word to denote manifest Qualities, calor, frigus, humiditas, siccitas, &c. and they have none to denote the Qualities of the Load-Stone. Just so among the Athenians there was no other difference between Gods, known, and unknown, than that they had a Name for some of them, Jupiter, Mars, Mercurius, Venus, &c. and they knew not what to call the others. If the divine Nature which they adored was not, like the Quintessence of *Aristotle* (15), as void of a Name, as of an Idea,

(16) Apply here what Tacitus says, *Arceantur aspectu quo venerationis plus inesse.* — They were removed from the Sight to enhance their Devotion. Hist. lib. 4, cap. 45.

Idea, it was at least as little known. The Inhabitants of *Marseilles* openly professed to worship the unknown Gods, and they found that even this inspired them with a greater fear for their Deities (16). They worshipped them afar off, not approaching to the place where their Statues were. The Priest did not approach them without trembling, and dreaded their appearing to him, that is to say, he dreaded knowing them. *Lucan* imagines, that because in other places the Gods were adored under Figures exposed to the Eyes of the public, there was a great difference between the *Masilians*, and other People; for, says he, the *Masilians*, not knowing their Gods, had the greater fear of them. Therefore he imagined that in *Greece* and *Italy* the Deity was better known than at *Marseilles*: but he was much deceived; he ought only to have said, that in those Countries they knew better under what Figure the Statuaries and Painters represented it.

simulacraque mæsta Deorum
Arte carent, cæsisque extant informia truncis.
Ipse situs, putrique facit jam robore pallor
Attonitos: non vulgatis sacra figuris
Numina sic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit
Quos timeant non nosse Deos.

Non illum cultu populi propiore frequentant
Sed cessare Deis. Medio cum Phœbus in axe est,
Aut cælum nox atra tenet, pavet ipse sacerdos
Accessus, dominumque timet deprendere luci (17).

(17) *Lucan*.
Pharsal lib. 3,
ver. 412.

Old Images of Forms misshapen stand,
Rude and unknowing of the Artist's hand.
With hoary filth begrim'd, each ghastly Head
Strikes the astonish'd Gazer's Soul with dread.
No Gods, who long in common Shapes appear'd,
Were e'er with such religious Awe rever'd.
But zealous Crowds in Ignorance adore
And still the less they know, they fear the more.

(a) *Plin.* lib. 6,
cap. 5.

(b) *Dioscurias*
nunc usque nota.
Ammian. Mar-
cellin. lib. 22,
cap. 8, pag. m.
313.

(c) In *Periplo*
Ponti Euxini.

(1) *Strabo*, lib. 9,
pag. 343.

DIOSCURIAS, a City of *Colchis*. It was a Place of so great Trade, that Three hundred Nations, which did not understand one another's Language, trafficked to it [A]; and the Merchants of *Rome* kept there One hundred and thirty Interpreters. *Pliny*, who affirms this upon the Credit of *Timosthenes*, observes, that, in his time, this City was uninhabited (a). But *Ammianus Marcellinus* testifies, that, in his time, it still made some Figure (b). Some ascribe the Foundation of it to *Castor* and *Pollux*, and others to the Charioteers of those two Heroes [B]. *Arrian*, an Eye-witness, assures us, that it was then called *Sebastopolis*; and that it was a Colony of the *Milesians*, 2260 Furlongs from *Trebizonde* (c).

[A] Three hundred Nations traded to it.] *Strabo* says the same (1). It is true he observes, that some Authors instead of three hundred Nations make them but seventy. He attributes the Multitude of so many Languages to the savage way the People of those Countries lived in; for having no Society with one another, each preserved his own Language, without learning that of the neighbouring People.

[B] Some ascribe the Foundation of it to *Castor* and *Pollux*, and others to the Charioteers of those two Heroes.]

DOLABELLA (**PUBLIUS CORNELIUS**), *Cicero's* Son-in-law, was entirely devoted to *Julius Cæsar's* Party. He was present at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, at that of *Africa*, and at that at *Munda* [A]: in the last of which he was wounded. During his Tribuneship of the

[A] He was present at the Battles of *Pharsalia*, *Africa*, and *Munda*. *Cicero's* words, which I bring to prove this, will serve for something else. 'Quoniam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit (in Hispaniam?) aut non suscipienda fuit illa causa, Antoni, aut, cum suscepisset, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Cæsar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania, omnibus affuit his pugnis Dolabella: Hispanensi etiam vulnus accepit: si de meo iudicio queris, nollem; sed tamen consilium à primo reprehendum, laudanda constantia (1). — How then did Dolabella come into Spain? You should not, O Antony, have engaged in that cause, or else you should have supported it to the last extremity. Cæsar had three Battles with his Countrymen, in Thessaly, Africa, and Spain: Dolabella bore a part in them all,

(1) *Cicero*,
Philipp. 2, c. 30.

The pious Worshippers approach not near,
But shun their Gods, and kneel with distant fear:
The Priest himself, when or the Day or Night
Rolling have reach'd their full Meridian height,
Refrains the gloomy Path with weary Feet,
Dreading the Demon of the Grove to meet.

The Pagans could not retort this Observation on Christianity, under pretence that it's Professors are required to captivate their Understandings to the Obedience of Faith; and that Faith is by some said to be better defined by Ignorance, than by Knowledge; and that People are to be determined, not by the way of Examination, but by the way of Authority, and are to adore the Mysteries without comprehending them: this Retortion, I say, would be unjust upon Christianity in general, since the Protestant Communions reject not the way of Examination, and are not afraid, like the Priest of *Marseilles*, that the object of their Faith should be manifested.

We have seen in the preceding Remark the Maxims of the new Mystics; but we must observe here, that they pretend they are as ancient as Mystical Divinity; for they cite the words of *St Dionysius* (18). 'As for you, my dear *Timothy*, set yourself seriously to Mystical Contemplations, forsake your Senses, the Operations of your Mind, all sensible and intelligible Objects, and generally all things that are, and that are not; in order to raise yourself as much as Man can do, and that you may be united in an unknown and inexpressible manner to him, who is above all Being, and all Knowledge.' Note, there are some Philosophers who think, that what the Quietists say of the falsity of the Notions, under which the Deity is commonly represented, is very reasonable, and that the Images, made use of by the sacred Writers to exhibit him to us, want to be rectified. See what I shall cite of *Charren*, in one of the Remarks of the Article **SIMONIDES** (19).

(18) *Mollinos*,
Intro. à la
Guide Spirit. n.
14, cited by la
Bruyère, Dia-
logue 8, pag.
316.

(19) *Rem.* [G].

The first Opinion, which is *Pomponius Mela's* (2), is confirmed by the Name the City bore. Nevertheless *Pliny* (3), *Solinus* (4), *Ammianus Marcellinus* (5), &c. speak only of the two Charioteers. *Pliny* calls them *Amphitus* and *Telebius*: according to *Strabo* (6) they were called *Rheca* and *Amphistratus*: but *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls them *Amphitus* and *Cercius*. In some Editions of *Justin* (7) their Names are *Fradius* and *Amphistratus*.

(2) Lib. 1, cap.
19.
(3) Lib. 6, cap. 5.
(4) Cap. 15.
(5) Lib. 22, cap.
8, pag. m. 313.
(6) Lib. 11, pag.
342.
(7) Lib. 42, c. 3.

and in the last received a Wound. If you ask my Opinion, I should have advised you not to have undertaken it: but though the design from the beginning is blameable, yet a firm perseverance would have had something praise-worthy. Two things are observable here; one is a piece of Rhetorical Legerdemain, the other a very good Maxim. *Cicero* could not be ignorant that *Marc Antony*, slaying in Italy by *Cæsar's* orders, had done as much service to the Party, as if he had followed *Cæsar* into Egypt, and to the Kingdom of Pontus. He could not be ignorant, that fear of Danger was none of *Antony's* Faults, and that other reasons had prevented him from accompanying *Cæsar* into Africa and Spain. Nevertheless as a slay at *Rome*, considered in the whole under such Circumstances, was capable of receiving an ill turn, Rhetoric did not fail

to

the People he committed a thousand Disorders, which was a cruel Mortification to Cicero (a). He would have brought in a Law for the Abolition of all Debts [B], in order to gain the Affection of the Populace, and deliver himself from the Obligations he was under to pay his Creditors (b); but he found a strong Opposition. Marc Antony, whose Wife he had debauched, was the chief Obstacle to his Design: So that it may be said, if that Woman had been virtuous, the City of Rome must have been involved in a horrible Confusion, by an Union of two of the greatest Disturbers of the public Peace that were in Italy at that time. Every thing has it's Use in the World: the Intrigues of Marc Antony's Wife were of a signal Service to her Country, and induced (c) him to overthrow all the Attempts of a factious Tribune (d). Caesar was in Egypt during these Contest. His return to Rome restored the public Tranquillity: he pardoned Dolabella, and, contrary to the Law in that Case, raised him to the Consulship some Years after; for Dolabella was not of a competent Age, and had never been Prætor (e). Marc Antony opposed, with all his Power, his taking Possession of the Consulship [C]; but, as Caesar was killed some few Months after this fresh Quarrel between Antony and Dolabella, they put an end to their Differences, that they might the better oppose the Republican Party. They were both Consuls the Year that Caesar was assassinated; and took some Steps at first, which gave the Well-

to exclaim against it as an act of Cowardice. He knew that nothing would shock a Military Man more than an insult of this nature, and therefore was sure to ply him from this point. 'Cui bello cum propter timorem tuam tum propter libidines desisti? . . . Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito accepisti? Hunc igitur quicumque qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat (2)?' — From *which War your Cowardice and your Lust caused you to be absent. . . . Did Antony the great Gladiator so soon receive his discharge? Can any Man then fear him who proved himself a Coward, when his own Interest and Fortune summoned him to action?* And to exasperate him the more, he forgot no Encomiums upon Dolabella. I wish Commentators would take notice of these Artifices of Rhetoricians.

[B] He would have brought in a Law for the Abolition of Debts. This was called *novæ tabulæ*. A learned Critic thus explains them. 'Sunt tabulæ novæ: nihil aliud quam lex seu decretum communi consensu factum, quo civitate per alterius partis ultimam pauperiem, & ex ea seditionem, in extremo periculo constituta, nexis atque obstratis, ad concordiam faciendam, debita in universum remittuntur, ita ut hoc nomine nec corpora eorum, neque bona vincula teneri queant (3). — The Tabulæ novæ, or Act of Insolvency, is only a Law enacted by common Consent, when the State being in imminent Danger from a necessitous and seditious Faction, rather than give Birth to a Civil War, cancels all Debts and Obligations, so that for the future, neither their Bodies nor Goods may be detained for the same.'

[C] Caesar raised him to the Consulship Marc Antony opposed, with all his Power, his taking Possession of it. Cicero enlarges upon this contest in his second Philippic, and pretends that Dolabella was imposed upon. They encouraged him to stand for the Consulship, they made him hope for it, and then deserted him. Caesar was at the bottom of all this Management. 'Nihil queror de Dolabella qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus: qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolbellam quis ignorat? Ille (Caesar) induxit ut peteret: promissum & receptum intervertit ad seque transfudit: tu ejus perfidie voluntatem tuam adscripsisti (4). — I will pass over the base treatment which Dolabella received, whom Caesar encouraged and persuaded to stand a Candidate for the Consulship, and afterwards made him his Deceit. In which instance the perfidy of you both was so barefaced that every body must see it. Caesar prevailed upon him to stand, and afterwards revoked and cancelled his Promise, whilst you underhand contributed to carry on the Trick.' Cicero adds, that the Senate being assembled the first of January (5), Dolabella made a better Harangue against Marc Antony (6), and that the latter was furiously enraged against Dolabella. Caesar had declared, that when he departed upon his great Partisan Expedition, he would leave Dolabella in his place in the Consulship. Marc Antony was at that time Caesar's Colleague in that Office, and as he would not have Dolabella for his Colleague, he declared that being Augur, by virtue of that Dignity, he would either hinder Dolabella from being chosen, or make his Election void. 'Cum Caesar ostendisset se

priusquam proficisceretur Dolbellam Consullem esse iustum tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitare posset: idque se facturum esse asseveravit (7). The day of Election being come, the Suffrages fell upon Dolabella, upon which Marc Antony, who had said nothing during the Election, declared aloud, that the Assembly must be put off to another day. He said this as Augur, and would not desist from this Denunciation till after the Death of Caesar. Then it was his Interest to own Dolabella's Election for legal, and he was reconciled to him. 'Collegam tuum depositis inimicitiiis, oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso populo Romano nunciatorum illo die (i. e. three days after Caesar's Death) collegam tibi esse voluisti (8). On that day (namely the third after Caesar's Death) you declared him your Colleague, all former Enmity being clean wiped away, and all those insuspicious Omen, with which you had entertained the People, being lost in Oblivion.' Plutarch (9) relates in fewer words than Cicero, that Caesar having declared to the Senate his intention of resigning his Consulship to Dolabella, was forced to defer that affair to another time, upon account of Marc Antony's violent Opposition, who uttered a thousand reproachful things against Dolabella, and was repaid in the same kind. Some time after Caesar would have resigned in Favour of Dolabella, but was obliged to desist, Marc Antony pretending the Auspices were contrary to it. Dolabella, seeing himself abandoned, vented his rage in terrible Curses. I have nothing to say to this Account of Plutarch but this, that he has omitted one very material Circumstance, which is, that Caesar did not recede in such a manner, as not to leave entire to Dolabella his right of claiming. He left it undetermined whether Marc Antony's Opposition was valid or not. I freely believe he found himself embarrassed with these two Men, and though he said one Day he had nothing to fear from such fat and well dressed Men as those (10), but that he dreaded the lean and meagre Faces (11), yet he was sensible the Friendship of Marc Antony and Dolabella was an incumbrance to him: it is probable there was an understanding between him and Marc Antony upon Dolabella's Consulship: but it is certain Marc Antony treated him insolently upon other occasions, particularly when after the African War Caesar demanded an account of the sale of Pompey's Goods. These are Cicero's words upon it, which could not be better turned. 'Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas, primo respondisti plane ferociter: & ne omnia videar contra te, propemodum æqua, & iusta dicebas. A me C. Cesar pecuniam? cur potius, quam ego ab illo? an ille sine me vicit? at ne potuit quidem: ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli: ego leges perniciosas rogavi. . . . Num sibi soli vicit? quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum præda communis? jus postulabas: sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat. (12). — A demand was made upon you for the Money which you owed for your House, your Gardens, and the Parcellage. At first you answered haughtily, and, to do you Justice, in some measure reasonably. Does Caesar require Money from me? And have not I as much reason to demand it of him?

(a) Id. cap. 29.

(3) Johan. Schefferus, in Libello de Novis Tabulæ, apud Casarem Sagittarium, in Vita Tullie, pag. 23. 14.

(4) Cicero, Philip. 2, cap. 33.

(5) In the Year of Rome 710.

(6) Invectus est copiosius multo in ipsum & paratus Dolabella quam nunc ego. Idem. d. C.

(a) See the Article TULLIA.

(b) Dio, lib. 42, pag. 223.

(c) Plutarch. in Antonio, pag. 919.

(d) Dio, lib. 42, pag. 224, and following.

(e) Id. pag. 225.

(7) Cicero, Philip. 2, cap. 32.

(8) Ibid. Philip. 1, cap. 13.

(9) Plat. in Antonio, pag. 921.

(10) Plat. in Antonio, pag. 923.

(11) He meant Brutus and Cassius. Id. ibid.

(12) Cicero, Philip. 2, cap. 29.

Well-affected a good Opinion of them [D]. But this did not last long. *Dolabella* obtained the Government of *Syria*, but made so little haste to take Possession of it, that *Cassius* had time to make himself Master of it: and as he was informed the Senate had conferred the same Government upon *Cassius*, he did not think proper to continue his Journey. Therefore he stopt at *Smyrna*, where he treacherously put to death *Trebonius* [E], Governor of *Asia minor*, and one of the Murderers of *Julius Cæsar*. As soon as the News of this Action got to *Rome*, the Senate declared *Dolabella* an Enemy to the *Roman* People. Upon the Death of *Trebonius* all *Asia minor* was subdued to the Discretion of *Dolabella*; he immediately marched towards *Syria*. All yielded to him, *Cassius* being absent; all, I say, submitted, except *Antioch*: but *Cassius*, returning with a good Body of Troops, besieged *Dolabella* in the City of *Laodicea*, and reduced him to the hard Condition, either of killing himself, or surrendering himself. *Dolabella* chose the former (f) [F]. It is said he was not then above Twenty six or

Twenty

(f) Taken from
Dio. lib. 47, ad
Ann. Romæ 712.

'him? Did he conquer without my Assistance? He could not. I laid the Foundation for him of a Civil War. I proposed Laws pernicious to the People. . . . Did he only conquer for himself? Is it not just that they who embark in an equal bottom in the same intricate Cause should equally share the Plunder? You, no doubt, demanded very modestly. . . . But what is that to the purpose? Cæsar had the greater Power! After his last Expedition into Spain, Cæsar used him

(13) Ib. cap. 32. with more Civility (13): He did him a thousand good Offices, which was a sign he looked upon him as a very wicked Man, very capable of doing him service or disservice. *Cicero* gives a very ill Character of *Cæsar* as to the choice of his Friends. 'Habebat hoc omnino Cæsar: quem plane perditum ære alieno, egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognoverat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissime cupiebat (14). — Cæsar courted the Friendship of Men in desperate Circumstances, and involved in debt, if he knew them to be immoral and resolute.' For the rest, you will find in *Appian* (15) a long account of *Marc Antony's* management as to the Consularship of *Dolabella* before their Reconciliation, and after the Death of *Cæsar*.

[D] *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella* took some steps at first, from whence the well-affected drew a good Omen. Three days after *Cæsar's* Death, *Marc Antony* harangued in the Senate upon Peace and Concord, and charmed the Men of Probity. He sent his Son for a Hostage to the Conspirators, who durst not come down from the Capitol. *Cicero* often refers him to that day. 'Unum illum diem quo in æde Telluris Senatus fuit, non omnibus iis mensibus quibus te quidam multum à me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis? Quæ fuit oratio tua de concordia? Quanto metu veterani, quanta sollicitudine civitas tum à te liberata est (16)? — Do not you prefer that day, in which the Senate was assembled in the sacred Temple of Tellus, to the following Months, in which some of an Opinion far different to mine, think you happy?

(16) *Cicero*, *Philipp.* 1, c. 13. He says, in the 2d *Philipp.* cap. 36, Qui tu vir, Dii immortales, & quantos fuisses si illius diei mentem servare potuisses. Pacem traheremus quæ erat facta per obfidem, &c. . . . How amiable, O Antony, had been thy Name, hadst thou still retained the same Disposition of Mind that thou shew'dst that Day! We should then have enjoyed that Peace, of which we had then a Pledge.

(17) See *Suetonius* in *Cæsar*, cap. 85.

(18) *Cicero*, *Philipp.* 1, cap. 2. Sedition spread thro' the City, gathering every day fresh Strength, when those Persons erected a Funeral-Pile to Cæsar in the Forum, who strove to perpetuate his Burial, when the City was in continual danger from abandoned Slaves, and their more abandoned Masters, such was the check which Dolabella gave to both, and such his conduct in pulling down that cursed

Column, that it is a wonder to me, &c.' See in the Remark [L] of the Article *TULLIUS*, another Passage of *Cicero* upon the same Fact.

[E] He stopped at *Smyrna*, and treacherously put to Death *Trebonius*.] He gave him so many proofs of his Friendship, that he prevented his being upon his guard. So that, in the Night, he easily made himself Master of *Smyrna*, and forced the House of *Trebonius*. He cruelly put him to the Torture for two days together, and then cutting off his head, he ordered it to be stuck upon the point of his Spear, and exposed to public View. His Body, after being dragged through the Streets, was thrown into the Sea.

Cicero describes all this with great Eloquence (19): 'Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspitione belli: quis enim id putaret? secutæ collocutiones familiarissimæ cum Trebonio, complexuque summæ benevolentia; falsi indices exstiterunt in amore simulato: dexteræ, quæ fidei testes esse solebant, perfidiæ sunt, & scelerè violatæ: nocturnus introitus Smyrnæ, quasi in hostium urbem, quæ fidissimorum, antiquissimorumque sociorum. . . . Interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur: cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesso ore lacerasset, tum verberibus, ac tormentis questionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum: post, cervicibus fractis, caput abscidit, idque affixum gestari jussit in pilo: reliquum corpus tractum, atque laceratum abiecit in mare. — Dolabella obtained it, there being no Suspicion of a War. And who could suspect any? after this he had frequent and familiar Conversations with Trebonius, and Tokens of the greatest Friendship passed between them: but these were only outward Shews; their hands were joined as marks of Sincerity, but Treachery was the sole design. *Smyrna* was entered by night, not as the City of an Ally, but of an Enemy. . . . He (*Dolabella*) would not immediately dispatch his Captive, lest (as I suppose) he should seem over-liberal in his Victory; but having loaded this good Man with most base and malicious Language, and for two days successively tortured him to a Confession of the public Treasure, he caused his neck to be broke, and his head to be struck off, which he fixed on a Pole and carried about in triumph, whilst the rest of his Body was infamously dragged thro' the Streets, and being mangled was cast into the Sea.' I refer you to the Fountain-head; for I should be too prolix, if I should set down all that *Cicero* says upon this Subject in the Oration I cite. We shall see below (20) the pious Reflexion *Marc Antony* made upon the Death of this Murderer of *Cæsar*. People use themselves to descant upon Morality in a way, which the vilest Men have the impudence to make use of.

(19) *Philipp.* 11, cap. 2.

[F] *Dolabella* chose to kill himself.] *Dion Cassius* says he killed himself (21). But others say, one of his Guard, at his own desire, cut off his head, and then killed himself, without regarding the advice his Master gave him to present it to the Conqueror, and thereby obtain his Pardon (22). *Appian* calls him *Marfus*, but *Dion* calls him *Octavius*, which made *Usher* say (23) that *Marfus* and *Octavius*, killed themselves in *Laodicea*. It appears in one of the *Philippics*, that *Marfus Octavius*, a wretched *Roman* Senator, was one and the same Person. *Cicero* mentions him with the utmost Contempt. 'Quid opus fuit cum legione præmissa Marfo nescio quo Octavio, scelerato latrone atque egente, qui popularetur agros, vexaret urbes, non ad spem constituendæ rei familiaris, quam tenere cum posse negant, qui norunt

(20) In Remark [G], *Cicero*. (31)

(21) *Lib.* 47, pag. 393. (22) *Appianus*, de Bello Civ. lib. 4. (23) In *Annali-bus*.

(g) Anapian de Bello Civili, lib. 2, pag. 279, makes him Twenty five Years old at the Death of Julius Caesar. See Remark [E] of the Article TULLIA.

(24) Cicero, Philip. 11, c. 2.

(25) Noris Cenotaph. Milan. pag. 278.

(26) That of Prefectus Nocturnarum excubiarum.

(27) Onomast. pag. 638.

(28) Note, That as to this Fault there are some Chronologers who hold that Caesar was killed in the Year 709. See the Remark [O] of the Article CÆSAR.

(29) See Fabricius in Vita Clæronis, ad ann. ult. pag. m. 214.

(30) Cicero, Philip. 13, cap. 11.

(31) Apud Cicer. ibid.

(32) Cicer. Philip. 11, init. cap. 1.

(33) Valef. in Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 29, cap. 2, pag. m. 562.

Twenty seven Years of Age (g). To know his restless turbulent Temper; it is enough to remember, that, after the Example of *Clodius*, he got himself adopted by a *Plebeian*, in order to be made Tribune of the People (b). *Moreri's* Faults are considerable [G].

(mihî enim hic Senator ignotus est) sed ad presentem patium mendicitatis sue? Consecutus est Dolabella (24).—What Occasion was there for one *Marcus Octavius*, a necessitous Villain, to be sent with a Legion, to plunder the Country and harraßs the People, not out of hopes of enriching himself? (For those who know him, which I must confess I do not, say he never will) but for a present supply of his neediness? Dolabella, &c. This mistake of *Usher*, criticised by Father *Noris* (25), is the more excusable, as *Appian* describes his *Marcus* by an Employment of less Consideration than what *Dion* gives to *Octavius* (26). I believe it should be read in *Dion* Μαρκος Οκταβιος, and not Μαρκος Οκταβιος. If it be said, that on the contrary it should be read in *Cicero* Marcus Octavius, and not *Marcus Octavius*, I answer, my conjecture is founded upon *Appian's* calling this Person, merely *Marcus*. It would be absurd to read *Marcus* in *Appian*; for in a History they never specify People by their first name only: I would not totally reject *Glandorp's* Supposition (27), that this Man's Name was *Marcus Octavius Marcus*.

[G] *Moreri's* faults are considerable. I. He should not have advanced it as a doubtful thing, that the *Dolabellas* were descended from the *Cornelian* Family. For it is a certain Fact which none are ignorant of. II. In speaking of *Dolabella*, declared an Enemy to the Republic for the murder of *Trebonius*, he should not have omitted his Name or his Forename. I say the same concerning the other *Dolabellas* mentioned by *Moreri*. III. He ought not to have said that he was declared an Enemy to the Common-Wealth, in the Year 710, but in the Year 711; for the Death of *Trebonius* was heard at Rome a Year (28) after *Caesar* was killed (29). *Hirtius*, who was Consul in the Year 711, was actually discharging his Office (30), when *Marc Antony* wrote to him (31): 'De diffide pœnas scelerum, he speaks of *Trebonius*, cineri atque ossibus clarissimi viri, & apparuisse nomen Deorum intra finem anni vertentis, aut jam soluto supplicio paritidii aut impendente latandum est. The Wretch *Trebonius* has suffered this punishment to appease the Manes of that great Man, and the vengeance of the Gods displayed itself within the Year: we may rejoice now that he hath either suffered, or soon will.' IV. He should not have described this *Dolabella* by his great Power over *Antony's* Mind, since the quarrels between those two Men are a thousand times better known, and were of a much longer Duration than their Friendship. Quorum summum quondam inter ipsos odium, bellumque meministis, eosdem postea singulari inter se consensu, & amore devinxit impurissimæ naturæ & turpissimæ vitæ similitudo (32).—Their former Hatred, and professed Enmity, was converted into Friendship, by a concurrence of the most impure Minds, and a similitude in Villany. V. He should not have distinguished him from *Cicero's* Son-in-Law. VI. Nor perhaps from him who referred to the Court of *Areopagus* the trial of that Woman of *Smyrna*, who had poisoned her Husband. *Valefius* is of Opinion that the *Dolabella*, who refused to try that Woman, is the same that put *Trebonius* to Death, and that perished at *Laodicea* (33). VII. However, he ought not to have given the Author of that Reference the Forename of *Cneus*; since *Valerius Maximus* calls him *Publius*; nor let it be said that *Aulus Gellius* calls him *Cneus*; for besides that *Moreri* cites *Valerius Maxi-*

mus, and not *Aulus Gellius*, it must be observed that *Aulus Gellius* cites *Valerius Maximus* for his Original. Therefore it is more reasonable to correct the Transcriber by *Valerius Maximus*, than *Valerius Maximus* by the Transcriber. VIII. He should not have said that the Woman, whose cause was referred to the *Areopagus*, was charged with having poisoned her Husband, and a Son of his by another Marriage; for the most natural and genuine Sense of the Author's Words, cited by *Moreri* (34), is that That Woman poisoned her Husband, and the Son she had had by that Husband, because they had killed the Son she had had by another Husband. *Aulus Gellius*, who has expressed this Story in other Terms, when he copied it from *Valerius Maximus*, did so well comprehend the sense I mention, that he took care the Reader might be in no suspense about it: Mulier Smyrnæa . . . id fecisse confitebatur, dicebatque habuisse se faciendi causam, quoniam idem illi maritus & filius alterum filium mulieris ex viro priore genitum, adolescentem optimum & innocentissimum, exceptum incidiis occidissent (35).—The Woman confessed the Fact, and insisted she had sufficient Reason for so doing, because her Husband and Son had betrayed and murdered another Son, a hopeful and virtuous Youth, whom she had by a former Husband. *Ammianus Marcellinus* speaking of this Fact, without doubt, avoided the Equivocation which might lie upon the Phrase of *Valerius Maximus*; but as his Text is much mutilated in this Place (36), it cannot entirely remove our Doubts. Some Editions have it, *Smyrnæa materfamilias filium proprium & maritum venenisse necesse confessa*;—She confessed that she had poisoned her own Son and Husband. Other Editions have it *SOLEM PROPRIAM*. All this condemns *Moreri*. We may observe, by the way, one thing, which might be repeated a hundred thousand times, if it was to be mentioned upon all Occasions, that the Latin Tongue has not the advantage of removing all ambiguous Terms as ours has. Here is *Valerius Maximus*, who, in relating a singular and very surprising Fact, makes use of an Expression, by which Interpreters are divided in their Opinion, concerning the kind of Crime that Woman committed. Mr *Moreri* is not the most learned Man, who has supposed that this Woman was Step-mother to one of the two Men she poisoned. The learned *Valefius* (37) has interpreted *Valerius Maximus's* Phrase in the same manner, in which he deserves less Credit than *Aulus Gellius*, who imagined that Woman poisoned her own Son. The difference is so great between the Crime, as described by *Aulus Gellius*, and the same Crime as represented by *Valefius*, that the Historian is inexcusable for relating a Fact of such consequence, in so ill a manner, as to give rise to such a Diversity of Interpretations. IX. *Moreri* ought not to have made the Woman's Husband the sole murderer of the young Man; for either her Son, or her Husband's Son, was an Accomplice with him. X. To conclude, he should not have assured us that the Accuser, and the Woman's husband were the same Person; for since she was guilty of having murdered her Husband, it was not her Husband that prosecuted her, and consequently the Court of *Areopagus* did not order the Husband to appear before them, together with the Accused at the end of a hundred Years.

DOLABELLA (*HORACE*), Author of a Book, intituled, *Apologia pro Puritanis*. It is properly a burlesque Satire against the Protestants. This Book must be very scarce; for it is not to be found, even in the Catalogues of the most numerous Libraries. I know it no otherwise than by having seen it cited in Father *Garasse's Doctrine Curieuse*. It is written by way of Question and Answer, and must needs have used the Scriptures with little Decency, since that Jesuit speaks of it in the manner he has done [A].

[A] He is the Author of a Book . . . in which the Scriptures have been used with little decency, since Father *Garasse* speaks of it in the manner he has done. That Author wrote a Book, which is much sought for, and valued by Men of Wit, in which he overthrows all the Maxims and Fancies of the Puritans; VOL. II.

by formal Texts taken out of the holy Scriptures; but I could wish he had shewn more respect to the Holy Ghost, and not have taken the liberty to make him sometimes say things that are somewhat shameful. Indeed they strike home; but in my Opinion, he had better have used other Weapons; and

(1) Garaffe, Docteur Curieus, pag. 672, 673.

(2) He takes it from the 3d Chapter, Question 38, and relates it pag. 514, 515.

(a) See the Remarks [C] and [G].

(b) And not 1543, as Moreri has it; or 1545, as Mr. Baillet, la Caille, &c. say.

(1) Histoire de l'Imprimerie, pag. 112.

(2) Baillet, Jugem. des Scav. Tom. IV, pag. 516.

(3) They, who had seen the Manuscript, affirmed it.

(4) This is taken from Thomassin in his Treatise de Plagio Literario, n. 409, & seq. Thomassin has taken it from some Passages of Francis Florinus Sabianus, and from the Answer of Dolet.

(10) See Thomassin in his Treatise de Plagio Literario, n. 409, & seq.

(11) See Thomassin in his Treatise de Plagio Literario, n. 409, & seq.

(12) See Thomassin in his Treatise de Plagio Literario, n. 409, & seq.

"and not have prostituted a golden Scepter to stir a Dunghill, as he has done (1)." Father Garaffe has quoted several Passages of this Book of *Doletella*: one of which follows (2): "Quero cur universa nobilitas Anglicana dedignetur servire in ministerio domus Dei, & quare vilissimos homines & idiotas cogantur assumere ad ministerium? Respondetur quia scriptum est Ezechielis XXVII, habuerunt naves ad ministerium; & Joan. II, Ministri autem sciebant

qui hauserant aquam. — I should be glad to know why the English Nobility should all refuse to serve in the Ministry of the Church, and Persons of the meanest Capacity, and the lowest Station, are obliged to execute that holy Office. The answer is, because we find in Ezechiel, Chap. the XXVII, they had Sailors for the Ministry, and in the Second of St John, the Servants (i. e. Ministers) that drew the Water knew whence it was."

DOLET (STEPHEN), a very learned Man, burnt at Paris for his Opinions in Religion (a), the third of August 1546 (b), was a Native of Orleans. He applied himself to reform the Latin Style, and composed some pretty good Works [A] on that Matter. Some (c) have thought that, in his Commentaries on the Latin Tongue (d), he was much assisted by *Naugier*, with whom he had lived at Venice. Others have accused him publicly of Plagiarism [B]. He wrote some Latin and French Verses, which are not amiss [C]. He wrote an Apology for the Sect of the *Ciceronians*, whom *Erasmus* had insulted. Improving good Literature so much as he did, it must not be thought strange, that he had a share in the Affection of *Castellan*, a learned Prelate, and

(c) Stormius Praest. formulae linguae Latinae Stephani Doleti.

(d) They were printed in 1556, in 2 Vols. in folio.

[A] He composed some pretty good Works. You will find a more complete List of his Works in *Gesner*, and the *Sieur de la Caille* (1), than in *Moreri*. I must not forget that *Dolet*, who was Printer and Bookseller at Lyons, printed some of his own Writings. He would have printed the French Translation of most of *Plato's* Works that he himself had made, if he had not been prevented by his Execution (2).

[B] He was accused of Plagiarism. Before the *Thesaurus* of *Charles Stephens*, and the Observations of *Nizzolius* appeared, *Dolet's* Commentaries were no larger than the Elegancies of *Laurentius Valla* (3). They were afterwards swelled to two Volumes in Folio, at the expense of *Charles Stephens*, *Nizzolius*, *Riccius*, and *Lazarus de Baif*. This was soon known; *Charles Stephens* saw some Sheets of the second Volume whilst it was printing; and observed that almost all that concerned Navigation, was taken out of the Book of *Re Navali*, which *Baif* had published. Mark what he did: he composed an Abridgment of that Book of *Re Navali*, and published it. This gave him an Opportunity of shewing the Theft, and some Faults of *Dolet*, who to justify himself published a Treatise of *Re Navali*, extracted out of his second Volume, and added an Answer to his Censurer, and dedicated it to *Lazarus de Baif*. He did not deny that he had borrowed several things from *Lazarus*, but maintained it was no Robbery (4).

John Vallerius made very moving Complaints against the Persecution, which he supposed *Jealousy* had raised at that time against his Friend *Stephen Dolet*. See how he spoke of it to Cardinal *John of Lorraine*, upon dedicating his two Books of Epigrams to him, which he caused to be printed at Lyons: by *Sebastian Gryphius*, in the Year 1536. "Nemo: (ut ingenuè, quod sentio, dicam) tam inimicus nomini Gallico esse creditur, quam Gallus. Id cum multi haestus sunt experti, tum nuper STEPHANUS DOLETUS Aurelius, juvenis de lingua Latina (ne quid simplicis dicam) optimè prima jam adolescentia meritis: reliquo vitæ cursu quid non literis adferret tam divino natus ingenio? tanta laborum omnium patientia, tanta constantia, tanta animi alacritate ad nominis immortalitatem contendens? Is, inquam, ætatis nostræ lumen, ac Gallie sempiterna gloria, invidiæ morsus expertus est vel acerbissimos. Nam cum linguae Latinae Commentarios (at quod opus? quàm minimè à juvene expectandum? quante diligentiae? quanti laboris? quàm exacti iudicii?) ad publicam omnium linguarum Latinae amantium utilitatem in lucem emitti voluit, nullos magis sibi adversos censors sensit, quàm à quibus laboris uberrimum fructum jure merito expectabat. Sed valent hujuscemodi literarum pestes: qui, cum obesse surgenti doctorum gloriae conantur, tum vel maxime profunt. — No one (if I may ingenuously declare my Opinion) is a greater Enemy to the French Name than a Frenchman: of this there are many Instances, and one of a late date very notorious. Stephen Dolet bad, in his Youth, made a surprising Progress in the Latin Tongue. It is not difficult to conceive that so uncommon a Genius, joined to an unwearied Application, may one day prove an Ornament to the Republic of Letters. Yet this great Man, the wonder of his Age, and who will be a lasting Glory to his

Country, was not above the reach of Envy; for being about to publish Commentaries of the Latin Tongue, a Work of immense Labour, and sound Judgement, of universal Use to the Lovers of that Language, and little to be expected from his Years, he met with the greatest Opposition and Censure from those very Persons, whose favour and applause he had the greatest Reason to expect. Yet these blusters of Merit do some good, since their censure most effectually turns to the Honour of the Person, whom they would injure. Note that among those Epigrams are many Lines in praise of *Dolet*, and against his Censurers, and particularly against one *Maurus*.

[C] He wrote some Latin and French Verses, which are not amiss. His Latin Verses, were in *Gruterus's* Opinion, worthy to be inserted in the *Deliciae Poetarum Gallorum*; and if they are not excellent, yet they are not so imperfect as *Julius Caesar Scaliger* represents them. That Critic's Passion against *Dolet* has something in it so outrageous, and, if I dare say so, something so brutish, that a Man can scarce forbear thinking that a personal Resentment directed that great Man's Pen (5). I shall cite the whole Passage; we shall find *Dolet* punished in it with Death, not for what was called Lutheranism, but for Atheism. Dóletus . . . Musarum carcinoma aut vomica dici potest. Nam præterquam quod in eo tam grandis corpore (ut ait Catullus) ne mica falis quidem, vult insanum agere Tyrannum in Poesi. Ita suo arbitrato Virgilianas gemmas suæ inserit pici, ut videri velit sua. Ignavus loquutulejus, qui ex tessellis Ciceronis febriculosis quidam conferruminavit (ut ipse vocat) orationes: ut docti judicant, latrationes. Patavit tantumdem licere sibi in divinis opibus Virgilianis. Ita dum optimi atque maximi Regis Francisci fata canit, ejus nomen suo malo fato fundum est, quodque tum illi, tum illius versibus debebatur, solus passus est Atheos flammæ supplicium. Flamma tamen eum puriorem non efficit: ipse flammam potius efficit impuriorem. In Epigrammatum vero colluvionibus atque latrinis illis, quid ejus tibi fordes dicam? Languida, frigida, insulsa, plenissima illius vecordiae, quæ summa armata impudentia ne Deum quidem esse professus est. Quapropter quemadmodum summus Philosophus Aristoteles in Natura animalium fecit, ut post enarratas partes, quibus constituuntur, etiam excrementorum faciat mentionem, hic ita ejus legatur nomen, non tanquam poetæ, sed tanquam poetici excrementi (6). — *Dolet* may be called the *Muses Canker*, or *Impostume*: he wildly affects to be absolute in Poetry without the least pretence to Wit, and endeavours to make his own base Copper pass by mixing it with Virgil's Gold. A Driveller, who, with some scraps of Cicero, has tagged together something, which he calls Orations, but which Men of Learning rather judge to be Latrations. He thought he might make as free with the immortal Works of Virgil. Whilst he sung the fate of that Great and Good King Francis, his Name found it's own evil Fate, and the Atheist suffered the Punishment of the Flames, which both he and his Verses so justly merited. But the Flames could not purify him, but were by him rather rendered impure. Why should I mention his Epigrams, which are but a common sink or store of dull, cold, unmeaning Truë, full of that thoughtless Arrogance

(5) Mr. Baillet blames him for it very justly in his *Jugement sur les Poëtes*, n. 1279, Tom. III, pag. 230.

(6) Scaliger. Poët. lib. 6, pag. m. 730.

and much beloved by Francis I. Castellan made such Intercession for him, that he got him released out of Prison [D], and justly checked a Cardinal for the Reproaches he had cast upon him on that Account [E]. I easily believe that Dolet promised to be a good Catholic;

THE Ground and Origin of Julius Cæsar Scaliger's Hatred to Dolet.

(7) Thou forgettest two who were better than thy Badius, viz. Geoffrey Tory and Stephen Dolet, whatever Scaliger, out of I know not what hatred, has said of the latter. Naudé's Dialogue de Majourat. pag. 8.

(8) This is what he wrote to Arnaud Fernon. See his 14th Letter, at the 35th Page of the Edit. of Toulouze, in 4to, 1620.

* that braves the Almighty, and that denies his Being. * Therefore as the Prince of Philosophers, Aristotle, first recounted the Parts whereof Animals were constituted, and then mentioned their Excrements; so let Dolet's Name stand, not for a Poet, but for a poetical Excrement. The learned Naudé, who suspected, not without reason, that Julius Cæsar Scaliger was urged to speak in this manner by some private Resentment, did not know the Original of it (7). I fancy I have discovered it. Dolet ventured to interfere with Scaliger; he wrote against Erasmus, in favour of the Ciceronian Sect, after Scaliger had supported that Cause. Now few Authors are pleased with such Seconds. It is looked upon as an affected Design, either of out-doing the first Champion, or robbing him of the Honour of being the only Person who breaks a Lance. It is even thought that he, who intermeddles with the Combat, judges that the Cause was but ill maintained, and stands in need of an Advocate. If this be, generally speaking, the Spirit and Character of Authors, judge what Scaliger's Indignation was when he saw Dolet enter the Lists, and surprise him, as he pretended, in some ill Practices. He pretended among other things, that the finest Passages of his Harangue had been pirated by Dolet, and placed in a disadvantageous Light; and as to the Praises which Dolet had given him, he did not thank him for them; they came too late, and with too ill a grace, to repair the first Offence. A better Judgment of all this will be made from these Words of Scaliger (8): 'Arbitror te Doleti vidisse Dialogum adversus eum (Erasmum) quem non puduit extantibus scriptis meis, flexu alio orationis omnia mea fusturari, atque ineptissimis inurere calamistris. Itaque eadem quæ in orationibus intemperatæ, stilus paulo minus asper, sed emendicatus, ut verbi potius alienis conquisitis, quæ corrogatis, quam oblato argumento ejus loquacitas excrecere videatur. At Cæsarem laudat, inquit; accipio. Nam te ajunt ad eum retulisse, consuleret dignitati suæ, qui temere atque stolidè nimis super Italico nomine ineptisset: à me integrum Dialogum apparatum, quo illius ostenderem & malevolum animum cum inani gloria conjunctum, & præceptis ingenium cum fupore, & impurum dicendi genus cum loquacitate, & amentem dictionem cum impudentia. Ita igitur abdanditum, ut animum meum deflenderet à proposito, ita laudasse, ut sequi potius aliorum judicium invitatus, quam suum ipse libens apponere videretur. Pro ea re data est à nobis opera, ut & eum & alium, quem velit ipse, peniteat posthac rabiei illius, seu impudicitie. Audio illum præfesse Lugduni Librariis, quorum manum emendat. Id quod si verum est, in his libris, quos nuper invulgatos à Grypho ære comparavimus, deprehenderunt etiam pueri nostri vel insigni scutica vitia animadvertenda. Peritrixini cum in hac secunda Oratione, sublati quidem nomine, sed ita depictum, ut vel ab infantibus Tolosanis agnosci possit. — I imagine you must have seen a Dialogue of Dolet's against Erasmus, whereof he was not ashamed to steal the greatest part from what I had published, giving it a different turn, and dressing it up in his own awkward Manner. There is the same irregularity as in his Oration, only the Style is something smoother, but then it is a poor piece of Plagiarism, so that his long winded Chat appears to be a servile Collection of other Men's Thoughts, rather than a series of proper Arguments. But you will say he praises Cæsar; I own it. For it is said that you advised him to consult his Character, and not too unwisely trifle with a Cæsar's Name; that I had finished a Discourse, wherein I should expose his Malice and empty Pride, his Pertness and Stupidity; his Brangling and Improperity, his incoherent Expressions and Impudence. The design therefore of all this fulsome Flattery was to divert me from my Purpose, and seems more the forced effect of other persons Opinions, than a voluntary acknowledgment of his own. Wherefore I have endeavoured to make him, and others, who they had been more sparing of their Rage and Impudence. I am informed he is a director of the Press at Lyons, and, if he had a hand in correcting those Books which were lately published by

Grybbius, our very school Boys have taken Notice of Faults for which he deserves the severest Loss. I have drawn his Character in the second Oration, and though his Name is not put to it, yet I imagine the painting is not so bad, but that a Child may know for whom it was drawn. He says several other things against Dolet in the same Letter. Confirm, by the following Passage of Diogenes Laërtius, what I have said of Authors who write on the same Subjects. Εἰκοι δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν εὐμένεος ὥστερ γὰρ διαφιλονεικῶντες τὰ ὅμοια γεγραφοῖσι, συμπόσιον, Σωκράτους ἀπελογίαν, τὰ ἐδιδάκτο μνημονεύματα. Videtur & Xenophon haudquaquam amico in illum (Platonem) fuisse animo: nam veluti contentionis studio similia scripsere, Symposium, Socratis defensionem, commentaria moralia (9). — Xenophon, it seems, bore no great Affection to Plato; for out of a desire of Contention they wrote on the same Subject; The Symposium, the Defence of Socrates, and moral Tracts.

[D] Castellan made such Intercession for him, that he got him released out of Prison.] Here is what the Author of Castellan's Life says of it (10): 'Id magis verum esse credat qui Doletum longi carceris illuvie sedatum, prima accusatione impie fraudis reum, Castellano supplicie carcere emissus, & omni noxa condonata liberatum esse cognoverit. — He will more readily be inclined to believe this, who knows that Dolet was delivered from a long and grievous confinement, on an Accusation of impious Fraud, and received a free Pardon, at the Intercession of Castellan.' The Reproach that a certain Cardinal made Castellan testifies, that Atheism (11), or something like it, was the Crime that Dolet found himself suspected of: 'Unus primi nominis Cardinalis Castellano gravi & oburgatrice oratione adortus esset, quod cum in Ecclesia Orthodoxorum Pontificis locum teneret, contra omnes tamen homines quibus religio & pietas cordi esset, eorum qui non modo Lutherana luc infecti, sed etiam Dei expertes impietatis rei essent, partes tueri apud Christianissimum Regem ausus esset. — A Cardinal of great note sharply reprov'd Castellan, that he who filled, as it were, the Chair of High-Priest in the Orthodox Church, should, in Opposition to all who had the Interest of true Religion at Heart, openly espouse, before the most Christian King, not only those who were infected with the Lutheran Heresy, but even those who were professed Atheists.' In the following Remark we shall see the general Answer that Castellan made; and here is what he answered in particular concerning Dolet: 'Sed apud Regem Doleti fraudibus & sceleribus nullum patrocinium tribuisse, pro eo qui promitteret vitæ morumque emendationem homine Christiano dignum Regi supplicem factum esse. — That he had never offered to countenance Dolet's Frauds or Wickedness before the King, but had interceded only for a Person who had promised a true Christian Reformation.' This shews that Dolet promised to forsake his dissolute Course of Life.

[E] Castellan . . . justly checked a Cardinal for the Reproaches he had cast upon him on that Account.] He maintained that he had done what a Bishop ought to do; but that the Cardinal would have Bishops to act the Part of Executioners. He told him it was the Business of Bishops, to incline the Minds of Princes to Mercy, and bring home the stray Sheep on their Shoulders. I weaken Peter Galland's Expressions too much, and therefore I will give them in his own words, that the Reader, who understands Latin, may lose nothing. Memini Castellano cum paulum se collegisset animo satis incitato & commoto respondisse, se de quo accusabatur in accusatorem merito retorqueere posse, cum ipse quod viri Ecclesiastici & viri Pontificis proprium esset, fecisset; ille vero quod veri carnificis esset ab Episcopis exigeret. Episcoporum enim esse & Sacerdotum Christi & Apostolorum, virorumque sanctorum qui nobis suo sanguine Ecclesiam consecrarunt exemplo, Regem à sevitia & immanitate ad mansuetudinem, clementiam & misericordiam convertere, errantem ovem humeris impositam in ovile reducere, deque ea recepta tanquam expugnatis hostium castris gaudio triumphare (12).

(9) Laërt. in Platone, lib. 3, n. 34.

(10) Petrus Gallandus, pag. 62.

(11) See the Remarks [C] and [G].

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 62, 63.

Catholic; but as he did not keep his Promise, no body durst appear for him when he was imprisoned the second time. So that being abandoned to the Fury of the Inquisitors, he was condemned to death. A Letter has been published, which testifies that he recommended himself to the Holy Virgin [F], and to St Stephen, a little before he was strangled; but these kind of Testimonies are much to be suspected, for the Reasons that I have touched on in another Place (e). There happened some Skirmishes among the Poets of both Parties, on occasion of this Punishment. See some of their Verses in Mr le Laboureur (f), who is greatly mistaken in saying that Dolet was placed in the Martyrology of the Protestants [G].

It has been said (g), that he was a Bastard of Francis I, but not acknowledged as such. I cannot believe he was that Prince's Son: I know he was very young when he published two Volumes, in folio, in 1536; but I cannot persuade myself he was young enough to be the Son of a Man who was born in 1494 (h). It is affirmed, in the Patiniana, that he wrote some Harangues against the City of Toulouse, for which he made the Amende Honourable.

— I remember that when Castellan had a little recollected himself, he made this smart and proper reply, that he could easily retort the Accusation upon the Accuser, since he had done nothing but what was the Duty of a Person in his Station, but that He required that a Bishop should perform the Office of an Executioner. That it was the Duty of Bishops and Priests to imitate the Example of CHRIST, his Apostles, and those holy Men, who with their Blood consecrated the Church, to pacify the wrath of an angry Prince, and to melt him to Softness and Mercy; that to lay a lost Sheep on our Shoulders, and bring him back to the Fold, was as glorious as a Triumph.

[F] A Letter has been published, which testifies that a little before he was strangled he recommended himself to the holy Virgin, &c. Mr Almelooven (13) has inserted it in one of his Books (14). It was written from Paris the twenty third of August 1546. Florent Junius, who writ it, relates that on the third of that Month Stephen Dolet was executed, and that the Executioner, having prepared all things, advised him to think on his Salvation, and to recommend himself to God and the Saints; that Dolet making no haste, but only muttering something, the Executioner told him, he had Orders to speak to him concerning Salvation before all the People: So that, said he to him, you must call upon the holy Virgin, and St Stephen your Patron, whose Festival is celebrated this Day; and if you do it not, I know what I have to do. Immediately Dolet said a Prayer according to the Form of the Executioner (15), and advertised the Standers by to read his Books with much Circumspection, and protested more than three times, that they contained many things he had never understood; and having afterwards recommended himself to God, he was strangled, and then reduced to Ashes. Florent Junius says, that a Person who assisted as an Officer at the Execution, informed him of all these Particulars (16).

[G] Le Laboureur is mistaken in saying that Dolet was placed in the Martyrology of the Protestants. The pretended Martyrology of the Huguenots makes a great account of this Dolet, who was indeed a Man of Wit and Learning, but a Libertine, as were all the first Preachers of the New Gospel. These are Mr le Laboureur's words (17). A Man might very easily be deceived by them; for who could believe that he had advanced such a thing without having cast his Eye on the Volume, wherein, says he, they have praised Stephen Dolet to much? However, what he affirms is very false; the Martyrology of the Huguenots

does not mention him. I have expressly consulted the little Latin Martyrology of John Crispin, and afterwards the large one in Folio that was printed in French in the Year 1582, but I found nothing in them concerning Stephen Dolet. I remember also to have observed, that Beza, who keeps a pretty exact account (18) of the Persons put to death in France for what was called Lutheranism, says nothing of this pretended Martyr. This Silence would have seemed strange to me, if I had not known that John Calvin placed Stephen Dolet among the impious. Agrippa, Villanovanum, DOLETUM & similes vulgo notum est tanquam Cyclopes quosdam Evangelium semper fastuose sprevisse. Tandem eo prolapsi sunt amentiae & furoris, ut non modo in filium Dei execrabiles blasphemias evomerent, sed quantum ad animae vitam attinet, nihil à canibus & porcis putarent se differre (19). — It is publicly known that Agrippa, Servetus, DOLET, and others of the same stamp, looked on the Gospel with gigantic disdain, and at last fell into such a state of Phrenzy and Distraction, that they not only opened their Mouths with horrid Blasphemy against the Son of GOD, but maintained that, as to Animal Life, there was no difference between them and Swine. Here Calvin and Prateolus are perfectly agreed; for Prateolus, speaking of Atheists (20), joins Stephen Dolet with Diagoras, Evemerus, Theodorus, and such others whom Antiquity had branded for not admitting a Deity. For the rest, Mr le Laboureur (21) cites some Latin Verses; at the bottom whereof is declared that Stephen Dolet, born at Orleans, was burnt in the place Maubert the third of August 1546, on St Stephen's Day, which was the Day of his Nativity (22). Therefore Moreri ought to have called those Circumstances reported by la Croix du Maine into question; and ought yet less to have grounded his doubt on la Croix du Maine's being a Protestant; for if any Mystery were to be found in these Circumstances, it were much more the business of a Catholic than of a Protestant to find it out; a Catholic would draw more devout Reflexions from it than a Protestant.

I have just now discovered, that Theodore Beza, who before he made a public Profession of the Reformed Religion, had published an Epitaph that was very much to the Honour of our Dolet (23), left it out of the Editions of his Poems, published after he had abandoned the Romish Faith. This is a proof, the Protestants did not concern themselves with the Punishment of that Man.

DOMITIA LONGINA, Daughter of the illustrious Domitius Corbulo (a), rendered herself unworthy of such a Father by her Lasciviousness. Domitian, having been declared Cæsar, gave himself over to all manner of Licentiousness. He debauched several Women, and finding Domitia much to his Mind, he obliged her to forsake her Husband (b). He kept her some time as a Concubine, and afterwards solemnly married her (c). The Dignity of an Empress did not hinder her from falling in love with a Comedian [A]. For this reason the Emperor repudiated her: But not being able

[A] The Dignity of an Empress did not hinder her from falling in love with a Comedian. That Comedian's Name was Paris: He was killed in the open Street by Domitian's Order for daring to lie with the Empress. Domitian would have had his Wife's Throat cut to punish that infamous Commerce, but by Urfus's Advice he was satisfied with putting her away. Xiphili-

anus tells us no more of it (1); but we learn from Suetonius, that Domitian soon called her home again. Uxorero Domitianam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat, alteroque anno a consulatu filiam, Augustam eandem Paridis Histrionis amore deperditam, repudiavit, intraque breve tempus impatiens discidium quasi effugitante populo reduxit (2). — He divorced

(e) See, above, Rem. [I] of the Article BÉRQUIN.

(f) Addit. à Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 355, 356.

(g) Patiniana, pag. 22. Paris Edit.

(h) It is the Year Francis I was born in.

(14) He was Physician at Tergou, and is now, in 1699, a Professor of Polite Learning at Hardwicke.

(15) Intitul'd, Athanasius Theologico-Philologicae. Amsterdam, 1694.

(16) Mi Deos quem toties offendi propitius esto, teque Virginem matrem precor, diuque Stephanum, ut apud Dominum pro me peccatore intercedat. — My God, whom I have so often offended, be merciful, and thou, O Virgin Mother, and thou, O holy Stephen, intercede for me a Sinner. Apud Almelooven, pag. 79.

(17) Hec quæ scribo didici ab eo qui executioni interfuit ex officio. Ibid.

(18) Le Laboureur. Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 355.

(a) Xiphilin. in Vespas. pag. 217.

(b) Sueton. in Domit. cap. 11.

(c) Xiphil. ubi supra.

(18) In the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches of France.

(19) Calvin, in Tract. de Scandal. pag. 60. Tractatum Theologicorum.

(20) In Elencho Hæret. voce Athei.

(21) Ubi supra, pag. 356.

(22) Stephanus Doletus Aurelius Gallus, die sancto Stephano sacro, & natus & Vulcanus devotus in Malbertina area Lutetiae 3. Augusti 1546.

(23) It is among the Juvenilia Theodori Bezae, at the Tourny first Leaf of the Edition I use, which is in 1600 without the Printer's Name or Date.

(1) Xiphil. in Domitiano, pag. 230, 231.

(2) Sueton. in Domit. cap. 3.

able to live without her, he took her again a little while after (d); and to conceal this Indignity, alledged, that the People were desirous that he should take Domitia home again: *Id populus curat scilicet.* It is pretended, that this Woman, distrustful of her Husband's cruel Temper, sought means to rid herself of him, and that she had a hand in the Conspiracy by which he perished [B]. Titus, the Brother of Domitian, was suspected of having had to do with her; but she was judged innocent, when she denied it upon Oath; for, instead of denying such Adventures, it had been always her way to boast of them [C]. She had a great regard for Josephus, and never ceased doing him good Offices (e). As for her first Husband (f), he was not secure by parting with her: For Domitian, not satisfied to have taken his Wife from him, took away his Life also (g). We read, in Procopius, a Fact very worthy of Praise, concerning the Wife of Domitian [D]. The Question is if it be true.

(d) Sueton. ibid. cap. 3.

(e) Joseph. de Vita sua, sub fin.

(f) His Name was Aelius Lamia.

(g) Sueton. ibid. cap. 10.

* his Wife Domitia, by whom he had a Son in his second Consulship, and a Daughter the second Year after, because, though an Empress, she was enamoured with a Player; but in a little time, not able to live without her, he took her again under pretence that the People earnestly desired it. It is very likely that Dion had not forgot this Conduct of Domitian, and it must be owing to Xiphilin's ill taste, if it is not to be found in his Abridgment of Dion. I maintain that the suppressing such a Fact discovers an ill taste; for Domitian's ill Qualities are set in a much better Light, when it is known he had the Baseness to return the Dignity of Empress to a Woman who had prostituted herself to a Player: It is a very sensible Evidence of a worthless Soul, which draws on that Tyrant's Memory all the Contempt and Horror it deserves. And as it is the Duty of an Historian to discover the Character of his Actors by the boldest Strokes, which mark the Extent of their Virtues, or of their Vices; it is plain, that Xiphilin had but little Judgment if he did not think himself obliged to preserve the recalling of Domitia; for I take it for granted, he found it in the History he abbreviated. Nor let it be alledged that he did the Office of an Abbreviator; one Line was sufficient to inform us that Domitia was recalled. The Principle now laid down is not favourable to Suetonius, in relation to our Domitia. That Historian suppresses her having been Domitian's Concubine for some time: he pretends, she left her first Husband only to marry that Prince. This is extenuating her Fault, and concealing the Extent of her Irregularities from the Reader. Is this the Duty of an Historian?

[B] It is pretended that she had a hand in the Conspiracy, by which Domitian perished. Aurelius Victor is the only Person who remarks it: 'Adscita etiam in consilium tyranni uxor Domitia, ob amorem Parisidis Histrionis à Principe cruciatus formidante (3).

ADVICE to the Authors of Abridgments.

(3) Aurel. Victor in Epitome Imperatorum.

— Having engaged the Tyrant's Wife in the design, who, for her Love to Paris the Player, was in danger of being called to Justice by her Husband. It is surprising that the other Writers should be ignorant of this.

[C] Instead of denying such Adventures, it had been her way always to boast of them. This is the height of Impudence. Suetonius acted like a Historian of a good taste, in describing the Character of that Woman by so singular a mark as this. 'Quidam opinantur consuetudinem recordatum (Titum) quam cum fratrisc uxore habuerit, sed nullam habuisse perfractam Domitia jurabat, haud negatura si qua omnino fuisset, immo etiam gloriatura, quod illi promptissimum erat in omnibus probris (4).

[D] We read in Procopius a Fact very worthy of praise concerning the Wife of Domitian. Procopius (5) relates, that the Wife of Domitian, never having approved of her Husband's tyrannical Conduct, and never having done hurt to any Body, was much esteemed by the Senators. Which was the Cause that, after Domitian's Murder, they desired her to come to the Senate-house, and offered her all she should demand of that wicked Prince's Succession. She only desired leave to bury him, and to erect a Statue to him; when this was granted her, she caused all the dispersed and mangled parts of Domitian's Body to be sought for, and joined them as well as she could. The Body they patched up was the Model of the Statue she erected to her Husband in the Street which leads to the Capitol. The Statue stood there in Procopius's Time, and represented the Barbarity that had been exercised on Domitian. The Empress's Aim was only to preserve a Monument of the barbarous Action of the Murderers. Trifan has reason to admire, that so extraordinary a thing, if true, should be omitted by so many Historians (6).

(4) Sueton. in Tito, cap. 10.

(5) In his Secret History, cited by Trifan. Comment. Historiques, Vol. I, pag. 346.

(6) Trifan. ibid.

DONALDSON (a) (WALTER), born at Aberdeen, in Scotland, holds a Rank among the learned Men of the XVIIth Century. He had been in the Retinue and Service of David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Peter Junius, Great Almoner of Scotland, when they went in Embassy from King James to the Court of Denmark, and to the Princes of Germany. After his return home he went to Heidelberg, where the famous Dionysius Gotthofreidus taught the Civil-Law. Donaldson, having dictated a short Course of Moral Philosophy to some young Scholars there, found himself to be an Author before he was aware of it; for a young Man of Riga, in Livonia, who put this Manuscript to the Press [A], asked no body leave for it. The Author, in informing us of this, does not forget the many Editions that were made of that Work in Germany, and in Great Britain. Nor does he forget the Plagiarism of Keckerman [B]. He was afterwards Professor of Natural Philosophy, Morality, and the

(a) Konig calls him Donaldson: it should have been Donaldson: thus the Author calls himself at the Head of his Books.

[A] A young Man put to the Press the Manuscript of his Course of Moral Philosophy. His Name was Vernerus Becker. The Sieur Konig did not well know the date of that Work, since he says that the Author made his Synopsis Ethica in 1631. It is the same Book with the Synopsis Moralis Philosophiae, printed in 1604, according to the Oxford Catalogue.

[B] He did not forget the Plagiarism of Keckerman. The Collection of Plagiaries published by Thomafius, Professor at Leipsic, does not mention the Charge that is brought here against Keckerman. I shall set down our Author's Words at length, because a mistake is to be seen in them, which may be of some use to the Readers, towards teaching them to form a better Judgment of compiled Works. 'Accessit et eorum non tacitum, utcumque suppressio meo nomine, testimonium qui ex eo scripserunt, & in systemata sua quæ

ad gustum videbantur transulerunt. Keckermannum cum meis qui conferet, haud vana hæc aut ostentationi dicta reperiet: plagii manifestarii ex eo mangonem deprehendent, quod ne erroribus quidem mutatis, tanquam mancipiorum nominibus, familiæ suæ pleraque adscripserit. Specimen accipe, quod libri secundi cap. 5. mendose ab operis erat vulgatum, 'plagiarius qui authorem ipsum ne de nomine quidem habebat notum sic nothum citat. Hoc loco subjicimus præclaram sententiam Cassii quæ est 2. lib. epistolæ Ciceronis: ipsi homini duplices manus, socias aures, oculos geminos divina tribuerunt, & quæ sequuntur. At vero apud Ciceronem nusquam ista extat sententia, nec eo libro ulla vel Cassii ad Ciceronem vel Ciceronis ad Cassium epistola: verba autem sunt Amalasuenthæ Reginæ apud Cassiodorum epistola tertia libri 10. variarum quam Senatui Romano scribit,

8 L

the Greek Tongue in the Academy of Sedan, and Principal of the College during sixteen Years; after which he was called to open a College at Charenton; but an Opposition, by Law, was immediately made against that Establishment. Rather than be idle during the time of the Law-suit, he collected among his Papers the several Parts of his *Synopsis Oeconomica*, and printed it at Paris, in the Year 1620, in 8vo. He dedicated it to the Prince of Wales; it is a Book worth reading (b). It was printed at Rostock, in 8vo, in the Year 1624. The Book in which he reduced into the common Places, and under certain general Heads, all that lies scattered in *Diogenes Laërtius* concerning one and the same thing, may also have it's Uses (c). It was printed in Greek and in Latin at Frankfort, in the Year 1612, under the Title of *Synopsis locorum communium, in qua Sapientiae humanae imago representatur, &c.*

(b) Barthius, in Stat. pag. 39, having cited some Words of it, calls the Author fani judicii hominem.

(c) See the Preface of the Synopsis Oeconomica.

bit, rationem reddens cur fratrem in regni societatem
assumpserit; cujus hoc est caput, astra ipsi cœli mun-
do reguntur auxilio & vicario labore participata mun-
dum fulg luminibus administrant: ipsi quoque homi-
ni, &c. (1). — *To these may be added the Testimony*
of those, who, suppressing my name, have copied
from it, and inserted whatever was agreeable to their
taste in their own Systems. Whoever will compare
Keckerman with my writings, will find that I speak
not out of Ossification. The Plagiary may be mani-
festly detected, since he has adopted the very Faults,
as Servants names, &c. As for Example. The Pla-
giary, who knew not so much as the true Author's
names, quotes him by that which the Printer had by
mistake given him in the fifth Chapter of the second
Book. To this I shall add a memorable Saying of
Cassius, in the second Book of Tully's Epistles; Na-
ture hath given to a Man two Hands, two Ears, two

Eyes, &c. But there is no such sentence in Tully, nor is there in that Book any Epistle from Tully to Cælius, or from Cælius to Tully. But the Word is Queen Amalaphaba's, and to be found in the third Epistle of the tenth Book of Cassiodorus; She gives this, in her Letter to the Roman People, as a reason for taking her Brother as a Partner in her Kingdom, of which itself are the Heads; The very Stars of Heaven are supported by mutual Affiance, and administer Light to the World each in it's proper turn; and as to Man, Nature has given him, &c.' If the like Faults were looked for in Keckerman, they might be found in abundance. It is the common Practice of those who compose at the expence of their Neighbour: They carry off the Household stuff, and the Sweepings too: They take the Corn, and Chaff, the Broom, and the Dust at the same time. *Rem auferunt cum paleiscales* (2).

(2) See Plautus
in prologo Tru-
culenti, ver. 9.

(a) Petrus Bem-
bus Epist. 6,
lib. 2, pag. m.
450.

(b) Id. Epist. 7,
lib. 2, pag. 451.

(c) Paulus Jo-
vius, Elog. cap.
56, pag. 132.

(d) Id. *ibid.*

(e) *Id.* *ibid.*

DONATUS (JEROM), a Noble *Venetian*. I shall add something to what Mr *Moreri* has said of him. He commanded in *Brescia* in the Year 1496, and had already published his Translation of the Book of *Alexander Aphrodisæus de Anima* (a). Two Years after he commanded in *Ferrara* (b). He died at *Rome*, after having reconciled the Republic of *Venice* and Pope *Julius II*, and before the *French* were marched out of *Italy* (c). His Children suppressed the Writings which the Affairs of State had hindered him from perfecting (d). One of his Letters contains a Description of the Earthquake that happened in *Candia*, while he commanded there (e). *Pierius Valerianus* has placed him in the List of the unfortunate Learned Men [A]. We shall see the Judgment that *Erasmus* made of him [B].

[A] *Pierius Valerianus* has placed him in the List of the unfortunate learned Men.] And that for three Reasons. I. Because his Domesticks obeyed him so ill, and vexed him so much, that if he had not found some comfort in his Studies, he would have been the most miserable of all Men. II. Because that having had a thousand Troubles and Difficulties to surmount, with incredible patience, to appease the fierce Humour of *Julius II.* he had not the pleasure to enjoy the Fruit of his Labour; for he fell sick the same day that he had concluded the Treaty between that Pope and the *Venetians*, and his Distemper was so violent a Fever, that it soon carried him off; so that he never saw the Happiness he procured his Country, and which he marched out of the Hands of a Rubborn Fortune. III. Because that almost all the Works, which he had writ in great Numbers, to immortalize his Name, re-

mained buried in Obscurity (1), a very sad Disgrace to a learned Man (2). The Author, who says all this, observes that our *Donatus* was not ignorant of any Science, and that he was a Poet, Orator, Philosopher, Divine, and a Mathematician in an excellent Degree.

(1) Quod eruditissimum
indignissimum
est acutissimum
genus. *Pier. Val-
lerian. de Litterat.
infelic. lib. 1,
pag. 62, Edit.
Amst. 1647.*

[B] *We shall see the Judgment Erasmus made of him.*] He had scarce seen any more of Donatus's Writings, than his Letters, yet he believed he was a Man who might have made himself Master of any part of Learning, if the business of the State had permitted him to dedicate himself to cultivating the Sciences: * *Epistola, quod pene solum illius (Hieronymi Donati) habemus, declarant illum quidvis præstare potuisse, si voluisset huc animum intendere, sed Reip. negotia distraxerunt hominem ab ocio literario (3).*

(2) Taken from
Pierius Valerian.
ibid.

(3) Erasmo. in
Ciceroniano,
pag. m. 71, 72.

(n) See the Remark [B].

DONATUS (MARCELLUS), Count of Ponzano, Knight of St Stephen, was a *Florentine*; but he settled at the Court of the Duke of Mantua, and had some considerable Employments there (a). He died in the beginning of the XVIIth Century, before his *Scholia in Latinos Romanæ Historiæ Scriptores* were quite printed. His Relation, *Frederic Donatus*, took care of printing the Remainder, and they were published at Venice, in the Year 1604. Gruterus inserted them in the sixth Volume of his *The-saurus Criticus*, in the Year 1607. It is agreed that *Donatus* had Learning, and yet they speak but meanly of his Performance. We shall see what *Casaubon* thought of it [A], and we shall add to it the Judgment of *Barthius* [B].

[A] *We shall see what Casaubon thought of it.* It is in his Commentary on *Suetonius* in the eleventh Chapter of the Life of *Julius Caesar*. ‘*Tropaea femper scribendum, fays he, non trophæa. Nullo enim modo ferendus est Marcellus Donatus, qui tantum hoc loco perdit verborum, ut probet veram scripti-
onem esse trophæa. Fuit omnino vir ille plurimum literarum, & in Romana antiquitate adprime-
re versatus: sed qui Græcæ eruditionis plane expertus esset, ἀνεύθυνον Criticum ubique sese prodit. Cu-*

'jufmodi fane hoc eft illius judicium. — He fays, the true reading is tropæa, not trophæa. Marcellus Donatus is intolerable, who throws away fuch a quantity of words to prove the true manner of writing is tropæa. He was indeed a Man of great Learning, and well verfed in the Antiquities of Rome: but being entirely unacquainted with the Greek Language, he makes but an awkward Critic, and this may ftand as an Argument to prove it.'

[B] We shall add to it the Judgment of Barthius.] Take

Take it all together, it is rather disobliging than otherwise. I shall set it down at large: We shall see some Facts in it, that relate to the History of our *Donatus*: we shall first see the Plagiarism in it, and then a Copier of our modern Copiers. * Vide multis Andream Tiraquellum ad Legem Nonam Connubialem, pag. CCLX. Et Marcelli Donati dilucidationes in Tacitum, pag. CXXII. Plerique auctorum testimoniis Tiraquello debitis. Eum hominem fuisse plurimarum Litterarum, & in Romana Antiquitate bene veritarum iudicium esse. I. Casauboni, Ultima Editione Suetonii, ubi de Tropæi orthographia sermo est. Nos nihil inde detrahimus. Tamen exscriptorem strenuum recentium, & quidem vulgatorum, Rhapsodorum, ipforumque adeo Lexicographorum, agnoscimus. Editæ sunt ejus *Lucubrations* Venetiis, Anno MDCIV. Ut mirum sit tot paginis in Suetonium scriptis, non meminisse præclari Casauboni Commentarii, qui toto decennio ante prodiiit. Ipse se in Comitatu Principis Mantuani fuisse memorat, & in eo Germaniam habitasse, ad Claudium Suetonii, cap. VIII. Eidem Principi fuit à Libellis & Secretis, in Domitianum Ejusdem, cap. VII. Legatus quoque, deportandis Nuptialibus Muneribus, ad Capitoliū Claudium Albinum. Habuit suburbanum, idque coluit, *Montanaria*, quod est oppidum tertio à Mantua Millario. Quamvis autem hoc quod modo de exscriptione Nostericorum dixi, verum sit, etiam illud quod de summa Græci sermonis imperitia ipse fatetur, & notat Casaubonus; certum tamen fuisse in multis *sanis* iudicii hominem, & qui Juventutis commodo bene fecerit. Nos ista ea de causa huc adnotavimus, ut studiosa juvenus melius ejus Dilucidatoris meritum agnoscere, & cautius omnia arbi-

trari possit (1). — Consult Tiraquellus in the ninth Matrimonial Law, pag. CCLX. and Marcellus Donatus's Explanatory Notes on Tacitus, pag. CXXII. The greatest part of the Testimony of Authors are owing to Tiraquellus. Casaubon, in his last Edition of Suetonius, where he speaks of the Orthography of the word Tropæum, allows him to be a Man of great Learning, and well versed in the Antiquities of Rome. I shall not dispute his Judgment. However I must own him to be a strict Copier from the Moderns, even the meanest, the Rhapsodists, Lexicographers, &c. His *Lucubrations* were published at Venice, An. 1604. So that it seems strange to me that he should write so many Pages on Suetonius, and never once mention the great Casaubon's Commentaries, which had been published ten whole Years before. He says, that he was in the Duke of Mantua's Retinue, and attended him in Germany, in Suetonius's Life of Claudius, chapter the eighth; and in the same Author's Life of Domitian chapter the seventh, he was Secretary to the same Prince, and employed as Ambassador to carry the Nuptial Presents, in the Life of Claudius Albinus. He had a Country House at Montanaria, three Miles from Mantua, which he lived in. Though what I have observed concerning his copying the Moderns be true, and his extreme Ignorance in the Greek Language, which Casaubon mentions, be granted, yet it is certain he often gives us Tokens of a sound Judgment, and has been serviceable to young Students. For whose sake I have made these Remarks, that they may be the better acquainted with this Annotator's Merit, and form their Judgments with the greater caution. Barthius was in the right to think that it is of use to give such Advice to young Men.

(1) Barthius in hac verba Statim Jacov. novæ. Silv. 1, lib. 2, ver. 49, pag. 171.

DONEAU (HUGH), in Latin *Donellus*, one of the most learned Civilians of the XVIth Century, was born at Châlons, on the Soane (a), in the Year 1537. His Schoolmaster, a severe Man, and a great Whipper, had so discouraged him, that neither Threats nor Promises could make him return to School [A]. But at last, for fear he should be put a Servant to a Swine-herd, he promised to pursue his Study for the future. He studied the Civil-Law at Toulouse, under the Professors John Corras and Arnoul du Ferrier (b), who had Four thousand Auditors. He commenced Doctor of the Civil-Law, at Bourges, in the Year 1551, and practised in the same Place with Duaren, Hotman, and Cujas [B]. He professed that Science afterwards at Orleans. He had like to have been murdered in the Massacre of 1572 (c), because he was a Protestant; and he could not have escaped the Violence of the Murderers, if some Germans, who had been his Scholars, had not saved him, by disguising him in a German Dress, as if he had been one of their Domestic. He had embraced the Reformed Religion in his tender Years at the Instigation of his Sister. He stayed some time at Geneva; and afterwards went into the Palatinate, where he taught the Civil-Law in the Academy of Heidelberg. He was invited to Leyden, in 1575, for the same Employment: he accepted it, and discharged it worthily. But having imprudently engaged himself farther than he should have done in Leicester's Faction [C], he found himself

(a) And not a little Town near Autun, as Moreri assures us, deceived by these Words of Meursius, in Hedius natus, which he did not understand.

(b) See Rem. [B].

(c) Note, that, according to Thuanus, lib. 52, pag. 1082, 1083, he taught then at Bourges.

[A] His Schoolmaster had so discouraged him, that they could not make him return to School. It may be the Reader will be glad to see the Latin words of the Author, who informs me of this Fact. Cum puer ob Præceptoris plagosi sævitiam à ludo literario planè alienaretur, ut nullis minis aut blanditiis ad eum reduci posset, fortè accidit, ut pater ejus pertranseuntem istâc pastorem suarum cerneret, quo ad se vocato, epram filio, rogare institit, equid famulo opus haberet? esse sibi domi filium, quem ei mancipare cuperet, aversum à literis & immorigerum. Ea voce puer adeo conterritus est, ut rem seriò agi existimans, & flens parentis genibus advolutus eum obtestaretur, ne se filium suum in eas sordes projiceret, velle se literis deinceps operam studiosè dare (1). — Having taken an Aversion to the School, whilst a Boy, by reason of his Master's severity, insomuch, that neither threats nor promises could engage him to return; his Father, walking out with him, accidentally met with a Swine-herd, and having called him, asked him before his Son, whether he wanted a Servant, telling him he had a Son whom he would willingly put to him for a Servant, because he was disobedient and hated his Book. The Boy hearing this, and thinking his Father was in earnest, burst into Tears, and falling at his Father's Feet, begged of him not to throw him into so sordid a State, promising for the future to attend his Study with the utmost Application.

[B] He professed the Law at Bourges with Duaren,

Hotman, and Cujas. The Author, whom I cited above (2), gives him another Colleague, to wit, Eguinard Baron; but because I know that Eguinard Baron died in the Year 1550, I would not say that he was Professor of Law at the same time with Doneau, who, according to my Author's own Relation (3), did not teach the Law at Bourges till he had commenced Doctor there in that Science, in the Year 1551. Duaren conferred that Degree upon him the seventeenth of July. The Speech he made on that Occasion in praise of Doneau, is printed among his Works. Father Jacob (4) who had read Doneau's Funeral Oration made by Scipio Gentilis, has distinguished, better than Paul Freher, what ought to have been distinguished. He says no more, than that Doneau was very assiduous at the Lectures of Eguinard Baron, and at those of Francis Duaren, and that he insinuated himself into their Favour, and that Duaren, in particular, testifies a singular Affection for him. I have corrected another Fault of Paul Freher: he calls Arnoldum Ferronum one of the Professors of Toulouse, of whom our Doneau was a Disciple; he ought to have called him Arnoldum Ferrerium, as Father Jacob has done. Let this serve for one Example of the Negligence I have mentioned before (5).

[C] He did imprudently engage too far in Leicester's Faction. Leicester had brought 6000 English into Holland about the end of the Year 1585, and instead of maintaining the Liberty of that new Republic, he

(2) Paul. Freher.

(3) Freher.

(4) Ludovici Jacob. de cl. ris Scriptor. Cabillonensis, pag. 42.

(5) In the Remark [B] of the Article DEMETRIUS, Citat.

(19).

(1) Freherus, in Theatro, pag. 924.

(d) Taken from the Theatre of Paul Freherus, pag. 924, where he cites, *Vite Professorum Leydenium, and the Funeral Program of Hugo Donellus.*

himself obliged to leave Holland in the Year 1588. He returned into Germany, and was Professor of Law at Altorf all the Remainder of his Life. He died the fourth of May, 1591. His Memory was so extraordinary, that he knew the whole Body of the Law by heart (d). You will find the Titles of some of his Works in Moreri. The rest are of the same kind. He had endeavoured all his Life-time to lessen the Reputation of Cujas by his Criticisms upon him (e). *Tbuanus* has committed some Faults [D].

(e) See Rem. [D].

(6) Professor of Civil-Law at Franeker: he died the eighth of Novemb. 1694.

aspired to the Sovereignty: And as he was not ignorant that the People, being supported by the Preachers, adhered to the Interest of the Governour against the Magistrates Party; he dexterously fomented those Dispositions of the People, and succeeded the more easily because the opposite Faction drew the Hatred of the Clergy upon themselves, by opposing the Authority of the Consistories. Mr Hubert (6), who informs me of this, adds, that those of the Consistorian Party maintained, that the Sovereignty did not belong to the Magistrates, but to the People; a Thesis, which the States of Holland ordered to be condemned the sixteenth of October 1587. All these Intrigues of Leicester, filled the new Republic with Parties, and some Plots were even discovered, whereby he endeavoured to seize on some of the greatest Towns, and particularly of Leyden. These were the Affairs, in which our Donellus was concerned, and for which he was banished. 'Infidiae quoque civitatis Hollandiae occupandis, nominatim Dordraci Leidæque factæ sunt, ubi proditores quidam capite, & Hugo Donellus Juris Antecessor exilio multati (7). — There was a design formed also to surprise some Cities of Holland, particularly Leyden and Dort; but the Traytors, being detected, were punished, some with Death, and Doneau, Professor of Law, banished.' 'Eam conjunctionem (plebis & Concionatorum cum Gubernatore) Leicesterius imprimis curæ habuit, obtestando optimatibus, & concionatores plebeique specie religionis sibi conciliando. Quæ in re multum ei profuit, quod Optimates disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ fere adversabantur, & Consistoria sibi adversa reputantes, quantum poterant, cohibere gaudebant. Quorum patroni vicissim plebi inculcabant, jus supremum non esse penes Proceres, sed penes populum, cui isti rationem reddere cogerentur. Contra quam sententiam Ordines Hollandiæ decretum five disputationem publicam ediderunt d. 16. Octobris 1587 (8). — Leicester was particularly careful in securing the Interest of the Clergy, and Commonalty, under the pretence of Religion, by railing against the Nobility. One thing of singular Advantage to him was, that the Nobility, in general, opposed the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and imagining that Consistories were against their Interest, endeavoured to the utmost to suppress them. Their Patrons, on the other hand, inculcated to the People, that the supreme Power was not lodged in the Nobles, but in the People, to whom the Nobles were obliged to render an account, which Opinion was condemned by a Decree of the States of Holland, the sixteenth of Octob. 1587.' Most People will take this Matter on the credit of Mr Hubert, rather than on that of Grotius; for which Reason I do not cite what the latter says in the fifth Book of his History of the Netherlands. Thus he must be cited, and not in the fifth Book of his Annals (9). Doneau was not the only Professor, who caballed against the Authority of the States in favour of England. Lambert Daneau, a French Refugee, Minister in Holland, and a Professor of Divinity at Leyden, engaged himself in the same Cabal (10). If *Tbuanus* may be believed, this was the Faction of the Preachers, and that of the Common People; and their

(7) Ulrichus Huber in Historia Civili, Tom. II, pag. 413.

(8) Id. ib. pag. 412, 413.

(9) Mr Teiffier, Addit. aux Eloges, Tom. II, pag. 424, cites the fifth Book of Annals.

(10) Thuan. lib. 88, pag. 147.

design was to subject the Republic to the Dominion of the English (11).

[D] *Tbuanus* has committed some Faults.] According to his Account, we must believe that Doneau upon his leaving France went to Leyden. 'Qui cum primum Avarici Biturigum (12) diu docuisset, post tumultum Parisiensem solum patrium vertere coactus Lugduni Batavorum aliquanto tempore hæsit (13). — Who having been a long time Professor at Bourges, was after the Massacre at Paris forced to leave his Country, and reside some time at Leyden.' Now this is false; for after his Flight he was Professor at Heidelberg, before he was so in Holland. Besides, *Tbuanus* is mistaken as to this Professor's Age: he makes him as long lived as Cujas, that is to say, sixty eight Years (14); and yet Doneau's Epitaph (15) shews that he died in his Sixty fourth Year. See *Tbuanus's* Words (16): 'Pridie Eid. Majas fatis concessit, eodem quo Cujacius ætatis anno, eo minore fama, quod illius famæ voce & scriptis obtereptere tota vita pro ludo habuerit. — He died the fourteenth day of May, in the same Year of his Age as Cujas, but not in so great Fame, having made it his Study and Direction to depreciate that Author's Reputation all his Life-time.' See *Vossius's* Twenty fourth Letter at page 73. I wonder *Tbuanus* could be ignorant that the Zacharias Furnesterus, of whom he speaks, is our Doneau: It is he who, under that false Name, refuted the Apology of the Massacre of Paris, sent to the Diet of Poland in 1572, by the Bishop of Valence. Contra eam defensionem biennio post contraria defensio edita est admodum virulenta à Gallo quodam in Germania profugo, Zachariæ Furnesterii nomine, quæ cum Monlucii nomen & pudorem admodum suggillaret, anno post Lugduni publicatur adversus illum Furnesterii libellum pro Joanne Monlucio episcopo & comite Valentino Dienti præscriptio elegantissime scripta à Jacobo Cujacio I. C. hujus ætatis principe, nomine tamen supresso (17): — Two Years after, an Answer was published to that Defence: it was indeed a virulent one, and wrote by a French Refugee in Germany, under the Name of Zachary Furnester; which being very severe upon the Character of Monluc, the next Year an Answer was published at Leyden against the Pamphlet of Furnester, in defence of Monluc, Bishop of Valence, wrote in an elegant Style, by James Cujas the famed Civilian, but without a Name.' Mr Decker (18) knew very well, that Donellus was the Author of the Writing of the pretended Furnesterus, but was deceived in two things: 1. In saying that Furnesterus's Answer was published in 1572: 2. In imagining that it confuted the Apology that Michael Seureus (a), a Knight of Malta, had made in the general Diet of Poland. 'Sub eadem Catharina infamis lanienæ Parisiensis defensor Michael Seureus, Eques Hierosolymitanus, coram Ordinibus regni Poloniæ fuit (19).'

[(15) a] Michael de Sevre, Knight of Malta, and Commander of the Order. The Journal of the Reign of Henry III, and the Memoirs of Queen Margarete, speak of him under the Name of the Chevalier de Sevre. REM. CRIT.]

(11) Ibid. pag. 146, & seq.

(12) That is to say at Bourges, and not at Rourdes, as it is said in the Translation of *Tbuanus*, apud Teiffier, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 160.

(13) Thuan. lib. 100, pag. 405.

(14) Id. lib. 99, pag. 378.

(15) Arnd Mercurium, Athen. Bat. pag. 132.

(16) Lib. 100, pag. 405.

(17) Thuan. Histor. lib. 103, pag. 1092, col. 1.

(18) Deckerus, de scriptis adefpotis, pag. 203.

(19) Ibid.

DONI (ANTONY FRANCIS), lived in the XVIth Century. He was a Native of Florence, and published a great many Italian Books [A], which made him pass for a Wit. The reviling satirical Character, which at first he shewed in his Writings, was not so much the effect of his own Inclination, as to satisfy the Request of one of his Friends. He suffered some Letters to be inserted in his Works, which were not of his

(1) Ghilini Teatro, parte I, pag. 2.

[A] He published a great many Italian Books.] Ghilini has given us this List of them (1). Quattro libri di Medaglie: le Novelle: tre Inettive, che hanno questi titoli, il Baleno, la Saetta, e il Tuono: tre Dialoghi separatamente stampati, cio è della Fortuna & Infelicità di Cesare, della Musica, e del Disegno: la Libreria, divisa in due parti: un Trattato dell' Uomo in tutte le forme, per comparazioni, alla qual' Opera diede titolo di Microcosmo: l'Eternità della Patria in cinque li-

bri spiegata: una Comedia intitolato lo Stufaiuolo: i Marmi, ne quali s'introducono più persone a discorrere: i Mondi: gl' Inferni: la Zucca: la Filosofia morale: il Cancelliere: le Prose antiche di Dante: la Guerra navale tra la sacra Lega, e gl' Infedeli in versi heroici narrata: le Stanze alla villanesca: e le Lettere.

I shall touch a little upon some of these Books, beginning with that intitled Gl' Inferni. It is a quarto, of 224 Pages, printed at Venice, nell' Accademia Pergrina

his own Writing: this did him an Injury; for the Authors of those Letters boasted soon after, that they had composed all that was published under the Name of *Doni*. He took care to remedy this Insult, by publishing a new Edition of his Works in a better Form, by the Advice of the Academy of the *Perigrini*. He suppressed the Elogies he had made upon Persons unworthy of that Honour, and praised others he had wrongfully censured. He died at *Venice*, in the Month of *September*, 1574 (a); where he had fixed his Abode about the end of the Year 1547, being about Thirty five Years of Age (b). He was Member of the Academy I have mentioned. He took the Surname of *Bizarro*, which agreed admirably well with his Genius; for he was a Man that had very particular ways, both in his Poems and Prose. His Inventions and his *Concetti* were strange Sallies of Imagination; and he endeavoured to distinguish himself, by surprizing his Readers by Fictions somewhat over-stretched. He was descended of a very good Family [B].

(a) Taken from Teatro d'Humani Litterati, Part I, pag. 20.

(b) See the 224th Page of his Inferni.

(2) See the 224th Page of his Inferni.

grina, per *Francisco Marcolini*, in the Year 1553. The Author had been then above five Years at *Venice* (2), and had determined to continue there all the rest of his Life. He makes seven Hells in this Work: 'Inferno de gli Scolari & de Pedanti. Inferno de mal Maritati, & de gli Amanti. Inferno de ricchi Avari, & de Poveri liberali. Inferno delle Puttane, & de Ruffiani. Inferno de Dottori ignoranti, Artisti, & Legisti. Inferno de Poeti & Compositori. Inferno de Soldati & Capitani poltroni &c. — The Hell of Scablers and Pedants. The Hell of bad Husband and Lovers. The Hell of rich Misers and poor Spendbriffs. The Hell of Whores and Rogues. The Hell of ignorant Doctors, Artists, and Lawyers. The Hell of Poets and Authors. The Hell of Soldiers, Coward-Captains, &c.' This is but the first part of the *Inferni del Doni*. I know not whether ever he published the remainder.

He had already published another Book, the Title of which I shall give at length, as it serves to discover to us the Method of this Man. 'I Marmi del Doni Academico Peregrino. Cio è Ragionamenti introdotti à farsi da varie condizioni d'Humani, à luoghi di honesto piacere in Firenze: ripieno di Discorsi in varie Scienze & Discipline, Moti arguti, Istorie varie, Proverbi antichi & moderni, Sentenze morali, Accidenti & Novelle morali; diviso in quattro Libri. Opera giovevole à persone d'ogni stato per il corregimento de' Costumi, & per ogni professione d'Humani. — The Marbles of Doni; in which are inserted Discourses of Men of different Conditions, innocent Conversations at Florence; Discourses in divers Sciences, witty Sayings, various Histories, ancient and modern Proverbs, moral Sentences, moral Stories; divided into four Books. Necessary for the Reformation of Manners and Men of all Professions, &c.' I have not the first Edition of this Book, which is that of *Venice* in 1552; but I have the Edition of 1609, in *Venetia*, presso Gio. Battista Bertoni, in 4to.

In the Year 1565, he printed another Book in 8vo, at the same place, appresso *Fran. Rampazetto*, intitled *La Zucca del Doni Fiorentino*, divisa in cinque libri di gran valore, sotto titolo di poca considerazione.

It is observed by *Ghilini*, that the *La Libreria* of *Doni* is divided into two Parts: but Mr *Tessier* speaks otherwise of it. 'La Libreria, says he (3), divisa in tre Trattati: Nel primo sono scritti li Autori volgari, con cento e più Discorsi sopra di quelli: Nel secondo, sono dati in luce tutti i Libri che l'Autore ha veduti a penna, il nome de' compositori dell' opere,

i titoli, &c. le materie: Nel terzo, si legge l'invenzione dell'Academie, insieme con i soprannomi, i motti, le imprese, & l'opere fatte da tutti li Academici. In Vinegia appresso *Gabriel Giolito de Perari*, 1557, in 12, & ibidem apud *Altabellum Salicatum*, 1580, in 12. — The Libreria, says he, is divided into three parts. In the first, are vulgar Authors with above a hundred discourses thereupon. In the second, are all the Manuscripts that the Author had seen, the Names of the Authors, their Titles and Subjects. In the third, are Academical Inventions, with the Surnames, Devices, Emblems, and Works of the Fellows of Universities, &c.'

[B] He was of a very good Family. I have read a Letter written from *Como* by *Benedict Valpe*, in which he observes that he was Great-Grandson of *SALVINO DONI*, Cotemporary with *Dante*, and a good Poet. 'Io non ho già la Poesia per heredità, come voi, che sete Figliuolo d'un Nipote de' *Salvino Doni*, che fu compagno di *Guittone Saluti* Messer *Cino*, & *Dante*, Franchescin nostro, & tutta quella schiera (4). — I do not inherit Poetry, as you do, who are the Son of a Nephew of *Salvino Doni*, who was the Comrade of *Guittone Saluti*, Messer *Cino*, and *Dante*, our Franchescin, and all that herd of Poets.' *Doni* answered, that he was descended from a Man, who brought from *Rome* the Present of a Coat of Arms, which was made to the *Florentines*; that the Posterity of that Man remained in *Florence* to the time of *Farinata de gli Uberti*; that at this time one *FRANCESCO DONI*, who was of the *Gibelin* Party chose rather to leave *Florence*, than to consent the City should be dismantled (5). He married a Wife, a Native of *Fiesola*: from this Marriage are derived many Families settled at *Pistoia*, in *Hungary*, and in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Salvino Doni* was descended from the latter. He wrote a Sonnet, to which *Dante* made a reply, which is printed in the Collection of old Pieces (6). *Moreri's* Dictionary makes mention of the Branches of this Family settled in *France*.

Note that all the *Doni's* were not Noble. Some of them are descended from a Factor who assumed the Name of his Master, 'Eui un' altra parte de' *Doni*, che son nati d'un Fattore, il quale faceva le facende loro, come ne sono molti nella Città di Firenze, i quali usurpono spesso la robba & i nomi delle case nobili, dove hanno fatto la fattoria molto tempo; cosa molto infame & vituperosa (7). . . . vi sapro dire quali sono i *Doni* nobili discesi dalla vera casa, & quali sono i plebei venuti per via di fattorie (8).

(4) La Zucca del Doni, folio 312, verso.

(5) Leandro Alberti, Descritt. di tutta l'Italia, folio m. 44, verso, relates the fact otherwise, and without saying a Word of *Doni*.

(6) Taken from a Letter of *Doni*, printed at the end of his *Zucca*, folio 314.

(7) Le *Doni*, folio 314, verso, of the *Zucca*.

(8) Ib. fol. 315.

(3) Tessier in Catalogue Astrum. &c. pag. 22, Edit. Genev. 1636.

DONZELLINUS (JEROM), a learned Italian Physician, and Author of some Books [A]. He flourished in the XVIth Century. He was born at *Orzi Nuovi*, in the Territory of *Brescia*, and practised Physic in *Brescia* for some time: but he was forced to leave it, by a Paper-Quarrel, in which he was engaged, against *Vincent Calzavaglia*, in defence of *Joseph Valdagnia* (a). They were both Physicians; the former published a Book against the other, and was confuted in so terrible a manner by *Donzellinus*, that *Joseph Valdagnia* and his Defender were both obliged to abandon the City of *Brescia*. The latter retired to *Venice*, where he practised Physic with great Success. But it is pretended that he came to a tragical Death there, and that, having been charged with an execrable Crime against the Majesty of Religion and the State, he was condemned to be thrown into the Water (b). *Cozzando*, who furnished me with this Article, places

(a) A Physician of *Brescia*, born at *Verona*.

(b) Leonardo Cozzando, della Libreria *Brescia*, na, pag. 197, 198.

(1) Printed at Basil, apud Petrum Pernam, 1550, in 8vo, Epit. Gesneri, pag. m. 775.

[A] He is the Author of some Books. He translated out of Greek into Latin *Galen's* Treatise de *Pisfana*, and eight Orations of *Themistius* (1). His *Consilia* and *Epistole Medicæ* may be found in the Collection published by *Scholz* at *Frankfort* in 1598. His Letter

De natura, causis, & curatione Febris pestilentis, ubi insuper de Tberiaca natura & viribus exatius diffinitur, was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1570, in 4to (2).

8 M

[B] There

(2) See *Lindner*, nus *Renovatus*, pag. 419, 420.

places this in the Year 1560. There is a Book ascribed to this Physician, which may very well belong to another JEROM DONZELLINUS [B].

[B] There is a Book ascribed to him, which may very well belong to another JEROM DONZELLINUS. It is intitled *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum, sive de compensanda Ira*, and was printed at Venice, in 1586, in 4to; at Altorf, in 1587, in 8vo; and at Leyden, in 1635, in 12mo (3). The Oxford Catalogue, *Lindinius renovatus*, Leonardo Cozzando, Konig, &c. ascribe it to the Author of the Books I have mentioned, but I doubt without sufficient Reason; for the Donzellinus, who wrote *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum*, is surnamed *Veronensis* in the title of the Work; and it is certain the other is surnamed *Brixienfis* (4). If Cozzando had rightly fixed the tragical

end of the latter, under the Year 1560, he would certainly have been wrong in ascribing to him the *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum*, a Work that the Author dedicates to *Sixtus Vicedomini*, Bishop of Modena, and Son of Cardinal Moron's Sister. This Cardinal lived to 1580, and was dead when the Epistle Dedicatory was wrote of the *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum*. This Treatise is full of good Morality: the Author declares, that he is not one of those, who imagine that the immortality of the Soul cannot be proved by philosophical Reasons (5), and he endeavours to justify *Galen*, who is charged with not distinguishing the Soul from the Constitution of the Body (6).

(3) This Edition contains 256 Pages.

(4) Epit. Gesneri, pag. 347.

(5) Donzell. *Remed. ferend. Injur.* pag. 143, 144, Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1635.

(6) Id. *ibid.* pag. 143, & seq.

DORIEUS, Son to *Diagoras*, the *Rhodian*, acquired unparalleled Glory in the public Games of Greece. This was in some measure hereditary. For his Father bore an illustrious Rank among those who had carried the Prize in those Games. *Dorieus* obtained Crowns in the Olympic Games. He won eight Crowns successively in the *Isthmian* Games, and seven in the *Nemean* (a). See the Sequel of his History in the Article *DIAGORAS* (b).

(a) Ex Pausania, lib. 6, pag. 184.

(b) A famous Wrestler, Remark [D].

DRABICIUS (NICOLAS), a famous Enthusiast of the XVIIth Century, was born about the Year 1587 (a), at *Stranitz*, in *Moravia*, where his Father was a Burgomaster. He was admitted a Minister in 1616, and exercised that Office at *Drabotutz*; and when he was forced, by the Emperor's severe Edicts against the Protestant Religion, to seek a Refuge in foreign Parts, he retired to *Lednitz*, a Town in *Hungary*, in the Year 1629 (b). Having no hope of being re-established in his Church, he turned Woollen-draper, in which his Wife, the Daughter of one of the same Business, was of great service to him. He endeavoured to persuade other Ministers to follow a worldly Profession, notwithstanding the Regulations which had been made to prevent such a Disorder [A]. He forgot the Decorum of his former Character to such a Degree, that he became one of the greatest Drinkers in the Country, indulging himself in all the Actions of the Laics (c). Returning one day from a Fair, he was set upon by Robbers. He defended himself, and was wounded, and perhaps would not have come off so cheap, if he had not been assisted. The other Ministers, justly scandalized at his Conduct, gave their Superiors an Account of it: who calling a Synod in *Poland*, they examined into the Affair, and it was ordered, that *Drabicius* should be suspended from the Ministry, and if he did not live in an edifying manner, that the Church Discipline should be exercised upon him (d). This synodical Rigour made him behave with more Discretion. But it was quite another thing when he begun to fancy himself a Prophet. He had his first Vision in the Night of the Twenty third of February, 1638, and the second in the Night of the Twenty third of January, 1643. The first Vision promised him, in general, great Armies, from the North and East, to crush the House of *Austria*: the second signified, in particular, that *Ragotski* should have the Command of the Army that should come from the East, and ordered *Drabicius* to inform his Brethren that God was about to restore them to their own Country, and revenge the Injuries done to his People, and that they should, by Fasting and Prayer, prepare themselves for this Deliverance. He received Order to write down what was revealed to him; and to begin as the ancient Prophets did, *The Word of the LORD came to me* (e). The next Day he communicated his Vision to the Ministers who were Refugees at the same Place. They imparted it to others, but no great Account was made of it. Those two first Visions were followed by several others in the same Year 1643; and in one of them he was ordered to communicate the whole to *Comenius* (f), who was then at *Elbing*, in *Prussia*. He had one in the Month of January 1644, which assured *Drabicius*, that the Refugees should not be destroyed by the Imperial Troops (g). They committed great Ravages upon *Ragotski's* Territories, plundered the Town of *Lednitz*, and besieged the Castle. *Drabicius* shut himself up in it, and whether he was a little distrustful of his Vision, or thought the best Cause had need of Support, he did not trifle away his Time at Prayers, but kept near the Cannon as they were firing upon the Besiegers, and set his Hand to the Work [B]. Unhappily for him, the Flame flew into his Face, and

(a) *Comenius*, born in the Month of March 1587, says, *Hist. Relat.* pag. 138, that *Drabicius* was five Years older than him self. *Moreri* places the Birth of *Drabicius* on the fifth of December, 1588.

(b) *Comenius*, *ibid.* pag. 141.

(c) *Politica illa cum plebe conversatione corrupti, licentiosiusque poculis indulgendo profanioris vite exemplis abripi visus est. Ibid.* pag. 139.

(d) *Idem. ibid.* pag. 139, 140.

(e) De his visis & auditis in scriptum referendis mandatum accepit . . . & a verbis illis *Fatum est ad me verbum Domini* (i.e. non aliter) inchoare jubetur. *Comenius, Hist. Revelat.* pag. 141.

(f) *Ibid.* pag. 141.

(g) *Ibid.* pag. 145.

[A] The Regulations which had been made to prevent such a disorder. The Superiors of the banished Ministers took care to order that every one should continue in the Town he had chosen for his retreat, and though each Congregation had no more than one Pastor, yet that the other Ministers should preach by turns. This was done to avoid two great Inconveniences. One was, that, without this, some would have wandered from place to place to collect Alms. 'Volebant patres nostri Ecclesiis orbatos Pastores, confratres suos, non mendicitati vacare, & stipis querendae causa a-

lienas terras (ut ab aliis scitatum vidimus) pererare (1)'. The other was that, by not preaching, they would have become less capable of edifying a Church, when ever it should please God to re-call them to their former Functions. 'Ut exilii tractu nemo prorsus laboribus sacris defuisset, potius sese mutuam diligentiam magis acuerent: ut si Deus nostri misertus rursus nos Ecclesiis redderet, nemo hebetatus rediret, exercitator potius (2)'. [B] He shut himself up in the Castle of *Lednitz* . . . kept near the Cannons . . . and set his hand to the

(1) *Comenius, Hist. Revelat.* pag. 139.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

and almost put out one of his Eyes. The Imperialists raised the Siege. But some time after they sat down again before it, and took it. The Refugees were plundered, contrary to the Article of the Capitulation, by which they were to have their Lives and Goods secured to them (b). Thus *Drabicius* fell into the Hands of the Imperialists. But this did not prevent his going to *Ragotzki*, and telling him, in the Month of *August*, 1645, that God had commanded him to ruin the Pope and the House of *Austria* [C]; and that, if he refused to attack that Nest of Vipers, he would draw down a general Destruction upon his whole House, which should not spare even him that pisseth against the Wall. That Prince knew before that *Drabicius* acted the Prophet: for *Drabicius*, according to the reiterated Orders he received in his Extasies, had sent him a Copy of his Revelations, which *Ragotzki* threw into the Fire (i). As to the Order the Prophet brought him in Person, he told him, he had just concluded a Treaty of Peace (k). The Death of that Prince, which happened in the Month of *October*, 1647, threw *Drabicius* into the utmost Uneasiness. He feared his Revelations would vanish into Smoke, and he saw himself exposed to Raillery. But he had one extatic Consolation, which gave him fresh Courage, and prevented him from throwing his Writings into the Fire, since God would send him *Comenius*, to whom they would be consigned (l). *Comenius*, having Business in *Hungary*, in 1650 [D], saw there both the Person and Prophecy of

(b) Ib. pag. 147.

(i) Ib. pag. 146.

(k) Ib. pag. 143.

(l) Ib. pag. 148, 149.

Drabicius

the Work.] *Comenius* blames him for it. 'Drabicio tamen, says he (3), vitio datum, quod dum ex Arce tormenta in hostem libarentur, ille non interesset tantum (ad alios presentia divina spe, juxta promissionem sibi factam, autimandum) sed & tormento uni ignem ipsemet admoveere voluit: cum cum in angulo esse, & precibus vacare, praestitisset. Sed inconsideratus hic novi Petri (materiali gladio Dominum defendere praesumentis) zelus à Domino ipso castigatus fuit: permisso ut flammæ pars in illum retrò se agens faciem illi ambureret, oculumque alterum laderet. Utili communitorio, ut quisque sibi demandata faciat, aliena munia aliis relinquat. — It was esteemed a crime in *Drabicius*, that, whilst the Cannons were playing from the Castle upon the Enemy, he would not only be present, to inspire the rest with the hopes of divine Assistance, according to the promise made him, but would also put fire to one of the Pieces, when he ought rather to have been at Prayers in private. But the rash Zeal of this new Peter, who dared to defend the Lord's Cause with the material Sword, was by the Lord himself chastised, who permitted the Flame to recoil, scorched his Face, and damage one of his Eyes. An useful Lesson, and which ought to warn every one to content himself with the Execution of his Office.' A Man, who thinks himself inspired, ought to be strong in Faith: he ought to say *fata viam invenient, Fate will find a way*.

But on the contrary, we see very often such a one distrusting the Providence of God, unless it is assisted with all that human Prudence can contribute to it. Our inspired, or pretending to be so, are more restless than other Men: their Agitation, their Disquiet, their Vigilance to prepare human Means, proper to bring about events, the least foreseen or foretold, shew that they are too much tainted with those Pagan Maxims, of which I have spoken in the Article of *ACOSTA* (4), that is to say, that, after the Example of the *Lacedaemonians*, they must invoke the Gods by applying themselves to the Work, and that, according to *Hesiod's* Precept, the Husbandman must pray with his Hands to the Plow (5), and that, in a Word, the Supplications of the slothful are unacceptable to Heaven, and sent back empty.

(4) Remark [B].

(5) Thus many understand the Passage in *Hesiod*, lib. 2, εργα και ημερα, ver. 83.

(6) Ovid Metam. lib. 8, ver. 72.

(7) Plut. in Paulo Emilio, pag. 265.

(8) Id. ibid. C.

Sibi quisque profecto
Est Deus: ignavis precibus fortuna repugnat (6).

For each is to himself, a God that dares,
And Fortune always laughs at idle Prayers.

They laughed at *Perseus* King *Macedon* (7), for retreating hastily out of the Battle, under pretence of going to offer Sacrifices to *Hercules*: they pretended that Victory was only due to that General, who asks it of the Gods by fighting bravely. This was the true way of being heard, according to the Heathens: Ἀλλὰ ταῖς Αἰμιλίᾳ παρῆν εὐχαῖς ὁ θεὸς εὐχετο γὰρ κράτος πολέμῳ καὶ νίκῃν δέρου κρατῶν, καὶ μαχόμενος παρεκάλεε σύμμαχον τὸν θεόν. Sed Pauli precibus volens propitiique annuit Deus, quippe petebat victoriam belli & palmam hastam tenens, pugnantisque opem implorabat Dei (8).

— The Gods give an Ear to such Prayers as those of *Amilius*; for Sword in Hand he addressed them, and as he fought invoked their Assistance. Our pretended Prophets at the bottom follow those Ideas.

[C] He went to let *Ragotzki* know . . . that God had commanded him to destroy the House of *Austria*, and the Pope.] He was ordered to go to that Prince's Camp, and to speak to him, first in a gentle Manner, and afterwards with threatening Expressions. He was to begin with informing him, that Heaven had chosen him for King of *Hungary*, but upon Condition that he should destroy the Austrian and Papal Government, in which God would assist him in a particular Manner. In the Conclusion, he was to tell him that, if he disobeyed the Voice of God, his whole Family should perish, even to the very Dogs (9). 'Ignarus horum arcanorum *Drabicius* (10), mandatum accipit 22. Julii & 31. Julii Principis *Racotzki* castra adeundi, Principemque primum blandis verbis, deinde duris, alloquendi. Blandis: electum esse divinitus in Regem *Hungariae*, sed eâ conditione ut *Austriacæ* & *Papalis* dominationi finem imponat: habiturus auxilio Deum ad omnes hostiles exercitus clade efficiendum (Rev. XXX.) Duris autem: si viperinam illam progeniem persequi renuerit, mala induturum esse Deum, excusumque de Domo ejus mingentem etiam ad parietem (Rev. XXXI. v. 4).' This is an exact Imitation of the Style and Manner of the ancient Prophets. I do not find that *Drabicius* spoke himself to the Prince; but imparted his Commission to him by other Hands (11).

[D] *Comenius* having some Business in *Hungary* in the Year 1650.] The Protestants that the Emperor had banished out of his Dominions were always in hopes of being restored: some depended upon the Leagues that were formed against the Emperor, and others upon the Visions of certain Enthusiasts. During the Life of *Gustavus*, the thing was almost certain, and, after his Death, they had no Reason to despair; for his Lieutenants carried on the War to the Honour of their Nation, and the Advantage of the League. Wherefore the Refugees hoped that their Re-admission would be made an Article of the Peace of *Münster*; but they saw with grief that long and important Negotiation end in the Month of *January* 1650 without any Notice taken of their Banishment. The House of *Austria* treated with so much Policy, that it obtained a hundred times better Conditions than they could have expected: the Church paid for the Emperor, notwithstanding the Protestations of the Court of *Rome*; all that he had done against the Sectaries in his Dominions remained fixt, and unalterable. Whereupon the poor Refugees, who were dispersed into several Places, saw themselves in a hopeless Condition, and resolved to call an Assembly to consult about their Affairs. *Pacis* Monasterii & *Onabrugæ* sexennio agitatz, tandemque conclusæ; iterumque *Noribergæ* biennio ventilatz, tandemque terminatz, ultima publicatio incidit in *Januarium* anni 1650. Quâ *Bohemiarum* Regno, cum incorporatis Provinciis, hereditatis nomine, *Austriacæ* Domui relicta, dispersi, propter Evangelium, à spe reditus æterni exclusi, quid jam agendum esset deliberare ceperunt (12). Those in *Poland* desired that the others should send their Deputies to them. All agreed to it but the *Hungarians*.

(9) Histor. Revelat. pag. 147.

(10) That is, that *Drabicius* did not know that the Turk sent Courier upon Courier to *Ragotzki* to forbid him joining his Troops with the Swedes, in *Moravia*, in 1645, and that the Emperor offered *Ragotzki* the most advantageous Conditions of Peace.(11) Per Theologum, Medicum, Auleque magistrum de sibi commissis informat. *Drabicius*, Hist. Revelat. pag. 147.

(12) Ibid. pag. 49.

- Drabicius*, and made such Reflexions, as he thought proper, upon that Person's being promised, by three Years Visions, *Comenius* for a Coadjutor. It is something remarkable, that *Sigismund Ragotski*, seeing himself pressed, on the one hand, by *Drabicius* to make War with the Emperor, and by his Mother, on the other hand, to live in Peace, knew not what to resolve upon, being urged on both sides by terrible Threats. *Drabicius* denounced against him the Wrath of the Almighty, in Case of Peace, and his Mother threatened him with her Curses in Case of War. In this Perplexity he recommended himself to the Prayers of *Drabicius* and *Comenius* (m); and kept himself quiet till the Day of his death, that is, to the fourth of February, 1652. *Comenius*, who did not expect this (n), was strangely surprized at it: the Angel, who had told him all, had not revealed this great Article to him [E]. *George Ragotski*, Prince of *Transilvania*, Brother of the deceased, knew nothing of all this prophetic Management; but *Comenius* informed him of every Particular, by giving him a Copy of *Drabicius's* Writings. *Drabicius* was restored to the Ministry, the twentieth of June, 1654 (o). *Comenius* did this in his Passage through *Hungary*, on his return to *Poland*. After his Departure from the Court of *Transilvania*, he was forced to make use of another Person to notify to the Prince the Visions of *Drabicius*. They came faster than ever, commanding continually that they should be communicated to the Coadjutor, that he might make them known to the Nations and Languages, and to all the People of the Earth, and particularly to the *Tartars* and *Turks* (p). *Comenius* found himself embarrassed between the Fear of God, and the Fear of Man. He was afraid of disobeying God by not printing the Revelations of *Drabicius*, and by printing them to expose himself to the Mockery and Censures of Men. He took a middle way (q). He resolved to print them, but not disperse the Copies: wherefore the Book was intitled *Lux in tenebris* (r). But the Resolution to keep this Light under a Bushel did not continue long; it was superseded by two signal Events, which he took for the great Crisis, and the unravelling of the whole Mystery. One of these Events was *Ragotski's* Irruption into *Poland* [F]; the other was the Death of the Emperor *Ferdinand III*. Neither the one nor the other helped on the Predictions; on the contrary they served to confound them. *Ragotski* perished in his Expedition into *Poland*; and *Leopold*, King of *Hungary*, was elected in the room of his Father, *Ferdinand III*; an Election, which restored the House of *Austria* to all its former Splendor in *Germany*, or very near it, and which totally ruined the Protestants of *Hungary*. The Hopes they conceived upon these two Events being soon blasted, they now repented of publishing their Book so soon. *Drabicius* was the greatest Sufferer

(m) Ib. pag. 156.

(n) Ib. pag. 157.

(o) Ib. pag. 177.

(p) Ib. pag. 179.

(q) Ib. pag. 183.

(r) See the Remark [A] of the Article KOTTERUS.

(13) See the Text of the Article COMENIUS, between the Citations (b) and (i).

(14) *Comenius*, *Histor. Revelat.* pag. 149, 150.

(15) Ibid. pag. 156, 157.

The Refugees in *Hungary* among other things alledged for their excuse, that since their common Banishment they had frequently sent Deputies into *Poland*, and it was but just that they should for once come to them. Particularly they desired that *Comenius*, Superintendent of the Churches of *Moravia*, should be sent to them: this was the more readily complied with, because *Comenius* was at this time invited by Prince *Sigismund Ragotski* to consult about reforming the Schools (13). For these Reasons, *Comenius*, setting out of *Elbing*, took his way through *Silesia* and *Moravia*, into *Hungary*, where he celebrated the Feast of *Easter* with several deputed Ministers, and Gentlemen. *Drabicius* was there, and communicated his Revelations to him, and from that time made him in some Measure his Coadjutor (14).

[E] *Ragotski* died in 1652 . . . the Angel, who told him all, had not revealed this great Article to him.] This Expression, which is an Imitation of a Passage in the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Mazarine*, occurring to me, I have made use of it. I hope shall be excused for it. *Drabicius* is, here, the Angel who told *Comenius* every thing; but, far from informing him of *Ragotski's* Death before it happened, he sent him some Revelations after the Death of that Prince, which supposed him still alive; upon which one of the Confidants said, that *Drabicius* certainly plaid upon them: *Comenius* was silent, but having had time to consider of it, and to examine the Conformity of several Visions, he found that they had prefigured the Death of that Prince a Year before. These are the Men for my Money: they are never at a loss, provided you give them but time to put their Pipes in Tune. 'Febris malignæ morbo correptus fuit (*Sigismundus Ragocius*) quæ illi 4. Februarii vitæ finem attulit. Quod quia nec prædictum adeo, nec expectatum fuit, novus offensionis lapis fuit factum. Præsertim cum *Drabicius* novas suas nobis submittere Revelaciones, tanquam de vivente adhuc fermocinaretur, quem nos non vivere jam certi eramus. Hinc amicorum rei consociorum unus (J. T.) ad me: *Ludificamur quàm verè vivit Deus*. Ad quod nihil quod responderem habens obmutui. Nunc ista ordine legenti sapientie Dei vestigia manifestè sese ostentant' (15). — *Ragotski* was seized with a malignant Fe-

'Fever, which put an end to his Life the fourth of February, which, as it had neither been foretold nor expected, was another stumbling Block, especially as *Drabicius*, still continuing to publish his Predictions, spoke of him as though he was still alive, which we were convinced he was not; whereupon one J. T. an intimate Acquaintance, said to me, We are abused as sure as there is a God. To which having nothing to answer, I was obliged to be silent. But on a second Examination, I could plainly trace the Footsteps of the divine Wisdom.'

[F] The Irruption of *Ragotski* into *Poland*.] *Comenius* sincerely acknowledges, that he took that for the Accomplishment of the Prophecy, which their three Seers had delivered, that the East should join with the North to bring on that terrible Day of the Lord (16). He confesses very ingenuously, that he was mistaken; he could not have said less, since *Ragotski's* foolish design had the worst success that could be. But *Comenius* accounted for his Error in this Manner: it was, says he (17), because I did not sufficiently observe, that, according to the Prophecies of *Christina Poniatovia*, the oriental and northern Lions were only to join, in order to confer together, and should not come to a good understanding, but should part without doing any thing: add to that, said he, that, according to *Drabicius*, *Ragotski* was not to have entered *Poland* without having taken his measures with the *Tartars* and the *Turks*, and without settling all things in good order at Home. We thought, continued he, that he had done all this before he took the Field, and we were deceived in this Point. Consider this well, and see in it a new Proof of the Obltinacy of these Men: they never want Evasions: there is always some Clause which was not attended to; so that they secure themselves a back Door, and a resource to renew their Predictions. If *Ragotski* had fulfilled the Conditions that *Drabicius* had prescribed to him, and his Expedition had notwithstanding been unfortunate, yet they would have denied that the Prophecies had deceived them: for did not *Poniatovia* foretel that the East and North should meet without doing any thing? *Comenius* was more cunning than is imagined, when he tacked his three Seers together: three Prophets are able to furnish more

(16) Ab inspecto Principis Transilvanici adventu, credideramus jam illud impleri quod ab omnibus his Videntibus prædictum, ut se Orientis jungat Septentrioni, tremendumque illud orus Dei m. procedat. Ibid. pag. 183.

(17) Id. Ibid.

Sufferer by it [G]; for the Court of *Vienna*, knowing that he was the Man that rung an Alarm-Bell against the House of *Austria*, sought means to punish him, and it is said they succeeded in it. *Comenius* had nothing to fear from that quarter; he had secured himself in an impenetrable *Asylum*, by making himself a Burgher of *Amsterdam*, where he enjoyed all sorts of Protection. He had nothing to fear but from the Pen of some Divines, and the Reproaches of *Ragotski's* Secretary [H]. But this was no great matter to a Man, who wanted neither Wit nor Learning, nor a habit of writing Books, and especially a way of citing Scripture Phrases, and other spiritual Maxims, with great Airs of Zeal for the Cause of God, and the Destruction of Antichrist. With these Machines he kept his Ground, and, if he lost his Authority, his Reputation, his Glory, it was only with some few Persons of good Sense, who are hardly ever the Arbiters of Reputation. Those, who had once believed him, continued to do so still (I). Thus it will always happen. Thus all Visionaries and Fanatics, in time to come, have nothing to fear: they may boldly vent whatever comes into their Heads, provided they have Cunning enough to accommodate themselves to the Passions of the Times. Indeed they will not have the Laughters on their side, but they will have Patrons that are much more serviceable. Consult the Articles of *COMENIUS* and *KOTTERUS*. The Visions of *Drabicius* reach down to the Year 1666. They are mistaken that ascribe his Banishment to seditious Discourses (I); for he was banished for no other Reasons than all the other Ministers of *Bohemia* were, &c. We shall see, in another Place (u), whether Mr *Jurieu* ought to have said, that the Learned of *Paris* scarce knew the Name of *Drabicius*.

more Subterfuges than one. See, below, the Marginal Note (23).

[G] *Drabicius* was the greatest Sufferer. I never could find any Body that could tell me what his end was, and I know not how far the following Relation may be relied upon. I have it from a French Author (18): 'A great many Reflexions, says he, were made, which I shall not trouble the Reader with, who is not obliged to believe them, no more than the ridiculous Letter, which an arrant Fool, (whose Name and Person I desire to be a Stranger to) sent to a great Prince, according to the extravagant Visions of *Nicholas Drabicius*, a *Bohemian* burnt for an Impostor, and false Prophet, whose Book was carried to the Courts of all the Princes in Europe, even to the Grand Vizier, by a Minister of Zurich in Switzerland: who was fourteen Years in Prison on this account, during which time, as a Proof of his Madness, he let his beard grow down to his Wastle, as a Gentleman very worthy of Credit, who knew him, has assured me.' Mr *Maresius* had heard a very different Account, viz. that *Drabicius*, far from baptizing the great Turk, as he expected, was forced to fly into Turkey, where he died. 'Ad multa particularia processerunt (bi impostores) circa Ragocium . . . magnum Turcam a Drabicio baptizandum (cum è contrario feratur ipsum Drabicius ad Turcas transiisse & inter eos obisse) quorum imposturas & falsitatem oppositus eventus docuit (19). — These Impostors descended to a multitude of Particulars, concerning *Ragotski* . . . but the Grand Turk was to be baptised by *Drabicius*: but the event proved them to be all Chimeras; for it is reported that *Drabicius* went over to the Turks and died among them.'

[H] *Comenius* . . . had nothing to fear but the Reproaches of *Ragotski's* Secretary.] This Prince, having succeeded his Brother *Sigismund*, was initiated into the Mysteries of *Drabicius*: he did not discover whether he believed them or no, but he ordered that they should communicate to him the Visions which *Drabicius* might have for the Future (20). The Princess, his Mother, was made Privy to it. *Drabicius* was commanded in a Night Vision to go to her and pronounce a Blessing, or a Curse, according as she should receive his Prophecies (21). They were referred to the Examination of *John Bisterfeld*, a Divine, and

Counsellor of State, who rejected them (22). However the Reproaches of *Ragotski's* Secretary are an evidence that That Prince had, to his Sorrow, given but too much credit to *Drabicius*. He was not silent upon these Reproaches. *Comenius* represented that the Prince had not followed the Seer's Orders; for he was in Poland without the consent of the Turks. 'Brevi post à Principis Transylvaniæ Secretario, C. S. tristes venerunt (ternâ vice) quibus historice Principis fui ruinam recitans, non obscure culpam in Revelationes istas (quasi fidem illis habens eò impulsus fuisset Princeps) conferre videbatur, causa fuit data ad nebulas illas discutendum scribendi aliquid (23). — Soon after, three successive Messengers came from the Prince of Transylvania's Secretary, on the same melancholy Subject, to whom historically relating his Prince's ruin, he seemed to charge it upon those Revelations, (as if the confidence, the Prince had placed in them, had brought him to it); there was therefore Reason to write something, to clear up the Difficulties, and dispel those Clouds which shadowed the true Cause.' It is hard to say whether *Ragotski* did really believe *Drabicius's* Prophecies, or whether he thought they would procure him the Victory, by the influence they might have upon the People. It is possible enough that a Prince of Courage, and much Wit, but no learning, should be staggered by such Discourses as those of *Drabicius*, I mean that he should think there was something Divine and Prophetic in them, and should be afraid of the Curses pronounced by that Prophet. They gave *George Ragotski* to understand, that his Father and Brother had felt the Effects of them: why should we not think then that he became credulous? but besides, it is very possible that a Prince, capable of laughing at these Chimeras, should form Projects, and great Designs, conformable to the Visions of these People: for to prepare the people by apocalyptic Explications, delivered with an Air of Inspiration, and Enthusiasm is a very powerful Machine to bring about great Revolutions. This made the Enemies of the Protestants say, that their Authors had laboured so much upon the Apocalypse, only to kindle a War over all Europe, by inspiring such a Prince with a desire of improving the Conjunction, who himself had no Thought of it. *Comenius* was not clear from this Suspicion. See the Article *KOTTERUS*.

DRELINCOURT (CHARLES), Minister of the Church of *Paris*, was born the tenth of July 1595, at *Sedan*, where his Father had a considerable Post [A]. He went through the Study of Classical Learning and Divinity at *Sedan*, but was sent to *Saumur* to study Philosophy under the Professor *Duncan*. He was admitted to the Ministry in

[A] His Father had a considerable Post at *Sedan*. At first he was Secretary to *Henry Robert de la Mark*, Duke of *Bavillon* and Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, and afterwards he was chosen Register to the Supreme Council of that City (1). He married *N. Bayrette*, the Daughter of *Nicholas Bayrette*, Advocate of the Par-

liament of *Paris*. Which Advocate embraced the Reformation; his Wife and Children followed him with so much Zeal, that *Thomas Bayrette*, his eldest Son, is in the Protestant Martyrology; and *James Bayrette*, his second Son, devoted himself to the Ministry, and would actually have been one of the Pastors of the Church

(f) Toties ineptis ejus decepti, eum pro magno Propheta habere pergunt, nec quicquam inde detrimenti auctoritas ejus sentit. Sic mundus vult decipi. Append. Discursus Theolog. Arnoldi contra Comenium.

(i) Moreri committit tibi Fault.

(u) In the Remark [A] of the Article KOTTERUS.

(22) Ibid. pag. 175.

(23) Ibid. pag. 182. Note. That if *Ragotski's* Attempt had succeeded, no regard would have been had to the Non-observance of the Conditions prescribed by the Prophet, and thus the same Clauses are Essential or Accidental to the Prophecies of those People, just as the Event pleases to determine. This is their Grand Key.

(18) Rocoles, Vienne deux fois delivree, pag. 381.

(19) Maresius, in Antirrhethico contra J. A. Comenium, pag. 67.

(20) Hist. Revel. pag. 162.

(21) Ibid. pag. 165.

(1) The Manuscript Life of Charles Drelincourt.

in the Month of June, 1618, and exercised his Office near *Langres* [B], 'till he was called by the Church of *Paris*, in March 1620. In 1625 he married the only Daughter of a rich Merchant at *Paris* (a), by whom he had sixteen Children [C]. The Blessing of God, which was visible in his Marriage by an uncommon Fruitfulness, was not less visible in his Ministry. His Sermons were very edifying: he had an inimitable way of comforting the Sick; he employed himself with great Success in the Affairs of his Church, and also in those of other Flocks, upon which he was always consulted if they were of any Consequence. The great Services he did the Church by the Fertility of his

(a) His Name was *h-luc*; he had turned Protestant.

(2) See the Epist. Dedicat. of the IX Dialogues de Mr Drelincourt contre les Missionnaires, touchant le Service des Eglises Réformées.

(4) See the same Epistle Dedicat.

(4) Taken from the Epistle Dedicatory of the third Volume of his Sermons. He dedicated it to Mess. Heudelet, Lords of Preigny, and to the rest of the Faithful, in, and about, the City of *Langres*.

Church of *Paris*, if he had not died the very Week that was pitched upon for his Ordination. Thomas Bayette, by the Advice of Calvin and his Colleagues, undertook the Ministerial Office at nineteen Years of Age, and exercised the same at *Lyons* (2). 'Some Years after, he was forced by the Fury of the Persecutions to retire to *Geneva* . . . but finding no Comfort but in the Work of his Vocation, he was soon sent to *Bezançon*, where God enabled him to found a private Church, and to advance the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST in a wonderful manner.' His Mother, not having seen him since he was a Minister, was passionately desirous to see him; wherefore he took a Journey to *Paris* the very Year of the Massacre. The third day 'he fell into the hands of the Murderers, who having learned from his own Confession, what was his Religion and Office, put him cruelly to Death, together with John Molk, the Husband of Mary Bayette his eldest Sister, and inhumanly dragged both the Bodies into the River. This is the Thomas Bayette mentioned in the Book of Martyrs, where he is ranked with the Ministers of JESUS CHRIST who have sealed the Truth of the Gospel with their Blood. His Mother was preserved from this Deluge of Blood by a kind of Miracle, and fled to *Sedan* with the rest of her Children, where she brought them up 'in the Fear of God.' The last of all was a Posthumous Daughter, and was married to PETER DRELINCOURT, who was also a Refugee at *Sedan*, and was at that time Secretary to Henry Robert de la Mark (3). These are the Father and Mother of our Charles Drelincourt.

[B] He was admitted to the Ministry . . . and exercised his Office near *Langres*.] They thought they might find a Church at the Gates of *Langres* as in a *Bailiwick*. Those, who laboured at this Establishment, desired that Mr Drelincourt might be the Minister of this growing Church. As 'they assured him there was the Prospect of a great Harvest in those Parts, he accepted the Call with Joy, preferring it to all that then offered; for though he was but twenty two Years and some Months of Age, he had the happiness to be desired by many Churches in the Kingdom, and even by some of the most considerable Foreign Churches. . . Upon his arrival at *Langres*, he was full of Hopes; for he found in that City a bundance of those People that were called *Temporizers*, who seemed only to wait for an Opportunity of declaring themselves: and in the Country he saw the People breathing after the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel, and even at the sole report of a Church being to be established there, above 500 Persons ran together in hopes to hear a Sermon. But the necessary Decree for it could never be obtained from the King's Council. 'Mr Drelincourt was so sensibly affected with Grief at this, that it threw him into a fit of Sickness for three Months, which almost carried him to his Grave. . . In expectation of the so much desired settlement, he preached to the neighbouring Churches, and even in the Castle of *Preigny*, where he received the Imposition of hands 'in the beginning of June 1618. He was never suffered to make his ordinary abode at *Langres*: This made him more diligent to visit, instruct, and comfort the 'Protestants in the Country.' At length, when all hopes were lost of seeing the Church of *Langres* established, he accepted the Call of the Church of *Paris*. He preached there the first time the fifteenth of March 1620. But he always preserved a particular Affection for the Members of his first Church (4).

[C] He had sixteen Children. The first seven were all Boys: the rest were intermixed, six Sons and three Daughters.

The eldest of all was LAWRENCE DRELINCOURT. He was first Minister of *Rochele*; but being forced from them by an Edict, forbidding that Church to have any Pastors born out of *Rochele*, 'he

was called to *Niort*, where he followed his Ministry with great Reputation and Faithfulness, till God having deprived him of his Sight in 1630, he died six Months after, being fifty six Years of Age. We have several fine Sermons of his, also a Collection of Christian Sonnets (5), politely turned, and very much esteemed by those who have a taste for Piety, as well as Wit. Besides, being a judicious Divine, a good Preacher, and well versed in *Hebrew*, he had this in particular, that having at his leisure Hours perfectly studied the *French* Tongue, he knew admirably well all the delicacies and purity of it, so that the famous Mr *Conrad* consulted him almost every Point upon such Matters. He left one Manuscript among the rest, the design of which is to purge the *French* Tongue of all low and obscene Expressions, which well deserves to be published. . . . Lawrence Drelincourt was married, and left only Daughters (6). If any one desires to see how much he was beloved by his Father, they need only read the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Falsé Pastor* convicted.

The second Son was named HENRY DRELINCOURT. He was consecrated to the holy Ministry, and exercised it first at *Gien*, and then at *Fontainebleau*. These two Brothers had the Consolation to receive the Imposition of hands from their own Father. The Sermons he preached on these Occasions have been made public. Henry Drelincourt died before the last Persecution (7). He was an Advocate before he was a Minister (8).

The third Son is the Illustrious CHARLES DRELINCOURT, Professor of Physic at *Leyden* (9), whom I have had occasion to mention more than once (10). 'Scarcely had he taken his Degrees at *Montpellier* in 1654, but immediately was he chosen first Physician to the King of *France's* Armies in *Flanders*, commanded by Marshal *Turenne*. Afterwards, being married at *Paris*, he was called to be Professor of Physic at *Leyden* in 1668. He is at present Dean of the University. He served William III, King of *England*, and Queen *Mary* his Consort, till their advancement to the Throne. It was to him alone that the King committed the care of the Queen in her Journey to the Waters of *Aix* in 1681. He had also the Advantage of being Physician to all the great Persons of the Court at the *Hague* (11). I will not pass over in silence one thing, which I have met with in the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Falsé Pastor* convicted, viz. that he had a desire to be made a Minister even after he had taken his Doctor's Degree in Physic. If he has not the Tide, it is certain he does not want any of the Qualifications that a true Minister of the Gospel ought to have. No Divines are better versed in Scripture than he, and very few that he does not excel in this way. His Piety is solid, beneficent, obliging, charitable. Nor has he spared his Purse, or Credit, or Council, to the Refugees who have stood in need of his good Offices. Never was any Man a more faithful Friend than he. Those, who shall write his Panegyric, will find it very hard to determine, whether the Character of the Scholar, or the honest Man, is raised to the greater height in him. If all the Encomiums of different Authors upon him were collected together, they would swell into a Volume. Those his Colleagues give him in their public Harangues (12) seem to me of great value, and it is known they have very lately (13) spoke of his Merit to much Advantage upon an occasion (14) which called them to another object, the greatest and most noble that possibly can be, and the most capable of fixing and exhausting the utmost Attention of the Orator. All the Writings he has published are of an original and inimitable Character. Consult the *News from the Republic of Letters*, wherein you will find Extracts of some of his Medicinal Works. See also the Epistle Dedicatory to a Sermon printed at *Leyden* in 1682 (15). He understands

(5) There are six Editions of it: the last is of *Amsterdam*, by *Nicolas Parmetier*, 1693.

(6) Taken from the said Life in Manuscript.

(7) Manuscript Life.

(8) See the Epist. Dedicat. of the *Falsé Pastor* convicted, dated the fourth of April, 1656. He was not then a Minister.

(9) See the following Article.

(10) See, among other Places, the Preface of the Article *ACHILLES*; the Rem. [A] of the Article *ANDROMACHUS*, of *Cré*; and the Remark [G] of the Article *BRISEIS*.

(11) Taken from the Manuscript Life.

(12) See the Funeral Oration of Mr *Hermann*, composed by Mr *Bidou*, the illustrious Professor of Physic at *Leyden*. I omit many other Speeches where he is praised.

(13) In March, 1635.

(14) The Funeral Oration of the Queen of *England*, *Melissius Spanheim* and *Perizonius* have each made a fine Oration upon the Death of that Great Princess.

(15) It is intitled, *The Stars of the Church*, and the *Mythic Candlesticks*. It was preached by *Lawrence Drelincourt*, before the Synod of *Paris*, at *Fontenay*, the 25th of October, 1677. The Author of the Epist. Dedicatory is called Mr *Baymax*. He was Minister of *Poitiers*, and married the eldest Daughter of *Lawrence Drelincourt*.

his Pen cannot be fully represented [D], both with respect to Books of Controversy, and to Books of Devotion. There is so much Piety in the latter, and they breathe the Spirit and Language of Scripture in such a manner, that good Souls have been, and still are, wonderfully edified by them. It is impossible to express how much the Protestants were fortified by what he wrote against the Church of Rome; for by the Arms he put into their Hands, even those, who had no manner of Learning, were enabled to make Head against the Monks and Priests, and boldly cope with the Missionaries. His Writings made him be looked upon as the Scourge of the Catholic Controversists, and yet he was beloved by that Party too [E]. The great Lords of the Protestant Party always expressed a very great Regard for him [F]. He died the third of November, 1669, in the most devout Disposition that could be expected from a Minister, who had always been animated with an ardent Zeal (b), and who had devoted all his Labours, with indefatigable Application, to the Glory of God, and the Service of the Church [G]. He applied himself extraordinarily to Prayer, and in the last Years of his Life, if he was alone, he never heard the Clock strike, without falling down upon his Knees in Prayer to God (c). The *Sieur Paul Freber* is mistaken in many things [H].

(b) Consult his *Devotives Heures*. They were published after his Death, and annexed to his Books of Consolations against the Fear of Death, in the latter Editions.

(c) Taken from a Manuscript of his Life, composed by a French Refugee, Minister in England, who is writing the Lives of the famous French Ministers.

the French Tongue admirably well. Neither *Vaugelas* nor *Bohours* could mark with so much exactness the faults and neglects of our French Writers. The least and most imperceptible defects of stile never escape him, when he will take the trouble to observe them.

The fourth Son is named ANTONY DRELINCOURT. He is a Physician at *Orbes* in Switzerland, and greatly esteemed in his Profession. The Lords of *Berne* have appointed him their Physician Extraordinary.

The fifth Son died at *Geneva* during his Theological Studies.

The sixth is PETER DRELINCOURT. He is a Priest of the Church of England, and Dean of *Armagh* in Ireland. A Man of great Merit.

All the other Children either died very young, or in the Flower of their Age (16), except one Daughter who is yet alive. She was married to *Mons. Malnoë*, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris; and instead of following him to *Holland*, where he fled for his Religion, in the time of the Dragooning, she staid at Paris, where she makes an open Profession of the Roman Catholic Religion.

[D] He did great service to the Church by the Fertility of his Pen. His first Essay, was a Book of Preparation for the holy Sacrament. That Book, and his Catechism, his Abridgement of Controversies, and his Consolations against the Fears of Death, are those of all his Works which have been oftenest printed. Some have been printed above forty times, and translated into diverse Languages, German, Flemish, Italian, and English. His charitable Visits, in five Volumes, serve for a perpetual Consolation to private Persons, and for a Source and Model to Ministers. He published three Volumes of Sermons. His Polemical Works that I can remember are; *The Jubilee: The Roman Combat: The Jesuits Owl: The Church's triumph under the Cross: An Answer to Father Caussin: A Dispute with the Bishop of Bellai concerning the Honour due to the Virgin Mary: Of the Honour due to the Sacrament: An Answer to la Milletiere (17): Dialogues against the Missionaries in several Volumes: The False Pastor convicted: The False Fate of Antiquity: The pretended Nullities of the Reformation: An Answer to Prince Ernest of Hesse: An Answer (18) to the Speech of the Clergy spoken by the Archbishop of Sens: The Defence of Calvin. He wrote some Letters which are published, one to *Madam de la Trimouille* upon her Husband's turning Papist: one of Consolation to *Madam de la Tabariere*: one upon the Restoration of *Charles II.* King of Great-Britain: Some upon the English Episcopacy, &c. I do not mention the Prayers he published. Some were made for the King, others for the Queen, and for the Dauphin.*

[E] He was beloved by the other party. It is well known that he had free access to the Secretaries of State, to the first President, to the King's Advocate, and to the Civil and Criminal Lieutenants: but he made no other use of their favour, than to assist the afflicted Churches; or to serve an infinite number of private Persons, whom he either advanced in the World, or delivered from the Whip, the Gallows, and Gallies (19). It is certain that the Catholics in France were superior to the Protestants, as to all worldly Advantages, yet the latter were not afraid to preach boldly against the Doctrines of the Romish Church, and to put out Books of Contro-

versy, in which they freely enough called every thing by its own name (20). Many Persons of Merit and Authority, in the contrary Party, were reasonable enough to do a Protestant Author Justice, who defended his Cause well, and kept to his Subject. We have an instance of this in our *Mr Drelincourt*. *Mr Claude* is another; for he was very much considered by the Roman Catholics (21). By which may be seen the Error, or gross Artifice, of some People, who make a Merit of being hated, like the Plague, by the Catholics, or by the Arminians, Anabaptists, &c. If they had done no more than defended their Cause well, they would never have become the object of universal Hatred: Therefore it is owing to their way of acting, to personal Injuries, or unfair Practices in their Writings, that People have such an Aversion for them.

[F] The great Lords of the Protestant Party always expressed a very great regard for him. The Duke of *la Force*, the *Marshals de Chatillon, de Gassion, and de Turenne*, *Madam de la Trimouille*, had a great esteem for him. They invited him to their Palaces, and honoured him from time to time with their visits. Foreign Princes (22), and Lords, the English and Dutch Embassadors, did the same, and frequently all of them made use of his wife Countess (23).

[G] He had devoted, with indefatigable Application, all his Labours to the Glory of God, and the Service of the Church. As he was of a strong Constitution, he never spared himself when any Ministerial Function was to be performed. Upon an extraordinary occasion, he had Courage and Strength enough to preach seven times in a Day. It was through this Strength of Body and Mind which God had bestowed upon him, that, being the third Minister after *Mr du Moulin* was removed, he was able to serve the Church of Paris for twelve Years. . . . But among other things he was more diligent and ready to visit the Sick than any had been before him. . . . He took so much Pleasure in discharging his Functions, and chiefly in combating Error, that he desired to die with his Pen in Hand (24). He preached till the last Week of his Life; for his last Sermon was that of October the twenty seventh 1669.

[H] The *Sieur Paul Freber* is mistaken in many things. I. He places the Birth of *Charles Drelincourt* on the tenth of October (25): And he ought to have placed it on the tenth of July. II. He makes him enter upon his Ministry at Paris in 1619; and yet *Mr Drelincourt*, who had been a Minister from the Year 1618, did not begin to serve that Church till the Year 1620. III. He says, that at the same time (26) *Mr du Moulin* retired to *Sedan*; so that *Mr Drelincourt* and *John Mesrezat* were alone charged with the care of that flock for many Years. *Du Moulin* retired to *Sedan* in the Year 1620, and there remained three Pastors in the Church of Paris. *Charles Drelincourt* was one of the three; and for twelve Years he served that great Church himself, being the third Minister (27). IV. He assures us, that *Mr Drelincourt*, not having Strength to go up into the Pulpit through the Infirmitates of old Age, often preached in the Churchyard, which was near the Temple (28). All this is false. They never preached in the Churchyard of *Charanton*, but upon Sacrament Days, or some other Solemnity, which made the Assembly more numerous than ordinary. Upon such Occasions they preached in the Church according

(20) See the History of the Edit of Nantz, Tom. II, lib. 11, p. 8. 556.

(21) See the Rem. [E] of the Article CLAUDE.

(22) He was particularly valued by the House of Hesse, as appears by the Books he dedicated to Princes and Princesses of that Name.

(23) Manuscript Life.

(24) Taken from his Manuscript Life.

(25) Freber. in *Theatro Viror. erudit.* pag. 696.

(26) That is, according to him, in 1619.

(27) See Remark [G].

(28) Viribus tamen ob senium diminutis Cathedrali confectore nequiret, sepius in cimiterio proximo conciones peregit. Freber. in *Theatro Virorum erudit.* pag. 696.

(16) Among others a Daughter, who died, very piously, the fifth of December 1655. See the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Falſe Paſtor* convicted.

(17) He had a Conference with *la Milletiere*, and confounded him. The Acts of it are published. See the History of the Edit of Nantz, Tom. II, pag. 515, 516.

(18) He writ it under the Name of *Philalethes*, in 1656.

(19) Manuscript Life, as above.

(20) Manuscript
Life. See Rem.
[G].

to Custom, and besides there was a Sermon in the Churchyard. A Minister, who had not had Strength enough to get into the Pulpit, would not have been able to have preached in the Churchyard; for there they preached also in a Pulpit. Mr Drelincourt, whether old or young, was not chosen sooner than another to preach in the Churchyard. V. What he adds concerning the eighteen last Months of his Life is a lame Story: it is directly contrary to this Truth, that this Minister preached to the last Week of his Life (29). Will not those, who are acquainted with the

Practice of the Paris Physicians, be very much surprised, that the Public should be told as a very strange thing, that this Minister was bled four times, during a Distemper of eighteen Months? 'Sequitur: no ante obitum à M. Majo A. 1668. catharris frequentior ad pectus delapsis cum tussi & asthma miserè afflictus; postquam INTEREA quater ipsi vena secta fuisset . . . vitam morte beata terminavit' 3. Nov. A. C. 1669 (30). I cannot tell whether the German Book, cited by Mr Fréber, contains these Faults; but I make no great doubt of it.

(30) Fréber.
pag. 696.

(a) See the Epist.
Dedicat. to Mr
Van Beuning,
before his Treatise
de Oculi et
Partu vitæ.

DRELINCOURT (CHARLES), Son of the former, was born at Paris, the first of February 1633. He received his Degree of Doctor of Physic at Montpellier, in 1654, and after having signalized himself in the Practice of it, both in the Army in Flanders, commanded by Marshal Turenne, and at Paris, he was chosen by the Curators of the University of Leyden, to be Professor of Physic, in 1668 (a). He accepted this Employment, and discharged the Duties of it, with extraordinary Success. His Method of teaching was the clearest, and most exact in the World; and in Anatomy he discovered such Dexterity and Skill as was admired by all. He thoroughly understood the Latin and Greek Tongues, and, considering the vast extent of his Erudition, one would have thought that he had applied himself all his Life to nothing but the Study of polite Learning. You may see more of his fine Accomplishments in the Remark [C] of the preceding Article. He died at Leyden, the Thirty first of May, 1697, after having endured for some Months the most acute Pains, with a truly Christian Patience. He had had the Comfort to see CHARLES DRELINCOURT, his only Son, made Doctor of Physic (b), well married, and the Father of two Sons. He ordered, there should be no Funeral Sermon for him.

(b) The third of
February, 1693.

(a) De Eloquentiæ
& Historiarum
studio. It
is printed with
some others of the
same Author.

DRESSERUS (MATTHEW), born at Erfurt, the Capital of Thuringia, the Twenty fourth of August, 1536, got a considerable Name among the Learned. The first Academical Lectures he heard were those of Luther and Melancthon, at Wittenberg. But he did not profit long by them; for the Air of that City being very pernicious to him, he was soon obliged to return to Erfurt, where he studied Greek under Maurice Sideman. No sooner was he advanced to the Degree of Master of Arts, in 1559, than he read Lectures in Rhetoric at Home: after that he taught in the College of Erfurt, and, being admitted into the Number of Professors of Philosophy, he taught Classical Learning and the Greek Tongue. Having taught sixteen Years in his own Country, he was called to Jena, to succeed Lipsius, who had been Professor of History and Eloquence there. He made his inauguration Speech (a) in the Year 1574. Some time after, he went to Meissen, to be Head of the College there, and having held that Place six Years, he obtained, in 1581, a Professorship of Polite Learning in the University of Leipsic, and a particular Pension was allowed him to continue the History of Saxony. Upon his Arrival at Leipsic, he found a great many Disputes among the Doctors. Some were for introducing the Philosophy of Ramus; others would not bear it. Some were advancing towards Calvinism; others would have no Innovations in Lutheranism. He resolved to keep clear of all these Broils, with respect to Innovations in Philosophy: but when he found their Connection with the other Disputes [A], he became one of the

RAMISM and
CARTESIANISM
involved in
Theological Dis-
putes.

[A] When he found their Connection with the other Disputes.] I suppose it happened at that time in Saxony, as it has done since in Holland. The Divines of the Augsburg Confession, who were inclining to Calvinism, had properly no interest to protect the Ramists; for what Connection was there between the Hypotheses of Ramus, and the Geneva Confession? Nevertheless the Cause of the Ramists and that of these Divines were combined together: both Parties thought good to unite their Interests, that they might be in a better Condition to oppose those who would suffer no Innovations. Without doubt this was the reason that the rigid Lutherans opposed the Ramists, with the same vigour as they did the Abettors of Calvinism. By this you will understand what I said, that Matthew Dresserus declared himself against the subtilties of Ramus, when he observed that they were complicated with the Theological Disputes which troubled Saxony. This is a just Representation of the Combination, which is seen in Holland, between Cocceianism, and Cartesianism: these two things have only this in common; that one is looked upon as a new Method of explaining Divinity, and the other as a new Philosophy. For any thing further, the Principles of the Cocceians, and the Spirit of their Hypotheses, are vastly different from the Cartesian Spirit.

Let us see Melchior Adam's own Words. 'Venit autem Lipsiam eo tempore, quo (verba referimus ipsius Dresseri) anceps malum in Academiam illam inva-

serat: dum nonnulli argutias Rami, repudiata doctrina Aristotelis & Melancthonis invehere conarentur: alii religionis quædam dogmata ad sensum Calvinii inflecterent. Utrumque extremum declinare ipse cupiebat: & quoniam concertatio de Rami novitatibus Philosophicam communitatem vehementer conturbabat, abstinendum sibi ab ejus consortio esse putavit, ne in medium certamen atque discrimen se objiceret (1). — He came to Leipsic (to quote his own Words) at the very time, when a complicated Error had made its way into that University, some endeavouring to establish the subtle Philosophy of Ramus, and banish the Doctrine of Aristotle and Melancthon, others to wrest certain Topics of Religion to Calvin's Sense. He strove to avoid each extreme; and because he received Philosophy had been strangely confounded by the new-fangled Notions of Ramus, he thought it expedient to keep himself clear from that Quarter, lest he should be unawares engaged in the heat of the Contest. Berlepsi, the Electoral Commissary, brought him off from this pacific Design, and it happened to Dresserus what often befalls those who come late into these kinds of Quarrels; they are hotter than the first promoters of them. Dresserus looked upon Ramism as a horrible Monster (2): he entered into all the Views of the Electoral Commissary, who, on his part, took great care of the Interest of Dresserus, doing his utmost to suppress the Book the Ramists published against this Adversary, and to get the Authors of it punished. Idem Berlepsi sibi

(1) Melchior.
Adam. in Vilis
Philosoph.
Germanic. pag.
496.

(2) Ubi vero
cognovit cum
Rami doctrina
conjunctam esse
illius dogmatis
disceptionem,
magno animi
ardore pestiferam
id genus amor-
vere conatus est.
— As soon as
he understood
that the Calvinists
had united with
the Ramists he
laboured with ex-
cessive Zeal to
extirpate so dan-
gerous a Set of
Men. Ib. p. 497.

the warmest Anti-Ramists in all that Country. The rest of his Life he spent at *Leipsic*, and died there the fifth of *October*, 1607. He is the Author of several Books [B]. He married in the Year 1565, became a Widower in 1598, and married again two Years after (b). He was an industrious Man, which he shewed at *Erfort*; for he got all his Colleagues, who were all *Roman Catholics*, but one, to consent, that the *Augsburg Confession*, and *Hebrew*, should be taught in the Univerfity (c).

(1) Taken from his Life among those of the German Philosophers, compiled by Melchior Adam, pag. 495, and following.

(2) Melch. Adam, in Vitis Philosph. Germanor. pag. 497.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Juvenal, Sat. 11, ver. 23.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Id. ibid.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Id. ibid.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Id. ibid.

(24) Id. ibid.

(25) Id. ibid.

(26) Id. ibid.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Id. ibid.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) Id. ibid.

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Id. ibid.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) Id. ibid.

(35) Id. ibid.

(36) Id. ibid.

(37) Id. ibid.

(38) Id. ibid.

(39) Id. ibid.

(40) Id. ibid.

(41) Id. ibid.

(42) Id. ibid.

(43) Id. ibid.

(44) Id. ibid.

(45) Id. ibid.

(46) Id. ibid.

(47) Id. ibid.

(48) Id. ibid.

(49) Id. ibid.

(50) Id. ibid.

(51) Id. ibid.

(52) Id. ibid.

(53) Id. ibid.

(54) Id. ibid.

(55) Id. ibid.

(56) Id. ibid.

(57) Id. ibid.

(58) Id. ibid.

(59) Id. ibid.

(60) Id. ibid.

(61) Id. ibid.

(62) Id. ibid.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) Id. ibid.

(65) Id. ibid.

(66) Id. ibid.

(67) Id. ibid.

(68) Id. ibid.

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) Id. ibid.

(71) Id. ibid.

(72) Id. ibid.

(73) Id. ibid.

(74) Id. ibid.

(75) Id. ibid.

(76) Id. ibid.

(77) Id. ibid.

(78) Id. ibid.

(79) Id. ibid.

(80) Id. ibid.

(81) Id. ibid.

(82) Id. ibid.

(83) Id. ibid.

(84) Id. ibid.

(85) Id. ibid.

(86) Id. ibid.

(87) Id. ibid.

(88) Id. ibid.

(89) Id. ibid.

(90) Id. ibid.

(91) Id. ibid.

(92) Id. ibid.

(93) Id. ibid.

(94) Id. ibid.

(95) Id. ibid.

(96) Id. ibid.

(97) Id. ibid.

(98) Id. ibid.

(99) Id. ibid.

(100) Id. ibid.

Clodius accusat mcechos, Catilina Cathegum (6).

Clodius tax Bavos, Catbogu Catiline.

TATE.

[B] He is the Author of several Books. Of a Rhetorica inventionis, dispositionis, & elocutionis, exemplis sacris & profanis quam plurimis illustrata: of three Books Gymnasmatum Literaturæ Græcæ, Orationum, Epistolarum, & Poëmatum ex Autoribus sacris ac profanis, cum exemplis modum scribendi monstrantibus: of an Isagoge Historica per millenarios distributa, & ad annum usque nonagesimum primum supra mille quingentos deducta: of several Orationes, and other little Books for the use of the Youth (7). This is all that Melchior Adam says concerning Dresserus's Writings. He makes no mention of some Books of Physic, which are ascribed to him by others (8), nor of the Treatise De festis diebus Christianorum, Judæorum, & Ethnorum (9). He does not even intimate, that Dresserus ever meddled with Physic, or any other Profession, but that of teaching the Languages, History, and polite Learning. Who can tell but there might have been a Physician named Matthew Dresserus, whose Works have been ascribed to this learned Man? I forgot to observe, that he was attacked by Bodin upon the four universal Monarchies, and that he defended himself (10), and that one Gaspar Hap published a Book entitled Erratica Historia Dresseri.

(1) Paul Freher. in Theatro, pag. 1504.

(2) Id. ibid. ver. 27.

(3) Cum aliis Libellis juvenutis Scholasticæ utilibus. Melch. Adam in Vitis Philosph. Germanor. pag. 497.

(4) The Title is, De Partibus humani corporis & animæ, ejusque potentis libri duo. Adjectæ sunt ad finem Morborum & Medicamentorum communissimorum Appellationes. Merklm. in Lindenio renovato, pag. 793. Paul. Freher. Theatr. pag. 1505.

(5) Freher. ibid. pag. 1504. ascribes it to him.

(6) Melchior Adam, in Vitis Philosph. Germanor. pag. 497.

DRYADES. The Name of certain Female Pagan Deities of the second Class, who presided over Woods [A]. Their Condition was much happier than that of the *Hamadryades*, who, as I shall say in their Article, were so closely united each to her Tree, that they grew up, and died together with it. But the *Dryades* had the Liberty of walking about, and diverting themselves [B], and could survive the Destruction of those Woods of which they had the Direction.

[A] Who presided over Woods. Their Name is derived from hence; for the Greek Word *δρῦς*, which signified properly an Oak, signified also in a less rigorous and more general Sense, all sorts of Trees. *Servius* abides by the former Signification. *Dryades*, says he, à *quercibus* (1). He had said in another Place, *Dryades sunt quæ inter arbores habitant. Oreades quæ in montibus* (2).

[B] The *Dryades* had the Liberty of walking about, and diverting themselves. If we believe *Ovid*, they often danced round the Oak, which the impious *Erysichthon* cut down:

Sæpe sub hac Dryades festas doxere choreas;
Sæpe etiam, manibus nexis ex ordine, trunci
Circumiere modum (3).

Where all the Wood-land Nymphs their Revels play'd,
And footed sportive Rings around it's Shade.

DRYANDER (a) (JOHN), a Protestant Martyr, was of *Burgos* in *Spain*. *John Dias*, made famous by the Barbarity of his Brother [A], owed to him those Instructions which induced him to quit the *Roman Catholic Church*, and embrace the Reformed Religion. *Dryander* was forced to stay at *Rome*, in obedience to his Father; but he could not forbear expressing on some Occasions his Opinion upon the Disorders of the Church. He was just setting out for *Germany* to join his Brother *FRANCIS DRYANDER* [B], when he was accused of being an Heretic. The Pope, assisted by

Nay they had liberty to marry. *Pausanias* says, the Wife of *Arctas*, Son of *Jupiter* and *Calista*, was a *Dryade* (4): some pretend that *Eurydice* was one also (5), and ground themselves on these Words of *Virgil*:

At chorus æqualis Dryadum clamore supremos
Impleverunt montes (6).

Her Sister *Dryades* the Mountains tear,
With loud Laments, and break the yielding Air.

Virgil says this, after having related the misfortune of *Eurydice*, the Wife of *Orpheus*. Note, that the Poets often confound the *Dryades* with the *Naiades*, &c. and that there were some *Hamadryades* who lay with Men. We shall speak more fully of all this in another Place (7).

(1) Pausan. lib. 8, pag. 604. Edit. 1690.

(2) Servius in Georg. lib. 4, ver. 460.

(3) Virgil. Georg. lib. 4, ver. 460.

(4) In the Article HAMADRYADES.

(a) His Spanish Name was *Enzinas*, which was translated into Greek by the Word *Dryander*. The Spaniards call a sort of Oak *Enzina*.

(2) Acta Martyrum, pag. 337. Edit. 1565, in 8vo, & fol. 152, Edit. 1660, in 4to. Histoire des Martyrs, fol. 159, Edit. 1582, in folio.

Hatchet, the Twenty sixth of March 1546. The Protestant (2) Martyrology supposes that our *Dryander* was burnt after the Murder of *John Dias*. I have followed *Beza* who makes it preceded by the Martyrdom of *Dryander*.

[B] FRANCIS DRYANDER his Brother. He is the Author of a Spanish Translation of the New Testament,

VOL. II.

80

(b) Taken from Theodorus Baza in Iconibus, and from the Acta

(3) Histoire Critique du Nouv. Test. Tom. II, cap. 41, pag. 494.

(4) In the second Chapter of the second Part, pag. 111, and following.

by the Cardinals, examined him. Dryander did not flinch, he boldly declared his Faith, and was condemned to the Stake. He was burnt at Rome, in the Year 1545 (b).

flament. Mr Simon (3) calls him Francis Enzinas, and says, that this Version was dedicated to Charles V, which made a great Noise in the Low-Countries: it was printed at Antwerp in 1543. He has given his Judgment of it in an ample Manner, in his new Observations upon the Text and Versions of the New Testament (4). This Dryander was recommended to Cranmer, with great Elogies, by Melancthon, in the

Year 1548. See the Forty third Letter of Melancthon. He was committed to Prison, at Brussels, after he had dedicated his Work to Charles V, where he remained fifteen Months. He got out the first of February 1545, by laying hold of an Opportunity that offered, which was, seeing the Prison Door open about eight o'Clock in the Evening (5).

Martyrium of Crispin. Natus, that Crispin, folio 152, placed this Martyrium in 1546.

(5) Crispin. Ad Mart. fol. m. 151.

DRIEDO (JOHN), in Flemish Dridoens, a Native of Turnhout, in Brabant, went through his Studies at Louvain, where he received his Doctor's Degree in Divinity in the Month of August, 1512. Adrian Florent, who was afterwards Pope Adrian VI, performed the Ceremony of his Promotion, and observing, that this Disciple applied himself too closely to human Sciences, he informed him of the Distinction, which he ought to make between the Mistress-Science, and those which are only her Handmaids. After this Hint Driedo devoted himself chiefly to the Study of Divinity (a). He became Professor of this Science in the University of Louvain (b). He was also Curate of St James, and Canon of St Peter, in the same City (c). He vigorously opposed Lutheranism: but, if one may judge of him by one of Erasmus's Letters, he moderated his Zeal somewhat better than the other Doctors of that Country [A]. He printed some Books of Divinity [B]; but meddling with Chronological Difficulties, he blundered pitifully [C]. He died at Louvain, in 1535 [D]; though those who published his Epitaph place his Death upon the fourth of August, 1555.

(a) Valer. Andree, Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 494.

(b) See his Epitaph in Swert. Athen. Belgic. pag. 420.

(c) See the same Epitaph.

[A] If one may judge of him by one of Erasmus's Letters, he moderated his Zeal, somewhat better than the other Doctors of that Country. Here is what he wrote to Gadesdale Resemond, Rector of the University of Louvain in 1519. 'Disputationibus vestris ad-
' versus Lutherum semper constantissime favi: sed mul-
'tis magis scriptis, maxime Joannis Turenholtii qui
'docte & fine affectibus disputavit, ut audio (1).—
'I have constantly espoused your Disputations against
'Luther, and your Writings more zealously, especially
'those of John of Turenhout, who, I am informed,
'disputed both coolly and learnedly.'

(1) Erasmi. Epist. 12, lib. 12, pag. 605.

[B] He published some Books of Divinity. They concern the Disputes between the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants; they treat. De gratia & libero arbitrio: de concordia liberi arbitrii & predestinationis: de captivitate & redemptione generis humani: de libertate christiana; de Scripturis & Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis.

[C] But meddling with Chronological Difficulties, he blundered pitifully. He could not fail of this, when he took the Persius and the Metasthenes of Annii of Viterbo for genuine Works. His Treatise de Scripturis & Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis is divided into four Books, of which the third regards the Times: 'Ad illustrandas obscuritates in Sacra Scriptura emergentes: sed erravit in multis toto (ut dicitur) celo, eo quod statuerit sequendam supputationem Beroffi Chaldei, Metasthenis Persæ, & Philonis Judæi, aliorumque quorum Chronographiam cum Hebraica Sacra Scripturae veritate concordare conatur: at bonus vir alioquin doctissimus nondum animadverterat auctores esse supposititios (2). — To explain the Difficulties to be found in the holy Scriptures. But he is often quite mistaken, by following the Chronology of Be-

(2) Valer. Andree, Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 494.

rosus, the Chaldean, Metasthenes, the Persian, Philo Judæus, and others, whose Accounts he would reconcile to the holy Scriptures. But the Author, tho' in other respects a Man of great Learning, had not considered that those Authors were spurious. In this manner Francis Swert speaks of them (3). Consult Possévin (4).

[D] He died at Louvain in 1535. This is what Aubertus Miræus (5), and Valerius Andreas say; but Swert does not say so; on the contrary he produces Driedo's Epitaph, where it is said obiit atque hic sepultus est a nativitate Domini c. 13. Is. Lv. iv. Men. Augusti (6).—He died, and was buried August the fourth 1555. Therefore Father Labbe was wrong to refer those to Swert who would correct the Error of a certain Author, he does not name, who placed Driedo's Death in 1555. 'De eo plura Valerius Andreas, Swertius, Miræus, &c. ex quibus corrigendus qui anno 1555, die 4. Augusti sub Paulo IV. Papa mortuum docuit (7). — Valerius Andreas, Swertius, Miræus, have spoke more fully of this Matter, by whom he is to be corrected, who fixes his Death to the fourth of August 1555, under the Pontificate of Paul IV. Francis Swert is so far from being able to supply the Correction of this Mistake, that he is the most proper Person to persuade us that Aubert le Mire, Valerius Andreas, and the others, are all mistaken, for who does not give more Credit to an Epitaph, concerning a Person's Death, than to the single Testimony of an Historian? Paul Freber (8) quotes Driedo's Epitaph with the same false Date as Francis Swert. This should be a Caution to Compilers to take particular care, not to let Printers falsify Titles, and public Monuments.

(3) Swert. Ath. Belg. pag. 420.

(4) Possévin. lib. 2, Biblioth. Selectæ, cap. 14, and in Apparatu Sacro.

(5) De Scriptore. Sæc. 16, pag. 28.

(6) Swert. Ath. Belg. pag. 420.

(7) Philippus Labbe de Script. Ecclesiasticis, Tom. I, pag. 558.

(8) In Theatro, pag. 166.

(a) This Article, both Text and Remarks, was communicated to the Bookseller the sixteenth of --- 1695, and it is printed just as it was received.

(b) It is called St Margaret's Road.

DRUMMOND (a), a most Noble and Ancient Family of Scotland, of which the Earl of Perth is now the Chief. The first of this Family, that bore the Name of Drummond, was an Hungarian Gentleman, named Maurice, who left England with Edward Atheling, lawful Heir to the Crown, to avoid the Persecution of William the Conqueror, who took Possession of England in 1066. Maurice was Commander of the Ship in which Edward Atheling embarked, together with his Mother Agatha, and his two Sisters, Margaret and Christina. A violent Storm forced them upon the Coasts of Scotland, and they landed in a Harbour on the River Forth, which to this day retains the Name of one of Edward's Sisters (b), who, having been very famous for her Sanctity during her Life, was canonized after her Death. In a word, it is St Margaret. She married Malcolm III of that Name, King of Scotland, who conferred great Honours and Pensions on our MAURICE DRUMMOND, together with an Estate, in Land, in the Province of Dumbarton, and the Office of Seneschal of Lenox. The Queen also honoured him with Marks of her Esteem, and gave him one of her Maids of Honour in Marriage. From this Marriage proceeded a Son, who was named Malcolm, the Father of Maurice, the Father of John, the Father of Malcolm. We know nothing

of their Actions or Alliances ; but we know their genealogical Successions by Acts and Records, preserved, for some Ages, with great care, in the Abbey of *Inchafry*, and at last transferred into the Archives of the Family. Some of them were lost by the Pillage they were exposed to in the great Revolution of 1688 ; but enough remains to make good what is set forth in this Article, which is besides sufficiently attested by the *Scotch* Historians. We shall see, in the Remarks, the Line of Succession from MALCOLM DRUMMOND, the second of the Name [A], to JAMES DRUMMOND, the third of the Name, Earl of *Perth* [B], Chancellor of *Scotland*, who is at present (c) Chief of the Family, and a Refugee at *Rome* for his Religion. We shall see, in this Succession, a great Number of very illustrious Alliances, which alone is a certain Proof of the Splendor in which this Family has constantly maintained itself.

(c) That is, in the Year 1695.

[A] We shall see . . . the Line of Succession from MALCOLM DRUMMOND II of the Name . . . His Son MALCOLM III, surnamed *Begg*, that is, the *little*, married *Adda* the Daughter of *Malduin*, Earl of *Lenox*, who had but one Brother that left no Children, and who married the Sister of that *John Monteith*, that sold the illustrious *William Wallace*, Viceroy of *Scotland*, to the *English*. This *John Monteith* foreseeing that the Earl of *Lenox*, his Brother-in-Law, would leave the Earldom to *Malcolm*, his Sister's Husband, persuaded the King to ask it of him. He hoped, the King, when he had obtained it, would have given it him ; but he was mistaken : the King gratified *Robert Stuart* with it, whose Descendants have been Earls of *Lenox*. *Malcolm Begg* had four Sons by his Wife *Adda*, JOHN, MAURICE, THOMAS, and WALTER. This last was Secretary to the King. *Maurice* married the Daughter of the Seneschal of *Strathern*, and succeeded him in his Honours, and great Estate. *Thomas* was made Baron of *Balfroun*. Their elder Brother *John Drummond*, seventh Seneschal of *Lenox*, declared War against *John Monteith*. There was an ancient hatred between their Families. *Monteith* was vanquished, and lost three of his Sons in this War. The King ordered them to agree : the *Grande*s of the Kingdom assembled to make this Pacification, and the Earls of *Douglas*, *Angus*, and *Arran*, and the Lord *Robert*, the King's Nephew, were Guarantees of it. These Hands and Seals are still to be seen to the Treaty ; and it appears that the Lord *Robert*, the King's Nephew, owns himself to be one of the chief Relations of the two Families that were then reconciled. *Drummond*, having lost, by one of the Articles of the Treaty, the Lands he was possessed of in the County of *Lenox*, by the Death of the three Sons of *John Monteith*, retired with his Family into the County of *Perth*, where he enjoyed the Lands of *Stobball* and *Cargill*. He married the eldest Daughter of *William de Montfex*, Great Treasurer of *Scotland*. His eldest Son, MALCOLM IV of the Name, married *Isabella Douglas*, Hereditary Countess of *Marr*, and contracted a very strict Friendship with the Earl of *Douglas*, his Brother-in-Law. He joined with him in a War against the *English*, and signalized himself at the bloody Battle of *Otterburn* (1) ; where he took Prisoner *Ralph Peirey*, a General of great Renown among the *English*. For this Action he was honoured with a Pension during Life. His Brother *William* married the Daughter of the Baron of *Airth*, who brought him, for her Fortune, the Barony of *Carnoc*. From this Marriage is derived the Branch of *Atbornden*.

(1) In the Language of the Country it is called *Chevy Chase*.

We must say something of the four Daughters of *John Drummond*. The eldest was called ANABELLA and was married to *Robert III*, King of *Scotland*. This Queen is greatly extolled, by the *Scotch* Historians, for her Virtue and singular Prudence : she was the Mother of *James I*, King of *Scotland*. One of her Sisters was married to *Archibald*, Earl of *Argyle*, another to *Alexander Maidonald*, Lord of the *Isles*, and eldest Son of the Earl of *Ross*, and another to *Stuart* of *Dualy*. *Malcolm IV* of the Name dying without Children, JOHN DRUMMOND, his Brother, became Head of the Family. He married *Elizabeth* of *Sainte Clare*, Daughter of the Earl of *Orkney*, *Caitbness*, *Rossin*, &c. most illustrious among the *Danes*, as well as the *Scots*. He had by her three Sons and a Daughter, who was married to Lord *Thomas*, Baron of *Kinnaird*. We shall speak of *Walter* the eldest of three Sons. *Robert*, the second Brother, married the Heiress of *Barnbongall*. *John*, the youngest of all, went to the *Madera* Islands, where his Posterity at this day makes a good Figure.

WALTER DRUMMOND married to *Margaret* Daughter of the Lord *Patrick Rutboen*, Head of a very

Noble Family, was Father of the *Malcolm*, that follows, of JOHN Bishop of *Dumblain*, and of WALTER, who was made Baron of *Leiderief*, from whom is derived the Branch of *Blair Drummond*, which produced two other Branches, that of *Newton*, and that of *Gardrum*.

MALCOLM V of the Name married *Maria Murray*, Daughter of the Lord of *Tullibardin* (2), and had by her John Lord DRUMMOND, created Peer of the Kingdom. WALTER, Lord of *Deanston*, JAMES, Lord of *Corriwebster*, and THOMAS, Lord of *Drumminersich*, from whom are descended the Branches of *Invermay*, *Cultmalindre*, *Comrie*, and *Pitcairns*.

(2) The Earls of *Tullibardin*, now Marquisses of *Arbuthnot*, are his Descendants.

JOHN DRUMMOND, eldest Son of *Malcolm V*, married *Elizabeth Lindsey*, Daughter of the famous Earl of *Crawford* (3), and became Illustrious and Powerful. He was a very great Genius. He was Great Justiciary of *Scotland*, which at that time was the highest Place in the Kingdom. He bought all the Lands of the Baron of *Concraig*, his Kinman, situate in the County of *Strathern*, and by the King's Permission, the Post of Hereditary Seneschal of that County. He did *James IV*, King of *Scotland*, good Service ; for he defeated the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Lisle*, and their Adherents, who were marching to join the Earl of *Marishall*, and the Lord *Gordon*, who had formed a Design to secure the Person of the young King, and govern the Kingdom under pretence of revenging the Death of *James III*. He was sent Plenipotentiary into *England*, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with King *Richard III*. After the Death of the King, he was deprived of his Estate, and his Offices, for giving a King at Arms a Box on the Ear, who came to summon him, in the Castle of *Drummond*, to appear before the Parliament, and give an Account of the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of *Lenox* (4) ; but by the Solicitations of the Queen, and the Intercession of the great Men of the Kingdom, his Estate and Honours were restored to him two days after, in Consideration of his Quality and Services. He had four Daughters, one of whom, named MARGARET, pleased King *James IV* so well, that he resolved to marry her. But a Dispensation from the Pope being necessary, on account of their being related, the impatient Prince married her in private ; from this clandestine Marriage issued a Daughter, who was afterwards Wife to the Earl of *Huntley*. The Dispensation being come, the King was desirous to celebrate his Marriage publicly ; but the Jealousy of some of the Nobility against the House of *Drummond* suggested to them the wicked Thought of poisoning Queen *Margaret*, that his Family might not have the Glory of giving two Queens to *Scotland*. Her Sister ELIZABETH was Countess of *Angus*. EUPHEMIA, another of her Sisters, was married to the Lord *Fleming*, and ANNABELLA, her other Sister, was Countess of *Montrose*.

(3) He was commonly called *Earl Beards*.

(4) The Count, who kept in the Castle of *Drummond*, was summoned at the same time.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, Son of *John*, and Husband of *Isabella Campbell*, Daughter of the Earl of *Argyle*, had two Sons, *Walter* and *Andrew* ; he and his Family entered into open War with the Family of *Murray*, and some of his Friends barbarously burnt some Gentlemen of the House of *Murray* in a Church (5). He was innocent of the Crime ; but nevertheless, as the King did not love him, he was condemned to lose his Head for it. Which was executed accordingly. His Son ANDREW was created Baron of *Belliebston*, and gave Rise to a Branch, of which the last Male, MAURICE DRUMMOND, left four Daughters, who were honourably married in *England*. One of them was the Wife of *Caryl*, Secretary to King *James*. WALTER DRUMMOND, eldest Son of *William*, had by *Elizabeth Graham*, Daughter of the Earl of *Montrose*, but one Son, viz.

(5) In that of *Minnivard*.

DAVID

DAVID DRUMMOND, who married *Margaret Stuart*, Daughter of the Duke of Albany, Viceroy of Scotland, by whom he had only one Daughter, who was Wife of the Lord of *Poury Ogilby*. After *Margaret's* Death, he married *Lilia Rutben*, who brought him five Daughters, 1. JANE, Wife of *John Earl of Montrose*, Chancellor and Viceroy of Scotland: 2. ANN, married to *John Earl of Marr*, Great Treasurer of Scotland: 3. LILIA, Countess of *Crawford*: 4. CATHERINE, Lady of *Tullibardine*: and MARGARET, Lady of *Keir*. The two Sons of DAVID DRUMMOND are PATRICK, who follows, and JAMES Lord of *Maderly*, from whom are descended the Viscounts of *Stratballan*, and the Barons of *Marchani*. The first, who was created Viscount of *Stratballan*, was named WILLIAM DRUMMOND. He was a Lieutenant-General in King *James's* Army, and a great Man, both for the Field, and the Closet.

PATRICK DRUMMOND, married to *Margaret Lindsay*, Daughter of the Earl of *Crawford*, from whom is derived the Branch of *Edzel*, had five Daughters. 1. CATHERINE, Countess of *Rothes*. 2. LILIA, Countess of *Dumferlin*, Mother of the Countesses of *Lauderdale*, *Kelly*, *Balcarras*, and *Cathness*. 3. JANE, Countess of *Roxburgh*, Governors to King *Charles* the First's Children. 4. ANN, Lady of *Torray-Barelay*. 5. And ELIZABETH, Wife of the Lord *Elphinstoun*. Besides these five Daughters, PATRICK DRUMMOND has two Sons, JAMES and JOHN.

JAMES DRUMMOND, created Earl of *Pertb*, married *Isabella Seatoun*, Daughter of the Earl of *Winton*, and left only one Daughter, who was Countess of *Sutherland*. He died young. JOHN, his Brother, Earl of *Pertb*, succeeded him: He married *Jane Keir*, Daughter of the Earl of *Roxburgh*, by whom he had four Sons, and two Daughters, one of whom was Countess of *Winton*, and the other Countess of *Tullibardine*. The four Sons are JAMES, who follows; ROBERT, who died in *France*; JOHN, who founded the Branch of *Logy Almond*; and WILLIAM, Earl of *Roxburgh*, who founded the Branch of *Roxburgh*, and that of *Bellandin*.

JAMES DRUMMOND II of the Name, Earl of *Pertb*, married *Ann Gordon*, Daughter of the Marquis of *Huntley*, by whom he had two Sons, and one Daughter, viz. JAMES, whom I shall speak of in the following Remark, JOHN, and ANN. The latter is a Lady of great Merit, and married, the Earl of *Errol*, Hereditary Constable of *Scotland*. JOHN DRUMMOND, Earl of *Melfort*, Secretary to *James II*, King of *Great Britain*, was twice married,

first with the Heiress of *Lundin*, by whom he had three Sons, and three Daughters; ANN, married to the Baron of *Houffon*; ELIZABETH, Wife to the Viscount of *Stratballan*, and MARY, who is unmarried. The three Sons are JAMES Baron of *Lundin*, ROBERT and CHARLES. He married to his second Wife *Euphemia Wallace*, Daughter of *Thomas Wallace*, Baron of *Craigie*, the Head of a very ancient Family. By this second Marriage, he has six Sons, and three Daughters; JOHN, Lord of *Torth*, THOMAS, WILLIAM, ANDREW, RINALD, and PHILIP: CATHERINE, TERESA, and MARY.

[B] JAMES DRUMMOND III of the Name, Earl of *Pertb*. He was made Counsellor of State, in the Year 1679, Justice-General of *Scotland* in 1682, and High-Chancellor of *Scotland* in 1684. He was so moved by reading the Papers, found in King *Charles* the Second's strong Box, concerning the Controversy between the Protestants, and the Church of *Rome*, that, having examined sincerely the Affair of Religion, he was brought to believe the *Roman Catholic* to be the only true one, and accordingly he made an open Profession of it. His Attachment to this Church, and his Zeal for King *James's* Service, whom he endeavoured to follow into *France*, exposed him to ill Treatment both from the Populace and Council of *Scotland*. He was kept a close Prisoner in *Sterling Castle* for two Years, and seven Months, after which he was allowed to take a little Air for his Health, and then imprisoned again, where he continued nine Months. At last he had leave to go out of the Kingdom. He retired to *Rome*, where his Virtue, and Zeal for the Catholic Religion, gained him a universal Esteem (6). His greatest Enemies have never charged him with any other Crime than his professing the *Romish* Religion. He has had three Wives, 1. *Jane Douglas*, Daughter of *William Marquis of Douglas*; 2. *Lilia*, Countess of *Tullibardine*; 3. *Mary Gordon*, Daughter of *Lewis Marquis of Huntley*, and Sister to the Duke of *Gordon*. By his first Wife he had MARY, Wife of *William*, Earl of *Mareschal*, Hereditary Marhall of *Scotland*. ANN, who is not married, and JAMES Lord DRUMMOND, who at fifteen Years of Age left the University at *Paris*, to follow King *James* into *Ireland* in 1689. He was present at the Siege of *Londonderry*, and at the Battles of *Newtown-Butler*, and the *Boynne*. Being returned into *France* with King *James*, he performed his Exercises in the Academy of *Paris*, after which he travelled through *France*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*. He is now in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Pertb* had two Sons, by each of his other two Wives.

(6) That is in 1695.

DRUSBICKI (a) (GASPAR), a Polish Jesuit, entered into the Society the Twenty-fourth of *August*, 1609, at twenty Years of Age, and exercised successively the most considerable Offices in it; for he was not only Master of the Novices for seven Years, but also several times Rector of a College, and twice Provincial of the Province of *Poland*. He was sent twice to *Rome* by this Province, as their Solicitor, and he assisted at two general Congregations (b). He was very zealously addicted to Prayer, and it is believed that God revealed many things to him. His Devotion for the Virgin *Mary* was of a superlative Degree. His severe Treatment of himself was astonishing (A). He died piously at *Poznan*, the second of *April* 1660, and it is reported that his Body continued for many Years free from all kind of Corruption. He wrote several Books, but did not publish many of them (B). The History of his Life, composed by *Daniel Paulowski* (c), has many considerable things in it (d) (C).

[A] His severe Treatment of himself was astonishing. Witness the Bruises that were found upon his Body in his last Sickness, the Effects of the terrible Discipline he gave himself. Desipientissimus fui, corpus fenum inclementer admodum tractabat, id quod patuit in extremo morbo quando infirmariis exuentibus eum & induentibus, carnes miserandum in modum flagris concisae apparuerunt (1). — He treated his own Body with incredible Severity, and when the Undertakers laid him forth, his Body appeared miserably torn with the Lash during his last Sickness.

[B] He wrote several Books, but did not publish many of them. During the Interregnum, a Professor of *Cracow* printed and dispersed among the Nobility a Writing against the Jesuits. This Libel was answered by *Gasper Drusbicki*. His Answer, published in Polish was intitled, *Declaratio memorialis exorbitantium, & processus Academiae Cracoviensis inter ordines distributi*.

By the Title alone it appears that this was not a Process carried on against the Jesuits by a Professor of the University of *Cracow*; but that the Body of the University had some Difference with them (2). The other Writings of *Drusbicki*, which have been published in Latin, are Books of Devotion, *De Passione Jesu Christi Filii Dei*. *Fasciculus Exercitiorum & Confessionum de principis virtutibus Christianae fidei. Sol in virtute sua, sive Jesus Christus in splendore suarum excellentiarum speciosus* (3).

[C] The History of his Life . . . has many considerable things in it. I conjecture, those things are not concerning the Administration of the Affairs of the Society which were committed to him, but they are rather Visions and Extasies, and such like Incidents of an overtrained Devotion. They, who have the Book, will do me a Favour by informing me, if I am mistaken.

(2) There are very few Universities with which the Jesuits have not had some Difference, and generally speaking they might say, with regard to their Differences, *Quia regio in terris nostri non plena laboris*. Virgil. *Aeneid*. lib. 1, ver. 460.

(3) Southwell, ubi supra.

(a) The true Polish Orthography is *Drusbicki*. I follow that of Southwell, cited below.

(b) At the 8th and 10th.

(c) It was printed at *Cracow*, in the beginning of the Year 1670, in 8vo.

(d) Taken from *Nath. Southwell*. Biblioth. Sec. *Jesu*, pag. 278.

(1) *Nathan. Southwell*, Bibl. Script. Societ. *Jesu*, pag. 278.

DRUSILLA, Daughter of *Agrippa*, first of the Name, King of the Jews, was but six Years old when her Father died. She had been promised to *Epiphanus*, Son of *Antiochus*, King of *Comagena* (a); but the Marriage was broke off, and never was consummated, because *Epiphanus* refused to keep the Promise he had made of embracing the Jewish Religion. *Azizus*, King of the *Emeseni*, was not so scrupulous; he consented to be circumcised, provided he might have *Drusilla*. Accordingly she was given to him, and he became a Jew (b). She was a most beautiful Woman: *Felix* no sooner saw her, but he fell in love with her. He proposed Marriage to her, and promised to make her so happy, that she accepted his Offer. She quitted her Husband *Azizus*, and her Religion at the same time [A], and married *Felix*, who then commanded in *Judea*. The Jealousy between her and her Sister *Berenice* [B] was one of the great Motives that inclined her to this Change (c). The Holy Scriptures make mention of *Felix* and *Drusilla* (d). They had a Son named *Agrippa*, who

(a) Joseph. Ant. lib. 19, cap. 7.

(b) Id. ibid. lib. 20, cap. 5.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Acts, chap. xxiv, ver. 25.

[A] She forsook her Husband and her Religion at the same time.] I promised in another place a Remark upon this (1). A learned Man (2) has represented to me that the words of the Jewish Historian only signify that this Marriage of *Drusilla* was contrary to the Laws; now that does not imply a change of Religion. I confess it; but *Josephus* seems to me to inform us of what I have said. His words are (3): 'Η δὲ (Δρυσίλλα) καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Βερνίκην βασιλεὺς ὄντων, διὰ τὸ τὸν καλλὸς παρ' ἑκείνης ἐν ἡμῶν ἐλπίσιν, παρὰ τὸν νόμον περιέτρετο, καὶ τὸν φίλον ἄνθρωπον. That is to say, according to *Galenus's* Translation: *Ille (Drusilla) male consilia volens evadere molestias fororis Bernices, invidentis sibi formæ præcellentiam, consensit calcata religione patria Felici nubere*: which *Genebrard* renders in this manner: *She being ill advised, and desiring to avoid the Envy of her Sister Berenice, who was vexed at her great Beauty, consented to FORSAKE HER RELIGION, and to marry Felix*. Mr *Arnauld d'Andilly* translates the Historian's Greek Text in the same manner, with respect to her abjuring the Jewish Religion. What convinces me that *Genebrard* has translated it right, is the improbability that *Felix*, in the Post he was in, should dare to marry a Woman that should look upon the Religion of the *Romans* as abominable; that he should dare, I say, marry such a Woman without representing to her the necessity there was of her having other sentiments of the Worship of the *Roman* Gods. There is no likelihood that *Drusilla* would reject this Condition, when she was to marry a Person who had the Command over *Judea*, who had a great share in the Emperor's Favour, and whose Brother was the same Emperor's Favourite. I know the *Romans* were very easy in tolerating Religions; but there is a vast difference between tolerating a Religion which does not condemn your's, and tolerating a Sect that anatomizes and damns you. And this is what the Jews did with respect to all other Religions. And besides, there is a great deal of difference between suffering a Woman quietly to profess Judaism, and marrying her, notwithstanding that Profession. We may also make an Observation upon the Construction of the Words in *Josephus*; for if he had only meant to say that our *Drusilla* married with a Pagan, that the Jewish Laws did not permit her to marry, there was no necessity for dividing the words as he has done: the words evidently contain two Propositions, one that she had violated her Religion, and the other, that she married *Felix*. This is an Argument that there is something in the first which is not included in the second. But I would not insist too much on this proof: for there are too many instances which make it appear how little Authors observe the strict Laws of Logic in their placing of words; and it was anciently a Figure of Grammar (4) to divide one object by two Expressions. *Pateris libanus & auro* (5), for *pateris aureis*. We drink out of Cups and Gold, for Golden Cups.

It must not be imagined that I would represent *Felix* as a devout Pagan, and a conscientious Man; I give him nothing but Political Scruples. I only suppose he was not ignorant, that the Growth of his Fortune awakened the Jealousy of several powerful Courtiers, to whom he ought not to give such a specious handle to discredit and ruin him at Court, as to be able to say he had married a Wife that publicly professed an abhorrence for the Household Gods, and all the Religion of *Rome*.

VOL. II.

[B] The Jealousy between her and her Sister Berenice.] I have spoken of this *Berenice*: She was beautiful and ambitious, an amorous and intriguing Woman; I do not wonder she did not love her Sister; for she was a most beautiful Sister, and younger by ten Years than *Berenice*. The latter would willingly have quitted to her in this respect her Birth-right: in point of Beauty, ten Years advance makes a Birth-right very troublesome, which they would gladly be rid of, or change for the title of younger Sister; but nothing can be done against Nature. *Berenice's* jealousy was no secret Disposition: *Drusilla* felt the effects of it; so that she was very glad, by her Marriage with the Governor of *Judea*, a Man of great Credit with the Emperor *Claudius* (6), to be in a Condition of disputing the Ground with *Berenice*. The Ancients had a Proverb concerning the Hatred of Brothers: *Fratrum inter se ira sunt acerbissima* (7): Hatred among Brothers is the bitterest Hatred: I fancy the hatred of Sisters is still more violent; and if all those times may be said to belong to the Iron Age, in which fraternal Friendship was a rare thing, *Fratrum quoque gratia rara est* (8), I believe it may much better be said with respect to Sisters. There are three things which commonly (9) prevent their jealousy, the Grace of God, want of Qualities worthy of Envy, and a great Degree of Stupidity: for if their Age suffers them to appear together in the World, in the splendor of Beauty, Wit, and Fortune, it is almost impossible they should love one another, and you cannot make your court to one in a worse manner than by praising the other. Many of them have skill and firmness enough to conceal the vexation it gives them, but they are not the less sensible of it. I shall finish this Remark with the Conclusion of a Letter from Mr de la Fontaine to the Dukes of *Bourillon*. 'These Sheep, Madam, under Favour, are your Highness, and Madam *Mazarin*. And here I have a proper Opportunity to make her Panegyric, in order to join it with your's; but as these sorts of Parallels are dangerous things, I am of Opinion it will be much better to let it alone.

Like Sisters you love, and the sovereign Sway
Between you divide, while your Subjects obey:
But I'll no dispute about Preference raise,
Since nothing's so nice to be parted as Praise.
Were TULLY now living, whose eloquent Vein
Did the Hearts of the People and Senators gain,
His Rhetoric would fail in such Matters as these,
Two Heroes, two Wits, and two Beauties to please (10).

Cunæus reasons well upon the Motive of the Mosaic Law, forbidding to marry two Sisters at the same time. 'In *Leviticus* cap. XVIII, says he (11), edictum Numinis extat, quo Judæi duas forores eodem tempore habere uxores vetantur, non ob aliam causam profecto, quam quod ardentissima esse inter hæc æmulatione in tali conjunctione solet; cum cæteræ omnino, quæ eâ consanguinitate non sunt, æquiore animo sub eodem marito ætatem unâ agant. — In the XVth chapter of *Leviticus*, says he, there is a Decree of *Moses*, whereby the Jews are forbid to have two Sisters for Wives at the same time; for no other reason, than because, under such a Conjunction, there frequently happens between them the fiercest Contention; when others not so nearly allied pass their Lives with greater unanimity under the same Husband.'

S P

[C] B

(1) In Remark [E] of the Article BERENICE, the Grand Daughter, &c.

(2) Mr de la Roque, a French Refugee Minister at London.

(3) Joseph. Ant. lib. 20, cap. 5, pag. 693.

(4) Called διὰ δύο διού.

(5) Virgil. Geor. lib. 2, ver. 192.

(6) He was the Emperor's Freedman, Sueton. in Claud. cap. 28, and Brother to Pallas, Joseph. Ant. lib. 20, cap. 5. Tacit. Anal. lib. 12, cap. 54. Pallas stood well with Claudius, Sueton. ibid. Tacit. ibid.

(7) Erasmus, in his Comment upon this Proverb, cites Aristotle, Politic. 7, who says, "ὅταν εἰρηται, χαλεκοὶ γὰρ πάλαι ἀδελφῶν. Unde proverbio dicitur, acerbæ enim bellæ fratrum."

(8) Ovid. Metam. lib. 1, ver. 145.

(9) Let this Word be considered well; for every body may know of good and just Exceptions to this Rule.

(10) St Evremont's Works, Vol. II, pag. 386, Edit. Lond. 1727.

(11) Cunæus de Repub. Hebr. lib. 2, cap. 23, pag. m. 216. See Polygamia Triumphant, pag. 373.

(e) Joseph. Ant.
lib. 20, cap. 5.

who perished, with his Wife, in a Conflagration of Mount *Vesuvius* (e). It is very probable *Tacitus* is mistaken concerning *Felix's* Marriage [C]. Mr *Moreri* is fallen into some Errors which he might easily have avoided [D], if he had written with Attention, and formed his Mind to the Rules of Exactness.

(12) Tacit. Hist.
lib. 5, cap. 9.

[C] It is very probable *Tacitus* is mistaken concerning the Marriage of *Felix*. His Words are (12): 'Claudius defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis Judæam Provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit. Ex quibus Antonius *Felix* per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla Cleopatæ & Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut ejusdem Antonii *Felix* Progener, Claudius nepos esset. — Claudius, when the Jewish Kings were all deceased, or at least extremely shortened in Power, bestowed Judæa, to be ruled as a Province by the Roman Knights, or his Freedmen; Antonius *Felix* was one of these, one who, rioting in the excesses of Licentiousness, and Cruelty, exercised the Authority of a King with the Spirit and Baseness of a Slave. He had indeed received in Wedlock Drusilla, Granddaughter to Antony and Cleopatra, inasmuch that, whilst the Emperor was Antony's Grandson, *Felix* was married to the Granddaughter of that very Antony.' These Words of *Tacitus* plainly signify that *Felix* was the Husband of Drusilla, Granddaughter to Marc Antony and Cleopatra, while he commanded in Judæa. Now there is no shadow of Probability in this; for *Josephus*, who is more to be depended upon than *Tacitus*, in this respect, informs us, that *Felix* courted Drusilla soon after he arrived in Judæa. But durst *Felix* have done this, if he had been actually married to the Emperor's first Cousin? could he have married Drusilla, Sister of Agrippa, the second of that Name, during the Life of the other Drusilla, Marc Antony's Granddaughter? could he, I say, have done this without divorcing the other Drusilla? and if he had divorced her, would *Josephus* have been silent upon such an Affair as this, so proper to render that Governor odious; for in this Case, *Felix* must have broke through two Marriages to satisfy his Passion. He must have repudiated one Drusilla, and forced another Drusilla to forsake her Husband. A national Historian does not forget such Circumstances as these. *Tacitus* is the more easily to be suspected of Negligence, because it is certain he notes the time

wrong when *Felix* was Governor of Judæa. He supposes (13), that *Felix* and *Cumanus* commanded at the same time in that Country; *Felix* in Samaria, and *Cumanus*, in Galilee. Nothing is more false; for according to *Josephus*, who is no doubt better acquainted than *Tacitus* with those Things, *Felix* was not sent into Judæa, till after *Cumanus* had been condemned to Banishment for his Mildemeanours (14). Perhaps I may be asked from whence this Error of *Tacitus* proceeds: I believe two Causes may be assigned for it. Proceeding that *Felix* had been married to Drusilla, he might imagine that That Drusilla was the Daughter of Juba, and of Cleopatra Selene, Daughter of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, and never concerned himself whether there was not, in Judæa, a Lady of the same Name: but on the other side it is possible that *Felix*, before he went into Judæa, might have had for his Wife Drusilla, the Granddaughter of Marc Antony, and that this Drusilla was dead before he fell in Love with the other Drusilla of the Jewish Nation. This last Opinion will appear the more probable to those who know that, according to *Suetonius*, *Felix* married three Queens (15), by which we may understand three Princesses of Royal Blood. But besides, no Body makes mention of a Drusilla, who was Granddaughter to Marc Antony, and Cleopatra. Those who would pretend that Drusilla, the Jewess, was born of the Marriage of Agrippa with a Daughter of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, are confuted by *Noldius* (16).

[D] *Moreri* is fallen into some Errors. I. He should not have said, that *Epiphanus* promised Drusilla to become a Jew. Such Promises are not made to a Child of five or six Years old: it was to Drusilla's Father he made this Promise, as *Josephus* observes (17). II. He ought not to have confounded Agrippa, the Father, with Agrippa the Son: he should have said that the former betrothed Drusilla to *Epiphanus*, and the latter married her to *Azizus*. III. It is not said in the Acts of the Apostles, that Drusilla was present, when *Paul* reasoned, before *Felix*, concerning Justice and Judgment to come.

(13) Tacit. Ann.
lib. 12, cap. 14.

(14) Joseph.
Antiq. lib. 20,
cap. 5.

(15) Nec minus
Felicem quem
colitibus & aliis
provinciisque
Judææ præpositum
trium regnum
maritum, Sætra,
in Claud. cap. 23.
See the fine Note
of Mr Grævin
upon this.

(16) Noldius de
Vita & Gestis
Herodum, pag.
469.

(17) Josephus,
Antiq. lib. 20,
cap. 5.

DRUSILLA (JULIA), Daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was married to

Lucius Cassius, in the Year of Rome 786 (a). She degenerated; for her Life was very scandalous [A]. She had to do, in her tenderest Youth, with her Brother *Caligula*, who was taken in the Fact before he had attained to the virile Gown (b) [B]. She continued all her life-time abandoned to this incestuous Commerce, and *Caligula's* Passion for her was so violent and public, that nothing was ever before seen like it. He took her from *Lucius Cassius*, her Husband, and lived publicly with her as if she

(a) Tacit. Ann.
lib. 6, cap. 15.

(b) See Remark
[D] of the Article
CALIGULA.

A. Observation
on the Joke,
Et sequitur leviter
filia matris iter.

[A] She degenerated; for her Life was very scandalous. If any Lover of Scandal should come and tell me, that the Latin Joke, *Et sequitur leviter filia matris iter*, — Like Mother, like Daughter, is never true, but when the Mother is naughty; that, in such a case only, the Daughter treads faithfully in the steps of her Mother, I should stop him short, without going out of this Family. Drusilla, it is true, did not follow the good Example of Agrippina her Mother, who was the chastest Lady of her time: but neither did Agrippina follow the ill Example of her Mother Julia, who was the most lascivious Woman of the Age.

[B] She had to do with *Caligula*, who was taken in the Fact before he had attained the virile Gown. Upon this Occasion, we might say something not unlike our Proverb, the Habit does not make the Friar. *Caligula* wore a Child's Garment, and was not a Child. He had not the virile Gown, and gave strong Proofs of his Virility; nevertheless, we must not imagine he was one of those extraordinary Instances that Authors make mention of, an Instance of those Boys who have got Children at ten or twelve Years of Age. We must represent things as they are, and do Justice to all the World; *Caligula's* wicked Disposition might indeed have hastened his criminal Resolutions, but could not give him the necessary Vigour to commit an act of Incest. The Child's Garment he had on, when he was found in the Act, did

not hinder him from being of a competent Age according to the course of Nature. He did not take the virile Robe, till he was twenty Years of Age, and he was eighteen when he came to his Grandmother's. Vigesimo ætatis anno, accitus Capreas a Tiberio uno atque eodem die togam sumpsit, barbaramque posuit (1). — In the twentieth Year of his Age, being sent for by Tiberius to Caprea, he took the Toga Virilis, and was shaved for the first time on the same Day. Now it was at her House, that he was taken in the Act with his Sister. He was brought up, 1. with his Mother, 2. with Livia, 3. with Antonia. Pri-mum in matris, deinde ea relegata in Livie Augustæ proaviæ suæ contubernio mansit. Quam de-functam prætextatus etiam tum pro rostris laudavit, transiitque ad Antoniam aviam (2). — He first lived with his Mother, and after her Divorce with his great Grandmother Livia, whose Funeral Oration he spoke before he took the Toga Virilis, and was then removed to his Grandmother Antonia. But he did not go to the latter till after Livia's Death, that is to say in the Year 782; and he was born in the Year 764 (3). Nevertheless, God forbid I should retract what I have said in another Place (4), that *Caligula's* Corruption appeared betimes. Though he had been but twenty Years old at the time of his Incest, I had reason to say of him, that, in wicked Dispositions, Vice does not wait for a number of Years.

(1) Sueton. in
Calig. cap. 20.

(2) Idem. ibid.

(3) Idem. ibid.
cap. 8.

(4) In the Text
of the Article
CALIGULA.

(c) Sueton. in Caligula, cap. 24.

(d) Dio, lib. 59, at the Year 791.

she had been his lawful Wife (c); and when she died, in the Year of Rome 791, he gave into the most impious Extravagancies to honour her Memory [C]. Dio reports that she was married to Marcus Emilius Lepidus (d). Moreri has committed two Faults: he should not have said, that Germanicus was the Brother of Tiberius (e); nor that Drusilla was the Grand-Daughter of Augustus (f).

(e) He was the Son of Drusus, Tiberius's Brother.

(f) She was his Great Grand-Daughter.

One cannot mention his Name, without exciting the Idea of the most excessive Wickedness that a Man can be capable of. His Life is a Series of such furious Enormities that the Historians have been suspected by some of making him worse than he was. It is true such Monsters are very rare, and much more rare than great Saints, and the most accomplished Heroes: but yet Caligula is not the only one in whom humane Nature has shewn how far she is capable of carrying Corruption. I question whether she ever exhibited, upon the same Throne, four such Instances of this Kind, in so short a time, as she did upon the Throne of the Caesars from Tiberius to Domitian.

[C] He gave into the most impious Extravagancies to honour her Memory. Her Funeral was performed with the utmost Magnificence: he procured a Decree, to honour the Memory of Drusilla, like that which had been made for Livia, the Wife of Augustus; and besides that, he made a public Decree, declaring Drusilla to be in the Number of the Immortals. A golden Statue was erected of her, in the Senate House, and another Statue of her in the Forum, like that of Venus, and the same Honours decreed her, that were paid to That Goddess. A Temple was particularly consecrated to her: it was ordered that Men and Women should consecrate Statues to her; that Women should swear by her Name when they attested any thing; and that her Birth-day should be honoured with the same Games as those of Cybele. She was called

the Panthea (5), and divine Honours were paid to her in all the Cities. Livius Geminus, a Roman Senator, declared he saw her ascend to Heaven, and converse with the Gods, and made Imprecations against himself, and his own Children, if what he said was not true, and among other Deities he called that of Drusilla to witness it. This was worth a good Sum of Money to him. The Romans were never under a greater Perplexity than at this time: they knew not what looks to put on; if they were sad, they were accused of denying her Deity; if gay, they were charged with not lamenting her Death (6). Caligula made use of his Sister's human Nature, against those who did not weep, and of her divine Nature, against those who did. During the time of the public Mourning, which he ordered for her, it was a crime to laugh, to go into the Bath, or to eat with ones Family (7). A poor Man, who sold hot Water, was put to Death as guilty of Irreligion. Τὸν ἀλλήσαντα θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀπέκλειψεν ὡς ἀσεβήσαντα. Quidam ob a- quam calidam venditam impietatis reus factus, à Caio trucidatus fuit (8). After her Death, Caligula never swore, either in the Senate, or in the Army, upon things of the utmost Importance, but by the Deity of Drusilla (9). Add to this the other signs of his Madness, mentioned under the Article of CALIGULA. Seneca has excellently described the wild and extravagant Follies of Caligula's mourning (10).

(c) That is to say, All Divine. These wretched Flatterers went farther in three Days than the Eastern Christians have done in many Ages. I speak of those who called the Virgin Mary, The All-Holy, Panagia.

(6) Taken from Dio, lib. 59, at the Year 791.

(7) Eadem defuncta iustitium indixit, in quo risisse, lavasse, cenasse cum parentibus, aut conjuge liberisque, capitale fuit. Sueton. in Caligula, cap. 24.

(8) Dio, lib. 59, ad ann. 791.

(9) Idem. ibid.

(10) Seneca de Consol. ad Polyb. cap. 34.

(a) The Family Name was Drusicius.

(b) He was Professor of Divinity.

DRUSIUS (a) (JOHN), born at Audenard, in Flanders, the Twenty eighth of June 1555, was a very learned Person among the Protestants. He was designed for the Study of Divinity, and sent to Ghent betimes, there to learn the Languages, and after that to Lowvain to go thorough a Course of Philosophy. His Father, having been outlawed on account of the Protestant Religion, in the Year 1567, and stript of his Estate, retired to England. His Wife, a good Catholic, did her utmost Endeavour to hinder our John Drusus from taking the same way. She called him back from Audenard, and sent him to Tournay: but the Vexation to see herself deprived, at the same time, of her Husband and Estate throwing her into a fit of Sickness, she could not have such a strict Eye upon him, but he found means to slip away, and join his Father at London. He arrived there about the end of the Year 1567. Care was taken of his Studies; Masters were appointed him; and he soon had a favourable Opportunity of learning Hebrew under Antony Cevallier, who had fled into England, and taught that Tongue publicly in the University of Cambridge. Drusus lodged with him, and had a great share in his Friendship. He did not return to London till the Year 1571, and was making Preparations to go over into France [A], when the News of the Massacre on St Bartholomew's Day diverted him from his Resolution. Not long after he had an Invitation to Cambridge from Thomas Cartwright (b), and to Oxford from Lawrence

Humfred

(1) Curlander in Vita Drusii, pag. 5.

(2) Idem pag. 6.

[A] Was making Preparations to go over into France. Meursius, for want of Attention, has not well understood this Latin of Curlander. 'Postea cum Cevallierus à suis in Galliam revocatus abiret, pararet, interpretavit à patre (Drusus) ut ibi adhuc annum integrum commorari posset (1). — Afterwards when Cevallier, being recalled by his Friends, was preparing to return into France, Drusus prevailed with his Father to let him continue there a Year longer.' The chief difficulty does not lie here, but in the following Words: 'Anno post discessum Cevallieri Janus noster profectus est Londinum, hac fine, ut in Galliam, Philosophiae studium profsequendi gratia, denuo concederet (2). — The Year after the Departure of Cevallier, Drusus went to London, with an Intent to go to France again, to prosecute his philosophical Studies.' Meursius, interpreting one of these Passages by the other, imagined he might say that Drusus followed Cevallier into France, and being come back to London, was preparing for a second Voyage to France, when he was prevented by the Massacre on St Bartholomew's Day. 'Revocato in Galliam Cevalerio eum comitatus, ad Hebraeam summam cum contentione animum advertens, privatim quoque adolescentes duos Anglos docere cepit. Inde Londinum reversus cum recurrere eo omnino sta-

tuisset, laniena Parisiensis nuntiatur. Qua de causa mutato consilio, &c. (3). — He accompanied Cevallier on his return to France, and began to apply himself closely to the Study of the Hebrew, being private Tutor to two English young Gentlemen; from thence he returned to London; and being again upon the point of setting out for France, he was diverted from his design by the News of the Massacre at Paris.' It is certain that Drusus did not go into France with Cevallier, but staid at Cambridge, where he taught the two English Pupils mentioned by Meursius. This is plain by Curlander's Narrative, page 6. It is also certain that, after Cevallier's Departure, he applied himself more to Greek and Philosophy, than to Hebrew: from whence it appears that Meursius has not given a good Idea of that young Man's Employment. In the second Passage of Curlander, the Comma should be put after denuo, and not before it; and this deceived Meursius. The Author's meaning was, that Drusus intended to go to France, in order to continue somewhat longer his philosophical Studies. I am confident, one might find a hundred such Faults in Books, if one took the pains to compare the Abridgment with the original Book; and observe, by the way, what Faults the bare mis-pointing is capable to occasion.

(3) Meursius, Athen. Batav. pag. 253.

[B] He

- Humfred.* He accepted of the latter [B], and by this means became Professor of the Oriental Languages at the Age of Twenty two Years. He taught them four Years at *Oxford* with great Success. After which, being desirous to see his native Country again, he went thither, and studied the Civil-Law at *Louvain*. The Troubles on account of *Religion* obliged him to return to his Father at *London*: but the Pacification of *Ghent* (c) brought both Father and Son back again to their own Country; the latter turned his Thoughts towards *Holland* and soon found there a Professorship of the Oriental Languages (d). While he was discharging the Function of it at *Leyden*, he resolved to marry. In 1580 he married a Gentlewoman of *Ghent*, who was more than half a Convert [C], and after her Marriage was fully instructed in the Reformed Religion. The Pension, *Drusus* received in *Holland*, not being sufficient for the Necessities of his Family, he gave People to understand, that he should accept a better Settlement elsewhere if it was offered him (e). The Prince of *Orange* being informed that he had in a manner put himself up to the best Bidder, writ to the Magistrates of *Leyden* not to part with such a Man. However he got from them. They suffered him to go to *Friesland*, whither he had been invited to be *Hebrew* Professor in the University of *Franker*. He was installed there in the Month of *June* 1585, and discharged the Duties of his Place with great Glory to his Death, which happened the twelfth of *February* (f) 1616 (g). It is certain he was well skilled in the *Hebrew* [D], and had acquired great insight into the Jewish Antiquities, and the Text of the Old Testament. This appears by several Books he published [E]. His Capacity in this Respect was so well known, that he was ordered to work upon those Subjects, and paid for it by the States General [F]. They had designed that he should make a new Translation of the Bible into the *Dutch* Tongue
- (c) It was made in 1576.
- (d) The Year 1577.
- (e) Quoniam vero familiam ex tam puro stipendio, quod annuatim numerabatur, alere nequit hic noster, alio cogitare incipit, suique fruenti, si legitime vocetur, spem facere. Ab-1 Curiander in Vita Drusii, pag. 8.
- (f) Old Style.
- (g) Taken from his Life, written by Abel Curiander, his Son-in-law.

- [B] He had an Invitation to Cambridge . . . and *Oxford* . . . he accepted the latter. That is *Oxford*: correct then a Fault of *Paul Freber*, who says in his Theatre of illustrious Men (4), *Hebraeae Linguae Professor in Universitate Cantuariensi an. aetatis 22 constitutus est*. Two Faults for one. It is false that *Drusus* was Professor at *Cambridge*, and it is false that the University of *Cambridge* is called *Canteruariensis*. This last word is the Adjective of *Canterbury*. [C] He married a young Woman of *Ghent*, who was more than half a Convert. Her Name was *Mary Vander Varent*: she chose rather to renounce her Country, and her Estate, than her Religion, and was exceeding charitable to the poor. I think she died in the Year 1599 (5). 'Hec cum in Flandria virgo, gustum melioris puriorisque doctrinae percepisset, conjux in Hollandia ita in illa confirmata est, ut citius bonis luculentissimis privari, deque civitate & patria, quam de sententia sua dimoveri potuerit. Præter alia, hoc de illa referunt, quod in exhaustis in Pauperes fuerit benignitatis, qui unanimi & consona voce *Frankeræ* clamitant, cum ejus mentio incidit: *Erat illa parens & mater unica regis, et omni adversitatis solamen* (6). — Before her Marriage, she was in *Flanders*; imbibed the Principles of a better and a purer Religion, wherein, after her Marriage, she was in *Holland* so confirmed; that she chose rather to renounce an ample Fortune, and her Country, than her Religion. Amongst other things it is related of her, that she was an inexhausted Source of Charity, and that the poor of *Franker*, on the mention of her Name, cry out with one accord, she was their only tender Parent in their Want, and place in their Distress. He had three Children by this Marriage: a Daughter, who was born at *Leyden* the Twenty second of *March* 1582, and was married in 1604 to *Abel Curiander*, who published the Life of his Father-in-law (7): another Daughter, who was born at *Franker* the first of *April* 1587, and was married the Twenty ninth of *May* 1608 to *Abraham Valkins*; and a Son, who was born the Twenty sixth of *June* 1588. I shall speak of him hereafter. The second Daughter died at *Ghent*, the twelfth of *November* 1612, where he had been upon Business. A Priest, knowing her to be dangerously sick, came to her to take her Confession, and administer the holy Unction to her; but she sent him away, and her Husband had almost beat him. It was with great Charge and Danger that they got the Body of the deceased transported to *Zeland*; for at *Ghent* they threatened to deny it a Burial (8). [D] It is certain he was well skilled in the *Hebrew*. To show that I speak without Hyperbole, I shall cite an unexceptionable Author. *Drusus*, who holds the seventh Rank among those Critics (9), ought to be preferred, in my Opinion, before all others; for besides that he was learned in the *Hebrew* Tongue, and could himself consult the Jewish Writers, he had read with great exactness the ancient Greek Translators; so that he had formed a better Idea of the sacred Language, than the other Critics, who only apply themselves to the reading of the Rabbies. To which it may be added, that he had also read the Works of *St Jerom*, and some other Fathers. In a word, *Drusus* is the most learned, and most judicious of all the Critics, who are in that Collection (10). [E] He published several Books. Those who have his Life will find in it an exact List of all that he published, and of all that he designed for the Press: those who have it not will do well to consult *Meursius* (11). It is impossible to consider the Labour of this learned Man without Astonishment: he revised, corrected, and enlarged, before his Death, all the Books he had published (12), and had composed several New Treatises, and prepared many Additions for Works which came from other hands, which would have been more considerable than the Works themselves. Sequuntur libri à D. Drusio quamplurimis additamentis aucti, adeo quoque ut si recudendi essent cum additamentis istis, à Drusio potius quam ab Authoribus nomen tracturi essent (13). — Now follow the Books which *Drusus* so much enlarged, that if they were to be published with his Additions, they ought rather to take their Names from him, than from their Authors. [F] He was ordered to work. . . . and was paid by the States General. In 1600 the States General ordered him to make Notes on the most difficult places of the Old Testament, and promised him an annual Pension of 400 Florins for some Years. They wrote a Letter to the States of the Province of *Friesland* the eighteenth of *May* 1601, desiring them to dispense with *Drusus* in all Business which might be a hindrance to this Work. In quibus (Literis) humanissime petunt, *Drusius* ut omnibus illis oneribus & incommodis eximatur, quæ opus illud Reipub. Christianæ maxime profuturum ullo modo impedire possent (14). As soon as this Letter was read, the Deputies of the States of *Friesland* discharged *Drusus* from all Academical Functions, allowing him to put another in his place for the ordinary Lectures, and paid an Amanuensis for him. He demanded his Dismission in the Year 1603; but they refused it, among other reasons, because many Strangers were drawn by his Reputation to the University of *Franker*. (15). He worked upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, upon the eighteen first Chapters of *Numbers*, and particularly upon the most difficult places in the *Pentateuch*, the Book of *Josua*, the Book of *Judges*, the Books of *Samuel*: he worked, I say, in obedience to the Orders of the States General; but he could get nothing of all this printed, and was often disturbed in the Execution of those Orders (16). [G] They
- (4) Pag. 1510.
- (5) Among the Letters of the Arminians there is a Letter from Arminius. It is the 147th, dated in May, 1599, wherein he concedes with *Drusus* upon the Death of his Wife.
- (6) Curiander in Vita Drusii, pag. 7, 8.
- (7) Ibid. pag. 8.
- (8) Ibid. pag. 14, 15.
- (9) That is, among those which were printed in *England* in the Work intitled, *Critica Sacra*.
- (10) *Faler Simon*, *Hilscie Critique de Vieux Testament*. lib. 1, cap. 14, pag. 443.
- (11) In Athen. Batavis.
- (12) Antedictorum nullum esse librum qui postrema Authoris cura non sit factus melior aut auctor. Curiander in Vita Drusii, pag. 20.
- (13) Idem. pag. 26, 27.
- (14) Ibid. pag. 24.
- (15) Ibid. pag. 24.
- (16) Ibid. pag. 23, 24.

Tongue [G]; but there were some People that laboured with Success to get him excluded. He kept up a great Correspondence by Letters with learned Men [H], by whom he was informed of the Esteem they had for his Works, and was continually exhorted by them to labour for the public Good. He had need of this Consolation (b); for he had many Enemies by his side, who threw a thousand Rubs in his way [I], and cruelly attacked his Reputation. Whether through Modesty, or a Freedom from Prejudice, he was more reserved than others in condemning or applauding; for which reason they discredited him as a bad Protestant [K]. What he answered deserves to be considered

(b) See the Remark [M].

(17) This is a Body which represents the States of the Province when they are not assembled.

(18) Curlander in Vita Drusii, pag. 12.

(19) Ib. pag. 13.

[G] They had designed that he should make a New Translation of the Bible into the Dutch Tongue. The Deputies of the States of Friesland (17) sent him a Commission in 1596 to go upon this Version, together with the Sieur de Sainte Aldegonde and some others. A great many learned Men thought him very fit for this Work, and recommended him earnestly to the States (18). It will not be amiss to see what the Sieur de Sainte Aldegonde wrote to him concerning it in the Year 1594 (19): 'De Bibliorum versione, quæ est, quam ad Ordines Belgii commemoras sententia, et si video te gravibus commotum rationibus, non possum tamen assentiri. Ego enim nostram hanc, quæ vulgo manibus teritur versionem ejusmodi esse existimo, quæ planè novas lucubrationes, novumque penitus opus requirat. Inter omnes autem omnium versiones ego ingenuè fatebor, mihi visam esse nullam tanto abesse ab Ebraica veritate intervallo, atque sit Lutheri versio à qua manavit nostra: ex vitiosa Germanica facta vitiosior Belgico-Teutonica. De quo si nobis liceat aliquando familiariter conferre, pro heremæ duxerim. Id vero vehementer doleo, plebsque nostris homines in me videri oculos defixisse qui satis intelligam quanta mihi. Itaque velim Ecclesiæ nostras, quod ego multis etiam suasi, in te respicere, tibi que hanc demandare provinciam. Idque si id tibi non ingratum fore intelligam, ero illis author quantum potero, etsi video nihil dum eos certi statuisse. De quo si tuum mihi animum aperueris, facies gratum. — Though I find the Opinion which you have delivered to the States, concerning the Version of the Bible, has some weighty Reasons to support it, yet I cannot come into it. For I look upon the common Version to be such as demands a thorough Revision, or rather an entire new Work. Amongst all the Versions I have met with, I will ingenuously confess that I have seen none that differs so widely from the true Hebrew, as that of Luther, from which ours took its Rise, and from a very erroneous High Dutch one, it made a much more erroneous Low Dutch one. Might I freely declare my Sentiments, on this Subject, I should move for a new Translation. But it is not without great Uneasiness, I observe, that many seem to have fixed their Eyes upon me for this Purpose: I am too well acquainted with my own Inability for such a Task. Wherefore I would advise our Churches, and have already persuaded some of them, to give the Commission to you. If I understand the Office well not to be disagreeable to you, I will promote it to the utmost of my Power, though I do not find they have yet come to any certain Resolution. You would oblige me by giving me your Sentiments upon the Matter.' This Passage bears hard upon Luther's Translation, and still harder upon that which the Churches of the Low-Countries made use of that time. Mr Simon could not have said worse of it (20). I see in the Letters of the Arminians (21), that Arminius and Uytenbogaard recommended Drusius, both for the Commission which had been given him by the States-General in 1600, and also for the new Version; but their Offices were doubtless prejudicial to him, with respect to this last Affair. Probably they believed that, since they judged him fit for it, he was not really so. However it be, I have read in those Letters (22), that, in one of the Synods of Holland, an Act was passed by which he was excluded, not only from the Translation, but also from the revising of what should be translated.

[H] He kept up a great Correspondence by Letters with learned Men. Besides the Letters which he received in Hebrew, Greek, French, English, and Flemish, he received 2300 in Latin, which were found among his Papers (23).

[I] Many Enemies . . . threw a thousand Rubs in his way. The Synodal Act, I have already mentioned, concerning the Translation of the Bible, was made on purpose to exclude our Drusius. Tu quidem illius

VOL. II. N^o. LIII.

folius excludendi causa decretum factum esse prudenter animadvertetas, sed juvenis viginti annorum hoc ex ore Roggii aperte est professus, ignarus proculdubio quo loco Drusius apud me esset (24). — You rightly observed indeed, that this Decree was made on purpose to exclude him; but a young Gentleman of twenty openly declared it to be at the Instigation of Roggius, little imagining in what esteem I held Drusius. He wrote, with his own Hand, at the end of his Commentary upon Genesis, with what Violence he was opposed in the Execution of the Orders that the States-General had given him: These are his Words. Absoluta fuit hæc in Genesis commentatio undecimo Aprilis scilicet veteri anno Christi 1602, quam aggressus eram biennio ante auspiciis illustrium Ordinum Generalium Provinciarum Federatarum, procurantibus hoc negotium Johanne Wytenbogaard, Jacobo Arminio, Jacobo Basilio, aliisque verbi divini Precatoribus, non tam facundis quam doctis ac piis, veritatique ac solidæ doctrinæ studiosissimis. Deus illis & mihi largiatur; illis premium quale merentur, mihi otium & bonam valetudinem, ut possim in cæteros libros similia præstare. Quod futurum puto ex usu Ecclesiæ Orthodoxæ, quam amo ac veneror, ut contra odi Ecclesiam errantium & imperitorum, quorum illi familiam ducunt qui me in hoc opere non semel turbant. Deus illis condonet, cui laus & gloria in ævum (25). — This Comment upon Genesis was finished the eleventh of April, Old Style, in the Year 1602; which I entered upon two Years before, under the Direction of the High and Mighty States-General of the United Provinces, and at the Intercession of John Wytenbogaard, James Arminius, James Basilius, and other Ministers of GOD's Word, Men equally distinguished by their Love of Truth, and sound Doctrine, as by their Learning and Eloquence. May it please GOD to bestow on them those good things which they deserve, and on me Health and Opportunity, whereby I may be enabled to proceed in the same manner with the rest of the Books. Which I hope will be of service to the Orthodox Church, which I love and reverence, as, on the contrary, I hate that of the blind and mistaken, the Leaders of which have more than once interrupted me in the Prosecution of this Work: may they find Pardon of GOD, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. At last he grew out of all Patience: He wrote something against his Persecutors; for I doubt not he called them so, but I never saw what it was: I only know he wrote something by the following Quotation out of his Life (26). Drusii ad Abelum Curlanderum generum suum Epistola, in qua agitur de vehementia qua usus fuit in Epistola sua ad Fratres Belgas. Item Speculum Theologorum misologorum ex Erasmo. — Drusius's Letter to Abel Curlander, his Son-in-law, wherein he speaks of the heat which appeared in his Letter to his Brethren in Holland. Also the Misologist's Looking Glass from Erasmus.

[K] He was reserved in condemning or applauding, for which reason they discredited him as a bad Protestant. He was not a Man who pronounced magistrally in Matters of Divinity; This is Heretical; That is Orthodox. He meddled with nothing but Grammar, often declaring that, if he was in an Error, he was at least free from Heresy, because he was not obstinate, but ready to yield to good Advice, and that he submitted all his Works and Person to the Judgment of the Catholic Religion. Tenuis mea scientia versatur tota circa Grammaticam & Historiam (v. scilicet) Dogmata fidei aliis me doctioribus tractanda relinquo. . . . Pertinacia facit hæreticum, non simplex error, nam humanum est errare, humani autem à me nihil alienum scio. Monitus non ero pertinax, nec unquam fui. Olim professus sum quod nunc iterum repeto, me mea omnia subicere judicio Ecclesiæ (27). — My small Sphere of Knowledge takes

(24) Arminius ad Uytenbogaard, Epist. 52, præf. ac erudit. Virotum, pag. 102.

(25) Curlander in Vita Drusii, pag. 23.

(26) Pag. 26, 27.

(27) Drusius, in Libro de Hæresibus, pag. 22, apud Curlander, pag. 21.

(20) See, above, the Remark [B] of the Article A M A N A.

(21) See Letters 47, 48, 49, 50, 61, folio Edition.

(22) In the 53d.

(23) Curlander, in Vita Drusii, pag. 11.

considered [L]: but it did not hinder him from groaning under his hard Fate [M]. His Son

(28) In Tetragrammato, pag. 81, apud Curiandrum. ibid.

in only Grammar and (sacred) History. I leave Points of Faith to be canvassed by able Heads. Positiveness, not simple Error, makes the Heretic; Error is entailed on all Mankind. I never professed Infallibility. On Conviction I always did, and always will, submit: I will repeat a Declaration I formerly made, I submit myself, and my ALL to the Judgment of the Church.

In another place he says (28): 'Non sum Theologus: an Grammatici nomen, quod aliquando mihi probe obiectum, tueri possum nescio. Amici quos nostri negant, ego non contradico. Quid igitur es, inquires? Christianus sum, $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$ sum, qui scribendo proficio, & proficiendo scribo. — I am no Divine; I do not know whether I can defend my Title to the Name of a Grammarian, which has sometimes with scorn been given me. My Friends, you know, I say I cannot. I do not say I can. What are you then? I say you: I am a Christian, and a Lover of Truth, who improve by writing, and write by improving.' I shall only add these words: 'Quod superest, scripsi hæc animo juvandi, non lædendi. Si læsi quempiam jam nunc poenitet. Si offendi pias aures, monitus libenter mutabo. Si erravi uspiam, monstretur mihi error: Non ero pertinax. Denique provoco ad iudicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cui me meaque omnia

(29) Hæc & alia que hoc libro continentur ut & in aliis omnibus à me unquam editis aut edendis subijcio libens Ecclesiæ Catholicæ iudicio, à cuius recto sensu si dissentio non ero pertinax. — *Wrote: or I have hitherto published, or whatever I shall publish hereafter, I freely submit to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, from the true sense of which should I differ, I will innoceently retract.* Thus he speaks in the Preface of his *Enchiridion*, apud Curiandrum, pag. 22.

(30) In Libro Prætoritum, pag. 454, apud eundem. pag. 22.

(31) Scaliger is mistaken: Drusus left Louvain in 1567, at seventeen Years of Age, and never returned after that but for some few Months in the beginning of 1576: this is plain by his Life.

(32) It would not have been *una fidelis dux parietes deserte, but deturpare & conjurcare.*

of the Reformed Church brings them in a great Revenue, free of all Taxes; they enjoy a kind of Papacy, Praises, Honours, Flattery, mean Submissions from the People: they would lose all these Advantages if they forsook that Profession; and they never leave charging with indifference, and furiously persecuting upon that account, many Persons who are ruined, as to this World, by the very same Profession: A Profession which gives them nothing, but deprives them of a hundred Advantages they might procure by forsaking it. I make this Remark, that it may be seen how much Ages and Nations resemble one another. This will shew whether I have ill translated the following Latin Passages I have borrowed from Drusus. 'Sparserunt de me rumorem vanissimum, summa est me alienum esse ab hac Religione. Quid dicam? Post natam calumniam non fuit unquam major calumnia. Egone alienus à religione, cujus causa pater meus p. m. amisit anno 67. octodecim millia florenorum? Quum autem exularet Londini una mecum, habebat penes se libras Flandricas, quas majores vocant, mille quingentas. Ex illis mille quadringentas impendit in causam publicam. Princeps Auricius partem accepit, aliam Ordines Hollandiæ & Zelandiæ, tertiam pauperes, qui religionis ergo in Angliam confugerant. Centum quæ resabant postliminio revertisse retuli domum. Quod dico vero verius est. Idem propriis sumptibus me aluit in studiis. A publico nihil unquam accepi. Quum Professorem agerem Leidæ, stipendium erat tam parvum, ut coactus fuissim ex meo impendere quotannis trecentos, aliquando quadringentos. Habeo in Flandria redditus non poenitendos quibus frui possem si essem in patria. Quorum ista, inquires? Nempe ut scias vanum esse quod æmulis mei sperarunt, qui omnes simul tantam jacturam non fecerunt, quantam ego solus feci, quos hæc religio divites, ut me pauperem fecit, quem nunc contemnunt propterea, optime de ipsis meritum (33). — *They have spread a very idle report concerning me, the substance whereof is, that I am an Enemy to their Religion. I am Enemy to that Religion, for the sake of which my Father in the Year 67 lost eighteen thousand Florins? Who, after he was banished, and with me, at London had in his own Possession fifteen hundred Flanders Livres. Fourteen hundred of which he spent in the common Cause. The Prince of Orange had one part, the States of Holland and Zealand another, and the poor, who had fled into England for their Religion, a third. What I say is undeniable. The hundred, which remained, at my return, I brought with me home. He maintained me in my Studies at his own charge. I never received any thing from the Public. When I was Professor at Leyden, my Salary was so small, that I was obliged to spend three hundred, sometimes four hundred, Florins of my own. I have in Flanders a considerable Revenue, which I might enjoy, were I in my own Country. Why all this? You will say. Only to prove that what my Enemies have advanced has no Foundation. They have not all, taken together, suffered so much as I alone, but grow rich by that Religion, by which I am grown poor, and despise me, though I have deserved well of them.*

[M] . . . Did not hinder him from groaning under his hard Fate.] Thus he writes in the Letter I have just quoted. 'Jam nunc experior verum esse illud; homo homini Deus: sed & alii me docuerunt verum esse, homo homini lupus. Per eos injecta remora de qua scribis. . . . Tantam experior hominum ingratitude, ut propemodum in animo sit edita prole Machabæorum posthac quiescere. — Now, I find, by Experience, the Truth of this Saying, Man is to Man a God; but others taught me the Truth of another, Man is to Man a Wolf. The delays you complain of were occasioned by them. I have met with such Instances of Ingratitude, that I could almost resolve, after publishing the Genealogy of the Maccabees, to sit still for the future.' Must not so great an Author be sensibly affected with the Persecutions he was exposed to, when his grief prompted him to condemn his Pen to an eternal Sterility. One Passage more will furnish us with several fine Reflexions of Drusus (34). 'Turbæ bones nostri nunc quiescent, aut pudet eos preteritorum, aut expectant occasionem novam. Mihi quidem

(33) Drusus, Epistola ad Franciscum Casticum, dated the sixth of February 1560, apud Curiandrum, in sua Vita, pag. 34.

(34) In a Letter dated December 21, 1599, apud Curiandrum, pag. 32.

Son would have been a Prodigy of Learning if he had enjoyed a longer Life [N]. Scaliger speaks well of him; Scaliger, I say, who otherwise was very abusive to our Drusus [O]: for what can be said more bitter and shocking against a Professor of the Holy Language, than that his House is a Brothel. Drusus had a Disciple that succeeded him, and defended his Memory against those who charged him with leaning towards Arianism (i): he also took care of the Manuscripts and Daughter of the deceased [P]. Mr Boffuet, Bishop

(i) See the Text of the Article AMAMA, between the Citations (f) and (g). of

* quidem multis de causis quies non solum optatissima est, sed etiam necessaria. Sed si hanc personam Deus humanæ fabulæ choragus mihi imposuit, partes delegatas oportet agam. In hac arena mihi video moriendum esse, nam ut viri isti quiescant nihil est spei. In eo toti sunt ut me aut latronibus objiciant, aut amore confectum occidant. Sed bacenus gratia Dei, nec animum à suo proposito labefactare poterunt, nec studii mei ita multum detrimentum attulerunt. Consolatur me primum conscientia recte factorum, deinde favor doctorum & bonorum virorum, quos hactenus æquissimos habui erga labores meos. Quod partim Literis, partim donis ac muneribus declarant. . . . Quis unquam in sole ambulavit absque umbra, quis insignem virtutem exercuit sine invidia? quis bonas literas professus est cum aliqua fama, absque odio Theologorum; Capnio, Erasmus, Arias, Hieronymus experti sunt. Hunc postremum Romæ expulsum, cum Bethlehem in tuguriolo degeret, ne sic quidem latentem effugit invidia. Ex præsens Sapientibus quidam interrogatus, quid ageret? Nihil, inquit, nondum enim mihi invidetur. Regium est, cum benefeceris audire malè, inquit ille. Et profecto ita est, Industria parit virtutem, virtus gloriam, gloria invidiam, qui morbus ferè peculiaris est iis, qui aliqui pietatem profitentur, cum nihil sit alienius à vera pietate. Obrepat enim hæc pestis pietatis imagine, dum videri vult virtutum odium, ac virtutis zelus. . . .

The Storm is now blown over; they are either ashamed of what is past, or wait a fresh Opportunity. To me Rest is on many accounts, not only the most desirable, but even necessary. But if God has designed me this Part on the Stage of Life, I must act it, and die in the Performance; for there is but little hope, that they will ever be quiet. It is their sole aim to expose me to Ruffians, or murder me piece-meal with Grief. But thanks be to God, hitherto they have neither been able to divert my Mind from it's purpose, nor done any considerable Injury to my Studies. The Confidence of well doing is my chief Comfort; and the favour of the learned World my next, which they have partly testified by Letters, and partly by Presents. . . . Who can walk in the Sun without a Shade? who was ever truly great, and yet unenvied? who ever distinguished himself in good Learning, without drawing down upon himself the hatred of Divines? Capnio, Erasmus, Arias, and Jerom, have found it too true. The last, after his Banishment from Rome, was haunted by Envy in his Cottage at Bethlehem. One of the old Sages, being asked what he did, answered, Nothing, for that Envy had not yet marked him out: It is, says he, something noble to be ill spoken of for good Actions. It is indeed true, Industry is the Mother of Merit, Merit of Glory, Glory of Envy, which is a Disease inherent in those who make a profession of Piety, tho' nothing be more contrary to true Piety. For this Pestilence steals upon Men under the disguise of Piety, and would pass for an Aversion to Vice, and a Zeal for Virtue.

[N] His Son would have been a Prodigy, if he had lived longer. I have already said that he was born in the Year 1588. His Name was JOHN DRUSIUS, as well as his Father's. He began at five Years of Age to learn the Latin and Hebrew Languages; at seven Years he explained the Hebrew Psalter so exactly, that a Jew, who taught Arabic at Leyden, could not see it without Admiration. At nine Years, he could read the Hebrew without Points, and add the Points where they ought to be, according to the Rules of Grammar; which is more than the Rabbins can do now. He spoke Latin as well as his Mother Tongue, and could make himself understood in English. At twelve Years, he would write extempore in Prose and Verse, according to the Manner of the Hebrews. At seventeen, he harangued the King of Great Britain, in Latin, in the midst of all his Court, and was admired by the whole Company. He had a lively Wit, and solid judgment, a great Memory, and an

indefatigable ardour for Study. He was also of an agreeable Temper, and made himself much beloved. He had noble Inclinations, and was of a singular Piety. He died of the Stone in England, at Twenty one Years of Age, at the House of William Thomas Dean of Chester, who allowed him a very good Pension. He left divers Works, many Hebrew Letters, and Verses, and Notes, in the same Tongue, on the Proverbs of Solomon. He had begun to put into Latin the Itinerary of Benjamin de Tudela, and the Chronicle of the second Temple, and he had ranged, according to the alphabetical Order, the Nomenclator of Elias Levita, to which he added the Greek Words which were not in the first Edition (35). Joseph Scaliger says, (36) that Drusus's Son knew more of Hebrew than his Father.

[O] Scaliger . . . was very abusive to our Drusus. These are some touches of the Character he draws of him. He has an ill Reputation; for he is a Whore-monger, and his Daughter is a Whore, and his House is a Brothel. He knew more of it than Dujin, Drusus has a mean Judgment; he understands nothing but his Grammar: he does not know so much as Serrarius, excepting in his Hebrew Grammar. . . . Drusus Lipsii simius habet miram latinitatem, non latine scribit. --- Drusus apertè Lipsii's Latinity, but cannot write Latin. Drusus is nothing in comparison of Buxtorf. He has taught Grammar these thirty Years, and knows nothing besides it, & mirum esset nisi sciret optime. Ego bene scio quid sit Drusus, est doctus in Grammaticis & in textu Hebræo. . . . Drusus non est doctus licet se putet esse doctissimum. --- And it were a wonder if he were not a perfect Master of it. I know what Drusus is. He is well versed in Grammar, and in the Hebrew Text . . . but he is not learned, though he thinks himself very learned.

[P] Drusus had a Disciple . . . who took care of the Manuscripts, and Daughter of the deceased. See the Letter which Sixtinus Amama wrote, the third of December 1626, to Gaspar Barlaeus (37), to desire him to prevail upon a considerable Person, to whom they designed to dedicate the twelve lesser Prophets of Drusus, to accept the Dedication. Amama observes, that eight of those twelve Prophets had been published long before, but that the four others had never been made public: he represents to Barlaeus the miserable Condition Drusus's only Daughter was reduced to, who had been five Years Curiander's Widow: he adds that having published several of Drusus's Works, he had always dedicated them to some charitable Mecenas, who, by some small Present, had relieved the indigence of that Woman, for which Reason he begs Barlaeus to get that Man of Figure to accept of the Epistle Dedicatory, telling him the Widow would be contented with a little, and that fifty Florins would make her happy. Ago causam viduæ pauperulæ quæ nunc cum bonæ mentis sorore strenue luctatur. Ea est filia unica Cl. Drusii quam D. Havelius Curiander ante annos quinque reliquit viduam. Ex MS. parentis ejus b. mem. multa nunc publici juris feci, quævisque illis ejusmodi Mecæneses qui aliquo præmiolo ejus pauperiorem iuverunt sublevatum. . . . Non expectabit magnam remunerationem: si quinquaginta florenos vel daletos simplices obtinuerit, beatam se judicabit. Hæc eo dico ut videas & intelligas quam angusta res sit hujus feminae, vel propter parentem meliori fortuna dignæ, & quam fit exiguum quod illa expectat (38). --- I plead the poor Widow's Cause, who struggles nobly with Poverty. She is the only Daughter of the Great Drusus, and was left a Widow by Curiander about five Years ago. I have published several of her Father's MSS, and endeavoured to find out such Patrons, as might relieve her Necessity with some small Present. . . . She does not expect much, but would think herself happy in a Present of fifty Florins. I mention this to let you see the narrow Circumstances of one, who, for her father's sake, deserved a better Fortune, and

(35) Taken from the Preface of John Drusus ad lib. 10, Prætorum. The Account he gives of all this is curious: we find these Words in it. Quod si vite ei longior contigerit, & ad justam ætatem pergere potuisset, dicam præfatione (absit verbo invidia) fuisset interpres literarum sacrarum eximius, qualem fortasse orbis Christianus alium non habuisset. --- Had he been favoured with a longer Life, had he arrived to Maturity of Age, I may with boldness affirm, he would have been an eminent Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, and such a one as perhaps the Christian World could not have equalled.

This young Man deserves a Place in the second Edition of Mr Barlet's Enfans Célèbres.

(36) In Scaligerian. pag. m. 68.

(37) It is the 44th among those of the Arminians, pag. 723, folio Edition.

(38) Sixt. Amama, pag. 723.

of Meaux, took advantage of a thing he had read in *Drusus* concerning the Pope's Mitre [Q]. A Jesuit, who pretended to criticize our *Drusus* [R], has only exposed himself to Censure.

'and what a trifle it is she hopes for.' What Pity, that an Author's only daughter should be reduced to so great Poverty, when the Children of so many Blockheads roll about in Coaches! *Sic visum numini.*

[Q] Mr Bessuet . . . took Advantage of a thing he had read in *Drusus*, concerning the Pope's Mitre. I shall first set down the Passage of the Bishop of Meaux, with all that belongs to it, summary Quotations, &c. and then make some Reflexions upon it. He says (39): 'It would not be worth while to take Notice here of a story which is current among the Protestants, if their deplorable Credulity did not make them take every thing for true, that their People tell them. The English Critics have inserted among their Remarks, that a Man worthy of Credit had told Mr de Montmorenci, when he was at Rome, that the Pontifical Tiara had written in the front of it, in letters of Gold, MYSTERIUM, but that, now, they had altered that Inscription. Mr Jurieu adopts this Story which is very fit to deceive simple People, and sets it off with these magnificent Terms. It is not without a particular Providence, that God permitted the Popes formerly to bear this Word MYSTERIUM, written upon their Mitre. Joseph Scaliger, and divers others, have attested that they have seen some of the old Mitres that had that Word written upon them.'

(39) The Bishop of Meaux's Averment for l'Explication de l'Apocalypse, n. 6, pag. 319. Edit. of Holland.

A RIDICULOUS Story of Scaliger, contemned by *Drusus*, a Protestant, and adopted by Mr Jurieu, a Minister.

Crit. ad cap. 17, v. Tom. 7 col. pag. 858, Preleg. I. Part. cap. 7, pag. 121.

Critic. ad cap. 17, v. Tom. 7, pag. 4857.

This artful Minister adds of his own Head, that Scaliger had seen it: we have just now seen, that what is written on it, is only hearsay, and without any certain Author. *Drusus*, a Protestant Author, agrees to this, and acknowledges that what Scaliger says of it, is upon the credit of another. Nay, he makes light of this little Story; requiring better Proof, and better Evidence for it. They might look long enough before they find it: it is Invention, in nubibus; but Mr Jurieu will lose nothing, and believes every thing that makes ever so little against the Pope.

It is very unjust to insult a whole Body of Men, upon pretence that some Authors among them discover Signs of a little too much Prejudice. The Bishop of Meaux ought to have considered this; this is my first Reflexion. A Man does a great injury to his own Party, without Doors, by employing, in it's Defence, all sorts of Reasons, good or bad, without ever retracting what has been once said. But this Conduct is far from being against the interest within Doors; it nourishes Prejudices, and Confidence, in the Minds of the People, and inspires them with the Passions of those who dispute. These People take great care of making any steps from which any Advantage may be taken against them, by their own Party, never divestling themselves of the right of alledging this or that, such or such Pretensions. This multiplies their Writings; this animates and warms them. It is not for the temporal Interest of any Communion, that all the Members of it should be Men of Judgment. Passionate People, who follow only a Spirit of Faction, humanly speaking, do a thousand good Services; therefore it is beneficial to them to have some of these infatuated Agents among them; It is a necessary Evil. This is my second Reflexion. It must not be thought that, in a great Body, learned Men of *Drusus*'s Character are so scarce, as they seem to be. All that can be said is, that few will expose themselves to rash Judgments; most Men of Reason and Temper, observing that the rash and forward carry away the Acclamations and favour of the Multitude, let them alone, and sometimes swim with the Stream, in order to live in quiet and free from Suspicion. If they are privately asked, why do you not write as *Drusus* did? they will fetch their Answer from an Apologue.

Quod si me populus Romanus forte roget, cur,
Non, ut porticibus, sic iudiciis fruar iisdem;
Nec sequar aut fugiam quæ diligit ipse, vel odit:
Olim quod vulpes ægrotæ cauta leoni,
Respondit, referam: Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia nulla retrorsum (40).

(40) Morat. Epist. I, lib. 1, v. 70.

Should the Crowd ask, why, since I live in Town,
Walk the same Streets with them, I do not own

The same Opinions, why I don't approve,
And baste the same Things, which they baste and love?
My answer must be what fly Reynard said
To the old sickly Lyon, I am afraid,
Great King of Beasts, for all the treats I see
Are to thy Den, none back; that frightens me.

CREECH.

This is my third Reflexion: my fourth and last is this. I shall not examine whether our *Drusus* ought to have been silent upon this particular thing mentioned by the Bishop of Meaux; but I will venture to say, it was better to do as he did, than to quote the Testimony of Scaliger unfaithfully. This could not have been done with impunity at the Bar; for there is not a much greater difference between false Money and good, than between a hearsay Witness, and an eye Witness. So that Scaliger, who was an Evidence by hearsay, ought not to have been brought as an ocular Evidence by Mr Jurieu.

This dispute between a Bishop and a Minister has given Birth to several Writings, published in Germany: a Divine of the Ausburg Confession undertook to prove, that the Bishop of Meaux was wrong in denying, that the word *Mysterium* was formerly inscribed upon the Papal Tiara. He published a Work divided into two Parts. The first is intitled *Mysterium in Pontificis Romani corona apertum*: the second is *Mysterium in corona Pontificis opertum & remotum*. In the first he has collected together as many Proofs as he could find, and in the second he inquires in what manner, and for what Reasons, the said Inscription was taken away. A Doctor of Philology, named John Lewis Hanneman, answered this Divine in a Book he published at Hamburgh, in the Year 1698, under the Title of *Mysterium Papali coronæ adscriptum non ens, seu Commentarius in caput XVII Apocalypsis v. 5 quo demonstratur Papali coronæ mysterion nunquam fuisse inscriptum*. In which he does two Things. 1. He confutes all the Arguments of his Adversary. 2. He alleges divers Proofs to shew that That Inscription was never upon the Pontifical Tiara (41).

[R] A Jesuit, who has pretended to criticize *Drusus*, has only exposed himself to Censure.] Father Garasse having affirmed (42) that Charron 'wanted common Sense in making such ridiculous Comparisons (43), adds that this 'puts him in mind of three Men, very absurd in their manner of acting: the first was the Emperor Heliogabalus, who . . . in his greatest Entertainments, mixed Horledung among his choicest Dishes . . . the second was the Emperor Alexander Severus . . . who placed Jesus CHRIST, among the Images of Apollonius Tyanæus, Orpheus, Abraham, . . . in fine, the third may be the Minister *Drusus*, who in his Centuries upon the holy Scripture, is as unhappy in his Quotations of Authors, as Charron in his Catalogue of great Persons: for he commonly quotes half a dozen Writers in this Manner: *Isaiab* at his second Chapter, *Plautus* in *Amphytrio*, *St Luke* in the Acts of the Apostles, *Ovid* in the Book de Remedio Amoris: *St John Chrysostom* in his Homilies upon *Genesis*, *Horace* in his Book de arte Poetica. Not that we should rigorously abstain from citing prophane Authors, or not commend, in the great Men of the Age, the valuable Gifts they have received from God: but what I cannot digest, is, such a strange jumbling of Persons as this, *Socrates*, *Jesus Christ*, *Papian*, the Martyrs, *St John*, *Plautus*, *Jeremiab*, *Aristenetus*, *St Augustin*, *Ovid*; for in these Alternations, there is something prophane, as well as a want of Judgment. It might easily be shewn, that this Critic, who accuses others so much of want of Judgment, says nothing here, but what convinces us of his own want of it: but I shall confine myself to what relates to *Drusus*. His Censurer calls him *Drusus*, and makes a Minister of him: so that he was ignorant both of the Name and Profession of the Man he pretends to criticize; for *Drusus* was no Minister, and we have seen before (44), that he declared he meddled with nothing but Grammar and History, leaving the Doctrines of the Faith to others, and that he was no Divine. Mr Baillet (45) reports, that he was so confident of his own Merit, that he gave himself

(41) Taken from the Utrecht Journal for November and December, 1698, pag. 854, and following.

(42) Garasse, Somme Theologique, pag. 847, 848.

(43) That is naming together *Socrates*, *Phocion*, *Seneca*, *Regulus*, *Jesus Christ*, the Martyrs.

(44) In the Remark [K], Citat. (27).

(45) Baillet. Jugem. des Scavans, Tom. IV, pag. 226.

(47) In the Remarks [K].

(47) De quo supra COLONIES Citat. (30).

(48) In Remarks [K] Citat. (38).

himself the Title of divine Grammarian. I have put this in the Margin (46) in the first Edition of this Dictionary, and I added, that *I would desire to know where this was to be found*. Mr de la Roque (47) was pleased to write me word that he had read it in Serrarius's *Tribaresium*. Not having that Book by me, I have recourse to Conjectures: I imagine then that Serrarius advanced that, upon the credit of some Adversary of Drusus, and without a literal Proof taken from the Writings of that Author. Be that as it will, we have seen (48), Drusus declared publicly that he knew not whether he ought to assume the Title of Grammarian, which some have reproached him with, and that some People say he ought not, whom he would not contradict: this is a Modesty very opposite to the Pride charged on him by Mr Baillet. But let us return to Father Garasse, and say, that his

Censure is worth nothing. It is possible that, in the same Chapter of Drusus, we may find a Citation from a sacred Author, preceded and followed by a Citation from a prophane Author, but not according to the ridiculous order the Jesuit complains of. Drusus's Method is to be very short upon every Subject, joining things together which have a Relation one to another; from whence it happens that, in a short Chapter, he explains sometimes three or four Things, upon each of which he shews the Agreement between sacred and prophane Authors: thus having alleged Passages of Scripture, he cites Greek and Latin Authors: after this, entering upon another Subject, he brings again Passages out of Scripture, and then a Poet, a Historian, &c. This Conduct has nothing ill in it, and was ignorantly, and impertinently condemned by the Censurer.

DRUSUS, a Roman Family, a Branch of the *Livii*, or of the Family *Livia*, the *Plébeian*, had a share in the highest Posts of the Common-wealth. It had enjoyed the Dictatorship, and the Office of Colonel-General of the Cavalry. It held the Consulship eight times, twice the Dignity of Cenfor, and three times it had been honoured with a Triumph. It had produced Persons of great Merit, and among others *Marcus Livius Salinator*, and *MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS*. The latter was surnamed *Drusus* for his having killed *Draufus* [A], the Enemies General (a). They make him to have recovered, out of the Hands of the *Gauls*, the Money their Ancestors had formerly received when they besieged the Capitol. If that is true, we are not to believe the Report that *Camillus* forced them to restore it (b). The best way to know the time when the first *Drusus* lived, is by remembering that *CAIUS LIVIUS DRUSUS*, his Son, or Grandson, was Consul with *Scipio Africanus*, the younger, in the Year of Rome 606. The Emperor *Tiberius* descended, by Adoption, from the *Drusian* Family; for *LIVIUS DRUSUS CLAUDIANUS*, his maternal Grandfather, one of the Descendants of blind *Appius*, was adopted by a *Drusus* (c). It is probable that another *Drusus* adopted one of the *Scribonian* Family, in which the Sirname of *Libo* was very common; for we find a *MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS LIBO*, Consul in the Year 738, and a *LUCIUS SCRIBONIUS LIBO DRUSUS* the Pretor, who killed himself, to avoid the Punishment he feared, finding himself accused of Treason, under *Tiberius*, in the Year of Rome 769 (d). We shall say a word of some of the Descendants of the first *Drusus* [B] in the Remarks, but shall

[A] *Marcus Livius* . . . was surnamed *Drusus*, for his having killed *Draufus*. This is like all those silly fabulous Traditions, which are preserved in ancient Families, and which ascribe the Origin of the first Name, and their Coat of Arms, to some valorous Feat. If the *Drusian* Branch had owed their Original to the Exploit mentioned by *Suetonius*, it would have been known in what time, and at what place this happened, and against what Enemy; and *Suetonius* would not have spoke of it in so general a Manner as he has done.

Drusus hostium duce Drauso cominus trucidato sibi posterisque suis cognomen invenit (1). — *Drusus* having slain the Enemies General, *Draufus*, hand to hand, gained this Name for himself and his Posterity. Besides, he makes mention of one *CLAUDIUS DRUSUS*, who lived before the first Punic War (2); which proves that this Sirname was known either before the first *Drusus* of the *Livian* Family killed the pretended *Draufus*, or at least did not depend upon that Combat; for who would venture to say, that, because one *Livius* vanquished *Draufus*, therefore one named *Claudius* was surnamed *Drusus*?

[B] We shall say a word of some of the Descendants of the first *Drusus*. I believe that *CAIUS LIVIUS DRUSUS*, Consul in the Year 606, was descended from him, but I cannot tell whether he was his Son or Grand son. He left a Son named *MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS*, who was Consul in the Year 641, and fought with great Success against the *Scordisci*, a People of *Thrace*, descended from the *Gauls* (3). We shall see hereafter whether he triumphed on that Occasion. He was Cenfor with *Marcus Emilius Scaurus*, and died during his Office (4). I think he ought not to be distinguished, as *Glandorp* has done (5), from that *Marcus Livius Drusus*, a Man of Wit and Eloquence, who was Tribune of the People with *Caius Gracchus*, and favoured him in his Designs, but afterwards, changing sides, maintained, with so much Vigour, the Interest of the *Patricians*, that he was called the Patron of the Senate (6). He was *Athenes* of the first *Drusus* (7), and had a Brother named *CAIUS DRUSUS*, who distinguished himself by his Elo-

quence (8). I see our Grammarians are not agreed upon the Signification of the word *Athenes*; for *Montf. Danet*, citing *Suetonius*, understands by this Term Great-Grandson: in *Calepin* the same Term is taken for the Son of the Great-Grandson. It is even true that *Suetonius* (9), and several other ancient Authors, do not exactly observe the Degrees of Parentage. There is mention made of a *CAIUS DRUSUS*, a great Lawyer, and so laborious, that, though he was old and blind, yet his House was always full of People that came to consult him. C. autem Drusi domum compleri

consultoribus solitam accepimus, quum quorum res esset sua ipsi non videbant cæcum adhibebant ducem (10). — I have heard that *Drusus's* House was usually crowded with Counsellors, who, not seeing on which side Justice stood, applied to a blind Man for Direction. *Valerius Maximus* speaks honourably of him. Confimilis per everantia Livius Drusus qui ætatis viribus & acie oculorum defectus jus civile populo benignissime interpretatus est, utilissimaque discere id cupientibus monumenta composuit. Nam ut senem illum natura, cæcum fortuna facere potuit, ita neutra interpellare valuit ne non animo & videret & vigeret (11). — Such was the Perseverance of *Livius Drusus*, who, though enfeebled by Age, and deprived of Sight, taught the People Civil Law in a most obliging Manner, and composed most useful Directions for those who desired to learn it. For though Nature made him old, and Fortune made him blind, neither of them had power to deprive him of the Perseverance and Vigor of Mind. A certain Commentator (12) falsely imagines that this *Drusus* is the Father of him who caused so much trouble in procuring the Latins the Freedom of Rome. He is mistaken; for the Father of the latter was named *Marcus Livius*, and not *Caius Livius*. He is the same that was honoured with the Title of Protector of the Senate. Another Commentator (13) is surprised that *Pomponius* should say nothing of the Lawyer *Caius Drusus*: indeed it may well be wondered at, since that Lawyer was also an Author, and that *Cælius* makes an honourable Mention of him in his Digests (14). The Moderns are

(a) Taken from *Suetonius* in *Tiberio*, cap. III.

(b) *Traditor etiam, propretorem ex provincia Gallia retulisse aurum. Senonibus olim in obsequio Capitolii datum nec, ut fama, extortum à Camillo. He is reported likewise to have recovered, during his Government in Gaul, the Money formerly given to the Gauls when they besieged the Capitol, and that it was not forced from them, as some say, by Camillus. Idem, ibid.*

(c) Idem, *ibid.*

(d) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. xxxi.

(8) Cicero, in *Bruto*, p. m. 204

(9) He calls *Cæsar* for *Avunculus* of *Augustus*, and yet *Cæsar* was the Great-Uncle of *Augustus*. *Sueton.* in *August.* c. 7.

(10) Cicero, *Tusculan.* lib. v. fol. m. 278, B.

(11) *Valer. Max.* lib. viii. cap. vii. num. 4.

(12) *Oliverius* in hunc locum *Val. Maximi*.

(13) *Colerus*.

(14) See *Guill. Grocius*, in *Vitæ Jurisconsulti*, pag. divided 33.

make a separate Article for each of those who made the greatest Figure. Mr *Moreri* deserves to be censured in some Particulars [C].

(15) Idem, ibid.

(16) In Fastis.

(17) Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. xi. pag. m. 69.

(18) Father Harduin puts X, instead of XI.

W E T H E R
Marcus Livius Drusus triumphed over the Scordisci.

(19) He speaks thus in Lib. xxiij. Cap. vi. Precipiebant ista qui triumphali denas argenti libras in supplicile criminabant. These were the Decrees of those who condemned one, who had been honoured with a Triumph, for having Plate to the weight of ten pounds.

(20) Libras 32 argenti Africanus sequens heredi reliquit. Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. xii. pag. 68.

W H E N Luxury is at the Height, they treat what is said of the ancient Frugality as fabulous.

(21) Or Twenty thousand, according to Harduin's Correction.

(22) Aulus Gell. lib. iv. cap. viii. & lib. xvii. cap. xxi. Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. ix. num. 4.

divided upon the Question whether this *Caius Drusus* is the same that was Consul in the Year 606, or the Brother of the Consul of 641. *Rutilius* embraces the latter Opinion: others, preferring the former, confute it by the word *Accepimus*, which *Cicero* makes use of. It is very probable that *Cicero* speaks of a Man he had never seen; for afterwards he mentions another blind Man, he might have seen, who gave his Voice in the Senate, and answered those who consulted him, and was writing a History. Now it seems *Cicero* might have seen *Caius Livius Drusus*, the Brother of him that was Consul in the Year 641; therefore it is probable he speaks of the Consul of the Year 606. (15).

Let us see now if the Consul of the Year 641 triumphed over the *Scordisci*. I believe not; for all the Proof alledged by *Sigonius* (16) is a Passage in *Pliny* misunderstood. *Pliny's* words are (17). 'Frater ejus Allobrogicus primus omnium pondo mille habuit. At Livius Drusus in Tribunatu plebis XI (18). Nam propter quinque pondo notatum a Censoribus triumphalem senem (19), fabulosum jam videtur.' To understand these Words aright, we must observe, that *Pliny* opposes the Frugality of former times, to the Luxury of the latter. He shews by what Gradations Luxury crept in upon them. *Scipio Africanus* left his Heir no more than sixty four Marks in Silver Plate (20). His Brother *Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus* was the first who had to the value of two thousand Marks in Plate. But *Livius Drusus* in his Tribuneship of the People had twenty two thousand Marks (21); for, adds *Pliny*, we look upon it as fabulous, that an old Man, who had the Honour of a Triumph, should be noted by the Censors on account of ten Marks. 'Nam propter quinque pondo notatum a Censoribus triumphalem senem, fabulosum jam videtur.' Thus in every Age they can hardly believe what Historians say of ancient Times, if it is too remote from the modern Customs. Thus we should say, it looks like a Fable or Romance to Ladies of the first Quality, when they are told that formerly Persons of their Rank walked the Streets on Foot, suckled their own Children, and spent only so much a Year in Cloaths. The History, which according to *Pliny* then appeared fabulous, does not relate to *Livius Drusus* whom he had just mentioned. It is a much ancienter History. It was a Censorial Act, exercised in the Year of Rome 478, against *Cornelius Rufinus* who had been Dictator, and twice Consul (22). The Censors degraded him from the Dignity of Senator for his Luxury, because they found in his House ten Pound weight of Silver Plate. The weight of five Pound was allowed, so that he was degraded for the weight

of five Pounds: 'Propter quinque pondo notatum a Censoribus triumphalem senem.' When *Valerius Maximus* relates this Story, he falls into the same Reflexions as *Pliny*. He fears to be reckoned a Writer of Fables, and confesses it hardly credible, that the same City, which despised Poverty to so great a Degree, should punish a Man of Consular Dignity, for having twenty Marks in Silver. 'Ipse medius fidius mihi literæ sæculi nostri oblupefcere videntur, cum ad tantam severitatem referendam ministerium accommodare coguntur; ac vereri ne non nostræ urbis acta commemorare existimetur. Vix enim credibile est, intra idem pomerium decem pondo argenti, & invidiosum fuisse censum, & inopiam haberi contemptissimam (23).'

I wonder *Sigonius* should misunderstand the Text of *Pliny* as he has done. Could he imagine, that after the Year of Rome 641, the ancient Frugality of the Common-Wealth was so well observed, that nine or ten Marks of Silver, more or less, should be able to degrade a Senator? Things were no longer upon such a Foot: Corruption and Luxury had already spread in a terrible manner. But could not *Pliny's* own Words have set *Sigonius* right? They shew precisely that *Drusus* was Tribune of the People when he had so much Silver Plate, and immediately after *Pliny* mentions a Censure passed upon an old Man, who had formerly obtained the Honour of a Triumph. It is plain then, that That old Man was not *Drusus*; for if *Drusus* had been censured on account of Luxury, it must have been in the time of his Tribuneship; or else *Pliny* must be charged with relating things in a very impertinent manner. Nevertheless it can hardly be imagined how many have been deceived by this Passage of *Pliny* (24).

[C] *Moreri* deserves to be censured in some things.] He says that 'the Family of *Drusus* was a Branch of that of the *Claudians*, and though Plebeian, yet it was remarkable for eight Consulships . . . and illustrious for the great Men it had produced, among whom the Chief were *Salinator* and *Drusus*.' I pass over all his Omissions, and confine myself to these Observations: 1. That the *Drusian* Family was a Branch, not of the *Claudian*, but the *Livian* Family: 2. That it is the *Livian* Family, and not the particular Branch of the *Drusian*, which was distinguished by eight Consulships, &c. 3. That *Salinator* is no otherwise derived from the *Drusian* Family, than the House of *Bourbon* is descended from the House of *Burgundy*. Which Expression is not to be suffered. Two Streams, proceeding from the same Head, do not therefore proceed one from the other.

DRUSUS (MARCUS LIVIUS), Son of him who was Colleague of *Caius Gracchus* in the Tribuneship of the People, and who deserved the Title of Protector of the Senate, followed his Father's Example in supporting the *Patrician* Interest; but the Method he pursued raised terrible Disorders [A]. He was a Man of great Capacity

[A] He favoured the *Patricians*; but the Method he pursued raised terrible Disorders.] It is not impossible that the reason of *Paterculus's* espousing his Cause so heartily was to make his Court to *Tiberius*, descended without doubt from our *Drusus*; but perhaps also he did no more than follow his own Opinion. However that be, he ascribes the best Intentions in the World to him, and laments that the Senate should make such a blind and unjust Judgment of them. He expresses himself upon this Subject with so much Eloquence, that I take the Liberty to transcribe the whole Passage, in favour of those, who, without consulting a great many Books, would willingly see the Conduct of a great Man displayed. 'Tribunatum inquit Marcus Livius Drusus, vir nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, sanctissimus, meliore omnia ingenio, animoque, quam fortuna usus, qui, cum Senatui priscum restituere cuperet decus, & judicia ab equitibus ad eum transferre ordinem; (quippe, eam potestatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus, cum in multos clarissimos, atque innocentissimos viros sævisissent, tum Publium Rutilium, virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant) in illis, quæ pro senatu moliebatur, senatum habuit ad-

versarium, non intelligentem, si qua de plebis commodis ab eo agerentur, veluti incensandæ, illicitæ, & quæ multitudinis causâ fieri, ut minoribus perceptis, majora permitteret. Denique ea fortuna Drusi fuit, ut malefacta collegarum, quam ejus optime ab ipso cogitata, senatus probaret magis; & honorem, qui ab eo deferrebat, sperneret; injurias, quæ ab aliis intenderantur, æquo animo reciperet; & hujus summæ gloriæ invideret, illorum modicam ferret. Tum conversus Drusi animus, quando tenè cepta malè cedebant, ad dandam civitatem Italiam: quod cum molienti revertisset de foro, immensâ illâ, & incognitâ, quæ eum semper comitabatur, cinctus multitudine, in atrio domus suæ cultello percussus, qui affixus lateri ejus relictus est, intra paucas horas decessit (1). — Marcus Livius Drusus, a Man of the first Rank, famed for his Eloquence and Integrity, was made Tribune; but was much more happy in the Endowments of Mind, than in his Fortune: for endeavouring to restore the ancient Dignity to the Senate, and transfer the Court of Judgment from the Equestrian to that Order, (for the Equites had been invested with that Power by the Laws of the Gracchi, and had exercised it with great Rigour against some most eminent and virtuous Men, particularly against Publius

(23) Val. Max. ibid.

(24) Plorique etiam hunc triumphalem volent. Glandorp. Onomast. pag. 543.

(1) Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. cap. xlii.

city and Eloquence, full of Wit and Courage; but he made an ill use of these Accomplishments, which was the Effect of his excessive Ambition; and of this he gave Proofs from his very Infancy. The City was divided into two Factions, that of the Senate, and that of the Knights [C]: the latter, besides raising the public Money, possessed all the Offices of Judicature (a) which had formerly belonged to the Senators: by this means they had, as one may say, their Foot upon the Neck of the Senate. *Drusus*, seeing that *Cepio*, his Competitor, favoured the Knights Cause [D], undertook to support and retrieve that of the Senate; and that he might not want Creatures (b), he contrived to get the Laws of the *Gracchi* revived concerning the Distribution of Lands among the People, and promised the Freedom of *Rome* to the *Latins*. The Violence he made use of against *Pbilippus*, the Consul, who opposed those Laws, cannot be sufficiently condemned [E]. The Promise he had made the *Latins* was the Occasion of a very vexatious

Publius Rutilius, who was certainly the best Man of that or any preceding Age, whom they condemned on the Statute of Bribery, to the universal Grief of the City, he was opposed by the Senate in those very things which he laboured for their Advantage; they did not consider that whatever he did for the Benefit of the People was only meant to insinuate himself into their Favour, that, by obtaining for them some smaller Advantages, he might induce them to part with greater. In short, such was the Fortune of Drusus, that the Senate approved the ill Offices of his Colleagues, more than his best Intentions. They rejected the Honours which he offered them, and embraced the Indignities offered them by others. They envied his superior Glory, and were satisfied with the moderate Honours of the rest. When Drusus saw his honest Design could not succeed, he altered his Mind, and proposed to grant the freedom of Rome to all Italy. As he returned from the Forum, where he had been promoting that Affair, attended as usual by a vast Multitude of unknown Persons, he was stabbed in the Side, at his own Door, with a Knife, which was left in the Wound, and expired in a few Hours. The Reader will have a better Opinion of the Sincerity of Paternulus here, if he knows what *Salust* thought concerning the same Drusus; for which reason I shall here insert *Salust*'s words. — M. Livio Druso semper consilium fuit, in tribunatu summa ope niti pro nobilitate: neque ullam rem in principio agere intendit, nisi illi auctores fieret. Sed homines factiosi, quibus dolus, atque malitia, fide cariora erant, ubi infellecerunt, per unum hominem maximum beneficium multis mortalibus dari: videlicet & sibi quique conficiis, malo atque infido animo esse, de M. Livio Druso juxta, ac se, exilimaverunt (2). — It was the Aim of M. Livius Drusus, during the whole time of his Tribuneship, to advance the Interest of the Nobility; nor was it his real Design at first to have any thing done but by their Authority. But Men given to Faction, who were sinder of Deceit and Malice than Honour, perceiving that a Benefit very diffusive was like to be owing to one Man, and being each conscious to himself that his own Actions were evil and knifiser, measured the Designs of Drusus by their own.

[B] *Of his excessive ambition he gave Proofs from his Infancy.*] While he was under the Tutition of his Guardians, and before he had assumed the *Toga Virilis*, he took upon him to sollicit the Judges in favour of the Accused, and that with so much Force and Vigour that he extorted from them more than once the Sentence they pronounced. Had he not reason then to say that he was the only one for whom no Holy-day had ever been made? Those that begin so early to distinguish themselves, deserve to be feared. Let us hear *Seneca*. 'Exsecratos inquietam à primordiis vitam, dicitur dixisse, Uni sibi, nec pueri quidem, unquam serias contigisse. Ausus enim & pupillus adhuc & prætextatus, iudicibus reos commendare, & gratiam suam foro interponere tam efficaciter, ut quædam judicia constet ab illo raptâ. Quo non irumperet tam immatura ambitio? scires in malum ingens, & privatum, & publicum, evasuram illam tam præcoquem audaciam. Sero itaque querebatur, nullas sibi serias contigisse: à pueri seditiosus, & foro gravis (3). — He cursed his restless manner of Life, and is reported to have said, that he had never, not even when a Boy, had any Intermission from Business. When a Youth, he had adventured to speak for the Prisoners at the Bar, and recommend their Cases to the Judges, which he did in so effectual a manner that he sometimes gained his Points. To what might not so early an Ambition force it's way? A Man might

divine that so early Assurance would ripen into a very great public and private Calamity. He had reason afterwards to complain that he never enjoyed any Relaxation, having been seditious and turbulent in the Forum from a Boy. What he did in Asia during his Quæstorship is brought as an Evidence of his Pride. He exercised his Office without wearing the external Ornaments of his Dignity, scorning any Distinction but that of his own Person. The Latin expresses it better. Quæstor in Asia nullis insignibus uti voluit, ne quid ipso esset insignis (4). A learned Man (5) can hardly believe that Drusus had that Office, or that of *Ædile*. *Ædilis manus magnificentissimum dedit.* — In his *Ædileship* he gave a most splendid Entertainment. His reason is, that he died while he was Tribune of the People, a Post the Romans commonly enjoyed before the *Ædileship*. But perhaps Drusus, wanting to be Tribune, in order to put his Designs in execution, obtained that Office the second time in the Year he was killed.

[C] *The City was divided into two Nations, that of the Senate, and that of the Knights.* The Pallage in *Patercul* informs us, that the *Græci* had deprived the Senators of all the Tribunals of Justice, to gratify the Knights. Let us see how *Florus* confirms the same thing (7.): '*Judiciaria lege Caji Gracchi diviserant populum Romanum, & bicipitem ex una fecerant civitatem equites Romani, tanta potestate subnixi, ut qui fata fortunæque patrum vitæque principum haberen in manu, interceptis vestigalibus pecuniarum suæ jure rempublicanæ. —*

By the Judiciary Law of C. Gracchus the Knights had divided the Roman People, and from one had made two Heads to the City. So great was the Power wherewith they were invested, that having a Power over the Fates and Fortunes of the Senators, and the Lives of the Princes, they converted the Taxes to their private Use, and plundered the Common-Wealth at Discretion.'

[D] *Drusus, seeing that Cæpio, his Competitor, favoured the Knights Cause.* The Emulation of these two Romans, which caused so much Confusion, and almost ruined the Common-Wealth, rose from a trifle. A Ring sold at an Auction was the cause of their Divisions (8): they bid upon one another, and were so exasperated at it, that afterwards they fought all occasions of crossing each other. This confirms what has been often observed, that great Revolutions of State commonly proceed from a Fancy or capricious Humour of some particular Persons (9). I know not whether the Influence before us was ever taken notice of. In vain *Patriculus* pretends that *Drusus* acted out of Zeal for the Interest of the Senate, whose Power he endeavoured to restore: we rather believe those who say, that *Drusus* embraced that Party, because he saw *Cæpio* at the Head of the other. In hoc statu rerum præcipuus, animis, dignitate (unde & nata Livio Druso æmulatio accesserat) Equitem Servilii Cæpio, Senatuum Livius Drusus asserere (10). — *Whist stings were in this posture, Servilius Cæpio, and Livius Drusus, declared for different Parties, the former for the Equites, the latter for the Senate: they were Persons equal in Fortune, Courage and Honour, which had raised a Spirit of Emulation in Drusus.*

[E] The Violence he us'd to Philippus the Confessor
can never be sufficiently condemned. The Confolar
Dignity was so little regarded, that he squeezed his
Throat till the Blood flew out of his Eyes and Mouth.
Some say Drusus committed this violence himself;
and that far from relenting at the sight of the Blood,
he made it a new subject of insulting him upon: he said it
was not Blood, but the Sauce of Thrushes; thus re-
proaching Cepio with his Gluttony. Philippo Confolari

‘ Ieribus

(a) Paterculus,
lib. ii, cap. xiii.
I quote his words
in Remark [A].

(b) Florus, lib.
iii, cap. xvii.

(4) Aurel. Viſt.
de Viris illuſtri-
bus.

(5) Corradus, in
Brutum Cicero-
nis, pag. 332.

(6) Aurel. Viç.
de Viris illustr.
bus.

(7) Lib. iii. cap.
xvii.

(2) Sallust. Orat.
II. ad Cæsar.
p. m. 533, 534.

(3) Seneca de
Brevitate Vitæ,
cap. vi.

(8) Inter Cæpio-
nem & Drusum
ex annulo in au-
dione venali
inimicitie cape-
re: unde origo
socialis belli &
exitia rerum.
Plin. lib. xxiii,
cap. i. pag. m.
12, 13. This
War cost the
Lives of 300000
Men. Paterc.
lib. ii, cap. xv.
See Florus, l. b.
iii cap. xxiii.

(a) See the Persées diverses sur les Comètes, n. 226.

(10) Florus, lib.
3, cap. 18.

(c) *Ser. Rom.* [D]
Citat. (8).

vexatious War, which was very near being fatal to the Roman People (c). He swooned away in a public Assembly of the People, and whether it was real or counterfeit, he made an Advantage several ways of that Accident [F]. The Credit he had obtained did not hinder him from being very much perplexed with the State he had brought things into [G]; wherefore every body judged he was seasonably killed in the Court of his own House [H], as he returned from the City, surrounded, according to his Custom,

(11) *Aurel. Victor, de Viris illustribus.* In the *Valerius Maximus Variorum of Holland*, pag. 778, in quoting this Passage, we read in Convivio, and not in Comitio, which is absurd.

(12) *Valerius Maximus*, lib. 9, cap. 5, n. 2.

(13) *Florus*, lib. 3, cap. 13.

(14) *Aurel. Victor, de Viris illustribus.*

(15) *Drusus Tribunus plebis* tradit caprinum (sanguinem) bibisse, cum pallio re & invidia venient fidi diti insimulare. Cessionem inimicum vellet. *Plin.* lib. 28, cap. 9, pag. 608.

(16) *Plin. lib.* 28, cap. 5, pag. 701. See *Aul. Gellius*, lib. 17, cap. 15.

legibus agrariis resistenti ita collum in comitio obtorfit, ut multus sanguis efflueret e naribus, quem ille luxuriam obprobans muriam de turdis esse dicebat (11).

— He so twisted the Neck of Philip, the Consul, who opposed the passing the Agrarian Laws, that the Blood streamed from his Nose, which he, in reproach of his Luxury, said was Thrush Sauce. Others say Drusus caused this violence to be committed by one of his Clients or Officers. Quæ (Senatus majestas) à M. quoque Druso trib. plebis per summam contumeliam vexata est. Parvi enim habuit, L. Philippum Consulem, quia interfieri concionantem ausus fuerat, ob tortâ gulâ, & quidem non per viatorem, sed per clientem suum, adeo violenter in carcere præcipitem egisse, ut multus e naribus ejus cruor profunderetur (12).

— The Majesty of the Senate was also notoriously insulted by M. Drusus, a Tribune of the People, who, without any respect, seized Philip the Consul, for interrupting him in his Speech, by the Throat, and dragged him to Prison; which Action was done, not by a public Officer, but by one of his Clients, and this was done so violently, that the Blood gushed in great quantity from his Nostrils. This is what Valerius Maximus says of it, and Florus's Words are: Ausus tamen abrogare de legibus Consul Philippus, sed apprehensum faucibus viator non ante dimisit, quam sanguis in ora & oculos redundaret (13).

— Philip, the Consul, had the Courage to oppose the Laws; but a public Officer seized him by the Throat, nor left him till the Blood gushed out at his Mouth and Eyes.

[F] He made an Advantage many ways of his swooning away. He had got all his Laws past, except that of the Freedom of the Latins. They insisted upon his Promise, and he knew not how to act, either to put them off, or give them Satisfaction. He fell down on a sudden in the midst of the Assembly, and this was a just Pretence to refer the Latins to another time. Livius anxius ut Latinorum postulata differret, qui promissam civitatem flagitabant, repente in publico concidit, five morbo comitiali, seu haulto caprino sanguine, semianimis domum relatus (14).

— Drusus, desirous to put off the Demands of the Latins, who vigorously solicited the Freedom of the City, which he had promised them, on a sudden fell down in the Assembly, being either seized with a real Fit, or having taken a draught of Goat's Blood, and was carried speechless home. It is plain the Historian, I take this from, has made a Mistake: the disjunctive Particle *seu* makes him speak absurdly: for if Drusus fell down suddenly, in order to put off the Demand of the Latins to another time, it cannot be said that he either fell down in the Falling-Sickness, or that he had drunk Goat's Blood. A real Fit of the Falling-Sickness is not in our own Power, and consequently cannot be directed to a certain end. The other part of the disjunctive Proposition is good: for a Man may take a Drug, in order to fall down in a Swoon three or four Hours after. The Truth is, Authors of Abridgements, by endeavouring to bring several different Relations into one Period, often make Nonsense of the whole.

Aurelius Victor, having heard say that Drusus fell down in the Falling-Sickness, and that he had drunk Goat's Blood, that by looking pale he might complain with greater probability of being poisoned by Cepio (15), attempted to join these two things together, but without success. I could easily believe that Drusus and his Adherents would make a handle of the fainting Fit, to render Philippus, the Consul, odious, as suspected of poisoning his Adversary: for what will not a State-Faction put in Practice to supplant an Enemy? This is sufficient to understand the Text of this Remark. I shall only observe farther that Pliny has a curious particular concerning Drusus's Falling-Sickness.

Drusus quoque apud nos Tribunorum popularium clarissimum (cui ante omnes plebs flans plausit, optimates vero bellum Maricum imputare) constat hoc medicamento (elleboro) liberatum comitiali morbo in Anticyra insula (16). — We have another in-

stance at home in Drusus (the most eminent Tribune of the People, to whom they returned the thanks of their whole Body, standing, an Honour that had no Precedent, though the Senate accused him of fomenting the Marican War) who 'tis certain was cured in the Island of Anticyra of the Falling-Sickness by the use of Hellebore.

[G] The Credit, he had obtained, did not hinder him from being very much perplexed with the State he had brought things into. He imagined that all sorts of People were obliged to him, and yet most People complained of him. He had caused Lands to be distributed to the People. Those, they felt to, were pleased, but those, who were deprived of them, complained. He had procured the Order of Knights to be admitted to the Senatorial Dignity. Those, who were chosen to that Post, were pleased with it, but those, who lost their Elections, were discontented. He got the Tribunals restored to the Senate. This pleased that Body; but on the other hand, they were enraged to see Patricians and Knights blended together in the Senate. This was the cause of Drusus's Perplexity. Aurelius Victor expresses it in few Words (17). Idem ex gratia nimia in invidiam venit. Nam plebs acceptis agris gaudebat, expulsi dolebant: equites in Senatum lecti lætabantur, sed præteriti querebantur: Senatus permixtis judiciis exultabat, sed societatem cum equitibus ægre ferebat. Unde Livius anxius, &c (18). Madam le Fevre has made a Note upon these Words, equites in Senatum lecti lætabantur, in which she says, she cannot but suspect that Passage, for she can never believe that the Knights rejoiced to see those Juridictions, they were solely possessed of, divided between the Senators, and themselves. Hoc certe valde suspectum est, neque adduci possum ut credam equites quæ judicia ipsi possidebant ea ad Senatum æqua parte transmissa libenter didisse (19).

I believe, with her, this was not the ground of their Joy; but I take the Liberty to observe to her that this is not also what Aurelius Victor says. He does not speak of the general Joy of the Knights, but of the particular Joy of those among them who were made Senators. It is easy to suppose they were pleased at at this change in their Condition: the gain of the Senate was theirs, and they lost nothing by the Diminution of the Order of the Knights, being no longer Members of it.

[H] It was thought he was very seasonably killed in the Court of his own House. It is Seneca's Opinion.

Livius Drusus, says he (20), vir acer & vehemens, cum leges novas & mala Græchana movisset, stipatus ingenti totius Italiæ cœtu, exitum rerum non providens, quas nec agere licebat, nec jam liberum erat semel inchoatas relinquere, exsecratus inquietam à primordiis vitam dicitur dixisse, Uni sibi, nec puero quidem, unquam ferias contigisse. Disputatur an ipse sibi manus attulerit, subito enim vulnere per inguen accepto, collapsus est: aliquo dubitante, an mors voluntaria esset; nullo, an tempestiva. — Livius Drusus, says he, a Man of a fiery overbearing Temper, treading in the steps of the Gracchi, and promoting new Laws, attended by a vast Crowd from all parts of Italy, not foreseeing the Consequence of Things, which he could neither carry, nor safely relinquish, is said to have cursed his restless Humour, and, to have declared that his Life had been one continued Scene of Action from his Infancy. It is a question whether or no he died by his own Hands, for on a sudden he received a Wound in the Groin, and fell down; but tho' some doubt whether his death was voluntary, all allow it to be seasonable. Florus has much the same Sentiment (21): Sic pervim late, jussuque leges: sed pretium rogationis statim socii flagitare, quum interim imparem Drusum, ægrumque rerum temere moraturn, maturâ, ut in tali discrimine, mors abstulit. — So the Laws were passed and enacted by meer force. But our Allies immediately demanded the Reward of their Votes, when Death, very seasonable, at so critical a Juncture, carried off Drusus, unequal to his Enterprizes,

(17) *Aurel. Victor, de Viris illustribus.*

(18) See Seneca's Words in the following Remark.

(19) Anna Tanaquill. Fabri filia Not. in Aurel. Victor, pag. 3.

(20) Seneca, de Brevitate Vitæ, cap. 6, pag. 700, 701.

(21) Lib. 3, cap. 17.

Custom, by a Croud of People (d), some of whom were unknown to him. No Inquiry was made after the Murderer [I], and most Authors say he was never known. *Cicero*, I think, is the only one that names him [K]. *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Drusus*, expressed great Fortitude of Mind upon this Occasion [L]. His last Words were no less presumptuous [M], than those he had formerly made use of to proclaim the Services he had done [N]. The Answer he gave an Architect has been much spoken of [O].

(d) *Paterculus*, lib. ii. cap. xiii. Apian. lib. i. Bell. Civil. l. 7. y. that *Drusus* durst no longer go abroad, and that the Multitude that were for him came home to him.

* and sick of the Commotions which he had unadvisedly raised. What increased the Perplexity *Drusus* was involved in was this: he not only saw no hope of obtaining for the Latins what he had promised them, but found himself charged with conspiring with them again *Philippus*, the Consul. The Accusation was founded upon his having advised that Consul to look to himself, from whence they concluded that he was privy to their Designs. Cum Latini Consulem in Albano monte interficere essent, Philippum admonuit ut caveret, unde in Senatu accusatus cum domum se reciperet, immisso inter turbam percussore corruit (22). — The Latins having entered into a design to kill the Consul on the Alban Mount, he advised Philip to take care of himself, whereupon he was accused in the Senate, and, as he returned home, stabbed in a Croud by an Assassin. In my Opinion, Madam Le Fevre makes a wrong Remark upon these words of *Aurelius Victor*. She begins by citing *Florus* (23), who has said. Primum fuit belli in Albano monte consilium, ut festo die Latinarum Julius Cæsar & Martius Philippus Consules inter sacra & aras immolarentur. Postquam id nefas proditiōne discussum est, &c. — The first scene of War was designed for the Alban Mount, where Julius Cæsar and Martius Philippus, the Consuls, on the Feast of the Latins were to be sacrificed at the Altar, as they were performing religious Service; as soon as this piece of Treason was discovered, &c. And then she says, that *Drusus*, who was killed the Year before, could not give this Information to *Philippus*. Sed tunc Philippum admonere non potuit *Drusus*, quem anno superiori mortuum tabulæ notant. It is certain *Drusus* might have informed *Philippus*; for, according to *Florus*, the Conspiracy of the Latins was to have been put in Execution under the Consulship of *Julius Cæsar* and *Martius Philippus*, since their design was to make away with those two Consuls. *Drusus* was assassinated, I confess, under that Consulship, that is to say, in the Year of Rome 662; but he lived several Months of this Year; witness the violence he used to the Consul *Philippus* (24). What might lead Madam Le Fevre into the mistake, was supposing that the Conspiracy, mentioned by *Florus*, relates to the first Year of the Social War. On this Supposition, *Drusus* could not have been in a Condition to give an Information; for the beginning of that War coincides with the Year 663, and with the Consulship of *L. Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius* (25). The Conspiracy of the Latins should be put to the preceding Year, since it was contrived against *Martius Philippus*, and *Sextus* (26) *Julius Cæsar* his Colleague, as *Florus* observes. It is certain the Latins were big with the War during the Life of *Drusus* (27): therefore he might be alive, when they resolved to kill the Consul *Philippus* during the Celebration of the Latin Festivals.

(22) *Aurelius Victor*, de Viris illustribus.

(23) *Lib. iii. cap. xviii.*

(24) See Remark [E].

(25) *Paterculus*, lib. ii. cap. xv.

(26) *Florus* neither gives him this Forename, nor any other.

(27) *Mors Drusi* jam pridem tu mecum bellum excitavit Italiam. *Paterculus*, lib. ii. cap. xv.

(28) *Cicero* pro Milone.

(29) *Cotta* calls him so; because *Drusus*, as *Cicero* assures us in *Orator*, ad *Pontifices*, cap. xlvii, had been of the College of Pontiffs. If Father *LeClerc* had known this Passage, he would not have spoke of it with an opinion, in his *Commentary* in lib. iii. de *Natura Deorum*, pag. 677, & 32.

(30) Thus this word is to be placed, and not as in the Edition after *perit*. See *Freinsheim*, upon *Florus*, lib. iii. cap. xvii.

* and poisoned *Metellus*, suffered a most exemplary Punishment, and died under the greatest Torture. Yet it had been much better, if they had lived, and he never paid the forfeit of his Villainy. *Velleius Paterculus*, *Florus*, *Appian*, *Aurelius Victor*, &c. say no more than that he was killed; and we have seen that, according to *Seneca*, it was not altogether sure, that he did not kill himself. *Philippus* the Consul, and *Cæpio*, were suspected of having suborned the Assassin (31). The Death of *Drusus* was also the Death of the Laws he had established with so much difficulty, they being all abrogated, under a Pretence that they had been enacted against the Auspices (32). [L] *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Drusus*, expressed great Fortitude of Mind upon this Occasion. If *Seneca* had not mentioned it, I believe no body now would have known any thing of it. *Cornelia*, says he (33), *Livium Drusum*, clarissimum juvenem, illustris ingenii, vadentem per Græciana vestigia, imperfectis tot rogationibus, intra penates interemptum suos amiserat, incerto cædis auctore; tamen & acerbam mortem filii, & insultam, tam magno animo tulit, quam ipse leges tulerat. — *Cornelia* lost *Livius Drusus*, a brave Youth, and of a most promising Genius, who trod in the Steps of the Græcians, and was murdered by an unknown Villain within his own Walls, when a great number of Laws which he endeavoured to make were still depending; yet she bore the deplorable loss of her Son (which was not revenged) with the same Greatness of Soul that he had shewn in enacting his Laws.

(31) *Invidia* cædis apud *Philippum* & *Cæpionem* fuit. *Aurelius Victor*, de *Vitis illustribus*.

(32) *A'con* *Pedians* in *Orator* *Ciceronis* pro *C. Cornelio*, pag. m. 13, & 12.

(33) *Seneca* de *Consolat.* ad *Martiam*, cap. xvi. pag. 75.

[M] His last Words were no less presumptuous --- When, said he, will the Common-wealth have such another Citizen as I? The Latin has it better (34). Sed cum ultimum redderet spiritum intuens circumstantium morientiumque frequentiam, effudit vocem convenientissimam conscientie suæ, & quando, inquit, propinqui amique, similem mei civem habebit republica? — When he was on the Point of breathing his last, he turned about to the Company, who were all in Tears, and uttered this Expression, which thoroughly spoke the Opinion that he had conceived of himself; When, O my Friends and Acquaintance, will the Commonwealth find a Citizen like me?

(34) *Paterculus*, lib. ii. cap. xv.

[N] Than those he used, to express the Services he had done. I have said, in Remark [G], that he imagined the whole Body of the Commonwealth, the Patricians, Knights, and Plebeians, were under great Obligations to him. Some Writers say, he boasted, that, unless they made Presents of Heaven or of Dirt, none could exceed his Profusions. Extat vox ipsius, nihil se ad largitionem ulli reliquisse, nisi si quis aut cœcum dividere vellet, aut cœcum (35). This was setting himself above all Exception or Comparison; for no body would ever think of shewing their Magnificence by Presents of Dirt or Mire, and it is impossible *Drusus* should imagine that a Day would come, when the great Men of Rome would distribute Places in Paradise, and make a Lottery of Heaven (36); and if he had foreseen this, he need not have recanted; for he would have foreseen, not a Free-gift, but a Sale.

(35) *Florus*, lib. iii. cap. xvii. *Cicero* *Orator* pro *Rabirio*, cap. vii.

(36) *Venefia* nobis Tempia, Sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ, In's, thurs, preces, cœlum est, vane Desquæ. *Fines*, Temples, Priesthoods, Crowns, submit to Gold: Prayers, Heaven, and G d him self's Bopita Mantuanus, de *Calamitate* Temporum, lib. iii.

[O] The Answer he gave to an Architect has been much spoken of. It is a fine Thought. He promised him to dispose in such a manner the Apartments of his House, that no body should be able to overlook him. Rather, said he to the Architect, build it so that every body may be a Witness of what I do at Home. Cum ædificaret domum in palatio in eo loco, ubi est, quæ quondam *Ciceronis*, mox *Centorini* fuit, nunc *Statilii Sifennæ* est; promitteretque ei architectus, ita se eam ædificaturum, uti libera à conspectu, immunitis ab omnibus arbitris esset, neque quicquam in eam despiciere posset: Tu vero, inquit, si quid in te artis est, ita compone domum meam, ut, quicquid agam, ab omnibus perspicui possit (37). — When he was building a House in the Palatium, where *Cicero*'s formerly stood, which afterwards was *Centorinus*'s, and is at present *Statilius Sifenna*'s, and

VOL. II.

8 S

His Sister *Livia* was the Mother of *Cato* of *Utica* [P].

'and the Architect proposed to build it in such manner, that no one should be able to look into it, or be a Witness of what he was doing. Nay, says Drusus, if you show your Art, contrive my House in such a manner that all the World may be able to look into it, and be Witnesses of what I am doing.' Erasmus (38) relates the Story, as if Part of the House was already so inconvenient, that what was done within might be seen from without, and that an Architect had promised, for five Talents, to remedy it. According to Erasmus, Drusus's Answer was this: I will give thee ten Talents if thou canst so order my House, that all the World may see what is done in every part of it. Erasmus calls this Drusus, *Julius Drusus Publicola*: the first of these three Words is a Fault, and the last of them is another; which proceeds from his not

knowing that *Δρακωνίδης* ought to be translated by Tribune of the People, rather than by Favourite of the People (39). Erasmus did not take notice that the Word *Publicola* was become the Surname of the *Valerii*. So that he should not have used it to signify a Man that made his court to the People.

[P] His Sister *Livia* was Mother of *Cato* of *Utica* Her first Husband was the Father of that *Cato*, and her second Husband *Q. Servilius Cepio*. From this second Marriage proceeded *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*. So that *Cato* was maternal Uncle to *Brutus*, for he was *Servilia*'s Brother by the Mother's side. By this we see the reason of *Cicero*'s calling our *Drusus Cato*'s maternal Uncle (40), and Great maternal Uncle to *Brutus* (41).

(18) Erasmus. Apophth. lib. vi, pag. m. 491.

(39) See Leonard. Emendat. lib. x, cap. xvii.

(40) In Orat. pro Milone.

(41) In Brut. cap. xviii: he calls the Father of our Drusus, in the 4th Book of Finib. cap. xxiv. Avum Catonis.

(a) Sueton. in Claud. cap. i.

DRUSUS (NERO) (a) CLAUDIUS, Brother of *Tiberius*, descended, both by the Father's and Mother's Side, from *Appius Claudius the Blind* [A]. He was a Man of great Merit: or, to speak more justly, he was one of the greatest Men the Commonwealth of *Rome* ever produced [B], a Thunderbolt in War, most capable of the Affairs of the Cabinet, who, in the most exalted Fortune, and covered with all the Glory that a Person of his Rank and Age could possibly acquire, always preserved a surprizing Modesty, Courtesy, and Uprightness. He obtained a Dispensation of Age, in order to be capable of public Employments, five Years sooner than the Laws allowed (b). During his Questorship (c) he was sent, together with his Brother (d), in the Year of *Rome* 739, into the

(b) Dio, lib. 54, ad Ann. 735, pag. m. 604.

(c) In questuræ honore dux Rhæti bell. Sueton. in Claud. cap. i.

(d) Dio, lib. 54, pag. 611.

[A] He descended, both by the Father's and Mother's Side, from *Appius Claudius the Blind*. *Appius Claudius the Blind*, among other Children, left two Sons, one of which was named *Tiberius Nero* (1); from whom descended the Father of the Emperor *Tiberius*. The other was named *Appius Pulcher*; from him descended *Livia*, the Mother of that Emperor. The Father of this *Livia*, who was the adopted Son of a *Livius Drusus*, took the Name of *Livius Drusus Claudianus*. He followed the Republican Party, and, rather than be obliged to *Octavius* and *Marc Antony* for his Life, he killed himself in his Tent, after they had won the Battle of *Philippi* (2). I do not know that he left any other Children besides *Livia*, and I believe his Father, by Adoption, had no natural Children (3). So then all the Males of the *Drusian* Branch, both natural and adopted, ended in the Person of *Livius Drusus Claudianus*, the Father of *Livia*: and probably this was the reason that *Livia* revived the Surname of *Drusus*, by giving it to her second Son, while the eldest bore the Name of his Father; for every body knows that *Livia*, before she was *Augustus*'s Wife, was married to *Tiberius Nero*. He was a Man, who had sided with both Parties. He was Questor under *Julius Cæsar*, during the *Alexandrian* War, and commanded the Fleet with so much Conduct, that he contributed not a little to the Victory. *Cæsar* was not ungrateful: he made him High-Priest in *Scipio*'s Room, and gave him a Commission to conduct the Colonies of *Arles*, *Narbonne*, and several others in *Gaul*. After *Cæsar*'s Death our *Tiberius* voted, that Rewards should be given to the Murderers. 'Cunctis turbarum metu abolitionem facti decernentibus, etiam de præmiis tyrannicidarum referendum censuit (4). — When, upon the Murder of *Cæsar*, the Senate was for passing an Act of Oblivion, he proposed a Bill to have Rewards assigned to those who slew the Tyrant.' After this he was made Pretor, and sided with *Marc Antony*'s Party, when the Triumvirs fell out with one another. He followed the Consul *Lucius Antony*, Brother of the Triumvir, to *Perugia*, and was the only one that would not surrender. He fled first to *Preneſte*, and then to *Naples*: but not being able to make the Slaves take Arms, though he promised them Liberty, he passed over into *Sicily*. He took it ill, that *Sextus Pompeius* did not admit him immediately to an Audience, with the Ensigns of the Pretorship; wherefore he left him, and went to find out *Marc Antony* in *Achaia*. Peace being concluded, he returned to *Rome*, and yielded his Wife *Livia* to *Augustus*. He had had a Son by her, who was the Emperor *Tiberius* (5), and, three Months after *Augustus* married her, she had another, viz. *Drusus*, the Subject of this Article. Lovers of Scandal did not fail to jest upon *Livia*'s speedy lying in, pretending *Augustus* was the true Father of the Child. 'Livia, cum Au-

gusto gravis nupisset, intra mensem tertium peperit: fuitque suspicio, ex vitrico per adulterii confuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est verus: Tols εὐρυγῆσαι καὶ τελευτᾶν αἰσῖα (6). — *Livia*, being big with Child, when she married *Augustus*, was delivered, within three Months, of a Son. It was suspected he was gotten in Adultery by his Father-in-law. However this Verse was immediately spread abroad; The Great can have a Son at three Month's end.' But as these Stories are not to be regarded in genealogical Matters, I have made *Livia*'s first Husband, viz. *Tiberius Nero*, the Father of our *Drusus*. The Emperor sent him the new-born Child, and entered this Act of his Diligence into his Journal. *Livia*'s first Husband died soon after, and by his Will left *Augustus* Guardian of his two Sons (7).

I must observe here a Mistake of Mr *Dacier*. He says (8), that *Drusus* and *Tiberius* were descended from the two Consuls who defeated *Asdrubal*. He adds, by the Father's side they issued from *Claudius Nero*, and by the Mother's side from *Livius Salinator*. It is certain, as I have said already, upon the Authority of *Suetonius*, that they equally descended from *Appius Claudius the Blind*, both by Father's and Mother's side (9). It is true, their Mother's Father entered, by Adoption, into the *Livian* Family; but he did not enter into the Branch of *Livius Salinator*, but into that of *Livius Drusus*. All the Descendants of *Salinator* took that Surname, and never that of *Drusus*.

[B] He was one of the greatest Men that the Commonwealth of *Rome* ever produced. Here is the Elogium in Latin: It comes from the Pen of *Paterculus*, and ought not to be suspected, though that Historian flatters *Tiberius* without measure. 'Cura deinde, atque onus Germanici belli delegata Druso Claudio, fratri Neronis, adolescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quot & quantas natura mortalis recipit, vel industria percipit; cujus ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est. Morum certe dulcedo ac suavitas, & adversus amicos æqua ac par sui æstimationis inimitabilis fuisse dicitur. Nam pulchritudo corporis proxima fraternas fuit. Sed illum, magna ex parte domitorem Germaniæ, plurimo ejus gentis variis in locis profuso sanguine, factorum iniquitas, confulem, agentem annum tricesimum, rapuit (10). — The Management and Importance of the German War was conferred on *Drusus Claudius*, Nero's Brother, a Prince possessed of all the Virtues which human Nature can receive, or Industry attain. It is difficult to determine whether his Genius was better turned for warlike Achievements, or the Arts of Peace. He had an inimitable Sweetness of Temper, and esteemed his Friend equal to himself. The Gracefulness of his Person came the nearest to that of his Brother. But the Cruelty of his

(4) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. iv.

(5) Taken from Suetonius, ibid.

(6) Sueton. in Claudius, cap. i. See also Dion. Callius, lib. 48, at the Year 716.

(7) Dio, ibid.

(8) Remarks upon the 4th Ode of the 4th Book of *Horace*, p. 127. [Mr *Dacier* has rectified this in his third Edition printed at Paris, 1709. REM. CRIT.]

(9) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. 31, confirmat this: Pater ei Nero, fovee he, speaking of *Tiberius*, & utrinque origo gentis Claudii, quamquam mater in *Liviam* & mox *Juliam* familiam adoptionibus transierit.

(10) Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. xcvi.

(e) It is now called the Country of the *Gibetani*.

(f) Livius, in Epitome lib. cxxxvii. & seq.

(g) Strabo, lib. vii. circa init.

(h) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. i.

(i) Dio, lib. 54, pag. 613.

the Country of the *Rheti* (e), to subdue that Nation. These were his first Feats of Arms, and they were glorious [C]. After this he passed into *Gaul* (f): where he reduced some rebellious Provinces; he defeated the *Germans* who were marched on this side the *Rhine*; he passed that River, routed the *Sicambri* in their own Territories, gained a Naval Victory over the *Bructeri* on the *Ems* (g); he subdued the People of *Friesland* [D], and was the first Roman General, who embarked upon the northern Ocean (h). At his return to *Rome*, in the Year 743, he obtained the Pretorship (i), but did not continue long there: he set out in the beginning of the Spring to continue his fine Exploits in *Germany*. He subdued several Nations, as far as the *Weser*, and built Forts in divers Places. This procured him at *Rome* the triumphal Ornaments, and the honour of an Ovation, together with the Dignity of Proconsul (k). In the Year 745 (l) he was advanced to the Consulship, and returned into *Germany*, where he pushed on his Conquests to the *Elbe*; he made an Attempt to pass that River, but could not (m); but it is thought, if a superior Power had not stopped him [E], he would have surmounted all other

(h) Idem, ibid. See also Sueton. in Claudio, c. i.

(i) M. de Larrey, in the History of Augustus, p. 205, pretends that Drusus spent the whole Year of his Consulship at *Rome*, and that he went into *Germany* in 745 as Proconsul.

(m) Dio, lib. 55, init.

* his Destiny took him off in the thirtieth Year of his Age, whilst he was Consul, having, in a great Measure, conquered all Germany, and in several Places spilt vast Quantities of the Blood of that Nation. What makes me believe Paternulus does not flatter Drusus, in order to make his court, is, that he might be assured Tiberius would not have prosecuted him, on pretence that Drusus's Elogy was not magnificent enough: for that Emperor could not behold his Brother's flourishing Condition without Grief. This is placed among the Misfortunes of his Youth. 'Causa prima ab infantia accipites: nam proscriptum patrem exul secutus; ubi domum Augusti privignus introit multis æmulis confictatus est, dum Marcellus & Agrippa, mox Cajus Luciusque Cæsares viguere, etiam frater ejus Drusus prosperiore civium amore erat (11). — His Life had been a continued Series of Difficulties. He had followed his Father in his Exile, and when he came into the Family of Augustus, he had many Rivals to struggle with, first under Marcellus and Agrippa, and afterwards Caius and Lucius Cæsars. His Brother Drusus also had a larger Share in the Affections of the People.' We shall see, in the last Remark, a Passage in Suetonius, shewing the great Opinion there was had of Drusus's Virtue and Justice, and also an Instance of the Perfidiousness of Tiberius towards him. We must not believe all that Valerius Maximus relates of Tiberius's fraternal Tendernefs (12). That Author has over-frained his Flatteries of that Prince in more places than one.

(11) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 51.

(12) Val. Max. lib. v. cap. v. num. 3.

[C] His first Feats of Arms were glorious. I shall quote Horace, but not as a Witness, which amounts to a Proof. All the Proof I have is, that the Historians (13) agree that the *Rhetians* were forced to submit to the Yoke, though their Valour and the Advantage of their Situation rendered them capable of a very long Resistance. I shall only cite Horace, because his Verses are fine and pompous. If they contain nothing but the Truth, it must be imputed to Accident; for a Poet, who sings the Victories and Triumphs of a Prince, does not avoid fabulous Hyperboles, but when he does not want them: those who read the modern Poets will be convinced of this, and will easily believe that the Poets of Augustus's Court were animated with the same Spirit as the Poets of the present time. Nay, I even believe, the Votaries of Antiquity, the most zealous against Mr Perrault's Sect, do agree that our Age outdoes that of Alexander and Augustus in the Article of Elogy; for the modern Panegyrists carry their Ideas farther than the Ancients did, though the latter had more Subject to work upon. But to finish this Digression, and quote Horace (14).

(13) Dio, lib. 54, pag. 612, 614. Paternulus, lib. 2, cap. xcv.

(14) Horat. Od. iv. lib. iv. ver. 1, & seq.

Qualem ministram fulminis alitem

Qualemve lætis caprea pascuis
Intenta, fulvæ matris ab ubere
Jam lacte depulsum leonem
Dente novo peritura vidit;
Videre Rheti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem & Vindelici
- - - - - fed diu

Lateque viatrices catervæ
Consilii juvenis revictæ
Senlere, quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus

Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Neronis.

Such as the Royal Bird of Jove

Such as the Lion, which his Dam forsakes,
And thro' the shaggy Herd wild Slaughter makes,
Chasing some Goat along the Plain,
That flies, but flies in vain:
Such Drusus did in Arms appear,
When near the Alps he urg'd the War.

At length when crush'd by the young Warrior's Hand,
They knew what Heroes, under Cæsar train'd,
Could do, to whom the Sire bequeaths
His Soul, in whom he breathes.

It must be acknowledged that these Praises are not carried too high: nay I should think it very strange, that Horace did not insinuate a little more upon Drusus's fine Exploits, if it was true that he composed that Ode after the Year of *Rome* 740 (15); for in that case he must have known the great things That young General had done beyond the Alps. How then could the Poet confine himself to the single War with the *Rhetians*?

(15) M. de Larrey affirms this in his Remarks on the 4th Ode of the 4th Book of Horace, p. 110.

[D] He subdued the People of *Friesland*. Dion is not the only one who observes this. Tacitus says the same, and adds, that Drusus laid but a very small Tribute upon them. He taxed them in a certain number of Ox Hides. 'Eodem anno Frisii transrhenum populum pacem exuere nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii impatientes. Tributum iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares coria bouum penderent (16). — The same Year the Frisians revolted, compelled thereto more by the Avarice of our Officers, than any unwillingness of their own to bear the Roman Yoke. Drusus had, in regard to the narrowness of their Circumstances, enjoined them a small Tribute, to furnish a number of the Hides of Oxen for the use of the Army.' Soon after they took Arms again, the Collectors of that Tribute committing a thousand Acts of Injustice upon them, with all the Severity of the most merciless Excitemen.

(16) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 72, ad Ann. 781.

[E] It is thought, that if a superior Power had not stopped him. Thus I call the Vision it is pretended he had. It is said, that while he was pursuing his Victories from Place to Place, without designing to fix any where, a Woman, above the human Size, and dressed in the Barbarian Habit, appeared to him, and commanded him, in *Latin*, to stop. 'Hostem etiam frequenter cælum ac penitus in intimas solitudines actum non prius destitit insequi, quam species barbaræ mulieris humana amplior victorem tendere ultra fero: ne Latino prohibuisset (17).' Both Suetonius and Dion mention this Adventure; but Dion forgot to observe that the Spectre spoke *Latin*, which was a material Circumstance, not to be omitted by an exact Historian, if he knew it. On the other hand Suetonius has forgot a Circumstance no less essential; he has not told us, that the Woman, after reproving Drusus, that no Conquests could satisfy him, ordered him to retire and prepare for Death. If Drusus had had such a Vision as this, I should not wonder that he went back, or even soon after fell into a mortal Dis temper. I know not whether the most ardent Warriors now in

(17) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 1.

other Obstacles. He marched back towards the *Rhine*, but fell sick, and died before he reached that River, (n) in the Year 745, being about thirty Years of Age. Some say he died of a Fracture in his Leg [F], his Horse falling under him. His Brother, who sat out at the first news of his Illness, found him in the Agonies of Death (o) [G]: he conducted the Body to *Rome*, where he pronounced the funeral Oration of the deceased (p). *Augustus* spoke another. All kinds of Honours were paid to the Memory of *Drusus*, and he had the Surname of *Germanicus* given him on Account of the Victories he obtained in *Germany* (q). He caused a Canal to be cut from the *Rhine* to the Sea [H]. We have mentioned in another Place (r) the extraordinary Chastity which is attributed to him. He left two Sons and a Daughter; one of the Sons was that illustrious Prince, who was so well known by the Name of *Germanicus*: The other was that stupid Prince, who was afterwards the Emperor *Claudius*. Their Sister *Livia* was married to *Drusus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, a Woman of no Reputation (s). There is

(s) See the following Article, Remark [R].

in the World, let their Religion be what it would, could be proof against such an Apparition. What Confirmation then must it cause in the Soul of *Drusus*, who had been used to hear at *Rome* of nothing but Auspices and Prodigies, good and evil Geniuses. Let us see *Dion's* Words (18): *Ἰὼν γὰρ τις μείζων ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων οὖρον ἀπαρτήσασα αὐτῷ, ἐφθ, Ποι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ γὰρ Δεῖσε ἀκόρετοι: ἔπειτα οἱ ταῦτα ἰδεῖν ἐπιτρέπεται. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆ βίᾳ τελευτῇ πάρεστιν ἡδὺν. Etenim mulier quædam humana amplior forma ei obviæ facta: Druse, inquit, quo tandem nullum tuæ cupiditati modum statuens contendis? Non tibi satis concessum hæc omnia videre. Quin tu abi; jam enim & operum tuorum & vitæ inflat tibi terminus. — A Woman, of more than human Size, meeting him, said, Whither, O *Drusus*, does thy unbounded Ambition hurry thee? Fate has not permitted thee to see all these things. Be gone therefore; for the time is at hand which shall put a Period to thy Life and Actions.*

(18) *Dio*, lib. 55, initio.

Who knows whether the *Germani* had not the Policy to dress some Man of an extraordinary Size, who could speak Latin, in a Woman's Habit, and order him to appear as a Spectre upon the Road *Drusus* was to take: I doubt not such a Stratagem has been practised more than once.

[F] Some say he died of a Fracture in his Leg. We should see the Particulars of that Accident, if we had the last Book of *Livy*; for the Summary we have remaining contains these Words: 'Ipse (*Drusus*) ex fractura equo super crus ejus collapsa tricesimo die quam id acciderat mortuus est. — *Drusus* died of a Fracture in his Leg, occasioned by his Horse falling upon it, thirty Days after the Misfortune happened.' *Moreri* is wrong here. '*Drusus*, says he, was preparing to carry on his Conquests, when, falling from his Horse, he broke his Thigh, of which he died thirteen Days after.' Putting thirteen for thirty Days is not his only Mistake. He is contradicted by *Dion* upon another Head: for *Dion* assures us, that *Drusus* was returning towards the *Rhine*, so far was he from preparing to continue his Conquests. I omit the Faults of his Language, which the Skillful need not be advertized of; but I cannot do the same with respect to the beginning of the Article. *DRUSUS* was the Son of *Tiberius Nero* and *Livia*, who afterwards married *Augustus*, Brother to the Emperor *Tiberius*. Thus *Moreri* begins. Now this is misplacing his Words. The Word *Brother* may equally refer to three Persons, either to *Drusus*, or *Tiberius Nero*, or to *Augustus*. A Man not acquainted with History would be at a loss which of these three Relatives to chuse. But what follows is an Error of another Nature. *Moreri* says, that *Drusus* made War in *Germany* for several Years. There are few Readers who, from these Words, would not form an Idea of at least ten or twelve Campaigns, which is too much by half. I do not believe that *Drusus* ever made five Campaigns in that Country. This was the finest Jewel in his Crown. He performed more in one Year than other Warriors do in their whole Lives (19).

(19) See another of *Moreri's* faults in Remark [H].

(20) *Plinius*, lib. vii, cap. xx.

(21) *Val. Max.* lib. v. cap. v. §. 3.

[G] His Brother, who set out upon the first News of his Sickness, found him in the Agonies of Death. He made so much haste, that *Pliny* has placed this Journey among the speediest that ever were made. He pretends (20) that *Tiberius*, travelling Day and Night, rode two hundred Miles, changing Horses but three times. *Valerius Maximus* agrees with *Pliny* as to the distance of the way: but he says *Tiberius* often took fresh Horses (21). I do not see how *Dion Cassius* can be

excused, who says there was no great distance between the place where *Augustus* received the News of his Illness, and the place where *Drusus* lay sick; for tho' we should suppose, that neither *Pliny*, nor *Valerius Maximus*, have given the just distance, yet it would be certainly true, that *Lombardy* is far from *Wetteravia*. *Augustus* was at *Pavia* when he heard that *Drusus* fell sick: *Drusus* fell ill as he was retiring from the Banks of the *Elbe* towards the *Rhine*, and died before he reached the Banks of the *Rhine*. Let us suppose, to favour *Dion* as much as possible, that *Drusus's* design was to march to *Mentz*, it must be said, upon this supposition, that he fell sick in *Wetteravia*. What then does this Historian mean by the Parenthesis (ὅ γὰρ ἦν πρὸ πάσης). *Augustus*, says he, being informed that *Drusus* was sick, for he was not far from the place, immediately sent *Tiberius* to him. *Dion's* Translators free him from this oversight; for they make him speak so as may signify, that *Augustus* immediately sent for *Tiberius*, who was not far off. *Περὶ πρὸς τὸν δ' ὁ Ἀύγουστος ἐστὶν ποσὶ ὅ γὰρ ἦν πρὸ πάσης τὸν Τιβέριον κατὰ τὰς ἐκτὸς ἐπέμπε. Ad famam egrotantis Drusi Augustus, qui non ita procul ab eo aberat, celeriter Tiberium accersit* (22). But *Cassiodorus* confutes this Translation by two solid Remarks (23). I. The Greek Tongue will not allow the rendering ἐπέμπε by sent for. II. *Augustus* and *Tiberius* were then at *Pavia*, as *Valerius Maximus* informs us. Therefore it must be concluded, either that *Dion* has expressed himself like a bad Geographer, or as one that did not know the particulars of the Fact. Let us add another thing, which makes this Journey of *Tiberius* very remarkable. He went from *Pavia* into *Germany*, with all the swiftness of a Post-Boy, and he returned on Foot from *Germany* into *Italy* (24) with all the solemn pace of a Funeral Procession. *Drusus* died in the Summer, and his Body did not arrive at *Pavia* till the middle of the Winter, according to *Tacitus*. 'Ipsum quippe (*Augustum*) asperissimo hyemis Ticinum uique progressum neque abscedentem a corpore simul Urbem intravisse' (25). *Augustus* himself in the middle of Winter went to *Pavia*, and constantly attended his Body till it was brought into the City.

(22) *Dio*, lib. 55, initio.

(23) *Cassiodorus* in *Sueton. Claud.* cap. 1.

(24) *Drusus* frater in *Germania* amissit, cuius corpus pedibus toto itinere præguardiens Romanam usque pervehit. *Sueton.* in *Tiberio*, cap. vii.

(25) *Tacit.* Ann. lib. iii, cap. v.

(26) *Sueton* in *Claudius*, cap. 1.

[H] He made a Canal between the Sea and the *Rhine*. See how *Suetonius* speaks of it. 'Trans Rhenum fossas novi & immensi operis effecit quæ nunc adhuc *DRUSIANÆ* vocantur' (26). *Tacitus* calls it *fissam Drusianam*, and it is the common name it bore among the Latin Authors. It was not a Work of a short continuance; for it not only served *Drusus's* Son, but remains to this Day. The place, where *Tacitus* mentions *Germanicus* embarking upon this Canal, is too fine not to be transcribed. 'Jamque classis advenerat cum præmisso commeatu, & distributis legiones ac socios navibus fossam cui *DRUSIANÆ* nomen ingressus, præcatusque *Drusum* patrem ut le eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum juvaret, lacus inde & Oceanum usque ad *Amisiam* flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur' (27). — After the Fleet was arrived with the Provisions on Board, and the Legions and Auxiliary Troops had been assigned to their several Ships, he entered the *Drusian Canal*, and putting up Prayers to his Father *Drusus* to favour him in the attempt, to which he had been encouraged by his example, he had thence a good Passage through the Lakes and the Sea to the River *Amisiam*. The Invocation of the dead was so much used among the Pagans, that here is a Son, who offers solemn Prayers to the Ghost of a Father, who had never been deified. I confess they

(27) *Tacit.* Ann. lib. ii, cap. viii, at *Ann.* 769.

no probability that *Drusus* died of Poison, by order of the Emperor his Father-in-law [1]. *Ovid's* Confolation to *Livia*, the Mother of that illustrious deceased, is a Poem well worth the reading. *Moreri's* Faults, which are inconsiderable, may be seen in the Remark [F].

(28) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. vii. they had erected an Altar to him in Germany; but that was no Apotheosis. 'Tumulum tamen nuper Varians legionibus structum & veterem aram Druso sitam disjecerant. Restituit aram (Germanicus) honorique patris princeps ipse cum legionibus decurrit: tumulum iterare haud visum (28). — They had demolished the Monument erected to the Legions of Varus, and the old Altar consecrated to Drusus. Germanicus restored the Altar, and in honour of his Father, performed with the Legions the Funeral Ceremony of running Courses.' Observe, that in order to form a just

Idea of the Countries, which were reckoned at Rome to be beyond the Rhine, we must imagine the Historians as copying the accounts which the Generals sent to Rome. The Generals marched with their Forces into the Provinces of Gaul, bordering upon the Rhine. To them then Germany was beyond that River. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* follow their Style; for, in Truth, with respect to Rome, Germany is rather on this side than beyond the Rhine. I do not observe this as very material; but how many things are there in the Commentaries that are but little better? To conclude, it must not be imagined, as *Moreri* does, that all which is now called the *Isle*, is the Work of the ancient Romans; for *Drusus* did not join the Rhine to the Ocean, that is, to that which is now called the *Zuyder-Zee*, any otherwise than by cutting a Canal between the River *Isle*, and the Rhine (29). I shall observe occasionally, that he also begun to make Dykes upon the Banks of the Rhine, which were finished sixty three Years after. 'Ne segnem militem attinerent, Paulinus Pompeius inchoatum ante tres & sexaginta annos a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno absolvit (30). — To keep the Soldiers in Action, Paulinus Pompeius finished a Dyke which had been begun sixty three Years before by Drusus to keep in the Rhine.'

(22) See Cluverius in Germania antiqua. (30) Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii. cap. 53.

[1] There is no probability that *Drusus* died by Poison, by order of the Emperor his Father-in-law.] Scandal is a terrible thing. The same Persons, who had most spread the report that *Augustus* was the Father of *Drusus*, were perhaps the very same who charged him with poisoning him. But since *Suetonius* rejects this as a groundless Story, it is to be supposed he could see no probability of it; for he naturally is not too forward to justify the twelve Emperors, or hide their Faults. He informs us of the singular tenderness which *Augustus* ever had for *Drusus*, and he mentions two instances of it, which must not be omitted here. *Augustus* made the Epitaph in Verse, which was engraved upon the Tomb of *Drusus*, and wrote the History of that great Man in Prose. I am not ignorant that the greatest Princes, and the most ambitious Monarchs are subject to a furious jealousy towards those of their own Blood, which puts them upon doing things very pernicious to their interest, when they apprehend the People may be too much delighted with a rising Glory that spreads apace. But I cannot see sufficient marks of this Passion, in the Conduct of *Augustus*, to conclude that his tender affection ever abated to a Prince, whom probably he believed his own Son, and perhaps not without very good reason. However, let us see *Suetonius's* words, in which we shall find an admirable touch of *Drusus's* Character. 'Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi.

'Nam ex hoste super victorias, opima quoque spolia captasse, summoque saepius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie infectatus: ne dissimulasse unquam pristinum se Reipublicae statum quandoque restitutum, si posset. Unde existimo nonnullos tradere aulos, suspectum cum Augusto, revocatumque ex provincia: & quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis, ne praetermitterem, retuli, quam quia verum aut verisimile putem: cum Augustus tantopere & vivum dilexerit, ut coheredem semper filiis instituerit, sicut quondam in Senatu professus est; & defunctum ita pro concione laudaverit, ut Deos precatus sit, Similes ei Caesares suos facerent; sibi quoque tam honestum quandoque exitum darent, quam illi dedissent. Nec contentus elogium tumulo ejus verbis a se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitæ memoriam prosa oratione composuit (31). — It is believed that he had no less Talents for a Military, than for a Civil Life. For besides his Victories, he gained also the Spolia Opima, and often singled out the German Generals, and pursued them through the thickest Ranks with the utmost danger: nor did he dissimble his design of one day restoring the Commonwealth, if it should ever be in his Power. For which reason, I imagine, some have adventured to say, that Augustus was jealous of him, recalled him from his Government, and because he did not immediately obey his orders, took him off by Poison. Which I have mentioned rather to avoid an Accusation of a willful omission, than that, I imagine it to be either true or probable. For Augustus had that esteem for him living, as to make him coheir with his Son, as he expressly declared in Senate; and in his Funeral Oration besought the Gods to make his Caesars like him, and grant him as honourable an Exit, as they had granted to the deceased. Nor was he satisfied with inscribing on his Monument an Elogium in Verse, of his own composing, but also wrote his History in Prose. He was more in love with Glory than Command, being actuated by a true Roman Spirit: he would have employed all his Credit for the Restoration of the Liberties of the Commonwealth, though his own private Interest engaged him to support the Imperial Usurpation of those times. It is even pretended that he wrote to *Tiberius* to persuade him to join with him, in a Design to oblige *Augustus* to restore things to their former State. If any thing made the Slander probable, which *Suetonius* has rejected, no doubt it was this: That *Tiberius* shewed the Letter *Drusus* writ him upon this Subject. *Suetonius* himself relates this (32). They were so generally persuaded at Rome of this incomparable and noble Disposition in *Drusus*, that it was the original Cause, of that excessive Love the People expressed to *Germanicus*. 'Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus, unde in Germanicum favor & spes eadem, nam juveni civile ingenium, mira comitas (33). — The Memory of *Drusus* was had in the greatest Veneration by the People of Rome, and it was believed, that had he been raised to the Empire, he would have restored Liberty, whence their Favour to *Germanicus* and their hopes from him were the same. For he was a Prince of a sweet and affable Temper.'

(31) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 1. (32) Odium adversus necessitudines in Druso primum fratre detexit (Tiberius) prodita ejus epistola, qua secum de cogens ad restituendam libertatem Augustus agebat. Id. in Tiberio, c. 50. (33) Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 33.

(a) Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 8. (b) Dio, lib. lvi. pag. 699, 701. (c) Idem, lib. 56, pag. 672. (d) Tacit. Ann. lib. i. ad annum 767.

DRUSUS, the Son of *Tiberius*, by his first Wife *Vipsania* the Daughter of *Agrippa*, did not resemble his Father in point of Dissimulation (a), but was not unlike him in Drunkenness, Cruelty, and Lust (b). He was made Questor in the Year 764 (c). After the Death of *Augustus*, he was sent into *Pannonia*, to pacify the mutinous Legions, which he happily effected, and was created Consul soon after his Return to Rome (d). He commanded an Army in *Illyria*, in the Year 770. They gave him this Command, both to gain the Love of the Soldiers, and to withdraw him from those Pleasures he was immersed in at Rome (e). He artfully fomented the Divisions which were crept among the Germans, and drew great Advantages from them (f); so that the Senate decreed him the Honours of an Ovation. He returned to Rome in 773 (g), and the next Year was Consul with the Emperor his Father (b). He was also the Emperor's Colleague in the Tribunician Authority; a Dignity much more considerable

considerable than the Consulship [A]. Having obtained this important Office from the Senate, he would certainly have succeeded *Tiberius*, if *Sejanus* had not prevented it (i). The Ambition of this Favourite had no bounds; and besides, the Box on the Ear *Drusus* gave him prompted him to all manner of wicked Attempts against him. Which he could put in Execution with more Ease, as he kept up a criminal Conversation with *Drusus's* Wife [B]. Accordingly, in Concert with this Woman, he got him poisoned by the Eunuch *Lygdus* (k). The Poison took Effect. *Drusus* dying of it in the Year 776. He left some Children [C] as we shall see in the Remarks. *Tiberius* shewed

(i) Ibid. cap. 56, & seq.

(k) And not Ligius, as in Morel.

[A] He... had... also the Tribunitian Power.] Thus *Augustus* would call the Supreme Authority, in order to avoid the odious Titles of King and Dictator, and yet possess one that was superior to all others. He took his Son-in-law *Agrippa* for his Colleague in this Dignity; and after his Death his Son-in-law *Tiberius*. By his Example *Tiberius* would have an Associate in this Power, and chose his own Son. The Letters he wrote to the Senate concerning this Association, carried all the Force of a Command in them. 'Mitit literas ad Senatum, quibus potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. Id summi fastigii vocabulum *Augustus* repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praeineret. M. deinde *Agrippam* socium ejus postulat, quo defuncto, *Tiberium* *Neronem* delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. Sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur: simul modestiae *Neronis*, & suae magnitudini fidebat. Quo tunc exemplo, *Tiberius* *Drusum* summæ rei admoveret: cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos judicium tenuisset (1). — He sent Letters to the Senate, wherein he required them to confer the Tribunitian Power on *Drusus*. *Augustus* had invented that Title of Pre-eminence, instead of the more odious one of King or Dictator; yet, by that Appellation, had a Sovereignty above other Magistrates. He afterwards chose *M. Agrippa* for his Associate, and after his Death *Tiberius* *Nero*, that his Successor might be known; thinking by this means to restrain the ambitious hopes of others, trusting to the Modesty of *Nero*, and his own Greatness. In imitation of whom, *Tiberius* advanced *Drusus* to the same Dignity, though, during the Life of *Germanicus*, he had carried himself indifferently between them. If *Morel* had understood this, he would not have said that *Drusus*, upon his return from Germany, exercised the Office of Tribune. This does not express what *Tacitus* told us just now. I pass over two other of *Morel's* Faults contained in these words, *Drusus* was sent into *Illyria* to learn the Military Art, then into Germany. *Drusus's* first Expedition was that of *Pannonia*, the second that of *Illyria*. I do not think he was ever in Person in Germany with an Army, though he fomented some Divisions there.

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 56. ad ann. 775.

Errors of Morel.

HISTORY of Livia, Daughter of *Nero Claudius* *Drusus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*.

[B] *Sejanus*... kept up a Criminal Conversation with the Wife of *Drusus*.] Her Name was *Livia*, she was the Sister of *Germanicus*. She was first married to *Caius Caesar*, *Augustus's* Grandson, and after the Death of that Prince to *Drusus*, the Son of *Tiberius*. She was at first very homely, but afterwards became a perfect Beauty. *Sejanus* had so ill an Opinion of that Woman, as to believe that, by making love to her, he should engage her to second him in his Design of cutting off her Husband. Therefore he courted her, and easily obtained the enjoyment of her, and then he proposed to her if she would poison *Drusus*, that he would marry her, and make her Empress. This uncertain hope made her sacrifice, by an abominable Crime, a hope that was certain; so true it is that when a Woman has once prostituted her Honour, she suffers her mind to be turned this way or that, according to the Caprice of the Man she has abandoned herself to. This is *Tacitus's* Reflexion; not mine. Read what follows, and you will find in it, that *Drusus* gave *Sejanus* a box on the Ear (2). 'Drusus impatiens æmuli, & animo commotior, orto forte jurgio, intenderat *Sejano* manus, & contra tendentis os verberaverat. Igitur cuncta tentant promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus *Liviam* convertere. Quæ soror *Germanici*, formæ initio ætatis indecoræ, mox pulchritudine præcellerat. Hanc, ut amore incensus, adulterio pellexit: & postquam primi flagitii potius est (heque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad conjugii spem, consortium regni, & necem mariti impulit. Atque illa cui avunculus *Augustus*, & fover *Tiberius*, ex *Druso* liberi, seque ac majores &

(2) If we believe *Dion*, lib. 58, p. 709, it was *Sejanus* that gave the Blow.

posteror municipal adultero sedabat; ut pro honestis & præsentibus, flagitiosa & incerta expectaret (3). — *Drusus* being of a fiery Temper, and unable to endure a rival to the Empire, in an accidental Quarrel, had laid hands on *Sejanus*, and seizing him off to make Resistance, had struck him in the Face. *Sejanus*, after several debates with himself, resolved at last to attack his Wife *Livia*, as the surest way to be revenged. She was Sister to *Germanicus*, and from a very disagreeable Person at first, became afterwards a celebrated Beauty. This Woman he debauched by making Profession of a most ardent Passion, and after the first criminal Encounter (for a Woman who has forfeited her Honour, will stick at nothing) seduced her to consent to the Murder of her Husband, in hopes of being made Companion of his Bed and Throne. And though she had *Augustus* for her Uncle, *Tiberius* for her Father-in-law, and had had Children by *Drusus*, yet she stooped to an infamous Adultery, stained her own, her noble Ancestors, and her Posterity's Honour, and quitted a present Honour for uncertainty and shame. They gave *Drusus* a slow Poison, that it might be thought he died of a Distemper (4). *Livia's* Physician named *Eudemus*, who was also her Adulterer, was let into the secret (5). The Widow challenged *Sejanus* to keep his Word (6): *Sejanus* asked her in Marriage of *Tiberius*, but did not obtain his request. After *Sejanus* was punished for his Villanies, *Apicata*, his repudiated Wife, discovered to the Emperor the poisoning of *Drusus*, and *Livia's* Crimes: upon which *Tiberius* commanded that *Livia* should be put to Death; others say, that in consideration of her Mother he did not punish her; but that her Mother suffered her to be starved to Death (7). The Senate passed very severe Decrees against the Memory and Statues of that wicked Woman (8). I said *Sejanus* did not marry her; but *Glandorp* affirms the contrary: 'Primum repulsum patitur, postea tam cum non absteret, fit voti compos (9).' But *Suetonius* is more to be relied on, who represents *Tiberius* as alluring him with the hopes of his Alliance, at the same time that he was preparing to ruin him, as he did a very short time after. 'Spe affinitatis ac Tribunitiæ potestatis deceptum inopinantem criminatus est pendenda miserandaque oratione (10). — Having deluded him with the hopes of Affinity by Marriage, and of the Tribuneship, he accused him, when he least dreamed of it, to the Senate in a mean and pitiful Letter.'

[C] He left Children.] His Daughter *Julia* was first married to *Nero* her Cousin-German, the eldest Son of *Germanicus*, and afterwards to *Caius Rubellius Blandus* (11). Soon after the Death of *Germanicus*, his Sister *Livia*, *Drusus's* Wife, was delivered of two Boys, which so overjoyed *Tiberius*, that he could not help congratulating himself upon it in full Senate (12). One of these Twins died presently after the Father: the other, named *Tiberius*, was to have succeeded to the Empire with *Caius Caligula*; for the Emperor *Tiberius* declared them both his joint Heirs (13): but as *Tiberius* had foretold (14), *Caligula* made away with his Co-heir (15). We must not forget that he got *Tiberius's* Will cancelled, by which means he reigned alone; afterwards he adopted *Tiberius* the Grand-son. *Fratre* *Tiberius* die virilis togæ adoptavit, appellavitque principem juvenutis (16). — He adopted his Brother *Tiberius* on the day of his putting on the Toga Virilis, and styled him Princeps Juventutis, Prince of the Youth. I find some difficulty here: if *Tiberius* the Grand-son was born soon after the Death of *Germanicus*, as *Tacitus* assures us, he must be eighteen Years old when his Grand-father died. How comes it to pass then that his Grand-father had not made him take the virile Robe? this would have been of service to him towards securing the Succession. No doubt it will be answered me, that he thought him illegitimate, because

(3) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 3. ad ann. 776.

(4) Idem. ibid. cap. viii.

(5) Idem. ibid. cap. xxxix.

(6) Ibid. cap. iii. See also *Pliny*, lib. xxix. cap. i.

(7) *Dio*, lib. 58, pag. 721. ad ann. 784. See also *Suetonius*, in *Tiberio*, cap. lxii.

(8) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 2.

(9) *Glandorp*. Oonomast. p. 45.

(10) *Suetonius* in *Tiberio*, cap. lxxv.

(11) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 27.

(12) Idem. lib. ii. cap. 84. ad ann. 772.

(13) *Suetonius* in *Tiberio*, cap. ult.

(14) *Dio*, lib. 58, pag. 729.

(15) *Suetonius* in *Caligula*, cap. 23.

(16) Ibid. c. 15. See also *Dio*, lib. lxx, init.

shewed upon this occasion the utmost Insensibility which the Stoics required (D). Nothing was more commendable in Drusus than the Friendship he preserved for Germanicus (E), his Cousin-Germain, and his Brother by Adoption.

(17) Dio, l. 58, pag. 720. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. p. lxix.

(3) Sueton. in Calig. cap. xxi. See also Philo de Legat.

(19) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv, cap. viii. See also Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 52.

(20) Seneca, de Consolat. ad Marciam, c. 15. And many others make use of it.

(21) Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 62.

because of *Livia's* Adulteries, and for that Reason he neglected him (17). To conclude, that Youth was put to Death on a very slight Occasion. He had taken a medicine for a violent Cough. It was pretended this was Antidote, and that, by this Conduct, he tacitly accused *Caligula* of a design to poison him. 'Fratrem Tiberium inopinantem repente immisso Tribuno militum interemit . . . caussatus . . . quod antidotum oboluisse quasi ad præcavenda venena sua sumtum, cum . . . propter assiduum & vehementem tussim medicamento usus esset (18). — He slew his Brother *Tiberius* by surprise, sending in a military Tribune to dispatch him on a sudden, pretending he smelled strong of an Antidote he had taken out of Precaution lest he should poison him; whereas he had only made use of a Medicine for a violent Cough, wherewith he had been a long time afflicted.'

[D] *Tiberius* expressed the utmost Insensibility which the Stoics required. No manner of uneasiness appeared in him, while *Drusus* was sick, nor did he forbear going to the Senate, no not in the Interval between the Death and the Funeral of his Son. When the whole Senate were expressing their Grief by Sighs and Tears, he alone remained calm and unmoved. 'Tiberius per omnes valetudinis ejus dies nullo metu (an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret) etiam defuncto necdum sepulto curiam ingressus: Consulque sede vulgari per speciem morositatis sedentes honoris locique admonuit, & effusum in lacrymas Senatam, victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit (19). — *Tiberius*, to shew an evenness of Temper (which perhaps was affected), never appeared to be under the least concern; nay, in the interval of his Death and Funeral he went to the Senate, and finding them sitting in the meanest Seats, as a token of their Sorrows, he reminded them of their Place and Dignity, and without the least Emotion harangued the Senate all dissolved in Tears.' In all his Discourses he preserved so well the Character of his false dissembling Spirit, that it was easy to see that no sense of Grief disordered him. Read this in *Tacitus*, and you will not lose your Labour; but I very much doubt whether such an Example should be made use of in Treatises of Consolation (20); for *Tiberius* behaved in this manner only because he was destitute of all natural Affection. He looked upon *Priam* as a happy Man, for having survived all his Children (21).

[E] Nothing was more commendable in *Drusus*, than the Friendship he preserved for *Germanicus*. *Germanicus* had been adopted by the Emperor: so that he was Presumptive Heir as well as *Drusus*. But besides that he was the darling of the People; he had performed some great Actions, and was possessed of shining Qualities. *Drusus* had none of these Advantages. How could he forbear hating such a Rival? How came it to pass, that a Soul so ill inclined, should yet do Justice to *Germanicus*, love *Germanicus*? We must acknowledge in this the strange Power of Constitution: Vices have not such a Connection with one another as is imagined, and there are some Virtues which are better preserved in a Heart eminently vicious, than in one that is moderately so. I have not mentioned all

the Causes capable of raising Jealousy in the Soul of *Drusus*. Nay I had forgot the principal Reasons, which will be found in the following Words of *Tacitus*. The Court was divided between *Drusus* and *Germanicus*; their respective Friends quarrelled with each other, and only the Heads of the two Factions were agreed. 'Divisa & discors aula erat; tacitis in *Drusum*, aut *Germanicum* studiis. *Tiberius* ut proprium, & sui sanguinis *Drusum* fovebat: *Germanico* alienatio patrum amorem apud ceteros auxerat, & quia claritudine materni generis antehat, avum *Marcum Antonium*, avunculum *Augustum* ferens. Contra *Druso* proavus eques Romanus, *Pomponius Atticus*, dedecere *Claudiorum* imagines videbatur, & conjunx *Germanici Agrippina*, fecunditate ac fama *Liviam uxorem Drusi* præcellebat: sed fratres egregie concordores & proximorum certaminibus inconcussi (22). — The Court was divided in their Interest, some declaring for *Drusus*, others for *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* espoused the Party of *Drusus* as of his own Son. This Partiality rendered *Germanicus* dearer to the rest, add to this his being more nobly descended by the Mother's side; Grand-son of *Marc Antony*, and Nephew of *Augustus*. On the other hand, *Pomponius Atticus*, Great Grand-father of *Drusus*, was only a Roman Knight, and seemed to cast a Shade on the *Claudian* Family. Besides, *Agrippina*, Wife of *Germanicus*, had the advantage of *Livia*, Wife of *Drusus*, in Fruitfulness and Reputation; but the Brothers maintained for each other an unshaken Affection, amidst the Emulation of their Partizans.' Here is likewise another Passage of *Tacitus*, in which *Tiberius* extols to the Senate *Drusus's* Friendship for the Sons of *Germanicus*. 'Adidit orationem *Cæsar* multa cum laude filii sui quod patria benevolentia in fratris liberos foret, nam *Drusus* (quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam & concordiam esse) æquus adolescentibus, aut certo non adversus habebatur (23). — The Emperor completed the Ceremony with an Harangue, wherein he highly extolled the fatherly Affection which his Son had shewed to his Nephews, for (however Power and Concord are seldom consistent with each other) *Drusus* was a Friend, at least no Enemy, to the young Princes.' The Historian touches upon the Reason why we should judge that *Drusus* performed in this a very difficult Thing, which Reason is the Competition for Power. Upon this Principle, when *Piso* saw himself charged with the Death of *Germanicus*, he applied himself to *Drusus* not doubting to bring him easily over to his Interest (24); he imagined that a Man who had delivered *Drusus* from a very dangerous Rival would not be looked upon with an ill Eye: but all he could draw from him was a very ambiguous Answer, which was taken for a Lesson of *Tiberius*; there appearing nothing in it of the open and uncircumspect humour of *Drusus*. 'Neque dubitabantur præscripta ei à *Tiberio*, cum inacidulus alioqui & faciliis juvenia senilibus tum artibus uteretur (25). — No one questioned, but all this was done by the Emperor's Directions; since *Drusus* was too free, and unreserved, to have put a piece of Policy in Practice so much beyond his Years.'

(22) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii, cap. 43.

(23) Idem, Ann. lib. iv, cap. 4.

(24) *Piso* premissis in urbem filio datusque mandatis per quos principem moliret, ad *Drusum* pergit quem haud fratris interitu truem, quam re motu amulo æquorem sibi sperabat. *Piso* having sent his Son to Rome, with Directions how to soften the Emperor, went to *Drusus*, from whom he expected more countenance for removing a Rival, than displeasure for taking off a Brother. Idem, lib. iii, cap. 8.

(25) Idem, ibid.

DRUSUS, the Son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, was at first advanced to public Employments before the competent Age, and that by the Recommendation of *Tiberius* himself (a); but afterwards he was ruined by the Artifices of *Sejanus* [A]. That wicked Favourite

[A] He was ruined by the Artifices of *Sejanus*. We shall see a detestable Contrivance: *Sejanus* had his Spies every where, and spared no pains to aggrandize himself. As he aspired to the Empire, he began by making away with *Drusus*, who, in the Quality of *Tiberius's* Son, possessed the first Rank in the Order of Succession. *Nero*, the eldest Son of *Germanicus*, was next to *Drusus*; and the second Object of *Sejanus's* Machinations. Every word he spoke, was carried to the Favourite, which often furnished matter of Accusation; for though he had no ill Intentions, yet some imprudent Expressions would fall from him, to which the precipitate Counsels of his Friends contributed not a little. These Men, tired with his ill Fortune, advised him, more for their own Interest than

his, to use some threatening, as the true way to Power. Whereupon, some Words escaped him, which were aggravated into Crimes. 'Maximeque insectantur Nerone proximum successioni, & quamquam modesta juvenia, plerumque tamen quid in presentiarum conduceret oblitum; dum à libertis & clientibus adipiscendæ potentia: properis exstimulatur, ut cretum & fidem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum: cupere exercitus: neque ausurum contra *Sejanum*, qui nunc patientiam senis, & segnitiam juvenis iuxta insultet. Hæc atque talia audienti, nihil quidem pravæ cogitationis: sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces, & inconsultæ; quas adpositi custodes exceptas audiasque cum deferrent, &c (1). — Their Plot was levelled principally against

(a) Compare *Tacitus*, Ann. lib. iii, cap. 29; with Ann. lib. iv, cap. 4.

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv, cap. 59. ad ann. 779.

Favourite had the Pleasure to see him committed to Prison; but not that of seeing him dead, for he himself died before *Drusus*. The condition of the latter was nothing the better for this; for they exposed him in such a cruel manner, to the rage of Hunger, that he was forced to eat the Flocks of his Mattress [B]. He languished in this Condition untill the ninth Day. After his Death, *Tiberius* had the Cruelty to accuse him to the Senate, and the Weakness to discover by this means the inhuman Treatment the unhappy Prince had suffered [C], during his Imprisonment; there was a Report that he had been seen in the Isles of the *Ægean Sea*. *Tacitus*, in informing us by whom this

* *Nero, the next in Succession; and however discreet the young Prince might be, yet he too often suffered himself to be unseasonably transported, his Clients and Freedmen, in order to make their court to him, pushing him on; telling him, that the People of Rome were impatient to see him exert himself; that Sejanus, who now condemned the Indolence of Tiberius, and his Successor's Youth, would not dare to oppose him. Though he might bear these and such like Arguments, without receiving any ill Impressions; yet, he sometimes let fall some haughty and unguarded Expressions, which were carried by the Spies, which were placed about him, to the ear of Tiberius, and seldom lost any thing by the way.* He was never free from Informers: his very Sighs, his Behaviour, asleep or awake, were carried to the Favourite. His Wife gave an Account of all to her Mother, and she to *Sejanus*. * *Ne nox quidem secura cum uxor vigilias, somnos, suspiria matri Livie, atque illa Sejanus patetaceret (2).* His Brother *Drusus* (3) became his Enemy. *Sejanus* had the cunning to gain him over, by letting him know that the first Place was secured to him by the Death of *Nero*; at the same time *Sejanus* laid the Foundation of the ruin of this *Drusus*, who fell into that Snare, not only out of Ambition, but because, according to Custom, he hated his Brother, and envied him the Preference he saw him favoured with, from *Agrippina* their common Mother. * *Qui (Sejanus) fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit in partes, spe obiecta principis loci, si priorem ætate & jam labefactum demovisset. Atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentie, & solita fratribus odia, accendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. Neque tamen Sejanus ita Drusum fovebat, ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur; gnarus præferentem, & insidiis magis opportunum (4).* — *Sejanus had also drawn Drusus, Nero's Brother, to his Party, by inspiring him with hopes of the Empire, if he removed his elder Brother. Drusus had a fiery Temper, and, besides the ordinary Jealousy of Brothers, and the natural Thirst of Power, he was fired with Envy, because his Mother, Agrippina, had shewed a greater Affection for Nero. But Sejanus's intent was to decoy him into the snare likewise, knowing him to be of a violent Disposition, and seldom on his Guard.* Mr de Tillemont is mistaken when he says, that *Nero's own Wife* promoted his ruin, by giving an Account to the Empress *Livia* of his most secret Actions (5). It was to *Livia* her Mother, the Wife of *Drusus*, *Tiberius's* Son, that she gave Information, and not to the Empress *Livia*. I forgot to say that *Sejanus* set spies upon *Nero* and his Mother *Agrippina*, whose business was to keep a Journal of all they observed (6). He also suborned Persons, who advised that Lady and her Son to go to the Army in Germany, or implore the Protection of the Public. They rejected these Counsels, and yet they were accused of lending an ear to them.

[B] *They exposed him in such a cruel Manner, to the rage of Hunger, that he was forced to eat the Flocks of his Mattress.* The Artifices, mentioned in the preceding Remark, did not fail of Success in the Hands of *Sejanus*, especially *Tiberius* desired nothing more than to destroy those young Princes. He suborned some Persons who prompted them to murmur and curse him, and when he had got together the Heads of an Accusation, he filled a Letter with them with great bitterness and got *Nero* and *Drusus* declared Enemies to the State. Upon which one of them was sent into the Island of *Pontia*, where he was forced to kill himself, an Executioner presenting himself to him with the Instruments of Death, and telling him he was come to execute the Orders of the Senate: the other, which was our *Drusus*, was confined in the Palace, and starved to Death. Let us hear *Suetonius* (7): * *Ut comperit ineunte anno pro eorum quoque salute publica vota suscepta: egit cum Senatu, Non debere talia præmia tribui, nisi expertis ætate provectis: atque ex eo, patefacta interiore animi sui nota, omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit: varique fraude inductos, ut & concitarentur ad convitia & concitati perderentur, accusavit per literas, amarissime congestis etiam probris, & judicatos hostes fame necavit: Neronem in insula Pontia: Drusum, in ima parte Palatii. Putant Neronem ad voluntarium mortem coactum, cum ei carnis ex, quasi ex Senatus auctoritate missus, laqueos & uncas ostentaret: Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta, ut tomentum e culcitra tentaverit mandere: amborum sic reliquis dispersis, ut vix quandoque colligi possent. — When he saw, in the beginning of the Year, that public Vows were also offered for their Health, he represented to the Senate, that such Honours ought only to be paid to Persons advanced in Years, and such whose Vertues had been proved. Thus having discovered his inmost Sentiments, from that they were exposed to the Malice of every one; and by various Wiles having induced them to reflect upon him, in order to take them off, he accused them by Letter, loading them with Reproaches, and having obtained a Decree against them, caused them to be starved to Death: Nero, in the Island Pontia; and Drusus in the most retired part of the Palace. Some think that Nero put an end to his own Life, the Executioner, as tho' sent by the Authority of the Senate, having shook before him the Halter and Hook. Drusus was reduced to such Extremity that he attempted to eat the stuffing out of his Bed. The Bodies of both were so mangled and dispersed, that it was no easy Matter to bring them together. Tacitus goes much farther. He says that Drusus supported his Life for nine Days with this Nourishment. Drusus deinde extinguitur cum se miserandis alimentis mandendo ex cubili tomento nonum ad diem detinuisse (8). — Drusus at length died, having supported himself with the wretched Repast of the stuffing of his Bed, to the ninth Day. This happened two Years after the Death of Sejanus (9). We must not forget that Tiberius was in such a Consternation when he was informed of the Machinations of that Favourite, that he had some Thoughts of taking Drusus out of Prison, to oppose him to Sejanus. Tradidere quidam descriptum fuisse Macroni, si arma ab Sejanus tentarentur extractum custodia juvenem (nam in palatio atinebatur) ducent populo imponere (10). — Some say that Macro had orders, if Sejanus had recourse to Arms, to release the Prince (for he was confined in the Palace) and present him to the People.*

[C] *Tiberius accused him . . . and had the Weakness to discover, by this means, the inhuman Treatment, the unhappy Prince suffered.* Those who guarded Drusus kept a Journal of all he did, or said, during his Confinement. This Journal was so exact, that in it were set down the Names of the Slaves, who had beaten or terrified the Prisoner when he went out of his Chamber. There were seen in it the Curses he pronounced with his dying Breath, against the Author of his cruel Persecution. The Refusals of a morsel of Bread to him; the blows by which the Slaves knocked him down, and such like Things. All this Tiberius was not ashamed to order to be read in the Senate. Quin & investus in defunctum, probra corporis, exitiabilem in suos, insensum Reipublicæ animus obiect: recitarique factorum dictorumque ejus descripta per dies iussit. Quo non aliud atrocius visum: addidisse tot per annos, qui vultum, gemitus, occultum etiam murmur exciperent; & potuisse avum audire, legere, in publicum promovere, vix fides: nisi quod Actii Centurionis, & Didymi liberti epistolæ, servorum nomina præferebant, ut qui egredientem cubiculo Drusum pullaverat, exterruerat; etiam

nius (7): * *Ut comperit ineunte anno pro eorum quoque salute publica vota suscepta: egit cum Senatu, Non debere talia præmia tribui, nisi expertis ætate provectis: atque ex eo, patefacta interiore animi sui nota, omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit: varique fraude inductos, ut & concitarentur ad convitia & concitati perderentur, accusavit per literas, amarissime congestis etiam probris, & judicatos hostes fame necavit: Neronem in insula Pontia: Drusum, in ima parte Palatii. Putant Neronem ad voluntarium mortem coactum, cum ei carnis ex, quasi ex Senatus auctoritate missus, laqueos & uncas ostentaret: Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta, ut tomentum e culcitra tentaverit mandere: amborum sic reliquis dispersis, ut vix quandoque colligi possent. —*

When he saw, in the beginning of the Year, that public Vows were also offered for their Health, he represented to the Senate, that such Honours ought only to be paid to Persons advanced in Years, and such whose Vertues had been proved. Thus having discovered his inmost Sentiments, from that they were exposed to the Malice of every one; and by various Wiles having induced them to reflect upon him, in order to take them off, he accused them by Letter, loading them with Reproaches, and having obtained a Decree against them, caused them to be starved to Death: Nero, in the Island Pontia; and Drusus in the most retired part of the Palace. Some think that Nero put an end to his own Life, the Executioner, as tho' sent by the Authority of the Senate, having shook before him the Halter and Hook. Drusus was reduced to such Extremity that he attempted to eat the stuffing out of his Bed. The Bodies of both were so mangled and dispersed, that it was no easy Matter to bring them together. Tacitus goes much farther. He says that Drusus supported his Life for nine Days with this Nourishment. Drusus deinde extinguitur cum se miserandis alimentis mandendo ex cubili tomento nonum ad diem detinuisse (8). — Drusus at length died, having supported himself with the wretched Repast of the stuffing of his Bed, to the ninth Day. This happened two Years after the Death of Sejanus (9). We must not forget that Tiberius was in such a Consternation when he was informed of the Machinations of that Favourite, that he had some Thoughts of taking Drusus out of Prison, to oppose him to Sejanus. Tradidere quidam descriptum fuisse Macroni, si arma ab Sejanus tentarentur extractum custodia juvenem (nam in palatio atinebatur) ducent populo imponere (10). — Some say that Macro had orders, if Sejanus had recourse to Arms, to release the Prince (for he was confined in the Palace) and present him to the People.

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(7) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. 64.

(8) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. 23. ad ann. 786.

(9) The Year of Rome 786.

(10) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. 23. See also Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 65.

(2) Idem, ibid. cap. 60.

(3) He was Germanicus's Son.

(4) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. 60.

(5) Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, Tom. I. pag. m. 145.

(6) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. 67.

this false *Drusus* was taken, does not fail to touch upon the secret Springs which excite those kinds of Rumours [D]. I do not find that *Drusus* had any other Offices than those of Augur (b), and Governor of Rome (c). He was very unhappy in his Marriage [E].

(b) Sueton. In Calig. cap. 12.
(c) Tacit. Ann. lib. 4, cap. 36, ad Ann. 778.

(11) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 24.

etiam sua verba centurio sevitiae plena, tanquam egregium, voceque deficientis adiecerat (11). — Not content with this, he inveighed against the deceased, called up the deformity of his Body, his merciless Temper towards his own Friends, his implacable Aversion to the Government, and ordered the Journal of his Life, and Actions, to be publicly read. And what is still more heinous, Men were appointed to watch, so many Years, his Countenance, his Behaviour, his Discontent; which that a Grandfather should have the Power to bear, to read, and publish, is scarce credible, but that the Letters of *Adrius*, the Centurion, and *Didymus* the Freedman, expressly mention the Slaves Names, who struck or insulted *Drusus* at his coming out of his Chamber; the Centurion with a great deal of Vanity related his own insolent Carriage, and the dying words of the Prince. Had not the Senators good Reason to admire and dread *Tiberius*, who threw off the Mask so boldly, by deviating so evidently from his usual Dissimulation? — Obtrudant quidem patres specie detestandi, sed penetrabat pavor, & admiratio, callidum olim & tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse, ut tanquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verbera centurionis, inter servorum ictus, extrema vitae alimenta frustra orantem. — The Senators interrupted the reading, under a Pretence that they abhorred the Thought; but horror and surprize were the real Cause, to see a Prince, hitherto famed for his Address in concealing his Faults, now draw the Curtain, and expose his own Grandson tortured by an Executioner, insulted by Slaves; and vainly imploring a little Sustenance with his dying Breath.

(12) Idem, ibid.

[D] *Tacitus*, in speaking of the pretended *Drusus*, does not fail to touch upon the secret Springs which excite those kinds of Rumours. Those, who were ill affected to the Government, gave ear to the Report of a *Drusus* escaped out of Prison, and those who loved Novelty, Revolutions, and Adventures, did the same. The Freedmen, who followed the counterfeit *Drusus*, and who pretended to believe that he was the true Son of *Germanicus*, easily found Credit; nothing was talked of but the vast Designs of this *Drusus*. This was enough to put all Greece into motion: they ran in Crouds to this Idol, and by earnestly wishing it were true, they came at length to be persuaded of the reality of their own Fictions. — Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaja exterritae sunt, acri magis quam diuturno rumore, *Drusum Germanici filium apud Cyclades insulas, mox in continenti visum; & erat juvenis haud dispari aetate quibuldam Caesaris liberis, velut agnitus, per dolumque comitantibus. Alliciebantur ignari, fama nominis, & promptis Graecorum animis ad nova & mira: quippe lapsam custodia pergere ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Syriam involumum, fingebant simul, credebantque: jam juvenutis concursu, jam publicis studiis frequenta-*

batur, laetus praesentibus, & inanium spe (12). — About the same time a Rumour ran through Asia and Greece, which, tho' but of short duration, greatly alarmed the People: That *Drusus*, Son of *Germanicus*, had been seen near the Cyclades, and afterwards on the Continent. It was a young Man, nearly of the same Age, attended, and seemingly espoused, by some of Caesar's Freedmen, in order to ruin him: Those who were not in the Secret stocked about him, being drawn by the Reputation of his Virtues, and the natural Curiosity of the Greeks after what is new or wonderful. The report was spread, and gained Credit, that he had made his escape, designing to put himself at the Head of his Father's Forces, and make a descent on Egypt or Syria. He was joined and caressed by the younger sort, transported at his present Success, and filled with imaginary Hopes, &c. *Poppaeus Sabinus*, Governor of Macedonia, was not idle, and he had Reason not to slight the Affair; the Faction might have made great Advantages of such a cheat. He made such dispatch that he seized the sham Prince. It may be remembered that, in the beginning of the XVIIth Century, all the Princes, who were Enemies to Spain, were very well pleased that the Impostor, who called himself *Sebastian*, King of Portugal, was not believed an Impostor; and if things had been put into Motion, all the Powers, jealous of the House of Austria, would have run to the Assistance of the pretended *Sebastian*. In England there were People, who maintained that the Duke of Monmouth was not taken (14), and that he, who was believed as such, was another Man. This ridiculous Story was seed sown at that Time, and which might have brought forth Fruit in it's Season. Factions Spirits were glad that this Opinion was not extinguished: Time will come perhaps, said they, when we shall want the Duke to allure the Populace. You will find some very remarkable things concerning the care that is taken to foment this Delusion, in the Historical Letters of the Month of October 1698 (15).

(12) Idem, Ann. lib. v, cap. 10, ad Ann. 784.

(14) In the Year 1686.

(15) Page 459, and following.

[E] He was very unhappy in his Marriage. We have lost that part of *Tacitus*, in which he mentioned the Marriage between *Drusus* and *Emilia Lepida* (16). If we had all the Annals of that incomparable Writer, we should know the horrible Persecutions *Drusus* underwent from that Woman. She was his Accuser, guilty as he was of a thousand Crimes, which rendered her incapable of being a Witness. She continued unpunished during the Life of her Father; but as soon as he was dead, the Informers accused her; and as it was known, she had committed Adultery with a Slave, she did not stand to make a Defence; she thought it best to put an end to her own Life (17). The curse of God was visible upon this Race. *Germanicus* himself, and his illustrious Wife, were involved in it.

(16) *Emilia Lepida* quam juveni *Druso* nuptam retuli. *Emilia Lepida*, who, as I mentioned before, married young *Drusus*. Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, cap. 209, ad Ann. 788. Nothing of this is found in the preceding Books.

(17) Idem, ibid.

DUAREN (FRANCIS) Professor of the Civil-Law at Bourges, in the XVIth Century, was of Saint-Brieux, a City of Bretagne: He was the first of the French Lawyers who purged the Chair in the Civil-Law Schools from the Barbarisms of the Glossaries, to introduce the pure Sources of the ancient Civil-Law: As he did not desire to share this glory with any body, he saw, with an envious Eye, the Reputation of his Colleague, *Eguinard Baron*, who also mixed good Literature with the Knowledge of the Civil-Law. This Jealousy prompted him to compose a Work, in which he endeavoured to lessen the Esteem they had for his Colleague (a) [A]. The Maxim

(a) Ex Sammarthano in Elogio, lib. 1, pag. m. 38.

Pascitur

[A] He composed a Work in which he endeavoured to lessen the Esteem they had for his Colleague. This design has been exposed in very strong Terms by *St. Marthe*. — Hominum opinioni de Baronis doctrina conceptae nonnihil detrahare conatus est, edita in eum de jurisdictione & imperio apologia malevoli animi teste in posterum futura (1). — He endeavoured to lessen the Opinion which Men had conceived of *Baron*, by publishing against him a Pamphlet intitled, Apologia de Jurisdictione & Imperio, which will stand as a lasting Witness of his Spleen and ill Nature. I looked for this Tract in *Duaren's* Works VOL. II.

(1) Sammarth. Elog. lib. 1, pag. 38.

and was surprized to find it so short (2), that it did not contain quite five Pages; but it appears by the Preamble (3), that the Author had reduced his Apology to what he calls *summa Capita*, and that he had suppressed the rest out of Compliance to *Baron*. He addresses this Abridgment to him, and dates it the first of January 1549. He observes that the Apology had been printed without his Knowledge the Year before, under the Name of *Ambrosius Letus*. Mr *Tessier* divides this Work into two, distinguishing the Treatise de Jurisdictione & Imperio from the Apologia adversus *Eguinardum Baronem*.

(2) In the Geneva Edition, 1608, in Folio.

(3) See pag. 283, of the second Part of *Duaren's* Works, Edit. Auct. Alubrog. 1608.

[B] I

(b) Posito sua pecunia in ejus honorem monumento. *Sammarth. ubi supra.*

(c) Papp. Musf. Elog. Parte II, pag. 257.

(d) Ballart. Académ. des Sciences. Tom. I. pag. 228. See also the Article BAUDOUIN, Remark [L].

(e) Theanus, Histor. lib. 23, pag. 4. 1.

(f) Sammarth. ubi supra.

Pascebat in vivis liquor, post fata quiescit, was verified in him; for after *Baron's* Death he shewed an ardent desire to eternize his Memory, and erected a Monument at his own Expence, in Honour of the deceased (b). He had other Colleagues who revived his uneasiness; he could not see, without grief, that the Reputation of *Baudouin*, younger than himself, began to soar high (c), and, after being delivered from that Thorn, he perceived that *Cujas*, who succeeded that dangerous Rival (d), had yet more Merit. He did not love this new Comer, which caused such Quarrels between them, as in the End might have raised great Confusion in the University of *Bourges*, if *Cujas* had not quitted the Field, and retired to *Valence*, to teach Civil-Law there (e). *Duaren* died in the Year 1559, at the Age of fifty Years, without ever being married (f). There are some things in *Moreri* which I have omitted, to avoid Repetitions; but I must explain better than he has done what relates to his Defect of Memory [B]. He has said nothing of a remarkable Circumstance which I must not conceal, viz. That it was reported *Duaren* was a Protestant, but never had the Courage to separate from the Church of *Rome*. *Baudouin* treated him as a Nicodemite and Prevaricator [C], and reproached him with

[B] I must explain, better than *Moreri* has done, what relates to his want of Memory. Mr *Moreri* gives out that 'Francis Duaren was forced to read the Speeches he composed, and that this want of Memory hindered him from imparting to the learned in Germany his Knowledge in the Civil-Law, for which Reason they lost something of the Value they had entertained for him.' He should have said that, not having a happy Memory, he never recited his Lectures without Book, but from his Notes. Wherefore upon his travelling into Germany, without his Collections, he never durst go into the Pulpit. They invited him to do it in several Places, and his refusal induced some ignorant and bad Judges to doubt of his Capacity. 'Erat Duarenus acerrimo quidem judicio, sed memoria minus felici, neque unquam nisi ex scripto prælegebat. Quo factum est ut in Germanico itinere cum passim à doctissimis viris ad prælegendum provocaretur, nec eorum utique desiderii obtemperare (quod à suis commentariis destitutus omnino sibi diffideret) à nonnullis rerum imperitis & iniquè judicantibus habitus sit indolior

(4) Sammarth. ubi supra.

(4). — *Duaren* was a Man of a very piercing Judgment, but not so happy a Memory, never reading public Lectures without his Notes. Whence it happened, that in his Travels through Germany, though he was often invited to read, yet not being furnished with his Notes, he would never comply. So that he passed among the ignorant and false Judges, for a Person of little Learning. This is the Original *Moreri* would have translated, and which he has spoiled in three Places. He has put Orationes, instead of Lectures: he says impart his Knowledge (5) in the Civil-Law, instead of reading Lectures in Civil-Law. He ascribes to the learned, what he ought to ascribe only to the ignorant. For none but the ignorant are capable of despising a famous Doctor, under pretence of his not mounting the Pulpit in his Passage as a Traveller, through a Place where there is an Academy. Suspect as much as you please, that he distrusts his Memory, and that it depends upon Collections he has left in his Closet, you can never conclude from thence, if you judge rightly of things, that he is not an able Man. Note, *Sammarthianus* insinuates that *Duaren* refused the Pulpit, not because he was forced to read, but because, not having his Papers, he was afraid he could not draw up a Lecture, in which every thing should be rightly quoted. Most Professors have their Writings under their eye, when they read a Lecture: their Office does not require them to do otherwise, and from thence it is that the Title of Reader in such and such a Science is synonymous to that of Professor. It must be supposed then, that the Professors, and the Students of Germany, would not have been surprized to see *Duaren* read; those then, who judged ill of him, did not go upon this, that they believed he had not Memory enough to learn by heart a discourse of an Hour long, but that he was not able to compose such a discourse without his Manuscripts. It signifies little, whether a Professor reads or repeats by Heart: one is as good as the other: they are appointed to inform the Understanding, not to move the Passions. If preaching was their Business, there would be a considerable Difference, and yet, to this Day, the greatest part of the English Preachers read their Sermons to the People.

Note, by the way, how Modes alter, even in Universities. It was a general Custom in the XVIth

Century, for Professors, who were Strangers, and passed through a Town where an University was, to be desired to give them public Lectures. If I am not mistaken, this is now laid aside: but among Ministers, it is an essential Civility, for those of the place to offer their Pulpit to Strangers; and therefore a Minister seldom travels without carrying in his Trunk his best Sermons, knowing he shall be desired to preach in other Towns. Jesters call these Sermons Pocket Pistols.

[C] *Duaren* was a Protestant (§ a). . . . *Baudouin* treated him as a Nicodemite and Prevaricator.] Mr *Catherinot*, the King's Advocate at *Bourges*, observes, that, in 1450, 'Duaren printed his Treatise of Benefices (§ b) in which he made himself suspected of Heresy by his Doctrines and Raileries. Accordingly it was inserted in the Index Expurgatorius of Rome (6). Baudouin retiring from *Bourges*, and making a public Profession of the Protestant Religion at *Strasbourg*, wrote against *Duaren* under the Name of the Christian Civilians (7); and reproached him with being a Papist only in Appearance, and combating the Religion of his Heart. Those who have not this Book will find Extracts from it at the beginning of *Theodore Beza's* Answer to the Railings of *Baudouin*, who had drawn his own Character in his Reproaches to *Duaren*. It appears in those Extracts that the Sorbonne forced *Duaren* to recant. 'Tu nos fortasse alio trahere vis auribus constrictos. Equonam? an ad tribunal Sorbonicum ubi palinodium turpem & nefariam canere tuo exemplo & more nobis persuasum deas? Ignosce, Duarene, non possumus, malum (ut ille olim Philoxenus) ad Latumias (8). — You perhaps have a desire to drag me by the Ears to another Quarter; but whither? To the Tribunal of the Sorbonne, where you would persuade me to sing a base and infamous Recantation as you have done. Par-don me, Duaren, I cannot; I could sooner, like *Philostratus* of old, consent to dig in a Quarry.' We shall see, in the following Remark, what Commerce he had with Calvin.

(6) Catherinot, Calvinisme de Berri, pag. 4.

(7) This Book was printed at Strasbourg, in 1556.

(8) Balduinus, fol. 112, apud Theod. Beza, pag. 199, Tom. II, Opusculum.

(§ a) *Teiffier*, Tom. I, pag. 376, of his Elogies, last Edition, observes from *Catherinot*, that in 1553, *Duaren*, and all the other Professors of *Bourges*, to the number of eight, were suspected of Lutheranism, and it is known, this Suspicion, with respect to *Duaren*, particularly regarded his Treatise Of Benefices, &c. but every body does not know another Particular, which must needs have very much increased the ill Opinion *Duaren* had already given of his Catholicism. *H. Stephens*, cap. 38, of his *Apology for Herodotus*, relates certain scandalous Leonine Verses, engraved upon a Table of Free-stone, which had been a long time fastened, with iron Hooks, above the Poor's Box, to a Pillar of the Cathedral Church of *Bourges*; which Table, in the Year 1566, had been some few Years before pulled down, to take away from the Eyes of the Lutherans that Stone of Offence.

It was *Duaren*, who, by his repeated Remonstrances, at length prevailed to have that Table removed and suppressed, the Contents of which are to be seen in *Hofmann's Fulmen Brutum*, pag. 58, of the *Leyden* Edition, enlarged *, in 8vo, large Paper, and in a bigger Character than the Geneva Edition. * Ex eo dem genere (Traditionem), says the Addition which follows immediately after the eight Verses in praise of the Agnus Dei, illud est carmen impium, ac plane nefarium, quod non multis ante annis Biturige in summo

* Scaligeranus under the Word Hofmanni Franco-Gallia.

with being a Plagiary from Calvin [D]. Very few have observed what I am going to relate. Duaren having quitted the Office of Professor, it was given to Baudouin, who, three Years after, advised them to recall Duaren, and yielded to him the first place [E]. I shall mention some other particulars, which may serve for a Supplement to Moreri [F]. There was an Edition of Duaren's Works printed at Frankfort in 1592,

summo Episcopali in tabula lapidea incisum, & ad caput trunci five tigilli pauperum affixum erat: sed Francisci Duaren! admonitu, qui tum in illa Academia Jus Civile profitebatur, exemptum ac disturbatum est.

Hic des devotè, cœlestibus affocio te, &c.

REM. CRIT.]

[§. (β) A Mistake: The Licence for the publishing this Treatise is of the nineteenth of November of the following Year 1551. REM. CRIT.]

[D] Reproached him with being a Plagiary from Calvin. Baudouin affirmed, that whatever is found in Duaren's Books concerning the Priesthood was taken out of Calvin's Works. It is pretended he made this Observation only to expose him to the Rage of Persecutors. Duaren was enraged at this Fraud. He complained of it, both by Letter and Word of Mouth, to Calvin, who appealed him. 'In ea pugna quum veris armis destitui se videret Balduinus, ad illiberales infidias descendit, & Duareno ex puræ & orthodoxæ fidei approbatione invidiam conflando, carnificum furori eum obicit. Capitale, ut scitur, in Gallia erat, non tantum doctrinæ nostræ subscribere, sed libros etiam nostros furtim legere. Bonus hic pietatis sectator, dum ostendere conatur Duarenum ex me didicisse, & ex meis libris esse mutuatum quicquid in libro De sacerdotis probe & sincere docuerat, non alio spectavit quam ut furiosis Ecclesiæ hostibus gladium homini jugulando porrigeret. Si Barbara hæc immanitas mihi displicuerit, nihil mirum: quia potius hoc uno stratagemate detestabilem feris piis omnibus reddidit. Et tamen cum de ea per litteras, & coram conquestus est Duarenus, hominem ingenio, facundia, eruditioneque sic instructum, ut in certamine longe futurus esset superior, mitigavi (9). — In that Contest, when Balduin saw himself destitute of an honourable Defence, he had recourse to scandalous Arts, and, to raise Duaren Enemies from his Approbation of the pure and orthodox Faith, exposed him to the Fury of the most incensed Persecutors. It was a capital Crime (as all Men know) in France, not only to subscribe to our Doctrine, but to read our Works in private. This true Promoter of Piety, endeavouring to show that Duaren had borrowed from me whatever he had taught with Justice and Sincerity in his Treatise of Priesthood, wanted only to point him out as a Victim to the implacable Enemies of the Church. No wonder such barbarous Cruelty should be displeasing to me, or that by such a base Stratagem he should render himself odious to all who have any regard for true Piety. And yet when Duaren, a Man of that Wit, Eloquence, and Erudition, which would have undoubtedly gained him the Victory in the Dispute, complained to me both by Letter, and by Word of Mouth, I entirely pacified him.' Add to this a Passage in Theodore Beza's Answer to the same Baudouin (10).

[E] Duaren having quitted the Office of Professor, it was given to Baudouin, who . . . yielded to him the first Place. Here is my Proof (11). 'Certe tam habitus jam tunc fuit pro Jurisconsulto minime vulgari, ut non solum Gratianopolitani talem professorem requirerent (tamest quia istic (12) vixerat existimationem suam minuisse) sed & Bituriges eum acceperunt ut Duareno qui tunc abdicarat succederet. — It is certain he was then looked upon as more than a common Civilian, since he had an Offer of the Chair at Grenoble (though by his living there he had lessened his Reputation), and he was likewise invited to Bourges to succeed Duaren who had resigned.' This respects Baudouin in the Year 1548. Cum Barone conjunctissimus quandiu is deinde vixit, hoc est, triennium docuit totum Jus Civile Balduinus . . . mortuo Barone auctor fuit ut Duarenus revocaretur, atque ut illi redeunti ultro concessit priorem, in quo consistere poterat, locum, sic habuit toto quadriennio sine ullius simulacris significatione bonum collegam (13). — Balduin, during the rest of Barons' Life, that is three Years, lived with him in perfect Union and taught the whole Civil Law. . . . After Barons' Death he was the

Author of Duaren's being recalled, and at his return voluntarily resigned him the Priority, though he might have maintained it himself, and found him a good Colleague for four Years.' I omit the latter Part of this Passage, in which he owns that a Quarrel arose between these two Professors, after Baudouin was retired. I pass over also the Contradiction there is on the other side of the Leaf, and it is a very gross one. 'Neque vero dubito quin si nunc Duarenus viveret Balduinum tam complecteretur à vobis nunc vexatum, quam ab eo vestratum partium suspecto fuit interdum ABALIENATUS (14). — Nor do I doubt, were Duaren still living, but that he would as much espouse Balduin, now oppressed by you, as he before declared against him, when suspected of favouring your Party.' It was said just before, that while Baudouin taught at Bourges he received no Marks of any Enmity from Duaren, and yet confessed he had received such, being suspected of Calvinism. These Suspicions cannot relate to the time that followed Baudouin's Departure; for he went from Bourges to Geneva, and then to Strasburg, and openly declared for the Protestant Religion (15). They concern therefore his stay at Bourges, during which, according to his own Confession, he was very much suspected of favouring the Protestants. So that the Contradiction is obvious and inexcusable. 'Illud vere dicere postum Balduinum in ea urbe sæpe vestro nomine in periculum venisse dum vobis amior esse credebatur, & erat fortasse quam esse debebat, neque certe aliud habebant illi quos laudas, inimici quod huic odiose objectarent (16). — This I can truly say, that Balduin brought himself several times into danger, in that City, on your account, whilst he was believed to be too much in your Interest, and perhaps was more than he ought; nor had those Persons, whom you name, any other Objections to make against him.' One of the Passages I have copied discovers a Fault of the Author of Baudouin's Elogy. 'Reverius, says he (17), Lutetiam (Balduinus) magna jam quaesita fama accersitur à Biturigibus ad docendi munus suscipiendum futurus collega Baronis & Duareni Jurisconsultorum. — Balduin being returned to Paris, and having gained an extraordinary Reputation, is sent for to Bourges, to teach, in Conjunction with Baron and Duaren, Civilians.' The meaning of which is, that the University of Bourges sent for Baudouin to make him Colleague of Baron and Duaren. A notorious Falshood! for he was invited to accept the Chair Duaren had left. We must not forget that Baudouin read Lectures in that University before he received his Doctor's Degree there. 'Cum publice juris civilis obsecutores titulos interpretatus fuisset, incredibili omnium studio Doctor est renunciatus voce Baronis (18). — Having publickly unravelled some knotty Points of the Civil-Law, to the inexpressible Satisfaction of the People, he was created Doctor by Baron.' Now he received it the twelfth of March, 1549 (19). Therefore he must have begun his Lectures from the foregoing Year; for he taught Civil-Law, at Bourges, for seven Years (20), and left that University in the Year 1555. This must be observed, in order to correct a Mistake concerning the time of Equinard Barons' Death. Some say that he died in 1556 (21). They are mistaken; for he lived but three Years after Baudouin was made his Colleague. If Spandanus has placed his Death aright, on the Twenty second of August, 1550 (22), we have fresh Reason to say, that Baudouin entered upon his Professorship, at Bourges, in 1548. If he entered upon it in the Month of January, there would be above two Years and a half between his first Lecture, and the Death of Barons, and this is enough to say they were Colleagues for three Years; for in such Books they are not very nice in their Calculations. It is certain that Barons died the Twenty second of September, 1550, at the Age of Fifty five Years (23).

[F] I shall mention some other Particulars which may serve for a Supplement to Moreri. Francis Duaren was the Son of John Duaren, who exercised an Office of Judicature in Bretagny. He succeeded him in that Employment, and discharged all the Functions of it for some

(9) Calvinus, Respons. ad Bald. pag. 368, Tract. Theol.

(10) It is at Page 231, of the second Volume of Beza's Works.

(11) Resp. ad Calvinum & Beza pro Francisco Balduino, folio 83. See other Proofs in the following Remarks.

(12) That it is say at Geneva.

(13) Respons. ad Calv. & Beza, fol. 84.

(14) Ibid. folio 84. verso.

(15) See his Article, Rem. [E].

(16) Respons. ad Calvin. & Beza, fol. 83, verso.

(17) Papyr. Massio, Elog. Tom. II. pag. 257.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Catherineot, Calvinisme de Berri, pag. 4.

(20) Balduin. Respons. ad Calv. & Beza, folio 86.

(21) Menage, Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre, Astruc, p. 157.

(22) Spandanus, ad. ann. 1550, num. 12.

(23) Mr Pinckon des Riolles, whom I had consulted, informs me of this.

in Folio [G], in which was inserted his Treatise of Plagiaries; it is a curious Piece; but too short for so large a Subject. It might be enriched with many other

- (24) Fran. Duarenus, Epist. ad Sebast. Alciatium, pag. m. 297, Part. II. Oper. It is dated Novemb. 24, 1550.
- (25) Goliem. Budæus, Epist. ad Jo. Duaren. It is in Duaren's Works, pag. 300, Part. II.
- (26) Annus jam agitur novus ex quo in hanc civitatem Juris docendi causa publice accitus sum. Duaren. Pref. Disput. anniv. dated from Bourges, in 1547.
- (27) Triennio post dilectum Alciati profertur Jus civile hic cap. Duarenus, in Orat. recitata in copatione Buguierii, pag. m. 305, Oper. Part. II. Note, He racks wrong; for Alciatus left Bourges, in 1534.
- (28) Id. ibid. pag. m. 297.
- (29) Studia jam biennium intermissa. Idem. pag. 294.
- (30) Idem. Epist. ad Sebast. Alciatium. pag. 297.
- (31) Id. ibid. pag. 298. See the Rem. [B], of the Article BAUDOUIN.
- (32) Id. ibid. pag. 298.
- (33) Duaren. Epist. Dedicator. Comment. in Titul. de Verborum Obligationibus. It is at the beginning of the 5th Volume of his Works.
- (34) Idem. Epist. ad Sebast. Alciatium. pag. 297.
- (35) In the Poem intitled, Le Siècle de Louis le Grand, pag. m. 175, of the 5th Tome of his Parallèle des Anciens & des Modernes.
- (36) Pope Blount, Cent. Author. pag. m. 466.

some time. 'Jurisdictioni ante annos quindecim in
'Celtica nostra Britannia non omnino infeliciter præ-
'fui, eoque magistratu in quo patri jam seni successer-
'am vixdum adolescentiæ annos ingressus ita functus
'sum ut, &c. (24). — Fifteen Years ago I had the
'Honour to fill a Chair of Judicature in Brittany,
'in which Office, though very young, I succeeded my
'aged Father, and discharged my Duty in such a man-
'ner, &c.' He read Lectures upon the Pandects at
Paris, in the Year 1536, and among other Disciples
he had the three Sons of the learned Budæus (25). He
was invited to Bourges, in 1538 (26), to teach Civil-
Law there, three Years after Alciatus had left them (27):
he laid down this Office in the Year 1548, and went
to Paris to frequent the Bar, being desirous to join
the Practice with the Theory of the Law. This is
what he declares in a Letter to Francis Baudouin, who
succeeded him. 'Cooptatum te in juris doctorum col-
'legium & unum ex omnibus electum cui nos velut
'emeriti lampadem cursu traderemus valde ita me
'Deus amet letor (28). — I am extremely rejoiced
'that you have been singled out of all the Candidates,
'and elected into the College of Civilians, to whom
'we, who are worn out in the Service, may resign our
'Office.' This Letter is dated the thirteenth of
January, 1549; but it must be observed, that the
Year began then at Easter, and thus by comparing this
Date with that of the Letter he wrote to Sebastian de
l'Aubespine, there will appear no Contradiction in his
Calculations. He says, in his Letter to Francis Bau-
douin, that he had frequented the Bar of the Parliament
at Paris for two Years past (29). In the other Letter,
dated the Twenty fourth of November, 1550, he af-
fures us, that he had frequented it for three Years.
In Basilica Parisiensis ad tres annos libenter versatus
sum (30). Both these Dates belong to the same Year
1550, if the Year is made to begin with the Month of
January. He was soon tired with the Wranglings of
the Court, and was very glad that the advantageous
Conditions offered him by the Dukes of Berry, Sister
to King Henry II, furnished him with a favourable
Opportunity of retiring from the Bar, and resuming,
in an honourable manner, the Employment he had
had at Bourges. He returned to his Profession of the
Civil-Law, in that Place, in 1551. No Professor of
the Civil-Law, besides Alciatus, had ever so good a Sa-
lary settled upon him, in that University, as our Du-
aren. 'Decretum mihi est ex ærario publico stipen-
'dium annuum ad vicena millia festeriorum num-
'mum, id est longe amplius & honorificentius (si u-
'num Alciatum excipias) quam Jurisconsultus adhuc
'ullus habuisse in ea civitate dicatur (31). — I had
'a yearly Salary assigned me, out of the public Treasury,
'of an hundred Pistoles, which is by far more considerable
'than any Professor (Alciatus only excepted) ever could
'boast to have received in this City.' Besides he was made
Master of the Requests to the Dukes of Berry (32).
Note, that, in his Letter to Sebastian de l'Aubespine,
dated the Twenty fourth of November, 1550, he men-
tions the Funeral of Eguinard Baron, which was an
authentic Proof of the Respect the Students had for the
Memory of the deceased. Note also, that, in 1554,
he was much inclined to go to Valence, where he was
offered a Professor's Chair in the Civil-Law. 'Dum
'entor, elaboro, contendo ut vobis morem geram
'cum bona heræ meæ venia interim
'vobis hunc quasi arrhabonem quandam propens mei
'in vos animi ac voluntatis mitto (33). — Whilst
'I labour to the utmost of my Power, by the good Per-
'mission of my Mistress, to show my Readiness to obey
'your Commands, I send you, in the mean time, this
'Pledge of my Gratitude and Respect.' Thus he speaks
in the Dedication of a Work, in 1554, to the Cura-
tors of the University of Valence. — I only hinted at his Dislike to the Wranglings of
the Court; but as he has given a very eloquent De-
scription of it himself, I thought myself obliged to in-
sert here part of his own Words (34). In Basilica
Parisienfis ad tres annos libenter versatus sum: ta-
meti (ut verum fatear) immodicos ac prope inexpli-
cables litium amfractus, quibus illud forum præ cæ-
teris abundat, magis quam lites ipsas ac judicia, qui-
bus humanum genus carere non posse videtur, per-
invitus nec absque ingenti fastidio illic viderim. Vix

enim credibile est quanta ibi hominum eorumque
gravissimorum & lectissimorum multitudo quam mi-
nutis ac pusillis in rebus quotidie occupata sit. Ac
ut de amplissimo purpuratorum Patrum ordine &
conventu loquar, num tibi videntur pleraque eorum
judicia, quæ statis legitimisque diebus & ex
æquodas palam eduntur, non dicam augusto
illo confesso, sed infimo aliquo tribunali satis digna
esse? Nam cum, &c. — I have three
Years frequented the Parliament of Paris. Though I
must confess it was not without great Uneasiness
I saw those extravagant, and, in a manner, inextri-
cable Mazes of Controversy, rather than Judiciary
Proceedings (which appear to be necessary amongst
Mankind) which infect that Court to its Reproach
more than any other. It is scarce credible what a
multitude of People, and those of the most considerable
and eminent Rank, we there find engaged in the
most trivial and idle Affairs. And to speak of that
most august Order and Assembly of the Senators; does
not the Generality of their Determinations which are
delivered on stated Days, with such romantic So-
lemnity, seem not only below the Dignity of that
august Assembly, but even of the lowest Court of
Justice? This Observation is very judicious.
Those august Assemblies, called Parliaments, have
too much Grandeur for the trifling Causes they de-
cide therein, and one cannot forbear pitying a fine
Genius, who employs a great deal of time in pre-
paring to argue a Cause there. What must he study
and look into? the Phrases which a Notary makes
use of in a Will, or a Contract of Marriage, to ex-
plain the Mind of some mean private Person. I have
heard a Counsellor of the Parliament of Metz say,
that this sort of Study is the more disagreeable as it
does not improve the Mind, or give it any manner
of Scope. Let us quote here Mr Perrault's Lines upon
the Disadvantage our Lawyers lie under, compared
with those of Antiquity (35).

Je la voy s'applaudir de ses grans Orateurs,
Je voy les Cicérons, je voy les Demosthènes,
Ornemens éternels & de Rome & d'Athènes,
Dont le foudre éloquent me fait déjà trembler,
Et qui de leurs grands Noms viennent nous accabler.
Qu'ils viennent, je le veux, mais que sans avantage
Entre les combatans le terrain se partage;
Que dans nostre Barreau l'on voye occupez
A défendre d'un champ trois sillons usurpez;
Qu'instruits dans la Coutume, ils mettent leur effude
A prouver d'un egout la juste servitude;
Ou qu'en riche appareil la force de leur Art
Ecclatè à soutenir les droits de Jean Maillart.

I see Antiquity boasting of her great Orators, the
Cicero's, the Demosthenes's, eternal Ornaments of
Rome and Athens; whose thundering Eloquence makes
me tremble, and who confound us with their great
Names. Let them enter, but let the Lists be fairly
divided between the Combatants. Let us see them at
our Bari, employed in defending three Ridges of Land
usurped by another, or proving the Right of a Drain,
or let them display their wondrous Art in the Cause
of every petty Client.

[G] There was an Edition of Duaren's Works at
Frankfort, in 1592, in folio.] The Oxford Catalogue,
Sir Thomas-Pope Blount (36), and many others take
notice of no other Edition; but I add, that in Du-
aren's Life-time, there was a Collection of his Writings
published at Lyons, in 1554, in folio, by Reuille; and
that, after his Death, there was a larger Edition of
his Works published in the same City by the same
Bookfeller, in folio, in the Year 1579. Nicolas Cifner
who had been his Disciple, and afterwards Professor
of Civil-Law at Heidelberg, furnished the Bookfeller
with several Pieces. This appears by the little Pre-
face he prefixed to this Edition, which he composed
at Spire, in the Year 1579. I call it little, to distinguish
it from that he put before the second Part of Duaren's
Works, which may pass for a just Dissertation, de
modo & arte docendi atque discendi jura. He wrote

other Thoughts [H]. I shall give some Extracts of a Letter he wrote against Baudouin [I].

it at Spire, in 1575. I have not seen the Edition mentioned in the Text of this Remark; but I know it was reprinted at Frankfurt, in the Year 1607. I make use of that of Geneva 1608, apud Petrum de la Roviére, and am sorry not to find in it Duaren's two Tracts against Baudouin (37).

[H] His Treatise of Plagiaries might be enriched with many other Thoughts. I shall furnish one. Those Persons are never mentioned, but they are compared to Esop's Jay (38). This Thought is found in these Verses of Horace.

Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus, multumque monendus,

Privatas ut quærat opes, & tangere vitet Scripta, Patinus quæcunque recepit Apollo:
Ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
Grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum,
Furtivis nudata coloribus (39).

..... And how doth Celsus do?
Whom I still warn, as I have often done,
To get some Stock, some Riches of his own;
And not from others Labours, kept for Fame
In wise Apollo's Temple, steal a Name,
Left all the Birds should come and claim their own,
And th' Cough be his, when her stol'n Plumes are gone.

CREECH.

Duaren made use of the same; for he boasts of being able easily to reduce his Plagiarism to the Condition of that Bird. * Corniculam Horatianam plane mihi deprehendisse videor, quam furtivis nudare coloribus nihilo mihi difficilior esse puto quam Aristophani illi poetarum Alexandrinorum furta detegere ac convincere (40). — I fancy I have got Horace's Daw into my Hands, and could as easily strip him of his stolen Plumes, as Aristophanes discover and expose the Plagiarism of the Alexandrian Bards. But I never met with any one yet who compared Plagiaries to Partridges. He that getteth Riches, and not by right, is as the Partridge, which sitteth upon Eggs she did not lay; he shall leave them in the midst of his Days, and at his end shall be a Fool (41). These are the Words of the Prophet Jeremiah, declaring that those, who enrich themselves with the Substance of other Men, do not preserve that ill gotten Wealth until their Death. Interpreters say that the Partridge steals the Eggs of other Birds, and sits upon them; but when the young ones are hatched, they do not own her for their Dam; but, leaving her, go in quest of the Bird which laid the Eggs (42). This is the common Fate of Plagiaries. They reap what they never sowed; they nourish the Children of another, and raise themselves up a surreptitious Family; but those stolen Children, like ill got Riches, male paria male dilabuntur, take wing, and fly to their true Father. An Author, when he is robbed, may reclaim his Goods, and if Death prevents him, a Son, a Relation, a Friend, may pursue his Right. Nay a Man, who was not a Friend to the Author, may do him this good Office, in order to have the Honour of the Discovery of the Theft, or that he may cover the Plagiarist with Confusion. Vanity, Malice, or a Desire of Revenge, may suggest what the Love of Justice would not inspire them with; and thus sooner or later stolen Productions abandon the Thief. Note, There are some Plagiaries, who do not altogether resemble the Partridge: they do not take the Pains to hatch, but take away Mens Words and Thoughts ready formed: it is true, sometimes they torment themselves to give them another turn, that the Theft may not be discovered so easily; and then they may more properly be compared to the Partridge. For the rest, I wonder the Name of this Bird has never been given to those Men, who bring up the Children another begets at their Houses. That Name would agree much better with them, than the Name of that Bird (43) who goes and lays in another Bird's Nest, and leaves it to hatch and breed up the Young. Perhaps they were not persuaded the Story of the Partridge was true. A learned Critic has long since insinuated that St Jerom falsely alleged

the Testimony of three excellent Naturalists (44). Hieronymus testes citat hujus rei sanè luculentos, & quos, ut minus, idoneos rejicere nemo possit, Aristotelem videlicet, Theophrastum, & Plinium; sed an verè, fides penes ipsum esto: ego sanè apud illos autores nihil tale legere memini. Locus Hieronymi est in commentariis ad eum locum (45): *Aliant, inquit, scriptores naturalis historiae tam bestiarum & volucrum, quam arborum herbarumque, quorum principes sunt apud Græcos Aristoteles & Theophrastus, apud nos Plinius secundus, hanc perdidit esse naturam, ut ova alterius perdidit, id est, aliena furetur, & eis incubet fovæque: cumque sætus adoleverit, avolare ab eo, & alienum parentem relinquere.* — St Jerom calls in some substantial Witnesses, against whose Testimony no Person can except; namely, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny; but whether justly or no, must be left to Credit. For my part I do not remember to have met with any such thing in those Authors. The Passage of St Jerom is in his Commentaries on this Place. The Authors, says he, of the Natural History of Beasts and Birds, as well as Trees and Plants, the chief of whom, among the Greeks, are Aristotle and Theophrastus, and amongst ourselves, Pliny the Younger, say, that it is natural for a Partridge to steal the Eggs of another Partridge, to hatch and nurse them, and that when the young ones are grown up, they fly away from their Foster-Parents.

[I] I shall give some Extracts of a Letter he wrote against Baudouin. I found it among the Tracts joined to Calvin's Reply ad Balduini convicia (46). Duaren writ it after having seen an Oration that Baudouin had published in Germany, and which was very reflecting upon the Professors of Bourges. No body was named in it, but it was easy to know who the Orator intended, and that particularly Duaren was ill treated in it. If we believe this Letter of Duaren, those who were most favourable to Baudouin, those who loved and admired his Talents, praised him in such a manner, that there was commonly an unhappy but in their applauses; that is to say, but he is vain, ambitious, and dissembling; we are sorry such a spot appears upon so fine a Face. Ita eum laudant fere ut in ejus laudibus excipiant ἀλαζονείαν, fastum, ambitionem, φιλαυτίαν: præterea mirum simulandi dissimulandique artificium, & hoc veluti nævo decoram admodum speciosamque faciem nonnihil deformari doleant (47). Being at Paris in the Year 1548, or thereabouts (48), he paid Duaren a visit, and presented him a Book he had dedicated to him (49). He had a mind to succeed Duaren in the Professor's place, he had just quitted in the Academy of Bourges, and desired Recommendaory Letters from him. He obtained them, and found his account in them; for immediately the Magistrates of Bourges granted him a Pension, and soon after he was admitted Professor in Civil-Law, without any expence for the Ceremony of Admission. He was forced to surmount the opposition of Eguinarus Baron, and some other declared Enemies, and from that time he was always at Variance with that Colleague, and raised such disturbances against him, that it is thought he broke his Heart with Grief. Nec ulla fuit ex eo tempore tumultus inter eum & Baronem intermissio . . . adversus quem (Baronem) iste vindictæ cupiditate flagrans tantas excitavit tragædias, ut à plerisque creditur Baro ob mœrorem ex ea re conceptum decessisse (50). After Baron's Death Duaren returned to Bourges, where he found all kind of respectful usage from Baudouin, but was cautioned not to trust him as one, that, by many Artifices, had endeavoured to hinder him from coming back, or at least from recovering the Rank he had formerly had. The distrust they would have given him was easily removed by the Protections of sincerity Baudouin made him; but at length his Eyes were opened, and he openly expostulated with him, and from that time there was a real Enmity between them, though in appearance they carried it fair. Nihil amplius dissimulandum ratus cum homine expostulavi & de jure amicitiae necessitudinis violato conquestus sum paulo liberius ac flamachosius (51). — I thought it no longer proper to dissemble with the Man, but expostulated with him, and complained with somewhat more Freedom and Passion of his violation of Friendship: Nay, the very pretence

(37) Epistola de Francisco Balduino. Defensio adversus Balbini Sycophantæ maleficia.

(38) See Mr Dacier on the third Epistle of the first Book of Horace, pag. m. 207.

(39) Horat. Epist. III. lib. I. vers. 15.

(40) Duaren. Epist. de Plagiariis. pag. 296. Part. II. Operum.

(41) Jeremiah xvii, 11.

(42) See Drusus, Observation. lib. IV. cap. xxiv. pag. m. 99.

(43) The Cuckoo.

(44) That is to say, the 11th verse of the 17th chapter of Jeremiah.

(46) See Remark [H] of the Article BAUDOUIN, Citat. (66).

(47) Duaren. Epist. de Fr. Balduino, p. m. 58.

(48) Ibid. p. 6m.

(49) He had got it printed at Lyons.

(50) Duaren, Epist. de Fr. Balduino, pag. 61.

(51) Ibid. p. 63.

- of Friendship ceased upon three or four occasions, in which *Baudouin* flew out into a great Passion with *Duaren*. What gave Rise to the first Breach was this. *Baudouin* omitted going into the Chair, under a pretence that he could contribute more to the Benefit and Glory of the City and University by his Writings, than by his Lectures. He was reprimanded for it by the Magistrates, after *Duaren* had informed them of this neglect (52). Some time after there happened a sedition in the Schools of Civil-Law. *Baudouin*, being obliged to answer for it before the Magistrates, pleaded the Cause, and lost it shamefully. He believed *Duaren* had plaid him this trick. The cause of it was that *Baudouin* chose the time for his Lectures, according to his own Conveniency, and not according to the Hours assigned to each Professor. This raised disturbances; for *Baudouin* would not alter the Hour he had chosen, though it was that of another who would not relinquish it. 'Horum subinde mutabat arbitrio suo in aliorum possessionem non minus superbe & insolenter quam turbulentè & seditiosè invadebat. Qua ex re il motus atque tumultus excitati sunt ut, &c (53). Shortly after he broke out afresh against *Duaren*, when he found himself deprived of his Salary for some Months, during which he had omitted his Lectures; for it must be noted, that, about three Months before his leaving *Bourges*, he left off reading without saying a word to his Colleagues to excuse the Intermision. They attributed this to the Vexation he was under for the Sentence pronounced against him by the Judges. 'Qvod hominis factum plerique sic interpretabantur ut dolori acerbissimo & aegritudini ex recente illa damnatione judicioque sulceptæ, vulgo tribuerent (54). His anger for not receiving his Salary, during the time of his omission, made him fret and fume against his Colleagues, and two Days after he went out of Town without taking his leave of them (55): but he promised the Magistrates to return. Note, that, two Years before, he had made great Solicitations for the increase of his Pension, but to no purpose. He could never obtain half the Salary that *Duaren* enjoyed (56). The latter testifies (57), that after he found the Protestants gave ear to the calumniating Discourses of such a Deferter, he perceived the Passion diminish, which he had for going over to them. He alleges a Saying of *Simonides*, that those ought to be deemed Calumniators, who lightly give Credit to Calumny. 'Scitum est illud Simonidis, Non defines me auribus calumniari, cum ostendere vellet eos quoque calumniatores habendos esse qui aures calumniatoribus faciles præberent (58). His Letter is dated the fifteenth of July 1555. I must not forget that it is observed in it (59), that *Baudouin*, who retired from *Bourges* on account of the insupportable Morifications he suffered there, persuaded those of the Reformed Religion, that he had left that University only to obtain Liberty of Conscience. This is the way of Mankind: they give their Neighbours false Reasons for their Conduct, reserving the true ones to themselves. They all deserve, some more, some less, to have the Quibble applied to them, which was made upon the famous Astrologer of *Provence*:
- Nostra damus cum verba damus, nam fallere nostrum est,
Et cum verba damus nil nisi nostra damus.
- From our own stores we give the fabled Treat,
Our Art is Fiction, and our Trade to cheat.

DUELLIUS (a) (**CAIUS**) Consul in the Year of Rome 493, defeated the Carthaginian Fleet, and was the first of all the Romans who had a Naval Triumph decreed him (b). They erected a Column to him with a fine Inscription. It was one of those Columns called *rostrata* (c), on account of the Prows of Ships with which they were adorned. Part of this Column was dug up at Rome about the end of the XVth Century. The Learned endeavoured to decypher the Inscription (d). Some Authors say they granted *Duellius*, in acknowledgment for his Victory, the Privilege of being conducted to his house with the sound of Flutes, and by the light of Flambeaux, whenever he should sup abroad [A]; but others assure us, that he assumed this by his own Authority [B]. Which latter Opinion is more probable than the former [C]. He built a Temple to *Janus* in the Herb-Market (e). They tell one thing of him which seems to me more remarkable than all the Honours he enjoyed in the Commonwealth. It is pretended that his Wife lived to be old, without knowing that her

- (a) Others write it *Duillius*.
(b) Florus, lib. ii, cap. ii.
(c) Plinius, lib. xxxiv, cap. v.
(d) Peter Giescius wrote a Treatise upon it, which was printed at Rome in 1608.
(e) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii, cap. xlix.
- [A] Some Authors . . . say, they granted *Duellius* . . . the Privilege of being conducted to his House with the sound of Flutes, and by the light of Flambeaux, when he should sup abroad. Titus Livius is very particular in this (1): 'C. Duellius Consul adversus classem Pœnorum prospere pugnavit, primusque omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriæ duxit triumphum: ob quam causam ei perpetuus honos habitus est, revertenti à cœna tibicine canente funale præferretur. — C. Duellius, the Consul, obtained a Victory over the Carthaginian Fleet, and was the first of all the Roman Generals, who was honoured with a Triumph for success at Sea; for which reason he was distinguished with perpetual Honours, and was conducted from Supper with Music and Flambeaux; a Liberty his Reputation only could authorize.' After an evidence of this Importance, it is not necessary to produce *Aurelius Victor*, who has said, 'Duillio concessum est ut prælucente funali & præcinente tibicine à cœna publice rediret (2).'
[B] Others assure us, that he assumed this by his own Authority. Cicero is also as express in this as he can be. 'C. Duillium M. filium qui Pœnos classe primus devicerat redeuntem à cœna senem sepe videbam puer, delectabatur crebro funali & tibicine quæ sibi nullo exemplo PRIVATUS sumperat; tantum LICENTIAE dabat gloria (3). — I have often seen C. Duillius, who gained the first Victory over the Carthaginian Fleet, returning home from Supper, preceded by Music and Flambeaux, with which the old Drunkenman was wonderfully pleased, an Honour which he, though a private Man, without a Precedent, had assumed to himself.' Florus is of the same Opinion. 'Duillius Imperator non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem ubi à cœna rediret præluere funalia, præcinere sibi tibias JUSSIT, quasi quotidie triumpharet (4). — Duillius, the Admiral, not content with the Triumph of a single Day, ORDERED the Music to play, and Flambeaux to be carried before him, when he returned from Supper, as though he intended to triumph as long as he lived.'
- [C] This latter Opinion is more probable than the former. For it is more easy to imagine falsely, that there have been public Decrees upon certain things, than to be ignorant of a Decree actually published. Livy thought it was so likely, that the Senate or People should have decreed particular Honours to *Duellius*, that he might easily believe, that all the Privileges, *Duellius* enjoyed, were Concessions of his Country, and no doubt *Duellius's* Descendants would favour that erroneous Opinion: the Flutes and Torches were a greater Glory to them, if they were a public Gift, than if they were an Usurpation. An Historian then might be deceived in it two hundred Years after; but it would not have been so easy for him to have been in an Error, if there had been a public Decree for it: the Family would have kept with too much care the Titles of it. Cicero and so many other Writers could have pretended no plea for their Ignorance. However it be, I wonder that I have seen in no Commentator any Reflexions (5) upon the two ways in which they mention *Duellius's* nocturnal Honours. The difference does not turn upon trifles: it is of great concern for or against *Duellius*. Nevertheless this is not
- (1) T. Livius, in Epitome, lib. xvii.
(2) Aurel. Vict. de Viris illust.
(3) Cicero, de Senectute, c. 13.
(4) Florus, lib. ii, cap. ii. See also Valer. Max. lib. iii, cap. vi. num. 4.
(5) I do not pretend to have consulted these all.

her Husband, who had a stinking Breath, was different in that from other Men [D]. Her Name was *Bilia*: it was Justice that her Name should be preserved; and yet it would have been entirely unknown to us, if St *Jerome* had not inserted it in his Works. *Coffar* had no reason to cite *Erasmus* concerning that Woman's Answer [E].

not the Cause of my making this Remark; but it is to accustom young Readers to seek, among the Variations of Historians, for the ground of the greatest probabilities.

[D] His Wife lived to be old, without knowing that her Husband who had a stinking Breath, was in that different from other Men. Duellius complained one Day to his Wife that she had never told him of a defect he had been reproached with, which was that he had a stinking Breath. I thought, replied she, that all Men had been like you. St *Jerome* relates this more at large. Duellius qui primus Romæ navali certamine triumphavit Biliam virginem duxit uxorem tantæ pudicitie, ut illo quoque sæculo pro exemplo fuerit, quo impudicitia monitum erat, non vitium. Is jam senex & trementi corpore in quodam jurgio audivit exprobari sibi os fœtidum, & tristis se domum contulit. Cumque uxori questus esset quare nunquam se monuisset, ut huic vitio mederetur, fecit, inquit illa, nisi putassem omnibus viris se os olere (6). — Duellius, who was the first that had the Honour of a Triumph for a Naval Victory, married *Bilia*, a Virgin of such Virtue, that she was a Pattern to that Age, wherein Immodesty was a Prodigy, not a Vice. He, being now old and feeble, was upbraided in a Quarrel with having a stinking Breath, and went home very much concerned, and complained to his Wife that she had never told him, that he might have got some remedy for it. I would have told you, answered she, but that I thought that all Mens Breath had been like your's.

(6) Hieron. adv. Jov. lib. I.

DURANT (SAMUEL) Minister of *Charenton*, made himself considered and loved by his Flock for several good Qualities. He passed for a great Preacher. I think he died in 1526; his Place was filled up by Mr *Dailé* (a). Among his Friends were Mr *Arnauld*, Counsellor and Secretary to the King, and Comptroller-General of the *Restes* [A]. This we learn from the Epistle Dedictory of seven of his Sermons printed in 1627. *Frederic Spanheim*, his Kinsman (b), and Heir to his Books, printed those seven Sermons at *Geneva*, and wrote the Epistle Dedictory to them.

[A] Among his Friends was Mr *Arnauld*, Comptroller-General of the *Restes*. I observe this, in order to shew that there were several Persons of the Reformed Religion in the Family of *Arnauld*. He, I speak of, was very careful to come to *Charenton*, and to draw all his Relations thither, and he freely contributed both his Pains and Money to advance the Service of God.

Some of his Relations turning Papists, he openly testified his Displeasure at it. He and his Sisters particularly assisted Samuel Durant to the end (1). The Epistle Dedictory, I have cited, makes mention of Mr *de Montfermeil* his Nephew. This may be added to the latter part of the Remark [D] of the Article ANTHONY ARNAULD the Advocate.

(7) Coffar, Suite de la D-fense de Voiture, pag. 55.

(8) That Verse is Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi. Nix prays the thirsty Plant to rain, &c. See also Seneca, Quæst. Natur. lib. iv, cap. i.

(9) Girac, Republique, chap. xv. pag. m. 130.

(10) He mentions the Answer of Hure's Wife. Apophth. lib. v, pag. m. 241, and that of Duellius's Wife. Ibid. lib. viii, cap. 619.

(a) See Mr Dailé's Life, pag. 12.

(b) See Remark [B] of the Article SPANHEIM.

(1) Spanh Epître Dedic. de Sept Sermons de Durant.

DURER (ALBERT) descended from an Hungarian Family [A], and born at *Nuremberg* the Twentieth of May 1471 (a), was one of the best Engravers and most excellent Painters of his Time. (b) Having made a slight beginning with the Pencil in his Father's Shop, who was a Goldsmith, he associated himself with an ordinary Painter named *Martin Hupse*, who taught him to engrave on Copper-Plates, and manage Colours. ALBERT got himself also instructed in Arithmetic, Perspective, and Geometry; after which he ventured, at Twenty seven Years of Age (c), to publish some of his Works. The first Work of his Graver was the three Graces represented by three naked Women, perfectly shaped, having upon their heads a Globe, on which is engraved the date of the Year 1497. He engraved . . . several Pieces of

(c) He should have said at 26 for the Year 1497 is not the 27th of his Age, as Bullart supposes, who makes him born in 1470. Mr Felibien has committed the same Fault in his *ath Extremum* for his *Pics* & for his *Ouvrages des Peintres*, pag. 530, 531.

[A] He was descended from an Hungarian Family. His Father was born at *Cula*, a Village near *Waradin*. Thus I venture to translate these Words of *Melchior Adam*: 'Fuit ejus pater Albertus ex vico Cula prope Voradium civitatem Hungariæ, natus (1)'. I suspect that by an Error of the Press it is *Voradium* instead of *Furadium* in that Author's Book. This fault has been faithfully copied by *Paul Preber*: see page 1439 of his Theatre. Mr *Moreri* did not understand the following Words: 'Albertum Durerum è Pannonia oriundum accepimus, sed cujus majores in Germaniam commigrarint (2)'. He thought they meant that our Albert was the Son of an Hungarian whose Family however was originally of Germany. Nothing is more false. *Vasari* did not know *Albert Durer's* Country; he supposed him a Fleming, and makes him begin his Copper-Plates at *Antwerp*. 'E nel vero, says he (3)

se quest' uomo sì raro, sì diligente, e sì universale haveffe havuto per patria la Toscana, oom' egli HEBBE LA FIANDRA, e haveffe potuto studiare le cose di Roma, come habbiamo fatto noi, farebbe stato il miglior Pittore de' paesi nostri, sì come fu il più raro, e più celebrato, che habbiano mai havuto i FIAMMINGHI. — And certainly if this diligent and industrious Man had had *Tusany* for his Country, AS HE HAD FLANDERS, and if he could have studied as we have done at Rome, he would have been the best Painter in our Country, as he was the most celebrated the FLEMINGS ever had. He had said before in the foregoing page: 'Dopo questo Martino, cominciò Alberto Duro in Anversa, con più disegno, e miglior giudicio, e con più belle inventioni a dare opere alle medesime stampe. — After that Martin Albert Durer began at Antwerp, with more Design

(a) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Phil. German. pag. 66.

(b) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, Tom. II. pag. 283, 284.

(1) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Phil. German. Philol. pag. 66.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Giorgio Vasari, Vite de Pittori, terza parte, p. m. 301.

the Passion, which were in such Esteem, that *Marc Antony* of Bologna, an experienced Engraver at Venice, made bold to copy them [B], and put the Author's Mark to them to make them pass for Originals. As he did not work so much with the Pencil as the Graver, there are but few of his Pictures to be met with, unless in the Palaces of the Emperor, and some Sovereign Princes: they are done in so elegant a manner, that nothing can be finer or better expressed [C]. The particular Account of his Engravings, which we find in *Vasari* (d), is very curious; and the confession of that Italian Author, that the Prints of *Albert Durer*, being brought into Italy, excited the Painters of that Country to perfect that part of the Art, and served them for a fine Model, is no small Praise. He very much commends the Delicacy of this excellent Engraver, and the Fertility of his fine Imagination. It is certain *Durer* had an inexhaustible Fund of Designs; and as he could have no hopes of executing them all, while he worked in Copper, for every Work of that nature cost him a great deal of Time, he bethought himself of working in Wood (e). The two first things he finished in this kind, are a beheading of *St John Baptist*, and the head of the same Saint presented in a Charger to *Herod*. They were published in the Year 1510 (f). His *St Eustachius* is one of his best Pieces [D]. I know not whether it would be easy to reconcile

(d) *Giorgio Vasari*, Vite de Pittori Parte terza, pag. m. 300, & seq.

(e) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. 301.

(f) *Idem*, *ibid.*

Design and a better Judgment, and a much finer Invention, to work upon the same Prints.

[B] His Pieces of the Passion were so much valued, that *Marc Antony* of Bologna made bold to copy them.]

Here Mr *Bullart* makes a gross Blunder: he confounds *Marc Antony* of Bologna, with another *Marc Antony*, who, for having been the Disciple of *Francesco Francia*, was surnamed *Franci* (4).

(4) *Idem*, *ibid.* pag. 532.

(5) *Idem*, *ibid.*

Marc Antony of Bologna was so far from counterfeiting this Work of *Albert Durer*, that he joined with him, both in the Impression and Sale of it (5). It was *Marc Antony Franci*, who played that knavish Trick which has been mentioned. *Vasari* speaks of it at large; but he does not say that *Durer*, who had brought an Action against this Copier, was forced to intercede for his Pardon. He says in plain terms, that the Plaintiff obtained no more than this, that *Marc Antony* should no longer put to his own Works the name and mark of *Albert Durer*.

(6) This is wrong. It should be *AD*. See Citation (12).

Havendo dunque contraffatto in rame d'intaglio grosso, come era il legno, che haveva intagliato *Alberto*, tutta detta Passione, e vita di Christo in 36 carte, e fattovi il segno, che *Alberto* faceva nelle sue opere, cioè questo *AE* (6), riuscì tanto simile di maniera, che non sapendo nessuno, ch'elle fossero fatte de

(7) *Vasari*, Parte III. pag. 301.

Marc Antonio, erano credute d'*Alberto*, e per opere di lui vendute, e comperate; La qual cosa essendo scritta in Fiandra ad *Alberto*, e mandatogli una di dette Passioni contraffatte da *Marc* Antonio, venne *Alberto* in tanta collera, che partitosi di Fiandra, se ne venne a Venezia, e ricorso alla Signoria, si querelò di *Marc* Antonio, ma però non ottenne altro se non che *Marc* Antonio non facesse più il nome, e ne il segno sopradetto d'*Alberto* nelle sue opere (7).

As he had counterfeited upon Copper-Plates, with coarse Graving, the whole Life and Passion of CHRIST in Thirty six Cuts, which Albert had cut in Wood, and having put the same mark that Albert put to his Works, viz. AE, these Cuts were so much like Albert's, that no body knowing they were Marc Antony's, they were generally taken for Albert's, and bought and sold as such; an Account of which being sent to Albert in Flanders, together with one of the Copies of the Passion counterfeited by Marc Antony, he was so exasperated that he came directly from Flanders to Venice, loudly complaining to the Government of the fraud of Marc Antony: but all the satisfaction he could obtain was, that for the future Marc Antony should not put Albert's Name or Mark to any of his own Works. See the Margin (8).

(8) *Bullart*, Académ. des Scienc. Tom. II. pag. 384, is mistaken then, for he says the Senate of Venice would have punished severely this Fraud, if *Albert* himself had not got his Pardon.

[C] His Paintings are done in so elegant a manner that nothing can be better expressed.] His Picture of *Adam* and *Eve* is one of the most considerable of his Pieces: it is in the Palace of Prague. *Gaspard Vellius* praised it very finely; for he made two Veres, in which he supposed that an Angel, admiring this Representation of *Adam* and *Eve*, cried out, you are more beautiful than when I drove you from the Garden of Eden.

Angelus hos cernens, miratus dixit: ab hoste Non ita formosus vos ego depuleram.

An Angel saw, and wond'ring cry'd, how fair From Eden's Bow'rs I drove you beautiful Pair.

(9) *Bullart*, ubi supra.

(10) *Idem*.

Mr *Bullart*, from whom I borrow this (9), adds (10). I. That 'there is still to be seen in the same

Palace, from *Albert's* Pencil, a CHRIST carrying his Cross, which the City of *Nuremberg* made a Present of to the Emperor; an Adoration of the Wife Men; and two Pieces of the Passion. II. That he drew an Assumption for a Monastery at *Frankfort*, the Beauty of which was a good Revenue to the Monks, by the liberality of those who came to see so fine a Piece. III. That the Inhabitants of *Nuremberg* carefully preserve, in the Senators Hall, his Pictures of *Charlemain*, and some Emperors of the House of *Austria*, with the twelve Apostles, whose Drapery is very agreeable. IV. That he sent his own Picture to *Raphael*, drawn by himself upon Canvas without any Colouring, or touch of the Pencil; only heightened with Shades and white, but with so much force and neatness, that *Raphael* beheld with Admiration this rare Piece, which coming afterwards into the Possession of *Julius Romanus*, has been placed among the Rarities of the Palace of Mantua.

[D] His *St Eustachius* is one of the best Pieces] Let us see what *Vasari* says of it. 'Et appresso un S. Eustachio inginocchiato dinanzi al Cervo, che hà il Crocifisso fra le corna, la qual carta è mirabile, e massimamente per la bellezza d'alcuni cani in varie attitudini; che non possono essere più belli (11).

— And also a *St Eustace kneeling before a Stag*, who has a Crucifix between his Horns; this is an admirable Piece, particularly for the beauty of the Dogs represented in various Postures, than which nothing can be finer.' *John Valentine Andreu*, Doctor of Divinity in the Duchy of *Wurtemberg*, sent that Piece to a Prince of the House of *Branibour*, with whom he had the Honour to keep a long Correspondence by Letters. Let us see the thanks that was given him for this Present. 'Beasti me iterum novo munere, sculptura magis quam æneâ, insignis illius pictoris Norici, quod litera A. D. ad Basin initiali incarceratione innotuit, cui facile nihil deesse crederem, nisi ut Zeuxis aut Parrhasius, aut alius aliquis, cui æquæ prona favet Minerva, colores adderet, & nativam formam (12). — You have again obliged me beyond Expression by your last present, a Plate which deserves a nobler Name than that of the Metal, whereof it consists: the mark A. D. shews it to have been of the famed Artist of *Nuremberg*; to which I will most readily confess that nothing is wanting, but that *Zeuxis*, *Parrhasius*, or some other equal favourite of *Minerva*, should give it the Colours, and form of Life.' Let us also recite the Praises, which the same Doctor of Divinity bestowed on *Durer* in his Answer to that Prince's Letter. 'Eustachium Dureri, si non à meâ, certe summi artificis manu non ingratus Tibi fore, facile divinare potui, in quo Viro illud mirandum est, quod ex rudi & barbaro seculo primus Germanorum, non tantum artis suæ perfectione, ad naturæ imitationem emerferit, sed nec secundum post se reliquerit, omnibus ejus partibus, sculptura, statuarum, architectonica, optica, symmetria, & similibus ita absolutis, ut nisi Mich. Angelum Bonarotum, Italum, coævum & æmulum suum, parem, non habuerit, iis operibus, (quorum maximam partem olim possedi) post se relictis, quæ unius hominis ætatem facile superent, & paupertate in frugali etiam vitâ, perpetua comite. Hunc Itali hodie plurimi faciunt, nobisque succensent, qui domestica nostra bona & ornamenta non

(11) *Vasari*, Vite de Pittori, Parte III. pag. 301.

(12) See the Book intitled *Seleniana Augustiana Augustiana*, printed at Ulm. What I take from it is at Page 201, in a Letter dated Nov. 10, 1645.

concile those, who say that *Albert Durer* was very unhappily married, with those who say that, in order to paint the *Virgin Mary*, he took his Wife's Face for his Original and Model [E]. The Emperor *Maximilian* had a very particular Affection and Esteem for him, and gave him good Pensions (g), and Letters of Nobility, and for a Coat of Arms three Escutcheons argent in a Field azure (b). *Charles V.*, and *Ferdinand King of Hungary*, his Brother, imitated this Favour and Munificence of the Emperor *Maximilian* (i). And yet it is said this great Painter died very poor [F], and was buried at the public Charge. He was a Man of a charming Conversation (k); and a lover

(g) Melchior Adam, *Vite Philof. German.* pag. 67.

(i) Bollart. *Acad. des Sciences, Tom. II, p. 385.*

(b) See the Epitaph of *Albert Durer*, in Melchior Adam, *Vite Philofoph. German.* pag. 70.

(k) *Ibid.* pag. 66.

(13) *Ibid.* pag. 203.

(14) *Ibid.* pag. 308.

(15) *Seleniana Augustalia*, pag. 309.

agnoscamus (13). — *I could easily imagine that Durer's Eustachius would not be unacceptable to you, from whatever hand a Piece of that imitable Artist was conveyed. In which great Man there is this surprising, that in a rude and artless Age he should be the first German, who not only brought the Art to perfection, and rose to the imitation of Nature, but left no Second in all its Parts, Etching, Engraving, Statuary, Architecture, Optics, Symmetry, &c. at all which he was so excellent, that, except Michael Angelo the Italian, his cotemporary and rival, he had no equal. He left Works, the greatest part of which was formerly in my Possession, that seem to have required more Years than he lived, and though he lived frugally, yet Poverty was his constant Companion. The Italians have the greatest esteem for him at this Day, and upbraid us with not paying a due regard to the Ornaments of our own Country. We must not forget the care the Emperor Rodolph II took to get the Plate of that St Eustachius gilded, and we shall see at the same time that Durer corrected a fault in it, which Pirckheimer had informed him of; viz. that the Horse's stirrups were too short. Dureriana manu Te apprimè delere. Etari crediderim, they are the Words of John Valentine Andrew (14), cum pro accurato judicio diligenter, quantum hic unus omnibus aliis artificio, diligentia, & naturæ emulatione antecellat. Ex omnibus verò ejus speciminibus Eustachium in Cæturâ primas tenere, à peritis rerum accepi, cujus cupream laminam cum Imperator RUDOLPHUS II fel. mem. magnorede-misset, inaurari voluit, ne amplius attereretur. Memini tamen legisse, à Bilibaldo Pirckheimero, Viro nobili, & in Repub. Noribergeri Triumviro clarissimo Dureri Mecenatè, & Nutricio propè unico, cum nihil haberet, quod in Eustachiana tabula im-probaret, tamen notasse, Stapedes breviores esse, quam ut Eustachius huic equo insidere commodè pos-sit, pœnamque artificio indixisse, ut equum instructum depingeret, ad equilonum institutum, quod ille egre-gie præstitit, quem sæpè cum voluptate vidi. — I did believe, that you would be highly taken with Durer's Draughts, since by the accuracy of your Judg-ment you can discern how far he excels all other Men in Art, Industry, and Nature. I am informed by Men of skill, that his Eustachius claims the first place among all his Plates, which Plate the Emperor Rodolph II, having procured at an immense expence, caused to be gilded, that it might be wore no longer. But I remember to have read in Bilibald Perckheimer, a Nobleman and Magistrate of Nuremberg, Durer's great Patron, and almost sole Benefactor, that having nothing to condemn in Durer's Plate, he had never-theless observed, that the stirrups were too short for Eustachius to sit agreeably on his Horse, that at a Pun-ishment he had enjoin'd him to draw a managed Horse according to the direction of a Jockey, which he performed nobly, which draught I have seen many a time with pleasure.*

[E] I know not whether it is easy to reconcile those, who say that *Albert Durer* was very unhappily mar-ried, with those who say that, in order to paint the Vir-gin Mary, he took his Wife's Face for his Model.] I find the first of these two Particulars in a Letter of Prince *Anthony Ulric of Brunswick* (15): Quod addis, non solum memorabile, sed & admirabile fuisse, in-signem illum *Pictorem Noricum*, (quem meritò majus-cula literâ hic veneror) desperato etiam illo, aborti-voque tempore, ad tantam perfectionem, & artis suæ excellentiam pervenire potuisse, id non minus & me afficit, dum insuper illud memoriâ repeto, quod à Studiis nostrorum Ductore charissimo, non ita pridem mihi dictum, ipsum domi Xantippen habuisse pessimam, ac divinâ suâ mentis flagellatricem acerrimam. Sed uti Multos magnos Viros calamitas facit,

VOL. II.

ita non obstante hoc, fama de Dureri nostro apud exteros nihilominus adeo percrebuit, ut plurimi Italorum cumprimis, ductum ipsius artificiosissimum sequi, impari tamen conatu & successu, ausi fuerint, neque adhuc erubescant, aliorum picturas camino propius admovere, fumosa quadam caligine, ut vetustatem eò melius mentiantur, obducere, satque addito Dureri consueto signo non raro simplicioribus pro genuino ipsius artificio male vendere. — What you add, is not only uncommon, but surprising, that the excellent Painter of Nuremberg, (for whose name I retain a Veneration, even in Writing) should in so rude and unseasonable an Age, rise to such perfection and excellence in the Art. I am no less moved at the thought, especially when I call to mind what my bo-noured Tutor some time ago told me on this Subject, That he was plagued with a Xantippe, the Scourge of his divine Genius. But as Diitres is the Mother of many brave Men, so the same of our Durer in spite of this obstacle has forced it's way into Foreign Countries, that Multitudes, especially the Italians, have dared to proceed on his imitable Plans, but their endeavours proved abortive; nor are they hitherto ashamed of their attempt, but instead of the genuine Pictures of Durer impose on bad Judges those of other Men, which they place in Chimnies, that the Smoak may give them an air of Antiquity, and affix Durer's well known mark to facilitate the base cheat. You see here our Durer exposed to the same fate as *Socrates*, to the continual Persecution of his Wife, which did not hinder him from producing Works, which are to this Day the Admiration of the Italians. The other Particular is to be found in a Letter written by Doctor *John Valentine Andrew* to the same Prince. De morosiore ejus Coniuge, nihil mihi prius auditum, hoc verò accepi ab artificibus desiderari, quod in ef-fingenda Virgine Matre, cum puerulo Jesu, unam suam uxorem, quæ tamen minus elegantis & formæ & vultus fuerit, subinde expresse, cum ceterâ Symmetriæ humani corporis observantissimus fuerit. Ego tamen contrarium ipse possedi, & maximo do-lore meo in Calvenfi bullo peridi, faciem sc. Dei-paræ, vivis coloribus, jussu humani vultus magnitu-dine depictam, quâ elegantius, concinnius & formo-sius excogitari nihil potuit, & quam magno ære meo redemptam velim (16). — I had not been before acquainted with the report of his Wife's moroseness, though I had heard it was a common complaint amongst Artists, that in his Pictures of the Virgin Mother, and the Boy Jesus, he had frequently given only that of his Wife, who was far from being a Beauty, how-ever exact he otherwise was in the Symmetry of his Persons. I had one, the reverse of that, which to my great Grief is lost: it was the Face of the Virgin in lively Colours, and the most exact proportion of a hu-man Face, than which fancy could not have formed any thing more beautiful, regular, or exquisite, and which I would gladly recover at any rate. The Do-ctor does not confuse what he had undertaken to con-fute; for tho' there was a very fine Picture of the Virgin, done by Durer, it does not follow that some other Pi-ctures of the same Saint might not have the defects complained of, for which they gave this as a reason, that *Albert Durer* took a fancy to draw by his own Wife, who was far from being handsome.

[F] It is said this great Painter died very poor.] *Fioravanti* has inferred this in one of his Books, and pretends that prodigality brought that Painter to this Misfortune. Our Doctor has confused him in the following manner (17): Sed & alia Viro egregio ex-probantur, quæ Noribergera constanter pernegat, ex quibus est, quod *Fioravanti* in memorabilibus re-fer, tam male frugis Oeconomum fuisse, ut tot operum confector, defunctus ex publico efferendus fuerit, cum

(17) *Ibid.* Note. He had confessed before, in Citat. (13), that *Albert Durer*, was always poor tho' he lived very frugally.

(1) Melchior Adam, in Vitis Philofoph. Germ. pag. 701 but according to Reusnerus in Diario, pag. 55, it was in 1527.

(m) In the second Entretien, pag. 224. See also pag. 383, and following.

lover of Mirth and Diversions, but in a way consistent with good manners. He was wife and virtuous, and never employed his Art in obscene Representations [G]. He composed some Books which were printed. That which he undertook to write, upon the Rules of Painting, is one of them; but as he was of an over-nice Taste, he proceeded so slowly in it that he did not live to see the Edition of that Book finished [H]. He died at Nuremberg the Sixth of April 1528 (l), and was buried in the Churchyard of St John's Church, where his good Friend Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus consecrated a very honourable monumental Inscription to him. Vasari calls him Duro. Mr Felibien, who calls him Durer in the place where he speaks of him fully, calls him Dure in other places (m). I only make this Remark, to prove by an Example what I shall say in the Remark [B] of the Article EPHORUS.

* cūm mihi probatis documentis sit ostensum, non contemnendam æris & suppellectilis sortem post se reliquisse. Quod si ex publico ipsi funus decretum, id virtutis potius precium, quàm infamiae notam Sen. populisque Noribergenſis prudentiff. haud dubio voluit. — There are other things which are laid to this great Man's charge, which Nuremberg as positively denies. Such is the Assertion of Fioravanti, that he was so bad an Oeconomist, that, notwithstanding he had completed so many Pieces, he was buried at the public expence; though I am convinced by undeniable Proofs, that he left no inconsiderable Sum, both in Money and Effects: And if the expence of his Funeral was defrayed by the Public, it was rather a reward of his worth, than a mark of his shame, and as such was meant by the prudent Senate of Nuremberg.

[G] He never employed his Art in obscene Representations. This was a liberty which too many Painters took at that time; but he never conformed to their ill example. Cui autem obsecrum est non paucas laudem & admirationem vulgi quaesivisse obsecumate pingendi, dum quæ non nisi occultè fieri honestè nequeant, imò quæ ne occulte quidem facta, nefario scelere & probro vacent; tabulis expressa publicarunt: hos ne pudicos quisquam credet, quorum mens & dextera talia fuerit molita . . . (18). Hoc igitur loco optimo jure admirabimur Durerum sanctimoniam & pudoris diligentissimum custodem . . . (19). Nulla spurcitia, nullum dedecus, in ipsius operibus extat, reſugientibus scilicet talia omnia castissimi animi cogitationibus. — None can be ignorant that many Painters have gained the Applause and Admiration of the Vulgar by their obscene Performances, exposing not only those Actions which cannot bear the Day, but even those which the Night cannot defend. Can Men who exercise their Head and Hands in such Practices be accounted modest? . . . We have therefore the greatest reason to admire Durer, who always kept a strict guard over his Innocence and Modesty. . . . No looseness, no immodest touch, appears in his Works, his honest Heart being utterly averse to all such things.

[H] His Book upon the Rules of Painting was printed; but as he was of too nice a Taste, he did not live to see the Edition of that Work finished. Let us continue to quote Joachim Camerarius; for it is from him that Melchior Adam borrows all he says concerning Albert Durer. Priusquam abſolvere omnia & correcta edere, ut cupierat, posset, morte est ereptus, placida illa quidem & optabili, sed profecto multorum judicio præmatura. Erat autem si quid omnium in illo viro quod vitii simile videretur, unica infinita diligentia & in se quoque inquisitrix sæpe parum æqua. Hunc igitur mors ab incepta editione operis fustulit, quam tamen consummarunt amici ex illius præscriptione (20). — He was cut off before he had published, or even put the last hand to his Work, as he wished to have done. His Death was mild and desirable, but thought by many too early. If any thing in him bore the Appearance of a Crime, it must be his excessive Application, and severity in judging of himself. Though the Edition of his Works was interrupted by his Death, it was afterwards perfected by his Friends according to his own Directions. The Edition was finished after his Death. Note, that Durer was no Scholar, and that he wrote in German, and whatever we have of his in Latin is a Translation by other hands. The Book I have just mentioned was put into Latin by Joachim Camerarius, and is intituled, De Symmetria Partium in reſiſ formis humanorum corporum. It was printed at Nuremberg, in folio, in 1532, and at Paris in 1557 (21). An Italian Translation of it was printed at Venice in 1591. Albert Durer's other Books are Institutiones Geometricæ, at Paris by Wechell 1532 (22). De urbibus, arcibus, castellisque condendis & muniendis, at Paris by the same 1531 (23). De varietate figurarum & flexuris partium ac gestibus imaginum, at Nuremberg 1534 (24). They stole a Treatise from him, which he had wrote on the Symmetry of the parts of a Horse. He knew very well who had done him the injury, but he chose rather to bear his loss and trouble secretly, than depart from his usual moderation and mildness, as he must have done, if he had proceeded against those Thieves (25).

(20) Melch. Adam, in Vitis Philof. Germ. pag. 70. ex Præfat. Joach. Camerarii in Libro de Symmetria Partium.

(21) Epit. Bibl. Gelfneri, pag. 19.

(22) Gelfner. in Biblioth. fol. 17, verso.

(23) Idem, ibid.

(24) Epit. Bibl. Gelfneri, pag. 19.

(25) Melch. Adam, in Vitis Philof. Germ. pag. 70.

(18) Melch. Adam, in Vitis Philof. Germ. pag. 67.

(19) Idem, p. 69.

(a) See the Prodromus Tractatum Irenicorum Joh. Durei, pag. 122.

(b) See the Article BEDELL, Remark [D].

(c) Prodromus, Tract. Irenicorum, pag. 111.

DURY (JOHN), in Latin DURÆUS, a Protestant Divine, a Scot by Nation, in the XVIIth Century, laboured with great Zeal to re-unite the Lutherans and the Calvinists. His strong Inclination to be employed in this Great Work, and the hopes of succeeding in it, engaged him to let his Superiors know that he could use his Talents to more advantage by travelling abroad in the World, than by being confined to the Care of one single Flock. They agreed to his Proposals, and permitted him to go from place to place, to negotiate an Accommodation between the Protestant Churches. He even obtained the Approbation and Recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury (a). I have said in another place (b), that he was assisted by the Bishop of Kilmore, and also by Joseph Hall Bishop of Exeter, as he acknowledges in the Preface of his Prodromus. He began by publishing his Projects of a Re-union [A], and he appeared in the famous Assembly of the Evangelics of Germany at Frankfort, in the Year 1634 (c). The Churches of Transylvania sent to him, in the same Year, their Advice

[A] He began by communicating to the Public his Project of a Re-union. I find in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library his Aliquot Theologorum Gallie & trium Ecclesiarum Anglicanarum Episcoporum (Sc. Davenantii, Mortoni, & Halli) Sententia de pacis rationibus inter Evangelicos usurpandis, printed in the Year 1634. I

say nothing of the Treatises which followed this, as Hypomnemata de studio pacis Ecclesiasticæ at Amsterdam 1636. Informatio de eis quæ in studio Ecclesiasticæ concordie inter Evangelicos prosequendo, agitare instituit Duræus erga Ecclesiarum Danicarum Theologos.

[B] He

Advice and Counsel (*d*). He treated afterwards with the Divines of Sweden and Denmark; he left no stone unturned, he consulted the Universities, and communicated their Answers, nor was he discouraged by all the fruitless pains he had taken, even in the Year 1661 [*B*]: but at last, in the Year 1674, he was out of heart, and as he had no more hopes of doing the Church service by the Methods he had hitherto attempted, he raised new Batteries, he had recourse to another Expedient, which was to labour at a new Explication of the *Apocalypse* [*C*], as a sure Means to re-unite all Christians. He enjoyed at that time a very agreeable retreat in the Country of Hesse [*D*]. I know not in what Year he died. Some have confounded him with the Jesuit JOHN DURÆUS [*E*]. It was thought the Lutherans would look upon him with a less favourable eye, when they were informed that the Episcopal Party began to decline in England [*F*]. We shall see his Journey to Metz, and some other Particulars, in the Article FERRI (*e*).

The

[*B*] He was not discouraged by all the fruitless Pains he had taken, even in the Year 1661. See the Book he published at Amsterdam that Year, which is intitled, *Jobannis Duræi Irenicorum Tractatum Prodrum, in quo præliminaries continentur Tractatus de I. Pacis Ecclesiasticæ remoris & medio tollendis. II. Concordiæ Evangelicæ fundamentis sufficienter jactis. II. Reconciliationis Religiosæ procurandæ argumentis & mediis. IV. Methodo investigatoria ad controversias omnes, sine contradicendi studio & præjudicio pacifice decidendas. Qui præmittuntur collectorum inter Protestantes conciliorum pacificorum harmoniæ, propædium Deo permitte adornandæ & in lucem edendæ.* The Preface to this Book is dated Amsterdam, 1. October 1661. He gives an account therein of the Books he had promised the Public, and proposes the expedients which he thought the most proper to make his design successful. He assures his Readers, that the first Article agreed upon in the Preliminaries of the future Peace, was, that the affair should not be managed by a Scholastical Disputation. It was of great consequence to agree upon this; for that way of Disputation could only serve to foment the obstinacy of the Parties, and render the Conclusion farther off. Dury, at that time, appeared as full of hopes as ever of succeeding, and when he set out for Germany he desired of the Divines of Utrecht an authentic Testimonial of their good Intentions, after having communicated to them the state he had left the affair in with the King of Great-Britain, and the Elector of Brandenburg; and what had passed at the Court of Hesse, and the measures they had actually taken at Geneva, Heidelberg, and Metz. He desired to have this Testimonial of the Divines of Utrecht to shew it to the Germans: which he obtained accordingly, and published at the end of his *Prodrum*.

[*C*] He had recourse to another Expedient, which was to labour upon a new explication of the *Apocalypse*. He published, in the Year 1674, a little Book in French, intitled *Concerning understanding the Apocalypse by the Apocalypse itself. How the holy Scripture ought to be reasonably understood.* He declares in the Epistle Dedicatory (1), that he has nothing to reproach himself with, though he gives up the *pacifice Negotiation* which had been continued so many Years with the Lutheran Ministers: He plainly insinuates that he was forced to relinquish it, that is to say, because they would no longer hearken to him, or have any Correspondence with him upon this Matter. Having finished, says he (2), all the Labour that can be expected from me, with the Parties concerned, as a Solicitor of the Evangelic Councils; I have no more to do with the particular heads on that side, since they seem to have taken a Resolution to be silent to me, though they continue to foment the usual animosity of the vulgar. . . . But since now I find myself obliged to put an end to these proceedings, because they will hold no farther Correspondence with me, concerning the Propositions which have been regularly offered to all, and are without any Exception whatsoever: Since, I say, for these reasons I am forced to desist from my undertaking (for I ought to press nothing with importunity; what is not done voluntarily, and out of a principle of Confidence, is not of God); I have taken a more general Resolution (3). It will not be amiss to see his Confession concerning the ill success of his Travels and Fatigues. 'Now being come to this point, I thought

it proper to consider what Fruit the public, or even myself have reaped after so much pains. When I contemplate the public, I see God does not permit the Fruit of this Seed to grow or be gathered before the time of the Harvest be come; and when I reflect upon myself, the chief Fruit I have had of all my Toil, both within and without, is this: That, without, I see the Misery of Christians is much greater than that of the Pagans, and other Nations; I see the Cause of that Misery, I see the want of a Remedy, and I see the Cause of that want: This is the Summary of what I have got by my labours without. And, within, I have no other benefit, than the Testimony of my own Conscience, which is my Consolation (4). You must not imagine that, after such a Confession, he took a Resolution to be quiet; for on the contrary, he engaged in a much greater Enterprize. He could not reconcile the Reformed and the Lutherans, and yet undertakes to reunite all the Sects of Christians: My new Enterprize, says he (5), differs in nothing from the former as to the Substance of the Evangelical Work, but only as to the extent of my Labour, and the Method of insinuating into the Consciences of those I address myself to; for I will no longer confine my Application to Protestants alone, but my Aim is to comprehend all Christians divided into Factions against the design of the heavenly Vocation; which is proposed to us in the Gospel, and attested by holy Writ. But is the Method he intends to take capable of promising such great Success? Nothing less than this, and yet he promises himself wonders from it (6). But we shall speak of this in another place (7).

[*D*] He enjoyed a very agreeable retreat in the Country of Hesse. Hedwige Sophia the Landgrave's Consort, who had the Regency of the Country, had assigned Dury a very commodious Quarter, and maintenance for a well furnished Table, and granted him free Passage for his Packets. He thanks her for this in the Epistle Dedicatory of the Book I have mentioned.

[*E*] Some have confounded him with the Jesuit JOHN DURÆUS. That Jesuit was a Scotchman, and wrote a Book against Whitaker's Answer to Campian's ten Reasons. This Book was printed at Paris in 1581, and at Ingolstadt in 1585 (8). The Oxford Catalogue ascribes it to Dury the Pacificator. Mr Baillet thought that Duræus, Whitaker's Adversary, was a Protestant (9).

[*F*] It was thought the Lutherans would look upon him with a less favourable Eye, when they were informed that the Episcopal Party declined in England. This was what Vossius wrote to Grotius in the Month of January 1641. 'Joannes Duræus jam quasi hebdomas est, quod à Germania huc venit, à suis in Britanniam revocatus. Quid promoverit, ex literis ejus intelliges, quas ad te ut mitterem jussit. Plurimum autem metuo, ne in irritum cadant, quæcumque hætenus inter Lutheranos egit. Jam decennio, antequam ille hanc provinciam fulciperet, nihil æque objectabant Lutheranæ, quam pacificatores omnes agere hanc causam malo dolo. . . . Quamquam vero adventu D. Duræi, non omnino suam opinionem mutarant Lutheranæ: plerique tamen aliquanto meliorem de eo sententiam conceperunt, eo quod missus foret à Clero Anglicano (10). — It is now about a Week since John Duræus came hither from Germany being recalled by his Friends in England. m. 167. See You will learn his success by his Letters, which also Epist. 405. be

(1) This Book is dedicated to the Princess of Hesse.

(2) Dury, Epistle Dedicat. p. 3, 4.

(3) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(4) Ibid. pag. 50, & seq.

(5) In the Remarks [E] and [F].

(4) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

(5) Idem, Prefat. pag. 16.

(6) Quodlibet impotens sperare. Horat. Od. 37. lib. 1.

(7) In Remark [F] of the Article FERRI.

(8) Alegambe, Biblioth. Scæ. Jesu, pag. 237.

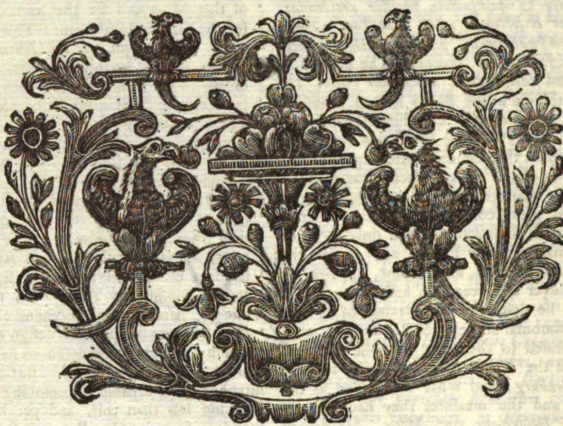
(9) Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, Tom. III, pag. 136.

(10) Vossius, E. pist. 401. pag. 167. See also Epist. 405.

The Letter he wrote to *Peter du Moulin*, concerning the State of the English, Scotch, and Irish Churches under Cromwell, was printed with some other Pieces at London, in the Year 1658, in 12°, by the Care of *Lewis du Moulin*. It is a curious Tract, and discovers that he was no Enemy to the Independants.

' be ordered me to send you. But I am much afraid, ' *finister end Though the Lutherans did not alto-*
' that what he has hitherto done amongst the Lutherans ' *gether change their sentiments on his arrival, yet they*
' will come to nothing. Ten Years ago, before he under- ' *in general conceived a better Opinion of him, as being*
' took this Pacific Office, the Lutherans objected no- ' *deputed by the Clergy of England.* The rest is in
' thing so much as that all such Mediators had some the Margin (11).

(11) Sed quid animi nunc, ad ineundum cum Ecclesiis Gallicis, & Belgicis, fore putabimus, ubi cognorint, hoc agi in Britannia, ut accusatis, damnatis, ejectis omnibus, quos non longe à se abire, & omnino modestie, & pacis amantiores credebant, triumphantem, quos ipsi Calvinianos, in Anglia autem Puritanos nuncupant? — But what Inclination shall we think they will now have to unite with the Churches of France and Holland, when they shall be informed, that in England, all those whom they believed to be ready to join hands, and to be inclined to Moderation and Peace, are accused, condemned, and oppressed, that those may triumph whom they call Calvinists, and who in England are known by the Name of Puritans. Idem, Ibid.



E B E D

E.



BED-JESU. Look for HEBEDJESU.

ECHELLENSIS (ABRAHAM) a learned Maronite, whom Mr le Jay employed upon his Polygot Bible (a). *Gabriel Sionita*, his Countryman (b), had drawn him to Paris, to make him his Fellow-labourer in the Edition of that Bible [A]. They quarrelled to such a degree that their contention made a scandalous noise: *Gabriel Sionita* carried his Complaints into Parliament, and threw cruel Aspersions upon his Companion (c). Mr *Claude* took the advantage of this diffamation, to discredit the Testimony of *Ecchellenfis* alledged by Mr *Arnauld* [B]. Those who replied to Mr *Claude* did not vindicate the aspersed Maronite [C]. The Congregation de propaganda fide added him, about the year 1636, to those who were translating the Scriptures into Arabic (d). They recalled him out of France, and he was upon that Version at Rome, in the year 1652. He published something in that City, and died there in the Month of July 1664 (e). See the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary (f), where you will find a curious Article concerning this Man.

Whilst he was at Rome Professor of the Oriental Languages, he was chosen by the Grand Duke *Ferdinand II*, to translate out of Arabic into Latin the fifth, sixth, and seventh

[A] *Gabriel Sionita* had drawn him to Paris, to make him his Fellow-Labourer in the Edition of Mr le Jay's Polygot Bible.] This does not agree with what is delivered in the Supplement to *Moreri*: I cannot help it; I have a good Authority; for I do but follow Mr *Simon*, and I have the more Reason to depend upon his Testimony, as it was designed to preserve the Honour of our *Ecchellenfis*, in an Affair that made a great Noise. All the World knows that the dispute between Mr *Arnauld* and Mr *Claude* passed for a very considerable Matter. Mr *Simon* became a Party in it to encounter Mr *Claude* upon the Opinion of the Greeks; it was for the Interest of his Cause, that *Ecchellenfis* should be an honest Man, and *Sionita* a Calumniator. Now this is one of his Proofs as to the latter: *Gabriel* brought *Ecchellenfis* to Paris, and acknowledged him for his Companion; therefore he did not acknowledge him for the Author of all the Knave-ries he charged him with afterwards. 'Si impostor erat Abraham, cur Gabriel ante quam lis inter eos mota fuisset eum fratris nomine compellavit? Si hæc vera sunt quæ de Abrahamo Gabriel affirmavit, hunc impostorem potius esse existimaverim: cum ille ipse rogatus et accersitus Parisios venerit (1). — If Abraham was an Impostor, why did Gabriel, before their Quarrel commenced, call him Brother. If these things, which Gabriel affirmed of Abraham, are true I should sooner imagine Gabriel to have been the Impostor, since he came to Paris, solely at his Request and Invitation.' Every Body sees that Mr *Simon* would not have alledged an uncertain Fact, when he was to draw so great an Advantage from this Allegation against Mr *Claude*; could he imagine that Mr *Claude* would put up with a doubtful Story? therefore I have Reason to believe what he delivers is preferable to these Words of *Moreri's* Continuator: 'Mr le Jay, who was compiling the great Bible, having quarrelled with *Gabriel Sionita* the Maronite, sent for Abraham *Ecchellenfis* from Rome.' This intimates that those two Maronites were not Fellow-Labourers in the Edition of Mr le Jay's Polygot Bible, though Mr *Simon* assures us of the contrary. 'Gabriel Sionita adversus Abrahamum *Ecchellensem* supremæ curiæ Parisiensis libellum quendam supplicem obtulerat, in quo gravissimè de Abrahamo, qui ei Socius in editione Bibliorum Parisiensium adjunctus fuerat, conqueritur (2). — Gabriel *Sionita* presented an Address to the Parliament of Paris, wherein he makes heavy complaint against Abraham *Ecchellenfis*, who had been appointed, his Goadjutor, in publishing the Polygot.' Mr *Nicelle* affirms the same as we shall see hereafter.

(1) Richardus Simon, in Fide Ecclesiæ Orient. pag. 198.

(2) Id. ibid.

[B] Mr *Claude* took the Advantage of this Diffamation, to discredit the Testimony of *Ecchellenfis* alledged by Mr *Arnauld*.] What Mr *Arnauld* had alledged concerning the belief of the Melchites, was taken from the Notes of our *Ecchellenfis*, made by *Hebedjesu*, on the Catalogue of the Chaldean Books. To this he replied. 'The Testimony of Abraham *Ecchellenfis*, deserves no Credit, and I refer my self to *Gabriel Sionita*, his Countryman, for this, who has represented him as an ignorant pragmatist Fellow, a Knave, a Liar, an Impostor, and a Cheat. These two Men had both studied in the Seminary of the Maronites at Rome, and were both absolutely attached to the Interests of the *Romish* Church; but quarrelling about the Edition of the Bible in Syriac, *Gabriel* thought himself obliged to set out Abraham in his true light to the World; for this purpose he addresses a Writing to him, called, *Commonitorium Apologeticum*, in which he describes him in the manner I have just mentioned: he accuses him of having divided the whole Seminary at Rome, of betraying the Patriarch of the Maronites, of deceiving Prince *Fachraddin*, of cheating the Duke of Florence, of having been banished from his own Country, and imprisoned at Florence for his Crimes, and in short he threatens him, for his utter Confusion, to print some Letters he had received from Mount Libanus, Rome, and Florence, concerning his Life. In my Opinion this is sufficient to make a Man's Sincerity be called in question (3).'

[C] Those who replied to Mr *Claude*, did not vindicate the aspersed Maronite.] Mr *Simon* agrees that *Sionita* and *Ecchellenfis* quarrelled by having an Eye too much on Mr le Jay's Purse. 'Ita fit ut dum quique nummis D. le Jay, cujus sumptibus Polyglotta illa Biblia in vulgus edita sunt, inhiet, illi pacem diu tenere non poterint.' This is not a very good Introduction to an Apology for a Man. One Cut-Purse may draw another to a place, where he observes there is a good Harvest, but afterwards he may desire to be alone, if he finds himself incommoded by the Division of the Booty. So that the Proof, which I mentioned in the preceding Remark, is of no Force; for since Mr *Simon* confesses that these two Maronites were Sharpers, *Sionita* might very well bring the other to Paris, though he knew him to be a Knave. So that, instead of justifying *Ecchellenfis*, they do but blacken his Comrade. The good Character, which Father *Morin* gave *Ecchellenfis*, proves nothing against Mr *Claude*; for Father *Morin* does not warrant the time that *Sionita* speaks of; he only says that *Ecchellenfis* appeared to be an honest and

(a) This *Hebedjesu*, that he lived in the XVIIth Century.

(b) Mr de Breves, Ambassador at the Porte, brought him into France, in 1614. Galland, in Vita Petrefkii, lib. 3, pag. m. 281.

(c) See Remark [A], Citat. (2).

(d) The Abba Nazari, in his Giornale de Letterati, of the 20th of January, 1672.

(e) Nazari, ibid.

(f) Under Abraham *Ecchellen*, pag. m. 30, of the second Tome, in 8vo.

(3) *Claude*, Response à la Perpetuité de la Foi défendus, lib. 2.

(2) Translated
also out of the
Arabic into Latin
by Eccellenfis.

seventh Books of *Apollonius's* Conics. He was assisted in this Translation by *John Alfonso Borelli* [D], a famous Mathematician, who added a Commentary to it. The whole was printed at *Florence* under *Archimedes's* Book *de Assumptis* (g), in the year 1661, in Folio. The Preface contains some Particulars [E], which would be the best part of this Article, if I could deliver them with their chief Circumstances. I shall speak of the Quarrel between Mr *de Flavigny* and *Abraham Eccellenfis*, in which may be seen an Instance of the Confusion which may be caused by Errors of the Press, and of the insufferable Vexation they give to an Author [F].

(4) Richardus
Simon, in Fide
Eccellenfis Orient.
pag. 198.

very laborious Man, during his stay at *Paris*; but it is not in that Period of Time, the Accuser fixed the Rogueries of his Companion. 'Multa silentio præterire visum est, quæ in commendationem Abrahami proferri possent, atque imprimis Epistolam, quæ doctissimus Joannes Morinus amplissimum Cardinalem Franciscum Barberinum, de illius probitate vigilis assiduis, & labore indefesso quandiu Parisiis commoratus est, certiorum facit (4). — I have chose to pass over in silence, what might be produced in favour of Eccellenfis, but particularly the letter, where, in the learned Morinus informs Cardinal Barberini of his Integrity, Industry, and unwearied Application, during his stay at Paris.' Let us see whether another of Mr *Claude's* Antagonists has made a better defence for the Party accused.

These are his Words. 'There is no good Sense in the Contempt, Mr *Claude* has shewn of the Passages cited by Eccellenfis, under pretence that *Gabriel Sinita*, his Partner in the Correction of the Polyglot Bible, printed at *Paris*, falling out with him, has laid several Reflexions upon him, which have no Relation to the Falsification of the Passages. It does not become Mr *Claude* to make himself a judge of the difference between these two Maronites, and yet less to declare himself a Party against Eccellenfis, upon the single Testimony of his Adversary: but let it be how it will, all those personal Reproaches do not give him any right to reject the Passages which are cited in the Books of that Author, because they do not make it credible, that citing as he does the Books, from which he has taken his Passages, the greatest part of which are in the *Vatican* Library, he should have the boldness to forge them (5). Nothing can be more loose than such a Justification as this, and since he does not refer the Reader to Eccellenfis's Replies, but is contented to say that we ought to stand neuter in this Quarrel; it is very probable this Man answered nothing, or answered very ill. What the Jansenist Writer takes for his last Shift, is better than all the rest; for after all there are some Circumstances in which we may believe that a Rogue durst not commit a Forgery.

(5) Réponse générale au nouveau Livre de Mr *Claude*, l.v. 1, cap. 13, pag. 214. This Answer is ascribed to Mr *Nicolas*.

[D] He was assisted, in the Translation of *Apollonius*, by *John Alfonso Borelli*.] This was very necessary; for he, that was to translate, did not understand the Mathematics, and therefore, how skillful soever he might be in the Arabic Language, he would have stumbled at every step. 'Verabatur (difficultas) circa disciplinæ vocabulorum intelligentiam & notionum quarum ignari eramus, & penitus jejuni (6). — The difficulty lay in understanding the Terms of Art, and the Subject, whereof we were intirely ignorant.

(6) Eccellenfis, Pref. ad Apoll. Conica.

(7) Licet Arabici idiomatis sumptuosus ignarus. Jo. Alfonso Borelli, Pref. ad Apoll.

On the other hand, *Borelli* was utterly ignorant of that Language (7); but he understood the Subject of the Manuscript, and by means of the Geometrical Figures he guessed the true meaning of *Apollonius*, upon the Translator's explaining to him, never so little, a few Words. 'Porro quod hac in re magis mirandum est, (this is the Testimony Eccellenfis gives of the great Genius of *Borelli*) nec silentio prætereundum, ex e rat Viro illi doctissimo singularis ingenii perspicacitas, ut sæpe in abstrusis quibusdam locis, non ex integris, inquam, præmissis, sed ex unica dictione totam illationem inde colligeret, non sensu, sed totidem pene verbis, ac si Arabica legeret verba, & linguæ veteranus esset professor (8). — What is more surprizing, and which ought not to be passed over in silence, (says Eccellenfis, in the Testimony, which he gives of *Borelli's* great Genius) was his uncommon quickness of Conception, by which that learned Man could deduce the whole Inference, I do not mean from the Premises, but from a single Word, and would give not only the full sense of the Author, but almost in the same Words, as if he had understood the Language, and had been an old Professor of it.'

(8) Eccellenfis, Pref. ad Apoll. Conica.

[E] His Prefate contains some Particulars.] He informs us that he received a Thousand Favours from the Grand Duke *Ferdinand II*, not only when, in full Prosperity, he resided at his Court with the Title of Deputy of the *Emir Fachraddin*, but also after the ruin of his Affairs. Let us see how he expresses himself. 'Memini profecto, nec ex animo meo exciderit, imo clavo fixum trabali manet, quanta in me contulit Magnus *Ferdinandus Secundus* ornamenta, quanta in me usus est liberalitate, & beneficentia, non tantum dum fortuna mihi ardebat, non solum dum res succedebat prosperè, non modo dum ad illum ab Amiro *Fachraddino* missus singulari felicitate fruebar, sed etiam in naufragio, & jactura illa barbarica, in Carrellina conjuratione & proditione, in adversissima fortuna (9) — I remember indeed, and it is fastened too strongly on my Memory ever to forget, what Favours the Great *Ferdinand II* heaped upon me, with what marks of Esteem, with what Generosity he received me, not only whilst Fortune smiled, whilst my Affairs were in a happy Situation, not only whilst I was honoured with a Commission at his Court from Amiro *Fachraddin*; but even in the wreck of my Fortune, after a most melancholy Misfortune, in the Carrelline Conspiracy and Defection, in the most miserable Circumstances.'

(9) Idem.

[F] An instance of the Confusion which may be caused by Errors of the Press, and of the Trouble . . . they give to an Author.] It is known that Mr *de Flavigny* writ two letters against that magnificent Work of the Bible, in seven Languages, by Mr *le Jay*. A learned Maronite, Professor Royal of the Syriac and Arabic Languages, named *Abraham Eccellenfis*, who came from *Rome* to *Paris*, had a hand in that Bible. It was he who furnished the Arabic and Syriac Text of the Book of *Ruth*, with the Latin Version. Mr *de Flavigny* wrote, in the Year 1647, his third letter against Eccellenfis and his Book of *Ruth*, pretending it was full of faults. In the middle of the second Page of the first Leaf, he puts these Passages which are taken from the seventh Chapter of St *Matthew*, Verse 3. 'Quid vidis festucam in oculo fratris tui, & trabem in oculo tuo non vides: And verse 5. Ejice primum trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc videbis ejicere festucam de oculo fratris tui. — Why seest thou a Moat in thy Brother's Eye, and beholdest not a Beam in thine own Eye. And verse 5, Pull out the Beam out of thine own Eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the Moat out of thy Brother's Eye. He designed by these Words to let Eccellenfis understand, that having committed many Faults in the Book of *Ruth*, he wrongfully reproached his Brother Maronite *Gabriel Sinita*, Professor Royal as well as himself, for having made some mistakes in the Arabic and Syriac Books, he had published in Mr *le Jay's* Bible. The Maronite, seeing himself under a necessity of answering, began by charging the Doctor with committing an enormous Crime upon the Passage he had cited; in pretending, by an unparalleled Impiety, to correct the sacred Text of the Evangelist, retrenching a modest Word, and substituting another, which is not so, in it's room. He aggravated this pretended Crime in a stinging and outrageous Style: see how he expresses himself in his first Letter, which he calls *Epistola Apologetica prima*, printed in 8vo, in the Year 1647, p. 11. Ad primum quod attinet, tua Judaica modestia ac pietas, humanissime Flavignane, summo perè elucescit, ut alia cætera loca omittam, ex iis verbis quæ in me retulisti ex cap. 7. divi Matthæi ver. 3. & ver. 5. quomodo autem sacro-sancti Evangelii verba depravasti, & illustrasti in hoc loco, ac sacra immiscuisti profanis, ne expectes à me ut illa secundum sacrilegam emendationem tuam hic referam, solum enim meminisse animus horret, luctuque refugit. Quamobrem non in meis, sed in tuis scriptis id legatur, & accerrimum Hebrææ veritatis

veritatis propugnatores! Hebraicus Textus, ubi verbum aliquod inhonestum occurrit, honestis velat verbis: Tu vero Hebraice Linguae Professor, illiusque Textus importune ad stomachum uique defensor ac rabula, Sacro-sancti Evangelii Sacrosancta verba impietate inaudita turpas, fœdas, & spurcè illis abuteris. Ex quo liquidò apparet, quos mirabiles progressus in pietate & Lectione sacrarum Scripturarum, quas crepas semper, feceris. Ex verbis tuis, Flavignane, quissimam sis optimè cognoscimus, quia qualis homo est talis etiam ejus erit oratio, orationi autem facta simillima, factis vita, ut ex Socrate refert Cicero lib. 5. Quæst. Tuscul. — As to the first, most humane Flavigny, your Jewish modesty and piety displays itself in very lively colours in those Words, not to mention any others, which you apply to me, out of the seventh Chapter of St Matthew, v. 3, and 5. But how have you corrupted the reading of the Holy Gospel, played upon the Passage, and confounded things sacred with profane: do not expect that I should quote it according to your impious Emendation; my mind starts back with horror and grief at the bare Thought. Wherefore let it not be read in my Writings; but your own. O redoubted Champion of the Hebrew Truth! when any loose Expression occurs, the Hebrew Text veils it with a modest Phrase. But you, a Professor of the Hebrew Language, and a noisy pedantic Stickler for the Text, by an unheard of Impiety, profane, deprave, and obscenely abuse the holy Words of the Holy Gospel. From whence it is manifest, what progress you have made in Religion, from

your boasted reading of the sacred Scriptures. From your own Words, Flavigny, we learn who you are; for, as Cicero relates from Socrates, Such as the Man is, such are his Words; such as the Words, such the Actions; such as the Actions, such is the Life. Thus he goes on for six pages. Here are high Words. Here is a heinous Charge. Here is a great noise made, and a Doctor vehemently aspersed. He is accused of Impiety, and Sacrilege, and his Morals suspected. Who would imagine that all these bitter Reproaches have no other Foundation than an Error of the Press (10)? Mr Chevallier, who furnishes me with this long Passage, explains what this Error consisted in, and how it was committed by the Printer after Mr de Flavigny had revised the last Proof. The mischief came from the first Letter of the Word. Oculò dropping accidentally out of the Form, as the Compositor rectified an ill set Line. Mr de Flavigny, being informed what Abraham Ecchellenfis had reproached him with, could not find the Error in his printed Copy, nor would acknowledge it, till his Friend, Mr de Auvergne, Professor Royal of Arabic, shewed it him with his Finger. Immediately he wrote his fourth Letter . . . he publicly swore his Innocence in Terms of Scripture . . . (11): he said, that certainly a Fever had made the Printer lose his Senses, and that he must be mad when he printed the word with that Error (12). His anger was hardly appeased (13), thirty Years after the Impression of his Letter.

(10) Chevallier Origine de l'imprimerie de Paris, Part. II. cap. 5, pag. 169, & seq.

(11) Ibid. pag. 174.

(12) Ibid. pag. 172.

(13) Ibid.

EDWARD IV, King of England, was called Earl of *March* before he ascended the Throne in the year 1461. He was the Son of a Duke of *York*, who had attempted to dethrone *Henry VI*, and would have succeeded in it, if by too great a nicety in dissembling his Ambition he had not prevented the effects of it (a). His Son observing no such Nicety was more fortunate [A]: he did not amuse himself with ob-

(a) See Remark [A].

[A] Edward observing no such Nicety was more fortunate.] A modern Historian, having brought down his Narration to the battle in which the Earl of *Pembroke*, who sided with *Henry VI*, was defeated (1), makes this Reflexion. 'It was observed upon this Occasion, amidst abundance of Qualities, in which the Earl of *March* resembled the late Duke his Father, that he had a different Genius from him. The Duke, like those who endeavour in vain to untie the Gordian Knot, had been long attempting a thing he could never attain. The Earl, like *Alexander*, cut asunder, at one blow, the fatal Knot, arriving directly at Sovereignty. He was no sooner come to *London*, than he called together the Bishops, the Nobility, and the principal Citizens, representing them, in a lively Manner, the ancient Pretensions of his Family, the Agreement made in the last Parliament between the Duke his Father and *Henry*, which the latter had violated: and therefore he maintained that the Crown was devolved in full Right to the Heir of the former. He pushed this Affair so warmly, that he was immediately declared King, by the name of *Edward IV*, upon the third of *March*, one thousand four hundred and sixty one (2). The Reader will better understand this Passage, if I relate what the Author had said of the Duke of *York's* cautious management. The Duke resolved to supplant *Henry VI*; but observed 'all the necessary Precautions in such an Enterprize. He appeared late in it, and when he did appear it was with the common Protestation of all Rebels, that his design was not against the King, but to remove evil Ministers who governed the Kingdom very ill (3). His Party was named the white Rose, and the other the red Rose: they entered into open War (4) with one another, in the Year 1454 (5): the two Armies were in view of each other within ten Miles of *London*, when the King sent to the Duke, to know his Pretensions, and why he was in Arms. The Duke, whose Interest it was to conceal his Designs from his Army, answered that his Intention was not to attack the King, but to drive from his Presence a wicked Minister who abused his Authority (6); and to shew the truth of what he said, he promised to disband his Army, provided that evil Minister (7) was committed to Prison. He was taken at his Word, to his great Mortification; for he durst not go back from it. Some time after he took the advantage of the King's Sickness;

to seize the Duke of *Somerſet* in the Queen's own Apartments: but the fear he was under, lest they should penetrate too far into his Designs, probably hindered him from shortening, by one violent blow, the tedious Formalities he was to observe in destroying his Adversary, in a Parliamentary Way, and by this means he was once more the Dupe of his own Politics (8). The King recovered, and speaking like a King by the Queen's Direction, the Duke of *Somerſet* was set at Liberty. The Duke of *York* retired from the Court, and levying forces marched with them to *London*, still protelling his design was not against the King, but only against his Minister (9). The Royal Army was routed, and the King made a Prisoner. He was still the same, and acting upon his first Scheme . . . affected more than ever a respectful carriage towards the unfortunate Monarch . . . he made him make his entry into *London*, which to outward Appearance looked like a Triumph, but if it is considered in its Consequences was a real Captivity (10). They obliged him to call a Parliament, who appointed him three Guardians, of whom the Duke of *York* was the first, under the Title of Protector of the Kingdom. . . . So that there only remained to *Henry* the empty Name of King, the Duke being possessed of the real Power: he had but one step to make to be Master of the whole, but he waited for the Voice of the People to move him to that decisive step, desiring together with the Crown to have the Glory of being forced to accept it. He found himself exceedingly out in his Account (11): for the Queen formed a great Party who got it declared in a new Parliament, That the King being of mature Age, and found Understanding, the Kingdom had no need of a Protector: therefore the Parliament thought proper to discharge the Duke of *York* from an unnecessary care, and which was injurious to the Abilities of the King, into whose hands the great Seal should be immediately restored, that he might trust it with what Subject he should judge most capable of it (12). After divers Events a battle was fought near *Northampton* (13), in which the King was made a Prisoner: the Duke of *York*, hearing of this good Success in *Ireland*, immediately returned to *England*: he shewed so plainly, that he aspired to the Crown, that no body doubted of it. Nay, he even demanded it of the Parliament in exprefs and positive Terms (14); but the whole house keeping a sullen Silence

(1) He was Brother to Henry by his Mother.

(2) D'Orleans Histoire des Re-volutions d'Angleterre, lib. 6, pag. 284, of the second Tome, at the Year 1461. I use the Edition of Paris, 1693, in 4to.

(3) Ibid. pag. 259.

(4) Ibid. pag. 257.

(5) Moreci, in the Article of Edward IV, makes this War begin in 1461. He is mistaken.

(6) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 261.

(7) It was the Duke of Somerſet.

(8) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 264.

(9) Ibid. pag. 265, at the Year 1456.

(10) Ibid. pag. 266.

(11) Ibid. pag. 267.

(12) Ibid. pag. 267, at the Year 1457.

(13) Ibid. pag. 268.

(14) Ibid. pag. 268.

(15) Ibid. pag. 268.

(16) Ibid. pag. 268.

(17) Ibid. pag. 268.

(18) Ibid. pag. 268.

(19) Ibid. pag. 268.

(20) Ibid. pag. 268.

(21) Ibid. pag. 268.

(22) Ibid. pag. 268.

(23) Ibid. pag. 268.

(24) Ibid. pag. 268.

(25) Ibid. pag. 268.

(26) Ibid. pag. 268.

(27) Ibid. pag. 268.

(28) Ibid. pag. 268.

(29) Ibid. pag. 268.

(30) Ibid. pag. 268.

(31) Ibid. pag. 268.

(32) Ibid. pag. 268.

taining the Title of Protector, he advanced directly to the Crown, and carried it briskly though Henry VI was yet alive. Presently after he marched against that Prince, and obtaining a signal Victory over him near York, forced him to fly into Scotland with Margaret of Anjou his Wife, a Princess of a great Spirit, and more capable of raising the Courage of the vanquished Party than her Husband (b). She went over into France to solicit Assistance from thence, but she obtained no great matter. Nevertheless, as soon as she returned to Berwick, she assembled a sufficient number of Soldiers to form a small Army, and entering with her Husband the County of Northumberland, she advanced towards Durham. Here she was joined by considerable Reinforcements; but all her Forces were defeated by Edward's Troops in the year 1463 (c). Both she and her Husband were once more obliged to retire into Scotland (d), whilst the chief Men of their Party either died in the Battle, or perished by the Hands of the Executioner. In the City of York alone, five and twenty of them died upon the Scaffold (e). The Desolation of this Party was still much greater [B], when King Henry, who had ventured to return into England under a Disguise, was taken and brought up to London with his Legs tied under the horse's belly (f). He was committed to the Tower. Some time after Edward's good Fortune failed him: he had disoblige the Earl of Warwick many ways, who had been the chief Instrument in deposing Henry VI [C]. He

lence after he had ended his Speech, he saw clearly that his Affairs would not issue according to his Mind. He desired to be King, but he would wear the Crown with the good Will of his Subjects (15). An Expedient was found out to satisfy both Parties. It was agreed that the King should keep the Crown, during his Life, and at his Death it should descend to the Duke of York and his Children. The Queen would not consent to a Treaty so injurious to the Prince of Wales her Son, and therefore took Arms with the utmost diligence in the defence of his Right. The Duke marched against her, but was killed in a Battle that was fought some days after (16).

Thus his Ambition confounded him by being too refined. He could not be content with the Title of King without the Glory of being courted to reign. He durst not use violent Methods to get himself chosen, fearing it would fully his Reputation: but expecting that at length the Crown would be set upon his Head in the most solemn Manner, he died without reaching it. If he had acted as his Son did, his Reign might have been long; but he lost the Fruits of his Labour by not putting out all his strength. Moderation in such cases is commonly destructive. Fortune loves to have her Favours snatched from her (17); she succours the bold, but rejects the timorous (18).

Res est profecto stulta nequitiae modus (19).

For Men to hesitate, when once engaged
In Villainy, is foolish.

I remember a Reflexion of Mezeray, which is not an ill one: As there are as few great Crimes, says he, (20), as heroic Virtues, carried to the utmost length, these Men (21), having begun one without Necessity, had not Power to commit a second, which was necessary to cover the first. Thus God hinders the progress of Wickedness, by not permitting it to be carried to an Extremity, and he generally disposes of Things in such a manner that those, who have an unbounded Boldness, have narrow Understandings; and those, who have a Genius to contrive a design, have no Courage to put it in Execution. Thus oppressed Innocence has time to breathe, and is oftentimes even delivered. Hoc uno modo, Judices, saepe multorum improbitate depressa veritas emergit, & innocentiae defensio interclusa respirat: quod aut ii, qui ad fraudem callidi sunt, non tantum audent quantum excogitant: aut illi, quorum eminet audacia atque projecta est, à consiliis malitiae deferuntur: quod si aut confidens astutia, aut callida esset audacia, vix ullo obfisti modo posset (22). — By this only means, Truth, crushed by the Oppression of Multitudes, often lifts its head afresh, and the cause of injured Innocence, that was ready to expire, receives new Breath; because either those, who are expert in cunning, have not the courage to execute what they contrive, or that they, who dare even to Madrest, are destitute of cunning, whereas it would be scarce possible to withstand the united force of courage and cunning. Extream Boldness, joined to ingenious and inventive Malice, would be an irresistible Torrent (23); a Thunder-

bolt that would crush whatsoever it should strike. No Throne could be supported against a Faction armed with these two Talents. For Crimes are only maintained by Crimes (24). I could cite abundance of other Sayings upon this Common-Place, but these are sufficient for the present. Let us conclude with observing, that the Text of this Remark required I should give a short account of the Duke of York's Conduct, not so much to explain the better the Subject of this Article, as to prove that his Son excelled him in the Art of bringing about a Revolution.

[B] The Deposition of Henry VI's Party was much greater. As soon as it was known that Henry VI was in Prison, all those, who remained of the Adherents to the House of Lancaster, dispersed into the Neighbouring Countries. The Queen carried her Son into France. The Earl of Pembroke wandered up and down England in disguise. Edmund the new Duke of Somerset retired into Flanders with John his younger Brother, and Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. Though the Duchess of Burgundy was Infanta of Portugal, a Grand-daughter to one of the House of Lancaster, and well affected to them; yet every Body was so much suspected by those Princes, that they durst not declare themselves till they had continued a long time concealed in the retinue of that Court, where they had the greatest difficulty to subsist. Philip de Comines says, he saw one of them walking bare footed, begging his Bread, and in a miserable Condition, till at last being known, they allowed him a small pension, as also to the two Somerset, when they discovered themselves (25).

[C] He disoblige the Earl of Warwick many ways, who had been the chief Instrument in deposing Henry VI. The Services, which Kings cannot acknowledge, commonly make them ungrateful. A Man, to whom they are much indebted, seems to have a Right to demand much of them; and whoever has a Right to demand all becomes troublesome, even when he demands nothing. Edward owed his Crown to the Earl of Warwick: this was a Service beyond all Recompence, and which, being accompanied, besides, with other glorious Actions, had gained that Lord very much the Applauses of the People. Thereupon the King grew jealous of him, and imagining they made the same Comparison between him and the Earl of Warwick: as between Saul and David, was afraid they should say in England, as heretofore they did in Israel: Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands (26). This was the first Cause of disgust. The Earl was not rewarded according to his Merit (27), and he perceived that Edward looked upon him with a jealous Eye. This includes abundance of disagreeable things: for it is impossible that a King, who envies the Glory of one of his Subjects, should not disoblige him on several accounts.

The second Discontent arose from the Earl's being sent Ambassador to treat of his Master's Marriage with Bona of Savoy, Sister to the Queen of France. This Marriage was concluded, and they waited only for the return of an Ambassador whom the King of France had dispatched to Edward to get the Treaty signed (28), when News was brought, that the new King of England had married a Knight's Widow (29). All England

(24) Da frenas & omnem pronam nequitiam incitata. Per scelera semper sceliteribus tutum est iter. Let Rage and Malice loose into the World, Who hope to thrive in Guilt must perforce. Seneca, in Agamemnon. Act. II. Scen. I. ver. 1144.

(25) D'Orléans, ubi supra, pag. 296, 297, at the Year 1454.

(26) Ibid. lib. 7, pag. 300.

(27) And yet Edward had increased his Estate by Eighty thousand Crowns a Year. Matthieu, Hist. de Louis XI. liv. 5, cap. 6, pag. 239.

(28) D'Orléans, ubi supra, pag. 302.

(29) Ibid. pag. 305.

(b) D'Orléans, Revolutions d'Angleterre, Tom. II, pag. 285, Edit. de Paris, 1693.

(c) Ibid. pag. 292.

(d) Ibid. pag. 294.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid. pag. 296.

(15) Ibid. pag. 279.

(16) Ibid. pag. 281, at the Year 1460.

(17) See the Article CHARLES V, Rem. [K].

(18) Fortuna fortuna metuit, ignavos premit. Seneca in Medea Act. II, ver. 159.

(19) Seneca in Agamemnon, Act. II, Scen. I, ver. 150.

(20) Mezerai Abregé Chronol. Tom. VI, pag. 66, at the Year 1591.

(21) That is the sixteen, who put to death the President Brisson.

(22) Cicero, Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. 65.

(23) Vis & nequitia quicquid oppugnant, ruit. When Force and Cunning join They bear all down before them. Plautus, Fab. 7, lib. 2.

He married much below his Rank [D], and made himself hated by the *English* for that under-match. The Earl of *Warwick*, having drawn over the Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward's* Brother, into his Faction, gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and projected with him to restore *Henry VI* to the Throne. They were very near putting their Design in Execution, having seized *Edward* in his Camp (g): but as he found Means to make his Escape from the place where they had confined him, they could make no advantage

(g) D'Orleans, ubi supra, p. 312, ad Ann. 1470.

'looked upon this Match with great Indignation: but no Man was so uneasy at it as the Earl of *Warwick*, who made no doubt but the King had done it on purpose to make him ridiculous all over *Europe*, by sending him to demand a great Princess, whilst he married a Gentlewoman. . . . *Edward's* Conduct to the Earl upon his return to *London* served to provoke him to the utmost. He hoped his Master would at least endeavour to mitigate his Grief, either by good Words or lame Excuses; but instead of that he was treated with Contempt and Haughtiness, which a Man of less Pride than the Earl of *Warwick* could hardly have born. And that nothing might be wanting to aggravate the Affront, he was informed, the debauched Monarch had attempted the Chastity of his Niece, others say his Sister, being desirous to have a Mistress in his Family (30) while he took a Wife out of another.'

Warwick, full of Revenge, resolved to set *Henry* on the Throne again, and happily effected his Project; thus he played with the Crown at his Pleasure: first he took it from *Henry VI*, and gave it to *Edward*; afterwards he deprived *Edward* of it, and restored it to *Henry VI*: an evident Proof that he was governed by his own Passions and Interest without any regard to Law or Justice. He had Credit enough to have mounted the Throne himself, but he thought it was more glorious to create Kings than to be one (31). His Ambition did not prompt him to reign, but to govern those who reigned (32). Moreover, it is seldom seen, that those who raise an Usurper to the Throne do long enjoy his Favours. This does not always arise from the Maxim, *People love the Traitor, but hate the Traitor*; nor always because they imagine, that those Men, who have dethroned their first Master, will make no scruple to dethrone a second: but the principal Cause is, those Men never think their Services sufficiently rewarded, but that a Prince, who owes his Crown to them, has no right to deny them whatever they ask (33). He neither can, nor ought, to grant this. Whereupon they are disgusted, break out into Expostulations, and are disgraced. Let us comment a little upon these Words: *The Services which Kings cannot acknowledge commonly make them ungrateful*, &c. (34).

The first Passage I shall cite is from the Memoirs of the Duke of *Richelieu* (35). 'It was very difficult for the Queen to shew a Gratitude proportioned to the great Services the Prince had done for her, and for the Prince to behave with becoming Modesty, after such great Services; for as Obligations of this nature can never be paid, they commonly produce Hatred in the Heart of the Sovereign, whilst they inspire the Subject with the Thoughts of Ambition.' Mr de la *Châtre* furnishes me with a second Observation. 'After we are under extraordinary Obligations to any, we seem to dread their Preference, as if it continually urged us to Acknowledgment, and blamed our Ingratitude in the least Delay (36).' *Philip de Comines* has preserved a very good Thought of *Lewis XI*, which he relates on account of some great Men, who did not find their Account in having overrated the Services they had done their Masters. He names, among others, the Earl of *Warwick*. 'It often happens that this Presumption arises from great Services done. They think their Merit such, that they cannot do without them, and ought to bear any thing from them. But, on the contrary, Princes are persuaded that Men are bound to serve them, and often express as much, and are very desirous to get rid of such troublesome People. Upon this Occasion I must mention the King, my Master, who once told me, speaking of those who had done good Service, and naming also his Author from whom he had it, that sometimes Men are ruined by their Services, that the greatest Services are commonly rewarded with great Ingratitude: but that it often happens, through the Fault of those who have performed such Services, who boast of, and use, their good Fortune with too much

VOL. II. No. LIV.

Arrogance, both towards their Masters and others, as well as through their Masters Unthankfulness. He told me farther, that, in his Opinion, he that would rise at Court is much happier to receive Favours from the Prince he serves, without great Desert, whereby he stands obliged to his Prince, than if he had done great Services, by which the Prince was much indebted to him, it being more natural for a Prince to love those who are obliged to him, than those to whom he is beholden (37). Let us see the Judgment of *Montagne* upon this: 'When, many Years ago, says he (38), I read *Philip de Comines*, a very good Author without doubt, I observed this for no vulgar Saying, *That a Man must take care not to do his Master so much Service, that he cannot find a Reward equal to it*. I ought to commend the Invention, but not *Comines*, for I have met with the same in *Tacitus* long ago: *Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exolveri posse, ubi multum antecere, pro gratia odium redditur*. And *Seneca* says strongly: *Nam qui putat esse turpe non reddere, non vult esse cui reddat*. — He that thinks it base not to make Satisfaction for a Benefit done him, wishes there was none to receive it. *Cicero* says more faintly: *Qui se non putat satisfacere posse, amicus esse nullo modo potest*. — Whoever thinks he can never make Satisfaction to another, cannot be his Friend.'

I with *Montagne* had not curtailed *Seneca's* Passage: he has taken away the beginning and the end, which were most to the purpose. See the Margin (39), and consider this: it is the Sequel of *Montagne's* Quotation: 'Tibi habeo quod accepisti, non repeto, non exigo. Profuisse tutum fit: nullum est odium perniciosius quam ex beneficii violati pudore.' — *Enjoy what you have received, I seek not to revoke it. May it be safe to have obliged. No Enmity is more dangerous than that which proceeds from Ingratitude*. I might cite also *Seneca's* nineteenth Letter, wherein we find that Benefits produce Hatred. 'Nullum habet majus malum occupatus homo, & bonis suis obfusus, quam quod amicos sibi putat, quibus ipse non est: quod beneficia sua efficacia judicat ad conciliandos amicos, cum quidam, quo plus debent, magis oderint. Leve æs alienum debitorem facit; grave inimicum (40). — A Man of Business and Substance can have no greater Misfortune than to take those for his Friends, who really are not, and to imagine that the conferring Favours is a sufficient Tie of Affection, since some Persons hate the more, the more they are indebted. A small Obligation gains a Friend, but a greater makes him an Enemy.' *Pliny the Younger*, who was admirably well versed in all the Common-Places of Panegyric, does not forget to observe, that his Hero did not resemble other Princes: they hardly ever think themselves obliged to any body, and if they think they are, they do not love that Person. 'Utriusque cura, utriusque vigilantia obstrictus es Cæsar. Sed in principis rarum ac prope insolitum est ut se putet obligatum, aut si putet amet. Debes ergo Cæsar, & solvis (41). [D] He married much below his Rank.' He was of a Constitution susceptible of all sorts of amorous Passions. His Love was sometimes fixed, sometimes wandering, frolicsome, or grave, attempting all Women thro' a loose Inclination; and now and then attached to others with a steady Passion. Such was his Love for *Elizabeth Woodville*, the Daughter of Baron *Rivers* and *Jacqueline of Luxemburg*, who was married to that Lord after the death of the Duke of *Bedford*. The King being a hunting near *Grafton*, a Seat of the Baron's, he went to pay a Visit to his Lady. . . . She had her Daughter with her, who, being the Widow of Sir *John Gray*, that was killed at the second Battle of *St Albans*, in the Service of *Henry VI*, had lost part of her Estate by the Forfeiture of her Husband's Estate. The young Widow, laying hold of this favourable Opportunity to recover what she had lost, took an occasion, during

(41) Plin. in Paneg. cap. 61.

g A

(30) Polydore Virgil's Words are: Nec abhorret à veritate Edouardum tentasse, ut aiunt, asicio quid in domo Comitissæ quod ab honestate omnino abesse, cum homo esset qui facile puellas oculis alliceret easque deperiret. — It is also true that Edward made some Attempts at the Earl's, which were far from honourable, being a Man that was a great Favourite as well as an Admirer of the Fair Sex.

(31) D'Orleans, ubi supra, p. 306. He cites Sir Thomas More.

(32) Ibid. 338.

(33) See, above, the Remark [F] of the Article COLOMNA (POMPEY).

(34) Which I have mentioned in the beginning of this Remark.

OBSERVATIONS upon Ingratitude. (35) Rochefoucault, *Maximes de l'Homme*.

(36) La Châtre Memoirs.

(37) Philippe de Comines, lib. 3, cap. ult. pag. m. 191, 192.

(38) Montagne, *Essais*, lib. 3, cap. 8, pag. m. 280.

† Tacit. Annal. IV, cap. 18.

† Seneca, *Epist.* 81.

† Cicero, in *Epist.*

(39) Eo productus est furor ut periculossissima res sit beneficia in aliquem magna conferre, nam qui putat, &c. — Ingratitude is arrived to that Pitch, that it is of the most dangerous Consequence to lay a Person under any considerable Obligation. *Seneca*, *Epist.* 81.

(40) Idem, *Epist.* 19, pag. m. 200.

advantage of having been Masters of his Person. The General of their Forces was defeated by *Edward*, who ordered that he should be beheaded. This Misfortune forced them to go over to *France*, to solicit the Succours they promised themselves from *Lewis XI* (b). They met with a good Reception at the French Court, *Margaret of Anjou*, Wife to the imprisoned King, joining her Solicitations with theirs. The Prince of *Wales*, her Son, married the Earl's second Daughter. This Match was contrived by *Lewis XI*, as a considerable means to strengthen their Faction: on the other hand, her Strength began to encrease in *England*, where the Earl's Friends made great Preparations to dethrone *Edward*, who, far from being upon his guard, as the Duke of *Burgundy*, his Brother-in-law, advised him, would not lose one day hunting, nor one Party of Pleasure which he often made with the Ladies (i). The Earl landed safely at *Dartmouth*, with the Troops the King of *France* had lent him, and was immediately joined by great Numbers of the *English*. *Edward* marched against him with a fine Army, and was drawing it up in order of Battle, when he was informed the *Marquis of Mountague*, in whom he had confided till then, was the first to cry out *God save King Henry*, and that others answering the same, the Mischief had spread into all Quarters, the general Cry being *God save King Henry* (k). In this Conjunction he advised with his Friends what course to take: all things appeared so desperate, that they concluded it was his best way to cross the Sea, and seek Assistance from foreign Parts, while the King's Party at home should endeavour to facilitate his Return (l). Accordingly he embarked, and set sail for *Flanders*, but was attacked by some Pyrates (m), declared Enemies to the *English*, and pursued as far as *Alcmar* (n), where he landed (o). In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* marched with his Army to *London*, and replaced *King Henry* upon the Throne (p). A Parliament was assembled, in which *Edward* was declared a *Traitor and Usurper of the Crown*, his Estate was confiscated, and all Acts signed by him were declared null and void (q). *Edward* privately obtained from the Duke of *Burgundy* a small Supply of Men, and ventured to return into *England*, depending upon the Friends he had there, and the Letters he received from thence, but much more upon the natural Inclination of the *English* to change (r). He landed, and advanced into the Country without any Opposition, being joined by the Duke of *Clarence*, who, having gained as many of the Soldiers as he could, openly abandoned *Henry's* Party. In a word, though *Henry* was in *London* with a considerable number of Lords of his Faction, and tho' the Earl of *Warwick* wrote to them (s) to hold out but three days, assuring them of Relief by that time, yet *Edward* no sooner appeared, than he found all the Gates opened to him (t). The Women were of great Service to him [E]. He sent *Henry* again to the Tower, no body opposing it, though he was a good Prince [F]; and marched directly to give the Earl Battle. The Earl of

Warwick

(42) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 302, ad ann. 1465. 'the Visit, to beg this Favour of the King (42).' She obtained her Request, but would not grant the King the Favours he asked of her. *I have not so good an Opinion of myself*, said she, *as to hope to be a Queen, but I have too good a one to submit to be your Mistress. I can love none but a Husband: since you cannot be such to me, be pleased to be contented that I honour you, as my King, with all the Gratitude that is due to a Benefactor.* She inflamed his Passion to the utmost, by persuading him to suppress it, when she saw he was not in a Condition to hearken to Reason. She led him so far by this Artifice, that he resolved to marry her, notwithstanding the Engagements he was under elsewhere, and though the Dukes of *York*, his Mother, did her utmost to divert him from it, who, finding her strongest Reasons ineffectual, did not scruple to solicit one of the King's Mistresses, named *Elizabeth Lucy*, to declare that the inconstant Prince was engaged to her by a Promise of Marriage, without which she would never have submitted to his Embraces. The Dukes retarded the King's Son's Marriage for some Days, by the Report of this Engagement, and the notice she herself gave of it to the Bishop; but the matter of fact being fully examined, it appeared by the Evidence of the Person concerned, that she had suffered herself to be seduced by the Hopes, but not the Promise, of Marriage. This Obstacle being removed, and nothing being able to oppose *Edward's* Will, he married the Lady *Gray*, with all the Solemnity and Pomp of a Royal Wedding (43).

(43) Ibid. pag. 304. He cites Sir Thomas More. One cannot tell what would have happened if *Edward* had had a Wife when he made his Addresses to the young Widow. Perhaps he would not have met with so much Resistance, and perhaps she did express so much Disdain at the Name of Mistress, only because she knew he was at liberty to chuse a Wife. Sir *Thomas More* insinuates, that the Lady managed with great Artifice; she preached when her Auditor could not be edified by her. Indeed a Woman of Quality, who has Wit, always answers as the Lady

Gray did. It may be of service, and can do no harm, for there are always ways enough to remove the Inconvenience of the first Repulse, and a Man is easily drawn on, how great soever he be, if he is deeply in Love, and a Bachelor, and given to understand, that nothing is to be obtained but in the way of Marriage. We have seen, in another Place (44), that a Mistress of *Henry VIII*, by a like Contrivance, pushed him on to divorce his Wife.

[E] The Women were of great Service to him. *Philip de Comines* says, that three things did facilitate the King's Entrance into that great City. The first was the number of his Friends who were fled into the Churches, which in those Days were still looked upon as inviolable Sanctuaries. The second was the great Debts *Edward* had contracted in *London*, every one being glad to see their Debtor in a Condition to pay. The third, the Citizens Wives, who had shared in his good Graces, who gained their Husbands to his Party (45). *Philip de Comines's* Words upon this last Head are these (46): 'Many Women of Fortune, and rich Citizens Wives, with whom formerly he had been very intimate, persuaded their Husbands and Relations to side with him.' This was a singular Happines. Other Kings, especially in other Countries, would have lost their Crown for having been too fond of their Subjects Wives, but here is one who recovers his Crown by this very Method. Let us describe his voluptuous Life: 'He had indulged himself in Ease and Pleasure for twelve or thirteen Years, more than any Prince of his time, abandoning himself unreasonably to Women, Hunting and Feasting. When in the Season he went a hunting, he had Pavillions carried with him for the Ladies; entertaining them in a splendid manner: and indeed he was the properest Person for this of any Prince I ever saw; for he was young, and handsome as any Man of his time, I mean in his Adversity, for afterwards he grew very fat (47).'

[F] He sent *Henry VI* again to the Tower without any body opposing it, though he was a very good Prince.

* I have

(44) In the Text of the Article BOLEYN, between the Citations (d) and (e).

(45) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 335, at the Year 1471.

(46) Comines, lib. 3, cap. 7, pag. 164.

(47) Ibid. sup. 5, pag. 456, at the Year 1470.

Warwick was entirely defeated (u), and slain; and not long after Edward gained a like Victory over Queen Margaret. He put to death a great many Persons; among whom was the Captive King; but the Queen was spared, and after some time of Imprisonment was set at liberty (x). The Duke of Clarence having fallen out with the Court was also put to Death [G]. So many bloody Executions ought naturally to have made Edward IV. abhorred: nevertheless he reigned peaceably, and was admired by his Subjects. He entered into a League with the Duke of Burgundy against Lewis XI, and perhaps never was a fairer opportunity for him to have conquered all France; but he chose rather to make a Peace, that he might indulge his Pleasures. This Peace, so shameful to France in some respects, is excusable, when we consider the state of Affairs at that time [H]. The two Kings had an Interview at Pequigni in Picardy, and mutually

(u) The fourteenth of April, 1471.

(x) D'O'Orléans, ubi supra, pag. 346.

(48) In the Remark of the Article AMPHARES.

(49) D'O'Orléans, ubi supra, lib. 6, pag. 234.

(50) Ibid. lib. 7, pag. 343, 344.

I have made an Observation somewhere, which I ought to be allowed to confirm by Examples as I meet with them. Every Author has a right to justify his Opinions; and in order to that, to take all Advantages that his reading furnishes him with. I have said (48), that the Weakness, or too great Easiness, of Princes was often the Cause of their being dethroned than their great Wickedness. Henry VI, the Sport of Fortune, frequently a Prisoner, and at last massacred in Prison, was the best Man that could be. He had all the Virtues that constitute an honest Man, but few of the Qualities that form a great King, whom he had not the Art so much as to personate in outward Appearance. So that no sooner was he arrived at the Age wherein a Man begins to shew what he is, when he cannot dissemble what he is not, than he was acknowledged to be good, pleasant, temperate, just, a true Christian; but soft, easy, slothful, weak, doing nothing but as he was put forward by others, which impelled he habitually received from those who had once got the Ascendant over him (49). He was very near being ranked in the Catalogue of the Saints that are prayed to. Read what follows: 'A Prince of few Talents and great Virtues; most unhappy as to the World, most happy according to the Gospel. He was contemned by Men, who looked upon him as of a weak Mind, imprudent, injudicious, and even stupid: thus Comines speaks of him, unjust, contrary to his usual way, to the Memory of this pious King; but Heaven has asserted his Glory by Miracles wrought at his Tomb, which have caused him to be revered as a Saint. Henry VII demanded his Canonization, and it is not known what hindered him from pursuing or obtaining it. Some think, that that Prince, naturally a good Husband, was afraid of the Charges of the Ceremony; a thing not credible of so great a King. Others say, he was told from Rome that there was a Difference to be made between an honest Man and a Saint. A Reason still less probable, since the Church knows no Holiness more sublime than that of a Man, who maintains the Purity of his Life in the Corruptions of a Court, and a constant Patience in the midst of long Adversity. What others write is much more likely, that Henry VII died before they had got the necessary Informations for the Canonization, and his Successor had neither Leisure nor Inclination to concern himself about it (50). If instead of so many Christian Virtues Henry VI had possessed the Qualities of a warlike King, and a good Politician, who knows how to make himself feared by every Step he takes, it would not have been so easy to have alienated his Subjects from him. Had he been as ill a Man as the Head of the Rebels, he had reduced them to their Duty, and died upon his Throne. He was abandoned by all the World in his Capital City: wherefore? Could any complain of his Violences? not in the least. Why then? Because he had no other Defence than his Virtue, sola majestate armatus. A weak Resource in a Civil War to have only, on his side, the Testimony of his Conscience, and his just Right. It requires a Storm or Hurricane to overthrow a Monarch, who knows how to make himself dreaded per fas & nefas: but a Breath of Wind is sufficient to blow down a weak and ferulous Prince.

[G] The Duke of Clarence . . . was put to Death.] It was for speaking too freely when he knew that the Queen's Brother aspired to marry the Heiress of Burgundy. Jealousy, Indignation, and Rage made him speak with the more Indiscretion upon this Occasion, because he aimed himself at this Match, and was secretly intriguing for it with the Dukes of Bur-

gundy, his Sister. His Anger broke out against the King himself, speaking indecently of him, and among other things injurious of that Prince, saying, that he was not the Duke of York's Son, that he had treacherously usurped the Throne from Henry, who by a solemn Treaty, ratified by Parliament, ought to have enjoyed the Crown during his Life. The Queen and her Relations did not fail to take notice of all these Words, and to put such a Construction upon them as they thought proper . . . (51). Edward was so sensibly touched with this, that he got his Brother impeached, and tried in Parliament. It is pretended he mitigated his Punishment in changing the kind of Death, to which he was condemned, into that of being drowned in a Tun of Greek Wine. An odd Mitigation! and whatever Chancellor More may say of it, who would make this Action pass for an Effect of the King's Clemency, there is something in it so barbarous, that it shocks Humanity more than the most cruel Punishment (52). See the Margin (53).

[H] This Peace, shameful to France . . . is excusable, when we consider the State of Affairs at that Time.] The Author that I cite reckons it the Master-piece of Lewis XI (54). 'But, adds he, it was glorious for Edward, that those, of the French, who did not penetrate so far as their King did into the solid Part, were ashamed of it, and had much rather have run a greater Hazard than been secured by such a Peace. And indeed the King of England made himself be courted in such a manner, as the Majesty of the French Monarchy could hardly bear in the greatest Necessity. A Pension of Fifty thousand Crowns, payable, for ten Years together, to this Prince, for the Charge of his Expedition, was the most mortifying Part of the Treaty to France, and the most honourable to Edward, who returned home, loaded with the Spoils of a Prince, he had made a Treaty of Friendship with.' See one of the Remarks of the Article LEWIS XI (55): in which I have alleged a long Passage out of a French Author, who observes, that this Prince was charged with Cowardice on this Occasion. Father Orlean was in the right to say, that the Pension, payable for ten Years together, was the most shameful Part of the Treaty; for you must know, it is upon this Foundation, that the English boast of having made the French Monarchy tributary to their Crown. I leave Politicians to examine whether this is a solid Foundation: in my Opinion it is not, and that in order to boast with Reason, that a Nation is tributary to another, there ought to be this Term in the Treaty, and that they were forced to agree to call the Money to be paid a Tribute. Now there is not a Word of this in the Article of the Treaty concluded between Lewis XI, and Edward IV; and it is certain that the French and English always gave different Names to the Sums paid, the former calling them a Pension (56), and the latter a Tribute. Nay more, Philip de Comines assures us, that it was neither the one nor the other (57). But after all, would it have been such a matter to boast of, if he had forced Lewis XI to promise a Tribute of ten Years to England, he, who had his Kingdom full of Malcontents, who knew he was betrayed by the Constable, and that dangerous Conspiracies would break out in the Heart of his Kingdom as soon as the united Forces of England and the House of Burgundy, should invade the Frontiers. If Edward taking the Advantage of this critical Conjunction, and assisted by so many Allies, within and without, should have reduced his Enemy to promise him a Tribute, Comines, lib. 5, would that be a solid Proof of his Superiority? Where is the Nation brave and powerful enough not to be distressed

(51) D'O'Orléans, Revol. d'Angleterre, Tom. II, lib. 7, pag. 347, at the Year 1476.

(52) Ibid. pag. 348.

(53) George Duke of Clarence, Brother to the King of England, chose to die in a Batt of Malinsey; non sine quadam voluptate quam adferre solet levis diffolutio animi, says Seneca, Or to make himself drunk, and divert the Horror and Thought of Death. Matthieu Hist. de Louis XI, lib. 10, pag. 550.

(54) D'O'Orléans, ubi supra, pag. 350.

(55) Rem. [G].

(56) See Philip de Comines, lib. 6, cap. 9, pag. 390, 391.

(57) And then the Pension was suppressed, which he (Edward) received of us, and called it Tribute, but it was neither the one nor the other, as I have shewn before. Comines, lib. 5, cap. ult. pag. 343.

tually expressed great Friendship. *Lewis* invited *Edward* to come to *Paris*, and divert himself with the Ladies, but would have been very sorry to have been taken at his Word [I]. He was very much afraid that the *English* would repent of the Treaty [K]. The Declaration of War contained one remarkable thing; *Edward* declared that he would be King of *France*, in order to do good to the Nation [L]. He died the 13th of *April* 1483, in the Forty first Year of his Age. Some say he died of grief by being disappointed

stressed if all her Neighbours conspire against her, at the same time that Discord reigns in her own Bowels? I do not think *France* would have had reason to have boasted or insulted *Holland*, if after the taking of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1672, she had granted her Peace on Condition of a Tribute to be paid for some Years. *France* was seconded by *England* and two Princes of the Empire, and attacked a Country full of Divisions, and succoured by no Power whatsoever.

As for the rest, we must not wonder that *Edward* the Fourth's Conduct has been condemned: for, in all probability, if he had pushed his Point, he would have conquered some of the Provinces, and perhaps have divided the whole Kingdom of *France* between the Duke of *Burgundy* and himself. *Philip de Comines* assures us, that *Lewis XI* was afraid the *English* would repent of their losing so fair an Opportunity. Let us hear what he says. 'A Gentleman of *Gafoign*, named *Lewis de Bretailles*, a Servant of the King of *England*, was very much dissatisfied at this Peace, and because I was his old Acquaintance, he talked with me privately, and said, we should laugh heartily at the King of *England*. I asked him how many Battles the King of *England* had won. He told me nine, where he was personally present. I asked him how many he had lost: He answered he had never lost but one, which was that we had made him lose, and that he received a greater Dishonour by returning home in this manner, than he had gained Reputation in winning the other nine Battles. I gave the King an Account of this Discourse, who said he was a dangerous Fellow, and his Mouth must be stopped; whereupon he sent for him, and he made him dine at his own Table. The King made him very great Offers if he would stay in *France*: but when he could not prevail with him, he presented him with a thousand Crowns, and promised to provide for his Brothers in *France*: and I whispered him in the Ear to endeavour to keep up the Friendship which was begun between the two Kings. There was nothing the King dreaded more than that some Word should escape him, by which the *English* should think he had deluded them (58).'

(58) *Philip de Comines*, lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. 238, 239.

(59) *Idem*, lib. 6, cap. 2.

COMPARISON between *France* and the *Porte*, in 1672.

You will see, in the Remark [K], a like Passage out of this Author. It is certain that this Peace would have been of no long Duration if *Lewis XI* had not corrupted, by Presents and Pensions, the Ministers and Favourites of the King of *England* (59). Note, There are Circumstances in which each of the Princes, that conclude a Peace, incur a general Blame. This we have mentioned was disagreeable both to the *French* and *English*: to the former, because they thought it dishonourable; to the latter, because it had robbed them of an infallible Opportunity of making useful and glorious Conquests. But as the most flattering Appearances are sometimes deceitful, it might have happened perhaps that a War would not have procured them greater Advantages than they obtained by the Peace. If *France*, after the taking of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1672, had been contented with the Conditions that the United Provinces, who begged for Peace, would have accepted, how many State Critics would have censured *Lewis XIV* for not improving his Advantages, and neglecting this fair Opportunity of subduing the whole Country? It was with this View, say they, that the Minister, who had the Management of the Military Affairs, caused all the Reasons of Mr de *Pomponne*, who advised the Peace, to be rejected. Before the end of the next Campaign they had reason to repent their not following this Advice; and they assure us, that the King, being forced to abandon all his Conquests, said aloud, *Pomponne was in the Right*. We may admire at the Oddness of Events. *France* suffered for refusing Peace to an Enemy almost subdued, and the *Turk*, at the same time, suffered for granting it to an Enemy, reduced to strange Confusions. The *Porte* was dazzled by the advantageous Terms the *Poles* offered her after the taking of *Kaminitz*: she was content with them, and

did not disturb them; but after the Sultan's Retreat they took Courage, and kept none of their Promises, laughing at the *Turk*: so that, at the same time, the Conduct of these two Princes deserve to be condemned, one for not granting a Peace, and the other for granting it. Who knows but *Edward IV* would also have been blamed if he had rejected the Offers of *Lewis XI*.

[I] The King of *France* invited him to come and divert himself with the Ladies at *Paris*, but would have been sorry to have been taken at his Word.] I cannot do better than make use of *Philip de Comines*'s own Words. 'After they had both sworn, our King, who had Words at command, began to talk pleasantly to the King of *England*, inviting him to *Paris* to divert himself with the Ladies, telling him he would give him the Cardinal of *Bourbon* for a Confessor, who would readily give him Absolution for that Sin, if any were committed. The King of *England* was pleased with this; and answered, with a merry Countenance: for he knew the Cardinal to be a good Companion . . . (60). When the King returned from this Interview, he discoursed with me on the Road upon two Points. He found the King of *England* so willing to come to *Paris* that he was not pleased at it, and said: He is a goodly Prince, and a Lover of Women: he may perhaps find, at *Paris*, some dainty Lady that may wheedle him, with such fine Words, as may make him desirous of coming again: and that his Predecessors had been too much in *Paris* and *Normandy*: that his Company on this side the Sea was not to his liking: but beyond the Sea he desired to have him for his good Brother and Friend (61).'

(60) *Comines*, lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. 238.

(61) *Idem*, pag. 237.

[K] *Lewis XI* was afraid the *English* would repent of the Treaty.] This appears by the Passage I have already cited (62) out of *Philippe de Comines*, and by what I am going to cite: 'One of those *Englishmen* (63) began to repent of the Agreement, and told me, at a Window, that if they had seen great numbers of such Men with the Duke of *Burgundy*, perhaps they would never have concluded the Peace. My Lord of *Narbonne*, who is now Lord of *Fouez*, hearing this, said to him: Were you so simple as to think, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had not a great number of such Men? He only sent them away to refresh themselves: but you were so fond of returning home, that Six hundred Pipes of Wine, and a Pension the King gave you, soon sent you back to *England*. The *Englishman* grew angry, and said: This is what every body told us, that you would laugh at us. Do you call the Money the King gives us a Pension? It is a Tribute, and, by St. George, you may say so much that you may make us soon return. I broke off the Conversation, turning it to a Jest: but the *Englishman* was not satisfied, and spoke a Word to the King of it, who was wonderfully incensed against the Lord of *Narbonne* (64). He was justly angry at the Indiscretion of such Raillery, which might have been very prejudicial (65). But he had not been discreet enough himself, having dropt a Jest about the Wines and Presents he had sent to the *English Army* (66). He presently saw the Consequences of it, and did his utmost to prevent it (67).

(62) *Citat.* (58).

(63) That is the *English* which *Edward* had left as Hostages with *Lewis XI*, and which *Lewis XI* brought with him when he had an Interview with the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Embassadors.

(64) *Comines*, lib. 4, cap. 12, pag. 244.

(65) See *Matthieu*, *Hist.* de *Louis XI*, lib. 6, cap. ult. pag. 332.

(66) *Comines*, lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. 239.

(67) *Ibid.* See also *Matthieu*, *Hist.* de *Louis XI*, lib. 6, cap. ult. pag. 329.

(68) *Comines*, lib. 4, cap. 5, pag. 213.

(69) *Ibid.* lib. 5, cap. 2, pag. 253.

[L] *Edward* declared he would be King of *France*, in order to do good to the Nation.] The Herald brought King *Lewis XI* a Letter of Challenge from the King of *England*, in a fine Language and Style. . . . He required the King to restore to him the Kingdom of *France*, which belonged to him, that he might establish the Church, Nobility, and People in their ancient Liberties, and ease them from the great Burthens and Hardships they were under; and in case of a Refusal he threatened what Miseries would ensue (68). What a fine Pretence is here! which is nevertheless so gross a Snare, that People are seldom taken in it. For when they consider a little of the Consequences of a foreign Government, founded upon a Right of Conquest, they desire no such Deliverers. They would laugh now-a-days at such a Manifesto.

[M] He

disappointed in his hopes of marrying his Daughter to the Dauphin of France [M]. All the Precautions he took to secure the Crown to his Son Edward V, were to no purpose; for that very Person, whom he charged on his death-bed to fix it upon his head, ravished it from him (y). This was the Duke of Gloucester, Edward's Brother. He put to death Edward V, and the other Son of Edward IV, and caused their two Sisters to be declared illegitimate [N]. But he also had a Competitor who killed him in Battle, and seized the Crown. This was Henry VII. Never were more frequent or more bloody Revolutions. Since my remembrance, says Philip de Comines (z), there died in these Divisions of England above eighty Persons of the Royal Blood, some of whom I knew myself, and had an account of the others from the English residing with the Duke of Burgundy while I was there. And indeed England never produced more great Men than at this time, capable to contrive and execute any important Enterprize, brave, active, and politic to the highest degree. It is commonly fatal to a State to be fruitful in this way, and probably Revolutions would have been no less frequent in this Country, the next Century, if those great Men had left Successors in it [O]. But they are ignorant of History who affirm

(y) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 352.

(z) Philip de Comines, lib. 1, cap. 7, pag. m. 41. See also lib. 3, cap. 4.

[M] He saw himself disappointed in his Hopes of marrying his Daughter with the Dauphin. This Marriage had been agreed upon by the Treaty of Pequigni, in the Year 1475. 'Where it was sworn and promised, that, within the Year, the King of England's Daughter should be sent for, and she was already called the Dauphiness (69).' Lewis XI always took care to elude the pressing Instances that were made to him to execute this Article. 'He never intended to accomplish this Marriage, there being an Inequality between the Ages of the two Parties; for the Princess *, the present Queen of England, was much too old for the Dauphin, our present King. So that by this Dissimulation a Month or two was gained in coming and going, by which means he deprived his Enemy of an Opportunity to hurt him. For, without doubt, if it had not been for the Hopes of this Marriage, the King of England would never have suffered him to take Towns so near him, without concerning himself for their Defence (70).' At last the Dauphin married Margaret of Austria (71), which highly displeased the King of England; 'for he looked upon it as a Dishonour to be thus deluded. . . . And feared the Contempt it would bring on him would be very great in England, and excite a Rebellion against him; especially because he would not hearken to good Counsel. He also saw the King near him with a great Army. Upon receiving of this News he was struck with so great Grief, that he fell sick and died soon after; some say of a Catarrh. Whatever his Disposition was, it was said, that Grief for this Marriage was the cause of his dying in a few Days (72).'

(69) Ibid. lib. vi, cap. ii. pag. 353.

* Her Name was Elizabeth: she was married to Henry VII, King of England Father of Henry VIII.

(70) Comines, lib. vi. cap. ii. at the Year 1477, pag. 354.

(71) Daughter of Maximilian of Austria, and Mary Heirets of Burgundy.

(72) Comines, lib. ii. cap. ix, pag. 390, 391. See also pag. 288.

(73) Idem, pag. 391.

(74) That is, to cause to be put to death the young King, and Edward's other son.

[N] The Duke of Gloucester caused Edward the Fifth's two Sisters to be declared illegitimate. Let us make use of Philip de Comines's own Words (73). 'After the Death of Edward, the said Duke of Gloucester did Homage to his Nephew, as to his King and Sovereign Lord, and yet immediately after he committed this Fact (74), and in full Parliament got the two Daughters of the said Edward degraded, and declared Bastards, under Pretence of a certain Matter, which he proved by the Bishop of Bath, who formerly had been in great Credit with King Edward; but afterwards he was disgraced, and committed to Prison, from whence he was discharged by paying a Fine to the King. The said Bishop alleged, that King Edward had promised Marriage to an English Lady, whom he named, whom he was in love with, in order to enjoy her, that he made the Promise in Presence of the said Bishop, and thereupon lay with her, but did it only to delude her. Nevertheless, such Passimes are dangerous when such Proofs are to be had. I have known some Courtiers, who in such a Case would not have lost a good Adventure, that pleased them, for want of promising. This wicked Bishop kept this Revenge in his Heart for twenty Years.'

[O] Revolutions would not have been less frequent, if those great Men had left Successors. That is to say if, after their Death, there had been, in England, any Lords as ambitious, as brave, and as capable to carry on a Plot as they had been. For these are the Principles and Springs of Revolutions. We are not to seek for them in the inconstancy of the People: As mutable as they are, they will remain quiet, if not agi-

tated by some external Force, if their Tribunes or Demagogues, or Great Lords, do not stimulate them by the Activity of their ambitious intrigues, &c. They are like the Waters of the Sea, which are commonly calm, if the Wind does not blow. 'Ex quo intelligi potuit id quod saepe dictum est, ut mare quod sua natura tranquillum sit, ventorum vi agitari atque turbari, sic & populum Romanum sua sponte esse pacatum, hominum seditionum vocibus ut violentissimis tempestatibus concitari (75).' And if, after the Example of some parts of the Sea, where, without the help of Winds, the Fermentation of subterraneous Matter sometimes produces a sort of Tempest, the People mutiny of themselves, it is but like a blaze of Straw, when no persons of Figure appear at their Head. Our Edward IV was well acquainted with this. He told Philip de Comines, 'that in all the Battles he had won, as soon as the Victory was secure, he mounted on Horseback, and cried out to save the People and kill the Lords; few or none of whom escaped (76). By this means at last he came to reign peaceably: if he had spared the Duke of Clarence, his Brother, he would have been exposed to new Troubles. He only put in Execution the old Maxim of Perian-der (77), and Tarquin the Proud. 'Ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse, &c. (78). Walking therein, and observing a strict silence, he is reported to have struck off with his Came the tops of the biggest Poppies.' I do not deny but another Cause contributed to maintain the lineal Succession to the Crown of England in the XVth Century, which had been so frequently broke thro' in the XVth. The cause was the Superiority of Genius and Courage in those who reigned, or in their Ministers. Take away these two Causes, and you will easily conceive that those Interruptions would have been more frequent in the XVth than in the XVth Century; for these sorts of Revolutions are like false Miracles, where the first gets ground with more difficulty than the following ones: as soon as People are prevailed upon to believe one miraculous Fable, another goes down with less difficulty. The first Miracle makes way for a second, and the two first for a third; and so of the others, not ad infinitum, but to certain Limits, which depend upon Times and Places. 'Prodi- gia eo anno multa nunciata sunt, quae quo magis credebantur simplices ac religiosi homines, eo etiam plura nunciabantur (79). Various Prodigies were trump up that Year, and the more they gained credit among the Vulgar, and superstitious, the more they were multiplied.' We may say the same of the Infractions of the legal Succession to a Crown. The first Precedent is more difficult to be established than the following ones; but when it is once done, a Breach is opened, which is not soon closed, and if proper measures are taken, the Breach is found wide open for a second Infraction to enter, which makes it still wider than before; so that a third Usurper passes with more Ease than the two others, and so of the rest. When you have read in the Roman History, that the Senate were once or twice constrained to acknowledge for Emperors, those that were created by the Army, wonder no more to see so few Emperors succeed one another legally. You may rather wonder to see three or four Reigns lineally succeed one another in the same Family; for a General of an Army, who has got himself raised by the Soldiers into the Place of

(75) Cicero, in Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. xlix.

(76) Comines, lib. iii. cap. v, pag. 155.

(77) See Aristot. Polit. lib. iii, cap. xi. & lib. v, cap. x. Herodotus, lib. v, cap. xcii. pag. m. 324. & Diog. Laert. lib. i. n. 100. say that Thralybulus gave this Advice to Periander.

(78) Livius, lib. 1, cap. lii.

(79) Livius, lib. xxiv, cap. x.

affirm, that the same things have not happened in other Countries [P]. Note that the Fleet was in no good Condition in the Reign of Edward IV [Q].

the Emperor, whom he has put to Death, has no Reason to pretend that the General of his Army should be contented with his Post. Why, will such a one say, should I obey a Man, who, when he was in my place, would not obey his Sovereign? He killed him, and made himself proclaimed Emperor by his Soldiers. Can not I do the same? have not I as much Right as he had to raise my self from General, to be Master of the whole Empire? Thus you see how naturally one Revolution brings on another, and the more frequent they are in one Age, the more they ought to be in the next. And indeed so they would be, if the divine Providence did not prevent it, either by the scarcity of Men capable of carrying on an Intrigue of this Nature, or by the superior Vigour of those who reign.

Note, nothing contributed more to the Troubles in Henry VIth's Reign, than the pretence they went upon, that That Prince was the son of an Usurper; for since the fundamental Laws had been violated in Favour of his Father, it was not strange a Duke of York should attempt to exclude him. Could not the Duke of Gloucester, who seized the Crown in Prejudice of Edward IVth's Son, maintain that he only set aside the Son of an Usurper? for Edward IV ascended the Throne in the Life-time of Henry VI, though by an Act of Parliament Henry ought to have reigned during his Life. By the same Act the legitimate Son of Henry VI was excluded the Throne. All which authorized the

Duke of Gloucester to have no manner of Regard for Edward the fourth's Children, and to require the Parliament to make such Acts for him as they had made for his Brother against Henry the sixth's Son.

[P] Those who say the same things are not done in other Countries, are ignorant of History.] The reading Justin only will inform us of greater disorders in Syria under the Seleucida, and in Egypt under the Ptolemies; and these were not equal to the frequent Revolutions in Macedonia after the Death of Alexander. The same Historian relates them with an Exclamation. 'Tanta vel mobilitas militum vel fortunæ varietas erat, ut vicissim reges nunc exules nunc reges viderentur' (80). — So extravagant was the Caprice of the Army, or such the instability of Fortune, that by turns they saw their Kings on Thrones, and in Exile.

[Q] The Navy was in no good Condition in Edward the fourth's Reign.] When in the Year 1470, the Earl of Warwick came over into England with Succours that Lewis XI had lent him, he had nothing to fear but the Duke of Burgundy's Fleet. There is no mention made of King Edward's Ships. This Fleet would have hindered the Earl's Passage with his Troops, if it had not been dispersed by a Storm (81). Five Years after the same Duke of Burgundy was forced to send Edward five hundred Vessels of Holland and Zealand, to transport the English Army from Dover to Calais (82).

(80) Justin. lib. xxvi. cap. 8.

(81) See Comines, lib. iii. cap. v.

(82) Ibid. lib. iv. cap. v.

EGIALEA, Daughter of Adrastus King of Argos, and Wife of Diomedes [A], was so lascivious, that one of Ovid's Curses, against the Man he mortally hated, was to wish him such a Wife [B]. It is said (a) that Venus, to be revenged of Diomedes [C], who had wounded her in the Arm before Troy, inspired his Wife with such insatiable Lust [D], that she run after all the young men; but was particularly attached to one whom she found in her way, and who was always at hand: his Name was Cometes, the Son of

(a) Schol. Homeri Iliad. lib. v. ver. 412.

(1) Thus Apollodorus names her, pag. 49. Others, as Statius, call her Deiphila.

(2) Ovid. Fastor. lib. vi. ver. 433. See Merzine upon Penelope's Letter, pag. 77.

(3) Idem, in Ibin, ver. 349.

(4) Citation (16) of the Article CAIN.

(5) "Αλλοι δ' ἄλλοις μισοῦν. Uxorē vero alii misceant. Homeri Iliad. lib. iii. ver. 301.

(6) Menagiana, pag. 341, Edit. of Holland.

(7) Ibid. p. 142. it should be εἰς αὐτόν.

(8) Barnab. Brissotius ad Leg. Juliam de Adult. pag. 135. Edit. Lugdun. 1558.

Seu gener Adraſti, seu furſus aptus Ulyſſes,
Seu pius Æneas eripuiſſe ferunt (2).

Or Diomedē, or Ulyſſes prone to Theſt,
Or good Æneas bore it hence away.

[B] One of Ovid's curses against the Man he mortally hated, was to wish him such a Wife.] His Words are:

Nec tibi contingat matrona pudicior illa
Qua potuit Tydeus erubiſſe nuru (3).

Nor mayſt thou find thy Wife, if e're thou wed,
More chaſt than ſhe that ſcam'd Tydides' Bed.

I have said elsewhere (4), that they use to wish the Wives of ill Men might dishonour their Husbands. Since which I am told by the learned Mr Drelincourt, that this is confirmed in the Iliad. And indeed, Homer informs us that those who swore to a Treaty of Peace, among other Punishments, wished Cuckoldom to those that should violate it (5).

The same Mr Drelincourt has directed me to the 11th verse of the twelfth Chapter of the second Book of Samuel. I have read in the Menagiana, that the Lacedæmonians wished three or four things to those against whom they bore a grudge: they wished them the loss of building, to have fine Cloaths, Horses, and Gallants to their Wives (6). Adrian Valeſius wrote to Mr Menage, that the form of this Imprecation was to be found in three Places in Suidas. . . . at the word ἀμφοτερος, that of δακνόμενος, and the word οἰκονομῆν (7): Brissotius cites but two places out of Suidas, one of which differs from these three. His words are (8): 'Lacedæmonios quidem cum acerbissima execra-

tione adverſus eos quos vehementer odiſſent, uti vel lent, inter cætera domus exitiis, hoc impetrari ſolit, ut eorum uxores adulteris delectarentur. — It is ſaid that the Lacedæmonians, in their imprecations againſt their moſt inveterate Enemies, among other Calumnies, were wont to pray, that their Wives might become fond of other Mens Embraces.'

[C] Venus to be revenged of Diomedes. . . .] A strange sort of Revenge, which makes it appear that the Pagan Poets prostituted the Glory of God to all sorts of Abominations; for what could be more unjust than to punish a Man's Sin by impelling his Wife to Sin? they attribute a hundred of these feats to Venus, as when they say she warmed the Heart of Clio to such a degree, that the poor Muse suffered herself to be got with Child. This was what she got by her wife Remonstrances; for all Clio's Fault was only representing to Venus the Injury she did herself in loving Adonis. Κλειώ δὲ Πήρη τῷ Μάρτυρῳ ἠρώσθη κατὰ μῦθον Ἀποδιδύς. οὐκ εἰδὶς γὰρ αὐτὴ τὸν τῷ Ἀδωνίδῳ ἐρωσά. συνελθούσα δὲ ἰγνύνασεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα Τάκυνον. Clio Pierum Magnetis filium Veneris ira, quod ei Adonidis amorem exprobraſſet, deprævit, ejus compreſſu Hyacinthum filium concepit (9). Do they not say (10), that Tyndarus, the Father of Helen, had the misfortune to have his Daughters have two or three Husbands apiece, and to run away from their Husbands, only because he forgot Venus in a Sacrifice he made to all the Gods? If they had been content to ascribe such pranks to this Goddess alone, it would have been no strange thing: but they also make them practised by the Goddesses of Arts and Sciences, as chaſt as they represent her. See in Parthenius in what manner Minerva chaſtified Alcinoῦ for a Fault (11). I shall make an Article of it by itself.

[D] Inspired his Wife with so insatiable a Lust.] The Terms the Greek Authors use are much stronger than these. Lycophron describes Egialea in this manner.

Ὅταν θρασεῖα θυρὰς οἰρήσῃ κῶλον
Πρὸς λείπτρα.
Quando audax loſſiva canis ſtimulabitur
Ad concubitus (12).

* Soli. in verbo δακνόμενος & in verbo ἰσχυρός.

(9) Apollod. lib. 1.

(10) Stesich. apud Schol. Euripid. in Orest.

(11) Parthen. cap. xlvii.

(12) Lycophr. in Cypriod. ver. 612.

His

of *Sthenelus*. *Diomedes* had committed to him the Care of his House, and Government of his Kingdom during his Absence. It is uncertain whether he discharged his Trust faithfully: but for that part which was not committed to him, I mean the Office of a Husband, he acted in it with the more care as he was led to it by inclination; for *Venus* had made him in love with *Egialea*. This Woman was not satisfied with dishonouring her Husband, but made an Attempt upon his Life when he returned to *Argos* [E], and he had much ado to avoid being murdered, by taking Sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*. Afterwards he retired into *Italy*. Some say he went thither directly (b), without returning home, having heard of his Wife's ill Conduct.

Ennodius supposes, 1. That he resolved to re-embark as soon as he heard of his Wife's Unfaithfulness to him, and never to come to a Country where he could not live without Infamy. 2. That in lamenting his Fate he made a Panegyric upon his Wife's former Behaviour [F].

His Scholiast borrows the Explication of this Riddle from *Minnermus*, and paraphrases it thus: "Ὅταν ἡ Διομήδεια θυρῶς καὶ ἡ ὀρμητικὴ κῆλον ἦτοί ἡ γυνὴ Διομήδους Αἰγιάλεια οἰστροῖσιν καὶ μαρναῖος ὀρμῆσιν πρὸς τὰ λήκτρα καὶ τὰς μίξεις. The Scholiast upon *Homer* (13), without regarding the Encomium that his Text gives *Egialea* as a Woman, who exceedingly grieved for the loss of her Husband, (14), says she was mad with Lust: 'Ἐκμῆναι περὶ πορνείαν ὡς περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν νέων ἡλικίαν συγχωρεῖν ἀεὶ γένευσαν. See *Eustathius* upon the 486 verse of *Dionysius Periegetes*, where he has taken one name for another (15); *Μαχθῆναι*, says he, Σθενέλου τῷ τῷ Κομήτῃ: he should have said Κομήτῃ τῷ τῷ Σθενέλου.

[E] She attempted the Life of her Husband, when he returned to *Argos*.] If we had the Catalogue of all the Women who have followed her Example; I mean who, after they have proved unfaithful to their Husbands Beds, have also endeavoured to destroy them, it would swell to a large Volume. We have already seen (16), that *Domitian's* Wife would deserve a place in such a List. But how great soever the number of these Women may be, yet it is much less than that of Women, who proceed no farther than Adultery, and who, in all other Respects, are easy and obliging to their Husbands, provided they are quiet; for if you observe, you will find that almost all the Women of Gallantry, who make away, or attempt to make away with their Husbands, are only provoked to that Wickedness, because their Husbands are jealous, and will restrain the liberty which their Wives desire to have to divert themselves. Banish from the Hearts of Husbands that restless Jealousy, which prompts them to cross their Wives Amours, and you will secure their Lives from Assassination or Poison: and if the *Lacedæmonians* had imagined that Men would have had the patience, which abundance of Husbands furnish themselves with betimes in some Climates, and sometimes by a principle of Prudence, they would not have had so dreadful a notion of the Imprecation I mentioned before; but supposing no doubt that the intrigues of the Wife would torment the Husband, and cause Contention and Uneasiness, which the Party aggrieved would endeavour by all means to be freed from, they thought it was a terrible Curse. Tell me not that the *Gazettes*, and particularly in the Article of *France*, often speak of the proceedings against Women, for killing or attempting to kill their Husbands: for what is this, I beseech you, in comparison of so many others who live peaceably till a natural Death delivers them from the Adulteresses? Nor must you urge me with the good and tame *Mr Tiquet*, who sued for his Wife's pardon, when she was convicted of attempting to assassinate him, and so fully convicted, that she died for it upon the Scaffold (17), after having confessed the Crime: for this does not prove that he indulged his Wife in all the liberty she desired. In a word, if the Maxim of *Cato* the Censor (18), that those Women, who commit Adultery, are also Poisoners, was true at that time, when the *Romans* did but begin to be

infected with the Disorders of Luxury, it was not so in the Age of extream Corruption; and it is not so at this present time; for in Proportion as Corruption increases, Men grow familiar with Cuckoldom; it is reckoned a small matter, and they bear it patiently, and by this means the Adulteress is disarmed and not forced to have recourse either to the Arm of her Gallant or to Poison.

[F] *Ennodius* supposes . . . that *Diomedes* made an Encomium upon his Wife's former Behaviour. There is among the Works of *Ennodius*, a small Treatise intitled, *Verba Diomedis cum uxoris adulteria cognovisset* (19). — The speech of *Diomedes* when he had discovered his Wife's wantonness. *Diomedes* acknowledges there, that his Wife had been a pattern of Chastity: Nature and Education concurred to render her chaste; so that under the Protection of these two Ramparts, he did not believe her capable of an impure Action. Ut gemino defensa propugnaculo nullatenus facinoræ credere: ut iisibus subjacere, nec dura castimonie obsecratis evaseratione mollesce (20). She was not fond of dressing herself in Gold and Pearls, and had always behaved herself like a Woman of Honour. He concludes, * In summa, talis perlit, quales solent à maritis lacrymas impetrare. Circæo, ut ajunt, poculo à se translata est, & in votum migravit adulter (21). — In short, concludes he, she fell like those whose loss commands tears from their Husbands. She was drawn aside, as they say, by the force of Witcraft, and gave way to the Power of Temptation. These words are an Honour to *Diomedes*: they are prudent, and have nothing of that unjust rage, which an infinite number of Husbands would express in their discourses on the like Occasion. They would at such a time forget all the good Qualities of their Wives, and call their former prudence, all counterfeit Modesty, Hypocrisy, and Treason. This little Tract of *Ennodius* carries also a dangerous Moral with it. It may make the most contented Husbands distrustful; for if a Woman of so exquisite Virtue as *Diomedes's* Wife, be not proof in the absence of her Husband, how shall we be sure of the Virtue of those who love to dress, and are not sufficiently guarded, either by Nature or Education; but it is true, there are few Husbands, who are so long absent from home, as *Diomedes*; and if the *Grecian* Generals, who were ten Years at the Siege of *Troy*, found at their return, that their Wives had not been able to live without Gallants, it was partly their own fault; why did they leave them alone for so many Years? They should have given them, at their departure, the same advice that was given to a Prelate by his Mistress. * The Bishop of . . . going one day to take his leave of the Countess of . . . whom he loved, expressed his grief, that he must be absent from her, though but for so little a while; after abundance of tender things said on both sides, the Bishop rose up to go, and the Countess, accompanying him to the Door, told him, well Sir, make your Journey as short as you can, and remember that a Mistress is a Benefice that obliges to Residence (22).

(b) Servius in *Æneid.* lib. viii. ver. 9.

(19) It is in the 24th among those that are called *Disticha*. It is at pag. 331 of the 15th Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Edit. Paris. 1644.

(20) *Ennodius*, *ibid.*

(21) *Id.* *ibid.*

(22) *Meningiana*, pag. 112, of the first Dutch Edition.

(a) *Vossius*, de *Histor. Latin.* pag. 302.

(b) *Count Hermann*, de *Nuenar*.

(c) See *Father Labbe*, de *Script. Eccles.* Tom. I. pag. 273.

(d) *Siebert*, de *Viris illust.* cap. lxxxiv. & ex eo *Vossius* & *Labbe*, ubi supra.

it only proves he was better acquainted with Affairs. For might not the remembrance of the Honours he had received from that Prince be an inducement to Flattery? A modern Author charges him with extream Partiality [A]. I know not how far we are to believe his Adventure with one of the Daughters of *Charlemagne* [B].

[A] A modern Author charges him with extreme Partiality. He goes much farther, and attributes to him infamous Impostures (1). He says what he has mentioned of the Inactivity of the Kings of the first Race are impertinent Fables: 'Those Kings having been unable to support their Dignity only by their want of Age, and That ridiculous Shew of their Persons upon a Carr drawn by Oxen, being an impudent lye of the Impostor Eginard, without Truth or Foundation (2).' He adds, that Eginard is the Inventor of the Fable related by so many Writers as a certain Truth, that Pope Zachary approved of the deposition of King *Cbilderic*, and *Pepin's* Usurpation. By confuting Eginard, says he (3), we confute all those who have writ upon his Credit. Let us see how he confutes him.

(1) See a Book intitled *L'Esprit de Gerson*, chap. xxxv, pag. 204. It was printed in 1691, in 12mo.

(2) Chap. xxxvi, pag. 206.

(3) Ibid. chap. xxxvii, p. 217.

Eginard was the Chaplain and Creature of *Charles the Great*, whose Life he wrote. His whole endeavour was, by inventing an infinite number of Stories, to depreciate the Kings of the *Merovingian* Race, whom he has maliciously represented as mean spirited and slothful, in order to colour and excuse as much as possible the criminal Usurpation of *Pepin*. It is with that view, that thro' a ridiculous ignorance he gives a beard to Children of eight Years old, and Children to those who were not yet in Being, and loads with Reproaches young Princes, whose only Fault was a Life too short to exert their Virtues: It is by the same principle of Malice, that he invented that ridiculous Procession of the Kings in a Carr drawn by Oxen the first Day of *May*, and their obscure Retirement into the Castle of *Mamaca* which never existed; since at the same time that he shuts the Kings up in that imaginary Solitude, it appears by cotemporary Authors that they were at the head of their Armies, or otherwise employed according as their Age would permit. This Malice of Eginard is very visible throughout his whole Work; but when he is to speak of *Cbilderic's* Abdication, he thought he should entirely excuse *Pepin*, by making the Pope an Accomplice in his wickedness, and he has done it with so little Circumspection, and with an Anachronism so full of ignorance, that he says *Cbilderic* was degraded by order of Pope *Stephen*: *Iussu Stephani Pontificis exautoratus*; and yet *Pepin* was proclaimed King before *Stephen* was made Pope, since he was not chosen Pope in *Rome*, before the end of *March 752*, and *Pepin* was proclaimed the first of *March*. He is even so bad a Chronologer, though he lived almost at that time, that he says *Pepin* reigned fifteen Years after *Cbilderic* was shaved (4). Now *Pepin* died in *September 768*, and was proclaimed in *March 752*, which make sixteen Years and a half: so that we see what little Credit this fabulous Author deserves; and how should he say any thing certain of the Reigns of *Cbilderic* and *Pepin*; he, who confesses himself so ignorant, and so little conversant in Books, that, having undertook to write a History of *Charles the Great*, he professes he shall say nothing of his Infancy, or Youth, because, at the time he is writing, there is no body alive who could give him any Information. *Nec quisquam modo superesse invenitur, qui horum se dicat habere notitiam.* — None, says he, are found that can say, that they have any Knowledge of them. From whence we may judge from what fine Memoirs he has compiled his History, and spoke of former things (5).

(4) This Censure is ill grounded, since Eginhart uses the Phrase fifteen Years or more, cum per 15 annos aut eo amplius Franci imperaret. In Vita Caroli Mag.

(5) This Censure falls to the ground by reading the whole Passage in Eginhart, where are these words: Quia neque scriptum usquam aliquando declaratum est; quibus supponit he consulted either Writings or Persons. He might find both upon other things, tho' not upon Charles's Infancy.

(6) Chronicon Laurishemensis Cenobii, published by Freher among Rei Germanicæ Scriptores.

I have not time to examine whether all these Reproaches are just: I shall only observe that the Author seems to me to be too much better founded, when he confutes what is said concerning the demands of the *French* to the Pope, and the Pope's Answer. The Request has no Shadow of common Sense, and the Answer is a ridiculous injustice.

[B] I know not how far we are to believe his Adventure with one of the Daughters of *Charles the Great*. *Marquard Freher* has published a Chronicle (6), in which it is said that our Eginhart insinuated himself in such a manner, into the good Graces of *Imma*, Daughter to *Charles the Great*, that he obtained of her whatever he desired. *Charles the Great* having

discovered this little Mystery did not do as the Emperor *Augustus* (7); for he married the two Lovers, and gave them a fine Estate. *Freher* gives no Credit to this Story. See Letter CIV of the Collection of Letters written to *Goldast*, and published in 1688. He is the Author of this Letter, and he observes therein that *Vincencius Bellovacensis* relates a like History of the Emperor *Henry III*. I am sure most of my Readers would find fault with me, if I did not tell them how *Charles the Great* discovered Eginhart's Intrigue, but will be glad to see here this Relation. These reasons oblige me to insert an Abstract of this Story.

Eginhart, Chaplain and Secretary to *Charles the Great*, behaved himself so well in his Post, that he was universally beloved. *Imma*, the Emperor's Daughter, fell desperately in love with him, nor had he less Passion for her. The fear of what might be the Consequence, hindered them from marrying, but could not prevent their mutual Affection from increasing every Day. At length, being unable to overcome the Violence of his Passion, he resolved to take a bold step. He stole by Night into the Princess's Apartment, and knocking softly at the Door, was admitted into her Chamber, under pretence of business from the Emperor: but his business was of another Nature, and he appeased his Passion in the most agreeable manner in the World. *Denique cum idem vir egregius inremediabiliter amando æstaret, aureque virginis per internuncium appellare nec præsumeret, novissime sumpta de semet ipso fiducia nocturno tempore latentem ad puellæ tendebat habitaculum. Ibidemque pulsans clanculum & intrare permixtus tanquam aliocturus juvenculam de regali mandato, statim verâ vice solus cum sola secretis usus alloquiis & datis amplexibus cupito satisfacit amori (8).* His Design was to have retired before Day break; but he found that whilst he had been diverting himself with *Imma*, a great Snow had fallen. He was apprehensive of being discovered by the print of his Feet upon the Snow, and acquainted the Princess with his Fear. They consulted how to get clear of this Difficulty, and the Princess found out an Expedient, by offering to take up her Lover upon her Shoulders, and carry him beyond the Snow. *Cumque nimia sollicitudine fluctuantes quid facto opus esset deliberarent, tandem elegantissima juvencula, quam audacem faciebat amor, consilium dedit ut ipsa quidem super se insidentem inclinata exciperet, eumque usque ad locum illius hospitio contiguum ante lucanum deportaret, ibique eo deposito rursum per eadem vestigia cautius observata rediret (9).* The Emperor could not sleep that whole Night, which was thought to be a particular effect of Providence (10). He rose betimes in the Morning, and looking out at the Window, saw his Daughter staggering under the burden she carried, which she laid down, and returned immediately. *Intuitus est filiam suam sub præfato onere nutanti gressu vix incedere, & ad conditum locum deposita quam gestabat sarcina celeri repedare cursu (11).* He was moved with wonder and grief; but believing there was something Divine in all this, he resolved to dissemble the matter. *Quibus multo intuitu perspectis, Imp. partim admiratione partim dolore permotus, non tamen absque divina dispositione id fieri reputans, sese continuit, & visa interim silentio suppressit.* In the mean time Eginhart, concluding this Action could not be concealed long, determined to retire, and fell at his Master's Feet to ask his leave: pretending his long Services had not been rewarded. The Emperor answered, he would consider of it, and appointed him a Day when he would let him know his Pleasure. That Day he called a Council, and declared his Secretary's Crime: he related exactly what he had seen, and asked their advice upon an affair so dishonourable to his Family. *Imperatoriam iniquis majestatem nimis injuriatam esse & despectatam in indigna filiae suæ notariique sui copulatione, & exinde non mediocri sese agitari perturbatione. Quibus nimio stupore percussis, & de rei novitate & magnitudine quibusdam adhuc ambigentibus, Rex innuit eis evidenter, referens eis a primordio quid per se metipsum*

(7) It is thought he banished Ovid, because he believed him too much in Julia's Favour.

(8) Chronicon Laurishemensis, pag. 62.

(9) Ibidem.

(10) Eam noctem Imperator divino (ut creditur) intuitu infonem duxit. Ibid.

(11) Ibidem.

(12) Ibidem,
pag. 63.

(13) Ibidem.
ibid. M. (11)

(14) Juri vestro
nuptum tradam
meam filiam,
vestrum scilicet por-
triciem, quæ
quandocumque alte
soccincta vestre
subvectioni satis
se morigeram ex-
hibuit. Ibid.

(15) Ibidem.

(16) Some say he
role to observe the
Start. See Com-
mencement in his
Treatise of Co-
mets, pag. 238.

(17) Plinius, lib.
ii, esp. vii.

(18) Horat. Sat. v.
lib. i, ver. 97.

(19) In his Re-
marks upon these
words of Horace.

metipsum oculata fide cognoverit, consiliumque eo-
rum aque sententiam expostulans super hoc (12).
The Council were divided in their Opinions: some ad-
vised to a severe Punishment, others having well
weighed the matter, advised the Emperor to decide it
himself, as his divine Discretion should direct. He decid-
ed it in this manner. He declared, that by chastising
Eginbart, he should rather increase than lessen the Dis-
grace of his Family, and therefore he thought it better
to hide the Ignominy under the veil of Marriage.
Tam tristis facti à notario meo non exigam pœnas per
quas infamia filiae meae magis videbitur augeri quam
minui. Unde dignius & laudabilius imperii nostri
gloriæ arbitramur congruere, ut data adolescentiæ
venia legitimo eos matrimonio conjungam, & rei pro-
brofæ honestatis colorem superducam (13). The Gal-
lant was called in, and informed, that the Emperor
had resolved to give him his Daughter in reward for
his long Services, which he had complained were not
considered: I will give you my Daughter, said Charles
the Great, that Portress who so kindly carried you upon
her back (14). Immediately he sent for the Princess,
and gave her to Eginbart, with a Fortune suitable to
the Dignity of so great a Prince. Protinus ad Regis
edictum cum multo comitatu adducta est ejus filia,
quæ roseo vultum perfusa rubore tradita est per ma-
nus patris in manus prædicti Eginhardi, cum dote plu-
rima prædiorum quoque nonnullorum, cum innumeris
aureis, argenteisque donariis, aliisque pretiosis sup-
pellectilibus (15).

This is the Substance of the Adventure: there is not
a Tale in Boccaccio's Decameron, or the Heptameron of
the Queen of Navarre, to be compared to this, if it
was well embellished: and I am confident, in the hands
of Mr de la Fontaine, it would be one of the pleasant-
est Tales that could be read. A Print would furnish a
Parallel of a new Invention, between the Effects of
Love and Friendship, between Æneas carrying his Fa-
ther Anchises on his Shoulders, and Imma carrying her
Lover. Charles the Great (16) beholding afar off this
Portress would be none of the least Ornaments of the
Piece, if the Engraver represented to the Life the Re-
flexions of that good Father. Imma is here like the
Ephesian Matron in Petronius, she who finds out Ex-
pedients; but this spares not her own Body to help her
Gallant at a dead lift (a).

[(17) a] Mr Bayle did not know, or did not remem-
ber in this place, that Jacob Cats, Grand Pensionary
of Holland, has put this Story or Tale into Flemish

Verse. It is among his Works printed at Amsterdam
in 1658, in folio. There must have been a prior Ed-
ition, as the Year of the Impression of the following
Book sufficiently makes appear. There are three prints
in this; one represents Eginbart teaching Imma with
Books, and afterwards kissing one another; the second
shows Imma carrying Eginbart upon her Shoulders.
Charles the Great sees them through a Window of his
Palace, and two of the Guards seize them by his order;
the third represents Imma and Eginbart before Charles
the Great, who decides their Fate. Gaspar Barleus
has also turned this Story into Latin Hexameter Verse,
by translating Cats's Book under this Title: Virgo Av-
desophora, sive Emma Caroli Magni filia Eginardum
scriptorem Amasium suum bumeris portantis fata & nup-
tiae. This pretty Poem is in page 161 &c. of the
following Book: Faestes Augustæ, sive Poëmatia, quibus
illustriores Nuptiæ à nobili & illustri viro D. Jacobo
Catsio, Eg. & Præpot. Holl. ac Frisicæ occidentalis Ord.
Syndico, antebac Belgicis versibus conscriptæ, jam à
Caspare Barleæ & Cornelio Boyo Latino Carmine cele-
brantur. Ad Serenissimam Principem Elisabetham Fred.
Regis Bohemæ & Electoris Palatini filiam, Dordraci.
1643, in 8vo. There are but two Cuts in this Book,
page 175 and 179, which are the two last, mentioned
above. In the same Book, page 642 and following,
there is a Poem, but without Cuts, intitled: Caspa-
ris Barleæ Antwerpiani Poëmata, editio quarta, altera
plus parte auctior, Pars prima Heroicorum, Amst. 1645.
in 12mo.

Mr John Herman Schmincke, in a Latin Dissertation
inserted in this Book, viz. Eginhartus de Vita & Ge-
stis Caroli Magni &c. which he published in 1711.
Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex Officina Gulielmi vande Water,
in 4to, proves that Imma was not Charles the Great's
Daughter: And the Journalists of Trevoux, speaking of
this Book, page 656, December 1711, intimate that
they are of the same Opinion. They continue in the
same Sentiment, page 640, April 1715, in men-
tioning a Poem, and another Work of Father John
Weinckens, inserted in a Book intitled, Naurchia
Seligensdiana &c. Francf. ad Mœnum, apud Joan.
Philip. Andream 1714 in fol. This Father in his
Poem calls Imma the Daughter of Charles the Great,
but says the contrary, in the second Chapter of his
other Book, where he relates and rejects the Story of a
criminal Conversation, followed by a Marriage be-
tween Eginbart and Imma, the Daughter of Charles
the Great. REM. CRIT.]

EGNATIA, a City of Italy, in the Country of the Salentines, between Bari and
Brindisi (a), was only considerable for the miraculous Stone which they boasted to have
[A]. If all the World had been of Horace's Humour, this Stone would have contri-
buted more to the Shame than the Glory of the Inhabitants of Egnatia. He laughs at
their pretended Miracle, and refers the Belief of it to the Jews [B]. There were for-
merly other Places that boasted of such like Prodigies [C], and even more extraor-
dinary

[A] It was only considerable for the miraculous Stone
they boasted to have. The Wood, that was put upon
this Stone, immediately took Fire. Reperitur apud
auctores . . . in Salentino oppido Egnatia, imposito
ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum, protinus flam-
mam existeret (1). We shall see by and by, that
this Stone was at the entrance of the Temple, and
that it set the Frankincense on Fire.

[B] Horace laughs at their pretended Miracle, and
refers the belief of it to the Jews. His Words
are:

dehinc Gnatia lymphis
Iratis exstructa dedit risusque jocosque,
Dum flamma sine, thura liquefcere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit. Credat Judæus Apella,
Non ego (2).

At credulous Narri we had cause to smile,
With Superstition seeking to beguile.
Their Priests declare, that in the sacred Quire
Sweet Incense burns without the help of Fire.
The Jew, Apella, may this Tale believe;
Not I.

Mr Dacier (3) declares for those who think Horace in-
sults the Jewish Nation here, because he knew what

was said of Elijah's Sacrifice, that Fire from Heaven
consumed the Oblation. I see nothing amiss in this
Thought of Mr Dacier's: I shall only observe that Ho-
race might as well have referred them to the Persians,
as to the Jews to believe those things: Ferunt si ju-
stum est credi etiam ignem cœlitus lapsum apud se
sempiternis foculis custodire, cujus portionem exi-
guam ut sacram præfisse quondam Asiaticis regibus di-
cunt. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus expresses him-
self, speaking of the Persian Magi in the sixth Chapter
of the twenty third Book.

[C] There were other places that boasted of such like
Prodigies. Solinus makes mention of a Hill much more
miraculous than the Temple of Egnatia. It was in
Sicily near Agrigentum. They had no need to bring
Fire to the Altar: it was enough to lay the Vine
Branches upon it, and though they were never so
green they would kindle of themselves, provided the
Sacrifice was agreeable to the God to whom it was of-
fered. In that Case the Flame not only arose of it
self, but also spread it self on both sides, as if it would
seize those that eat of the Sacrifice, but did not the
least harm to any that touched it. And this was a
sign the Ceremonies of the Day were fully perform-
ed. Nec longè inde collis Vulcanius, in quo qui di-
vine rei operantur, ligna vitæ super aras struunt,
nec ignis adponitur in hanc congeriem: cum proficias
intulerunt, si adest Deus, si sacrum probatur, sar-
menta licet viridia sponte concipiunt, & nullo infla-
gante

(a) These two
Cities were calle
Barium and
Brundisium.

dinary ones [D]. The Managers of religious Matters were encouraged by the Credulity of the People to out-do one another in Miracles.

(4) Solinus, cap. v, pag. m. 20. *grante halitu, ab ipso numine fit accendium. Ibi epulantes adludit flamma, quæ flexuosis excessibus vagabunda, quem contigerit non adurit: nec aliud est quam imago nuncia perfecti ritæ voti (4).* This is more conformable to the events in Scripture, and much more singular than the Miracle of Egnatia. A celestial Fire, descending upon the Victims, has sometimes been an evidence to the Jews that God accepted of their worship (5); and it is a more direct sign of a particular Providence, to see the Fire then only kindle of itself, when the hearts of the worshippers are well disposed, than to see it at all times do so. In the latter case Men will be apt to suspect a natural Cause, or a Cheat: whereas in the former there is no Ground, or at least less ground for suspicions. Servius assures us, that in ancient Times they kindled no Fire upon the Altar, but drew down Fire from Heaven by Prayer and Supplication. 'Apud majores aræ non incendebantur, sed ignem divinum precibus eliciebant qui incendebat altaria (6).' Pausanias gives an account of a surprising thing he was an Eye-witness to. There were two Cities in Lydia, that practised what I am going to mention. Each of these two Cities had a Temple, in which was a Chapel designed for the Ceremony I am speaking of. Athes of a particular Colour were seen upon the Altar in this Chapel. A Magician came in, and having laid dry Wood upon the Hearth, and having a Tiara upon his Head, he repeated certain Prayers out of a Book; as soon as this was done, immediately a very bright Flame was seen to rise out of the Hearth, without any bodies putting Fire to the Wood. 'Ανευ δὲ δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη παῖσα ἀρβύλαι τὰ ἔϋλα, καὶ πειραγῶν φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι. Sponte sua d'ignis nullo igne admoto purissima emicat flamma (7).' This Man was bolder than the Greek Priests, who make the People believe that, every Year at Easter, they gather in a Chapel of the holy Sepulchre a celestial Fire sent from God in a miraculous manner. They durst do nothing publicly, the Ceremony in all performed in secret. As the Latin Priests have not adopted this Cheat, they are the first to ridicule it, and they boldly tell the Greeks, when they are going to shut themselves up in the Chapel for this pretended Miracle, *You would be strangely disappointed if your Steel should not prove good.*

(5) See Remark [H] of the Article ABE L.

(6) Servius, in Æneid. lib. xii, ver. 200.

(7) Pausan. lib. v, sub finem pag. m. 176.

(8) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. xiv. Dion relates the same thing, lib. 54, at the year 734, pag. 603.

(9) Appianus, in Syriac. pag. 82.

(10) Servius, in Virgil. Ecl. viii, ver. 106.

I say nothing of particular occasions when Fire has kindled upon the Altar of itself for a happy Omen to some Persons. This was one of the Prefaces of Tiberius's Greatness. 'Ingresso primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam accidit, ut apud Philippos sacratæ olim victicium legio- num aræ sponte subitis colluere ignibus (8).' *As he led his Army, in his first Expedition, through Macedonia into Syria, the Altars, which the victorious Legions had consecrated at Philippi, caught Fire of themselves, and burst forth into a sudden blaze.* Suetonius knew his future advancement by the like sign (9). Cicero's Consulship was preceded with the like Omen: this he learned from his Wife, and inserted it in a Poem. He might easily have known that there was nothing supernatural in it: if Wine is thrown upon hot Athes, among which there are almost always some live Coals, it is not uncommon for the Spirit of the Wine to take Fire; this was all the prodigy that Cicero's Wife informed her Husband of. 'Hoc uxori Ciceronis dicitur contigisse, cum peracto sacrificio libare vellet in cinerem; ex ipso cinere flamma eodem anno Consulatum futurum ostendit ejus maritum, sicut Cicero in suo testatur poemate (10).' *It is said that the Wife of Cicero, after the performing of a Sacrifice, pouring out some Wine on the Athes, saw a Flame issue from them, a prognostication that he should be Consul that Year, as Cicero himself testifies in his Poem.* Others say this Prodigy appeared to the Ladies, who were celebrating the Feast of the good Goddesses. The

Fire upon the Altar seemed to be extinguished, and yet all of a sudden a great Flame blazed out from the midst of the Fire-Brands and Athes (11). This might be very natural: We see every day the remainder of a Faggot, when the Flame is out, kindle again of itself. The Ladies were alarmed, but the Vestal Virgins ordered Cicero's Wife to go directly and tell her Husband, that he should put his Designs in Execution for the good of his Country, the Goddesses having promised him good success. They were at that time deliberating what to do with Catiline's Accomplices who were kept in Prison. Cicero's Wife immediately executed the Vestals order, and encouraged her Husband (12). This has the air of one Story, embellished with another. They have perhaps changed the Circumstances of the Fact with which Cicero's Poem is adorned, and so for one Prodigy have given us two. However that be, it was not a Maxim, that Fire, kindling of itself, was always a good Preface; for we see in Virgil, upon a like occasion, they with it might be a good Omen:

Aspicit corripuit tremulis altaria flammis
Sponte sua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipse. Bonum fit (13).

*Behold the Athes, while I thus delay
To bear them hence, now lick the Altar round
With trembling Flames, spontaneous: may it prove
Auspicious.*

TRAPP.

Servius's Remark, which may be seen in the Margin, was the proof Mr Selden ought to have made use of; for his own is good for nothing. 'Licet & factum nonnunquam fit, says he (14), ut ignes illi non tantum boni sed & insauti quicquam præsignificarent. — Since those Fires, says he, have portended sometimes, not only good, but also ill success.' Upon which he cites Lavinia's Adventure, mentioned by Virgil in the seventh Æneid. But there the Prodigy does not consist in the Fire's catching of itself upon the Altar, but in its taking hold of Lavinia's long Hair, and burning all her Head-dress: while the flood by her Father at the Altar.

castis ADOLET dum altaria TAEDIS
Et juxta genitorem adstat Lavinia virgo
Vifa (nefas) longis comprehendere crinibus ignem,
Atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari (15).

*— as chaste Lavinia, Royal Maid,
Stood by her Father, and with holy Brands
Kindled the Altars; with her flowing Hair
(Wonderous!) she seem'd to catch the Flame, and all
Her Head Attire to crackle in the blaze.*

TRAPP.

Read also what Titus Livius relates of the Flame, which was seen about the head of Servius Tullius (16).

[D] . . . and even more extraordinary ones.] The Temple of Venus, upon the Mountain Eryce in Sicily, was one of the most celebrated among the ancient Pagans. It was distinguished by a thousand things: though I shall mention but one of them. The great Altar was always exposed without Covering in the open Air, sub dio: and yet the Flame was preserved alive, Night and Day, without Coals, Cinders, or Fire Brands, in the midst of the Dew, and the Grass which grew up every Night about it (17).

(11) Plutarchus, in Cicero, pag. 870.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Virg. Ecl. viii, ver. 105. Upon which Servius observes: Opus est ut hoc signum bonum sit quia ignis medius est, & qui possit etiam nocere. Sic quisque the Omen might be lucky, because the Fire had been the Power of a Mediator and an Enemy.

(14) Selden. Ot. Theolog. pag. 336.

(15) Virgil. Æneid. lib. vii, ver. 71.

(16) Livius, Dec. I. lib. i, cap. 33.

(17) Elian. Hist. Animal. lib. 7, cap. 54.

EGNATIUS (JOHN BAPTIST) a learned Man of the XVIth Century, taught polite Learning at Venice, his native City, with great Reputation. He made himself so useful to the Youth, that when he grew old and requested to be declared emeritus, he could not obtain it [A], because they judged it would be prejudicial to the Students.

At

[A] He made himself so useful to the Youth, that when he grew old, and requested to be declared Emeritus, he could

At last, in his extream old Age, he got leave to be dismissed, as he desired, and also received from the Republic of Venice a glorious and profitable Testimony of the Esteem they had for him [B]. The Works which he published [C] give but an imperfect Character of his Merit; for he spoke much better than he wrote, and discovered an excellent Memory, and a comprehensive Knowledge, much more in his Lectures and Conversation, than in his Books [D]. He was not less celebrated for his

Virtue

could not obtain it.] This is what one of his Scholars has published to the World. 'Nos qui juvenes eramus, says he (1), illum cujus ætas jam senescebat, ut jam tum cessaret, imprudenter fortasse quidem, sed tamen amice monebamus, illud usurpantes:

Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & illa ducat.

Ille vero, qui vir prudentissimus esset, & optime, qui sit orbis in rebus humanis, nosset, ut in otium solitudinemque se conferre cupiebat, sic etiam sæpe tentavit, sed, quod cupiebat, à Senatu Veneto, qui juventutem talis & tanti viri consuetudine fructuque privari volebat, id nunquam, nisi senex admodum, potuit impetrare. — We who were young gave him the imprudent perhaps, but friendly Advice, to retire from fatigue in his old Age, using that Argument of Horace:

While yet 'tis well release thy aged Horse,
Least when he runs, but with unequal Force,
And stretches hard to win, he break his Wind,
And hiss'd and distanc'd lamely lag behind.

And he who was a Man of uncommon Prudence, and perfectly acquainted with the Instability of human Affairs, longed to enjoy the sweets of a retired Life, and often solicited his discharge, but was not able to prevail with the Senate of Venice to comply with his Request. For they were unwilling their Town should be deprived of the Advantage of so experienced a Director. It was not therefore till he was extremely old that he succeeded.

[B] He received from the Republic of Venice a glorious and profitable Testimony of the Esteem they had for him.] He received this favour from the Senate, that though he taught no longer, he should have the same annual Allowance as when he did, and by a Decree of the Council of Ten, his Estate was exempted from all kinds of Taxes. This is the Translation Mr de Ryer has given of Thuanus's Latin. 'Eas (bonas literas) non mediocri studio illustravit, & scriptis & publica XL annorum professione cum summa totius Italie admiratione; ob id ab illustrissimo Senatu eam gratiam consecutus, ut quanguam publico munere defunctus, eodem stipendio, quod profutendo meruerat, quotannis donaretur, & ejus bona ex xivralis Consilii decreto publico censu eximeretur (2). Gbiliini does not altogether confirm this: he says, Egnatius's Salary was 300 Crowns a Year during his office, and 200 Crowns after his dismission from it (3). The short Elogy of Egnatius, which is at the beginning of his Posthumous Treatise of Exemplis illustrium Virorum, does not enter into these Particulars; but there it is said: 'Vir & scientia & religione insignis . . . adeo universæ Venetæ civitati ob singularem eruditionem ac morum probitatem charus, ut ex Senatus decreto ducentis aureis nummis quotannis jam publico munere defunctus ac plane emeritus quoad vixerit donaretur. — A Man eminent for his Knowledge and Piety . . . so endeared to the whole City of Venice for his extraordinary Learning, and the Integrity of his Morals, that after he had retired from public Business, and was worn out, he had an Annuity of Two hundred Ducats assigned by the Senate for Life.'

[C] The Works he published.] Gesner has given us this List of them, De Romanis Principibus vel Cæsari-bus libri tres (4). This Book contains an Abridgment of the Life of the Emperors from Cæsar to Constantine Paleologus, and from Charlemagne to Maximilian I. It was translated into French by Geofry Tory of Bourges, and printed at Paris in 1529 (5). The Abbot de Marolles made another French Translation of it in 1664. Gbiliini has made two Books of this (6); for he gives us de Cæsari-bus libri tres, as a distinct Work from de Romanis Principibus. After this manner Cata-

logue-makers absurdly multiply the Works of Authors upon a thousand occasions. But to go on copying Gesner. Item Annotationes in Vitas Cæsarum apud Suetonium, nempe Eliani, Spartiani, Julii Capitolini, Lampridii, Flavii Vopisei, Trebellii Pollionis, Vulcatii Gallicani. These words have been faithfully copied by Gesner's Abridgers: Yet it is easy to perceive they are full of Faults. There was no need of a Comma after Eliani, and instead of Eliani, it ought to be read Elii. The worst is, supposing they are correct, you must of necessity suppose also, that Elian, that Spartianus, that Julius Capitolinus, that Lampridius, that Flavius Vopiscus, that Trebellius Pollio, and Vulcatius Gallicanus, are Roman Emperors, whose Lives Suetonius has writ. Now this Supposition is so absurd, and so monstrous, that a School-Boy would laugh at it. How then has it passed for true in the Judgment of Josias Simler, and John James Fritius, who have made an Abridgment of, and a Supplement to, Gesner? They are more inexcusable than Gesner: for if he saw the Proofs from the Press, he might not take notice of the Printer's Omissions. It happens too often, when we correct the Proofs, that the head is so full of what we put into the Copy, that we read it by heart, and without perceiving where the Printers have mislead. Egnatius's other Books cited by Gesner are, de Origine Turcarum: Observationes in Ovidium: Interpretamenta in familiæ Epistolas Ciceronis: Panegyricus in Francorum Regem (7): Recitationes quæ obscuriores aliquot Autorum locos interpretantur (8): Exemplorum libri novem. Gbiliini assures us, that the Notes of this Author in Dioscoridem ab Hermolao Barbaro translatus, and his Harangue ad Metretices, and seventy other Harangues, have all been published. The Abbot de Marolles observes (9) that the little Treatise of the Origin of the Turks, composed by our Egnatius, is printed in the Collection of Works concerning the History of the Government of Turkey, and the Ottoman Empire, by John Oporin in 1556. Note, the nine Books of Examples were printed after his Death. He composed this Book, in his old Age, upon the Model of Valerius Maximus, but he did not live long enough to put a finishing hand to it. He recommended it in his last Will to the Noble Marco Molino, Procurator of St Mark, who ordered his Son to publish it. The Son immediately discharged this Commission. The Epistle Dedicatory at the beginning of the Book is dated the thirtieth of April 1554: It contains in few words a very good Elogy on Egnatius, whose Death is there placed, July the second 1553 (10). The Edition I make use of is of Paris, apud Bernardum Turisianum via Jacobæa sub Aldina Bibliotheca, 1554 in 16mo. The Title of this Book is: Joannis Baptistæ Egnatii viri doctissimi, de Exemplis illustrium virorum Venetæ civitatis atque aliarum Gentium.

[D] He spoke better than he wrote, and discovered . . . more knowledge in his Lectures . . . than in his Books.] Corradus observes that those, who charged Egnatius with ignorance, could better be confuted by the Evidence of those Persons, who had heard that Professor, than by his Books. Quamvis ipsius scriptis, quæ jam multa leguntur, facile refutare possemus: quia tamen ille multo melius, ut Ser. Galoa, ut Q. Hortensius, ut alii, dixit, quam scripsit, facilius eos testibus, qui sunt adhuc innumerabiles, confutari posse, si res poscat, arbitramur (11). He relates a curious Fact. Egnatius pronouncing an Harangue, which he had learnt by heart, was just upon the point of concluding, when he saw the Pope's Nuncio come in. He resumed his Discourse from the beginning, and repeated in other terms all he had said, but with more Eloquence than the first time, so that his Friends advised him to write no more. Nos certe, quod omnes, qui tunc Venetiis erant, audire potuerunt, affirmare non dubitamus; illum, quom Pontificis olim Legatus Orationi, quam memoriter jam penè totam dixerat, intervenisset, illud idem, quod pronuntiabat, diversis verbis à principio repetitum, multo melius

(1) Sebastianus Corradus, in Questura, init.

(2) Thuanus, lib. 12, pag. 253, col. 1. ad ann. 1553.

(3) Gbiliini, Teatro, Parte I. pag. 96, 97.

(4) Gesner, in Biblioth. p. 387.

(5) See the Abbot de Marolles, in his Augmentation of the Roman History, Tom. II, pag. 287.

(6) Gbiliini, ubi supra.

(7) Gesner's Epitome says it was printed at Venice in 1540.

(8) Gruterus has inserted them in the first Volume of the Thesaurus Criticus.

(9) Augment. de l'Hist. Romaine, Tom. II, p. 287.

(10) I l'élève ne ought to prefer this Date to the IV Non. Quintil. of Thuanus.

(11) Corradus, in Questura, pag. 2.

(a) Thuan. lib.
xii, pag. 253. See
below, Citation
(10).

Virtue than for his Learning [E]; and it is said his exemplary Life was an Honour to the Ecclesiastical Order to which he had devoted himself (a). He died the Fourth of July 1553, at the age of eighty Years (b), and left his Estate and his fine Library (b) *idem, ibid.* to three illustrious Families of Venice [F]. Soon after his death, a Letter was published,

(12) *Id. ibid.*

' melius elegantiusque dixisse. Quare, quum descen-
' diffet, sic nos illi diximus: Tu vero posthac nihil
' unquam scribito (12). To know the extent of his
Learning, and the strength of his Memory, read what
follows, by which it appears, that the Senators of Ve-
nice went often to consult him. ' Habuit vir ille,
' quod de L. Lucullo dicitur, divinam quandam me-
' moriam rerum: quas quidem res penè omnes ut
' legerat, vel audierat, sic iis, qui scire volebant,
' memoriter, jucundeque narrabat. Res vero tam mul-
' tas ille legerat, vel audierat, ut omnium maxime
' studiosus, atque etiam plane curiosus fuit, ut de
' omni re, quæcumque in disceptationem, quæstionem-
' que vocaretur, copiosissime, tanquam Gorgias, posset,
' & soleret etiam sæpe disputare. Nam de jure civili
' caute, de totius orbis, & cæli regionibus, ac gen-
' tium moribus perite, de poetica divinitus, de phi-
' losophia sapienter, atque de religione pie responde-
' bat. Quod si quis eum, ut de rebus ad Historiam,
' vel ad Rhetoricam pertinentibus loqueretur, rogasset,
' id ille sic libenter, sic humaniter, sic ornate, sic
' copiose faciebat, ut vere *Lydius*, quod ajunt, in cam-
' pum videretur esse provocatus. Quare, præter stu-
' diosios adolescentes, quorum maxima frequentia sem-
' per Egnatii janua, & vestibulum frequentari solebant,
' multi nobilissimi & optimi senatores, ut magnis de
' rebus deliberarent, ad eum penè quotidie veniebant
' ita, ut ejus domus oraculum totius civitatis vere
' posset appellari (13). — He had the same, which
' is reported of Lucius Lucullus, a surprizing happines
' of Memory; inasmuch, that he retained almost every
' thing exactly as he had read or heard, and would
' repeat it agreeably, and off Hand, to those who de-
' sired to hear it. He had read and heard so much,
' being extremely inquisitive after Knowledge, that,
' like Gorgias, he could, and often did, dispute on what-
' ever Topic was proposed for debate. On Civil-Law he
' answered with Caution; on the System of the Hea-
' vens, the Theory of the Globe, and the Manners of
' Nations, with Judgment; on Poetry, as if he had been
' inspired; on Philosophy, like a Sage; and on Religion
' like a Saint. But if any one asked him to speak of
' History or Rhetoric, he did it with such Freedom,
' such Humanity, such Elegance, and such Fluency,
' that he appeared to be a perfect Champion in
' his way. Wherefore besides the numbers of young
' Students, who constantly crowded his Gate, many Se-
' nators of the first Rank and Condition, came almost
' every day to consult him, on Matters of Importance;
' inasmuch, that his House might justly be called the
' Oracle of the whole City.

(13) *Id. ibidem,*
pag. 3.

[E] He was not less celebrated for his Virtue, than
for his Learning.] Erasmus gives him this Encomium
at the same time that he will not allow him the
Title of Ciceronian. ' Virum non minus probum &
' integrum quam eruditum & eloquentem nominasti,
' sed cui Tulliani cognominis honorem negant docto-
' rum suffragia. Docte loqui maluit quam Ciceroni-
' ane, & quod voluit assequutus est (14). — You have
' mentioned a Man, no less eminent for his Virtue, than
' his Learning, but to whom the Learned will not allow
' the surname of Ciceronian; he chuses rather to speak
' like a Scholar, than like Tully, and therein succeeds to
' his Wish. Ghilini says also, that Egnatius made him-
' self beloved by his Doctrine, and by his Behaviour.
' Per la singulare sua dottrina e integrità di costumi (15).
The Author of the Epistle dedicatory, which I have
already mentioned, enlarges very much on this Head,
in a very positive manner; for after displaying the
Gifts of his Mind, as his Memory, Invention, Know-
ledge, and Eloquence, his Art of mixing Mildness
and Gravity in his Reproofs, and of instructing the
Youth, he concludes in these Words. ' Postremo
' verò, si omnes ejus mores diligenter inspicias, per-
' fectum sanè atque absolutum innocentissimæ vitæ ex-
' emplar sese offert. Univerfa enim ejus vita, nihil
' aliud quam ardentissimam religionem, Christianam-
' que pietatem spirat. Poterat omnis Veneta civitas
' in hoc uno perinde atque in purissimo speculo sese ad
omnem pietatem, eruditionemque componere (16).
— Lastly, if we thoroughly examine all his Excel-
' lencies, we will appear to be a most perfect Pattern

(14) Erasmus, in
Ciceroniano, pag.
m. 72.

(15) Ghilini,
Teatro, Tom. I.
pag. 97.

(16) Marcus Mo-
linus, Epistola
Dedicat Exem-
plorum Egnatii.
See also Remark
[D], at the end.

' of Innocence; for his whole Life breathes nothing
' but the warmest Zeal, and Christian Piety. The whole
' City of Venice might by him alone, as by the purest
' Mirror, compose themselves to all Virtue, and E-
' rudition. He appears so sure of his Point, that he
takes pains to refute those who had published in a satir-
ical Letter, that Egnatius lived, and died without
Religion. He contents himself with exclaiming at their
Impudence, and laughing at their Folly: ' Illud unum
' præterire nequeo, hominiones quosdam nefario
' scelere audaces, in tam singularis, tamque omnium
' judicio probati viri memoriam invecos: atque male
' confaricata epistola, ac vix coherenti tam placidos
' manes violare fuisse ausos. Ut jam exclamare libeat,
' ô mores, ô tempora. Unde repente tam inopinata
' atque immania monstra? Unde isti tam infesti Caly-
' donii apri spumoso ore in præclaram omnium virtu-
' tum sylvam debacchantes, universamque optimi ac
' doctissimi viri famæ existimationisque segetem indig-
' nè devastantes? Ergo iterum opus est Hercule? Jam
' 13 instat labor? Dii vestram fidem. Sed attende
' quæso quid præclari isti censores damnent. Egnat-
' ium parum Christianè vixisse, atque eadem, qua
' vixerit pietate defunctum esse. Id nimirum quod
' quemvis hominem Christianum offendere potuisset.
' Sed qua tandem in urbe hoc levissimi homines men-
' titi sunt? Nempe in illa, quæ hunc genuit, edu-
' cavit, atque ad ampliss. honores summo judicio pro-
' movit, ac publicis decretis toties decoravit. O in-
' signem audaciam, ô manifestam callumniam. Vides
' quam libere, quam confidenter pronunciant, quam
' gravem notam defuncto homini inurant. Quid quæ-
' so reliquum erit Christiano homini si religionem
' adimas non solum in cætera vita, sed etiam sub ip-
' sum mortis tempus, quando vel perditissimi homines
' resipiscere solent? Verum ne tam argutum illorum
' mendacium non careret ratione ἀλογία protulerunt:
' quod etiam, ne præter rerum scientiam, linguarum
' cognitionem illis deesse putes, Græcè explicarunt
' ἀδύνατον εἶναι καλῶς ἑρμηνεύειν, μὴ καλῶς ἀ-
' νοθῶσαι. Sed præstiterit fortasse hanc illorum de-
mentiam risisse (17). — One thing I cannot omit men-
tioning, that certain insignificant Persons, but impi-
ously outrageous, have inveighed against the Memory
of so extraordinary and universally approved a Man,
and dared to disturb his peaceful Shade, with a
noisy ill concerted heap of Ribaldry. We may now
reasonably cry out, o tempora, o mores. From whence
could such Savage Monsters on a sudden start? Whence
these furious Caledonian Boars, that, with frothy
Mouths, lay waste the fair Grove of Virtue, and riot-
ously trample under Foot the glorious Harvest of so
learned a Man? We have occasion therefore for another
Hercules. At thirteenth Labour waits him. O Hea-
vens! But pray observe what these notable Refor-
mers would condemn. That Egnatius lived not like
a Christian, and shewed no more Religion at his
Death, than he had done in his Life. This indeed
might have given offence to any Christian Man! But
in what City, pray, have these idle Persons hated
these Falsities? namely in that which gave him Birth
and Education, and raised him with the greatest Ap-
plause to the highest Honours, and so often distin-
guished him by public Decrees. Here is Impudence
not to be paralleled! Here is glaring Detraction!
You see with what unconcern, with what confidence
they pronounce Sentence upon his Fame, how scanda-
lously they stigmatize his Memory. What, I beseech
you, will they leave a Christian, if they strip him of
his Religion not only in his Life, but even in his last
Moments, when the most profligate are wont to repent!
But that these barefaced Lies might not want
Reason, they bring a Greek Axiom to prove them,
least we should think they had no greater a store
of Languages, than of Knowledge. It is impossible
for him that lives a Libertine, to die a Saint. But
perhaps it would be more proper to laugh at their
Madness.

(17) Marcus Mo-
linus, *ibid.*

[F] He left his Estate, and his fine Library to three
illustrious Families of Venice.] It consisted of abun-
dant of Medals, and pieces of Antiquity: read these
Words of Thuanus. ' Treis amplissimas patini
' sanguinis

(e) See Remark [E].

lified, in which he was charged with having had no Religion, neither in his life nor at his death (c). I have observed in another place (d) his difference with *Sabellicus*, and their Reconciliation. It is pretended, he refused to heinously the Abuses which *Robortel* had in his Writing put upon him, that he would revenge them with his Sword (e). Mr *Teiffier*'s Criticism against the Translator of *Tbuanus* might be extended even to the Original [G]. Something must be said against *Moreri* [H].

(d) In Remark [F] of the Article *SABELLICUS*.

(e) See the Article *HIPPONAX*, Remark [F], towards the end.

(18) *Tbuanus*, lib. xii, p. 253.

* sanguinis familias Molinam, Lauretanam, & Bragadenam, supremis tabulis heredes instituit; qua in hereditate præcipue numeratur copiosa librorum suppellex, nummis antiquis aureis, argenteis & æreis, aliisque præterea veteris ævi monumentis instructissima (18). — By his last Will, he appointed three of the most eminent Families of Venice his Executors: the most considerable part of his Effects was his Library, consisting of a large Collection of Books, enriched with a vast variety of ancient Coins, in Gold, Silver, and Brass, and Monuments of Antiquity.

[G] Mr *Teiffier*'s Criticism might be extended even to the Original. First let us see the words of *du Ryer*.

* *John Baptista Egnatius* was born at Venice of a good Family, but poor, and was the Disciple of

* *Angelo Politio*, who restored good Learning in Italy,

where it was almost extinct, and who, having taught

* forty Years with the Admiration of all Italy, received

* this Favour from the Senate, &c. (19). Mr *Teiffier*

* makes this Remark (20). 'If we abide by the gram-

* matical Construction of *du Ryer*'s Words, it should

* seem that *Angelo Politio*, who restored good Learn-

* ing in Italy, taught also for forty Years at Venice:

* nevertheless it is certain *Tbuanus* speaks of *Egnatius*,

* and that *Politio*, who was one of the most

* learned and most polite Writers of his Age, died in

* his fortieth Year in 1553 (21). This Critic might

* have observed two other things; one, that the Latin

* word *Politianus* ought to be translated *Politian*, and

not *Politio*, a Name unknown to the Republic of Learning, when the question is of the celebrated *Angelus Politianus*; the other, that *Tbuanus* is not the innocent cause of his Translator's Error; for his Words are ranged in such a manner, that they will bear no better Version than *du Ryer*'s. 'Hic & annus abulit, sicut be (22), *Johannem Baptistam Egnatium familiam honestam, sed in tenui re, Venetiis natum, Angelum Politianum, qui bonas literas in Italia intermortuas excitavit discipulum, quique eas non mediocri studio illustravit, & scriptis & publica xli annorum professi-*

* one cum summa totius Italie admiratione.' Mr *Perizonius* has observed (23) that modern Writers are sometimes the cause of the Obscurity, and equivocal sense of the Latin, by their ill placing of the Words.

[H] Something must be said against *Moreri*. I. He

ought not to say *Egnatius* was in esteem about

the end of the XVIth Century. This is a very im-

proper expression of a Man who died but in 1553.

II. He ought not to bring as a proof of the old Age

of this Professor, that *Gesner* saw him at Venice in 1543:

he should have said, he lived ten Years after that; but,

as *Vossius* only made use of this Observation of *Gesner*,

(24), I do not wonder that *Moreri* stopped there: I

wonder much more, that *Vossius* should not know

what the Epitome of *Gesner* and *Tbuanus* might have

informed him concerning the Year of *Egnatius*'s

Death.

(22) *Tbuanus*, lib. xii, p. 253.

(23) See the Writings of Mr *Perizonius* against Mr *Frœnius*.

(24) *Vossius*, de Hist. Lat. p. 678.

(19) *du Ryer*, Translation of *Tbuanus* cited by *Teiffier*, Tom. I, pag. 74. Edit. 1696.

(20) *Teiffier*, pag. 75.

(21) This is an Error of the Press: it ought to be 1494, as it is in the first Edition of *Teiffier*.

EIMERIC (NICOLAS), a Dominican, and Inquisitor-General in the Kingdom of Arragon in the XIVth Century. His Directory of the Inquisitors was printed at Barcelona in 1503. Francis Pegna published two Editions of it at Rome, one in 1578; and the other in 1585.

EYSENGREIN (MARTIN), in Latin *Eysengreinius*, Doctor of Divinity in the XVIth Century, published many Books, of which you will find a Catalogue in the Epitome of *Gesner*'s *Bibliothèque*. *Moreri* will inform you that he was born at *Stuttgart* in the County of *Wurtemberg*, that he was Vice-Chancellor of the University at *Ingolstadt*, and that he died in 1578. I add to this, that he was of a very good Family (a), and the Son of a very honest Man, and was once of the Protestant Religion (b). He had even declared in a public Work, that he would persevere in it constantly and unalterably, and dedicated his Book to *Vergerius*, to congratulate him for having owned the true Church, and abandoned the Party of Antichrist. Yet soon after he threw himself into the Romish Communion, about the Year 1560 (c), and expressed a great deal of Bitterness against the Protestants. He attacked them in several Tracts, in which he handled the Controversy with all the Violence, and according to all the Common-Places of that time. *George Leibler*, Professor of Physic in the Academy of *Tubingen*, refuted one of his Tracts [A]. I do not know whether he was related to WILLIAM EYSENGREIN whom I have mentioned in another place [B].

(a) *George Leibler*, in Scholii ad *Sermonem Mart. Eysengreii de Pueris Jesu*, pag. 43.

(b) *Ibid.* pag. 11.

(c) *Ibid.*

(1) At *Tubingen*, in 4to It contains 86 pages.

[A] *George Leibler* . . . refuted one of his Tracts.

It is a German Homily upon the Gospel of the first Sunday after *Epiphany*. It relates to the Son of God being found sitting in the Temple of *Jerusalem* in the midst of the Doctors. *Leibler* translated it into Latin, and published it together with *Scholium* in the Year 1575

(1). He charges the Author with troubling the World

with many little Books which were of no Value. 'Tu

* spreta mea fidei admonitione, hæcenus multos parvos

* & pravos edidisti libellos, quos an quisquam hæcenus

* responso dignatus sit, haud scio. Mihi quidem cum

* initio aliqui venissent in manus, eisque respondere

* vellem, ita visa sunt indocti & inepti, ut chartarum

* tam turpiter contaminatarum vehementer me misereret

* & omnino eorum lectione postea abstinere. Sed

* cum infelici partu adeo sis fecundus ut subinde

* nova monstra per abortum edas, &c. (2). —

* Without any regard to my friendly Advice, you have

* still published several little naughty Pamphlets; but I

* am ignorant whether any one as yet has vouchsafed

* them an Answer. When, at first, some of them came

* to fall into my Hands, and I was inclined to answer

* them, they appeared to be so childish and empty, that

VOL. II.

* I was extremely concerned to see Paper converted to

* so shameful a use, and determined for the future not

* to take the pains to read them; but since you are so

* unhappily prolific of the monster Brood, and will not

* suffer them to ripen, before you turn them out into

* the World, &c.' He charges him also with heaping

together a great number of Words, only to encrease

the number of Sheets. 'Neque enim mihi libet tu-

* am imitari inanem loquacitatem, qua nihil aliud a-

* gis, quam ut multas paginas frustra explas, & mag-

* nos facias libros, in quibus res paucas bene & recte

* doceas (3). — Neither have I any Inclination to copy

* your impertinent Prolixity, whereby you only labour to

* swell the number of Sheets, and multiply Words to

* no purpose.' He concludes with some Remarks upon

a Homily, wherein *Eysengrein* had explained *Siméon*'s

Prophecy concerning the Infant *Jesús*.

[B] I do not know whether he was related to

William Eysengrein, whom I have mentioned in an-

other Place (4).] He was a Canon of *Spires*, his Na-

tive Country, and Contemporary with our *Martin*. He

published, at *Ingolstadt* in 1566, a Book intitled *Cen-*

tenarii XVI, continentes Descriptionem rerum memorabilium

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(4) In the Remark [E] of the Article *ILLERICUS*.

(2) *Leibler*, Schol. in *Serm. Mart. Eysengreii*, pag. 1.

him in *Ecclesia contra Matthiam Flacium Illyricum*. as *Christopher Lehman* has observed in his Preface to He had published, at *Dillengen*, in 1564, *Chronicon the Annals of Spire* (5). *Spirense*, a Work wherein there are abundance of Lyes,

(5) See the Intro-
ductio in Histo-
riam Ecclesiasticam
of Caspar. Sagittarius, pag. 519.

(a) Cum Prefa-
tione spurca & pi-
erati moribusque
adversa. Tobias
Tandlerus, in Re-
pulsione Colu-
mar. Elichi.

(b) Plurimi libri
Scholis enormi-
bus ac non tole-
randis confuta-
ti. Idem, ibid.

ELICH (LEWIS PHILIP), in Latin *Elicbius*, lived at the beginning of the XVIIth Century. I think he was born at *Marpurg*. He maintained there a public Dispute *de Magia Diabolica*, and would have printed a Book upon the same Subject with a Preface full of bad things (a); but they prohibited it, and the Magistrates searching his House found several Books upon which he had writ Notes somewhat scandalous (b). They confiscated the Books, and summoned him before the Judges. He promised with an Oath, and in writing, to renounce those frivolous Studies: nevertheless he published his Book at *Frankfort* in 1607 [A], and joined to it a very angry Preface against the Academical Senate of *Marpurg*. They would have called him to an account for it; but he made his escape, and turned *Roman Catholic* (c). This is but part of the ill they say of him in the Book I quote. He published at *Frankfort*, in 1609, another Book intituled *Innocentius, sive de Miseria hominis libri tres, in ignominiam & confusionem superbiorum editi*.

(c) Taken from
Tobias Tander-
us, in Repulsio-
ne Calumniarum
Elichi.

[A] He published his Book at *Frankfort* 1607. He called it *de Dæmonologia, de Dæmonis curgia & Lamiarum energia*. He confutes arrogantly, in it, those who doubt of the Truth of what is said of Witches, and of their being really carried to the Sabbatical Assemblies. Particularly he attacks *Tobias Tandler*, Professor of

Physic at *Wirttemberg*, who had published an Harangue *de Fojina & Incantatione*, in the Year 1606. This *Tandler*, reprinting it in 1607, with some other Tracts of the same Nature, added a short answer to the Calumnies of *Elicbius*, from whence I have taken the matter of this Article.

(a) Crenius, in
Præfatione Falsi
I Exercitationum
Philologico-
Historicorum.

(b) Beverovicus,
de Vite Termi-
no, parte iii.
pag. m. 139.

(c) König, Bi-
blioth. pag. 27c.

ELICHMAN (JOHN) Native of *Silesia*, practised Physic at *Leyden* (a). He married a Wife in the Year 1638, who was of a Burgomaster's Family (b). But he did not enjoy her long, for she died in the year 1639 (c). He understood sixteen Languages well (d), and was so skillful in the *Persian*, that, in the Judgment of *Salmafius*, *Europe* never produced a Man who came up to him in that, and perhaps never will produce the fellow of him (e). He believed that the *Persian* and *German* Languages were derived from the same Source, for which he assigned many reasons (f). He writ a Letter in Arabic (g) which was printed at *Jena* in the Year 1636. His Dissertation *De termino vitæ secundum mentem Orientalium* (h), was published in 1639. It would have been much longer if he had not died while he was about it. His Latin Version of the *Table of Cebes* was printed at *Leyden* in 1640, with the Greek and Arabic Version, by the Care of *Salmafius*, who prefixed a large Preface to it.

(d) Christianus
Ravius, pag. 11,
primæ Panegyri-
cæ, apud Creni-
um, ibid.

(e) Salmaf. in
Præfat. in Tabul.
Arabic. Cebetis.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) De Usu Lingæ Arabicæ in Medicina. See König, Biblioth. pag. 27c.

(h) It is at the end of the third part of Beve-
rovicius's Book De termino Vitæ.

(a) Videri potest
ea Traditio in
Tractatu jucha-
sim folio 11 quam
etiam amplectitur
R. Salomon
noud Lirium
&c. *Egidius*
Camartus, de Re-
bus gestis Elias,
pag. 71.

(1) Tractat. VII
in Joannem, apud
Egidium Cam-
artum, de Reb-
gest. Elias, p. 71.
(2) Tom. VI,
Problem. cccxi,
apud Camart.
ibid.

(3) Lib. I. Epist.
vi, apud Camart.
pag. 72.

(4) 1 Chron. ix.
20.

(5) Spiritum fe-
veritatis & ultio-
nis exortum fu-
isse in Elia &
collegis magis
quam in discipu-
lis Evangelicis.
The Spirit of
Rage and Re-
venge was more
exerted by Elias
and his Colleagues
than by the
Preachers of the
Gospel. Martyn.
(6) 1 Kings ch. i.
xviii, 40.
(7) 2 Kings
chap. 1.

ELIJAH, one of the greatest Prophets of the Old Testament, lived under the Reign of *Abab*. His true History is to be found in *Moreri's Dictionary*: to which I refer my Readers, and shall content myself with relating some apocryphal Stories of him. There was a common Tradition among the Jews (a), that he was the same with *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar* the High-Priest [A], and that the Prophet, who lived among Men sometimes under the Name of *Phineas*, sometimes under the Name of *Elias*, was not a Man but an Angel (b). St *Epiphanius* relates one thing which is as incredible as these, I mean the Vision of *Sobac*, the Father of *Elias*. As soon as his Wife was delivered, he thought he saw Men clothed in white, who saluted the new born Child, covered him over with Fire, and made him swallow the Flame. These are the waddling Cloaths in which they wrapped the little *Elijah*. This is the Milk with which they nourished him. *Sobac* went up to *Jerusalem* to consult the Oracle, and was told what the Vision signified. They assured him that his Son should inhabit in Light, and that he should judge *Israel* with Fire and Sword (c) [B]. It is a pretty

(b) Hanc eorum
traditionem refe-
runt Lirius, A-
bulensis, Megal-
lanus, Serrarius.
Id. ibid. pag. 100.

(c) Epiphanius de
Vitis Prophet.
pag. m. 237.

[A] A Tradition says, he is not to be distinguished from *Phineas* the Son of *Eleazar* the High-Priest. This Tradition is very ancient; for *Origen* makes mention of it (1). I suppose it is founded upon the promises which were made to *Phineas*, when he had killed the Man that defiled himself with the Midianitish Woman. *Francis George* of *Venice* (2) is not far from this Opinion of the Rabbies. *Peter Damien* (3) embraces it cordially: he believes that *Phineas*, for the sake of the Zeal, which fired him at the sight of so scandalous an Object, will be preserved alive in the terrestrial Paradise to the end of the World, and that it was he who, under the Name of *Elijah* the Prophet, was carried up to Heaven in a fiery Chariot. He cites a Passage of the Scripture (4), to prove that *Phineas* was alive in *David's* time.

[B] That he should judge *Israel* by fire and sword. This agrees pretty well with that revengful Spirit, which animated *Elijah* on some Occasions (5), as when he destroyed the Priests of *Baal* (6), and called for fire from Heaven upon the King's Soldiers (7). The

Enemies of Toleration do not love to be told that *JESUS CHRIST* has abolished this Spirit (8): such an Information is an uneasy Lesson to them, and they would willingly say to whoever puts them in mind of it, as *Felix* to *Paul*, go thy way for the present, when a convenient time comes, we will call for thee again (9). I do not wonder that they cannot endure to be deprived of the Authority of such an Example as this: for what can be more strongly urged in Favour of Massacres out of Zeal for Religion, than the Conduct of *Elijah*. A Man, who had no Character in the State, no political Authority, no right to make use of the Sword, a Man, I say, whose Office was only to prophecy, affables all the Prophets of *Baal*, who were 450, and the Prophets of the Groves to the number of 400, who had the Honour to eat at the Queen's Table (10): he convinces them by a Miracle, that they worshipped a false God, and immediately orders them to be seized (11), and to take care that none escaped. He commands them all to be killed, without condescending so much as to ask King *Abab*, who

(8) Luke ix,
53: 56.

(9) Acts xxiii.
26.

(10) 1 Kings
xviii. 19.

(11) Ibid. ver.
40.

common Opinion, for many ages received among Christians, that *Elijah* is not dead, and that God preserves him alive either in the terrestrial Paradise, or in the Heavens, or elsewhere, to employ him at the end of the World against Antichrist. There are some who assure us, that then he is to suffer Martyrdom, and that he and *Enoch* are the two Witnesses mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the *Apocalypse* (d): they also ascribe to him a very exact Contineny (e), and conclude he will be honoured with three Crowns, the Crown of Doctor, the Crown of Virginity, and the Crown of Martyrdom (f). They pretend that his Chastity has far exceeded that of all the other Prophets who lived in Celibacy; for he was not contented to live chaste, but also ordered his Disciples to abstain from Women (g); and it is he that is looked upon as the first Founder of the Monastic Life. The Carmelites boast that he is the Founder of their Order, and tell a thousand Stories which are ridiculed by the other Monks. Nothing is so impudent as a certain Story of the Gnostics concerning this Prophet [C]. The *Apocalypse* of *Elias* has commonly passed among the Fathers for a supposititious Book: but *Origen* seems to mention a Book of that Prophet as a genuine Production [D]. There

(d) See Alcazar and Viegas upon the Xth Chapter of the *Apocalypse* cited by Camart, *ibid.* pag. 121.

(e) Hieron. lib. 1. adv. Jovin. & multi alii Patres, apud Camart. pag. 277.

(f) *Ægid.* Camart. pag. 275.

(g) *Id.* pag. 278.

who was present, if it was his Will to have it so, and without exhorting them to Repentance and Conversion. It cannot be said that they acted against their Conscience (12); for if they had believed that *Baal* was a false God, they would not have submitted to an Examination, and by the credit they had with the Queen, they might easily have evaded the Challenge of the Prophet *Elijah*. Besides, we see they invoked their Deity with the utmost Ardor, and cut themselves with Knives in Honour of him; therefore they were in hope of being heard. In order to excuse *Elijah*, Divines are forced to acknowledge that he had received invisibly, from God, an extraordinary and special Mission to put these Prophets to Death, and that God had revealed to him, that they were Reprobates not to be wrought upon by any Admonitions to Repentance (13). *Peter Martyr* indeed alleges the Law of *Moses* against Idolators, the Law of Retaliation, &c; but after all he confines himself to a particular Inspiration, which is a thing not to be disputed among Christians. 'Omnia hæc privato instinctu Dei agebantur contra legem in communi propositam. Ipse legislator cum aliquid contra suas leges jubet mandatum ejus pro lege habendum est' (14). — All these things were done by a particular Inspiration from God, contrary to the Law established in common. When the Legislator commands any thing repugnant to the Laws he has before ordained, his Command ought to pass for Law. For the rest, nothing can be equal to the Impertinence of *Feuardent* the *Franciscan*, who accuses *Peter Martyr* of uttering injurious things against the Prophet *Elias*, and then of contradicting himself afterwards. 'Pergit idem (*Vermilius*) says he (15), vineta sua, quod ajunt, cedere, cum scribit, ad id vocatus erat *Elias* ut judicium divinæ severitatis exsequeretur, nec ex seipso verum ex Deo & Angeli monitu ita duxerit se gereret. Potuit quidem specie tenus homicida videri, nec tamen pro tali habendus est cum solum fuerit Dei minister. — He proceeds to overturn his own System, by saying, that *Elias* was called, as an Instrument, to execute the divine Vengeance, and that he had not of himself, but by the Direction of God, and an Angel, had recourse to such Extremities. He might, in Appearance, pass for a Murderer; but he is by no means to be looked on as such, since he acted only by a divine Commission. *Feuardent* makes the same Complaints against *Calvin*: he charges him with saying, 'Elias fuit homo depravatus, nimis vehementi zelo correptus... peccavit etiam quiritando se solum de clade ac persecutione restare: raptus item fuit spiritu servitutis & vindictæ (16). — *Elias* was a Man depraved, and guided by too furious a Zeal: he was also guilty of a Crime in complaining so frequently that he alone escaped the Fury and Persecution: He was likewise a Slave to a base vindictive Spirit.' He cites *Calvin's* Commentary upon the second and third Verses of the eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: but I find nothing like it there. In Truth, the Liberty these Protestant Writers take to censure, in some things, the Conduct of this Prophet, cannot be found fault with, without blaming St *Chrysostom* (17). 'Qui acerrimis verbis *Eliam* crudelitatis & cujusdam *avaritias* arguit. Deinde alibi (18) eundem quasi penitus ad divina monita insensibilem, dum variis factis & exemplis ad commiserationem induceretur. — Who reproves

Elias, in the sharpest Terms, of Cruelty and Inhumanity; and in other places represents him as insensible of the divine Admonition, when so many Facts and Instances might have moved him to Compassion.'

[C] Nothing is more impudent than a certain story of the Gnostics concerning this Prophet. They said that if a Soul, when it ascended up to Heaven, could not give a good answer to the Virtues which asked it questions upon its Entrance, it was sent again upon Earth. Above all things it must answer that it had left no Children; for if it answered the contrary, it was sent back, and obliged to live in this World, till it had collected together all its Children, and was united to them. They tell you that, when *Elijah* ascended up to Heaven, he met with an Obstacle, which forced him to descend back again upon Earth. A female Demon came to him, and said stand, whither art thou going? I had Children by thee, and thou canst not enter Heaven, and leave them upon Earth. And how, answered he, couldst thou have Children by me, seeing I always lived in Continency? notwithstanding that, replied she, I had them by thee, for I took the benefit of thy Sleep. Those who understand the Latin will not find this obscure. 'Ὅτε ἐνυπνίους ἐνυπνιαζόμενος πολλὰ κῆς ἐν τῇ ἀπορροῇ τῶν σωμάτων ἐκινῶν, ἰδὼς ἡμῶν ἢ μεταλαβῶσα ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ γέννησά σοι υἱός. Cum in somnis effusione seminis sæpe corpus exbauiries ego abs te illud excepi, tibi que filios peperī (19). St *Epiphanius* confutes very well this Impertinence by the Impossibility of the thing: for the spiritual nature of Demons cannot be the passive Subject of any Generation. It is not so easy to refute those who say that a Demon may interpose, as an active Principle, in the Production of an Animal, not that he can, out of his own Sublimity, furnish the necessary Materials; for a Spirit is an immaterial Being; but he can, say they, make use of the seed of a Male, by conveying it to a proper Place, and so direct the motions of Matter, that this seed be converted into an organized Body. Those, who hold this possible, rightly affirm, that the Child, produced in this Manner, would be the Child of the Man, whose seed was employed; for why is a Man reputed the Father of a Child, conceived in the Womb of a Woman, whom he had enjoyed in the Stews, with no other view than to satisfy his brutish Lust? Is it not because the first Foundation, upon which the Body of the little Infant is built, was taken from the Body of that Man: and cannot the same be said with respect to that other Generation? however, the difference would be very great in this, that those, who became Fathers in this extraordinary Method, might nevertheless perfectly preserve their Virginity; so that the folly of the Gnostics concerning *Elijah* is every way extravagant.

[D] *Origen* seems to speak of a Book of this Prophet as a genuine Production. In explaining those words of St *Matthew's* Gospel (20), then was fulfilled that which was spoken by *Jeremy* the Prophet, saying, and they took the thirty pieces of Silver, &c. he observes that it is not to be found in any Jewish Book, Canonical or not Canonical, that *Jeremiah* ever prophesied this, and he suspects, either that instead of *Jeremiah*, it ought to be read *Zachariab*, or else that *Jeremiah* wrote a Book which was never published. Upon which he says that *Jeremiah* is not the only Prophet,

(19) *Epiph. Hæc.* XXVI, lib. 1, Tom. II, n. 13, pag. m. 95.

(20) Cap. 27, ver. 9.

(12) The Author of the *Philosophical Commentary* seems to suppose this, the better to answer the Objections which the Doctors who oppose Toleration found upon this Conduct of *Elias*.

(13) Certus erat Spiritu Dei eos non esse convertendos aut immutandos. *Petrus Martyr. Comment.* in lib. 1. Regum, cap. 18, fol. m. 141, verso.

(14) *Ibid.* folio 141.

(15) *Feuardent. Theomach. Calvinist. lib. 9, cap. 3, pag. m. 437. He cites Martyr's Commentary, in lib. iv Regum, cap. 1, and cites it faithfully.*

(16) *Ibid.* pag. 436.

(17) *Homilia in SS. Petrum & Eliam, apud Camart. de Rebus Eliæ Proph. pag. 227.*

(18) *Homilia de Eliæ, apud eundem Camart. ib.*

There is an old Tradition, which they falsely impute to *Elijah*, that the World shall continue but six thousand Years, whereof two thousand were to be before the Law, two thousand under the Law, and two thousand under the Messiah (*b*). The Jews say, that, seven Years after he was translated, *Elijah* wrote a Letter from Heaven to King *Joram* [*E*], and that he composed in Paradise the Annals of all Ages (*i*). Observe that the Extraction of this Prophet, who is almost equal to *Moses*, is so little known, that it is yet disputed what Country, and also what Tribe, he was of, &c (*k*). I have cited a Minime (*l*) who designed to have writ upon the Actions of *Elijah*. This Work would have been very long; for what the Friends of the Author published of it after his Death, is one Volume of Four hundred Pages in 4to, which contains only the *Prolegomena*.

You will find in *Baronius*, that *Basilius*, the Macedonian, Emperor of Constantinople, erected Temples to the Honour, and under the Name, of the Prophet *Elijah*, in his Capital City (*m*). This was one of the Proofs that a Carmelite Friar advanced to prove, that Father *Papebroch* had rashly denied mount *Carmel* to be reckoned among the holy Places which were visited by the first Christian Pilgrims (*n*). Every body may see the Impertinence of this Proof. It appears by the Book I have cited (*o*), that a Divine of the Order of *St Francis* confounded the Carmelites in a public Dispute in the Year 1594. He attacked a Thesis, in which it is assured, that *Elijah* bound himself up by a Vow to Celibacy. He cited a Jewish Doctor, named *Rabbenu Haccados*, that is, our holy Master, and who lived before *JESUS CHRIST*. This Rabbi says, that *Elijah* had a Brother, whose Wife was barren to the Death of *Elijah*, and consequently the Prophet could not devote himself to Continency, for the Law commanded him to marry his Sister-in-law if she became a Widow.

Prophet, who may have had Writings concealed, and that those kinds of Writings are cited by *St Paul*. He brings the following Passage for an Instance (21): *As it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of Man, those things which God hath prepared for them that love him*. He maintains that this is not to be found in any canonical Book, but only in the hidden Works of the Prophet *Elias*. *St Jerome* disdainfully rejects this Opinion, and says the Passage in *St Paul* is to be found in the Prophet *Isaiab* (22), not word for word, but as to the sense of it, which is sufficient for the Apostle. 'Quasi Hebræus ex Hebræis assumit Apostolus Paulus de authenticis libris in Epistola quam scripsit ad Corinthios, non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere

omnino contemnit, sed sensum exprimens veritatem quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum (23). The Books, ascribed to *Elijah*, are not in the Catalogue of the Apocryphal Books, which were condemned by Pope *Gelasius*: nevertheless it is certain that the Apocalypse of *Elijah*, the Assumption of *Elijah*, &c. were looked upon as supposititious Books (24). [*E*] He wrote a Letter from Heaven to King *Joram*. This Opinion is founded upon a Place of Scripture misunderstood. Then there came a writing to him from the Prophet *Elijah*, saying, thus saith the Lord God, &c. (25). The true meaning of which is, that they carried to King *Joram* a writing, which was found among *Elijah's* Papers.

ELISHA, the Disciple and Successor of the Prophet *Elijah*, wrought abundance of Miracles, as may be seen in *Moreri's Dictionary*. There happened a very great Prodigy at his Birth: the golden Calf, which was at *Shiloh*, bellowed so loud, that it was heard to *Jerusalem*. Upon which the High-Priest consulting the Stones of his Breastplate found that a Prophet was just born, who should destroy the Idols (*a*). There is reason to believe, that *Epiphanius*, who relates this, has no other ground for it, but a false Tradition [*A*]. The Jews are not worth confuting, who pretend, that *Elijah* being

was born at *Gilgal*, the golden Calf which was at *Shiloh* bellowed. Here *Epiphanius* commits another geographical Error, for which *Dorotheus* is not responsible. He takes *Abelmuth* and *Gilgal* for the same Place, in which he is mistaken; his fault arises from not understanding aright the pointing of *Dorotheus's* Words. 'Dorotheus scripserat, postquam *Elizæus* natus est, in Galgalis vitulus aureus mugitus edidit: quomodo interpungendum esse locum Dorothei, vel potius auctorem interpunxisse, apparet ex Isidoro qui ita rem istam narrat, *Helizæo nato vitulum aureum cum magna boati clamasse in Galgalis*. . . . *Epiphanius* non animadvertens hanc interpunctionem, putavit illud in Galgalis referendum esse potius ad sententiæ partem præcedentem quam ad sequentem, ad *Elizæum* potius quam ad vitulum (7). — *Dorotheus* wrote, as soon as *Elisha* was born, in *Gilgal* a golden Calf lowed: how this ought to be pointed, or rather how the Author himself pointed it, may be learnt from *Isidorus*, who relates the matter thus, when *Elisha* was born, a golden Calf lowed aloud in *Gilgal*. . . . *Epiphanius* not observing this pointing, imagined that in *Gilgal* ought rather to be referred to the former Clause than to the latter, to *Elisha* rather than to the Calf. III. Having mistaken *Elisha's* native Country for the Place, where the Author, he follows, had set the golden Calf, he was forced to place that Idol somewhere else, and he fixes it at *Shiloh*, where it never was. It is not necessary to say, that the miracle we speak of refers

(b) Id. pag. 283. See also *Bernaldi Chronicon*, lib. ii, cap. 3.

(i) See *Cuneus de Republ. Hebræorum*, lib. ii, cap. 1.

(k) See *Petavius in Esaiam*, ad Hiercl. LV. pag. m. 213.

(l) *Giles Camart: He was General of the Order. His Work, intituled, Elias Theibiter, five de Rebus Eliæ Prophetæ, C. mmentarius posthumus, was printed at Paris in 1631.*

(21) 1 Cor. ii, 9.

(22) Chap. lxi, ver. 4.

(a) *Epiphanius de Vitis Prophet.* pag. m. 237, 238.

(1) The Paris Divines, in the Ap- probation of this Root of *Dorotheus* published by *Margarin de la Bigne* in the Bi- blioth. Patrum.

(2) *Sixtus Senen- sis*, Biblioth. lib. 4.

(3) Annotat. in Martyrol. apud *Rainoldum* de Libris Apocryphis, Præf. 138, pag. 153.

(4) *Tom. I, Controv. III, lib. 2, cap. 2, apud Rainold.* Ibid.

(5) *Quemadmodum manifestum est partim ex Reg. 4. collato cum 3. Josue, partim idque planius ex Judic. 7. As it manifest partly by comparing 1 Kings iv with Josb. iii, partly and more plainly from Judges vii. Rainoldus, de Libris Apocryph. pag. 157.*

(6) See Numbers, esp. xxxii, and Josh. chap. xxii.

(m) See *Father Papebroch, Re- spons. ad Exhibi- tionem Error.* pag. 155.

(n) Ibidem.

(o) Ibidem, pag. 227, 228.

(23) *Nicron in* cap. xiv. l. 1610.

(24) See *Camart*, pag. 256, 257.

(25) 2 Chron. xxi, 12.

(7) *Rainoldus, de Libris Apoc.* pag. 153.

being become incapable of exercising his Office, received a Command to resign it to *Elisha* [B].

to one of *Jeroboam's* golden Calves: now as one of those Calves was set up at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, it is certainly a mistake, whether, with *Dorothicus*, one is placed at *Gilgal*; or, with *Epiphanius*, it is placed at *Shechem*. IV. To come to the prodigy itself, we shall observe that *Epiphanius* might easily have known the falsity of it; for if the Oracle of the Breastplate had answered that the Prophet, who was born that day, was to throw down and destroy the Idols, *Elisha* would have abolished *Jeroboam's* Idolatry, he would have melted down, or broke in pieces, the two golden Calves: but he did not do this, therefore it is false that the Oracle gave out the Answer which is imputed to it, and thus the bellowing of the golden Calf is a Fable. I take no notice of the Observations of the English Doctor, upon the distance between *Jerusalem*, and the Places where *Jeroboam's* Calves were: for, besides that the Figures have been falsified by the Printers, I do not see that the distance is anything at all to the purpose; It is as easy to make the bellowing of a Statue be heard at twenty or thirty leagues distance, as twenty or thirty paces: whoever can work the latter Miracle, may perform the former: so that I wish our Doctor had not been so merry upon it. His raiillery of *Torinus* is as cold as Ice: he says that *Torinus*, fearing a Heifer could not bellow so loud, has translated the word *δαμαλίσ* a Cow, and not an Heifer. *Albanus Torinus* interpretes ejus operis videtur aliquid tale formidasse, cum Græcam vocem *δαμαλίσ* qua LXX Interpretis usi sunt pro vitulo vel vitula, ipse interpretatus sit, bovem: *Bos illa aurea*, & quæ sequuntur: videtur illi mihi metuisset ne vitula non posset tantum mugitum edere: itaque maluisse bovem dicere (8). — *Torinus*, the Translator of that Work, seems to me to have dreaded something of this Nature, when he translates the Greek Word *δαμαλίσ* which the Septuagint render a

Calf, by a Cow. The golden Cow, &c. He seems to me to have been afraid, that a Calf could not have been able to make a sufficient noise, and therefore chose rather to call it a Cow.

[B] The Jews are not worth consulting, who say that *Elijah*, being incapable to exercise his Office, received a command to resign it to *Elisha*. I shall first produce the words of the Author, who is an evidence for me, and then make a short Observation.

Judæi etiam impingunt Eliæ spiritus coercendi impotentiam, qua ineptus fuerit redditus ad prophetiæ munus obendum, atque ideo iussus fuerit loco sui successorem assumere (9). — The Jews charge *Elias*

with being unable to check the impetuosity of the Spirit, whereby he was rendered unfit to execute the Office of a Prophet, and was therefore ordered to resign it to his Successor. He that speaks in this manner, pretends he says no more than what he has read in *Peter Martyr*, whose Commentary he cites upon the first Book of Kings (10). I find no such thing in the place he cites. However that be, according to this Jewish dream, *Elijah* was no longer able to govern his enthusiastic Raptures, or the Impetuosity of his prophetic Spirit; and thus like an old Man, who, by reason of his Age, yields so easily to the Passion of Anger, they must force him to get himself declared emeritus, and resign his Office to *Elisha*, as to one more capable of discharging it worthily. What Impertinence this! for not to say that such a thing as this is not consistent with the Accounts of Scripture, is it not certain, that the Spirit, which seized the Prophets, and which so often transported *Elijah* from one place to another, was superior to the Prophets, and wanted not to be checked or restrained. Add to this, that the danger of being transported, too far, is more to be apprehended from a young Man than an old.

(9) *Ægidius Camartus* de rebus gestis Eliæ, pag. 127. He cites *Peter Martyr*, Vermilius in 3 Reg. cap. xix, ver. 20.

(10) I call the first Book of Kings what the Roman Catholics call the third.

(11) I call the first Book of Kings what the Roman Catholics call the third.

ELIZABETH, Queen of England, Daughter to *Henry VIII*, by *Anne Boleyn*, was one of the most illustrious Personages recorded in History. It would not be sufficient Justice to say, never any Woman swayed a Sceptre with more Glory than she did; but it must also be added, that there are few great Monarchs, whose Reign can be compared with her's [A]. Her Reign is the most shining Part of the English History, and was the School where so many able Ministers [B], and so many great Politicians were formed, that England never had a greater Plenty of them. The same may be said with respect to military Men (a). I shall not amuse myself with relating the principal Events of her glorious Life, which may be found in innumerable Books that every body may meet with, some of which are lately published (b). I shall rather collect together certain things, which are very curious, though not so important, and have not been observed by so many Authors. When *Holland* and *Zeland* offered to acknowledge her for Sovereign, she told their Embassadors, it would neither be honourable nor honest in her to seize the Property of another, and that the *Hollanders* were in the wrong to excite so many Tumults upon account of the Mass. She pleasantly continued this Conversation [C]. It was perhaps during this Audience that a young Man,

[A] There are few great Monarchs, whose reign can be compared with her's. Left I should be charged with overflattering any thing in order to flatter this Queen, let us hear the praises given her by a Jesuit, in a Book published at Paris. *Elizabeth*, says he (1), 'was one

of those Persons, whose name alone imprints such an Idea on the mind, as can never be formed by any Description to be made of her; never crowned head better understood the Art of governing, or committed less Errors in a long reign. The Friends of *Charles V* could easily reckon up his mistakes: *Elizabeth's* Enemies were forced to make a diligent search for her's, and those admired her most, whose interest it was to cry down her Conduct. So that in her are verified the words of the Evangelist, that often the Children of this World, are wiser in their Views and Designs, than the Children of Light. *Elizabeth's* view was to reign, to govern, to be Mistress, to keep her People in Subjection, and her Neighbours in awe, without affecting either to weaken her Subjects, or to extend her Conquests over Foreigners. She would not suffer the least Infringement of the supreme Power, which she equally knew how to preserve, by Policy, and by Force; for no one, in her time, had more Wit, Management

and Penetration than herself. She was no Warrior, and yet she knew so well how to form her military Men, that England had hardly ever seen them in greater numbers or more experienced than in her Reign.'

[B] Her Reign... was the School where so many able Ministers were formed. See their Names and Characters in a Book, which was printed in French at *Roan*, in 1683, intitled *Fragmenta regalia, or the true Character of Elizabeth Queen of England, and her Favourites*. This Book is originally in English: *Robert Naunton*, Secretary of State to King *James I*, and Master of the Court of Wards, is the Author of it. This Work has been newly translated into French (2), and printed with the *Secrets of Courts, or the Memoirs of Walsingham*. The Author of the Translation observes, that those two books were long since printed together, what he translates being the fourth Edition of them: he does not take the Title of *Fragmenta regalia*, &c. but of *Fragments or Observations of Robert Naunton upon Queen Elizabeth's Reign and Favourites*.

[C] She pleasantly continued this Conversation. What a bustle, says she, do you make about the Mass: if you will not assist at it as a Mystery, you may be present at it as a Comedy. What, if I should immediately

(8) Idem. pag. 260.

(1) *Pathe d'Orléans's* History of the Revolution of England, Tom. II, pag. 409, Edit. of Paris, 1695.

(9) *Ægidius Camartus* de rebus gestis Eliæ, pag. 127. He cites *Peter Martyr*, Vermilius in 3 Reg. cap. xix, ver. 20.

(10) I call the first Book of Kings what the Roman Catholics call the third.

(11) I call the first Book of Kings what the Roman Catholics call the third.

(a) See the Words of *Rather* or *Leans*, in *Remark* [A], at the end.

(b) See the History of England by *Mr de Laury*, printed at Rotterdam by *Reineke* Leers, 1698.

(2) It was printed in Holland, in 1694, though the Title, I do not know for what Reason, says at Cologne, by *** 1695.

Man, who followed the Embassadors, expressed, in a gross manner, the Sentiments which the Sight of so charming a Queen inspired him with [D]. But it was no Injury to him: on the contrary he was distinguished by it ever after. The Queen's Resentment against *Buzenwall*, who found fault with her way of speaking *French*, is very remarkable, and may serve for a Lesson to others [E]. What I am going to relate is better known: At her coming to the Crown, she was in suspense between the two Religions, and at last made choice of the Reformed [F]. This, even in the way of the World, was a Step of human Prudence. She would never have sat upon the Throne, if the King of *Spain* had not had much more Hatred against *France* than Zeal for the Catholic Religion [G]. It was this that preserved the Life of *Elizabeth*, a Circumstance

diately act this Comedy, should you think yourselves obliged to run away? It must be noted, she was then dressed in white. I have read this in the Annals of *Reidanus*. *Recenti multorum memoria obversari verba ejus ante annos XII. ad Aldegonduum & Paulum Bayrium Arausienensis Patrumque legatos prolata, immerito Hollandos unum ob Missæ sacrum tantos motus ciere, nec decoram iis præstam adeo adversus Regem contumaciam: quando fidem divinitati Missæ habere non adstringantur, asperantem tanquam fabulam. Quid inquit (Et erat candido amictu vestimento) vobisne pro flagitio foret, me hoc habitu, si histrioniam ordire, intueri (3)?* This was enough to put the Embassadors out of Countenance.

[D] A young Man . . . expressed in a gross manner the sentiments which the sight of so charming a Queen inspired him with. I shall use *du Maurier's* own Expressions. Prince *Maurice*, says he (4), being one Day in a good humour, told my Father that Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, through the common weakness of her Sex, was so desirous of being thought handsome (5), that the States having sent a splendid Embassy of the chief Men of the Country, and attended by a great many young Gentlemen of the United Provinces, a Hollander, in the Embassadors Retinue at their first Audience, after having earnestly viewed the Queen, told an English Gentleman he had known in *Holland*; that he did not know why they should speak so indifferently of the Queen's Beauty: that they did her the greatest injury: that he thought she was very charming, and if she was his Wife, he would convince her she had Beauty enough to fire a Gentleman's Heart: adding other juvenile Discourse fitter to be imagined than expressed: as he said this, he often looked towards the Queen, and then turned to the English Gentleman. The Queen who had her Eyes fixed upon these Gentlemen, much more than upon the Embassadors, when the Audience was over, sent for the English Gentleman, and commanded him, upon Pain of her Displeasure, to tell her what the Dutchman had said to him: being assured by their Motions and Behaviour, that they spoke of her. The Gentleman excused himself a long time, pretending they were trifles not worthy to be told her Majesty: but at length the Queen pressing him exceedingly, he was forced to tell her ingenuously the whole Truth, and to confess the violent Passion the Hollander had expressed for her Royal Person. The Conclusion of the matter was, that the Embassadors were presented each with a Chain of Gold of 800 Crowns, and their chief attendants with one of 100 Crowns each: but the Hollander, who found the Queen so handsome, had a Chain of 1600 Crowns, that is, double to what the Embassadors had, and he wore it about his Neck all his Life after. Mr *Fontenelle* has inserted this artfully, according to his Custom, in his *Dialogues of the Dead* (6).

[E] The Queen's Resentment against *Buzenwall*. *Du Maurier* has heard his Father say, That she was implacable against all those who frowned the least Contempt of her Person: upon which he told this Story. One *des Combes*, a Frenchman, informed the Queen, that, being at Mr *du Plessis Mornay's* Table during the Siege of *Paris*, Mr *Buzenwall*, who had resided at *London* for the King, mimicked the Queen, and said she spoke *French* very disagreeably, repeating often with a long and ridiculous accent, *paar Dieu, paar maa foy*. The Queen kept this in her Mind, to be revenged both of the Author of the Raillery, and of him who had suffered her to be publicly rallied: for a little after Mr *du Plessis* being sent Embassador-Extraordinary into *England*, to beg assistance against the League, met with a very

cold Reception, and could obtain nothing: upon which my Father being dispatched to the Earl of *Essex* at *Dover*, to see if there was any room to hope, he answered him, that there was some unhappy secret in the affair, that he had never seen the Queen before so alienated from the Interest of *France*. So that to appease the Queen, Henry IV sent extraordinarily into *England* the Viscount de *Turenne*, afterwards Duke de *Bouillon*, followed by Mr de *Buzenwall*, who was to be left Embassador in ordinary to the Queen. As for the Viscount, he was very well received, but she would not see Mr de *Buzenwall*; and when Mr de *Turenne* told her he had orders from the King to leave him there, she told him positively she would have nothing to do with him: and the Viscount knew from some Englishmen that this aversion arose from the Stories he had made of the Queen at the Siege of *Paris*. This Mr de *Buzenwall*, as able a Man as he was, committed a very great fault, to ridicule in public so powerful a Princess, whose aid the King stood in such want of at his coming to the Crown: also he did himself a great injury, as well as his Master; which proves that the Great are always to be spoken of with respect (7).

[F] She was in suspense between the two Religions, but at length she chose the Reformed. Without all doubt, if things had been equal on one side and the other, she would have preferred the Protestant Religion to the Roman Catholic; for she was educated in the former. But I believe also, that to avoid the hazards, which an overthrow of the Religion she found established must present to her view, she would have preserved the *Romish* Religion, if she had found it to be her Interest. The hard usage she received from the Pope (8), forced her into the Arms of the Protestant Party. She saw clearly, that if she had continued a Catholic, she must have acknowledged, either that her Crown was owing to an undoubted Usurpation, or to the Condescension of the Court of *Rome*, which would have exposed her to continual Contests. Being a Catholic, she must have confessed that her Father's divorce from *Catharine* of *Arragon* was null, and that therefore *Anne Boleyn* could be only Henry the Eighth's Concubine. Now in Hereditary Monarchies, a Bastard cannot exclude the legitimate Heir, without destroying a Fundamental Law, and consequently without becoming an Usurper. Therefore there was a necessity for *Elizabeth* to abandon the Church of *Rome*, that she might maintain that the Court of *Rome* was in the wrong to condemn the Marriage of *Anne Boleyn*. But besides this, she was of too penetrating an understanding not to see the general Situation of affairs, that, by immediately declaring against the Pope, she should fix all the Protestant Powers of *Europe* in her Interest, and by this means cherish a Civil-War as long as she pleased among her Neighbours. *Mezeray* observes, that the Court of *France* put the Pope in an ill humour with *Elizabeth* (9), because the exclusion of that Princess might secure the Kingdom of *England* to Mary Stuart Queen of *Scotland*, Wife to the Dauphin. The Design was good, but *France* was then unlucky.

[G] She would never have sat upon the Throne, if the King of *Spain* had not had much more hatred against *France*, than Zeal for the Catholic Religion. One of the principle means which God made use of to establish the Protestant Religion, and which he still employs to make it flourish is the natural jealousy of *France*, and the House of *Austria*. These two Powers have each in their turn rather chose to act for the benefit of the Protestants, in order to ruin their rival, than to suffer their Rival to aggrandize himself by the ruin of the Protestants. Philip II gave an eminent instance of this strange jealousy. The Queen of *England*, his Con-

(3) Reidanus, Annal. lib. 6, pag. 135, at the Year 1587.

(4) Du Maurier, Memoirs for a History of Holland, pag. 254, Paris Edition, 1680.

(5) This Queen shining with a thousand heroic Qualities had yet the Weakness to desire to be thought beautiful by every body; and I have heard my Father say, that having been sent to her, at every Audience, which he had, she would pull off her Gloves a hundred times, that he might see her Hands, which were indeed very fine and white. Du Maurier, pag. 256. See Remark [P].

(6) First Part, pag. m. 82.

(7) Du Maurier, ibid. pag. 256, and following.

(8) He sent her Word, that she was a Bastard, and that he would revoke none of his Predecessor's Bulls: that she was guilty of great Presumption in mounting the Throne, and must hope for no Favours if she did not renounce her Pretensions, and refer herself entirely to the Decision of the Holy See. Leti, Hist. of Elizabeth, Tom. I, pag. 215, at the Year 1558.

(9) The King, whose Interest it was not to let Elizabeth enjoy a Crown he believed did belong to the Wife of his Son, the Dauphin, caused the Pope to give an ill Reception to the Queen's Envoy, and treated her as illegitimate. Mezeray, Abrégé Chron. l. 8. Tom. IV, pag. 214, at the Year 1553.

cumstance sufficient to destroy the Charge of Ingratitude that is brought against her [H]. It is a little unhappy that she may justly be reproached with violating the Promises she made upon her succeeding her Sister (c). She had engaged to maintain the Roman Catholic Religion, which was the established Religion, and yet she abolished it soon after.

(c) See her History by Leti, Tom. I, pag. 331, and following.

(10) *Memoirs of Holland, in the Preface. Mr. B. Bun, Fellow of the Royal Society, in his Character of Queen Elizabeth, translated into French, and printed at the Hague, in 1694, owns, pag. 21, that the same State-Jealousy hindered Philip from consenting to the Death of Elizabeth.*

fort, foreseeing that the Catholic Religion would not be continued in her Kingdom, if her Sister succeeded her, would have put her to Death: but Philip, foreseeing another evil much more considerable to him than the destruction of the Catholic Religion, if Elizabeth did not succeed to the Crown, preserved her safe from all mischief. Let us see what Mr. du Maurier says of it (10). 'Religion is often sacrificed to Interest, and reason of State: witness what the same Queen Elizabeth formerly told my Father, that she owed her Life to King Philip II her Brother-in-law, though the greatest of her Enemies; therefore she put up his Picture at the side of her Bed, and shewed him to every Body as her preserver. Indeed he prevented her Sister Mary from putting her to Death: for Queen Mary, who was second Wife to King Philip, and a zealous Catholic, being very infirm, justly feared that Elizabeth her Sister, who was a Huguenot, whenever she succeeded her, would one day banish the Catholic Religion out of England, as it afterwards happened: and therefore she pressed the King her Husband to take off her Head, whilst she was yet a Prisoner in the Tower of London. But King Philip vehemently opposed it, lest Mary Stuart, who was Heir after Elizabeth, and who had married Francis II, should succeed to the Crown of Great-Britain: and joining it to France, as would most certainly be done if she had Children, by the Union of so many Kingdoms, a formidable Power might be created, which should be able to blast his vast Designs of an universal Monarchy.' As the Author wrote this during the War, which ended in the Treaty of Nimeguen in the Year 1678, he did not fail to reproach the Spaniards with doing the very same thing they had found so much fault with: They were in alliance with Holland, and they had published an infinite number of Books against the Alliances of France with the same Republic, and with the Swedes; upon which he adds these memorable Words: 'So that every body must perceive, that Interest alone governs the World, and a certain great Commander had reason enough to say, that the People were governed by Princes, and Princes themselves by Interest: which is so true, that oftentimes what is most sacred among Men is sacrificed to this Interest: and most Sovereigns observe the Rules of Justice and Religion no farther than they are consistent with this unlucky Interest.' This is an admirable Confirmation of what I have said elsewhere (11) of the Religion of a Sovereign. To conclude, England was far from continuing in the Romish Religion, since on one side the King of Spain prevented the Death of Elizabeth, and on the other the King of France would not suffer that Princess to be treated at the Court of Rome in such a manner as might encourage her to persevere in the Catholic Religion (12).

(11) Remark [H] of the Article AGESILAUS II, and Remark [C] of the Article ARISTIDES.

(12) See before, Citat. (9), out of Mezerai.

(13) It was Robert Parsons, Sec. of the Algambe, pag. 415.

(14) Andreas Philopetrus Respond. ad Edictum Regine Angliæ, pag. m. 88, 89.

(15) Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.

(16) Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.

(17) Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.

(18) Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.

(19) Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.

withstanding their watchfulness, she formed an Intrigue, by which it was agreed that Thomas Stafford, who was fled into France, should return to England, assume the Title of King, and marry her. Accordingly he landed in the Month of April 1557, and seized a maritime Town, but was soon after taken, and executed with some others of his Party. This affair brought Elizabeth into the utmost danger, and she would certainly have suffered Death for it, if the King of Spain's Protection had not extricated her out of this difficulty (16). I shall not examine the Truth or Falseness of these three Plots, the Discussion of which may be seen in the British Histories. I shall only observe that the Charge of Ingratitude founded upon these three services of King Philip II is not a just one; for besides that from the time that Elizabeth ascended the Throne to the Proclamation in the Year 1591, Philip's Conduct justified the Complaints Elizabeth made, which are condemned by the pretended Philopetrus, he deserved no thanks for preserving the Life of that Princess: he did not do it for her sake, but only for his Interest; and found his own reward abundantly and sufficiently in the preservation of Elizabeth's Life. It was not a principle of Clemency which prompted him to behave in such a manner, but a principle of Maliginity against France, or at least a political Prudence necessary to his ambition. When a benefit springs from such an Original, those who complain that it is not gratefully acknowledged, should be referred to one of the Fables of Phædrus (17). It ought also to be considered that Gratitude among Princes is not subject to the same Laws with the Gratitude of private Persons towards one another. Lewis XII has been much applauded for saying that the King of France ought not to revenge the Injuries done to the Duke of Orleans. He might almost with as much reason have said, that the King of France was not obliged to acknowledge the services done to the Duke of Orleans. Do you think that a Duke of Orleans, who should ascend the Throne by a Civil-War, in which he owes his success to the powerful assistance of a neighbouring Prince, would be obliged to confederate himself with that Prince, or not to join with the Enemies of that Prince? Will he not be ungrateful if he does not espouse the Interest of this Benefactor? Will he not be much more so, if he should espouse the Interest of the Princes that shall attack his Benefactor? There is but one point to be known in order to resolve these Questions. Is it the Interest of the State, of which our Duke of Orleans is now become the Head, that the neighbouring Prince, who has so much assisted him, should not augment his Power, but should lose even part of those Conquests which render him so formidable to his neighbours? In that Case, he ought to forget the benefits he has received, and say it does not become the King of France to requite the Obligations of the Duke of Orleans: he ought not to join through Gratitude with that Prince, attacking or attacked; and he ought even sometimes to join with those who declare War against him. Such is the Law of Politics, such is the Law of State; and it was by virtue of that State-Law, that Elizabeth did well in traversing the designs of Philip II. The United Provinces had the utmost Obligations to this Queen, and to Henry IV, the two firm supports of their growing Liberties. Nevertheless, if the Interest of the State had required that they should have weakened the Power of the English, or the Power of the French, they ought to have concurred with the Enemies of those two Nations, and there is great reason to think they would have done it. To know how these Politics agree with the eternal Laws of Morality, and how such an Opposition between the Duty of Princes, and the Duty of private Persons, is no breach in the unchangeable certainty of the Ideas of Honesty and Virtue, is another Question. It is sufficient to say, that such is the nature of Societies, that the public Interest is like the Sun, with respect to a great many Virtues. Which Virtues are like Stars that vanish, and disappear at the Presence of this Interest. *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* Naudé touches a little upon this in his *Coups d'Etat*.

(17) *Fæderes si causa mea Gratum esset . . . Nunc quia laboris ut fruaris relinquit Quas sunt solus, simul et ipios devotes Noli impetere vnum beneficium nihili Phædri F. fab. xxiij. lib. i.*

(18) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(19) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(20) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(21) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(22) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(23) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(24) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(25) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(26) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(27) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(28) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

(29) *Id. ibid. pag. 97, 98.*

[1] This

after. Perhaps this Conduct was a great Service to the Protestant Religion in the famous Revolution of 1688 [I]. It is impossible to say what vile Calumnies were spread abroad concerning this Queen [K]; which were not to be avoided considering the Severity she was forced, by Reasons of State, to use towards Papists. Some lost their Lives, a great number of others either suffered the Rigours of Imprisonment, or the Inconveniences of Exile [L]; and those were the Men who chiefly composed injurious Libels against the Reputation of *Elizabeth*. They made her a Monster of Cruelty, Avarice, and Lust. There are few Protestant Authors who do not extol this Princess's Chastity to the Skies; and there are some Memoirs which affirm she could not have run the Risque of being got with Child without the utmost Hazard of her Life [M].

A modern

[I] This Conduct was perhaps a very great service to the Protestant Religion in the Revolution in 1688. A solemn promise made to a whole People, and confirmed by Oath, is a Barrier which cannot be broke through without exposing one's Reputation. Therefore there is reason to think that a Prince bound by such a promise will keep it, if it be only to secure his Honour: but if it is seen, that, in certain Cases, by a special Privilege in matters of Religion, a great Queen has failed in a promise of this nature, and yet passed for a Heroine, and for the wonder of her Age, People durst no longer depend upon the good Effects which the Fear of incurring blame by falsifying an Oath is capable of producing. Thus the *English* were persuaded that James II would not be afraid of the ill Consequences of a breach of his word in matters of Religion, and that he would hope his Memory would suffer no greater prejudice than Queen *Elizabeth's*, whose Footsteps he should only follow. Therefore having no reason to rely upon his Oath, they took care betimes to prevent him from imitating their Heroine. In this manner there are things which are useful many ways, both for the present, and for the future. In general, we may be assured there is nothing that has not its use in a State (18).

[K] The vilest Calumnies were spread abroad of this Queen. Mr *Bobun* complains particularly of four Authors, who are *Sanders*, *Florimond de Raimond*, *George Cane*, and the anonymous Author that published the *Didymus Veridicus*. He says (19) that *Sanders*, 'not content with diffaming *Anne Boleyn* . . . would also calumniate and dishonour *Elizabeth*. For this purpose he invented the most scandalous Stories, and the most infamous Satires against her, and her Ministers, endeavouring to make the World to believe that she was guilty of Rapine, Incontinency, vile Debauchery, Frauds, and horrible Falsehoods, in order to ruin the *English* Nation.' The Author of *Didymus Veridicus* (20) undertook 'to pollute the Ear by the leudest Discourses, and to destroy the Reputation of the most celebrated Princess in the World . . . he invented abundance of lies, and absurd and incredible things, which were like the Images and Fancies of Poets and Painters.' Mr *Bobun's* Observation, concerning the Penalties which were inflicted on these Libels, must not be forgotten. 'The rage, says he (21), and impudence of the Writers of these scandalous Pieces made the Queen treat with great severity all those who composed Libels or Verses to blacken the Reputation of others; she forbid them to be dispersed, or even read, and ordered them to be burnt by the common Hangman. Her rigour extended to those, who secretly spread any false reports to the prejudice or dishonour of the Government, least her People by these means should be excited to Commotions and Rebellions.' I do not find he has taken notice of a Reproach they cast upon that Queen, viz. that she only was a Protestant in outward Appearance. They maintain not only that she confessed to the *Sieur de Lansac* that she was persuaded of the Pope's Primacy (22), and to the Spanish Ambassador that she believed the real presence (23); but they say also that she drove away the Bishops who came to see her in her last Sickness. 'Denique aversionem ejus à tota reformatione & grege Ministrorum, horror quem erga Pseudo-Episcopos in supremo morbo ad se accedentes præ se tulit, adeo eos Presbyteros de sepibus (phrasia ea est Anglorum erga mendicos & meretrices, victu testoque carentes) vocatos ab aspectu suo facessere jussit, luculenter demonstrat (24). — Lastly, her Aversion to all Reformation and Reformers is most clearly demonstrated by that horror, which she expressed in her last ill-

ness towards those Mock-Bishops, that came to her, calling them *HEDGE Presbyters*, (a phrase in England applied to Beggars and Whores who have neither Habitation nor Subsistence) and charged them directly to quit her presence.'

[L] A great number of others suffered either the Rigours of Imprisonment, or the Inconveniences of Exile. The Protestants of England confess it; they do not deny the Fact (25); but they maintain, that the wicked Attempts of the Papists against the Government, and against the Queen, deserved such a Punishment. You will be sure not to find this Observation in the Libels of the *English Roman Catholics*. You will indeed find the Punishments, with all the rhetorical Flourishes that can amplify them, but not a Word of the seditious Enterprizes which preceded, and were the Cause of them. There are few Relations in which the order of the Events is not confounded. This Confusion is not always produced by Fraud: a too turbulent Zeal is sometimes the Cause of it; Nature does the rest without designed Malice. The Constitution of Man is such, that he imagines the Evils he suffers to be great, and those he does not to be small. He perceives not these, but is sensible of the other; and even when he knows he has been the Aggressor, he pretends to have cause of Complaint, he makes no account of what he has done, only of what he suffers. An ill-conducted Zeal fixes the Mind upon the Hardships of persecuted Virtue, and causes the Provocations of the Persecutors to be forgotten. If these two Causes are not sufficient, Dishonesty, which alone would disorder the Events, compleats the Confusion. However it be, I have observed, that the principal Difference between the Accounts of Catholics and Protestants consists in the Order of the Facts: each Party endeavours to give the first Place to the Injuries they have endured; they make a long Detail of these, and pass over slightly what they have done by way of Reprisals, or what they have suffered as a just Punishment. This is what is pretended. There is nothing that perplexes the Heads of the unprejudiced Readers more than this; for in order to know exactly what is blamable and what is excusable in each Party, it is absolutely necessary to consider the Facts in their true Situation. If the Catholics had not laid violent hands on the Protestants till after they had seen them overturn Temples, Altars, Images, and Crosses, &c. their Cruelties would not have been so criminal. For these Reasons it is necessary to give an Adversary the Precedence in such Cases. A modern Author has declared that he would not examine whose Relations had composed the Events (26). This Discussion in certain cases is not altogether so laborious, but sometimes it would be found so embarrassing, that unless one was assisted by some Revelation, which should act contrary to that of the Apocalypse (27), one would never arrive at the certain Truth.

[M] Some Memoirs affirm, that she could not have run the Risque of being got with Child without the utmost Hazard of her Life. The Historians who give Reasons for her not marrying do not omit this, that Marriage would have been dangerous to her: let us hear *Mezerai* on account of the Duke d'Alençon. The thing went so far, that the Queen gave him a Ring for a Pledge of her Faith: but the contrary Intrigues in opposition to this Alliance, and her Women, who knew the danger she be would in if she had Children, made such an Outcry, and filled their Mistress's Head with so much Clamour, that she demanded it back again (28). The Abbot *Sir* says, that she commanded her Officers not to let any body touch her Body, or see her naked, after her Death,

(25) See *Bobun*, Character of *Elizabeth*, pag. 411.

(26) See the 5^e Letter of la Critique Générale de Malmbourg.

(27) This is easily said upon Supposition, as Mr *Jarvis* has done, that the Holy Ghost had left those things in Confusion which he, Mr *Jarvis*, had put into Order. See here Part of the Title of the twelfth Chapter of his Accomplishment of the Apocalypse, Part II.

(28) *Mezerai*, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. V, par. 253, at the Year 1581.

(18) See, before, the Article DOLABELLA (PUBL. CORNEL.) in the Text, Citat. (1).

(19) *Bobun*, Caractère de la Reine *Elizabeth*, pag. 412.

(20) Idem pag. 414.

(21) Idem. pag. 417.

(22) Person. in Resp. ad Coquum, cap. 15, pag. 363, 364, apud Henricum Fitz Simon in Britannomachia Ministorum, lib. 3, cap. 5, pag. 318.

(23) Comiti (postea Duci) Ferre realemi Christi præsentiam esse juravit: quod ejusdem Ducis testantur ad Regem Literæ (Novemb. 16, anni 1558) in Archivis Cymance in Hispania conservate. Id. ibid.

(24) Id. Fitz Simon, ibid. He quotes *Discessit*, Personi, cap. 2, from pag. 216 to 220.

A modern Writer of the Reformed Religion has made her Chastity a Problem [N]. It is much easier to vindicate her Honour in this Respect, and in the Acts against Papists, than with regard to the unhappy Queen of Scotland [O]; and yet she cannot justly be intitled to the Praise, which the Roman Historian bestows upon *Agrippina*, of having freed herself from the Weaknesses of her own Sex by an Application to manly Business [P]. Pope *Sixtus* had a particular Esteem for

Elizabeth

(29) Journal des Savans de September 6, 1677, pag. 282, in the Extract of Memoire recondit di Vittorio Siri.

(30) Leti, Hist. d' Elizabeth, Tom. II, pag. 513. See also pag. 220, and following, where he relates several Passages and merry sayings concerning the Gallineries of this Queen.

(31) Jerem. xlii, 23.

(32) Bohun, Character of Queen Elizabeth, pag. 404.

(33) See the Remark [D].

(34) Tacit. Annal. lib. 6, cap. 25.

for Reasons which are not hard to be apprehended by those who know the History of this Princess (29). See the Remark [X] towards the end.

[N] A modern Protestant Writer has made her Chastity a Problem. This Modern is Mr Leti, whose Words are (30), 'I know not whether she was as chaste as is reported; for, in short, she was a Queen, handsome, young, full of Wit; she loved fine Cloaths, Diversions, Balls, Pleasure, and to have her Favourites of the best made Men in the Kingdom. This is all I can tell the Reader.' It is certain one ought to have a great deal of Charity, or a great deal of Caution, to suspect nothing impure in the Conduct of a young Queen, who always had some Favourite, and always chose them among the bravest, youngest, and handsomest Lords of her Kingdom. If Elizabeth in this Behaviour preserved a perfect Continence, as I am willing to believe, she acted quite contrary to that Maxim, *si non castè, saltem cautè*. She is not to be commended for her Circumspection; for she took no care to save Appearances: she preserved her real Chastity, and delivered up the Out-works to the Censures and Suspicions of the World, contenting herself with keeping the Body of the Place.

[O] It is much easier to defend her Honour in this respect, than with regard to the unhappy Queen of Scotland. There is, without doubt, great Excess and Insincerity in the Elogies and Apologies for this Queen: but the Faults she might have committed do not excuse Elizabeth, who put her to death. They have published a hundred Apologies for this Action; for what is there so execrable which some mercenary Pens will justify, who without going out of their *Polyanthes* find Instances of the thing in Question? The best is, that after having read these Apologies with some sort of Temptation to approve them, one perceives right Reason regain its Empire, and dissipate all the Charms of the rhetorical Apologist. The Proverb of the Scriptures, *Can the Ethiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots* (31), agrees admirably well with those who have undertook to justify Elizabeth upon the Execution of the Queen, who fled to her for Refuge. *Ethiopem lavas*, may be said to each of them. It must be so, since Mr Bohun, the great Panegyrist of this Queen, condemns her, upon this Article, absolutely, and without Mercy. 'The worst Action of all her Reign, says

he (32), was her Treatment of Mary of Scotland. This Queen having been expelled by her Subjects, and deprived not only of her Royal Authority, but also her Liberty, her Estate, and her Crown, came distressed and desolate into England upon Elizabeth's Royal Word. At first she received her very well, and ordered her to be treated as a Queen; but afterwards detained her as a Prisoner, and, under Pretence that Mary formed Designs against her Life, had her tried, condemned, and at last executed, and thereby made her a sad and unheard of Example of her cruel and unjust Severity. She polluted, if I may so say, her Reign, by this shedding of innocent Blood, not of an Enemy, but of a Princess, to whom she had given Sanctuary, and whom she had received into her Kingdom.'

[P] She cannot justly be intitled to the Praise . . . of having freed herself from the Weaknesses of her Sex by an Application to manly Business. Her passionate Desire to be thought handsome, the Care she took to shew her Beauty, and the Complaisance she expressed to those who were sensibly touched with her Charms (33), are undeniably a female Foible, which *Agrippina* had not; for if that Roman Lady had had those Infirmities, they could not have truly said, *sed Agrippina equi impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat* (34). She would still have less deserved that great Encomium, if she had bestowed such Careless upon young Men as Elizabeth did lavishly upon them. Let us produce an Author who relates what he saw and heard himself. He says, the Ceremony of creating the Lord Robert Earl of Leicester, and Baron of Denbigh, was

VOL. II.

performed at Westminster, with a great deal of Solemnity, the Queen herself assisting at the Ceremonial. He was upon his Knees before her, with the greatest Gravity, whilst the Queen could not forbear to make him an hundred Careless; sometimes pinching him softly, sometimes laying her Hand on his Head and Shoulders, though the Ambassador of France and myself were present (35). He that speaks in this manner was Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland's Envoy at the Court of Queen Elizabeth. The Queen, my Mistress, says he (36), knowing Queen Elizabeth's Humour, commanded me not to be too much upon the Reserve with her, and, that my Conversation might not be tiresome to her, to be sometimes upon the diverting strain; wherefore one time giving her an account of the different Modes and Customs of foreign Countries, I even mentioned the Womens Buskins. Upon which she told me she had the Dress of every Country and every Fashion by her, and indeed she took after that every day a different Dress, sometimes after the English, sometimes after the French, and sometimes after the Italian Mode, continuing these Changes all the time I staid at London. At last she would know of me which Dress became her best, I answered, in my Opinion the Italian, which Answer did not seem to be displeasing to her; for she loved exceedingly to shew her fair Hair, so that a little Italian Bonnet was what pleased her best. Her Hair was rather of a yellowish Colour than white, but with a beautiful Curl, which in Appearance was natural. She asked me which coloured Hair was reckoned the handsomest, her's or my Queen's? and seeing that I hesitated, she pressed me to declare upon this Point. I told her she was the finest Queen in England, and mine in Scotland (37). But this not satisfying her, I told her, they were both the most charming in their Country, that her Majesty was indeed the fairest, but that my Queen was also very lovely. She would still know which of the two was the tallest, to which I answered, my Queen. Then, says she, she must be too tall, for I am neither too tall nor too short. You see here a Queen of England busying herself with Fashions and Dresses. It does not look like a meer Amusement: one would think she had made this her principal Business, if her Application to the Royal Functions were not well known. But it must be said, the found time for every thing: she applied herself to the Cares of Government with as much Diligence as if she thought of nothing else, and she was as exact in her Dress and Ornaments as if that had been the utmost of her Concern. On the other hand, if her Conversations with the Envoy of Scotland are considered, her Design was not so much to interrogate him, as to make him confess, that she was handsomer than Mary Stuart. One may discern by this, that she looked upon her as a Rival in point of Beauty, and that by the turn she gave her Discourse, she would induce People to give her the Preference over this Rival. This is very consistent with a feminine Spirit and Temper. Every body knows with what Address Women seek for Applause, sometimes despising themselves in order to be contradicted, sometimes by inquiring if it be true that such and such have Beauty, Splendor, an incomparable Shape, &c.

We may observe a notable Difference between *Agrippina* and Queen Elizabeth. The latter could not resolve to marry, tho' she saw Men agreeable enough to think them worthy of her Choice: the other seeing herself a Widow, and young, desired *Tiberius* to give her a Husband, and represented to him that an honest Woman could find no Satisfaction but in her Spouse. At *Agrippina* pervicax iræ, & morbo corporis implicita, cum viseret eam Cæsar, profusus diu ac per silentium lacrymis, mox invidiam & preces orditur: subveniret solitudini, daret maritum habilem adjuventam sibi, neque aliud probis, quam ex matrimonio solatium (38). — *Agrippina being stung with* Resentment, and afflicted with Sickness, when Cæsar came to visit her, burst into Tears, and continued for some time without speaking, but

(35) James Melvil, Memoirs, Vol. I, pag. 148.
(36) Id. pag. 154, and following.
(37) This was saying nothing; for when there is but one Queen in a Country, she is the fairest Queen there, let her be never so homely. There is a Country Witicism, viz. I am the handsomest at the Table, when some Woman or Girl is the last that remains.
(38) Tacit. Annal. lib. 4, cap. 53.

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(d) See the Character of Queen Elizabeth by Mr. Bohun, printed at the Hague, in

Elizabeth [2], and it is even said that he kept a Correspondence with her to the Prejudice of the King of Spain. What Mr. Leti relates of this Affair is not very unlikely [R]. I have said nothing of the Learning of this Queen, which yet deserves Admiration (d). Her Reign, which was crowned with so many Favours of Providence,

1694, pag. 5, & seq. See also the Words of Balzac, Remark [2].

ended

'at length she broke forth into Intreaties, conjuring him to take Compassion on her forlorn Condition; that she was still young, that virtuous Women could have no Comfort but in a married State.' This was speaking sincerely; for it is well known that when a Woman is not honest, she can find sufficiently in an unmarried State wherewith to content Nature. The Envoy of Scotland declared very freely to Queen Elizabeth the reason why he imagined she would not marry. 'I value him as a Brother, says she, speaking of Lord Robert, whom she had made Earl of Leicester, and he is the best Friend I have. So that if I could resolve to marry, it should be with him; but not being able to bring my Humour to it, it would be a great Satisfaction to me to see my Sister choose him for her Spouse, there being no body I could with so heartily to enjoy Part of the Succession with her (39).' The Scots Envoy answered, your Majesty is assured of having no Children, being determined not to marry. 'It is true, said she, I am determined, and will never marry, unless the Queen, my Sister, should force me to it by her Conduct.' I know, Madam, answered I, that you speak sincerely, and it is unnecessary to give me Assurances of it. For you know, being married, you would be only Queen, whereas now you are both King and Queen. I know your great Heart will never suffer a Master (40).

(39) Melvill, Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 148.

(40) Ibid. 152.

[2] Pope Sixtus had a particular Esteem for Elizabeth. He reckoned her one of the three Persons, who, in his Opinion, were alone worthy of a Crown: the two others were himself and Henry IV. 'Your Queen, said he one day to an English Gentleman, is born happy, she governs her Kingdom with a great deal of Success, she wants only me for her Husband to give the World another Alexander (41).' Mr. Jurieu has expressed this a little more cavalierly. 'This good Pope said, that he would willingly lie only one Night with Elizabeth, Queen of England, being assured they should get another Alexander the Great. This was worthy the Gravity and Chastity of a Pope. . . . It was this same good Pope, that said Elizabeth was happy in striking off a crowned head, and that he envied her Felicity (42).' Balzac, by I know not what Affectation, has given the Pope's Expressions another Dress, which takes away their natural Air. I shall go a little farther back, that it may be seen what Praises that French Writer bestows upon this Queen (43), in a Letter he wrote to a certain Lord (44). 'My Intention, says he to him, was never to touch the true Glory of your Heroine, I have always thought she ought rather to be considered for the Magnanimity of her Soul, the Benefits of which will be enjoyed by your latest Posterity, than by a slight Beauty of her Body, which is not only destroyed by Death, but flies away at the first Approaches of old Age (45). I must come from another World to be ignorant of the Praises she has received from the general Voice of this. I know she has been hailed the Northern Star, the Goddess of the Sea, the true *Thetis*. I have read these Words, *I will be, Madam, your Captain-General*, in a Letter written to her by Henry the Great, at the Height of his Difficulties, and under the violent Proceedings of the League; even he, who had excommunicated her, spoke of her with Esteem, and you know he was a Prince of a very great Understanding, and well skilled in the Art of Government. He took a Pleasure to talk of her with the Ambassadors resident at his Court, and sometimes would pleasantly say, that if he had been married to her, Authority and Grandeur would have proceeded from such an illustrious Marriage. But though she had not arrived to this high Degree of Reputation, and tho' they had deprived her of all these glorious Marks of Esteem, yet two Considerations, less specious indeed in the Eyes of the World, but more sensible to my Mind, would have obliged me to revere her Memory, which are, my Lord, that she did not despise our Muses, and that she loved your Family (46). I am informed by *Camden*, that she was so well

(41) Leti, Hist. d'Elizabeth, Tom. II, p. 137.

(42) Apologie pour la Reformat. Tom. I, pag. m. 153, 154.

(43) In the 10th Letter of the 6th Book, pag. 205, Folio Edition.

(44) To the Earl of Exeter. His Letter is dated June 25, 1634.

(45) If he would justify himself, as it seems from the Passage I have quoted in the Text of this Article, at the end, he does not do it fairly.

(46) The Earl, to whom Balzac writes, was of the Family of the Cecils.

'acquainted with good Learning, that she made a good Latin Translation of some Tragedies of *Sophocles*, and the Orations of *Isocrates*. The same Author tells me what share your Ancestors had in her Confidence, &c.'

Note: That Mr. Jurieu ought to cite d'Aubigné for the second Fact; for he read it only in the Catholic Confession of *Sanci*, and in the same Author's Universal History. The Pope having caused Count de Pepoll's Head to be cut off. . . . (these are the Words of the *Sieur d'Aubigné* rejoiced, among his intimate Friends, for the Head of a Count; but bearing what had passed in England, he esteemed no body in the World like Queen Elizabeth for Greatness or Felicity, and, as if he had lamented the Conquests of Alexander, said of her: O beata femina, che ai gustato el piacere di far saltare una testa coronata (47).

[R] What Mr. Leti says concerning Pope Sixtus the Fifth's keeping a Correspondence with Elizabeth is not very unlikely. Pope Sixtus V both hated and dreaded the King of Spain: therefore he must naturally wish him ill Success, and rather desire to see Herefy maintained in England than to see Philip II become Master of so good a Country. The Popes, as Sovereign Princes, follow the Principles of the Religion of a Sovereign, and consequently they sacrifice the Catholic Interest to the Interest of their particular Power? What Service would it be to them, for Example, that a King of Spain should subdue the Protestants, if by that means he would become so formidable to the Court of Rome, that they should not dare to refuse any thing to the Spaniards for fear of seeing the Year 1527 return again, and the Imprisonment of *Clement VII*? It is a less Damage to the Pope not be acknowledged either by Holland, or by England, than to be owned by them, and thereby some Catholic Prince to be in a Condition of obtaining from Rome, by Favour or Force, all his Demands. If this Principle of Speculation is not sufficient to convince us, that Sixtus V did all he could to make the King of Spain's Designs against Elizabeth miscarry, we shall see presently a practical Reason which will make it evident. When Lewis XIV made such great and rapid Conquests upon the United Provinces, in the Year 1672, Cardinal *Altieri*, who was Pope in effect, although another was called *Clement X*, received the News with a mortal Concern, because he did not love France, and the Duke d'Etrée, Ambassador from that Crown, took all Opportunities to mortify him (48). Of a later Date we have seen *Innocent XI* deaf to whatever could favour the Interest of King James, and ardently promoting every thing that was contrary to France (49). Because he feared more the Increase of Lewis the Fourteenth's Power than he desired the Progress of the Catholic Religion. He was afraid of being crushed under the too great Power of that Prince, and therefore he was very glad the Protestants were in a Condition to bridle and reduce it. From hence we may better know the happy Situation of the Affairs of the Protestants, since not only the eternal Jealousy between France and the House of Austria will always procure them Allies, and Protectors in the States of the contrary Religion, but even the Court of Rome, according to the Exigency of Occasion, will do what Sixtus V did to the Prejudice of the King of Spain, and what *Innocent XI* did to the Prejudice of Lewis XIV. This Court is no less concerned than others to preserve the Balance of Power.

But to what Purpose is it to look for Instances? We need only consider Sixtus himself with respect to Henry the Great. It is certain, that having observed how much the League augmented the Strength of the Spaniards, he shifted Sides, and favoured, in France, the Protestant Party, and if he had not died, he would have done his utmost to have deprived the King of Spain of the Kingdom of Naples (50). He traversed the League so visibly, that the Spaniards threatened to protest against him, and to provide otherwise for the Preservation of the Church, which he abandoned (51). His Death filled the Leaguers with Joy: one of their Preachers (52) giving the Parisians

(47) D'Aubigné Hist. Universal. Tom. III, lib. 2, cap. 27, pag. m. 270. See also the Catholic Confession of Sanci, lib. 2, cap. 11.

(48) See a *Post* intitled, *Memoirs of the Court of Rome*, from the Year 1669 to 1676, printed at Paris, in 1677, pag. 204, and following.

(49) See Lewis the Fourteenth's Letter to the Cardinal d'Etrée, inserted by Mr. Leti in the 114 Tome of the Universal Monarchy, pag. 436.

(50) See Maimbourg, Hist. of the League, lib. 4, pag. 418.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Aubry, *Cap. rate* of St. Andrew des Arx.

ended at last in the deepest Melancholy that ever was heard of [8]. Some say, that the Death of the Earl of *Essex* was the Cause of this cruel Grief [7]. Some Controversialists have published a ridiculous Jest, which has no Appearance of Truth in it (e): they pretend the Marshal de Biron boasted he had seen the Head of the Reformed Church dancing. They should have fathered this upon some other Ambassador; for *Elizabeth* was no longer of an Age to dance (f) when *Henry IV* sent the Marshal Biron to her. If *Balzac* had taken notice of the old Age of this Queen (g), he would have been far from saying, *She was so charming, that the Earl of Essex chose rather to die than to ask his Life of her, that he might not be still importuned by her Love and Caresses* (b). There is more than one Incongruity in these Words. *Moreri's* Mistakes will be seen in the Remark [U].

(g) The Earl of *Essex* was executed in 1601, and the Queen was born in 1533. (b) *Balzac* in his *Prince*, n. 62. Note, he speaks ironically, and to confute the Poets who had preferred the Beauty of that Queen to the Beauty of *Helen*. A pitiful Confutation!

Pope

notice of it made use of these Words. *God has delivered us from a wicked and politic Pope: if he had lived longer People would have been astonished to have heard the Pope preached against in Paris, but it must have been done* (53). It was not because he was sensible of the great Merit of *Henry IV*, and the Knave-ries of the League (54), that this Pope took Measures contrary to the Catholic Religion; but because the Heretics Success was so much Damage to the King of Spain, whom he hated.

[S] *Her Reign . . . ended in the deepest Melancholy that ever was heard of*.] Mr *Silbon* furnishes me with a Commentary on these Words: "Who would have thought, says he (55), that the Course of such a Reign, and such a Life (56), should have terminated in a Satiety of Life and Government . . . and that there should have been such a Precipice at the end of so fine a Career?" After which he gives the Substance of a Relation *which History*, says he, *has not taken notice of; and which is contained in a Letter that a Gentleman belonging to the French Ambassador at the English Court wrote to his Friend at Paris*. As this Letter is in print, I chose rather to take out of it what is to my Purpose, than use Mr *Silbon's* Words: "I must tell you, Sir, that the common Opinion of her Physicians, and of those who waited on her in her Chamber, is, that her Distemper proceeds from Grief, which she secretly entertained some days before she made any Complaint, and they ground their Opinion on there being no Sign of any mortal Disorder upon her, besides that of Age, having always had her Urine, her Pulse, and her Eyes good to the last. And especially that in all the Course of her Sickness she never would take any Remedy that was prescribed to her, notwithstanding the Entreaties, and Threats of Death, which her Servants and Physicians made to her. As if the Apprehension of being despised for her Age, or some other secret Uneasiness, which they impute to her Grief for the Death of the late Earl of *Essex* (57), made her desire and seek it of herself. However it be, the Truth is, that as soon as she found herself sick, she said she should die. She made no Will, nor declared her Successor, nor did she take to her Bed but three Days before her Death, having been sitting above fifteen Days upon Cushions, dressed, with her Eyes fixed on the Ground, without seeing or speaking to any body. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of *England*, the Bishop of *London*, and her Almoner, assisted her at her Death, when she gave many Signs of great Devotion and Thankfulness to God (58)." This Account is very different from Mr *Leti's* Narrative; according to which the Queen was seven Weeks without being sensible, and in a continual Delirium, which was caused by her Fever, and which ceased three Days before she died (59). According to the Abbot *Sir's* Memoirs, "The Queen, sitting upon her Bed, all dressed, keeping her Eyes upon the Ground, and her Finger in her Mouth, which was the Posture she would die in, ordered the usual Music to be admitted, which she heard with great Tranquillity, even to the last gasp of Life, in order to die, says this Author, agreeably, *come era vissuta allegrementi — as she had lived merrily* (60)." I wonder they did not let her the last Words of *Augustus* (61).

[T] *Some pretend, that the Death of the Earl of Essex was the Cause of this cruel Grief*.] After the Earl's Execution the Queen was a long time as gay as usual, which she shewed particularly during the Embassy of the Marshal de Biron. Therefore it is likely, if she died of Grief upon the Earl of *Essex's* Account, it was not because she had put him to death, but because she was informed that he had implored her Mercy, in a way which she had promised him should never fail of Success. Mr *du Maurier* will explain this Mytery to us. "It will not be needless, says he (62), nor unpleasant to add here what the said Prince *Maurice* had from Mr *Carleton* the English Ambassador in *Holland*, who died Secretary of State, so well known by the Name of Lord *Dorchester*, a Man of very great Merit, that Queen *Elizabeth* in the Height of her Passion for the Earl of *Essex* gave him a Ring, bidding him keep it safely, and that upon sending it to her, she would pardon him let his Crime be what it would. Afterwards the Earl's Enemies prevailing with the Queen, and besides being enraged at the Contempt he had thrown on her Beauty which was ruined by Age; she ordered him to be brought to his Trial, and after his Condemnation, expected continually that he should send the Ring to her, that she might pardon him according to her Promise. The Earl in the last Extremity had Recourse to the Wife of Admiral *Howard*, his Kinswoman, and intreated her, by a Person he could trust, to give the Ring into the Queen's own Hands. But her Husband, who was an utter Enemy to the Earl, to whom she had imprudently discovered the thing, preventing her from discharging her Commission, the Queen consented to his Death, enraged at his proud and haughty Spirit, that chose rather to die than fly to her Clemency. Some time after the Admiral's Lady falling sick, and being given over by her Physicians, sent the Queen word, that she had an Affair of great Consequence to communicate to her before she died. Her Majesty being at her Bed's side, when the rest of the Company were withdrawn, she unseasonably gave her that Ring from the Earl of *Essex*, excusing herself that she could not put it sooner into her Hands, her Husband having prevented her. The Queen was struck with a mortal Grief, and retired immediately. For fifteen Days together she did nothing but sigh, without taking any thing at all, lying down in her Cloaths, and rising a hundred times in the Night. At length she died of Hunger and Grief together, for having given her Consent to the Death of her Lover, who had thrown himself upon her Mercy."

[U] *These are Moreri's Mistakes*.] I. He ought not to have said, that *Elizabeth* left in the Church the Names of Bishops, Canons, Curates, &c. The Bishops of the Church of *England* are not Titular Bishops; they actually execute the Episcopal Functions, and have over the Curates the same Hierarchical Pre-eminences as the *Romish* Bishops. II. He should not have several times exaggerated the Persecutions of the *Roman Catholics*, without mentioning the Acts of Rebellion which exposed them to that Storm. A faithful Historian ought first to have observed their Plots against the Queen's Government, and then the severe Punishment she inflicted for those Plots. The Transposition of these two things would be great Unfaithfulness in an Historian (63): he could not, without Perfidiousness, make the Punishments go before, when there was a Train of Plots. What Name then shall be given to *Moreri's* Conduct, who suppresses entirely those Plots? Such an Omission is not barely a Fault, but a Crime, which the *Latins* would call *felis*, or at least *flagitium*. I consider *Moreri*

(e) See *Olander* in *Grotium de Jure Belli & Pacis*, pag. 465.

(f) Some Historians say she danced. Others only that she played on the Spinnet. See Remark [C] of the Article GON-TAULT (C. ARLES DE).

(62) Du Maurier, *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Hollande*, pag. 260.

(63) See, above, Rem. [L].

(53) Maimbourg, *History of the League*, lib. 4, pag. 429.

(54) Maimbourg, ib. p. 427, alleges these Reasons, but is very much out.

(55) Silhon, *Ministre d'Etat*, Part. III, cap. 7, pag. m. 112.

(56) He had just made the Elogium of Queen *Elizabeth*.

(57) See the following Remark.

(58) These Words are taken from a Letter inserted in the Sequel of *Memoires d'Etat*, printed at Paris, in 8vo, 1623. The Letter I speak of is in pag. 276 of the Third Volume, and is dated, *London*, April 3, 1603.

(59) Life of *Elizabeth*, Tom. II, pag. 532.

(60) In the *Journal des Savans*, Sept. 6, 1677, pag. 282.

(61) *Amicos admiros percontatus, equid ut videretur mimum vite commode transigisse, adjectis & clausulam, &c. He enquired of his Friends who were admitted to see him, whether they thought, that he had acquired himself well in his Post, then subjoined this Clause, &c.* *Sueton*, in *Augusto*, cap. C.

Pope Clement VIII said some very disobliging things of this Queen, which shew that he was ill informed of the State of England [X].

veri here only as an Author, and if I accuse him of a Crime, I mean only a Crime in point of History. III. *The greatest Crime they charged upon the Queen of Scotland*, says he, *was her having endeavoured to make her Escape out of her Prison*. He is mistaken, they charged her with more enormous Crimes. If he had said it was the greatest Crime they could justly charge her with, he might have secured his Retreat, and disputed the Ground by the contrary Accounts the two Parties published; but it is a Question of a Fact, which is incontestably determined in three Words, to know what the Judges went upon. It is but to read the Trial. Neither *Moreri* nor his Adherents can contradict this, nor alledge one Word for their Justification. IV. It is not true that *Henry III* heard with Displeasure of the Death of *Mary*, nor that he sent *Bellievre* to save the Life of that unhappy Queen. The Embassy of *Bellievre* was a meer Farce. The Leaguers reproached *Henry III* with pushing on to the utmost the Destruction of *Mary Stuart* (64). Mr *du Maurier* has revealed that Mystery (65). V. *Virginia* is not an Island. VI. *Elizabeth* did not die the fourth of April, but the third. VII. It is false that the fourth of April, *New Style*, is the Twenty fourth of March, *Old Style*. VIII. Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign continued Forty four Years and some Months: therefore he ought not to say she died after a Reign of Thirty five Years. But what is strange is, that he allows but Thirty five Years to a Reign which he makes to begin in November, 1558, and end in April 1603. The Knowledge of the Mathematics was not the chief of this Prince's Acquirements in the Sciences, as *Moreri* assures us (66). Neither do I find that Mr *Boban*, who gives an exact Account of the Sciences she had learned, ever makes her to have handled *Euclid's* Elements (67). This then is *Moreri's* ninth Error.

[X] Pope Clement VIII said some very disobliging things . . . and which shewed he was not well informed of the State of England. Cardinal d'Osset, in a Letter from Rome, of the first of February 1595, writes in this manner: 'The Pope answered me . . . That England had formerly been conquered, and might be so again; that it was little united in itself, because of the Diversity of Religions, and governed by an old Woman, without a Husband, or

a certain Successor: that she must have pretty well drained her Exchequer by the Expences she had been at; that besides he had observed, that Women who had reigned long, and loved Pleasure in the Youth and Vigour of their Age, became afterwards, in their old Age, despised by those to whom they had given themselves up: and he mentioned to me two Queens of Sicily, who, he said, had lived in the same manner: one of which, in her old Age, suffered herself to be boxed by one she had entertained in her Youth: that he believed this Queen also would be for the future little valued by those who had formerly loved and esteemed her: that he and I were not so old, but, all these things being considered, he hoped we might see her one day subdued (68). Mr *Amelot de la Houssaye* makes three Remarks upon this. In the first he says: 'Surely Clement VIII was ill informed of the State of England, which was never more flourishing, or more powerful, both by Sea and Land, than in Elizabeth's Reign: and Sixtus V, his Predecessor, had quite another Opinion of this Queen, of whom he would say upon all Occasions, *Ch'era un gran Cervello di principessa. She had a very good Head.*' His second Remark is, '*Joan II, Queen of Naples and Sicily, suffered herself to be beat by the Seneschal, Giovanni Carracciolo, her Gallant; but at last she grew weary of him, and got him assassinated, with which these Royal Amours usually end.*' Let us hear his third Remark. 'I know not whether all be true that is said or written of Queen Elizabeth's Amours and Lovers; but it is certain, she had no *Vulva*, and the same Reason, which hindered her from marrying, ought also to hinder her loving Coition. She might love, and in truth she did passionately love the Earl of Essex, but such was the make of her Body, that she could not be carnally known of any Man without suffering excessive Pains; nor become big with Child (69), without exposing herself inevitably to lose her Life in the birth of the Child. And she was so well perswaded of it, that one Day when she was earnestly pressed to marry the Duke of Alençon, who passionately solicited her, she answered, that she did not think she had been so ill beloved by her Subjects, that they would bury her before her time.'

(68) Lettres d'Osset, Tom. I. pag. 339.

(69) See, above, Rem. [84].

(64) See Lewis d'Orleans, in his Catholique Anglois, and Jacques le Bossu, pag. 43, of the first Dialogue.

(65) In the Preface of his Memoirs. See the Critique Générale de Maimbourg, Lettre II.

(66) She had an excellent Knowledge of all the Sciences, and especially the Mathematics. *Moreri*, Tom. I, pag. 1092.

(67) Character of Queen Elizabeth, pag. 32 and following.

(a) That is our Year 1113.

(b) He was their Secretary. Ipso velut Notario usi fuere ad secretiora consilia. *Goilius Pref. Hist. Saraceni.*

(1) About the Year of the Hegira 569, which answers to the Year of our Lord 1173.

ELMACIN (GEORGE), Author of a History of the Saracens, or rather of a Chronology of the Mabometan Empire, was born in Egypt, about the beginning of the XIIIth Century. I shall speak of his Family [A]. He has carried his Work from Mabomet to the Caliph Mustapha Billa, who died in the Year of the Hegira 512 (a). He relates, Year by Year, but in few Words, what concerns the Saracen Empire, and intermixes some small Part of the History of the Christians of the East. He confines himself chiefly to Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. He must have been a Man of extraordinary Merit, for though he professed the Christian Religion, yet he did enjoy a Place of Distinction and Trust under the Mabometan Princes (b). Those who shall consider the Measures he was obliged to keep in such a Post, will not think it strange that he speaks honourably of the Caliphs, and that he never makes use of injurious Terms against the Mabometan Religion. There are some People so strictly scrupulous, that they will not approve of the Epithets of *Orthodox*, *Emperor of the Faithful*, &c. with which he honours the Followers of Mabomet; much less will they like that, in speaking of that Impostor, he should say, *Mabomet of glorious Memory*. In consequence of such Language they would be ready to assert that he was a Mabometan; but if they do it will be easy to convict them of a Falshood [B]. His History was translated out of Arabic

[A] I shall speak of his Family. Here is a short Account of it. Our Elmacin was the Grand-son of *Abul-tibis*, whose Grand-father was settled in Egypt, where the Caliph had granted him some Privileges. This Grand-father was a Syrian Merchant, and professed Christianity. He left a Son who was employed by the Court, in Quality of a Notary: *Abul-tibis*, the Son of the latter, was very skillful in the same Office, and was recommended by the Magistrates of Grand Cairo to the Council of Arabia. He had five Sons, four of whom were Bishops: the other named *Abulmecarimus*, married the Sister of *Simon Elmacin*, a famous Notary, who having been three Years in the service of the Council of War, under *Joseph Saladin* (1), turned Monk, and led an exemplary Life for above thirty Years in that

Profession. *Abulmecarimus* also, after the Death of his Wife, turned Monk and died in the Year 606 of the Hegira. He had three Sons, of which the second, who was the Father of our Elmacin, and who was named *Abuljafirus Elaamidus*, obtained the Office of Notary to the Council of War, when *Simon Elmacin*, his maternal Uncle, quitted it, to enter into a religious Life. He held this Post Forty five Years, and died in the Year of the Hegira 636 (2), after having lived a very pious Life (3).

[B] It will be easy to convict them of a Falshood. For he not only has not put at the beginning of his Book the formal Declaration, which the Writers of that Sect commonly make with a superstitious Affectation, that they are Mussulmen: he not only takes great care

(2) The Year 1238 of Jesus Christ.

(3) Taken from Elmacin's History, towards the end.

ELMENHORST. EMERI. EMILIUS. 761

Arabic into Latin by *Erpenius*, and printed in both those Languages at *Leyden* in the Year 1625 in folio [C].

to infer in his Annals several things concerning the Christians, and that turn to their Praise, which a Muslim would avoid as a Crime; but we find also, at the end of his Work, a short account of his Family, which proves undeniably that he was a Christian. As to the nicety of those, who condemn the using honourable Names towards false Religions, see the Author of the General Criticism of the History of Calvinism (4).

[C] His History was translated from the Arabic into Latin, and printed in both those Languages (5) in the Year 1725 in folio. The Translator was then dead,

and it was *Galius*, who took care of the Edition, and wrote a Preface to it, from whence I have taken this Article. He tells us, that *Erpenius* designed to have added a great many Notes and Explications to his Translation: it is pity that Death prevented him from doing it: for he might have said a hundred curious things upon it, which also would have been very necessary to the right understanding of the Original. *Elmacin* began his Work at the Creation of the World: *Hottinger* had in Manuscript that part of it which reaches from that time to the flight of *Mahomet* (6).

(4) Letter XXX, pag. 289, and following, third Edition.

(5) Note, the Translation was printed at the same time by it self without the Arabic.

(6) Hotting. Bibl. Oriental. cap. ii, pag. 75, apud Cave de Scriptor. Ecclef. pag. 718.

ELMENHORST (GEVERHART) deserves a Place among the Men of Learning who flourished in the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He was of *Hamburg*, and applied himself to Critical Learning. The Books he published [A] manifest his great reading (a). *Scaliger* was not of his side in his dispute with *Wouwer* [B]. He died in the Year 1621.

His Library was in being in the Year 1648; but his Son was upon the point of selling it, and desired *Vossius* to procure him liberty to do it by way of auction at *Leyden* (b).

[A] The Books he published. He made Notes on *Minutius Felix*, *Arenobius*, *Gennadius's* Treatise de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus; the Letters of *Martial* Bishop of *Limoges*; and on *Apuleius*. But he did not live long enough to see the last printed.

Note, he printed at *Leyden* in 1618 the Table of *Cebes*, with the Latin Version, and the Notes of *John Caselius*.

[B] *Scaliger* was not on his side in his Dispute with *Wouwer*. This appears by a Letter of *Scaliger* lately inserted in a Book full of curious Things (1). The Author of this Book is a learned German, named

Mr Crenius. The dispute between *John Wouwer* and *Elmenhorst* arose from their having both published Notes upon *Minutius Felix*. *Wouwer's* Edition was followed close by that of our *Elmenhorst*, who perhaps boasted that his deserved the Preference. *Scaliger* wrote to him that a Pretension of that Nature was without Foundation; and gave him other Advice, mixt with Expostulations. The Letter is dated the twenty sixth of March 1603; the Superscription is *Ornatissimo juveni Geverhardo Elmenborstio*: which I observe, in order to shew that *Elmenhorst* died before he had reached to old Age.

(1) Intituled *Animadversiones Philologicae & Historicae*, Rotterodami 1694, in 8vo. See the Addenda & Emendenda of the II Part of these *Animadversiones*: the Author confesses there, that this Letter of *Scaliger* is the CCLXth of the IIIA Book of *Scaliger's* Letters printed at *Leyden* in 1627.

EMERI (SEBASTIAN) Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris* in the XVIth Century, 'would never charge himself, at the time of the difference between the Dukes of *Angouleme* and the Constable of *Bourbon*, with the Interests of that Prince, and he even made a severe Satire against *Poyet*, who was afterwards Chancellor of *France*, because upon that occasion he had basely offered Incense to Fortune. This Piece made a great noise, and caused the Author to be disgraced, who had Orders to retire from Court. He retired into the *Bourbonnois*; and out of Vexation that he could no more return to Court, entered into the Order of *St Francis*, which he left afterwards to enter into the *Carthusian* Order, being desirous of a greater reform. They would have made him their General some years after, but he opposed it so violently that they were obliged to leave him in his Cell, of which he made it an inviolable Rule with himself not to interrupt the Solitude by any Communication with Seculars (a). Mr EMERI, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, is of this Family. He inherited the Estate of Mr EMERI his Uncle, who died Counsellor of the Court of Aids in the year 1703, and whose Father had the same Office (b).

EMILIUS (PAUL), or *Æmylius*, a Native of *Verona*. The Reputation he had acquired beyond the Alps made *Stephen Poncher*, Bishop of *Paris*, advise *Lewis XII* to order him to write the History of the Kings of *France* in Latin (a). For this end they invited him to *Paris*, and made him a Canon in the Cathedral Church. He retired to the College of *Navarre* to write that History (b), and applied himself to that Work with very great care: he spent many Years in it without being able to finish the tenth Book (c), which was to contain the beginning of the Reign of *Charles VIII*. He was a nice Critic of his own Work [A]; always finding something to alter. Though I have read what more than twenty Authors say of him, yet I do not find one that informs us what time he came to *Paris*, how he was employed before that in *Italy*, which is the first Edition of his History, and whether it was published before his death. He died in the year

[A] He was a nice Critic of his own Work. *Erasmus* imputes the same Fault to him, which was charged upon that ancient Painter, who never thought his Pieces finished (1). 'Huic vitio affinis fuit vir eximie doctus *Paulus Æmylius Veronensis*, qui sibi nunquam satisfaciebat, sed quoties recognoscebat sua, mutabat plerique: diceres opus non correctum, sed aliud: idque subinde faciebat. Quæ res in causa fuit, ut citius elephanti pariantur quam ille quicquam edere

posset. Nam historiam quam edidit, plusquam triginta annis habuit præ manibus. Et suspicor huc adaptum ut evulgaret (2). — The truly learned *Paulus Æmylius of Verona* had a Tincture of this Failing, who never satisfied himself, but as often as he revised his Works, altered a great part of them. You would say the Piece was not the old one corrected, but a new one: and he delighted in revising it again. Whence it happened that he was longer

(1) It was *Protagoras*: *Manum de Tabula tollere nesciebat. In this Apelles boasted he excelled him. See Erasmus, Apoph. lib. vi, p. 524.*

(a) *Mercurius Galant*, Feb. 1703, pag. 200, 201.

(b) *Ibid.* pag. 199, 200.

(c) See Remark [F].

(b) *Lannoius*, Hist. Gymnasii Navarræ, p. 13.

(c) See Remark [F].

(2) *Ibid.*

year 1529 [B], and was buried in the Cathedral of Paris. The History of France which he composed pleased *Justus Lipsius* very much, and, generally speaking, is accounted to be well written [C]; but on the other side it is condemned on several Accounts

'in bringing a Work to maturity, than an Elephant it's young. The History which he published had been thirty Years in Hand. And I imagine he published it at last against his Inclination.' We shall see by and by, whether it be true that he spent thirty Years in composing the History of France, as *Erasmus*, and others assure us.

[B] He died in the Year 1529. I have read this in his History of France, of the Edition of *Basil* in 1601, in *Folio*, under some Latin Verses, where he speaks of his Condition. His Death is placed, by *Bucbolter* (3), and by *Vossius* (4), on the fifth of July, 1529. *Spondanus* anticipates it by near ten Years; for he places it on the fifth of May, 1519 (5): He is mistaken. I shall cite *Erasmus* below, who, in a Book, whose Epistle Dedicatory is dated in the Year 1528, speaks of *Paulus Emilius*, as an Author still living. Here is an Evidence of some weight: Father *de Breul* (6) assures us that *Paulus Emilius's* Epitaph, engraved upon a flat Tomb-stone near the Northern Window of the Church of *Nostredame* at *Paris*, contains these Words; 'Paulus Emilius, Veronensis, hujus Ecclesie Canonici qui præter eximiam vitæ sanctitatem, quanta quoque doctrina præstiterit, index atque testis erit historia de rebus gestis Francorum, posteris ab eodem edita. Obiit Anno Domini 1529, die quinta mensis Maii. — Paulus Emilius of Verona, Canon of this Church, of whose uncommon Sanctity of Life, and Improvements in Literature, the History of France, which he published, will be a lasting monument to Posterity. He died the fifth of May in the Year 1529.' This Proof would be a Demonstration, even to those who have not been upon the Place, if the Printers never made mistakes in public Inscriptions; but they mistake the Figures so often, that there is no dependance upon them. We have an instance of this, in this very Affair. Mr *Brice*, in his Description of the City of *Paris*, mentions the same Epitaph of *Paulus Emilius*; and instead of *Index*, he puts *Judex*; and instead of 1529, he makes it 1526 (7). Note, he assures us, that they do not know exactly the Place where this Author was buried, and that they could read his Epitaph not long ago; which is a sign it is not now to be found.

[C] The History of France, which he composed, pleased *Justus Lipsius* very well, and, generally speaking, is accounted to be well written. It is divided into ten Books, and reaches from *Pharamond* to the Year 1488, which is the fifth of the reign of *Charles VIII*. The tenth Book was found among his Papers, in a confused Condition; and in order to publish it to the World, such as we have it now, a Relation of the Author's took care to gather together the scratched, and blotted Sheets. You will find his Name in these Latin Words: 'Ac libros quidem novem perfecti, decimum morte præventus reliquit imperfectum. Sed eum propinquus illius, Daniel Zavarisius Veronensis ex schedis dispersis, multaque litura obductis collegit, ac digessit ita uti nunc legitur (8). — Nine Books indeed he finished, but, being prevented by Death, he left the tenth imperfect. Daniel Zavarisius of Verona, a Relation of his, collected it out of his loose Papers, scarce legible for Blots and repeated Corrections, and digested it into the order wherein we now see it.' *Michael Vassosan* declares that the Edition he dedicated to *Francis I*, deserves a better Reception, since there is added to it the tenth Book, sent lately out of Italy by *Peter Danes* (9). He had said just before, that he published that History better printed, and more correct; *Elegantius à nobis excusum* (opus) *et castigatum*. His Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Paris* the fifth of May 1539: From whence there is Reason to infer that, before the Year 1639, there was an Edition containing only nine Books. I express myself with this Caution, because I know the Term *elegantius* is not necessarily the comparative. One thing which may incline us to believe that the Author died before the first Edition, is, that in the same Epistle Dedicatory it is assured that, if Death had not prevented him, he would have dedicated his Work to *Francis I*. 'Paulus ipse si viveret, tuæ Majestati, cujus auspiciis ceptum opus fere absolvit, consecraret. Quare quoniam morte præventus id non potuit, vicariam illi operam in hac

re præstabo (10). — Had *Emilius* himself lived, he would have dedicated this Work to your Majesty, under whose happy Influence it was begun and well nigh finished; but since Death prevented him in that Design, I shall beg Permission to put my self in his Place.' This may bring in Question what *Erasmus* says, that probably *Paulus Emilius* was in a manner forced to publish his History of France: *Suspicio hac adductum ut evulgaret* (11). He expresses himself in this manner, in a Book, whose Epistle Dedicatory is dated the twenty sixth of February, 1531: From whence we may conclude, that the first Edition of *Paulus Emilius* was prior to that Year; but as it might happen, will some say, that *Erasmus* did not know exactly the Circumstances of that Edition, and that he did not mind carefully either the time when it was published, or when the Historian died, we ought not to conclude from his Words, that the Author actually published his own Book: Let us allege therefore something more convincing to those who start these Difficulties; let us shew them that *Erasmus* knew the Quality and Style of this History of France, even before *Paulus Emilius* died. I prove this by the Words of his *Ciceronianus*, which may be seen below (12). It will be replied perhaps, that he had read it in Manuscript; but I cannot think that in that place he would make use of an Instance which was not public: therefore I am very much inclined to believe, that *Paulus Emilius* had published something: we see that even his Epitaph ascribes to him the Edition of his History of France. A Letter written in the Year 1516 informs us, that at last he had printed the History of France, which he had been working upon above twenty Years. 'Ex oratore vestro cognovi Paulum Emilium tandem evulgare rerum Gallicarum historiam. Non enim poterit non esse absolutissimum opus quod à viro non minus docto quam diligenti plus annis viginti sit elaboratum (13). — I have been informed by your Ambassador, that *Emilius* at last is publishing his History of France. It must undoubtedly be an accomplished Work, since it has employed a Man of no less Learning than Application above twenty Years.' It is *Erasmus* that speaks in this manner, and you see he had this News from an Ambassador of *Francis I*. But there is no more need of Conjecture or Arguments, since a Letter written from *Paris* informs me, that there is in the King's Library, 'An Edition of the four first Books of *Paulus Emilius*, done at *Paris* without having the Year set down in it; but it was certainly before the Year 1520; and in the beginning of the reign of *Francis I*, this Copy having been presented to him before he took the Close Crown.' Let us observe an Error of *Erasmus*. It is false that, in 1516, *Paulus Emilius* had worked above twenty Years upon his History. He was called into France to write it by *King Lewis XII*: now this Prince began his reign but in the Year 1498, and though his calling this Author should be the first thing he did, yet it could at most be but eighteen Years, that *Paulus Emilius* had composed the History of France, when *Erasmus* wrote the letter I have cited. Those who say that this Historian spent thirty Years in this Work, must suppose that he came into France in the first Year of the reign of *Lewis XII*, without which their Computation would not be right, since he died in the Year 1529. *Spondanus* (14) was very much in the wrong to suppose these three Things: I. That *Lewis XII* called *Emilius* into France: II. That this Historian spent thirty Years in writing a History: III. That he died in 1519. If the first and the third of these Suppositions were true, the second would be very false: For it would be ridiculous to suppose that *Paulus Emilius* set about this History ten Years before *Lewis XII* employed him in it. Note, it has been often reprinted. I make use of the Edition of *Paris* in *Folio*, by *Vassosan* 1550, which was preceded by that of 1539, and by that of 1544, and followed by that of 1555, in 8vo, and by one in 1566, in *Folio*, both one and the other by the same *Vassosan*. *Du Chesne* (15) cites the Edition of 1576 ex *Officina Vassosani*. By his leave, this is but little Honour to him: an Author like him who intitles his Work, *A Catalogue of the Authors, who have*

(10) Michael Vassosan, Epist. Dedic. Hist. P. Emili.

(11) Erasmus, in Apophth. lib. vi, pag. 524.

(12) In Remar. [F], Citat. [33].

(13) Erasmus, Epist. xvi, lib. i, pag. 60, 61.

(14) Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. ab. ad Ann. 1488, n. 5.

(15) Du Chesne, Biblioth. des Auteurs qui ont écrit l'Histoire de France, pag. 63, Edit. de 1618.

(3) Bæchle, in Indice Chronol. pag. m. 518.

(4) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 675.

(5) Spond. Ann. Eccl. ad annum 1488, num. 5, pag. 189. Edit. Lugd. 1678: he tunc Gall. Christ. in Prefat. Paris. num. 103.

(6) Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, livr. 1, pag. m. 14.

(7) Pag. 182, Tom. II, Hague Edit. 1685.

(8) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. pag. 674.

(9) Et etiam nomine gratior esse debet quod accessit liber decimus ad nos super ex Italia missus à Petro Danefio. Michael Vassosan, Epist. Dedic. Note, There is no Substantive in what precedes, to which the Word gratior may be referred.

Accounts [D], and there are many Frenchmen who despise it. He is wrongfully charged

have written the History, and Topography of France, ought to put down the several Editions, especially the first. I have already mentioned the Edition of *Basil* in 1601, in *Folio*: let us say one Word of the French Translations. *Simon de Montiers*, Advocate at *Roan*, translated into French the two first Books which were printed at *Paris* in 4to, by *Vascofan* 1556 (16). *John Regnart*, a Gentleman of *Anjou*, Lord of *la Michiere* translated the five first Books: they were printed at *Paris* in *Folio* by *Claude Michard* (17). He translated also the five last, if the Bookellers are to be believed who have published in French the entire History of *Paul Emilius*. I have the Edition of *Paris* in *Folio* 1598 (18).

Here is *Justus Lipsius's* Judgment (19): which is very advantageous, though intermixed with some censuring Strokes. 'PAULUS ÆMILIUS, ut rem dicam, pæne unus inter novos, veram & veterem Historiæ viam vidit, eamque firmo pede calcavit. Genus scribendi ejus doctum, nervosum, presum; ad subtilitatem & argutias inclinans, & relinquens desigensque aliquid in animo seri lectoris. Sententias & dicta sæpe miscet, paria antiquis. Nec ipsum sedulus scrutator, severus iudex: rem legi nostro ævo, qui magis liber ab affectu. Dedecus ævi est, quod minus ille placeat, quasi pauci sint qui capiant hæc bona. In tantis tamen virtutibus etiam hæc labeculæ. Quod stilum parum necesse, & spargit dividitque eum in minuta quedam membra. Hoc cum in omni seriosa oratione parum congruum, tum in Annalibus minime: quorum est, ut ille ait, tarda quedam & iners scriptura. Deinde, quod inæqualis. Alibi nimium anxius & castigatus, ideoque subobscurus; alibi (sed rarer) laxus & solutus. Vetusitatis etiam nescio quid affectat in nominibus hominum, locorum, urbium immutandis, & in veterem formam redigendis: sæpe eruditè, interdum vanè, sed, ut ego judico, semper indecorè. Quorsum *Chartierius* Gallorum Cancellarius, *Quadrigerius* mihi sit? Ille ipse Cancellarius, dicitur *Præfectus juris*? Et ubique *rex Tarraconensis*, *Castulonensis*, *Dux Geldubensis*: qui nobis & majoribus fuerunt, *Arragoniæ*, *Castellæ*, *Geldriæ*? Talia infinita sunt audacter & ambitiose innovata, & cum fraude pariter ac cruce lectoris. In his, & paucis aliis, si refingere leviter eum nobis fas: (audeo dicere) virum daremus supra omnem hanc novitiam, & ad prisecam laudem. — *Paulus Æmilius*, to speak freely, is almost the only Modern, that has found the true and ancient Road of History, and trod therein with an unbiased Step. His method of writing is learned, nervous, and compact, inclining to Delicacy, and fine turns of Wit, always leaving an impression on the Mind of the serious Reader. His Thoughts and Expressions are often equal to the Antients. He is exact in his Examination, and impartial in his Judgment of Facts. Nor have I met with any of our time more free from party Zeal. It is a disgrace to the Age, that he is in so little esteem, as though there were but few that have a just taste for these Beauties. Yet amidst all his excellencies there are some spots. His style is not always connected, but parcelled into little Members and Divisions. As this is not to be allowed in any serious Composition, least of all in Annals: the writing of which is heavy and lifeless. Besides 'tis unequal, sometimes too laboured and correct, whereby it becomes obscure, sometimes, though seldom, too loose and rambling. He also affects a sort of Antiquity in changing the Names of Men, Places, Cities, and reducing them to the form of the Antients. Why should *Charretier*, Chancellor of France, be called *Quadrigerius*? Or the Chancellor be stiled *Præfectus juris*? Or why should he every where use the Titles of *Rex Tarraconensis*, *Castulonensis*, *Dux Geldubensis*, instead of the received Terms *Arragoniæ*, *Castellæ*, *Geldriæ*? An infinite number of such Innovations have been arrogantly introduced, whereby he often misleads, or perplexes the Reader. Might I take the liberty to retouch these and a few other Faults, I durst engage to make him appear superior to the charge of Novelty, and equal in merit to the Antients.' Note, that, amongst other Praises, *Lipsius* commends *Paulus Emilius* for examining diligently into the bottom of Things, and his being free from Prepossession. Neither *la Popelliniere* nor *Boetler* agree to this. ' Besides

many other Faults, says the First (20), which some remark in the Style and outward Form of that Author, which alone *Lipsius* insists upon, we shall shew elsewhere how little his Writings are to be depended upon for Truth and Sincerity.' Here is *Boetler's* Opinion. ' *Paulus Emilius*, cui de *Scriptoribus Gallicis* plurimum creditur, sæpe historiam confundit, sæpe non ex rerum fide, sed ex impetu calami interpolat, fingit multa, ut animo concepit, non commemorat ut memoriis publicis ea debere potuit. Non parum adulari Pontificiæ curiæ doctus (21). — *Paulus Emilius*, who has the greatest Credit of all the Writers of the French History, often confounds his Relations, and often interweaves Facts not founded on the Credibility of Testimony, but that flow from the Impetuosity of his own Imagination. Nor is he a Novice in the Art of making his Court to the Pope by flattering Encomiums.' If one could rely upon the Commendations which Bookellers procure to the Authors they print, we should have a high Idea of *Paulus Emilius's* Merit. What follows, is to be found in the Epistle Dedicatory of his Work (22). ' Quo in negotio sic versatus est vir eloquentissimus, ut non solum recentiores omnes qui eandem materiam tractarunt, superaverit, sed etiam veterum historicorum permultos qui populi Romani res gestas scripserunt, longo intervallo post se reliquerit. Etenim si vel rerum gestarum fidem vel dicendi genus studiose velis expendere, nihil per Deos immortales hoc quidem genere scribendi absolutius invenire possit. Res gestas libere quidem, sine ulla tamen aut simulatæ, aut gratiæ suspitione narrat. Ordinem temporum ita diligenter observat, ut hoc nomine Livio sit præferendus, quod semper sibi constet, nec ulquam pugnantia loquatur: quod plerumque in illo reprehendere licet. Regiones porro & loca quum res postulat ita describit ut illa oculis lustrare videaris. Ad hæc, consilia deinde acta, postremo eventus ita suo ordine inseruntur, ut lector etiam parum attentus turbari nullo modo possit. Genus dicendi fultum atque tractum & cum lenitate quadam æquabili profluens (23), ita ut eum Livio aliquanto magis compositum & perspicuum sentire possis. — So well has this learned Historian succeeded in his Enterprize, as not only to surpass all the Moderns who have engaged in the same design, but even far outstrip several of the Antients who wrote the actions of the Roman People. For any one that will carefully examine the credibility of the Facts, or the method of Narration, must confess, that nothing can be found more perfect in it's way. He relates the Facts indeed with Freedom, but even so as to clear himself from the least suspicion of Hatred or Affection; he observes the order of time with such exactness, that he is always consistent with himself, and his Facts correspond to each other, inasmuch, that he may be preferred to Livy, who is often found deficient on this head. His descriptions of Countries, and Places, which on proper occasions he gives, are so natural, that one would imagine he had a view of the Places themselves. Besides his Designs, his Facts, his Consequences, are disposed in so regular an order, that the Reader with the least Attention can never be puzzled. The Style is copious and noble, flowing with an even softness, so that one may pronounce him more regular and clear than Livy.'

[D] But on the other side, it is condemned on several accounts.] This is what you will find in the following Passages of Mr Sorel. ' This Praise is given to *Paulus Æmilius*, that he was the first who put the ancient Rules in Practice for our History. His Style is accounted Grave and Nervous, sometimes Acute and Subtle, but every where Learned and Sententious. This is the Opinion of those who are in love with elegant Latin: We may answer them, That if we design to make Use of this Author, as of a Classic, to learn to speak well, there is some Reason to value him; but that it were better to have recourse to the Roman Historians, who are supposed to know their own Language best: neither must it be thought, that his pure Latin ought to give credit to his History. The Native Frenchmen were undoubtedly better acquainted with our History than he; and we do not find that he was very diligent in his Inquiries. What swells his Work to such a Bulk, are his Speeches, and other fictitious Pieces. That which

regards

(20) La Popelliniere, Histoire des Historiens, pag. 440.

(21) Joh. Henr. Boetler in Pref. Ser. Cæsar. German. apud Pope Blount, Cens. Author. pag. m. 384.

(22) Michael Vascofanus, Epist. Dedicat. Hist. Pauli Æmili. Federic Morel, when he addressed to Henry III the French Translation of this History, copied almost all the Praises given to the Author in Vascofan's Epistle.

(23) This is very different from what Paulus Jovius, in Elog. cap. 130, pag. 282, says, viz. That Paulus Emilius has written with a Laconic Brevity.

(16) Du Verdier & la Croix du Maine.

(17) Ibid.

(18) By Robert Foët. The Epistle Dedicatory to Henry III is signed by Federic Morel: It is without Date, but I know the Edition of this Federic Morel is of Paris, in 1581, in folio.

(19) Lipsius Not. ad l. librum Politicorum, cap. 6, pag. m. 217, Tom. IV. One more Edit. Vesp. 1672. In Morel they quote Justus Lipsius Not. in lib. 1, Polit.

* Tacitus, de Causis corrup. Eloq. cap. 22.

ed with saying nothing of the Holy Vial at Rheims [E]; a French Author has expressed some Chagrin that the Court should prefer a Stranger before all the French to the Office of Historiographer: what he says thereupon is full of Lies [F]. It must not be

(24) Compare with this the Remark [L] of the Article ABDE- RAME; and That of the Article VALDES (JAMES).

(25) Sorel Bibliothecaire Francoise, cap. 4, de la Guide de l'histoire de France, pag. 370.

(26) Du Haillan in his Preface to the History of France.

(27) Claudius Verderius, in Author. Censura, pag. 88, apud Pope Blount, ubi supra, pag. 385.

(28) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 675.

(29) La Popeliniere, lib. 1, of his Histoire Nouvelle des Francois, pag. 371, & seq. See also his Hist. des Francois, lib. viii, pag. 438.

(30) Bishop Poncher of Tournai was the Meccas and Patron of P. Emilius, and contributed most to the fetching him out of Italy to come and write the History of France in Latin. And seeing him in ill Circumstances in France, and not able to raise such a Body of History, he gave him a Prebend in Notre-Dame of Paris, out of the Revenue of which he bore most of the Charges of the Work. *Ibid.* pag. 343, 344.

regards the Truth of History is very much abridged, and that too obscure and perplexed. We are not altogether satisfied with those Pieces of Oratory, contrived upon the Greek and Roman Patterns: They are not all of them in a proper Place; for sometimes the Historian makes Barbarians speak learnedly and eloquently, which is seen almost throughout his Book (24). For a remarkable Instance: Though we find in our most authentic Histories, that the Advocate named *Havier*, or *Hanier*, who made a Speech full of Invectives before King *Lewis Hutin* against *Enguerrand de Marigny*, performed it very pitifully, and said abundance of silly things, *Paulus Emilius*, who changes his very Name, calling him *Annalis*, makes him speak with an affected Eloquence, nothing like what is reported of him. He makes also *Enguerrand* speak in his own Defence, though according to other Histories he had no liberty to say any thing; so that all this is only to exercise the Historian's Pen. That gives some Diversion to the Readers, but it is not a Means to come to the knowledge of Truth (25). *Du Haillan* has censured *Paulus Emilius* upon another Score; to wit, his being too diffuse in foreign Matters, and too succinct in his principal Subject. He has writ the History of France, says he (26), elegantly, and in good Latin, but he is too concise in French Affairs, and too prolix in the holy Wars, the Schisms of the Church, and the Affairs of Italy.

[E] He is wrongfully censured for not saying any thing of the holy Vial at Rheims. *Claudius du Verdier* accounts this Silence malicious. *Paulus Emilius Veronenfis*, says he (27), malignum silentium non fitebo, qui multorum non meminit quæ ad Gallorum gloriam pertinerent. Nec ea ignorasse dici potest, quæ nullus ante ipsum præterit, ut oleum illud ad unctionem Regum coelitus demissum, & lilia similliter: quibus si fidem non adhibuit, eam saltem hominum mentibus opinionem insitam esse dicere oportuit. — I cannot pass over the malicious Silence of *Paulus Emilius* of Verona, who has made no mention of several things which redound to the honour of France. Nor can he be said to be ignorant of them, since none before him ever forgot them. Such as the Oil which was sent from Heaven to anoint the Kings, and the Lilies likewise. To which things, though he might give no credit himself, he ought at least to have said, that a belief of them is ingrafted in the minds of Men. *Vossius* approves this silence (28).

[F] A French Author has expressed some Chagrin that the Court should prefer a Stranger before all the French to the Office of Historiographer. What he says thereupon, is full of Lies. The Passage I am going to produce is somewhat long; but I am sure it will not tire those who are for an exact and well circumstantiated knowledge of Things. By that means they will know the Thoughts of the Author I am now criticising (29). King *Lewis XIIth*, though a good Prince, and truly called the Father of his People, little concerned however for the honour of his Subjects, or ill advised, or soon enough for the two Occasions: Not vouchsafing to excite and cherish any of his, to supply the want of French Historians, (as if France was unprovided with good Wits) purchased, and, by the suggestion of Bishop *Poncher* and others, sent for *Paulus Emilius* of Verona in Lombardy; persuaded by his Counsellors, as favourable in that as many others who have succeeded them to this Day, That an Italian might much better restore (but rather stifle) the Honour lost among his own People, than any other of his Frenchmen. A Design as groundlessly followed and practised by Francis I his Successor, who . . . by small Favours encreased the generous Liberality of *Poncher* (30) with a Canon's Place in *Notre-Dame* of Paris, which he bestowed on the Veronese; not considering the Prejudice he did to so many Men of Parts, whom he had stirred up and subtilized, to employ themselves in this as in other Studies: And namely, to *Robert Gaguin* a Monk, in the *Matburins* of Paris, who had already made so fine a Beginning of the History of France in Latin, that if he had been encouraged by Royal Favours, as the Italian was, France might,

perhaps, even then have been freed from such Reproach among Strangers. But the poor Monk (for want of Money) having not Pinions strong enough to fly, and make his Talents known among the Cloysters of his Monastery; his Genius, as it were bound up and in Prison, was forced to shew, that Talents, though never so great, do presently fade, and cannot shine without a proper Matter to entertain and put forth their Brightness. These two ingenious and well affected Writers, to the honour of this State, who strove with Emulation, under those two Princes, who should best approve his Sufficiency and Devotion in the Fabric of the History of France; which they wrote in the same Language, the same City, with like Memoirs and Subjects, though not with the like Royal Encouragement, left us the Legacy of their fine Productions. But *Paulus Emilius* composed his History with such Care, Eloquence, and Truth, that the French, having not seen till then any Thing so commendable, entertained it as the Chief of all the French Histories: And which, to say the Truth, has been since the Foundation and Source, from whence all those that followed after have drawn, and derived all those Rivulets, with which they have endeavoured to satisfy the Thirst of their Contemporaries. *Gaguin*, Prior of the *Tuinity*, otherwise called the Convent of the *Malburins*, was as liberal of his Time, Pains, and all his Means, as the other. But whether he thought himself deprived of the Graces of Nature, as well as of the Favours of his Prince and others, being inferior in Beauty of Language, Order, Eloquence, and Dignity of Subjects, he could acquire no other Advantage over that *Lombard*, than the being more plain and sincere in his Narration; and more diligent in gathering abundance of remarkable Particulars, which *Paulus Emilius* had overlooked, for want of Affection to this Country.

There are three unpardonable Falsities in this Discourse. First, *Gaguin* was not a Frenchman, as *Popeliniere* supposes. He was a Fleming, and almost as much a Foreigner as *Paulus Emilius*: So that the opposition between the Favours of the Lombard, and the Discouragement of the pretended Frenchman, is ridiculous. Secondly, *Gaguin* had been dead thirteen Years (31) when Francis I ascended the Throne. How then dares he complain, that That Monarch did him a great Prejudice, by the Liberalities he granted to the Italian? How dares he represent to us those two Historiographers, as two Competitors, who contend a long time for the Prize of the Race? The one died three Years after *Lewis XIIth* had began his Reign; the other was invited to Paris by that Monarch, and lived there till the fifteenth Year of Francis I. I may add, that if one compares the Favours and Liberalities of the Court of France towards *Gaguin*, with those that were bestowed on *Paulus Emilius*, it will be found that the Services of the pretended Frenchman, were better rewarded than those of the Italian. Lastly, I say, that it is absurd to pretend, that if *Gaguin* had had good Pensions, he had written a History as good as that of *Paulus Emilius*. Had he had a yearly Salary of Ten thousand Livres, he would never have reached his Competitor. He had so indifferent a Taste and Knowledge of Antiquity, and elegant Latin, that, to commend him worthily, it is enough to say, That he is not quite so barbarous as the Generality of Monks were at that Time. *Robertus Gaguinus non ita pridem habitus est magni nominis, dictione tamen quam scriptis vendibilior. Verum suo seculo, nunc vix inter Latine loquentes reciperetur* (32). — *Robert Gaguin* had some time ago the Reputation of great Merit, but happier in speaking than in writing. In his own time indeed he might pass, but now a-days would scarcely be admitted among those who have but a smattering of Latin. This is the Rank *Erasmus* allows him; and indeed he treats him according to his Merit. The Veronese was another sort of Man; and it is great Injustice to blame *Lewis XIIth* for preferring him before his Subjects. There was not in those Days (33), in all the Kingdom, any Writer who equalled *Paulus Emilius* in knowledge of the Latin Tongue, and the Laws of History. Though I do not pretend

(31) He died in 1501.

(32) Erasmus in Cicero's P. E. m. 72.

(33) I mean the first Years of Lewis the Twelfth's Reg-

be forgotten that *Paul Emilius* lived a very exemplary Life; his Morals were as pure as his Language [G]. I must say something of a Work which is ascribed to him by *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* [H], and the clamour that *Scioppius* made upon that Subject.

by this, that he ought to have been put upon the same Level with the *Salust* and *Livy*'s.

— quique alter haberis
Et Titus, & Crispus, nostræ unus conditor ingens
Historiæ Emili (34).

(34) Rodolphus Boterius, in Luteris, apud du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, Livr. 1, pag. 14.

*Salust and Livy are reviv'd in thee,
Thou sole great Founder of our History!*

(35) La Popelin. Hist. des Hist. pag. 437.

Let us observe another Mistake of *Popeliniere*. He says, that *Lewis XII* drew *Paulus Emilius* out of *Verona* (35), which is not true: For that Author was at *Rome*, when he was invited into *France*, as may be inferred from the Latin Verses which are found at the Beginning of his History, and wherein he mentions his Family and Condition. This may also be gathered from the Latin Verses, which are found in the Beginning of the French Translation, signed *Fed. M. F.*

[G] His Morals were as pure as his Language. Let us quote again *Michael Vascosan*: 'Atque hoc etiam nomine præstantius esse debet hoc opus quod non ingenium solum Francorum Regibus suppeditatum est, ut *Cyros* à *Xenophonte*, sed etiam autoritas spectatissimi atque in primis probati viri. Non enim magis in eo fuit admiranda eruditio excellens, cum pari eloquentia, quam perpetua vitæ integritas atque sanctimonia. — This Work claims still a greater Veneration, as not only furnishing the Kings of France with the Principles of good Conduct, as *Xenophon* did to *Cyrus*, but as carrying along with it the Authority of a Man distinguished by his probity and veracity. For his uncommon Learning, joined to an equal share of Eloquence, was not more surprising than the continual Integrity and Sanctity of his Life.' This is confirmed by the Epitaph before mentioned (36). If you desire a more unexceptionable Witness, read what follows. 'Pauli Emili & reconditam eruditionem & diligentiam & vitæ sanctitatem, & summam in historia fidem exosculor. Tullianam dictionem nec affectavit nec habet (37). — I am charmed with that prodigious store of Learning, that Application, that Sanctity of manners, and that Veracity which appear in *Paulus Emilius*. Tully's Style be neither affect'd nor bas.' These are the Words of *Erasmus*, and I have taken them out of a Book, whose Epistle Dedicatory is dated Feb. 14. 1528: And it is to be noted, that *Erasmus* speaks of *Paulus Emilius* as an Author then living.

(36) In the Remark [B].

(37) Erasmus, in Ciceroniano, pag. m. 72.

[H] I must say something of a Work which has been ascribed to him by . . . Scaliger. *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* boasted he had read a Book, which contained the History of the House della Scala, and which had been put into elegant Latin by *P. Emilius*. 'Non dum hæc nomina, quæ Comitum atque Marchionum circumferuntur, exorta erant: & Scaligerorum florabat imperium. Vultis annales nostros asseramus: quos rudes, atque barbaros (ut tunc ea ferebat ætas) vir bonus atque eloquens *Paulus Emilius* pulcherrimis Latinitatis donavit monumentis (38). — The Titles of Count and Marquis, now so frequent, were then unknown; and the power of the Scaliger's flourish'd. Would you that we produce our Annals, which the good and eloquent *Paul Emilius* took from the uncouth and awkward dress of the Age wherein they were wrote, and robed in the most splendid Attire of Roman Purity.' *Joseph Scaliger* relates this more at large, in a Letter he wrote upon the Antiquity of his Family in the Year 1594. 'Injuria temporis, says he (39), malevolentia holum, imperitia scriptorum, eos cuniculos in generis nostri memoria egerunt, ut de totius nominis Scaligeri ruina metuendum esset, nisi præsto fuisset eloquentissimus vir, & antiquarum originum vindex *Paulus Emilius* Veronenfis, qui nactus in Norico acta & annales prolapz nostræ vetustissimos, pingui filo, ut ipse ait, conceptos, edolavit eos, & Latine loqui docuit. Ex eo libro patrens meus ea excerptit, quæ ad nostri generis claritatem præcipue pertinere visa sunt. Cætera per otium describere non licuit. Quod utinam fecisset, & nobis edendi laborem reliquisset. — The injuries of Time,

(38) Jul. Cæs. Scaliger. Orat. in Luctu Audeſti Cæſaris filii, pag. m. 74, 75.

(39) Joseph. Scaliger in Epist. de Vetustate & Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ, pag. 8 & 9.

V O L. II.

the Malice of Enemies, the Ignorance of Writers, had so far undermined the memory of our Family, that the very Name of Scaliger was in danger of ruin, had it not been rescued by that most eloquent and renowned Antiquarian *Paul Emilius* of Verona, who having found in Bavaria the Records of our Family, conceived, as he says, in a richness of Style, pruned them, and taught them to speak Latin. From that Treatise my Father extracted those things which more immediately concerned the splendor of our Race. The rest he had not leisure to transcribe, which I wish he had done, and left me the labour to publish them.' He mentions it also in the first Edition of his Commentary upon *Catullus* in the Year 1576, and in the second of 1600, but in a manner, which, with respect to some Circumstances, did not agree with what I have quoted out of his Letter de Vetustate & Splendore gentis Scaligeræ. *Scioppius* insulted him most cruelly about those small Variations, and moreover maintained that what the Two Scaligers had advanced, touching that Work of *P. Emilius*, was but a Fable, and an Imposture. His chief Reason, amongst others, was, that they had not mentioned either the Place where they boasted they had read this Manuscript, or the Name of the Person in whose Hands it was; and that the Authors, who had viewed the Libraries of Bavaria with most Diligence, never met with these Annals (40). 'Ut sum curiosulus, says he (41), libet de Paulo Emilio nonnulla exquirere. Primum, est ne verisimile Emilium in Norico umquam fuisse & Germanicum sermonem, cumque vetustissimum intellexisse? & quo in angulo Bavariz istos Scaligerorum annales invenit, qui summam Aventini, Hundi, Lazii & ipsorum Scaligerorum Bavarorum diligentiam effugerint? Potuit ne fieri, ut illustis vir Marcus Velleius reip. Augustanæ Præfectus, singulare illud ætatis nostræ ornamentum, ne Serenissimi quidem Bavariz Principis auctoritate subnixus eodem illos Annales alicunde non erueret? Et fuit ne quisquam, qui de hoc Emilii libro (tu quatuor libros fuisse in *Catullum* scribis) vel tenuissimam umquam audicionem accepit? — Being somewhat curious, says he, I have a mind to make some enquiry concerning this *Paul Emilius*. First, is it probable that Emilius ever was in Bavaria, and understood the German Language, and that the most antient? In what corner of Bavaria did he find these Records of the Scaligers, which have eluded the strictest search of Aventinus, Hundi, Lazius, and even the Scaligers of Bavaria? Is it possible that the great Marcus Velleius, chief Magistrate of the State of Augsbourg, that shining Ornament of our Age, supported by the Authority of the most serene Prince of Bavaria, should not somewhere or other have met with the same Records? Is there any one that has ever heard the least mention of this Book of Emilius, which you in your Edition of Catullus swell to four?' *Joseph Scaliger* replied, That there were many Books still unknown, and therefore that it was ill Logic to say, that *Paulus Emilius*'s Manuscript had never been extant, because it was not published (42). He convicted *Scioppius* of having advanced a Lye, since it was false that *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* ever pretended, that *Paulus Emilius* had translated that Work out of German (43). 'Ego quero unde colligunt Julium dixisse eos Annales lingua Norica scriptos? Sed Julii verius consulere nulla invidia est. Ii sunt in libello de Regnorum everſionibus.

(40) Scioppius, in Scaligeri hypobolismo, foli 40 verso.

(41) Id. ibid.

Nam *Paulus* utrunque Emilius monet referri Deprompta libro, quem, ut retulit, fide vetusta Incude Latina igneque Noricum recoxit. Torellius omiserat ista Saraina.

(42) J. Scilg. Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. 389, 390.

(43) Ibid. pag. 386, 387.

Et pueri patet illorum Annalium librum Noricum ideo dici a Julio, quod in Norico compositus, & ibi ab Emilio inventus, non utique quod lingua Norica scriptus esset. Quem magis idoneum verborum Scaligeri interpretem dare possumus, quam ipsum Julium Scaligerum (44)? — I would fain know where they find that *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* said those Records were written in the Bavarian Language. But

(44) Ibid.

* it will not be amiss to consult the Verses of Scaliger. They are in his Treatise on the Downfall of Kingdoms.

* Emilius informed us both, that those extracts were made from a Bavarian Treatise which he had fashioned again on the Anvil with true primitive Faith, and Roman Fire; which Torellius Saraina forgot to mention.

* It is plain, even to a Boy, that Julius Scaliger called that Book Bavarian, because it was composed in that Country, and there found by Emilius, and not as being wrote in that Language; and who can be admitted as an Interpreter of Scaliger's words better than Scaliger himself? Thereupon Joseph Scaliger sets down his

Father's Words, which I have quoted in the Beginning of this Remark (45). Scioppius did not deny but that he had erred in this, but maintained that this was not a material Point in the Dispute, and pretended that his Adversaries could not answer his other Observations. 'Breviter concedo tibi, verba patris tui, quibus Emilius Annales Noricos latinos fecisse dicit, non recte à Scioppio intellecta fuisse (tameñ id adhuc controversi juris est) sed nego id attulisse Scioppium quasi de quo tecum litigare vellet (46)'. I conclude, by taking Notice that Paulus Emilius was one of the Heroes of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, who jointly with Torellius Saraina complimented him with a little Poem, which he inserted in a Book intitled Heroes (47).

(45) Above, Citation (38).

(46) Oporinus Grubinius, Amphot. Sciop. pag. 271.

(47) See Scaliger's Latin Poems, pag. 321, Edit. 1591.

EMILIUS (ANTHONY) or Emilius, History Professor in the University of Utrecht, was born the 20th of December 1589, at Aix la Chapelle, where his Father had retired for the sake of Religion [A]. He laid the Foundation of his Studies in his native Country, and in the Duchy of Juliers, under John Kunius, and then came to Dort, where he studied under Adrian Marcellus, and the famous Gerard John Vossius. As soon as he had finished his classical Learning, he went to Leyden, and attached himself to Baudius particularly. Afterwards he went to see Foreign Universities, and spent four Years in his Travels. He lodged at Heidelberg with David Pareus, and viewed at his leisure the Palatine Library. At Saumur he was known with Distinction to Mr Du Pleffis Mornei, who procured him as many Books as he desired. Being returned into his Country, he succeeded Vossius in the Place of Rector of the College of Dort. He was then in the 26th Year of his Age. Three or four Years after (a) he went to Utrecht, to exercise the same Office there. Having discharged it some Years, he laid it down, upon what Account I know not, and resumed it at the end of four Years (b) together with a more honourable One annexed to it, to wit, the Professorship of History in the illustrious School, which soon after was erected into an University. Emilius continued in that Place till his Death, and made his Erudition and Eloquence admired. There was a Design to draw him to Leyden, to fill the Greek Professorship, which Vossius (called to Amsterdam) left vacant. Nevertheless, he chose to remain at Utrecht: And to fix him the better in this good Resolution, the Magistrates of Utrecht increased his Salary, without which, as it is acknowledged in his Funeral Oration (c), he would infallibly have changed his Abode. The principal Theme of his Lectures, for more than twenty six Years that he continued in his Place, was taken out of the Annals of Tacitus. He died the 10th of November 1660 (d). There is no mention made, in his Funeral Oration, of his being addicted to the New Philosophy; which would have revived the Memory of his Correspondence with Des Cartes [B]. He published, in 1651, a Collection of Latin Speeches and Poems.

[A] His Father had retired to Aix la Chapelle, for the sake of Religion.] His Name was John Meles.

(1) In his Youth he was a Merchant at Antwerp, afterwards at Rome, and wherever he sojourned. He was born a Roman Catholic; but having taken notice at Rome, that many during Mass discoursed of their amorous Adventures, he began to have some distrust about his Religion, and examining nicely into it, he disliked it more and more, and secretly embraced the Reformed. At last, to profess the latter openly, he quitted the Country of Liege, and went to settle himself at Aix la Chapelle; from whence he retired into the Duchy of Juliers, when the Emperor caused the Church and School of the Protestants to be shut up at Aix la Chapelle. Last of all, he retreated to Dort (2).

[B] He had a Correspondence with Des Cartes.] Emilius, in his Funeral Oration of Reneri, who had publicly taught the Opinions of Des Cartes in the University of Utrecht, bestowed great Commendations

upon Des Cartes; wherein he followed his Inclination, and gratified the Desire of the First Magistrate of Utrecht, who sent him a positive Order to set forth the Praises of Mr Des Cartes, and of the New Philosophy, in Mr Reneri's Funeral Oration (3). The Author of this Penegetic sent it in Manuscript, with a respectful Letter to Mr Des Cartes, who answered, as he ought, those first Steps of Civility: And this was the beginning of their Correspondence. This happened in the Year 1639, when there was yet no need of imitating Nicodemus, in being a Disciple in private, propter metum Judæorum: for the Storm against Regius had not yet begun to rage; therefore that would not be a Proof of the Courage of Emilius: but here is one; he not only refused to have a Share in the Proceedings, which in the Year 1642, were made against Mr Des Cartes, and Mr Regius his Follower, by the University of Utrecht, but opposed the Judgment that was given thereupon (4).

(d) Taken from his Funeral Oration pronounced by David Berckringius, the 21st of Nov. 1660. The Diary of Mr Witte is mistaken in setting down his Death to the year 1650.

(3) Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, Tom. II, p. 22.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 755.

EMMA, Daughter of Richard II, Duke of Normandy, Wife to Ethelred King of England, and Mother of Edward the Confessor who was also King of England, had a great Share in the Government in her Son's Reign, and such Power at Court, that the Earl of Kent, who had had great Authority in several other Reigns, conceived a violent Jealousy against her. He could not endure that a Woman should share with him in the public Administration, that is to say, for the most part, the Authority of doing what one pleases under the Name of the Prince; and therefore made use of this Artifice to rid himself of that Rival. He accused her of several Crimes, and gained some great Lords who confirmed his Accusations to the King: So that this good Prince, who in all probability

(a) In the Year 1619.

(b) In 1634.

(c) Haud dubie secutura fuerat alia (vocatio) priori pinguior, secutura dico, sed longo intervallo in locum Heinii emerit, nisi Palas Ultrajectina huic constul inieisset securum aucto stipendio Emilianio Schotani Jurisconsulti ad praefectores Batavos. He would certainly have quitted his Post for one more beneficial, in the place of Heinii, worn out with Age and Business, had not the Palas of Utrecht put a stop to this design, by augmenting his Salary before the departure of Schotanus to Holland, which enticed him into her Service.

(1) His Son Anthony latinized this Name honourably, since he converted it into a very illustrious Roman Family, Gens Emilia.

(2) Taken from the Funeral Oration of Anthony Emilius.

bability would never have had a Place in the Kalendar but for his great Simplicity [A], easily believed his Mother guilty, and went to her at unawares, and deprived her of all that she had got; alledging for his Reason, that those were ill-gotten Goods, and the Fruits of her unsupportable Avarice. In this Disgrace she had recourse to the Bishop of Winchester, her Relation: But this furnished her Enemies with new Matter of Calumny; for the Earl of Kent imputed to her as a Crime, the too frequent Visits she made to that Prelate [B], and accused her of Incontinency with him. The King being still credulous, Emma was obliged, for her Justification, to undergo the Trial in Use in those Days, which was, to walk bare-foot over red glowing-hot Plowshares [C]. This cruel Trial clearly proved her Innocence. The King being sensible of it, submitted himself to Penance (a). I do not find what became of her Accusers: And it must be owned, that the Custom of those Ages will bear many Reflexions [D].

(a) See Theophilus Raynaud. Hystor. §. II, Serie II, cap. vi, ubi quæritur Polidorus Virgil. Nicholus Harpfield, and Rhodolphus Cestrensis Natus, that Father a Orleans relates this Story with much Exactness in a first Tome of his Revolutions of England.

[A] Edward her Son . . . would never have had a Place in the Kalendar, but for his great Simplicity.] I mean, he would never have been canonized, nor a Holy-day assigned to his Memory. It is certain, that those, who sit on the Throne, have more need than others of the Assistance of a happy Temper, to become Saints. If Nature has not endowed them with a simple, meek, gentle, and humble Spirit, they entertain Passions which engage them in a Conduct little conformable to Christian Perfection; but with the forementioned Qualifications, they suffer themselves to be led like Sheep by their Spiritual Dictators; which are great Advantages towards obtaining one Day, at the Court of Rome, their Beatification, and it's Appurtenances. I do not pretend to exclude such Exceptions as will be thought necessary: But whatever it be, the Author I quote has acknowledged St Edward's Simplicity. Reginald Emmam apud filium Edwardum Sanctum quidem sed simplicis animi dehonefavit. Apud regem omnes ex suo ingenio simplici & candido (metentem) (1).

(1) Theoph. Raynaudus Hystor. §. II, Serie II, cap. vi, pag. m. 204. I add the Word metentem, because the Sense requires it.

[B] They imputed to her as a Crime, the too frequent Visits she made to the Bishop of Winchester.] The World was ever censorious, and would never allow that Persons of different Sexes, who have long and frequent Conversations together, may be honest. Be you a Widow, be you old, be you a Queen Dowager, be you in want of Counsel, chuse an Ecclesiastic rather than a Laic for your Confidant; yet nothing will exempt you from Suspitions, or the Lashes of slanderous Tongues. Emma is perhaps the Hundredth Thousandth among Women of a high Rank, who have made their Conduct talked of.

[C] She was obliged to walk bare-foot over red glowing-hot Plowshares.] One Robert, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, seconded vigorously the Earl of Kent's Machinations: For it was by his Means that the Queen was condemned to clear herself by this Fiery Tryal. The Custom of those Times was, that the Person accused should pass bare-foot over nine Plowshares made red-hot in the Fire: And it was proposed, that Emma should make nine Steps upon those Plowshares for herself, and five for the Bishop of Winchester, for whose Reputation she was much concerned. She accepted the Proposal, and passed all the preceding Night in Prayers near the Tomb of St Switbin. The Day being come, all the usual Ceremonies were performed in the same Church, where she had passed the Night; after which, in the Presence of Edward, and all the Nobles of the Kingdom, she went over the nine Plowshares in the middle of the two Bishops. She was dressed like an ordinary Woman, and naked to the Knee, looking all the while towards Heaven. The Fire did her so little hurt, that they were leading her

out of the Church when she asked, When she should come to the Place where the Plowshares were? Cum progrediendo decursi essent vomeres, jamque extra Ecclesiam procederent cingentes Emmam Episcopi, interrogavit Emma, equando ad vomeres esset perventura, quæ rei exitum edocta immensas gratias pro tanti probi absterfione Deo egit (2). Being told that all was over, she thanked God for this clear manifestation of her Innocence. King Edward kneeled to his Mother, asked her Pardon; and to repair the Injury done both to her and the Bishop of Winchester, he would undergo the Penance of being scourged over his naked Shoulders by the Bishops. And for that purpose, they stripped his Shoulders naked and whipped him as a Penitent. Rex matri supplex ad pedes accidit, & pro molestia matri ac Episcopo Aluino creata nudo dorso ritu poenitentium plagas ab Episcopis excepit (3). The Plowshares were buried in a Cloyster of Winchester.

(2) Theoph. Raynaudus, ibid.

(3) Id. ibid.

[D] The Custom of those Days will bear many Reflexions.] Historians are full of Stories like these. We find, that the Trial by Fire was often practised in several Places of Europe, and that the Persons, who underwent it, came off with Honour. Why has this Custom been so long disused? Is it because it has been found out to be subject to Illusion, and that through human Artifice it might be employed to countenance Vice? If so, we ought not to account innocent those Men and Women, who went over the red-hot Plowshares without receiving any hurt. Or is it because we must not tempt God? But why then did they tempt him in those Days? Why are not those condemned who authorized that Custom? Why should we believe that God wrought a Miracle to manifest a Person to be innocent, who did not deserve that Favour, since that Person had recourse to a Crime, viz. that of tempting God? It is very hard to resolve all these Difficulties, without the Interposition of an Occasional Cause; but with the help of this Hypothesis, it were easy to resolve them. We need only suppose an Intelligence who should protect Innocence, and who by his Desires should have determined the first Mover, not to follow upon this Occasion the general Law of the Communication of Motion. We may next suppose, not, as the Heathens did, that this sort of Intelligences die, but that they have other Offices assigned them, and that then they cease to preside at these Trials. Thus some Miracles might be in vogue in one Age, and cease in another. We must however conclude nothing from thence against the Immutability of general Laws. We might perhaps be mistaken, if we thought that, among created Spiritual Substances, the Soul of Man only is subject to change.

EMMIUS (U BBO) a Learned Professor at Groningen, was born at Gretha, a Village of East-Friesland the fifth of December 1547. He was Son to the Minister of that Village [A]. He was but nine Years old when he was sent to study at Emden; where he stayed till he was eighteen: After which, he was sent to Bremen in 1565, to hear the famous John Molanus. Being returned home, he was not presently sent to the Universities, but was kept some time at Norden, where the College began then to be restored. But when he was in the twenty third Year of his Age, he was sent to Rosock, where the

[A] He was Son to the Minister of Gretha.] This Minister's Name was Emmo Diken: He had been a Disciple of Luther and Melancthon, and very much esteemed by John Laetus, who for some time was Overseer of the Churches of those Parts. His Wife, Mother of our Ubbø Emmius, was Daughter of Egbert

Tiarda, who for thirty Years together had been Burgomaster of Norden, and whose Brother Ubbø Emmius, a good Civilian, gave his Name to the Person who is the subject of this Article. The Father of Emmo Diken was an honest Boor, who was Overseer of the Sluys of that Place (1).

(1) Taken out of the Life of Ubbø Emmius, printed among those of the Professors of Groningen.

[B] He

the University was in a flourishing Condition. There he improved by the Lessons of *David Chytreus*, a famous Divine and Historian, and those of *Henry Bruceus*, an able Mathematician and Physician. The News of his Father's Death obliged him to return to *East-Friesland*, after having stayed above two Years at *Rosstock*; and his Mother's Affliction hindered him from travelling into *France* as he desired. He stayed near the good Woman three whole Years, by which Time her Grief being somewhat alleviated, he went to *Geneva*, and sojourned there two Years. Being returned into his Country, he had the Choice of two Places; either to be a Minister, or Rector of a College.

(a) A priore ad quem animus referebat, retraxit eum verecunda modestia, quæ hereditaria adeo naturæ ejus insita fuit, ut nimis pene modestie de se sentiens, in hominum catu fari vix auderet. *Vite Prof. Groning. pag. 42.*

(b) To wit, That of Norden in East Friesland.

(c) This was in 1614, and not in 1607, as Valerius Andreas affirms in *Biblioth. Belg.* pag. 842.

He was naturally so modest, that he scarce durst speak any thing in Company (a), and therefore, tho' his Inclination led him to be a Minister, he undertook the Rectorship of a School (b) in the Year 1579. This School flourished marvellously under him; but he was put out of it in 1587, because he would not subscribe to the *Augsburg Confession*. Upon this Refusal, some zealous *Lutherans* caused his Salary, and the Licence to teach, to be taken from him: Whereupon he was called to *Leer*, in the same Country of *East-Friesland* in the Year 1588, to the same Employment he had lost. He gave the School of *Leer* such a Lustre, that it surpassed that of *Norden*, where the *Lutherans* could never repair the Decay it suffered after the Dismissal of *Emmius*. They had driven out of *Groningen* several Persons who followed *Calvin's* Reformation, and the Conformity of Fortune made those Exiles, who retired to *Leer*, to enter into a strict Friendship with our *Emmius*. So that, when the City of *Groningen* associated itself with the United Provinces, and thought of restoring it's College, he had the Recommendation of several Persons, and was called to be Rector of it, with Authority to make and abrogate such Statutes as he thought convenient. He took Possession of that Employment in 1594, being forty seven Years of Age, and exercised it near twenty Years successively for the Good and Advantage of the Youth, which crowded thither from all Parts. By this Time the Magistrates of *Groningen*, having erected their College into an University (c), they gave the Professors in History and Greek to *Emmius*, who was the first Rector of this new University, and the greatest Ornament of it by his Lectures, till the Infirmities of Age hindered him from appearing in Public. However, he did not become useless, either to the Commonwealth of Learning, or the University of *Groningen*; for he continued to write Books [B], and to give his wise Counsels to the *Academical Senate* in all important Affairs. His Erudition was not his only Merit, for he was capable to advise Princes themselves. *William Lewis*, Count of *Nassau*, Governor of the Provinces of *Friesland* and *Groningen*, consulted him often [C], and seldom swerved from his Advice. This is a Qualification which is rarely found among those, who have passed all their Life in the Dust of the School. *Emmius* was singular in some other Things. He settled at *Groningen* [D], and rejected the Calls that were sent to him

[B] He continued to write Books. It was then he set about the three Tomes of the *Vetus Græcia Illustrata*; the first of which contains a Geographical Description of *Greece*; the second, the History of the *Grecians*; the third, the particular Form of each State, or Republic of *Greece*. If the Printers had been as diligent as they had promised him, he would have had the Satisfaction to see that Work published before his Death; but by reason of their usual Dilatoriness, that Book did not come out till the Year 1626 (2). The *Sieur Paul Freber* was ignorant of the Publication of it (3). Our Author had written some valuable Books, before he set about this: Such are his *Decades Rerum Friscarum*, and in general whatever he has composed, both relating to the History of *Friesland* and *Groningen*, and the Geographical Description of those Places. Such are also his Books of Chronology and Genealogy, which in a most elaborate Method contain the Roman and General History. I say nothing of his History of *William Lewis*, Count of *Nassau*, Governour of *Friesland*, where one finds not only the Character and Panegyric of that Prince, but likewise an Abridgment of the History of the United Provinces, from 1577, to 1614. Neither do I mention his Theological Disputes against *Daniel Hofman*; nor the Book intitled, *Vita & sacra Eleusinia Davidis Georgii, qui monstra putendorum errorum aut furorum veterum à se recocta mundo propinavit, ex libris ejus mysticis eruta* (4). When he died, he was writing the History of *Philip King of Macedon*, Father to *Alexander the Great*; wherein, for the use of the United Provinces, he designed to shew by what unfair Practices that Prince had oppressed the Liberties of *Greece*. He had already brought down this History to the Fifteenth Year of that Monarch's reign (5).

(2) *Vite Prof. Groning. pag. 50.*

(3) *Theatr. Freheri, pag. 152.*

(4) *Freher. ibid.*

(5) *Vite Prof. Groning. pag. 50.*

[C] *William Lewis, Count of Nassau, . . . consulted him often.* We should wrong the Memory of *Ubbø Emmius*, if we should not publish to the whole World the Honours he received from that Governour of *Friesland*. His Historian mentions it in this man-

ner: 'Ab eo tempore quo sedes suas Groningæ habuit, per annos XXVI, affectum illustrissimi Principis GUILIELMI LUDOVICI Comitis Nassoviæ, Gubernatoris nostri quondam laudatissimæ memoriæ, tam benevolam & benignam semper sensit Emmius, ut humilioris suæ conditionis sibi conscius, in ruborem sæpe daretur. Nam viri hujus cordatum ingenium Nestoremque in consiliis dandis prudentiam sæpe expertus Heros inclutus, eum ad se accersere, benignè habere, per fidos domesticos, per literas in maximis negotiis consulere, & à mente ejus haud temerè recedere, in more positum habebat (6). — (6) *Ibid. pag. 45.*

Emmius, from the time of his fixing at Groningen, for the space of twenty six Years, found in that most illustrious Prince William Lewis, Count Nassau, our late Governour of happy Memory, so noble and generous a Benefactor, that, conscious of his humbler Fortune, he was often seen to blush. For that renowned Hero having often experienced the Sincerity of his Heart, and the Prudence of his Counsels, sent for him and received him with the greatest marks of Affection, consulted him on the most important Affairs, by Letters, or by the most faithful of his Domesticis, and he seemed to have laid it down for a Maxim not barely to depart from his Sentiments.'

[D] He settled at Groningen. I have spoken three times (7) of the ambulatory Life of Professors. Here it is however, who was preserved from the Epidemical Distemper incident to those of his Order. 'Certe præter alios, Dordrechtiani, Leovardienfes, his excitati, ad similem apud se functionem, Emdani verò ad aliud vitæ genus capeffendum, amplissimis propositis præmiis eum invitarunt. Sed ille gratiis quibus debebat actis, non suum lucellum, sed Reipublicæ literariæ commodum semper querens, Groningæ, quoad Deo visum, manere, quam aliò transferri maluit, & quod aliis in simili casu occinere solebat, ipse ad usum quoque suum revocavit dictum hoc vulgare.

(7) See, above, Citat. (22) of the Article DECIUS.

Si

him from divers Places. Neither was he fondly prepossessed in favour of his own Country; for, on the contrary, he strenuously confuted the Fables, which the Historians of *Friesland* published about the Antiquities of their Nation [E]. This love of Truth raised him many Enemies (d). He died at *Groningen* the 9th of *December* 1625, as he was entering upon the seventy ninth Year of his Age (e). His chief Learning consisted in History [F]. He has been commended by several great Men [G], and particularly by *Scaliger*. He left Children behind him [H]. The Magistrates caused his Picture to be hung in the Stadt-House.

Panegyric upon *Ubbo Emmius*; which *Nicolaus Mulerius*, M. D. Professor of the Mathematics at *Groningen*, published without putting his Name to it, in 1633.

(d) See the Remark [E].

(e) Taken out of his Life, printed with those of the Professors of *Groningen*. This Life is little else but a

(8) *Vite* Proff. *Groning.* pag. 45.

(9) He saw that *Dei* was good. *Gen.* xlii, 15.

(10) Here is a Passage of *Thuanus* concerning *Suffridus Petri*, and *Emmius*: *Postea à Frisæ Ordinibus invitatus origines, colonias, nobilitatem, libertatem, juræ gentis suæ illustranda suscepit, in quibus altius repetendis dum admittis fabularum signentis minimum sileo indulget, multorum reprehensiones incurrit, ut URBONI EMMIUS, qui cum provinciam summa fide ac admiranda simplicitate postea executus est, potius lampada tradidisse, quam ei in scribenda patria historia preluxisse videatur. —* Afterwards, at the Invitation of the States of *Friesland*, he undertook a more clear Account of the Origin, Colonies, Grandeur, Liberty, and Laws of his Country, and endeavouring to trace them too far back, he incurred the Censure of many by giving his Pen too great a Liberty with the fabulous Accounts whereunto they were intermixed. So that he may be said to have rather put a Torch in the Hands of, than to have been a faithful guide to, *URBONI EMMIUS*, who afterwards discharged that Task with great Candour and Simplicity. *Thuan.* lib. 110, pag. 816, ad ann. 1597.

(11) *Vit.* Proff. *Groning.* pag. 40.

* De Orig. & Antiq. *Fris.* pag. 3, & 4.

Si quâ sede sedes, quæ sit tibi commoda sedes,

Illâ sede sede, nec ab illâ sede recede (8).

The Inhabitants of *Dort*, and *Leuwarden*, in a particular manner, solicited him to accept a like employ among them, and those of *Emden* made him extraordinary Offers to engage him in one of a different Nature. But he, making all due Acknowledgements, not studious of his own private Interest, but of that of the Republic of Letters, chose rather to remain at *Groningen*, during the good pleasure of God, than to be translated to another Place; and applied to himself, as he had often done to others on the like Occasion, this common saying,

When once well seated, on that seat remain:

Who rashly rise may wish to sit again.

There are very few Men who resemble *Issachar* (9), Son to the Patriarch *Jacob*.

[E] He strenuously confuted the Fables, which the Historians of *Friesland* relate about the Antiquities of their Nation. You may have seen before, in the Article *ABGILLUS*, how credulous *Suffridus Petri* is (10). He is not the only *Frisian* Writer, who has taken Pleasure in publishing a Thousand Fables. The worst of it is, that People have been angry with those that have exploded them; and in particular, *Ubbo Emmius* was quarrelled with, and exposed to a thousand Slanders upon that Score. Do not think that it is out of Vanity he speaks of his Ancestors, both Paternal and Maternal, and of his Education: These are as many Heads necessary for his Justification; for his Enemies had endeavoured to render him contemptible in these Particulars, out of hatred to his Honesty, in rejecting the old Legends of his Country (11). 'Patriam & originem paulo accuratius in historia descripsit, alique sua posteris reliquit, ob finitrum quorundam affectum, quibus quasi sudes in oculis erat, ingenua viri in dicendo scribendoque libertas; presertim quoties de jure libertateque *Frisiorum* mota esset controversia. Coegit quoque hoc facere eum adversariorum iniquitas, qui cum fabulas suas ab eo temni ac refelli indignis ferrent animis, cum convitiis conspuere & boni nominis ejus famam lacerare vellent, eum *μυροσποισα* esse, hostem patriæ, ignarium ignotumque sibi, & cujus conditionis sit, clamitantes. Quibus ille responsum hoc debuit: * Me quod attinet, sum origine & patria *Frisius* non minus quam bi qui me flagellant, si modo bujusmodi bi sunt, honesta domo utraque natus, honesta quoque in re, in literis voluntate ac sumptu meorum, sine onere aliorum, honeste domi forsique educatus, idque cum diminutione hæreditatis meæ Adversarii mei affectu in communem patriam & gentem nostram non concedo; sed affectum veritatis in historia vim facere non patior, iniquaque terminos me continere. Verum tradere tuerique ante omnia laboro: Et hunc laborem difficilem *Frisiis* meis impendo gratis, solo patriæ ac veritatis studio ductus, & hoc inter negotia assiduâ cum valetudinis jacturâ præsto.' — He left an accurate historical Description of his Country and Origin, with some other Compositions, occasioned by the Malice of certain Persons, who were extremely offended at his noble Freedom in speaking or writing, especially when any Controversy was started about the Rights and Liberties of the *Frisians*. The Virulence of his Adversaries also compelled him to it; enraged that their Fictions were despised and refuted by him, they endeavoured to bespatter him with Calumny, and mangle his fair Reputation, calling him an Enemy and Traitor to his Country, an Uppstart that had forgot himself and his Condition. To whom he made this Reply: As to myself, I am by Birth and Parentage as much a *Frisian* as my Enemies, if

they be such; descended from honourable Families, in honourable Circumstances, and have had an honourable Education, both at home and abroad, to the Diminution of my Patrimony, without being burthenome to any one. In Affection for our common Country I yield not to my Adversaries, but shall confine that Affection within it's Bounds, and not suffer it to pervert the Truths of History. The Cause of Truth is first at my Heart; in it's laborious Defence I willingly enter the Lists, not for Pay, but for the Love I bear to it and to my Country; and herein do I persevere amidst the Hurry of Business, and the daily Decrease of Health.

[F] His chief Learning consisted in History. What some have related of the vast Extent of his Knowledge, accompanied with a most happy and ready Memory, is very hard to be believed. They tell us, that without being prepared, and without mistaking the Circumstances of Time, Place, or Persons, he was able to answer all Questions relating to the History of any Country, both ancient and modern. He knew not only Events, the great Actions and their Motives; but likewise the Interests of Nations, their Form and Government, the Genius of Princes, the Methods they used to aggrandize themselves, their Alliances and Pedigrees. Moreover, he knew the Figure, Situation, and Bigness of Towns and Fortresses, the Position of Rivers and High-ways, the Compaſs of Mountains, &c. Least People should think I amplify the Matter, I shall quote the very Words of his Historian. 'In omni omnium populorum ac gentium historiâ versatissimus, de cujusque gentis ac cujuslibet temporis historiâ rogatus ex tempore differebat, recitatis omnium locorum, temporis, & personarum circumstantiis, haud secus ac si præmeditatus & paratus accederet ad historias istas exponendas; ut satis appareat non fuisse eam superficialiam ipsi cognitionem, quæ multis contigit, sed quæ paucis exactam, solidam, ad interiora penetrantem atque descendentem. Notissimas habebat in veteri & nova historiâ, non solum res gestas, earumque causas & eventus, cujusque populi *πολιτείας*, sed & urbes arcesque à forma, situ, magnitudine, simulque vias publicas, fluvios, montium tractus, geniumque loci, Principum ingenia, mores, cupiditates, ambitus arteque quibus ad honores grassati, quibus propinquitatibus subnixi, quo sanguine creti (12). — Thoroughly versed in the Histories of all Kingdoms and Countries, at the Request of his Friends he would speak off-hand upon the History of any Nation, at whatever Period of Time, give a Detail of all the Places, Times, and Circumstances of Persons, as if he had come prepared to explain those Histories; from whence it is plain he had not that superficial Notion, which is so frequently to be found, but that scarce, complete, and solid Knowledge, which penetrates into the most secret Parts. He was intimately acquainted with not only the Facts, their Causes and Consequences, and the Interests of every State in ancient and modern History, but likewise with the Form, Magnitude, and Situation of Cities and Forts, public Ways, Rivers, the Tracts of Mountains, the Genius of the Place, the Abilities of the Princes, their Manners and Views, their Counsels, and the Intrigues whereby they had possessed themselves of Dignities, their Alliances and Pedigrees.

[G] He has been commended by several great Men. The Author of his Life has collected several Elogies bestowed upon him by *Thuanus*, *Scaliger*, *Dowza*, *Heinsius*, *David Chytræus*, and some others: All which are of great Force, principally those of *Scaliger*, who gives the Epithet of Divine to *Ubbo Emmius's* History of *Friesland* (13).

[H] He left Children behind him. He married at *Norden* in 1581: his Wife, who died in Child-bed, left him a Son, that lived to the Age of nineteen Years. He remained a Widower for three Years, and then

(12) *Vite* Prof. *Groning.* pag. 48.

(13) *Hankius* de Romanarum Rerum Scripturis, lib. 2, pag. 133, relates part of the Elogies printed with *Emmius's* Life.

then married *Margaret de Berghen*, Daughter to a Burgher of *Emden*, who survived him with two Children, a Son and a Daughter, The Son's Name was

Wesselus Emmius: He was Minister of *Groningen* when his Father died. His younger Brother died at *Orleans* some few Months before their Father (14).

(14) Taken out of the Life of *Ukko Emmius*.

(a) Quo (*Encolpio Alexander*) familiarissimo usus est. *Lampridius* in *Alexandro Severo*. c. xxvii.

ENCOLPIUS, Author of an History of the Emperor *Alexander*, by whom he had been greatly beloved (a). I add two things to what *Moreri* has said of him. The first is, that This History is not extant, and that the English Writer, who boasts to have translated it from the Greek, justly passes for an Impostor [A]. The second will only be an unravelling of an Action, which *Encolpius* had described, and which *Moreri* gives us no account of. I do not pretend, that he was obliged to relate it; but, if I relate it, I hope my Readers will not take it amiss [B].

[A] The English Writer, who boasts to have translated the History of *Encolpius* from the Greek, justly passes for an Impostor. He lived in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* and was called *Thomas Eliot*. He published a Book, intitled, *Image of Governance, compiled of the Acts and Sentences notable of Alexander Severus*. He boasted, that he had translated this Work from the Greek Manuscript of *Encolpius*, which a Gentleman of *Naples*, named *Puderic*, had lent him. But it was proved (1), that he had taken the Materials from *Lampridius* and *Herodian*; that he had misunderstood, or perverted to another sense, several things, which those two Historians have said; and that he had invented many Facts, which they have said nothing of. *Selden* (2) believed, that he had translated a Greek Manuscript composed by a Modern: but *Dr Wotton* believes no such thing, and he observes, that *Bale*, having distributed the Writings of *Thomas Eliot* into two Classes, the one for Compositions, the other for Translations, has ranked among the first the Work in question; which proves, that at That time, it was not doubted, that the pretended *Encolpius* was spurious (3). I imagine, that this *Thomas Eliot* was encouraged to this Fraud by the Success, which the *Marcus Aurelius* of *Guevara* met with. I say elsewhere (4), that this Spaniard endeavoured to persuade the World, that he had taken the Life of that Emperor from an old Manuscript, which he gave as a Model of Government: he intitled it, *L'Horloge des Princes* — *The Clock of Princes*.

[B] If I report an Action, which *Encolpius* had described, I hope my Readers will not take it amiss. It is very remarkable. *Lampridius* relates, that *Ovinus*, *Camillus*, a Senator, and of a very ancient Family, aspired to the Empire. *Alexander* was informed of it, and convinced of it beyond doubt. Upon which he invited *Camillus* to the Palace, and testified how much he was obliged to him, in that he voluntarily offered to take upon himself the Burthen of Affairs, whereas others must be constrained to do it, against their Will. After this, he carried *Camillus* to the Senate, who trembled with Fear, being stung with the Remorse of Conscience, associated him to the Empire, and gave him an Apartment in the Palace, made him eat at his own Table, and ordered him to be clothed with Imperial Ornaments, more magnificent than his own. There happened at that time to be some War against the Barbarians, which required the Emperor's Presence. *Alexander* offered *Camillus* to take him with him, if he chose not rather to go alone (5).

Alexander, who went on foot, invited *Camillus* to do the same: but the latter, who was of a nice Constitution, being tired at the end of two Leagues, *Alexander* obliged him to get on Horseback; and, as he could not even follow him on Horseback more than two days, he ordered him a Coach. At last, *Camillus* begged, as a Favour, that he might renounce the Empire, protesting, either sincerely, or through Fear, that he had rather die, than live after this manner: and *Alexander* gave him leave to retire to his Estate in the Country, assuring him that he had nothing to fear, and he even recommended him to the Soldiers. *Camillus* lived thus a long time upon his Estate. But, afterwards, the reigning Emperor (for it is not believed, that it was *Alexander* (6)) ordered him to be killed, because he understood War, and was beloved by the Soldiers. *Lampridius* adds, that the People attributed this Action to *Trajan*, though none of the Historians of That Prince speak of it, whereas several Authors relate it of *Alexander*, in the History of his Life (7).

I must add, for the honour of *Lampridius*, that he has expressly observed, that an Historian ought not to follow popular Opinions, when they agree not with Authors. History, says he, is quite otherwise true than the Reports of the People: since then the Historians of *Trajan* do not ascribe this Action to him, and that it is attributed to the Emperor *Alexander* by Those, who have written his Life, we ought to reject the Discourse of the Vulgar, who ascribe it to *Trajan*. 'Scio Vulgum hanc rem quam contexui *Traiani* putare: sed neque in Vita ejus id *Marius Maximus* ita exposuit, neque *Fabius Marcellinus*, neque *Aurelius Verus*, neque *Statius Valens*, qui omnem ejus Vitam in literas miserunt. Contra autem & *Septimius*, & *Achilius*, & *Encolpius*, Vitæ Scriptores, cæterique de hoc talia prædicaverunt: quod ideo addidi, ne quis vulgi magis famam sequeretur, quam historiam, quæ rumore utique vulgi verior reperitur.' This Observation of *Lampridius* is very judicious. The Fact in question is so remarkable, that the Historians of *Trajan* would not have forgotten it, if it had belonged to That Emperor. A thousand and a thousand Examples prove, that remarkable Actions and Sayings are ascribed, by the People, sometimes to one King, sometimes to another. The same is practised with regard to Saints: Their Devotees have attributed to certain of them what had already been said of others. It were to be wished, that the Legendaries had, on these occasions, followed the Example of *Lampridius*.

(6) This is not found in *Lampridius*, who says only, Sed post justu Imperatoris occisus est. See the Commentaries.

(7) Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs. Tom. III, pag. 345.

ENEAS, or *Æneas Tacticus*, is one of the most ancient Greek Authors that have written concerning the Military Art [A]. Some Bibliographers (a) affirm, that the Manuscript of his Book is found in the *Vatican Library*; but I suppose this is only to be understood of a particular Treatise published by *Casaubon* [B]. *Moreri*'s Faults are of no great Consequence [C].

[A] He is one of the most ancient Greek Authors that have written concerning the military Art. *Cineas* of *Thessaly*, Counsellor to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, and Disciple of *Epicurus*, abridged *Eneas*'s Book concerning the Duty of a General (1). Moreover, in what remains of *Eneas*, there is no Instance given from any Passage that does not precede the CXXth Olympiad; and if there be mention made of some Machines that began to be in vogue in *Aristotle*'s Time, there is no Account given of some others that were invented some time after *Aristotle* (2). We may therefore safely say, That if he be not that *Eneas* of *Stymphalia*, who was General of the *Arcadians* about the CIIIth Olympiad (3), he is not far from that Time.

[B] Of a particular Treatise published by *Casaubon*. In this Treatise *Eneas* shews the Manner how to

sustain a Siege; it was joined to the Edition of *Polybius* in the Year 1609. The Preface tells us, I. That it is published from a Manuscript Copy of a Book brought from *Italy*, and that this Manuscript is in the Library of the Most Christian King. II. That *Eneas* had composed some other Books. *Naudé* (4) is in the wrong, to say, That the *Commentarius Poliorcticus* of *Eneas* differs from the Treatise *De toleranda obsidione*; for this is the Title of that Treatise in *Casaubon*'s Edition: *Ταχτικὸν τε καὶ πολιορκητικὸν ὑπομνημα περὶ τῶς χειρὶ πολιορκούμενον ἀρχέων*. *Commentarius tacticus & poliorcticus de toleranda obsidione*.

[C] Mr *Moreri*'s Faults are of no great Consequence. I. He says, That *Eneas* wrote a Book of the Military Art, and that *Cineas* made an Abridgment of that Work.

(a) Gellius's *Abbreviatorum*.

(4) De Studio Militari, pag. 45.

(1) *Ælianus* in *Tacticis*, cap. 1.

(2) *Casub.* in *Prefat. Æneæ de toleranda obsidione*.

(3) *Xenophon* de *Rebus gestis Græcorum* lib. 7, pag. m. 368. Note, That in the 4th Book of *Expedition*, *Cyri*, pag. m. 109, he speaks of another *Eneas* of *Stymphalia*, who participated in the Expedition of young *Cyrus*, towards the End of the XCIVth Olympiad.

(c) *Ælian*.
Tactic. cap. 1.

(6) *Why then*
does Volius de
Sciat. Mathem.
pag. 237, say on-
ly, that Cineas
made an Abridg-
ment of *Æneas*'
Tactics.

(7) Volius de
Hiflor. Græc.
lib. 4, cap. 11.

Work. This is not exact; for *Ælian* uses the Plural Number when he speaks of *Æneas*'s Works concern-
ing the Military Art: Αἰνείας τε διὰ πλεόνων, καὶ στρατηγικὰ βιβλία ἱκανῶς συντάξάμενος ὡς ἐπιτομὴν δ' Οὐτ' ἁλὸς Κινέας ἐποίησε (5). *Æneas*
qui pluribus libris rem militarem copiose expo-
suit: eorum (6) epitomen Cineas Theopompus exposuit: *Moreri* quotes a Book of *Vossius* (7), wherein these Words
of *Ælian* are found: Why then did he express him-
self as he has done? II. He says, That *Gesner* af-

firms, That *Æneas*'s *Work* is in Manuscript in the Va-
tican Library. *Gesner* says nothing of *Æneas*: It is
only those that have abridged *Gesner* who say that
Æneas's Book *De Re Militari* is in the Vatican. *Ca-
faubon* applies this to the Treatise *De toleranda Opsi-
dione*. Note, That *Vossius*, in the 287th Page of his
Book *De Scientiis Mathematicis*, commits the same
Mistake with *Moreri*, in ascribing the same thing to
Gesner.

EPHORUS, an Orator and Historian, was of *Cumæ* in *Æolia* (a). *Isocrates*, whose
Disciple (b) he was, advised him to write a History. I have said elsewhere (c), that he gave
the same Advice to *Theopompus*, one of his other Scholars; and I have marked the Differ-
ence of Genius which was observable between those two Persons. *Ephorus*, not caring to
trouble himself with the Intricacies and Trifles of fabulous Times, began at the Return
of the *Heraclida* to *Peloponnesus* (d), and he carried down his Work from that famous
Epocha to the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander
the Great*; which is an Interval of about seven hundred and fifty Years. He divided
this History into thirty Books, to each of which he added a Preface (e). There are
various Opinions as to the Merit of this Author: Some commend him; others blame
him, and accuse him of Deceits, both Active and Passive [A]. He composed other

Books

[A] Some commend him; others blame him, and ac-
cuse him of Deceits both active and passive.] *Diodorus*

(1) *Diod. Sicul.*
lib. 4, cap. 1.

(2) *Id. lib. 5,*
init.

(3) *In Rem. [C]*

(4) 'Ανὴρ ἀξίος
μνήμης. Vir
memoria dignus.
Strabo, lib. 13,
pag. 428.

(5) *Id. lib. 9,*
pag. 290.

(6) *Id. lib. 10,*
pag. 320.

(7) See *Strabo*,
Ibid. pag. 319.

(8) *Id. lib. 10,*
pag. 320.

Siculus reckons him for one of the three Historians
most in esteem (1). The other two are *Callisthenes*
and *Theopompus*. After having complained, that many
of those who had composed Histories had neglected
the right ordering and distribution of their Subjects,
he declares, That *Ephorus* was not guilty of that
Fault; and that his Work was no less to be esteemed
for the Elegance of his Style than for his accurate Me-
thod: 'Εφορος τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἡ
μόνον κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκο-
νομίαν ἐπιτίτενε. *Ephorus* rei passim gestas descri-
bens non verborum elegantia duntaxat, sed accurata
ordinis quoque observatione probi officio historici fungi-
tur (2). We shall presently see (3) that he has been
preferred to *Theopompus*; which is a great Commenda-
tion. Neither are the Elogies *Strabo* gives him small;
for he looks upon him as a Person whose Memory
should be preserved (4): He quotes him often; and
the Reason he gives for it is the Exactness of his En-
quiries, acknowledged and commended by *Polybius*, a
most competent Judge: 'Εφορος δ' ὅ τὸ πλεόνον
χρῆμα διὰ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμέλειαν καθά-
περ καὶ Πολύβιος μακροτέρων τυγχάνει ἀνὴρ ἀξιό-
λογος. *Ephorus* quo plurimum utimur ob diligen-
tiam in talibus rebus (quod & *Polybius* testatur vir
magnæ autoritatis) (5). — *Ephorus*, whom I fre-
quently quote for his Accuracy, of which *Polybius*, a Man
of good Authority, has given his Testimony. Having
taken notice of a Fault in that Historian, he adds,
That nevertheless he surpasses the other Historians:
Τοῦτ' οὐδ' ὡς 'Εφορος ἔλεγον ὅμως κρείττω ἐστὶ
καὶ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἐπιστάμενος ὅπως ἐπαινέσας ἀνδρὶν
Πολύβιος καὶ φήσας περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καλῶς
μὲν εὐδίζον, κάλλιστα δ' 'Εφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι
περὶ κτίσεων, συρρενῶν, μεταναστεύων, ἀρχη-
γετῶν. Talis cum sit *Ephorus*, aliis tamen est melior:
& ipse *Polybius* ita studiosè eum laudans, dicensque de
rebus Græcis *Eudoxum* bellè, *Ephorum* optimè scrip-
sisse, de origine urbium, cognationibus, migrationibus,
dudibus autque autoribus (6). — Such was *Ephorus*,
and superior to the rest; *Polybius* himself is hearty
in his Commendation of him, saying, *Eudoxus* has
written learnedly on the Affairs of Greece; but *Ephorus*
has given us a most beautiful Account of the Origin of
their Cities, of their Affinities, their Colonies, and their
Chiefs. That Fault is a Contradiction (7), which is
plain enough, and the less excusable, because the
Author had taken much Pains to clear the Subject,
and confute those who had treated it confusedly. He
had besides boasted of his Diligence: 'Ο δ' ὡς περ
καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπιλέγει. ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
διακελεύειν εἰώσμεν, ὅταν ᾖ τι τῶν πραγμάτων
ἢ παντὶ ὁδῶς ἀπορέμενον, ἢ ψευδῆ δόξαν ἔχον.
Tamen *Ephorus*, quasi re præclarè gesta, addit hanc
se accuratorem adhibere solere, cum aut dubia om-
nino res est, aut falsa de ea obtinet opinio (8). —
Ephorus, as though he had performed something noble,
concludes with saying, that he had accustomed himself
to make the most exact Enquiry into such things, as
were either altogether dubious, or falsely reported. This

is not the only Contradiction he is guilty of: He used
sometimes to fall into the same Fault: Δοκεῖ μοι
πάναντία ποιεῖν, ὥσθ' ὅτε τῇ πραγμασίᾳ καὶ ταῖς
ἐξηρχῆς ὑποσχέσει: videtur mihi nonnunquam con-
trarium ejus facere quod ab initio instituerat ac promise-
rat (9). — Sometimes he seems to have performed the Re-
verse of what he had proposed. These Words are *Strabo*'s,
who immediately gives a Proof of it: For he says, That
Ephorus, having censured the Authors who intermix
Fables with History, enlarges in Praise of Truth, and
promises to observe that Virtue principally in the Ac-
count of the Oracle of *Delphi*: there being nothing
more absurd than a Lye, when one speaks of an Oracle
so averie to Deceit: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ περὶ τῶν μαντεί-
ων λόγου, σημνὴν τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ὡς παντα-
χῶ μὲν ἀεὶ νομίζει τ' ἀληθείας, μάλα δὲ
κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην ἀποπον γὰρ, εἰ περὶ
μὲν τῶν ἄλλων αἰετὸν τοῖσιν τρέπον διακόμεν,
ποσὶ περὶ δὲ τῶν μαντείων λέγοντες, ὃ πάντων
ἐστὶν ἀψευδέστατον, τοῖς ὅπως ἀπίστοις καὶ ψευ-
δοῖς χρονομάδα λόγοις. *Sermoni de hoc oraculo*
promissum adjicit gravitatis plenum, se cum aliis ver-
itatem maximi facere, tum vel apprimè in hoc ar-
gumento. Absurdum enim est (inquit) si veritatem
aliis in rebus sectantes, de oraculo dicturi omnium ve-
racissimos, ita incredibilibus & falsis utamur narra-
tionibus (10). This is very judicious; such a Re-
flexion does honour both to the Person and Judgment
of *Ephorus*; but the Sequel is not consistent with it:
For the Account that Author gives of the Oracle
of *Delphi*, is but little better than the vulgar Op-
inion.

He related so many Falsities about *Egypt*, that he
shewed not only that he never travelled there, but
also that he had not taken Care to be exactly in-
formed by those who were acquainted with that
Country. 'Scriptor hic non solum ipse locorum
'*Ægypti* naturam non vidisse, sed nec ab iis quibus
'regionis illius ratio cognita est, diligenter percun-
'*Status* nobis videtur (11). This is the Opinion of *Dio-
dorus Siculus*, who a little after, having convinced him
of lying, makes this Reflexion: Οὐκ ἂν τις παρ'
'*Εφύρου* ζητήσεν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τακεῖες, ὅρῶν
αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ὀλιγορηκῶτα τῆς ἀληθείας.
Certi quid apud *Ephorum* nemo inquireret qui viderit
in multis eum negligere veritatem (12). — A Man
must expect little Accuracy in *Ephorus*, if he considers
how little Regard he often pays to Truth. *Seneca*
gives us still a worse Opinion of him, when he re-
jects his Testimony about a Comet. Let us relate the
whole Passage, which shews what stress we ought to
lay on the Authority of Historians when they speak of
Prodigies. 'Nec magna molitione detrahenda est au-
'*thoritas Ephoro*: historicus est. Quidam incredibi-
'*lium* relatu commendationem parant, & lectorem a-
'*liud* acturum, si per quotidiana duceretur, miraculo
'*excitant*. Quidam creduli, quidam negligentes sunt:
'*quibusdam* mendacium obrepat, quibusdam placet.
'*Illi* non evitant, hi appetunt. Et hoc in commune
'*de tota natione*: quæ approbare opus suum, & fieri
'*populare* non putat posse, nisi illud mendacio aspercit.
'*Ephorus* verò non religiosissimæ fidei, sæpe decipitur,
'*sæpe*

(a) *Strabo*, lib.
13, pag. 428.

(b) *Plotarch* in
Vita *Isocrat.*
pag. 837.

(c) In the Article
THEOPOM-
PUS, Rem. [8].

(d) *Diod. Sicul.*
lib. 4, cap. 1.

(e) *Id. ibid.* lib.
16, cap. 77, pag.
m. 795.

(9) *Id. lib. 9,*
pag. 290.

(10) *Id. ibid.*

(11) *Diod. Sicul.*
lib. 1, cap. 39,
pag. m. 35.

(12) *Id. ibid.*

Books [B]: And there was one written against him, wherein his Plagiarisms were displayed

(13) Sen. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7, cap. 16, pag. m. 903.

(14) Vossius, de Hist. Græcis, pag. 36, 37.

(15) Εφορος ἢ τὸ ἄλλο ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκείνων καὶ μὴδὲν ἔχον ἐκείνων. Ephorus ingenio quidem erat simplici: in dictione vero historica supinus, & legis ac contentione carens. — Ephorus as to his Method is indeed regular, but indolent and supine in his Diction, without either Life or Spirit. Suidas, apud Vossium, ibid.

(16) Dionys. Halicarn. de collocat. verborum, cap. 81, pag. m. 58.

(17) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 5, init. I cite his Words above, Citat. (12).

(18) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 36.

(19) See, above, Citat. (12), the Sequel of it.

(20) Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 428.

(21) Suidas in Εφορος.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Harpocrat. voce Δίωος.

(24) Plutarch. de vita Homer. init. apud Vossium, ubi supra.

(25) Jonfius, pag. 67, seems also to ascribe it to him.

(26) Harduin. in indice autorum Plinii. He quotes Polybius apud Strabonem, lib. 10, pag. 465, for the Treatise of Origine Urbium; and the Scholiast of Apollonius, in lib. 4, vers. 269, for the Treatise of Nili Incremento.

(27) Strabo, lib. 7, init. places him among them.

(28) Ibid. lib. 8, init.

(29) Cicero, in Oratore, cap. 51.

saepè decipit (13). — Ephorus writes like an Historian, and his Authority therefore may be easily set aside. For some frame Relations of things incredible, and spirit up the Reader with Tales of Prodigies, who would have given no attention to ordinary occurrences. Some are credulous, and others careless. Upon some Fictions steals unawares, to some it is agreeable; the former do not escape it, and the latter court it. And this is common to the whole herd, who think their Works will never be approved or become popular, unless they be seasoned high with Fable. Ephorus moreover is not a Writer of the best Credit; he is often deceived, and often deceives. You may see in Vossius (14) some Lies of Ephorus, and how much his Style was despised by Duris of Samos, Dion Chrysostomus, and Suidas (15). Dionsius Halicarnassensis (16), and Diodorus Siculus (17), had another Opinion of it, and they were good Judges. Whatever it be, I suppose that all the Lovers of History regret the loss of Ephorus's Writings: For my own part, I regret it very much. Note, that Vossius did not sufficiently characterize all the Errors he reproaches him with; for he blames him for deceiving his Readers, without being deceived himself, when he speaks of the Temple of Hercules (18). * Decipitur quidem, cum . . . tradit . . . decipit autem in eo quod de Herculis fano in Hispania finxit, ut est apud Strabonem initio libri III. & fuerit id genus apud Ephorum permulta. Unde & Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. ἐκ δὲ τῆς, &c. (19). — He is deceived indeed when he said . . . but deceives in his fictitious Account of Hercules's Temple in Spain, as may be seen in Strabo at the beginning of Book the Third. Ephorus is guilty of several Instances of the same Nature, for which reason Diodorus Siculus in the beginning of Book the First says, a Man must expect little, &c. In the first Place, it is very probable that he said this innocently: What could he get by writing such a thing against his Conscience? He was so ill acquainted with the Affairs of the Spaniards, that he thought they were but one City. Josephus infers from thence, that the Greeks knew but late what concerned the Western Nations. Vossius does not disapprove this Inference. Why then does he think that Ephorus knew the Truth concerning that Temple? In the second Place, Strabo is not well quoted; for he does not denote precisely, whether Ephorus wrote according to, or against his Knowledge. Thirdly, the Passage of Diodorus Siculus does not prove, that there were in Ephorus's Works several Falsities contrary to the Author's own Knowledge: He is only accused of having neglected to be better informed. A severe Critic would find almost every where some unde as ill placed as that of Vossius.

[B] He composed other Books.] A Treatise περὶ τῶν ἐυρημάτων, de Rebus inventis, of which Strabo makes mention (20). Another, περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, de bonis ac malis, divided into Twenty four Books (21). Another, περὶ παραδόξων τῶν ἐκαστοῦ, de Rebus passim admirabilibus, divided into fifteen Books (22). Another, περὶ θεῶν καὶ πολιτισμῶν, de Civitatibus Ibraciæ. Harpocrat. quotes the fourth Book of it (23). Another, intitled ἐπιτομή, wherein he treats of his Native Country (24). Father Harduin ascribes to him a particular Treatise of the Origin of Cities (25), and another of the Increase of the Nile; but the Authors, he alleges (26), do not say any such Thing: For Polybius only pretends, that Ephorus explained very well in his History the Foundation of Cities, their Colonies, &c. And as for the Scholiast of Apollonius, his intent was only to quote what Ephorus had said concerning the Nile in the same History. It is not by particular Treatises of Geography that he deserved to have been ranked among Geographers (27), but because he had made it his Business to describe the Places which he was obliged to mention in the Series of his History (28). We must not doubt but that he published some Harangues, or some Treatise of Rhetoric, since Cicero has made use of the Words I am going to quote: * Omitto Iocratem discipuloque ejus Ephorum & Naucratem, quamquam orationis faciendæ & ornandæ autores locupletissimi, summi ipsi oratores esse debeant (29). — I shall pass by Iocrates, and his Scholars Ephorus and Naucratis; for though excellent at composing and embellishing an Oration, yet

ought they to be perfect Orators. How can we doubt that he wrote Rhetoric, when we know that his Treatise περὶ λέξεως, de Dictione, has been quoted by Theon. * Eidem (Theoni) & laudatur Εφορος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεως. Cujus operis pene initio hexametrum effundere ait (30). — Ephorus's Treatise on Diction is quoted by Theon, at the beginning almost of which, he says, that he breaks out into an Hexameter. These are the Expressions of Vossius, who may be charged with a Fault of Commission, and another of Omission: for he affirms, that the Verse, which was found near the beginning of this Treatise, was an Hexameter. We see no such Thing in Theon; neither does he say, that That Verse was in the same Place where Ephorus condemned the Cadence and Numbers of Discourse: A Circumstance which Theon relates, and which is a Singularity not to be omitted. The Passage of that Sophist, related at length, will discover another Fault of Vossius. Συγνώμης δ' ἔστιν, ὅταν εἰς ἐκείνῃ τις ἐμπέσῃ ποτὶ τὰ μέτρα, ἅπερ ἔχει ὁμοίτητα πρὸς τὰ πεζῶν οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ ἰαμβικόν διὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἀνοητοὶ ἐμπέπτυσιν εἰς τὸ γυναικῶς τετοιοῦτον Εφορος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεως, δι' αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπαγορεύοντα λόγον, μὴ τῇ εὐρύθμῳ χρῆσθαι διαλέκτῳ, εὐδὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ στίχον εἰρηκεῖ, εἰπὼν πάντων δὲ περὶ τῆς εὐρύθμης διέξευμαι (31). Venia tamen dari solet iis qui forte in versu, qui quam proxime ad solutam accedunt orationem, incidunt: (32) quales iambici, quod omnibus fere scriptoribus invitis evenire solet. Ephorus certe in libro de sermone, eo ipso loco, ubi nimis numerosam usurpare elocutionem vetat, statim initio versum ipse extulit, hoc modo,

Posthac modos orationis inquiram.

It is excusable to fall into such numbers as have some affinity to Verse, such as Iambic, since all Writers are prone to make those slips unawares; as Ephorus in his Treatise upon Diction, when he is declaiming against the soft flow of words, at the very setting out stumbled into Metre.

The modes of Diction must the next be scanned.

Theon had just before without mercy condemned Prose, wherein are found high-sounding lofty Verses, and then he excuses the Verses that resemble Prose, such as are the Iambics; and says, that most Writers run, in spite of themselves, into the Fault of making that sort of Verses. He instances in our Ephorus; but he does not say, as Vossius pretends, that That Verse was almost in the beginning of the Treatise. Note, that what Ephorus has said of Homer (33), was not in a particular Treatise upon that Poet, but in that he composed about his own Native Country (34). His Treatise περὶ ἐυρημάτων was confuted by the Philosopher Strato, as we learn from Pliny; Stratoque qui contra Ephori ἐυρήματα scripsit (35). Thus Father Harduin has corrected the Passage, where we read, contra Ephori Theoremata; which Correction is insinuated by Jonfius (36). Note, that mention is made of an EUPHORUS Author of a Book περὶ τῶν ἐυρημάτων, de Rebus inventis. Vossius (37) pretends that Athenæus has quoted him (38), and that one ought to correct Εὐφορος by writing Εφορος; for, says he, the Author, that Athenæus quotes in that Place, is quite different from the Historian. That might be; but I do not think that the least Proof can be given for it. Father Harduin (39) thought we ought to read Εφορος, just as in the twelfth Chapter of the eighth Book of Athenæus, whose two Passages he applies to Ephorus the Historian. The two Places of Clemens Alexandrinus (40), alleged by Vossius, may very well belong to that same Historian; and therefore there is Reason to believe, that the Transcribers have writ there Εὐφορος instead of Εφορος. This Fault they have committed in the Great Etymologicon (41), where they quote Εὐφορος ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ. There should have been Εφορος; for we learn from Strabo (42), that the fourth Book of Ephorus the Historian was intitled Εὐρώπη. It is Vossius makes this Observation: Why should we not believe that the same Fault is crept into Diogenes Laërtius, according to the Conjecture of Aldobrandinus and Jonfius (43)?

Mr Menage

(10) Vossius ubi supra, pag. 36.

(11) Theophil. Prolegomena, cap. 2, pag. 25.

(12) These Words have been omitted in the Translation, which Herfius has corrected.

(33) See Plutarch. de Homero, & Tatian. ad Græc.

(34) See Scaliger, in Euseb. n. 1101, pag. m. 62.

(35) Plin. lib. 7, in indice, lib. 7.

(36) Jonfius de Script. Hist. Phil. pag. 44.

Whether there has been an Author called Euphorat.

(37) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 367.

(38) Athen. lib. 4, cap. 25, pag. 182.

(39) Harduin. in Indice Autorum Plinii.

(40) One is in lib. 1. Stromat. pag. 306. The other, ibid. pag. 339.

(41) In voce Εὐρωπῆς apud Vossium, ubi supra.

(42) Strabo, l. 7.

(43) See Mr Menage, in Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1, n. 41, pag. 23.

played [C]. All this is lost. I have spoken elsewhere (f) of the Judgment passed on the long Speeches he inserted in his History. He was very much ridiculed for the manner

(f) In Remark
(g) of the Article
THEOPOM-
PUS.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Scaliger,
Anim. in Euseb.
ad ann. 1101,
pag. m. 62.

(46) Euseb. n.
1101.

(47) Euseb. in
Iliad. lib. 2,
fol. 275, apud
Jonium de Scrip.
Hist. Philol.
pag. 44.

(48) Steph. de
vrbis voce
Αἰσώτης.

Mr Menage (44) chuses to follow Vossius's Opinion; but this is meer courtesy, since Vossius has not proved his Assertion. The great Scaliger (45) affirms, that in Clemens Alexandrinus, they have written twice Εἰσορῶ instead of Εἰσορῶ; and that by the like Mistake we find Εἰσορῶ for Εἰσορῶ in Diogenes Laërtius, in the Life of Thales. He believes also that the Euphorbus in the Chronicle of Eusebius (46) is no other than our Ephorus, who has first been changed into Euphorbus, and then into Euphorbus. It is certain that Eusebius (47), grounded on the Testimony of Stephanus Byzantinus, has quoted one Euphorbus, who is called Ephorus in the Book of that Stephanus (48). I should readily adopt Scaliger's Opinion; for we must never multiply Authors, no more than any other thing, without necessity.

Here are many trifling Things, will some body say to me. True, say I: But which, at the same time, are found in the Writings of the most learned Men of this Age. It is a Fatality inseparable from Criticism, and with Submission to the Critics I shall make another Remark of the same kind. When the Name of an Author is written so differently in a Book, that there is some ground to think there is more than one Person intended thereby, we must not always accuse the Transcribers; for the Fault may very well be in the Original: No doubt but Athenæus may have written sometimes Εἰσορῶ, sometimes Εἰσορῶ, though he had the same Author in his Thoughts. None will deny but there may be Writers now a-days, who, being often obliged to mention Father Bouhours in a Work of great length, would name him sometimes Bours, sometimes Bouhours, and sometimes Bobours. I have seen Letters written by learned Men, wherein proper Names were spelt sometimes one way, sometimes another. As for Instance: Sometimes Bordeaux or Tholose, and sometimes Bourdeaux or Toulouse. See the Remark [B], of the Article DEMETRIUS, and the Article DURER towards the end.

[C] They wrote a Book, wherein his Plagiarisms were displayed.] Eusebius has preserved us a valuable Fragment of the first Book of Porphyrius, περὶ τῆς φιλολογίας ἀκρίβειας, de erudito auditu, wherein we meet with a Dispute between two learned Men, one of whom preferred Ephorus to Theopompus (49), and the other called Ephorus a Plagiary, and accused him of having transcribed 3000 Lines, Word for Word, from Daimachus, Callisthenes, and Anaximenes. Αὐταὶς λέξεσιν εἰσὶν ὅτε τετραχίλις ὅλως μετατίθεντο στίχους. Τρία nonnunquam versuum millia totidem verbis in sua transferunt (50). I do not find that his Adversary denied the Facts: He contents himself with recriminating, and says only, that Theopompus was a great Plagiary. We shall see in another Place (51) what is meant by that. Porphyrius some Pages after affirms, that there were two Books of one Lyfimachus, περὶ τῆς ἑφόρου κλοπῆς, de furto Ephori, and that Alcæus, a satirical Poet, had exposed and ridiculed the Plagiarisms of that Historian.

Here occurs a small Difficulty. Daimachus, one of the Authors, who according to Porphyrius were pillaged by Ephorus, was sent upon an Embassy to the Court of the Son of Androcottus, King of the Indies: By which it appears, that he lived after Ephorus, and consequently that Porphyrius is mistaken. This is a Chronological Argument, which Vossius (52) has made use of to confute Casaubon (53), who thought that the Daimachus, robbed by Ephorus, is he who was a Native of Plataea, and whom Plutarch (54) and Athenæus (55) have quoted. It is certain that the Author, Athenæus quotes, has written an Account of the Indies, and was of Plataea (56); and therefore that he, of whom Casaubon speaks, is the same with that Daimachus who was sent to the Indies (57), in the Reign of Allitrochades, Son to Androcottus (58). Now the Question is, Whether Ephorus could be the Plagiary of that Daimachus? Chronology, some say, is against it; for Androcottus was King of the Indies when Seleucus laid the Foundation of that Power to which he arrived afterwards (59). Vossius lays no great Stress upon this Reason: Cave igitur putes, says he (60), after having alleged the same, Ephorum plerumque hujus Daimachi in historiâ suâ totidem verbis transcripsisse. . . . nam Ephorum tanto esse antiquiorem satis ex his quæ supra diximus liquet. — Be cautious

VOL. II.

therefore how you believe that Ephorus took a great part of his History, Word for Word, from this Daimachus; for from what has been said above, it is sufficiently proved that Ephorus was the more antient. For my part, I lay no Stress upon it. Ephorus studied Eloquence under Isocrates at the same time with Theopompus. The latter was but Forty five Years old (61) when Alexander restored him to his Country. He saw Ptolemy on the Throne of Egypt. Why then may not we believe, that Ephorus lived to the perfect Establishment of Seleucus's Monarchy? Nothing hinders us from supposing that Androcottus's Reign was not long, and that Daimachus was advanced in Years when he was sent into the Indies. He might therefore have published Histories before he went upon his Embassy; Ephorus might have perused them, and have scrupled no more to collect from them, than he did from those of Anaximenes his Cotemporary. It must not be pretended that Porphyrius believed that Ephorus pillaged the History of the Indies written by Daimachus: For undoubtedly he meant some other Work, such as might be the History of the Greeks, plainly ascribed by Plutarch to the same Daimachus (62), who made also a Treatise De bellicis machinamentis (63), and perhaps also a Treatise of Religion (64). If Mr Menage (65) had well examined all these things, he would not have adopted Vossius's Opinion. It has likewise been adopted in the Collection of Plagiaries (66), wherein it was expected a Method would have been found to clear Porphyrius, of which he has no manner of need. Eadem reprehensio in Porphyrium cadit ad quem provocat Casaubon, nisi vel doceant eruditi alium quendam fuisse Daimachum Ephoro supparem aut antiquiorem, vel nomen Daimachi apud Porphyrium fuisse corruptum (67). — The same charge will lie against Porphyry to whom Casaubon appeals, unless the Learned can shew there was another Daimachus cotemporary with or more antient than Ephorus, or that the Name of Daimachus in Porphyry has been corrupted.

For the rest, all the Curious are obliged to Eusebius for having saved from Shipwreck so fine a Fragment of Porphyrius; but methinks he ought not to have made use of it in a Work, intitled Preparatio Evangelica: for of what Advantage is it either to advance Christianity, or to confound the false Deities, that Greek Authors have been Plagiaries one upon another? Is not this a Custom of all Countries, and of all Ages? Did not the Fathers of the Church themselves take things one from another? Is not the same daily practised between Catholic and Catholic, and between Protestant and Protestant? Eusebius was more judicious when he shewed, that the Greeks had played the Plagiaries with the Barbarians (68): For this serves, in some manner, to support the sacred Histories. From whence we may infer by the Way, that it was less disadvantageous to the Greeks to steal from one another, than to plunder Foreign Riches. This Disadvantage however is an Exception to the general Rule. Marin said, to take from those of one's own Nation, was a Theft; but to take from Strangers was a Conquest; And I think he was in the Right. We study only to learn, and we learn only to shew that we have studied. These are the Words of Mr Scuderi (69). 'If I have taken something, continue he, from the Greeks or Latins, yet I have taken nothing from the Italians, Spaniards, or French; esteeming that what is Learning among the Ancients, is Theft among the Moderns.' La Mothe le Vayer is of the same Opinion; for see what he says in one of his Books. 'To take from the Ancients, and make one's Advantage of what they have written, is like pirating beyond the Line; but to steal from one's Cotemporaries, by appropriating to one's self their Thoughts and Productions, is like picking Pockets in the open Street (70).' I believe all Authors agree upon this Maxim, that it is better to rob the Ancients than the Moderns; and that, amongst the latter, we ought rather to spare our Countrymen than Strangers. Literary Piracy is not in all things like that of Privateers. The latter think themselves less criminal when they commit their Piracies in the New World, than if they did it in Europe. Authors, on the contrary, go more boldly a privateering in the Old World, and have Reason to hope they will be commended

(61) See his Article.

(62) Plutarch, ubi supra.

(63) Πολορκητικὰ ὑπομνήματα. See Stephanus Byzantinus. Voc. Αἰσώτης.

(64) See Plut. in Vita Lyandri, pag. 439.

(65) Menagius, Not. ad Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1, n. 30.

(66) Thomasius, de Plagio Literario, pag. 180.

(67) Id. ibid.

(68) Euseb. Prep. Evang. lib. 10, cap. 5.

OBSERVATIONS upon the various Ways of Plagiarism.

(69) Scuderi's Preface to Alastor.

(70) La Mothe le Vayer, Letter 139, pag. 261, of the twelfth Tome.

9 K

(g) Plut. de Re-
pugn. Stoic. pag.
1043. D.

(b) *Lib. I, cap. 9.*

manner in which he mentioned his Native Country [D]. He left a Son, of whom I shall say something [E]. He might have followed the Court of *Alexander*, where he was invited; but he refused that Honour (g). *Diodorus Siculus* (b) does not approve what he owns, that the Barbarians were ancients than the Greeks.

(71) Scuderi,
ubi supra.

commended for the Prize they shall make in it. ' He
' who has made Annotations on the *Jerusalem* of
' *Tasso*, thought he did him Credit, by marking in
' his Poem two or three Thousand Places imitated
' from divers Authors: And the Commentators of *Pe-
' trarch* and *Ronsard* have also done the same (71).
' All Plagiaries, when it is in their Power, follow the
Plan of the Distinction I have alledged; not out of a
Scruple of Conscience, but rather that they may not
be found out. If a young French Minister makes use
of the Sermons of Mr *Daille*, or some other Mini-
ster of his Nation, how shall he conceal his
Theft? Ought he not to fear, that his Auditors
will soon find where he took that Booty? It is
Prudence therefore for him to lead them into an
unknown Country, and to set himself off with the
Spoils of an *English* Preacher. Woe to him however,
if there happen to be too great a Disproportion between
his Theft, and what he racks to it of his own (72):
for it gives good Judges occasion to think, not only
that he is a Plagiary, but likewise an awkward one.
They perusew themselves he has spoiled excellent
Matter, and that he stole it, since he has put it in
so ill a Form (73). The best Remedy for this is good
for nothing: It would be, to deliver what one bor-
rows without changing any Things; but this is the
highest Crime, in things of this kind. ' We may
' steal, after the manner of Bees, without wronging
' any Body: but the Theft of the Ant, which takes
' away the whole Grain of Corn, is not to be imitat-
' ed (74). If you like this Thought best in Latin,
read what follows. ' Multum interest apum more cir-
' cumvolantibus agilis Thynea ex variis floribus odorem
' excerpas, an vero ignavium fucos pecus imitando
' mel ex alveariis suffuseris.' It is what *Frischlin* re-
presented to his Antagonist.

(72) Purpureus
late qui splen-
deat unus & alter
affuitur pannus.
*Horat. de Arte
Poet.*

(73) Qui bene
vertendo & cas-
dem describendo
male, ex Græcis
bonis latinas fecit
non bonas. *Te-
rentius, in Prologo
Eunuchi, ver. 7.*

(74) La Mothe
le Vayer, ubi
supra, pag. 260.

[D] He was very much ridiculed for the manner in which he mentioned his Native Country.] In those days, says he, the City of Cumæ was quiet. Σκῆπτται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔκτορος Διὸς τῆς πατρίδος ἐκ ἔχον ἐργὰ φράζειν ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ τῶν ἀλλαντοφάρων, ὃ μὴ ἔδαν ἀμνημονεῖν αὐτὴν εἶναι θέλον, ὥςτος ἀποφάνει. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν

αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Κυμαῖοι τὰς παύχας ἦνον. *Epborus notatur false, quid in rerum gestarum enumeratione cum nihil haberet quiddā sibi diceret aetium & tamen patriae vellet mentionem facere, ita acclamaverit: Eo tempore quieti erant Cumæi (75).* Had it not been much better to have said nothing of that People, than to bring them upon the Stage to so little Advantage?

(75) Strabo, lib.
13, pag. 428.

[E] *He left a Son, of whom I shall say something.* This Son was called *Demophilus*; who, being a Man of Learning, was thought to have put the last Hand to his Father's History, that is, that he finished, toward the end, what his Father *Ephorus* left imperfect. Hence it is, that *Ateneus* (76), being obliged to quote the last Book of that Work, seems uncertain whether he ought to ascribe it to *Ephorus*, or to *Demophilus*. Father *Harduin* does not well understand this; for he supposes (77) that *Ateneus* doubts whether the thirty Books, which that History contained, were the Work of the Father, or of the Son. *Junius's* Conjecture appears to me to be solid. ' *Causa quare ita dubitet, (Ateneus) says he (78), est quod Ephorus scripsit non ita pridem confecti historiam imperfectam filio pertendamus forte reliquerit — The reason of this doubt of Ateneus is this, that Ephorus might possibly leave an imperfect History of the late War, to be finished by his Son.* Five or six Lines after, he speaks no more dubiously, but affirmatively, grounding himself on the Authority of a famous Historian. ' *Brevi autem post . . . historiam suam Ephorus imperfectam nequid absolutum Demophilus filio tradidit pertendamus, teste Diodoro. Ut ita Ateneus historiam belli Phocici à patre & filio simul descriptam; utrique eorum dubie non immerito tribuat (79).* . . . *Soon after Ephorus left his History unfinished to his Son Demophilus to be completed as Diodorus testifies.* So that *Ateneus* may justly doubt whether to ascribe the History to the Father or Son, since it was *wrote jointly by both.* I do not find that *Diodorus Siculus* observes, that *Ephorus* charged his Son to supply what was wanting in his History; and methinks, if *Junius* had read it in *Diodorus Siculus*, he ought not to have spoken sometimes dubiously *forte*, sometimes in a decisive Tone.

(76) Athen. lib
6, cap. 4, pag.
232.

(77) Harduinus,
in indice Auto-
rum Plinii.

(78) Jonsius, de
Scriptor. Hist.
Philos. pag. 43.

(70) Id. *ibid.*
pag. 44.

EPICURUS, one of the greatest Philosophers of his Age, was born at *Gargettium* [*A*]
in

[A] He was born at Gargettium.] For this Reason Statius call him *Gargettius Auctor* (1), and *Senior Gargettius*.

(1) Stat. lib. 2,
Silva 2, ver. 113

Deliciæ quas ipse suis digressus Athenis
Mallet deserto Senior Gargettius horto (2).

(3) Id. lib. 1,
Silva, 3, ver. 93

*Joys, which the old Gargettian Sage approv'd,
From his own Athens to his Grot remov'd.*

Cicero had shewn him the Way. *Catius* . . . *quæ ille Gargettius, etiam ante Demetrius εἰσάγα, bis spectra nominat* (3). *Elhan* (4), and several others, have made use of the same Surname, when they speak of our *Epicurus*. I wonder therefore how *Crucius* could believe, that *Stobæus*, by using this Surname, meant another *Epicurus*. *Neuerbelski*, says he, *Stobæus often mentions a certain Epicurus, whom he also surnames Gargettius*. People do not speak of, when mention is made of the Great *Epicurus*; or if they do, they deserve to be exploded as a silly Country Squire was, who said, *One Turanne* (5). Let *Crucius* take his Choice; and whatever side he takes, he will be guilty of a blunder. If he says, that he thought that the *Gargettius Epicurus* of *Stobæus* is the Founder of the *Epicurean* Sect, he will own he has spoken impertinently; the Terms of *Epicuri cujusdam*, are not to be used when one speaks of that Founder (6). If he says, he knew not that the Epithet

(3) Epist. 16,
lib. 15, ad Famil

(4) Lib. 4, cap.
13, Var. Histor

(5) *Menage, Anti-Baillet, Tom. I pag. 39.* I hear him say it in one of his Assemblies upon occasion that a Person, there present, had said, That a certain Mr Co^{pe} had done certain Thing.

(6) See, above, Rem. [F] of the Article ARNAULD (ANTONY), Doctor of the Sorbonne.

ject of this Article. I believe, that, remembering that there have been several Persons of the Name of *Epicurus* (7), he fancied that he, to whom *Stobæus* gives the Epithet of *Gargettius*, is one of those that differ from the Founder of the *Epicurean* Sect. That my Reader may judge whether my Conjecture be well grounded, I shall set down the whole Passage of *Crucianus*; which I take out of his Commentary upon these Words of *Horace*, *Gallis banc Philodemum*, that are in the 121st Verse of the second Saire of the first Book. 'Fuit hic Philodemus Epicurus (ut Strabo scribit) patria Gadaraeus, quem Alconius Pedianus in Oratione Cic. pro Lucio Pione scribit Epicureum fuisse eamque notissimum: sed arbitratur apud Alconium legendum esse pro Epicureum, Epicurum didicim, ut habet Strabo, vel hunc ex illo restituendum: tamen Epicuri cujusdam (quem etiam Gargettium nominat) frequens est mentio apud Stobæum. — Tibi Philodemus Epicurus, as Strabo writes, was by Birth a Gadaraene, whom Alconius Pedianus, on Tully's Oration for L. Pison, makes to have been the same with Epicurus: the most renowned Philosopher of his Age: but I fancy we ought to read in Alconius, instead of Epicurus, Epicurus, as Strabo has it, or that the latter should be restored by the former. There is however frequent mention made, in Stobæus, of a certain Epicurus, whom he first names Gargettius.' This tamen shews, that the Author had rather that they should put the Word *Epicurus* in *Alconius Pedianus*, than the Word *Epicureus* in *Strabo*; and I do not even know whether he would not insinuate, that the *Epicurus Gargettius* of *Stobæus*, and the *Epicurus Gadaraeus* of *Strabo*, differ only because the Transcribers have mis-spelt their Names. However he manifestly insinuates, that since *Stobæus* has mentioned a *Gargettian Epicurus*, it is very pro-

(7) Diogenes
Laërtius, lib. 10
n. 26, reckons
four. Mr Me-
nage, *ibid.* reckon-
three more; beside
which Gassendus
Præfat. de Vita
& Moribus Epī-
curi, speaks of an
Epicurus, a
Maker of
Plasters, mention-
ed by Galen.

in *Attica*, the third Year of the CIXth Olympiad (a) [B]. His Father *Neocles*, and his Mother *Cherefrata* [C], were among those Inhabitants of *Attica*, whom the *Atthenians* sent into the Isle of *Samos* (b). This is the Reason why *Epicurus* passed his Youth in that Island, and did not return to *Atbens* till he was eighteen Years old (c). He did not design to settle there; for at the Age of twenty three, he went to his Father, who lived at *Colophon*, and afterwards he travelled and sojourned in several Places before he fixed at *Atbens*, as he did, being about thirty six Years old (d). He set up a School in a fine Garden which he purchased (e), and there passed his Time with his Friends

(a) Diog. Laërt. in Epicuro, lib. 10, n. 14.
(b) Ibid. n. 1.
(c) Ibid.
(d) Gassendi de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, lib. 1, cap. 3.
(e) Laërtius, ubi supra, n. 16.

Let the lean Hag her Eggs and Sulphur bring,
And, round the Bed-place, walk the magic Ring.

This Trade of an Exorcist was not accounted honourable. The Orator *Æschines*, Son to a Woman who had practised it, was ignominiously reproached with it by *Demosthenes*. *Epicurus*'s Case was the same; for they had both afflicted their Mother in that Ceremony: And as *Demosthenes* reproached the one with it, so did the *Stoics* the other. Here is what one of the modern Commentators of *Laërtius* (16) has remarked upon these Words, 'καθαρμὸς ἀναγινώσκων. Eadem exprobat *Æschini* *Demosthenes* in Orat. de Coron. (17). Τῇ μητρὶ τέλει τὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκων καὶ τὰλλα συνεσκευάσας, &c. Nempe *Epicuri* mater dicitur fuisse anicula patriæ quæ domos circumibat, & pialulo aliquo contactus solvebat aut totam domum expiabat. *Epicurus* vero matri præbait carmen piacular: utrumque ministrum ἀτιμῶν. Note, that some famous Authors have composed such Forms of Expiation (18). It may be objected to me, that it does not appear that the Forms of *Cherefrata*, and her Son *Epicurus*, were Exorcisms of Hob-goblins: But nevertheless, *Mr du Rondel* had Reason to advance what he did; for it is unquestionable that the Ancients had certain Rites to drive away Spectres. *Lomeierus* has quoted *Ovid* (19), *Valerius Flaccus* (20), and *Lucian* (21). Now see how the Turn *Mr du Rondel* gives the Thing is advantageous to *Epicurus*. That Philosopher professing to believe, that the Gods did not concern themselves with human Affairs, was thereby suspected of Impiety, which rendered him odious and infamous: Therefore nothing can be more effectual to preserve his Reputation, than to say, that from his tender Infancy he went from House to House to read Prayers for the Service and Comfort of his Neighbours; which was an Act of superstitious Piety.

II. The second curious Thing, which might have been said of *Cherefrata*, is, that, according to her Son's Opinion, she had in the Composition of her Person that quantity of Atoms, whose concurrence is necessary to form a Sage. 'Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἀτόμους ἔσχεν ἐν αὐτῇ ποσάνας, οἱ αὖτε συνελθόντες σοφὸν ἀν' ἐγγίνυσαν. Matrem quoque suam in se tot tantisque habuisse atomos quarum congressu sapiens ederetur (22). *Plutarch* mentions this as a Proof of *Epicurus*'s Vanity. This Proof is not ill chosen; for indeed it is great Presumption in a Man to believe that he was formed of choice Atoms, and that Nature has taken care to gather in the Body of his Mother all the Ingredients necessary for the Formation of a Sage. I know no Body that has related faithfully this Passage of *Plutarch*: For every Body imagines that it was *Neocles*, Brother of *Epicurus*, who said such a thing of his Mother. *Gassendus*, who understood Greek very well, would not have committed that Fault (23), if he had had recourse to the Original; but because he supposed the Translations to have been faithful, he gave himself no further Trouble. The Latin Version, and that of *Amiot*, are such, as one cannot say but that they contain the meaning of the Original: Nevertheless they are defective, because they are both equally capable of two Interpretations. They may as well signify that *Neocles* said This, as that *Epicurus* said it. From whence we may infer, by the by, that the *Vaugelas*'s and the *Bonhours*'s have more Reason than it is generally thought to recommend such a Structure of the Words, as may exclude the minutest Ambiguities. *Naudæus* had committed this Fault before *Gassendus*. *Neocles*, says he (24), said in Praise of *Epicurus*, his Brother, that at the Time he was begot, Nature had assembled in the Belly of his Mother all the Atoms of Prudence. It is plain, that this is a very loose Paraphrase, or rather a Falsification of the Greek of *Plutarch*. *Father Rapin* is still more out of the Way. 'Epicurus, says he (25), was naturally

bable that *Strabo* speaks of a *Gadarean Epicurus*; which, methinks, is as much as to distinguish those two *Epicurus*'s from him who was the Founder of a Sect. Several other Things might be criticized upon in *Craquius*. I. That *Philodemus* of *Horace* is not the same with him of *Alconius Pedianus*: For the Maxims of *Horace*'s *Philodemus*, in Matters of Love, are directly opposite to those of *Pedianus*'s *Philodemus* (8). II. It is not true, that one may read in *Strabo* (9) *Epicurus* instead of *Epicureus*. III. The Oration of *Cicero* is not for *Piso*, but against him, and a very violent one too.

[B] . . . The third Year of the CIXth Olympiad.] We must correct here an Error of *Vossius*, who places the Death of *Epicurus* in the CVIth Olympiad. 'At *Epicurus* est mortuus Olymp. CVII. quo tempore *Philippus* *Alexandri* M. parens, duodecimum regnabat annum (10). . . . But *Epicurus* died in the CVIth Olympiad, in the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Philip*, 'Father of *Alexander the Great*. We cannot excuse him, by saying he wrote Olympiad CXXVII, which is the true Time of that Philosopher's Death (11), but that the Printer left out two Numerical Letters. This Apology would avail him nothing in this Place; for it would throw him into an Error as palpable as that from which one would clear him, and charge him with believing that the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Philip*, Father to *Alexander the Great*, belonged to the CXXVIIth Olympiad. Let us therefore conclude, that the Fault was in his Manuscript. Now it is very strange his Memory failed him so far that Day, as to let him write, that *Epicurus* died before *Alexander* ascended the Throne.

[C] And his Mother *Cherefrata*.] I know not upon what ground *Mr Moreri* says, She was born of a very Noble Family. *Laërtius* and *Gassendus*, whom he quotes, say nothing of it. He calls her *Cherecrata* in the Article of *Epicurus*, which is his second Mistake. He may also be charged with Faults of Omission; for there were two curious Things to be said of this Woman.

I. She went with her Son, even into Houses that were uninhabited, to drive from thence Hob-goblins by Prayers. It is thus *Mr du Rondel* (12) has interpreted this Greek Passage of *Diogenes Laërtius*. Σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιπλῖντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκίστρα καθαρμοὺς ἀναγινώσκων (13). He has explained the thing more at large in his Latin Edition, and always to *Epicurus*'s Advantage. 'Certum est, says he (14), *Epicurus* ut pote pusionem & matris affectum hinc hausisse pietatem suam ineffabilem, ὁσιότητα ἀλεχτόν, ex illoque tempore fuisse Divis addiditissimum, ut patet ex illa portentificâ superstitione, quâ cum matre *Epicurus* circumuendo ædicularum carmina lustralia, καθάρματα, legeret, vel ad affectus moderandos, vel ad spectra abigenda; quasi *Hecates* diaconi fuissent, in cujus nomine pleraque patrare tum poterant miracula. — It is certain, says he, that from hence *Epicurus*, as being an attendant on his Mother, sucked in his unspeakable Piety, and from that time became intirely devoted to Religion, as is manifest from that Excess of Superstition, which appeared in his accompanying his Mother; and reading the expiatory Forms, either to soften the Disorders of the afflicted, or to drive away Spectres, as though they were Ministers of *Hecate*, in whose name they could then perform many Miracles.' When I say, he has turned the Thing to *Epicurus*'s Advantage, I do not mean to charge him with pretending that *Cherefrata*'s Employment was honourable. He has too much Sense and Erudition, not to know that the practice of those old Women was looked upon as mean and mercenary, who made it their Business to go and read certain Forms of Prayer, in order to purify Houses or Persons.

Et veniat quæ lustrat anus lectumque, locumque,
Præferat & tremula sulphur & ova manu (15).

(8) See Mr Dacier, upon the 2d Satire of the 1st Book of *Horace*, pag. m. 176.

(9) Lib. 16, pag. 522. *Diogenes Laërtius*, lib. 10, n. 3, calls that Philosopher an Epicurean. See *Stobæon* Mr Menage, who agrees with the old Scholiast of *Horace*, that this Poet has spoken of that Philodemus.

(10) *Vossius*, de Histor. Græc. lib. 1, cap. 21, pag. m. 137.

(11) *Laërt.* ubi supra, n. 15.

(12) *Du Rondel*, in the Life of *Epicurus*, pag. 3, & 4.

(13) *Diog. Laërt.* in *Epicuro*, lib. 10, n. 4.

(14) *Du Rondel*, in Vita & Moribus *Epicuri*, pag. 3.

(15) *Ovid.* de Arte Amandi, lib. 2. See *Lomeier* de Illustrationibus Gentilium cæd. 13, pag. 119.

(16) *Joachimus Kuhnus*, pag. 544. Edit. *Laërtii* *Amstel.* 1692.

(17) See *Lomeier* de Illustrationibus, p. 119.

(18) *Epimenides* is one of them. See *Vossius* de Poetis Græcis, pag. 17.

(19) *Fassor* lib. 5, apud *Lomeierum*, ubi supra, pag. 231, 232.

(20) *Argon* lib. 3, v. 448. apud *Eum.* pag. 309.

(21) In *Necyom.* apud *eund.* pag. 313.

(22) *Plut.* in Tractatu quod non possit suavititer vivi juxta *Epicurum*, pag. 1100. A.

(23) De Vita & Moribus *Epicuri*, lib. 1, cap. 8.

(24) *Apologie des Grans Hommes*, cap. 17, pag. m. 502.

(25) *Reflexions on Philosophy*, n. 20, pag. 361, Dutch Edit. 1686. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, May 1686. Art. 4, pag. 528, where in it is only insinuated, that this Passage of *Plutarch* is ill translated.

Friends in great Tranquillity, and taught a great number of Disciples. They lived all in common with their Master [D]; and there had never been a Society so well regulated

* naturally wise, being a Philosopher even in Pleasure: * He was so enlightened, that his Brother Neocles says in *Plutarch*, that Nature had assembled all the Atoms of Wisdom and Knowledge to compose his Person, whilst he says himself that he knows nothing. The best of it is, to see that he alleges, as a Proof of *Epicurus's* Modesty, what *Plutarch* had mentioned to convict him of Pride. *Rapin* supposes, that *Epicurus*, out of Humility, rejects the Praises his Brother offers him, whereas it is himself arrogates those Praises in the Author cited: so true it is, that when one ventures to apply Passages not taken in their Source, or to draw Inferences from them before one is certain of the literal and natural Meaning, he exposes himself to strange Blunders! Mr *Chevreau* has followed *Gassendus's* and Father *Rapin's* Error. See the second Page of the first Tome of the *Chevreauana*.

[D] His Disciples lived all in common with their Master.] *Laërtius* (26) says, that *Epicurus* had so many Friends, that even whole Towns could not have contained them. They flocked to him from all the Cities of Greece and Asia (27). And even Egypt sent him Disciples (28). The Town of *Lampyrus*, where he had professed Philosophy (29), furnished him with many. He would not imitate *Pythagoras*, who taught, That among Friends all things ought to be common; he found that such a Regulation denoted Distrust (30), and therefore chose rather to establish such a Society, wherein every one should freely contribute towards the Wants of others, when there was occasion. It is certain, that this Notion comes nearer Perfection than the Community of Goods; and one cannot sufficiently admire the Union of *Epicurus's* Disciples, and the Generosity with which they relieved one another, every one continuing Master of his own Inheritance. Here is a fine Passage out of *Cicero*. 'De qua (amicitia) *Epicurus* quidem ita dicit, omnium rerum quas ad beate vivendum sapientia com-paraverit, nihil esse majus amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil jucundius. Neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vita, & moribus comprobavit. Quod quàm magnum sit, scilicet veterum fabulæ declarant, in quibus tam multis tamque variis ab ultima antiquitate repetitis, tria vix amicorum paria reperiuntur, ut ad Orestem pervenias profectus à Theleo. At vero *Epicurus* una in domo, & ea quidem angusta, quàm magnos, quantaque amoris conspiratione contententes tenuit amicorum greges? Quod sit etiam nunc ab *Epicureis* (31). — Of which (Friendship) *Epicurus* thus speaks. Of all things which Wisdom has found to make Life happy, nothing is greater, nothing is more fruitful, nothing is more agreeable than Friendship. Nor did he maintain this Doctrine in Words only, but much more in his Life and Conversation. How uncommon a thing this is, the Legends of the Antients declare, in which, though the greatest variety of Subjects occurs, scarce three couple of Friends are to be found in the whole Collection, from *Theleus* down to *Orestes*. Yet what multitudes of Friends, united by the sweetest Harmony, did *Epicurus's* little House contain? which harmony is still kept up by his Followers.' Now after all this, who will dare to affirm, that People that deny Providence, and lay their supreme Good in their own Satisfaction, are no way capable to live in Society, but must of necessity be Traytors, Cheats, Poisoners, Thieves, &c. Are not all those fine Assertions confounded by this single Passage of *Cicero*? Does not a Matter of Fact, such as *Cicero* is Witness of, overthrow a hundred Volumes of speculative Reasonings? Here is *Epicurus's* Sect, whose practical Morals about the Duties of Friendship have still been the fame for several Ages; and we are going to shew, that whereas the most devout Sects were full of Quarrels, and divided into Parties, that of *Epicurus* enjoyed a profound Peace. There they followed without Dissensions and Contradictions the Doctrine of the Founder (32). 'Dolet profecto mihi eos (Successores *Platonis*) omnia molitos non esse ut plenam sibi atque integram in omnibus cum *Platone* consensum defenderent. Et ea quidem *Plato* dignus erat, qui magno illo *Pythagora* ut melior non fuerit, non fuit tamen fortasse deterior: quem discipuli quod sequuti omnes ac venerati fuerint, id etiam egere potissimum, ut summo apud omnes in

pretio habeatur. Hoc ipsum *Epicurei*, perperam illi quidem, sed tamen cum intelligerent, nulla unquam in re ab *Epicuro* diffidere visi sunt, sed potius eadem omnino se cum Sapiente suo sentire professi, jure propterea id nominis habuere. Quin etiam, qui longissimo deinceps intervallo consequuti *Epicurei* sunt, il nec abs se mutuo, nec ab eodem *Epicuro* tantillum, quod quidem meminisse attingat, discessere. Imo sceleris apud eos, vel potius impietatis ille damnetur, qui novi quippiam invenit. Quare nemo prorsus id audeat. Sed eorum dogmata ob constantem illam omnium inter se perpetuamque concordiam, in altissima quadam & tranquillissima pace versantur. Ita hæc *Epicuri* secta veræ cuidam Republicæ persimilis est, quam ab omni seditione remotissimam, mens quædam una communis, unaque sententia moderetur. Quam illi disciplinam & antea sequuti sunt multi peribenter, & sequuntur etiam nunc, atque adeo, ut simillimum veri est, in posteram sequentur. At *Stoicos* inter factiones extirpare, quæ ab ipsis eorum commissæ Principibus, ad nos uique propagatæ sunt (33). — I am heartily concerned that the followers of *Plato* have not strove to the utmost, to maintain a perfect compliance to his Principles. *Plato* indeed merited this, who, as he was not superior, so perhaps was not inferior to the great *Pythagoras*, whom his Followers, as they copied and adored him themselves, laboured likewise to make universally honoured. The *Epicureans* have done the same. They indeed are in the wrong, yet, when they had well considered it, they never appeared to deviate the least from *Epicurus*, but altogether professed the same Opinion with their wise Founder, and have therefore justly deserved that Denomination. The *Epicureans* also, who followed at the greatest interval of Time, had not the least material difference, either with themselves, or *Epicurus*. Nay, an Innovator amongst them would be condemned of *Basileus*, or rather of *Impiety*. For which reason no one is so hardy to attempt it. From that constant and uninterrupted Harmony, their Tenets enjoy the most profound Tranquillity. So that this Sect of *Epicurus* is like a well modelled State, which, secure from all Sedition, is governed by one common Consent and mutual Concurrence. Many have voluntarily embraced this Discipline, which they still pursue, and in all probability for ever will maintain. But amongst the *Stoics*, Factions have arisen, which, begun by the very Leaders of that Sect, have been propagated down to us.' This was said by a Man who lived in the 11d Century: The Union of *Epicurus's* Disciples had preserved it self till then, and seemed not threatened with any Interruption. This is what *Numenius* testifies: And I do not know that his Conjecture has been proved false.

I will perform in this Place a Promise I made in the last Lines of the Article *CARNEADES*. One Thing charged upon *Epicurus*, was his having spoken satirically of the most illustrious Philosophers. *Diogenes Laërtius* (34), to shew the senselessness of this Calumny, contents himself to say, that there were sufficient Proofs of *Epicurus's* Civility, and extreme Meekness towards every Body. He alleges the Statues of Bras erected to that Philosopher, the great number of his Friends, the unalterable Attachment of all his Disciples to him, and the perpetual Succession of his School. He says, that *Epicurus's* Lectures were a *Syren's* Song, that captivated all his Hearers, except *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice*, who left him to follow *Carneades*: Οἷτε γινώσκοντες πάντες, ταῖς δογματικαῖς αὐτῆς σιρήσι προκατασχέδοντες, πλὴν Μητροδόρου τῆς Στρατονικίας πρὸς Καρνέαν ἀπαρχοῦσαντος, τάχα βαρυνθέντες ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτῆς χρυσίταισι. That is, according to the Latin Version, printed with the Greek of *Diogenes Laërtius*: Præterea omnes discipuli quos illius dogmaticæ syrenes occuparunt: præter unum *Metrodorum Stratonicensem*, qui ab illo se ad *Carneadem* contulit: cui forte gravis erat viri incomparabilis donitas. According to this Translation, *Epicurus's* unparalleled good Nature was the occasion of *Metrodorus's* going from him. This Sense, at first sight, shocks the Readers, but it agrees perfectly well with *Diogenes Laërtius's* Design; and when one seriously reflects on the odd Caprices of

(26) *Lib. 10, n. 9.*

(27) See *Gassendus* ubi supra, cap. 7.

(28) *Id. ibid. ex Plutarcho.*

(29) During four Years according to *Suidas*.

(30) *Laërt. ibid. n. 11.*

(31) *Cicero, de Finibus, lib. 1, cap. 20.*

(32) Ea quæ *Epicuro* placerunt, ut quædam *Solonis* aut *Lycurgi* leges ab *Epicureis* omnibus servari. *Theophrastus, Orat. 4, apud Gassendum, ubi supra, lib. 2, cap. 5.* Apud istos quicquid dicit *Hermachus*, quicquid *Metrodorus* ad unum refertur, Omnia quæ quicumque in illo consensu loquutus est, unus ductus & auspiciis dicta sunt. *Seneca, Epist. 33.*

(33) *Numenius, apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 14, cap. 5, pag. 727.*

(34) *Laërt. lib. 10, a. 9.*

regulated as this. The Respect his Followers paid to his Memory, is to be admired: For his School was never divided; and his Doctrine was followed, and revered as an Oracle (f). His Birth-day was still observed in Pliny's Time; and even the whole Month wherein he was born was a perpetual Festival. They put up his Picture every where (g). He wrote many Books, and valued himself on his making no Quotations [E]. He brought the Atomical System into great Reputation. He was not the Inventor

of Man's Heart, it does not seem incredible, that some Men may be importuned and fatigued by the excessive Goodness and Complaisance of their Benefactor. Therefore if we suppose, that *Diogenes Laërtius* meant, that *Metrodorus*, who was the only Disciple of *Epicurus* that went from him, was perhaps prompted to it, because *Epicurus*'s Excess of Goodness was troublesome to him, we shall find a conclusive Reasoning, and a Thing not impossible: Nay we shall find, that *Metrodorus*'s Desertion serves to prove the incomparable Humanity, the Praise and Possession which were intended to be secured to *Epicurus*. But as it happens more frequently, without Comparison, that excessive Marks of Friendship do rather gain People than alienate them, there is an Interpretation of *Laërtius*'s Words, a thousand Times more natural than that which has hitherto been current: Which is to say, That *Metrodorus* went from *Epicurus* to *Carneades*, perhaps because the Obligations he had to *Carneades* lay heavy upon him. This Interpretation is less favourable to the Scope of the Author than the first, and yet it does not cross it very much. For if you suppose that nothing got *Metrodorus* away, but the extraordinary Friendship and excessive Careless of *Carneades*, you cannot affirm that his Desertion destroys what has been said of *Epicurus*'s Good nature, and which, amongst other Reasons, has been proved by the faithful Adherence of his Disciples to him. So that nothing hinders us from taking this new Interpretation of *Diogenes Laërtius*'s Words for the most natural. It is not, perhaps, what he had a mind to say; for that Author being but little more exact in his Reasonings than in his Relations, one may very well be mistaken in ascribing to him such Thoughts as seem naturally to result from his Phrases. Whatever it be, let us acquaint the Reader, that *Mr de la Monnoie* is the Author of the fore-mentioned new Interpretation: I shall give you here an extract of one of his Letters. 'I am persuaded with *Gassendus*, that when *Diogenes* writes, That of all the Disciples of *Epicurus*, *Metrodorus* alone left him to follow *Carneades*, it is not to be understood, that *Metrodorus* had been a Disciple of *Epicurus*, but barely that he was the only Epicurean who changed his Sect, and renounced *Epicurus*'s Philosophy, to follow that of *Carneades*. *Mr Menage* declares, that he would incline to that Opinion, were it not for these Words of *Diogenes*, τὰ χα βαρυνθέντος τῆς ἀνταρβλήτοις αὐτοῦ χρίσιν, by which, says he, it appears that notwithstanding all the Explanations of *Gassendus*, *Metrodorus* must have been cotemporary of *Epicurus*, since it was only to ease himself of the troublesome Affection of so good a Master, with which he was overwhelmed, that he ceased to be an Epicurean, and went from that Sect to that of *Carneades*. Neither *Mr Menage* nor *Gassendus* have observed, that the true Sense of *Diogenes*'s Passage is, That if *Metrodorus*, from an Epicurean, as he was before, became a Follower of *Carneades*, the only Reason might be the latter's Excess of Goodness towards him. The Pronoun αὐτοῦ, which ought to be understood of *Carneades*, has hitherto been ill referred to *Epicurus*: And this has occasioned all the Perplexity (35).

Those, who refer the Pronoun αὐτοῦ to *Epicurus*, must agree that *Diogenes Laërtius* is guilty of a signal Mistake; that is, that he believed that *Carneades* and *Epicurus* philosophized at the same Time. *Gassendus* (36) shews very well, that this is a gross Error, and that *Epicurus* died before *Carneades* was born. He observes, that *Metrodorus* did not go from the Sect of *Epicurus* to the School of the same *Carneades*, of whom *Cicero* speaks, towards the end of the fifth Book *De Finibus*; for that *Carneades* himself was an Epicurean, *Epicuri persimilioris*. He proves also, that *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice* was not a Disciple of one *Carneades*, Cotemporary of *Epicurus* and *Arcefilaus*, but of that *Carneades*, who was the fourth Successor of *Arcefilaus*, and the Founder of the third Academy. We may add to his Proofs what *Jonstius*

observes (37), that *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice* could not be a Friend of *Epicurus*, who died before the Foundation of the Town of *Stratonice*. Note, That *Jonstius* (38) and *Mr Menage* (39) agree, in saying that *Diogenes Laërtius* has expressed himself, as if he would give us to understand that *Epicurus* and *Carneades* flourished at the same Time. This is rejecting *Gassendus*'s Explanation (40), which I do not wonder at, for it is extremely forced. He fancies that the Historian meant only, that *Metrodorus* was the only Epicurean that forsook his Party, because the good nature of *Epicurus*, who had been dead a pretty long while, was still living among those of his Sect. 'Quod bonitas verò Epicuri gravis illi (*Metrodoro Stratonice*) fuisse dicatur, intelligi potest de ea quam Epicurus tametsi mortuus spiraret adhuc in summa illa confessione, charitate, & sui memoria, apud sectatores (41). There is no occasion for such a bad Solution, when one explains the Passage as *Mr de la Monnoie* does. I must not forget that *Mr Foucher* (42) made use of these Words of *Diogenes Laërtius* to maintain his false Supposition, that *Carneades* and *Epicurus* were Cotemporaries. *Mr Lantini* answered him, among other things, that 'Diogenes Laërtius is not an Author one can depend upon, and that it is easy to find several Contradictions in his History, because he followed Authors that contradict one another (43). We shall find one of these Contradictions without leaving our Subject. We have observed that he affirms, that *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice* was the only Person that had renounced that Sect; and nevertheless he said a little before, that *Timocrates*, a Disciple of *Epicurus*, had left that School (44), and published afterwards many Calumnies against his old Master (45). I have read no Author that has taken notice of this Fault. If *Gassendus* had seen it, he would not have made use of the following Argument. 'Sane, says he (46), si Metrodorus à vivo Epicuro defecisset, quæstum non fuisset ex Arcefila (qui duodecim annis Epicuro superavit) cur homines à cæteris ad Epicureos, ab Epicureis verò ad cæteros non commigrarent. — Surely, says he, if *Metrodorus* had deserted from *Epicurus* still living, this Question would never have been put to *Arcefila*, who survived *Epicurus* twelve Years; Why do Men go from other Sects to that of *Epicurus*, but not from that of *Epicurus* to others? Is it not certain that *Timocrates* separated from *Epicurus*? Since then his Desertion did not prevent the Question which was put to *Arcefila*, viz. Why People went from other Sects to that of *Epicurus*, and not from this to the other? *Metrodorus*'s Desertion could not have obviated the same Question, and consequently *Gassendus* makes use of a very bad Proof. The Proverb, *One Swallow does not make a Summer*, is the Solution of this; for though the Inconstancy of one of *Epicurus*'s Disciple was known, it was rightly concluded in the main, that no Body left Epicureism.

[E] He wrote many Books, and valued himself on his making no Quotations. *Diogenes Laërtius*, speaking of the Philosophers who have written most (47), puts *Cbryseppus* in the first Rank, and *Epicurus* in the second: It is thus he disposes of Places in his Preface. But in his Tenth Book he says absolutely, and without Reserve, That, of all Authors, *Epicurus* had written most. Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἐπικουρος πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος πλείους βιβλίων. Scriptis autem Epicurus infinita volumina, adeo ut illorum multitudine cunctos superarit (48). His Works, continues he, amount to Three hundred Volumes, which contain nothing but what is his own; for he borrows from none, nor quotes any Body. As for *Cbryseppus*, who could not bear to be surpassed by *Epicurus* in the Number of Compositions, he did but heap up Quotations upon Quotations; inasmuch that if what he cites was taken away from him, his Papers would be as white as before he wrote. Καὶ Ἀπολλόδορος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν δαγμάτων βιβλιόμενος παρίστανει, ὅτι

VOL. II.

(f) See the Remark [D].
(g) Gassendus ubi supra, lib. 2, cap. 4, ex Cicero, lib. 5, de Finibus, inic. & ex Plinio, lib. 35, cap. 2.

(37) Jonstius, de Scrip. Hist. Philos. pag. 350.

(38) Id. ibid. pag. 111.

(39) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 10, n. 9, pag. 451.

(40) Gassendus ubi supra.

(41) Id. ibid.

(42) See the Journal des Savans, August 6, 1691, pag. m. 511.

(43) Journal des Savans, March 24, 1692, pag. m. 210.

(44) Id. ibid.

(45) Id. ibid.

(46) Gassendus ubi supra, pag. 205.

(47) Diog. Laërt. in Proemio, n. 15.

(48) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(49) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(50) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(51) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(52) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(53) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(54) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(55) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(56) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(57) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(58) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(59) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(60) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(61) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(62) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(63) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(64) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(65) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(66) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(67) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(35) La Monnoie's Remark, MS.

(36) Gassendus de Vita & Morib. Epicuri, lib. 4, cap. 8, pag. m. 205.

* Apud. Laërt. lib. 4.

(47) Diog. Laërt. in Proemio, n. 15.

(48) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(49) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(50) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(51) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(52) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(53) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(54) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(55) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(56) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(57) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(58) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(59) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(b) See the Article
LEUCIPPUS.

Inventor of it (b); but he made some Alterations in it, tho' not always for the better : For instance, he spoiled the System, in not retaining *Democritus's* Doctrine touching the

τὰ Ἐπικύρου οἰκία δύναμις γεγραμμένα, καὶ ἀπαράδεκτα ὄντα, μὴδὲ πλείω ἐστὶ τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων φησὶν ἕως αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει, 'Εἰ γὰρ τις ἀγέλοι τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων, ὅς' ἀλλότρια παρατίθεται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρις καταλείβεται. Apollodorus quoque Atheniensis in collectione dogmatum, cum vellet asserere Epicurum viribus suis fretum conscripsisse & absque auctorum testimoniis, esse ejus incomparabiliter plura quam Chrysippi opera, sic ad verbum dixit. Nam si quis tollat de Chrysippi libris, quæ aliena sunt, vacua illi charta relinquetur (49). His Emulation was such, that as soon as *Epicurus* had published a new Book, he composed another (50); and that in such haste, not to be long behind-hand, that he did not read over his Composition; which engaged him in Tautologies, and made him advance many incorrect Things. *Diogenes* quotes in another Place (51) *Apollodorus*, who proved by that Argument, that *Epicurus* had composed more Books than *Chrysippus*. The latter had only copied what others had said, but *Epicurus* had drawn every thing out of his own Stock.

AN OBSERVATION upon Books full of Quotations.

(42) Naudé, Preface de l'Apolo-
gie des Grands
Hommes.

(53) See the first Part of the Prole-
Chagrine of la
Mothe le Vayer,
pag. 341, of the
ninth Tome,
wherein it is said,
That *Cicero*, *Se-
neca*, and *Plu-
tarch*, in their
Philosophical
Writings, never
lose an Opportu-
nity of bringing
in what they
had learned from
the greatest
Poets, Orators,
and Philosophers,
that went before
them, whose
Works they en-
deavoured to
imitate, and
which they had
reduced into
Common-Places.

(54) La Mothe
le Vayer, Dis-
cours de l'Elo-
quence Française,
pag. 84, of the
fourth Tome of
the Edit. in 12mo.

his own Cause; for he was the greatest Quoter in the World. Let People say as much as they please, that his Books would be better if they were not so fluffed with foreign Thoughts, yet no Man that has any Judgment or Taste will deny that he had a great Genius. People may say also as long as they please, that *Coffar's* Writings are too full of Authorities; they may, if they think fit, call him the Protector of Common-Places (55), yet they cannot rob him of the Honour of being a great Wit. Mr *Ménage*, who gives him that Praise, is himself one of those Authors that will do most Honour to France. I see but few Men who dispute him the Title of the French *Varro* (56). In a Word, he is a great Author; nevertheless, he said of himself, *Madam Scuderi . . . has writ eighty Volumes out of her own Head, and I have gathered here and there all I have writ* (57). Let us content ourselves with these Examples, without mentioning the *Tiraqueau's*, the *Briffon's*, the *Servin's*, and such other great Men of the Parliament of Paris. Let us pass over in Silence that they quoted prodigiously, and that the same was done in those set Pieces, which the first Presidents, or the King's Counsel, recited in that Age (58) at the opening of the Courts. Neither shall we speak of the excellent and admirable Pleadings of Mr *Le Maître*, the Ornament of the same Parliament in the following Age: Who does not know that they are full of Quotations? (§ a).

(§ a) Not that they were pronounced so, but Mr *le Maître* adorned his Pleadings with Citations, especially his last Edition. REM. CRIT.]

Therefore it is an incontestable Fact, that there are great Genius's and great Authors in the Sect of *Chrysippus*, and that it is not the distinguishing Character of Writers of that kind to quote little or nothing. Let us now examine the other Question, viz. Which way of writing is most laborious.

I think Authors who cite much may be reduced to two Classes. Some there are that content themselves with pillaging modern Authors, and collecting into one Body the Compilations of several others who have written upon the same Subject. These never verify any thing; or have recourse to the Originals; they do not even examine what goes before, or what follows in the Author, which serves them for an Original; they do not write out the Passages, but only refer the Printers to the Pages of such printed Books, whence these Passages are to be taken. It cannot be denied, that this Method of making Books is very easy, and that these sort of Writers can soon fill up ten great Volumes, without much fatiguing themselves. There are other Quoters who trust none but themselves; they are for verifying every thing; they always run to the Fountain; they examine into the Scope of the Author; they are not contented with the Passage they have occasion for, but consider attentively what goes before, and what follows. They endeavour to make fine Applications, and to connect well their Authorities: They compare them together, and either reconcile them, or shew wherein they clash. Besides, these may be Men who are religiously scrupulous in Matters of Fact, not to advance any thing without Proof. If they say, that such a Greek Philosopher believed this or that, that such a Roman Senator or Captain followed such and such Maxims, they presently produce Evidence for it; and because, upon some Occasions, the Singularity of the Thing requires several Testimonies, they therefore gather many. I will not scruple to say of this Method of composing, that it is a hundred times more laborious than that of our *Epicurus*; and that one would write in less time a Book of a thousand Pages, according to this last Method, than a Book of Four hundred Pages, according to the first. An Example will make this plainer. Let an able Man undertake to prove, that such a Father of the Church was of such an Opinion (59). I am sure he will bestow more Time in gathering the Passages necessary to his Purpose, than making a rambling Discourse upon those Passages. Having once found his Authorities and Quotations, which perhaps will not fill up six Pages, and which may have cost him a Month's Labour in collecting, he will make up in two Mornings Work twenty Pages in Reasonings, Objections, and Answers to those Objections: And consequently, what flows from our Genius, costs some-
times

(55) This is the
Title Foreword
given him in the
Nouvelle Alle-
gorique.

(56) He surpasses
even *Varro*, who
was learned
without being
polite. Mr *Me-
nage*, with a great
deal of Erudi-
tion, was Master
of the trifling
Delicacies of
Wit.

(57) *Ménagium*,
pag. 250, of the
first Dutch Edit.

(58) That is in
the XVIIth Cen-
tury.

(59) I do not
mean all sorts of
Opinions, but
such as are only
here and there
introduced.

the Soul of Atoms [F]. What he taught concerning the Nature of God, is most impious [G]. As for his Doctrine relating to the Supreme Good, or Happiness, it was very

(60) See the new Letters of the Critic upon Maimbourg, in the beginning of the tenth Letter, pag. 298, 299.

(61) That Apology contains 264 Pages in 8vo.

(62) See St. Amand, Preface to his *Moisé sauté*.

(63) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. IX, pag. 341.

(64) See the *Abbrégé de Maroles*, in the Preface to his *Abbrégé de l'Histoire de France*.

(65) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. IV, pag. 83, 84.

(66) August. Epist. 56. I have quoted, before, this Passage of Seneca, in Citat. (107) of the Article DEMOCRITUS.

(67) Id. ibid. pag. m. 273.

times much less Time, than what we are obliged to compile (60). I am sure Mr Corneille would have written a Tragedy in less time than he could have answered the Criticisms made upon it, by collecting a great many Authorities, even supposing his Defence to contain no more Pages than his Tragedy. Heinsius, perhaps, bestowed more time upon justifying (61) against Balzac his *Herodes infanticida*, than a Spanish Metaphysician does upon a great Volume of Disputes, which he writes out of his own Stock. I believe likewise, that the Pleadings, wherein Mr le Maître gathered many Authorities, cost him more than the others, and were composed with more Pains than those of Mr Patru, who seldom quoted any thing.

I will not examine the Question, which of the two is to be preferred? I will content myself to say, That Authors, who borrow nothing from others, are generally less instructive than those who display their Collections. A good Thought, whoever be the Author of it, will still be better than an Absurdity of one's own Growth (62), with submission to those who boast finding every thing at home, and borrowing of no body (63). I add, that there is not less Wit, nor less Invention, in applying rightly a Thought one finds in a Book, than in being the first Author of that Thought. This appears in the Dialogues of *Voiture*. Cardinal du Perron has been heard to say, that the happy Application of a Verse of *Virgil* has deserved a Talent (64). I lay aside those who compare the first Production of a Thought with the Act of Generation, and the Art of applying old Thoughts with the Power of raising the Dead; this is being too partial for Collections. Nevertheless, I shall quote the Words of one who has been thus partial. 'As a great many commit a Fault in the immoderate Use of Quotations, there are not wanting others as ridiculous, by a foolish Affectation never to quote any body, and to fetch every thing from home; like that *Ælian Hippias*, who merrily boasted all he had about him was his own handy Work. For I easily ascribe to that Vanity the great Contempt some make of all Authorities, to shew that they produce nothing but what is their own; that fine Thoughts come out of their Head, as *Pallas* out of that of *Jupiter*, and that like him they procreate without the help of another. To which nevertheless it may be answered, That Generation is performed by so common an Action in all sorts of Creatures, that there is no reason to glory in so easy a thing; whereas it is a Miracle to raise the Dead, and make them speak again; inasmuch that it has been said by Divines, that the Bones of dead Saints had wrought more Miracles than the Bodies alive; it may likewise be affirmed by Rhetoricians, that those, who are now no more, have more Power to persuade us than the living (65).'

[F] He spoiled the System in not retaining Democritus's Doctrine touching the Soul of Atoms.] St Augustin puts it out of all doubt, that Democritus believed all Atoms to be animated. 'Democritus, says he (66), hoc distat in naturalibus questionibus ab Epicuro dicitur, quod iste sentit ineffe concursioni atomorum vim quandam animalem & spiritalem. . . . Epicurus vero neque aliquid in principiis rerum ponit præter atomos. — Democritus is said herein to differ from Epicurus in Natural Philosophy: the former imagines there is an animal or spiritual Nature in the Concourse of Atoms. . . . Whereas Epicurus allows nothing but Atoms in the Principles of Things.' To pretend that a Collection of inanimate Atoms can be a Soul, and can emit such Images as occasion Thoughts, is as confused an Hypothesis as Hesiod's Chaos: However, it is what Epicurus supposed. 'Quorum corpusculorum concursu fortuito & mundos innumerabiles, & animantia, & ipsas animas fieri dicit, & Deos quos humana forma, non in aliquo mundo, sed extra mundos, constituit, & non vult omnino aliquid, præter corpora, cogitare: quæ tamen ut cogitet, imagines dicit ab ipsis rebus, quas atomis formari putat, defluere, atque in animum introire subtiliores, quam sunt illæ imagines, quæ ad oculos veniunt (67). — By the fortuitous Concurrence of which Atoms he maintains, that innumerable Worlds, animated Beings, and Souls themselves, were formed, as also Gods, whom he paints under

human Forms, and places not in any particular World, but beyond the Limits of them all, nor will he allow any thing but Bodies to think; and in order to make them capable of Thought, he says, that Images flow from those Substances which he supposed formed of Atoms, and insinuate themselves into the Mind, as being of a more subtle Contexture than those that present themselves to the Eye.' But if we once suppose that Atoms have a Soul, we may easily conceive that their several Combinations form divers Species of Animals, divers Manners of Sensation, and divers Combinations of Thoughts, and thereby we are sheltered from the thundering Objection of *Galen*. 'Cum Atomus una dolere non possit, quod alterationis, & sensus incapax sit, si dum caro acu pungitur, atomus una non sentiat, non sensuras duas, nec treis, nec quatuor, nec plures; perindeque fore, ut si adamantium, aliarumve rerum invulnerabilium acervus fodiatur. Et, ut digiti connexi absque dolore separantur; sic iri atomos diductum, absque ullo doloris sensu, cum sese mutuo solum contingant (68). As one Atom cannot be affected with Pain, since it is destitute of Sense, and unalterable; if then the Flesh is pricked with a Needle, one Atom feels not, neither will two, three, four, or more: it would be the same thing as if a Heap of Diamonds, or other impenetrable Bodies, was disturbed. And as Fingers linked together may be separated without any Un easiness, so might Atoms which touch each other be parted without any Sense of Pain.' Plutarch had made the like Objection to *Colotes* (69). Let People put their Wits upon the Stretch, and turn themselves which way they please, as *Lucretius* and *Gassendus* (70) have done, to resolve that Difficulty, they will never be able to touch it; and the best that can be said in this Matter is, That all the Philosophers, who acknowledge that the Principles of mixed Bodies are deprived of Sense, lay themselves open to the same Difficulty as well as Epicurus. To speak the Truth, the Hypothesis of the Soul of the World, or that of *Automata*, is the only way to get out of that Plunge; for it would be dangerous to acknowledge in Brutes an immaterial Soul, as in Man: And as for the Distinction of our Peripatetics, between Matter and the Material Soul of Brutes, it is a vain Subterfuge, no less exploded by *Galen's* Objection than Epicurus's Atoms (71). Moreover, is it not more absurd to suppose that Atoms are essentially animated, than to suppose they exist and move of themselves? See the Article LEUCIPPUS, Remark [A].

Those who have a mind to know the other Differences between Democritus and Epicurus, need but consult *Cicero* (72). [G] What he taught concerning the Nature of the Gods, is most impious.] It would be too great a Neglect of the sacred Laws of Equity, to charge Epicurus with believing that the Gods do not deserve our Worship, Respects, and Adorations: For he openly professed the contrary, and published excellent Books touching the Duties Men owe to the Gods. 'De sanctitate, de pietate adversus Deos libros scripsit Epicurus. At quo modo in his loquitur? Ut Coruncanum aut Scævolam Pontifices maximos te audire dicas (73). — Epicurus wrote of Sanctity, and of the Duty which we owe to the Gods. But how does he treat them? In such manner, that you would say you heard Coruncanus or Scævola, the High-Priests. I own that it was objected to him, that if he acted according to his Principles, he must have no Religion; but this Consequence did not destroy the Matter of Fact; for his outward Religion was never questioned. We cannot produce a more creditable Witness than *Seneca*, who speaks thus about it. 'Tu denique, Epicure, Deum inermem facis: omnia illi tela, omnem detraxisti potentiam. . . . hunc non habes quare verearis, nulla illi nec tribuendi nec nocendi materia est. . . . Atqui hunc vis videri colere, non aliter quam parentem: grato, ut opinor, animo: aut si non vis videri gratus, quia nullum habes illius beneficium, sed te atomi & istæ micæ tuæ forte ac temere conglobaverunt, cur colis? Propter majestatem, inquis, ejus eximiam, singularemque naturam. Ut concedam tibi: nempe hoc facis nulla spe, nullo precio inductus. Est

(68) *Galenus* dum interpretatur illud Hippocratis, si unus esset homo, non doleret, quia non foret unde doleret. Apud *Gassendum* Phys. Sect. 3, lib. 6, cap. 3. Oper. Tom. II, pag. 341. He quotes lib. de Const. Art. cap. 4, de Elem. 3, & 4.

(69) *Plut. adversus Colotes* pag. 1111.

(70) See *Gassendus* ibid.

(71) See the Remarks [C] and [L] of the Article DICEARCHUS, Disciple of Aristotle.

(72) *Lib. 1, de Finib. Fel. m.* 215.

(73) *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, lib. 1, cap. 41.

very liable to be misinterpreted, and it had such ill Effects, as discredited his Sect: But at the bottom it was very reasonable; and it cannot be denied that, allowing the Word *Happiness* to signify what he meant by it, Man's Happiness consists in Pleasure. In vain has Mr *Arnauld* censured that Doctrine [H]. The *Stoics*, who may be called the

(74) Seneca de Beneficiis, lib. 4, cap. 19.

* Est ergo aliquid per se expetendum, cujus te ipsa dignitas ducit: id est honestum (74). — In short, *Epicurus*, you disarm God, you divest him of his Thunder and his Power. You have no reason to fear him, since he is incapable of doing either Good or Hurt; and yet you would revere him as a Parent, from a Principle of Gratitude. If you do it not from this Principle, as being formed by a fortuitous Concurrence of Atoms, and consequently lying under no Obligation to him, why do you worship him? You answer, for the Majesty, and the Excellence of his Nature. Be it granted that neither Interest nor Expectations are your Motives. There is therefore something in itself desirable, by the Dignity of which you are influenced: It is generous.

(75) See what Cicero puts in the Mouth of the Epicurean Velleius, in the first Book de Natura Deorum, cap. 8, & seq.

(76) See Cicero, ibid. cap. 44, fin.

(77) See Gassendus de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, lib. 4, cap. 3.

(78) In the Remark [F].

(79) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 30. See also cap. 17.

(80) Diog. Laërt. lib. 10, n. 123.

We see here, in few Words, what Religion *Epicurus* professed: He revered the Gods, because of the Excellence of their Nature, though he neither expected any Good, nor feared any Ill from them (75). He paid them a free unmercenary Worship, wherein he in no manner regarded his own Interest, but purely the Notions of Reason, which require that we should respect and honour all that is Great and Perfect. It may be those were not mistaken, who accused him of doing this out of Policy only (76), and to avoid the Punishment he would infallibly have incurred, had he overthrown the Worship of the Gods: But this Accusation would have been rash, though perhaps not without Ground: For we ought in Equity to judge of our Neighbour by his Words and Actions, and not by the secret Intentions we fancy he has. We must leave to God, the only Searcher of Hearts, to judge of what passes in every Man's Conscience. After all, why should we rob *Epicurus* of the Notion of a Worship, which our most orthodox Divines recommend as most lawful, rational, and perfect? They tell us daily, that though we should neither hope a Paradise, nor fear a Hell, yet we ought to reverence God, and do all Things we think will please him (77). I shall presently cite (78) the Testimony *Diogenes Laërtius* has given of *Epicurus's* Piety.

Therefore the only Proof of the Text of this Remark is, that *Epicurus* confined the divine Nature to a State of Inactivity; that he took from it the Government of the World, and did not acknowledge it as the Cause of this Universe. Authors disagree about the Question, Whether he taught that the Gods were composed of Atoms? If he had taught such a Thing, he had robbed the Divine Nature of its Eternity and Indestructibility; a monstrous and most blasphemous Doctrine! But which I think cannot be charged upon him; for one of his first Principles was, that God, being happy and immortal, hurts no body, nor concerns himself in any Thing. In illis selectis ejus brevibusque sententiis quas appellant *κρυπτα δόξαι* hæc, ut opinor, prima sententia est, quod beatum & immortale est, id nec habet, nec exhibet cuiquam negotium (79). We see that the first thing he proposed as a Subject of Meditation to his Disciples, was the Immortality and Felicity of God. Πρῶτον μὲν, τὸν Θεὸν, ζῶντα ἀθάνατον καὶ μακάριον νομίζον, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τῶ Θεῶν νομισίς ὑπεργράφει μὴδὲν μὴτε τῆς ἀθάνασιος ἀλλότριον, μὴτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοικεῖον αὐτῷ πρόσσπ' ἢ πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτῷ δυνάμενον τὴν μετὰ ἀθάνασιος μακαριότητα, περὶ αὐτὸν δόξαζε. Primum quidem, Deum esse animal immortale ac beatum, puta, sicut communis de Deo dictat intelligentia; nihil illi aut ab immortalitate alienum, aut à beatitudine, applicans. Cæterum omne quod illius cum immortalitate beatitudinem servare possit, de eo opinare (80). — Look upon God, in the first place, as a Being, happy and incorruptible, such as the general Idea represents him; ascribe nothing to him repugnant to Bliss, or incompatible with Immortality. Therefore he did not believe, that the Gods were made like the World, by the fortuitous Concurrence of Atoms. He was sensible enough, that he would have thereby manifestly subjected them to Death. Idem facit in natura Deorum, dum individuorum corporum concretionem fugit ne interitus & dissipatio consequatur, negat esse

corpus Deorum, sed tanquam corpus: nec sanguinem, sed tanquam sanguinem (81). — He proceeds on the same Principles when he treats on the nature of the Gods, by avoiding to form them from a concourse of Atoms, lest Death and Dissipation might be the consequence. He denies that the Gods have either Bodies or Blood, but something resembling each.

Tertullian (82) and *St Augustin* (83) maintain, nevertheless, that he affirmed the Nature of the Gods to be composed of Atoms; but *Laërtius* has better related the Opinion of that Philosopher. Deos, says he

(84), aiunt incorruptos, æternos, beatos esse: solisque dant immunitatem, ne concursu atomorum concreti esse videantur: si enim Deos quoque ex illis constituissem, dissipabiles fierent, feminibus aliquando resolutis, atque in naturam suam revertentibus. — They affirm, says he, the Gods to be incorruptible, eternal, and happy, and they alone are excepted from their Hypothesis of all things being formed from a Concurrence of Atoms. For had they likewise formed them in the same manner, they would have been dissolvable, the constituent Particles being liable to be disjoined, and to return to their primitive Nature.

I end this Remark with censuring these Words of Mr *Moreri*: *Epicurus's* Opinion concerning the Soul and the Deity does not seem reasonable to some. Is it possible that a Priest should speak in this manner of an Opinion, which destroys the Immortality of the Soul, and the Providence of God?

[H] In vain has Mr *Arnauld* censured that Doctrine.] To render what I have to say the more intelligible, I observe first of all, that most of the ancient Philosophers, who have treated of the Happiness of Man, have confined themselves to an external Notion, and this has occasioned great variety of Opinions amongst them (85). Some placed the Happiness of Man in Riches, others in Sciences, others in Honours, others in Fame, others in Virtue, &c. It is plain, they fixed the Idea of Happiness, not to its formal, but to its efficient Cause; that is, they called that our Happiness, which they thought capable to produce in us the State of Blessedness, and that they did not define what is the State of our Soul when she is happy.

It is this State which I call the formal Cause of Happiness. *Epicurus* was not mistaken in this: He considered Happiness in itself, and in its formal State; and not according to the relation it has with Beings or Objects altogether external, such as are efficient Causes. This way of considering Happiness is undoubtedly the most exact, and the most worthy a Philosopher: Wherefore *Epicurus* has done well to chuse it; and he has made so good use of it, that it has brought him precisely whither he ought to go. The only Assertion that could reasonably be established by that Method, was, that the Happiness of Man consists in being at his Ease, and in having a sense of Pleasure; or, in general, Satisfaction of the Mind. This does not prove that the *Epicureans* place Happiness in good Cheer, and in the impure Intercourse, which different Sexes may have one with another; for at most, these can be no more than efficient Causes, which are not here in question. When there is occasion to speak of the efficient Causes of Content and Pleasure, they will mark out the best: On the one side, they will direct you to those Objects which are most capable to preserve the Health of your Bodies; and on the other, they will tell you what Occupations are the most proper to prevent the uneasiness of your Mind. Therefore they will prescribe you Sobriety, Temperance, and the checking of tumultuous and disorderly Passions, which deprive the Soul of its State of Felicity; that is, of the soft and quiet Acquiescence in its Condition: For these were the Pleasures or Delights wherein *Epicurus* placed Man's Happiness. People exclaimed against the word Pleasure: Those, who were already loose and debauched, made an ill use of it; the Enemies of that Sect took Advantage from it, and so the Name of *Epicurean* became odious. All this is accidental to the fundamental Opinion of *Epicurus*, which is grounded only on solid Philosophy; though it must be owned he committed a great Fault, in not acknowledging

(81) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 25, fin.

(82) Tertull. adv. Gentes, cap. 47.

(83) Quorum corporulorum concursu fortuito & mundos innumerabiles & animantia & ipsas animas fieri dicit & Deos. August. Epist. 56, pag. 273.

(84) Laërt. de Vita Dei, cap. 30, pag. 20, 53.

(85) Do not believe however what many People say, that according to *Varro* there were 288 different Opinions about the Nature of Supreme Good. This is a jest of *Varro*. See *St Augustin* de Civit. Dei, lib. 19, cap. 1.

the Pharisees of Paganism, did all that lay in their Power against Epicurus, both to render him odious, and expose him to Persecution. They charged him with destroying the Worship of the Gods, and introducing Debauchery among Mankind. He was not wanting to himself on this Occasion (i). He published his Sentiments to the whole World; he wrote Books of Devotion; he recommended the Veneration of the Gods, Sobriety, Continence; and it cannot be denied that he lived exemplarily, and according to the Rules of Philosophical Wisdom and Frugality (k): But nevertheless, some Calumnies were dispersed against his Morals [I], and a Defserter of his Sect said a great

(i) Rondelles, de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, pag. 19, 20.

(k) See Remark [N].

ledging that God alone can produce in our Soul that State which makes it happy.

Let us now come to Mr Arnauld. He manfully opposed this Doctrine of F. Mallebranche, Every Pleasure is a Good, and actually renders him happy who enjoys it (86). The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, when he gave the Extract of Mr Arnauld's Book, declared himself in this Dispute for F. Mallebranche. 'There is nothing more innocent, says he (87), nor more certain than to say, That every Pleasure makes him happy who enjoys it during the Time he enjoys it; and that nevertheless we ought to shun those Pleasures that attach us to Bodies.'

(86) See the Reflexions Philosophiques & Theologiques sur la Nature de la Grace, lib. I, cap. xxi, pag. 407, & seq.

(87) *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for August 1685, Art. 3. p. 876.

(88) Ibid. for Dec. 1685. Art. 1.

(89) Ibid. for January 1686, pag. 93.

But some will say, it is Virtue, Grace, the Love of God, or rather God alone, that is our Happiness. Right, as an Instrument or efficient Cause, as Philosophers speak; but as a formal Cause, it is Pleasure and Satisfaction which is our only Felicity. Thereupon Mr Arnauld attacked the Author of the *Republique des Lettres*, and addressed to him an Advice (88), wherein he confuted him from point to point, and according to his usual Method of disputing, which without doubt was such as argued an able Logician. The Journalist replied (89), and still maintained his Opinion, and made it his chief Business to remove the Equivocations that have been introduced into this Matter, by the variety of Tropological Phrases that have been used; most Writers having given the Cause the Name of the Effect, I mean, having called Happiness or Misery not what is so in effect, but what causes it. He went further; for he engaged to refute those, who imagine that the Pleasures of our Senses are not spiritual. He maintained, that if we consider them only with regard to their Physical Entity, they are purely spiritual, and that they cannot be called corporeal, but by Reason of an accidental and arbitrary Relation they have to the Body: For that Relation has no other Foundation than the Will of God, whereby the Action of certain Objects upon the Body of Man, is made and established the occasional Cause of those Pleasures. Mr Arnauld would not have the last. He confuted his Adversary again by a learned Dissertation (90), the last Part of which, in my Opinion, is the most important. It is intitled, *Examination of a new Speculation, concerning the Spirituality and Materiality of the Pleasures of Sense*; which he begins thus. 'I have no more to do now, Sir, than to tell you one Word concerning the most important Part of your Writing. It is a metaphysical Thought, so subtle and so abstracted, that I have a double Fear upon me: First, That I have not understood your Thought perfectly well: Secondly, That I shall not be able to express mine, so as to be understood by every Body. You pretend, Sir, that we must distinguish two things in the Pleasures of the Senses; their Spirituality, which you look upon as essential to them; and their Materiality, which you would have to be accessory and accidental to them. From whence you conclude, that a Pleasure of Sense might continue *idem numero*, (numerically the same), and yet have nothing material, because Materiality may be abstracted from it (91).'

(90) See the Bibliothéque Universelle, Tom. VI, pag. 379.

(91) Arnauld's Dissertation sur le prétendu Bonheur des Sens, pag. 108.

He afterwards very clearly unfolds the Doctrine of his Adversary, and opposes it in a manner most worthy of his Logic and Skill; but nevertheless I believe he is mistaken at the bottom, and that he has not sufficiently observed the Difference which is found between our Sensations, and our Ideas. The Relation between our Ideas and their Objects is essential; and he is in the right to say, that it is not possible for God to make the Idea of a Circle to be separated from its Relation to a Circle. But it is not the same with our Sensations. Our Soul might feel Cold without referring it to a Foot or a Hand, just as it feels the Joy of good News, or Grief at bad, without referring either to any part of the Body. And if, whilst

it is united to a Body, it refers to some Parts of that Body some Pains and Pleasures, as the smart of Burning, the being tickled, &c. it is only by a free Establishment made by the Author of its Union with the Body, that it may the better watch over the Preservation of the Machine to which it is united. If this Reason ceased, it would no longer be necessary that it should refer its Sensations out of it self, and nevertheless it would still be susceptible of the Modification which is called Pain, Pleasure, Cold, Heat, and God might impress upon it all these Modifications, either without any Occasional Cause, or by means of an Occasional Cause, which should not be a Body, but the Thoughts of some Spirit. The Author of the *Art of Thinking* justly says, 'That it is possible for a Soul separated from the Body to be tormented by the Fire either of Hell or Purgatory, and to feel the same Pain one feels when burnt, since, even while it was in the Body, the Pain of burning was in itself, and not in the Body, and was no other than a Thought of Sadness she had, upon occasion of what passed in the Body to which God had united it (92).'

(92) *Art of Thinking*, Part I, chap. ix, pag. m. 86.

But he has no Reason to suppose, that it would be necessary that God should dispose a certain Portion of Matter, with relation to a Spirit, in such a Manner, that the Motion of that Matter should occasion afflicting Thoughts in that Spirit. A Being, altogether immaterial, might perform the Function of such an Occasional Cause, and, in that Case, our Soul might feel the same Pleasure we call sensual and corporeal; it might, I say, feel such a Pleasure without referring it to a Mouth, or an Ear, as we now do the Pleasure of good Cheer and Music. From whence it follows, that Pleasure, of what kind soever it may be supposed, may make the Soul happy, whether it be united to Matter or no. This would deserve a Treatise by it self. If the Author of the *News from the Republic of Letters* had not been sick, when Mr Arnauld's Dissertation came out, he would have confuted it: But he thought it was too late to do it, when his Health permitted him to write.

[I] Some Calumnies were dispersed against his Morals. He was represented as a Glutton, a leud Man, and a new Sardanapalus; and because, according to the custom of those Ages (93), he received into the Number of his Disciples some Women who loved Philosophy, his School was represented as a downright Brothel. It was reported, that the Courtezan Leontium being grown curious of Philosophy, and having applied herself to that Philosopher, did not give over her former Trade, but gratified with her Embraces the whole School, and particularly Epicurus himself, even openly. 'Η δὲ οὐχ ὅτε φιλοσοφεῖν ᾤχετο, ἐπαύσατο ἑταίρειαν, αὐτὴν τε τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις συνὴν ἐν τοῖς κήποις, Ἐπικύρου δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδόν. Quæ Philosophia operam navare cum incipisset non ideo scortari desistit, sed Epicureis omnibus in bortis se prestituit, & palam quidem Epicuro (94). They were not contented to spread these Slanders in Conversation, but inserted them in Books; and, what was most unjust, they forged lascivious Letters, which were published in that Philosopher's Name. Διότιμος δὲ ὁ Στωικός δυσμενὲς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πικρότατα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν ἐπιστολάς φέροντας πονηρήντα ἀσέλγους, ὡς Ἐπικύρου καὶ τὰ εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερόμενα ἐπιστολίαι, ὡς Ἐπικύρου συντάξας. Diotimus autem Stoicus infestus adversus illum animo, acerrimè infectatus eum est, quinquaginta circumferens lascivas, veluti ab Epicuro scriptas, epistolas, easque quæ Chrysippi feruntur, veluti sub Epicuri nomine componens (95). — Diotimus the Stoic, his inveterate Enemy, treated him very barbarously, forging fifty lascivious Letters, and published them, with those ascribed to Chrysippus, under the name of Epicurus. We have still a Letter fathered upon Leontium, but that is a forged Piece. They feign, that

(93) See Gassendus, de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, lib. vii, cap. 5.

(94) Athenæus, lib. xiii, p. 588.

(95) Diog. Laërt. lib. x, n. 3.

(1) This was
written in 1695.

great many scandalous Things of him [K]. A very Learned Man maintained, about two Years ago (1), that this Philosopher did not deny a Divine Providence [L]. Tho' none

that *Leontium* wrote to *Lamia* what Trouble she underwent with *Epicurus*, an old lousy Dotard of eighty Years, who was become as silly as a Child, and so cross, that he scolded at his Mistress, and teased her with his Suspicions. Οὐδὲν δυσχερὲς ἔσται, εἰ ἐοικέν, ἐστὶ παλιν μετὰ κινουμένην πρεσβύτην, οἷα καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἔτ' εἰσὶν αἰὶν, πάντα λοιδορῶν, πάντα ὑποπτεύων, ἐπιστολὰς ἀδιαιλύτους μοι γράφων. ἐκδιδῶν ἐκ τῆς κητὸς καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, εἰ Ἀδωνίς ἦν, ἢ δὴ ἐγδοῖκα πάντα γεγῶσ' ἔτη· ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν ἠρσέχην, φθειμένην, καὶ πολυνοστήν, καὶ καταπεπιλημένην, εὐ μάλα πόκοις, ἀντὶ φίλων, &c. Nihil est, ut mihi videtur, repuerascente fene importunius: Quo sanè modo erga me Epicurus iste se habet, omnia improbens, omnia in suspicionem vertens, literas ad me ambagiosas scribens; abacturus sanè ex Horto ipsam Venerem, tamen Adonis foret, natus jam, ut est, annorum octoginta. Absit illius amore tener, qui & scatet pediculis, & planè morbidus est, contractus præ senio, nec injuriâ velleræ gellans pro pileis, &c. (96). — Nothing is more impertinent than an old Man in his second Childhood. How am I plagued with this Epicurus? He is always peevish and jealous, and writing unintelligible Letters to me. Were he an Adonis, whereas he is on the wrong side of fourscore, he would inevitably fright even Venus out of the Garden. I am quite sick of his Lice, his Dishevels, and his cargo of Fur-night-Caps. It is evident this Letter is forged, since *Leontium* died before *Epicurus* (97), and that *Epicurus* did not live much above seventy-one Years. It is certain, that *Metrodorus*, one of *Epicurus*'s great Friends, lay with that *Leontium*, either as a Wife, or at worst as a Concubine. Now among the Heathens, Concubinage was not very scandalous. *Danaë*, Daughter of *Leontium*, was no chaster than her Mother (98). Some pretend, that *Leontium* lay with one *Corniadæ*, who might know how often he had enjoyed her; for he kept a Journal of his Debaucheries: and when he had a mind to call back to his Remembrance his amorous Adventures, and jolly Days, he consulted his Journal: 'Non inepte quis intelligat, thesæ are *Gassendus*'s Words (99), ex hoc contubernio desumptum quod *Plutarchus* scribit *Corniadem* quasi ex *Ephemeride* repetere solitum quoties cum *Hedæ* & *Leontio* rem habuisset, *Thasium* bibisset, 'opipare cognasset.' Others pretend, that *Gassendus* has suffered himself to be deceived in this Place by the Latin Translator of *Plutarch*, and that the meaning of the Greek is, That modest People do not entertain in their Minds the Images of past Pleasures, and are not guilty of what made *Corniadæ* ridiculous; that is, they do not rehearse, as if they were reading in their Table-Books, or their Books of Accounts, how often they had to do with *Hedæ* or *Leontium*, &c. Those who can understand the Greek I quote, may judge of the true Sense. For my Part, I should rather follow that of *Gassendus*. Οὐτε τὸς μιστρίους καὶ σώφρονας εἰκὸς ἐνδιατρίβειν τῇ ἐπιποίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐδὲ ἀπερῆσθαι τὸν Κορνιάδην πράττοντα, εἶον ἐξ ἐφημερίδων ἀναλέγεσθαι, ποσάκις Ἡδῆα καὶ Λεοντίῳ συνῆλθον, ἢ πῶς δάσιον ἔπιον, ποίας εἰκάδας ἐδείπνησαν πολυτελέστατα, δεινὴν γὰρ ἐμπαίνει καὶ θνητὴν περὶ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ περὶ δόξα μὲν τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔργα ταχέως καὶ λύσαν ἢ τοσαύτην πρὸς ἀναμνήσεις βάρχευσις αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν. Neque probabile est, modestos ac temperantes domines, hujusmodi cogitationibus immorari, aut ea facere, ob quæ *Carneadem* subfannat ille, tanquam ex *ephemeridibus* repetentem, quoties cum *Hedæ* aut *Leontio* rem habuisset, ubi *Thasium* vinum bibisset, quibus *Idibus* splendidissimè cœnasset. Atrocem enim ac belluinam in fruendis aut expectandis voluptatibus exagitationem animi ac rabiem designat tanta ipsius ad recordandum bacchatio atque adbæsis (100). See in *Gassendus*, in the seventh Book of the Life of *Epicurus*, a solid Confutation of the Calumnies I have mentioned. See likewise the Remark [N]. Note, That instead of Κορνιάδην, methinks we ought to read Καρπιδίην in that Place of *Plutarch*; for we know, that one of *Epicurus*'s Friends was called *Carneades*. I have quoted upon this Subject a Passage out of *Cicero* in the Remark [M] of the Article *ARCESILAUS*.

(96) Ex secundo libro Alcibiadis apud *Gassendus* ubi supra, lib. vii, cap. ii.

(97) *Metrodorus* and *Leontium* his Concubine left a Son, whom *Epicurus* mentions in his Will as an Orphan whom he recommends. See *Gassendus*, ibid. cap. vi.

(98) *Athenæus*, lib. xiii, pag. 101. See the Article *LEONTIUM*, Remark [D].

(99) Ubi supra, lib. vii, cap. i.

(100) *Plot.* non possit vivi suaviter juxta *Epicur.* pag. 1029, C. ex versione *Xylandri*.

[K] A Defector of his Sect said a great many scandalous things of him.] That kind of People do generally slander most bitterly the Party they abandon: The Desire of revenging some Injury, or of making People believe that it is not out of Levity they leave it, prompts them to defame it; and though they ought to be suspected, yet they never fail to impose on the Credulity of many. I remember I have read somewhere, That a Nun, who came out of *Port-Royal* discontented, spread several little Stories, of which the Jesuits took Advantage in their Writings (101). But let us speak of the Defector here in Question: He was Brother to *Metrodorus*, and named *Timocrates*. He gave out, That there were Nocturnal Assemblies in *Epicurus*'s Gardens, from which he had much ado to escape; and there being some Women among *Epicurus*'s Disciples, I leave every one to judge how *Timocrates*'s Words were commented upon by the censorious World. Εαυτὸν τε διηγείται μάλιστα ἐκρύβειν ἰσχύσαι τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκείνας φιλοσοφίας καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐκείνην συναγωγὴν. Sequè ipsam narrat vix effugere potuisse nocturnas illas philosophandi consuetudines arcanamque illam conventiunculam (102). Some have not fluck to compare those Conventicles of *Epicurus* with the Midnight Revels of the Witches (103); and I do not doubt but they have been as much reflected on as the Assemblies of the *Adamites*: 'Præter comestiones & computationes possunt ea intelligi quæ in nocturnis Bonæ Deæ sacris patrari quondam objecta sunt' (104). — Besides their Feasts, there are other Matters, to be understood, such as were formerly condemned in the Nocturnal Solemnities of *Cybele*. Besides *Gassendus*, who that, *Timocrates* reported *Epicurus* to be a Glutton and a Drunkard, who through Excess of eating and drinking vomited twice a Day (105). *Epicurus* did not spare this Defector of his Sect; for he wrote against him, and treated him very severely. We find in one of *Cicero*'s Pieces, that, in order to insult over that Philosopher, they supposed that his Quarrel with *Timocrates* was grounded on a Trifle: 'Cum *Epicurus* . . . *Metrodori* sodalis sui fratrem *Timocratem*, quia nescio quid in Philosophia dissentiret, totis voluminibus conciderit (106). — *Epicurus* unmercifully fell upon *Timocrates*, Brother to *Metrodorus* his Companion, making him run the Gantlet through whole Volumes for some insignificant difference between them in Philosophy.' There is no Equity in this Objection: For if upon any Occasion a Writer's Passion may be excused, it is when, like *Epicurus*, he contends with a fugitive Disciple.

[L] A very learned Man has maintained, that *Epicurus* did not deny a Divine Providence.] This learned Man is *Mr du Rondel*, who had been several Years Professor of Eloquence at *Sedan*, when the Academy there was suppressed in 1681. Some time after he retired to *Holland*, where his Merit being soon known, he was called to *Maestricht* to be Professor of the *Belles Lettres*; which employment he still discharges with great Reputation. Before he had left his own Country, he had obliged the Public with an Edition of *Musæus*, in Greek and Latin, with Notes (107); the Life of *Epicurus*, in French (108); and a Dissertation of *Gloria* (109). Since he has been out of France, he has published some Reflections on a Chapter of *Theophrastus* (110); a Dissertation on the *Chenix* of *Pythagoras* (111); and a Treatise de vita & moribus *Epicuri* (112). It is in this last Work he has undertaken to prove, that *Epicurus* did not deny Divine Providence. Those who have a mind to know the value of his Productions (113), and have not them by them, will do well to consult the Journalists that have mentioned them; where they will find the Praises due to his profound Learning, and his penetrating Genius. When he shall be pleased to bring forth the Treasures of his Closet, the Public will be convinced, that the Journalists ought to make use of the greatest Encomiums, if they mean to do him Justice. I would dwell longer on this Subject, if the Friendship which is between us had not taught me that it would not be acceptable to him. See the Preface to the Project of this Dictionary, which I addressed to him. No Man could maintain more learnedly or more subtly than he has done the Paradox of *Epicurus*'s Orthodoxy concerning Providence.

(101) See the Letters, intitled, Les Imaginaires, & les Visionnaires.

(102) *Lact.* lib. x, n. 6.

(103) Our item illud sodalium comparetur gregi sociorum Ulyssæ, ac jam à nocturnis plerisque dicte Megaron Synagoge.

(104) *Gassendus*, ubi supra, lib. vii, cap. i.

(105) *Lact.* ubi supra.

(106) *Cicero*, de Natur. Deor. lib. i, cap. xxxiii.

(107) Printed at Paris for *Antoine Collier*, 1679, in 12mo. It was reprinted in *Holland* with a capital Title. See the *Nouvelles de la Repub.* des Lettres, January 1686, pag. 86.

(108) Printed at Paris for *Antoine Collier*, 1679, in 12mo. It was reprinted in *Holland* with a capital Title. See the *Nouvelles de la Repub.* des Lettres, January 1686, pag. 86.

(109) Printed at Leyden, 1680, in 12mo.

(110) At Amsterdam, 1689, in 12mo.

(111) At Amsterdam, 1692, in 12mo.

(112) At Amsterdam, 1693, in 12mo.

(113) I do not pretend to have given an exact List of them.

none of *Epicurus's* Works are now extant, yet there is no ancient Philosopher whose Sentiments are better known than his. We are beholden for it to the Poet *Lucretius*, and to *Diogenes Laërtius*, but much more to the Learned *Gassendus*, who, with great Diligence, has gathered all that could be found in ancient Books relating to the Doctrine and Person of that Philosopher, and reduced it into a compleat System. If ever there was Reason to conclude, that Time at last does Justice to oppressed Innocence, it is with respect to *Epicurus*; for so many Illustrious Persons have stood up in Defence both of his Practical and Speculative Morals [M], that at this time none but the opinionated and ignorant judge wrong of them. He died in great Torment of a Retention of Urine, with a singular Patience and Constancy, in the second Year of the CXXXVIIth Olympiad (m), when he was just entered into the Seventy second Year of his Age. One cannot sufficiently commend the Purity of his Morals, nor sufficiently condemn his Opinions in Religion. Infinite numbers of People are orthodox, and live ill: He on the contrary, and many of his Followers, taught a bad Doctrine, and lived well [N].

We

dence. He has not forgot to take advantage of, and improve the *VIS ABDITA QUÆDAM* of *Lucretius* (114). When Mr *Minutoli* was informed that this Book of Mr *du Rondel* was published, he wrote to me, That in the Collection of *John Michael Brutus*, there is 'a Letter from *Peter Victorius* to *John della Casa*, Archbishop of *Benevento*; which runs upon the Question, Whether *Lucretius*, who in the Beginning of his Poem invokes *Venus*, does not in that very thing clash with the Doctrine of *Epicurus*? And whether that be compatible with the inaction that Philosopher ascribes to the Gods.'

[M] So many illustrious Persons have stood up in Defence of his Morals. The learned *Gassendus* observes that upon the Revival and Restoration of Learning in the XVth Century, there were able Men who spoke for *Epicurus*, who for so many barbarous Ages was oppressed under a Load of Prejudices: 'Cum *Epicurus* infamis fuisset habitus tota illa penè sæculorum serie, quæ literæ bonæ sepulcræ jacerunt; vix tamen libros humaniores, pulvere excusso, rediisse in manus ante duo sæcula, quàm omnes penè eruditi symbolum pro eo contulerunt (115). — Though *Epicurus* had been branded with Infamy during almost the whole Series of Ages that Learning had lain buried; yet scarce had the polite Authors shook off their Dust, and appeared again in public, about two Centuries ago, before the greatest part of the learned World had declared in his Favour.' He names *Philippus*, *Alexander ab Alexandro*, *Cælius Rhodiginus*, *Volaterranus*, and *Johannes Franciscus Picus* (116). He observes, upon the Credit of *Tribemius*, that *Baptista Guarinus* made a Book of the Sect of *Epicurus*. He adds, that *Marc Anthony Bonciarius* had composed one, to prove, that of all the ancient Philosophers *Epicurus* came nearest to Truth (117). Lastly, besides *Palingenius*, of whom he quotes many Verses in Praise of *Epicurus*, he remarks that *Andrew Arnaud* of *Provence* has made an Apology for that Philosopher: 'Andreas Arnaudus Forcalquierensis in hac Provincia Profenecallus in libello, cui nomen Joci, Apologiam pro *Epicuro* inter cætera edidit, brevem illam quidem, & folioli paucis; sed in quâ tamen ea delibantur ex *Laërtio* præsertim, atque *Seneca*, unde convincatur, quod vir ille pereruditus initio proposuit, fuisse *Epicurum* injustus læssitum, & laniatum ab obsecratoribus (118). — *Andrew Arnaud* of *Forcalquier*, Deputy-Senescal of *Provence*, in a Treatise intitled *Jests*, among other things published an Apology for *Epicurus*, a short one indeed, containing but few Pages, which however gives us a sketch of those Passages, particularly from *Seneca* and *Laërtius*, so as to demonstrate what the learned Author at his setting out proposed, viz. that *Epicurus* had been maliciously attacked, and barbarously treated.' The Curious will not be sorry to find here a further Account of that Apology; for which I am indebted to the obliging and most learned Mr *Minutoli* (119). Here is what he wrote to me in November 1693: 'I found the other Day a little Book printed at *Avignon*, intitled, *Andræ Arnaudi, Joci, Epistolæ, Rara, Epigrammata, Tumuli, Apologiae*. This last Class of Pieces contains the Apologies for *Bacchus*, *Epicurus*, *Phalaris*, and *Apuleius*. . . . In the Collection of Epistles, there is one of *Guirardus Arnaudus* where, after having spoken in Commendation of *Ravius Textor*, whose Dialogues he sent to him as a Novelty, he tells him, In nono Dialogo miraberis Textorem, cujus scripta tantam doctrinam testantur, tam male de *Epicuri* voluptate

testari, nec animadvertisse *Epicurum* opinionem *Sardapalium*, re *Stoicissimum*, *Bacchanalia* simulasse, & Curios vixisse. *Epigr.* 152.

Nam, licet illecebris hominem velit esse beatum, Stoicus interea moribus ipse fuit.

Ita *Frufius*, sed tu fufius nuper dicebas & docebas, cum non sine miratione opinionem quorundam rapiebas ad paradoxum de *Baccho*, *Epicuro*, *Phalaride*, & *Apuleio*. O nostri sæculi felicitudo, si omnes *Epicuri* essent, nulla hypocriſis, si *Bacchi*, nulla *Bacchanalia*, si *Phalarides*, nulla injustitia, si *Apulei*, nulla ineloquentia. — In the ninth Dialogue you will be surprized that *Textor*, whose Writings carry an evidence of so much Learning, should determine so wrongfully of *Epicurus's* Pleasure, not considering that he was by Profession a Libertine, in Practice a rigid Stoic, in Appearance a Debaucher, in reality abstemious.

His Practice with his Doctrine disagreed, Strict was his Life, tho' Pleasure was his Creed.

Thus *Frufius*; but you have lately given us a more full Information, when in a surprising manner you forcibly engaged the Opinions of the Readers to the Paradox concerning *Bacchus*, *Epicurus*, *Phalaris*, and *Apuleius*. How happy would our Age be, when if all were like *Epicurus*, there would be no Hypocriſis, like *Bacchus* no Revels, like *Phalaris* no Cruelty, like *Apuleius* no want of Eloquence?

I forgot to say, that *Gassendus* mentioned *Ergicius Puteanus* among those that have commended *Epicurus*. The famous *Don Francisco Quevedo* published, at *Madrid* in the Year 1635, an Apology for that Philosopher, in a Book intitled, *Episteto Espanol en versos con consonantes, con el origen de los Estoicos y su defenſa contra Plutarcho, y defenſa de Epicuro contra la opinion comun* (120). I have not seen that, which *Sarrazin* has written in our French Tongue, for the Morals of *Epicurus*; and which Mr *Colomies* mentions in the 125th Page of his *Bibliothèque Choise*: But I have read Mr *St Evremont's* Reflexions upon this Matter, which are curious and just. The Baron *des Coutures* published the Morals of that Philosopher with Reflexions in 1685; the same Year the *Paris* Edition was twice reprinted in *Holland* (121). That Book sets *Epicurus* in a good Light, and is as good as a Panegyric. He produces the Chancellor of the Church and University of *Paris* (122), under the Character of an Apologist for *Epicurus*. *La Motte le Vayer* (123), and *Sorbiere* (124), have acted the same Part; but I do not believe that any thing was ever writ in any Country, that can equal what our *Gassendus* has done in behalf of that Philosopher: His Performance being a Master-piece, and the most curious, well-digested, and judicious Collection that ever was seen. Sir *William Temple*, so illustrious by his Embassies and fine Productions, has lately stood up in Defence of *Epicurus* with marvellous Addreſs (125).

[N] He and many of his Followers taught a bad Doctrine, and lived well. Nothing is more capable of extinguishing Devotion in the Heart of Man, and to make him intirely renounce all Worship of God, than a Belief that God does neither good nor harm to Mankind; and neither punishes those that offend him, nor rewards those that serve him. The most devout Christians, if they speak with sincerity, will acknowledge,

(m) *Diog. Laërt.* ibid. n. 15 & 224.

(114) *Page 79.*

(115) *Gassendus, ubi supra, lib. vii. cap. vii. pag. m. 224.*

(116) *I wonder he forgets Laërtius's Valla.*

(117) *See the Words of Gassendus, ab-ut, in the Article BONCIARIUS, Rem. [C], Citat. (6), where I found an Error.*

(118) *Gassendus, ubi supra.*

(119) *A Minister and Professor at Geneva.*

(120) *Nic. Antonio, Bibl. Script. Hispan. Tom. I, p. 354.*

[* These Reflexions are falsely ascribed to *St Evremont*; they are *Sarrazin's*, and are inserted in that Author's new Works, printed at *Paris*, 1674. See the *Life* of *St Evremont*, by Mr *Des Maizeaux*, pag. 135, of the *London Edit.* 1728. REM. CRIT.]

(121) *See the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, January 1686, Art. 9, pag. 86.*

(122) *Mr Cochin, in the Approbation of the Book, which contains four Pages.*

(123) *Traité de la Vertu des Païens, in the Fifth Tome of his Works, in 12mo.*

(124) *Letter xxxiii, in 4to.*

(125) *See his Miscellanies.*

We must not forget, that he had very good Notions and Maxims, touching the Obedience

acknowledge, that the most powerful Tie, that unites them to God, is the looking upon him under the Notion of a Benefactor; and the Consideration, that, as he distributes infinite Rewards to those that obey him, so he eternally punishes those that offend him. But here is a Man, who discharged the Duties of Religion, according to the Custom of his Country, (126) without any Motive of Interest; for he professed to believe, that the Gods neither bestowed Rewards, nor inflicted Punishments (127). 'He was very assiduous in frequenting the Temples; and the first Time Diocles saw him, he could not forbear crying out, What ravishing Delight it is to me to see Epicurus in a Temple (128)! All my Suspensions vanish, Piety resumes its Place, and I never was more convinced of the greatness of Jupiter, than since I see Epicurus on his knees! Ω πανήγυρις θεσπιδίων, &c.' To this I add Laërtius's Words, Τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα φίλιας ἀλεκτος ἡ δεισιδαιμονία (129). According to some they signify, That his Piety towards the Gods, and his Love of his Country, were beyond expression (130); but hitherto the several Editions of Laërtius furnish us with another Interpretation. The Greek Words there signify, that Epicurus was never remiss, either in the Worship of the Gods, or in his Zeal for his Country's Good. Nam quid de cultu in Deos, & de amicitia adversus patriam dicam quam constantissime usque ad finem tenuit. It seems as if the Translator read not ἀλεκτος, as it is in the printed Book, but ἀληκτος. Whatever the Translation be, this is a great Commendation of Epicurus's Piety.

To confute fully those who charge him with Gluttony, it is enough to refer to the Testimony which his very Enemies have given to his Frugality. See how Seneca, who, as a great Stoic, ought to have had a Fling at him upon all Occasions, if the Appearances were never so little against him, does nevertheless agree, that they made but indifferent Cheer in Epicurus's Gardens. 'Eo lubentius, says he (131), Epicuri egregia dicta commemoro, ut illis, qui ad illa confugiunt, spe mala industi, qui velamentum seipsum suorum vitiorum habituros existimant, probem, quocumque ierint, honeste esse vivendum. Cum adierint eos hortulos, & inscriptum hortulis, Hospes hic bene manebis, hic summum bonum voluptas est: paratus erit istius domicilii custos, hospitalis, humanus, & te pocula excipiet, & aquam quoque largi ministrabit, & dicit: Ecquid bene acceptus es? Non irritant, inquam, hi hortuli famem, sed extinguunt; nec majorem ipsis potionibus sitim faciunt, sed naturali & gratuito remedio sedant. — I mention, says he, the more willingly those golden Sayings of Epicurus, that I may thereby prove to those, who, out of an ill design, endeavour to shelter their own Vices under that cover, that wherever they went, they were enjoined Sobriety. When they went to the Gardens, where the Inscription was; Here, O Stranger, thou shalt find welcome, here pleasure is the greatest good; the keeper of this Place is generous and humane, he shall be ready to wait upon thee, he shall entertain thee with Bread, and furnish thee with Water in plenty, and will ask whether thy Entertainment has not been good. These Gardens, I say, do not inspire, but extinguish Thirst; instead of inflaming it aforesaid, they cool it by a cheap and natural Remedy.' By Seneca's own Confession, Epicurus's Guests fared little better than upon Bread and Water. You may see many such Authorities in the Book I quote (132). As for venereal Pleasure, not only Epicurus's Maxims and Counsels were extremely Wise (133), but he preached so much by his own Example, that Chrysippus, his constant Antagonist, was forced to explain that Phenomenon, by the insensibility and coldness of Temper, which he imputed to him. 'Scribit Stobæus quempiam fuisse qui & non iri captum amore virum sapientem dixerit, & ipsius Epicuri exemplo inter cæteros id probavit: Chrysippum autem contradixisse, & Epicurum quod attineret, excepisse nihil ex ejus exemplo concludi, quoniam foret ἀναιδὲς ἄνθρωπος, sensu carens (134). — Stobæus writes, that a certain Person said, a wise Man would never be a Slave to Love, and proved it by the Example of Epicurus amongst others: Chrysippus opposed it, and, as to Epicurus, he ex-

cepted against the validity of that Instance, alleging that no Consequence could be drawn from him since he was insensible.' I refer the Reader to Gassendus's fine Collections (135); but I cannot pass over these Words of Cicero: 'Ac mihi quidem, quod & ipse bonus vir fuit, & MULTI EPICUREI fuerunt, & hodie sunt, & in amicitia fideles; & in omni vita constantes & graves, nec voluptate, sed officio consilia moderantes, hæc videtur major vis honestatis, & minor voluptatis. Ita enim vivunt quidam ut eorum vita refellatur oratio, atque ut cæteri existimantur dicere melius quam facere, sic hi mihi videntur melius facere quam dicere (136). — In my Opinion indeed, as he himself was an honest Man, and MANY EPICUREANS have been, and at this Time are, faithful in their Friendships, constant and exemplary in their Lives, not guided by Pleasure, but governed by Prudence; in this case, Honour seems to have the Ascendant over Pleasure: for some live in such manner, that their Lives are a Confutation of the Charge against them; and as others are thought to speak better than they act, so these appear to me to act better than they speak.' You see here Epicurus, and several of his Followers, commended as good Friends, honest Men, and grave Persons, who strictly observed the Practice of Virtue. It is only objected to them, that they did not live according to their Principles: An Objection which is no less true against the Orthodox, and which, in respect to them, is a thousand Times more shameful. Cicero avers it as Matter of Fact, that no fault can be found with Epicurus's Morals; and that he is only blamed, for not having been so wise as to reconcile his Doctrine with his Conduct. 'Ratio ista quam defendis, præcepta quæ didicisti, quæ probas, funditus evertunt amicitiam, quamvis eam Epicurus, ut facit, in celum efferat laudibus. At coluit ipse amicitias, quæ si quis illum neget, & bonum virum, & comem, & humanum fuisse. De ingenio ejus in his disputatibus, non de moribus quaeritur (137). — The reason which you maintain, the Precepts which you have imbibed, and which you approve, sap the very Foundation of Friendship, however Epicurus may, as he does, extol it to the Skies. But he had the biggest Veneration for Friendship. Does any one deny him to be a good Man, generous and humane? In these disputes the question turns upon his Genius not upon his Morals.'

Some perhaps may wonder, how Epicurus, notwithstanding his fine Morals, is fallen into such an Infamy as has rendered both his Sect and his memory odious for many Ages wherever he has been heard of. Upon this, I make three small Observations: The first is, That in this, as in many other Things, we may see the Power of Fatality. Some Men are happy, others are unhappy: That is the best Reason can be given of their various Fortune. In the second Place, Epicurus's competition with the famous Philosopher, who was the Founder of the Stoics, must needs have had ill Consequences. The Stoics professed a great Severity in their Morals: Now to contend with those Men, was much the same disadvantage at that Time, as to quarrel in this Age with Bigots. They interested Religion in their Quarrel; they insinuated their Fears, that Youth would be perverted; they alarmed all good Men; their Accusations were regarded and credited; the People easily persuading themselves, that true Zeal and austere Maxims go always together. Now as there were no greater Defamers than these Men, it must not be thought strange, if by their Invektives against Epicurus, by their pious Frauds and forged Letters, they have made disadvantageous Impressions, which have lasted a long Time. I say, in the third Place, that it was an easy thing to give an ill Sense to the Tenets of that Philosopher, and to scare honest Men with the Word Voluptuousness, of which he made use. If People had spoken of it with the Explications he added to it, no body had been alarmed; But they carefully removed all the Explications that might be favourable to him: And after all, there were some Epicureans who made an ill Use of his Doctrine. They did not debase themselves in his School, but had the Cunning to shelter their debaucheries under the Authority of so great a Name. Non ab Epicuro impulsus luxuriantur, sed vitia dediti, luxuriam suam

(135) Ibid. & cap. v, vi, vii.

(136) Cicero, de Fin. lib. ii, cap. xxv.

(137) Id. ibidem, d. C.

AN ENQUIRY into the Causes of the ill Opinion People have had of Epicurus.

(126) He was constantly seen in the Temples, he made many Sacrifices and Offerings, &c. Du Rondel, Vie d'Epicure, pag. 29. See the whole Sequel of the Passage; and in the Latin Edition, see pag. 60.

(127) Id. pag. 34, the French Edit.

(128) See an Application of this in the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for Dec. 1684, in the Catalogue of new Books, n. 2.

(129) Laërt. lib. 10, n. 10.

(130) Gassendus has translated: Nam sanctitatis quidem in Deos & charitatis in patriam fuit in eo affectus inextinguibilis.

(131) Seneca, Epist. 21.

(132) Gassendus ubi supra, lib. vi, cap. iii & iv.

(133) See Laërt. lib. x. n. 118.

(134) Gassendus. Ibid. lib. vii, cap. iv. H. quotes Stobæus, Serm. de ven. & am.

dience due to Magistrates [O]. His Reputation was much greater after his Death, than during his Life [P], as *Seneca* had observed, and as *Metrodorus* had foretold.

It will not be amiss to give here an Instance of the Malice and Disingenuity with which *Epicurus* was censur'd. He wrote a Book, intituled, *The Banquet*, and therein he treated the Question, Which Time is properest to embrace a Woman? His Censurers, greedy of a Pretence to slander him, represented unfaithfully his Proceeding, by changing the Circumstances of it. There is no doubt but he was innocent, since *Plutarch* has been so just, as to shew, that there was nothing in it unworthy of a Philosopher [Q]. The same *Plutarch* has written a Treatise on purpose to prove, that one

* in philosophizæ sinu abscondunt: & eo concurrent ubi audiunt laudari voluptatem. Nec æstimatur voluptas illa Epicuri (ita enim mehercules sentio) quam sobria & sica fit: sed ad nomen ipsum advolant, quærentes libidinibus suis patrocinium aliquod ac velamentum (138). ----- Their Revels are not owing to the Infatigation of Epicurus, but being abandoned to Vice they hide their Luxury in the Bosom of Philosophy, and throw themselves into the Arms of that Set which espouses Pleasure. Nor do they consider how narrow and jejune, (for such indeed I took upon it) the pleasure of Epicurus is; but fly to the bare name, thinking to find a shelter and Protection under it. Consult *Gassendus*; who unfolds this marvellously well, and shews how many great Men, carried away with the Torrent, have, from Age to Age, followed the established Prejudices, without examining Things to the Bottom. This is the Case of several Fathers: But *Gregory Nazianzen* did not suffer himself to be imposed upon (139); and I remember I have read in *Origen* (140), that the Followers of *Epicurus* forbore Adultery as much as the *Stoics*, tho' upon a different Motive.

[O] He had very good Notions and Maxims touching the Obedience due to Magistrates. We have seen before (141), how he is commended on account of his constant Zeal for the Good of his Country. He did not abandon it in difficult Times, but shared the Miseries of his Country-men. He lived upon Beans, and fed his Disciples with them, whilst *Demetrius* besieged *Athens*, dividing the Beans one by one with them: *Kυδρυς ἀπὸς ἀριθμῶν μὲν ἑκάστην διαμενόν, Εἰς αὐτὸν ἰπὶς ἀνὰ ἀριθμὸν παρίσταντο* (142). *Ebas cum ipsi ad numerum partium* (142). He wished for good Sovereigns, but submitted himself to those that governed ill. A Maxim most necessary for the Public Good, and the Foundation of the Safety and Tranquillity of States. Semper vota fecit pro Reipublicæ prosperitate ac veteri regimine, acquievit vero temporis præsentis ac Dominis sorte datus. Donec iracundos habuit magistratus, patiens fuit ac docilis, quum verò bonos ac mites, gratus fuit ac obsequiosus. (142*).

He put up continual Vows for the Safety of the Commonwealth, and the ancient Form of Government, but complied with the present State of Affairs, and submitted to those who had the Fortune to govern. Whilst the Magistrates were severe, he was patient and peaceable, but when they were mild and indulgent, he was grateful and dutiful. I am a Witness, said a modern wise Man (143), and not a Judge of the Life of Princes; and though I should not approve their Conduct, I should stick fast to that old Oracle, *Bona tempora voto expetere, qualiacunque tolerare*. This is taken out of *Tacitus* (144), and is also to be found in a Speech which an Emperor made to his Soldiers: *Χρὴ δ' ἀνδρας γενναίους τε καὶ σώφρονες εὐχεσθαι μὴ ὑπάρχειν τὰ βέλτιστα, εἶναι δὲ τὰ προσήκοντα*. Decet autem viros fortes atque moderatos optima quidem optare, sed ferre quæcunque incident (145). — Brave and considerate Men ought to wish for the best, but to bear with what happens.

[P] His Fame was much greater after his Death, than during his Life. *Seneca*, speaking of several great Men, whose Contemporaries had not done them justice, does not forget *Epicurus*. Quam multorum profectus, says he (146), in notitiam evasere post ipsos, quam multos fama non excepit sed eruit? Vides *Epicurum*, quantopere non tantum eruditiores, sed hæc quoque imperitorum turba miretur. Hic ignotus ipsis *Athenis* fuit, circa quas delituerat. Multis itaque jam annis *Metrodoro* suo superstes, in quadam epistola, cum amicitiam suam & *Metrodori*, grata commemoratione cecinit, hoc novissime adjecit, nihil sibi & *Metrodoro* inter bona tanta novissimum, quod ipsos illa nobilis Græcia non ignotos

(138) *Seneca*, de Vita Beati, cap. xii, pag. m. 625. See the Penicils sur les Cometes, pag. 535.

(139) He acknowledged, that Epicurus's Morals were very regular, *Iamb.* 18. See *Gassend.* lib. vii, cap. iv.

(140) *Origen*, contra Celsum, lib. vii, pag. 375.

(141) *Rem.* [N], Citat. (129).

(142) *Plot.* in *Demetrio*, pag. 905: A.

(142*) *Rondellus*, de Vita & Moribus *Epicuri*, pag. 126.

(143) *Bolzac*, Letter xxvii, of the fourteenth Book, pag. 613. Edit. in Folio.

(144) *Hiſtor.* lib. iv, cap. viii.

(145) *Alexander Severus*, apud *Herodian.* lib. vi, cap. iii, pag. m. 262.

(146) *Seneca*, Epist. lxxi, p. 8. m. 325.

solum habuisset, sed pene inauditos. Numquid ergo non postea, quam esse desiderat, inventus est? numquid non opinio ejus emicuit? Hoc *Metrodorus* quod in quadam epistola confitetur, se & *Epicurum* non satis eminuisse: sed post, se & *Epicurum*, magnum paratumque nomen habituros, apud eos qui voluissent per eadem ire vestigia. — How many have there been, says he, whose merits have not been known till they were almost forgot? How many have there been, to whom Fame gave at first a cool reception, and afterwards raised from Obscurity. You see *Epicurus*: how much is he admired not only by the learned, but also by the undisciplined Vulgar? He was unknown even at *Athens*. Having survived his Friend *Metrodorus* several Years, he wrote an Epistle, wherein he published a grateful Acknowledgement of their Friendship, and concluded with saying, that he and *Metrodorus*, amidst their great good Fortune, had received no Disadvantage from being not only unknown, but almost unheard of in Greece. But was not he found after he had ceased to be? Did not his Doctrine blaze forth? *Metrodorus*, in a certain Epistle, makes the same Confession, that he and *Epicurus* had not appeared with sufficient Lustre, but that they both should one day have a more noble Esteem from those who would tread in the same Paths. Note, That in *Seneca's* Time, not only the Learned, but also the Ignorant, had great Admiration for *Epicurus*. We have the Testimony of a Father of the Church, that *Metrodorus* did not feed himself with chimerical Notions, or vain Hopes, when he thought that the Sect of his good Friend *Epicurus* would make more Noise in the succeeding Ages, than it did during their Lives: For *Lactantius* declares that that Sect was ever more flourishing than the rest (147).

[Q] *Plutarch* has been so just, as to shew that there is nothing in his Banquet unworthy of a Philosopher. His Prejudices against *Epicurus* are sufficiently known, and therefore we may be assured that he does not favour him, and that when he justifies him, it is because he finds that he is wrongfully censured. He begins with saying, that They inveighed against *Epicurus* for introducing, in his Banquet, an impertinent and unseemly Discourse, about what Time was best to have to do with a Woman. For an old Man, at Supper, in the Company of Youths, to talk of such a Subject, and dispute whether after or before Supper was the most convenient Time, argued him to be a very loose and debauched Man (148). He says a little after, that *Zopyrus*, the Physician, a Man very well read in *Epicurus*, represented to those Critics, That they had not duly weighed that Piece; for he did not propose that Question at first, and as the beginning of the Discourse on purpose; but after Supper he desired the young Men to take a Walk, and then discourse and dispute upon it, abate their Desires, and restrain their Appetites: shewing them, that it was very hurtful at all Times, but especially after they had been eating and making merry. But suppose he had proposed this as the chief Topic for Discourse, does it not become a Philosopher to enquire which is the convenient and proper Time? Ought we not to time it well, and direct our Embraces by Reason? Or may such Discourses be otherwise allowed, and must they be thought unseemly Problems to be proposed at Table? Indeed I am of another Mind. It is true, I should blame a Philosopher, that in the middle of the Day, in the Schools, before all sorts of Men, should discourse of such a Subject; but over a Glass of Wine, between Friends and Acquaintance, when it is necessary to propose something besides dull serious Discourse, why should it be a Fault to hear or speak any Thing that may inform our Judgments, or direct our Practice in such Matters? And I protest, I had rather that *Zeno* had inserted his loose Topics of Po-

(147) *Epicuri* disciplina celebrior semper fuit quam ceterorum. *Lactant.* Divin. Instit. lib. iii, cap. xviii.

(148) *Plutarch*, in the third Book of his Table-Talk, chap. vi.

one cannot live agreeably according to *Epicurus's* Principles. He shews, amongst other Things, that the Doctrine, which denies God's Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, deprives a Man of a Thousand Comforts in Life [R], and drives him to Despair when he is near Death. I am not sorry that the Author has forborn examining, whether those, who denied a Providence, argued more consistently than those who acknowledged one: I mean, Whether supposing, as all Philosophers did, that Matter was *self-existent*, it was not a more solid Reasoning to maintain that the Gods did not actuate Matter, than to suppose they disposed of it (as they pleased). I say once more, I am not sorry *Plutarch* did not enter upon the Examination of that Question; for he was too much prepossessed against *Epicureism*, and too far engaged in certain Hypotheses, not to embarrass and embroil that nice and great Subject; but I am sorry I have met with no Book wherein this Matter was in some measure discussed. Methinks that, among so many Apologists for *Epicurus*, there should have been some, who, at the same Time that they condemned his Impiety, should have endeavoured to shew, That it was a Natural and Philosophical Consequence of the Error common to all the Heathens, about the Eternal Existence of Matter [S]. I shall make some Observations

in some merry Discourses, and agreeable Table-talk, than in such a grave serious Piece of his Politics. The Greek is, *Νὺ τὸν κύνα, καὶ τὸ ζῆ-
νονος ἂν ἐβόλουν διαμεριστὸς ἐν συμποσίῳ
τινὶ καὶ παιδίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σπεύδῃς τοσαύτης ἐ-
χομένη συγγραμμάτων τῇ πολιτείᾳ καλῶν ἁγ-
χῶν.* *Per canem adjuro optare me suos illos diame-
ris-
mos obsecrans Zenonem in convivio aliquo aut joco quam
in tam serio de republica opere posuisse* (150). Here you see *Epicurus* justified, by a Writer who was not much his Friend; justified, I say, both in the Thing it self, and in the Manner of it, against a set of Slanderers, who after all were in the wrong, and who unfaithfully related the Circumstances. But here is another sort of Justification. *Plutarch* himself imitates him; he disputes at Table about the same Question; he turns it every way, and reasons like a great Master in these Things. He is nevertheless one of the gravest Authors among the Heathens, and one who constantly inveighed against Immorality: Which ought to teach our false Zealots and pretended nice Critics, that they are rashly, and without Reason, offended at the liberty the Author has taken, in this Dictionary, to relate what they call merry Stories. Do not our Christian Physicians, even those who carefully keep up the Character of Gravity, and shew a great Zeal for the Purity of Morals, handle the same Question, the handling of which was charged upon *Epicurus* as a Crime? Let their Style be never so clean, can they examine that Question without raking into Filthiness, and without presenting a great many obscene Images to the Mind? But would it not be ridiculous to pretend, under this pretence, that they ought not to discuss it, let the Rules and Cautions they give, and the Observations they make, be never so useful? Note, that *Amiot*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, and Great Almoner of *France*, made no manner of scruple to publish in French the whole Chapter, out of which I have taken some Passages: though it be stuffed with obscene Matters which he has ingeniously expressed. It must also be confessed, that the Morality of *Plutarch* in it is very fine; for he prescribes the Night for Love-Sports, out of a Principle of Religion. For, says he (151), all Men have not the Command of that happy Ease and Tranquillity, which *Epicurus's* Philosophy procured him; for many great Incumbrances seize almost upon every one every Day, or at least some Disquiets, and it is not safe to trust the Body with any of these, when it is in such a Condition and Disturbance presently after the Fury and Heat of the Embrace is over. Let, according to his Opinion, the happy and immortal Deity sit at ease, and never mind us; but if we regard the Laws of our Country, we must not dare to enter into the Temple and offer Sacrifice, if but a little before we have done any such Thing. It is fit therefore to let Night and Sleep intervene, and after there is a sufficient space of Time passed between, rise as it were pure and new, and, as *Demonax* was wont to say, with new Thoughts upon the new Day.

[R] The Doctrine which denies God's Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, robs Man of a Thousand Comforts. *Plutarch* proves this so solidly, that after having read his Reasonings, one cannot sufficiently wonder at the powerful Influence the first Impressions of certain Objects have upon our Minds. The

first Idea, which presents itself to those who will examine the Case of Irreligion, is the Idea of a Liberty most happy according to human Notions, wherein a Man may gratify all his Desires without either Fear or Remorse. This Idea takes so deep a Root in the Mind, and fills it up to that degree, that if any one tells us, that the Condition of a pious Man, in Point of temporal Advantages, is incomparably above that of an *Epicurean*, we reject that Assertion as a most absurd Lye. Nevertheless, this pretended Lye is supported by a vast number of strong Reasons, as *Plutarch* has very well made it appear. The Honesty of that Author, in this part of his Dispute, seems very considerable to me, in case he was sensible how far his Reasons might serve to justify *Epicureism*; for if it be certain, that by denying God's Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, a Man deprives himself of a thousand Blessings and Comforts, it was not thro' Motives of Interest, through Self-love or Voluptuousness, that *Epicurus* chose the Philosophical Hypothesis he taught. He would rather have chosen the other, if he had been determined by such Motives. There are many Things to be said upon this Matter; but I chuse to refer them to another Book (152), wherein I shall likewise examine an Objection which Mr le Fevre has proposed against *Plutarch*. He accuses him of having contradicted himself; to prove which, he mentions what *Plutarch*, disputing against *Epicurus*, has said about the temporal Advantages and Comforts of Religion, and what the same *Plutarch* has maintained in another Place, that Superstition is worse than Atheism (153).

[S] Some of *Epicurus's* Apologists should have endeavoured to shew that his Impiety was a natural Consequence of the eternal Existence of Matter.] There was, among the Natural Philosophers of the Heathens, a great variety of Opinions, about the Origin of the World, and the Nature of the Element or Elements, of which they pretended particular Bodies to have been formed. Some maintained, that Water was the Principle of all things, others gave that Quality to the Air, others to the Fire, others to Homogeneous Parts, &c. but they all agreed in this Point, that the Matter of the World was unproduced. They never disputed among themselves upon the Question, whether any Thing was made out of Nothing. They all agreed, that this was impossible; and consequently the independent Eternity, which *Epicurus* attributed to Atoms, was not an Opinion which other Sects might condemn with respect to that necessary and increased Existence; for every one of them ascribed the same Nature to the Principles they admitted. Now I say, this Impiety being once supposed, to wit, that God is not the Creator of Matter; it is less absurd to maintain, as the *Epicureans* did, that God was not the Author of the World, and did not concern himself with the Government of it, than to maintain, as many other Philosophers did, that he had formed it, and did both preserve and direct it. What they said, was true indeed; but however, they spoke not consistently with their Principles. It was an intruding Truth, which had got into their System, not thro' the Door, but thro' the Window; and if they found themselves in the right Way, it was because they went astray from the Road they had first entered upon. If they had known how to follow it, they would not have proved orthodox; and

(150) *Plut.* in
Sympos. lib. iii,
esp. vi, pag. 653.

(151) *Plut.* *Ibid.*
pag. 655.

(152) In the Sequel of the Penitences diversas far les Cometes.

(153) *Tanay-Fabre, Preface to his Translation of Plutarch's Treatise concerning Superstition. See the same also towards the End of his Remarks upon that Treatise.*

servations thereupon, which will shew, amongst other Things, I. That when a Man does not follow the System of the Holy Scripture, concerning the Creation, the more consequentially

and therefore that Orthodoxy was a balked and monstrous Production, which by chance resulted from their Ignorance, and for which they were indebted to their Incapacity of reasoning well. This Reproach was yet much stronger with respect to those Philosophers who lived before *Anaxagoras*, since they explained the Generation of the World without the Intervention of the Finger of God (154). If after that they admitted a Divine Providence, they reasoned much worse than those, who did not admit it till after they had supposed that the Divine Intelligence presided over the Reduction of the Chaos to Order, and the first Formation of the Parts of this World.

If I should say no more, most of my Readers would imagine that I advance as impious a Paradox as the Doctrine of *Epicurus* itself. I must therefore explain this as clearly as possible: In order to that, I shall first lay down this Foundation, That, according to the System of all the Heathen Philosophers who believed a God, there was an eternal, increased Being distinct from God; to wit, Matter; which owed its Existence to its own Nature only, and had no Dependence upon any other Thing, either as to its Essence, Existence, Attributes, or Properties. Therefore it could not be affirmed, without contradicting the Laws and Notions of Order, which are the standing Rules of our Judgments and Reasonings, That another Being has exercised such a great Power over Matter, as to have made an absolute Change in it: And consequently those, who have advanced, that Matter, having eternally existed by itself, without being a World, began to be a World when God was pleased to move it in a thousand different Ways; condensing it in one Place, rarifying it in another, &c. have advanced a Doctrine that shocks the most exact Notions, to which those who philosophize are bound to conform themselves. If *Epicurus* had thus interrogated a Platonic Philosopher, *Pray tell me by what Right God has deprived Matter of that State wherein it had eternally subsisted? What is his Title? Whence has he his Commission to make this Reform? What could the Platonic have answered? Could he have founded God's Title upon the superior Force with which he was endowed? In this Case, would he not have made God act according to the Law of the strongest, and after the Manner of those conquering Usurpers, whose Conduct is manifestly opposite to Right, and which Reason and the Notions of Order represent to us as unjustifiable? Would he have said, that God being much more perfect than Matter, it was just he should subject it to his Dominion? but even this clashes with the Notions of Reason. The most excellent Man of a City has no Right to make himself Master of it, and cannot lawfully govern there, unless that Authority is conferred upon him. In short, we know no other lawful Title of Dominion than that which either the Quality of Cause, or the Quality of Benefactor, or that of Purchaser, or a voluntary Submission, &c. can give. Now nothing of all this can have Place between an increased Matter and the Divine Nature: therefore we must conclude, That, without violating the Laws of Order, God could not make himself Master of that Matter, to dispose of it at his Will. If you allege what passes between Man and other Animals, and the Dominion he exercises over Beasts he has neither produced nor fed (155), I will answer (156), That either his Wants, or his Passions, being the Basis of that Dominion, that cannot serve to make us apprehend how God could assume the Command over Matter; he who wants nothing, and who finds in himself the whole Stock of his infinite Felicity; and who is capable of no Passion, and cannot do any Action that is not perfectly conformable to the strictest Justice.*

Omnis enim per se divum natura necesse est
Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur

Ipse suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri (157).

For what's her's Divine must live in Peace,
In undisturb'd and everlasting Ease,

From all Dependence on our Nature free,
Sufficient to its own Felicity.

A Platonic, thus pressed, would be obliged to say, That God exercised his Power over Matter merely from a Principle of Goodness. God, would he say (158), knew perfectly these two Things: the one, that he would do nothing against the Inclination of Matter, by subjecting it to his Dominion; for being insensible, it could not be capable of being grieved at the loss of its Independency: The other, that it was in a State of Confusion and Imperfection; a disorderly heap of Materials, of which an excellent Edifice might be made, and some of which might be converted into living Bodies and thinking Substances: Wherefore he was pleased to communicate to Matter a more beautiful and more noble State than that which it was first in. Is there any thing in this unworthy of a Being sovereignly just, and sovereignly good? This, methinks, is the most rational Answer a Platonic could make; but I think, at the same time, that *Epicurus* would desire no better than to see the Controversy brought to that Issue: For he would have many Difficulties to propose.

I. He would ask, in the first Place, whether a thing can be capable of a more convenient State than that it has ever been in, and in which it has eternally been placed by its own Nature, and the Necessity of its Existence. Is not such a Condition the most natural that can be imagined? Can that want any Reformation which has been regulated and determined by the Nature of Things, and by that Necessity to which all that exists by itself owes its Existence? Is it not necessarily to last a whole Eternity? And is not this a Proof that any Reformation would come too late, and consequently would be incompatible with the Wisdom of the Reformer?

II. But let us suppose the Maxim, *Better late than never; Præstat sero quam nunquam*: How will that Reformer do to change the State and Condition of Matter? Must he not produce Motion in it? And, in order to that, must he not touch and push it? If he can touch and push it, he is not distinct from Matter; and if he be not distinct from Matter, it is without Reason you admit two increased Beings: the one which you call *Matter*, the other which you call *God*: For since there is in effect nothing but Matter in the Universe, our Dispute is at an End; the Author of the World, that Director, the Divine Providence in Question, vanish into Smoke. If he be distinct from Matter, he has no extension: tell me then, how he can apply himself to Bodies to drive them out of their Places? The Platonic would answer, That Matter was ever in Motion, and therefore it was only necessary to direct that Motion: But it will be replied, that in order to direct the Motion of certain Bodies, it is necessary to move others. This appears in the working of a Ship, and in all machines: Wherefore the Divine Nature, unless it were Material, could with no more ease give a new Determination to a Motion already existing, than produce Motion originally. Note, That *Aristotle* has acknowledged the Supposition of the eternal Motion of Matter to be absurd: He solidly confutes *Plato*, who advanced, that before the Formation of the World there was a disorderly Agitation in the Elements. *Ἦν γὰρ ἀτάκτως τὸν κόσμον ἐκινεῖτο τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀτάκτως. Elementa inordinata movebantur antea quam mundus esset* (159). He convinces him of contradicting himself; and observes in general against those who taught, That the Motion that preceded the Existence of the World was irregular, that they advanced an Absurdity; since the Motion which agrees to most things, and for a longer Time, ought to be accounted natural: From whence it follows, that the Production of the World would rather be an Overthrow of the State of Nature, than an Introduction of the true natural State: *Ἐπὶ τὸ ἀτάκτως, ἔδεν εἶναι ἕτερον, ἢ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, ἢ γὰρ τάξις ἢ οἰκία, τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸτο ἀτοπον καὶ ἀδύνατον, τὸ, τὸ ἀπύρρον ἀτακτὸν ἔχειν κίνησιν. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἢ φύσις ἐκείνη τῶν πραγμάτων, οἷον ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον. συμπαύειν*

(158) Note, That this Platonic, pressed by *Epicurus's* Objections, must be forced to abandon the Opinion which *Plato* ascribes to *Plato*, touching the Soul of Matter. See the Rem. [U] towards the End.

(159) *Plato*, in *Timæo* apud *Aristotelem* de *Cælo*, lib. iii, cap. ii, pag. m. 320. G.

(154) See the Article ANAXAGORAS, Rem. [F].

(155) I speak thus, because I consider Men and Beasts in general; and not a Man in particular, who buys, feeds, &c. such or such a Beast.

(156) I suppose, that it is *Epicurus* makes this Answer, and not a Man who has read, in *Genesis*, what is the lawful Cause of the Authority we exercise over Animals.

(157) *Lucret. lib. i, ver. 57.*

consequentially he reasons, the more he goes astray. II. That that System alone has the

Causes in the World, the more he goes astray. II. That that System alone has the
 εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, τὴν δὲ τάξιν καὶ τὸν κόσμον παρὰ φύσιν. καὶ τοὶ ἑδὲν ὡς ἐτυχὲ γίγνεται τὰ κατὰ φύσιν: Præterea inordinate quippiam fieri nil aliud est, quam fieri præter naturam: ordo enim proprius sensibilibus natura nimirum est. At verò hoc absurdum est ac impossibile, infinitum inquam inordinatum motum habere. Est enim ea natura rerum quam plures & majori tempore habent. Contrarium igitur istis accidit, inordinationem quidem esse secundum naturam, ordinem verò mundum præter naturam: & tamen nihil eorum, quæ sunt secundum naturam, sit fortè fortuna (160). Wherefore he observes, that Anaxagoras, who supposed that the Parts of Matter were at Rest when the World was first produced, had right Notions of the Thing. Εἰς δὲ τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ καλῶς Ἀναξαγόρας ὑπολαμβάνει ἀκινήτων γὰρ ἀρχῆς κοσμοποιεῖν. Videtur autem Anaxagoras hoc ipsum bene accepisse: ex immobilibus enim incipit conficere mundum (161). Let us return to Epicurus.

III. Let us, if you please, reckon all my Reasons à priori for nothing, would he say in the third Place to the Platonist. Nay, I give up this Objection, viz. That Goodness is not to be commended, unless it be accompanied with Judgment. Now we do not see that judicious People, though never so good-natured, meddle of their own accord with the domestic Disorders of their Neighbours; they content themselves with settling Things in a right order at home (162). A wise Prince remedies Abuses in his State; but he does not trouble himself with reforming neighbouring Monarchies, leaving that Care to those to whom they belong. We might presuppose upon that Notion of Wisdom, that God could not undertake to remedy the Imperfections of Matter: He was not answerable for them, since he had no Share in the Production of Bodies; which 'twas the Work of Nature, and therefore she ought to dispose of it. I give up this Argument, would Epicurus say; and I give you Leave to make use of the Example of those Heroes, who have been ranked among the Gods for the great Services they have done human Kind.

Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Castore Pollux,
 Post ingentia facta, Deorum in templa recepti,
 Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
 Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt (163).

Bacchus, Quirinus, and the Sons of Jove,
 Whose Virtues rais'd them to the Gods above,
 Whilst here they liv'd, check'd War's destructive Rage,
 Built Towns, made Laws, and civiliz'd the Age.

Let us consider in another Sense, if those Motives of Goodness you mention ought not to have been overruled by Reasons of Wisdom.

IV. A wise Agent never undertakes to employ a great Heap of Materials, without having first well examined their Qualities, and being assured they are susceptible of the Form he designs to give them; and if, upon examining their Qualities, he finds that they have incorrigible Faults, which would render their new Condition worse than the former, he will not meddle with them: He abandons them to themselves; and judges, he will act with more Wisdom and Goodness in leaving Things as he finds them, than in giving them another Form which would become pernicious. Now you Platonist agree (164), that there has been in Matter a real Defect, which was an Obstacle to God's Project; an Obstacle, I say, which has not permitted

God to make a World free from those Disorders we perceive in it: And it is certain, on the other side, that those Disorders render the Condition of Matter infinitely more unhappy than that eternal, necessary, and independent State in which it had been before the Generation of the World. All was insensible in that State: Grief, Pain, Crime, all Physical and Moral Evils, were then unknown. It is true, there was no Pleasure felt: But that Privation of Good was not an Evil; since it cannot be so, but as it is felt and lamented. You see therefore that it did not become a wife and good Being to change the Condition of Matter, to transform it into such a World as this is. It contained in it's Bosom the Seeds of all the Crimes and Miseries we now behold: But those were unfruitful Seeds; and in that State they did no more Harm than if they had not existed; nor were they pernicious and fatal, till after the Animals were hatched out of them by the Formation of the World. Thus Matter was a Camarina which should not have been stirred (165); it should have been left in it's eternal Rest: Well remembering, that the more one stirs a stinking Matter, the more it spreads it's Infection round. We must not doubt but the Divine Nature has acted by this Notion; and therefore it is not she has made the World.

V. It could not be answered to Epicurus, that God did not foresee the Malignity of the Souls that should be hatched out of those Seeds of Matter: For he would presently reply, I. That thereby we should ascribe to God such an Ignorance as would have had ill Consequences; II. That at least God would have foreseen things to their former State, after he had seen the ill Effects of his Work; and that so the World would not have lasted till the Time when he, Epicurus, disputed with a Platonist about the Doctrine of Providence.

VI. His last Objection would be the strongest: He would shew to his Adversary, that the most intimate, general, and infallible Notion we have of God is, that God enjoys a perfect Felicity (166). Now this is incompatible with the Supposition of Providence: For if he governs the World, he has created it; if he has created it, he has either foreseen all the Disorders that are in it, or he has not foreseen them. If he has foreseen them, it cannot be said that he made the World out of a Principle of Goodness; which destroys the best Answer of the Platonist. If he has not foreseen them, it is impossible that, seeing the ill success of his Work, he should not have been extremely grieved at it: he would have been convinced that he had not known the Quality of the Materials, or had wanted Power to overcome their Resistance, as without doubt he hoped to have done. There is no Workman that can see without Grief his hopes baffled, that he has missed his Aim, and that, having designed to work for the public Good, he had made a pernicious Machine, &c. We have indeed some Ideas, whereby we know that this can never be God's Case; but we have none whereby to know, that, if by an Impossibility it was his Case, he were not to be pitied, and most unhappy.

VII. If you suppose afterwards, that, instead of destroying such a Work, he obstinately resolves to preserve it, and continually to be employed either in mending it's Faults, or preventing their Increase; you give us the Idea of the most unhappy Nature that can be conceived. He designed to build a magnificent Palace for the Accommodation of animated Creatures, which were to come out of the shapeless Bosom of Matter, and there to bestow Felicity upon them; but it happened that those Creatures did but eat one another, being incapable to continue alive, if the Flesh of

(160) Aristotel. de Cælo, lib. iii, cap. ii, pag. 37, B.

(161) Id. ibid. C.

(162) See Erasmus upon the Proverb, Adibus in nostris quæ prava aut recta geruntur; which is in the 8th of the 11th Century of the first Cædars, pag. m. 222.

(163) Horat. Epist. I, lib. iii, ver. 5.

(164) Nota, Materiam inobsequentem, & ab eâ Præva esse. Plato sæpè hæc tangit, & hæc transit: ut cum dicit Materiam, aut in ea Ψυχὴν, ἀτακτὴν καὶ κακοταίον, Animam, incompotitam & mali auctorem, sive maleficam, iterumque, ἐναντίαν καὶ ἀντίπαλον τῇ ἀσάβερῳ φύσει: Adversariam & rebellem Beneficæ Naturæ, id est Deo. Animam sive Vim in Materia dicit: neque enim ipsam per se vult malam, sed latens in ea aliquid, quod in generatione se exerit & promit. Imò duas Mundi animas ab eo statui, natu jam grandiore, in Libris de Legibus; & cum diu fluctasset, Beneficam ac Maleficam; Plutarchus est auctor. — There is a Perverseness in Matter, which is the Cause of Depravity. Plato often touches upon this; to this he often has Recourse, as when he says that Matter has an inordinate Spirit which is prone to Evil, and, in another Place, stubborn and disobedient to the Beneficent Nature, that is, to God. He says there is a Spirit or Power in Matter, nor does he make it to be bad in itself, but some latent Quality therein which exerts and displays itself in Generation. In his later Years, in his Books of Laws, he asserted two Souls of the World, and after some wavering admitted one good, the other bad; as Plutarch assures us. Lipsius, Phys. Stoicor. l. 1. differt. 14. pag. m. 867. He quotes Plutarch, de Iside & Osiride. He ought to have quoted him also, de Animæ procreat. ex Timæo. See also Maximus Tyrius, Serm. 25.

(165) See Erasmus upon the Proverb, Movere Camarinam. It is the 6th of the 1st Century of the first Cædars. He quotes this Greek Verse: Μη μωραὶς καμάριναν ἀκινήτος γὰρ ἀμείβω. Ne moveas Camarinam, etenim non tangere præstat.

(166) See the Poets of Lucræ, quoted above Citat. (157), and in Rem. [N] of the Article SPINOZA, n. 5.

the Advantage of laying the solid Foundation of the Providence, and Perfections of God [7]. There is nothing more wretched than *Epicurus's* way of explaining the Liberty

some did not serve as Food to others. It happened that the most perfect of those Animals did not spare even the Flesh of those of his Kind; there happened to be Cannibals among them: And those, who abstained from that Brutality, did not forbear persecuting one another, and were a prey to Envy, Jealousy, Fraud, Avarice, Cruelty, Diseases, Cold, Heat, Hunger, &c. Their Author struggling continually with the Malignity of the Matter productive of these Disorders (167), and obliged to have always the Thunderbolt in his Hand (168), and to pour down upon the Earth Pestilence, War, and Famine; which, with the Wheels and Gibbets with which Highways abound, do not hinder Evil from maintaining itself: Can their Author, I say, be looked upon as a happy Being? Can one be happy, when at the end of four thousand Years Labour he has made no further Progress in his Work than the first Day he undertook it, and which he passionately desires to finish? Is not this Image of Infelicity as lively as *Exion's* Wheel, *Sisyphus's* Stone, and the Tub of the *Danaides*?

I say nothing but what is very likely, when I suppose that *Epicurus* persuaded himself that the Gods would soon have repented the having made the World; and that the Trouble of governing so indocile and refractory an Animal as Man, would disturb their Felicity. Do we not see in the Scripture, that the True God, accommodating himself to our Capacity, has revealed himself as a Being, who, having known the Malice of Man, repented, and was sorry he had created him (169), and as a Being who is provoked, and complaining of the ill Success of his Labour (170)? He says to *Israel*, *All the Day long I have stretched forth my Hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying People* (171). I know well enough that the same Book, which teaches us all these things, teaches us likewise how to rectify the Idea they present to us at first Sight: But *Epicurus*, destitute as he was of the Light of Revelation, could not rectify Philosophy, and must of necessity follow the Path which such a Guide shewed him. Now, faithfully pursuing this Track, and supported by these two Principles; one, that Matter was self-existent, and suffered not itself to be managed according to God's Desire; the other, that the Felicity of God cannot admit the least Disturbance; he must have rested in this Conclusion, that there is no Divine Providence. We shall draw from thence some Consequences advantageous to the Truth of the Christian Religion. See the following Remark. Note, That if instead of engaging *Epicurus* with a *Platonic*, I had made him dispute with a Priest of *Athens*, he would have carried the Victory with more Ease. See also the following Remark.

[7] *The System of Scripture alone has the Advantage of laying the solid Foundation of the Providence, and Perfections of God.* *Epicurus's* Objections, which have been set forth in the preceding Remark, and were sufficient to nonplus the Heathen Philosophers, disappear and vanish away like Smoke, with respect to those whom Revelation has taught, That God is the Creator of the World, both as to it's Matter and to it's Form. This Truth is of the utmost Importance: For we draw from thence, as from a plentiful Source, the most sublime and most fundamental Doctrines, and one cannot lay down the Hypothesis opposite to that, without overthrowing several great Principles of Reasoning. From God's being the Creator of Matter, it results, I. That with the most lawful Authority that can be, he disposes of the Universe as he thinks fit: II. That he needs only a single Act of his Will to do whatever he pleases: III. That nothing happens but what he has placed in the Plan of his Work. It follows from thence, That the Conduct of the World is not an Employment that can either fatigue or trouble God, and that no Events whatsoever can disturb his Felicity. If some Things happen which he has forbidden, and which he punishes, they do not however happen contrary to his Decrees; and they are subservient to the Ends he has proposed to himself from all Eternity, and which are the greatest Mysteries of the Gospel. But the better to know the Importance of the Doctrine of the Creation, we must also cast our Eyes upon the inextricable Difficulties into which they involve themselves who deny it. Consider therefore what *Epicurus*

VOL. II.

might have objected to the *Platonians*, as we have seen before, and what may be said now-a-days against the *Socinians*. They have rejected the Evangelical Mysteries, because they could not reconcile them with the Light of Reason. They would have contradicted themselves, if they had agreed that God created Matter: For this Philosophical Axiom, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, *Nothing is made out of nothing*, is as evident as the Principles by Virtue of which they have denied the Trinity and the Hypostatic Union. They have therefore denied the Creation: But what have they got by it? Why, the falling into one Abyss by avoiding another (172): For they have been obliged to acknowledge the independent Existence of Matter, and at the same time to submit it to the Authority of another Being. They have been forced to own, That necessary Existence may belong to a Substance which is besides full of Defects and Imperfection; and this destroys a most evident Notion, to wit, That what is eternally and independently self-existent, ought to be infinitely perfect: For what could have set Bounds to the Power and Attributes of such a Being? In short, they must answer most of the Difficulties, which I have supposed *Epicurus* might have proposed to the Philosophers who admitted the Eternity of Matter (173). From whence we may infer, by the by, That it is very advantageous to the True Religion, to shew that the Eternity of Matter draws after it the Destruction of Divine Providence. By this Means we shew the Necessity, Truth, and Certainty of the Creation.

I am sure one of the greatest Philosophers of this Age, and at the same time one of the most zealous Writers for the Doctrines of the Gospel, will agree, that by making an Apology for *Epicurus*, such as you have seen it *ex hypothesi* in the preceding Remark, one does the true Faith no small Service. He teaches not only, That there would be no Providence, if God had not created Matter; but even, That God would not know that there is Matter, if it was uncreated. I shall cite his Words at large, wherein the *Socinians* will find their Condemnation: 'How stupid and ridiculous Philosophers are! They imagine the Creation to be impossible, because they do not conceive the Power of God to be so great as to make something out of nothing. But can they conceive how God's Power is able to move a Straw? If they consider it well, they conceive not the one more clearly than the other, since they have no clear Idea of Efficacy or Power; inasmuch that if they followed their false Principle, they ought to affirm, That God wants even the Power to give Motion to Matter. But this false Conclusion would engage them in such impertinent and impious Opinions, that they would soon become the Objects of the Contempt and Indignation even of the least understanding Persons: For they would soon be reduced to maintain, That there is no Motion or Change in the World; or else, that all those Changes are not produced by any Cause, nor regulated by Wisdom . . . (174). If Matter was uncreated, God could neither move it, nor form any thing out of it: For God can neither move Matter, nor wisely dispose of it, without knowing it. Now God cannot know it, unless He gives Existence to it: For God can have no Knowledge of any thing but from Himself. Nothing can act in Him, or enlighten Him. Therefore if God did not see in Himself, and by the Knowledge He has of His Will, the Existence of Matter, it would have been eternally unknown to Him: He could not therefore dispose it into Order, or form any Work out of it. Now Philosophers agree, as well as you, That God can move Bodies: And so, tho' they have no clear Idea of Power or Efficacy, tho' they see no Connection between the Will of God and the Productions of Creatures, they ought to acknowledge, that God has created Matter, unless they mean to make Him impotent and ignorant; which is corrupting the Idea we have of Him, and denying His Existence' (175).

Before I end, I will make another Observation. I have made *Epicurus* dispute against a *Platonic* Philosopher; which was not making the most of his Advantages: For he would have confuted all the other Sects much more easily than that of *Plato*. But his greatest Advantage

(167) Utrum . . . Deus quod vult efficiat, an in multis rebus illud tractanda destituant, & à magno artifice prave formentur multa, non quia cessat ars, sed quia id in quo exerceatur sepe inobsequens arti est. Seneca, in *Prof. lib. i.* *Quaest. Natur.*

(168) . . . neque Per nostrum patitur scelus Incedenda Jovem ponere fulmina. But still averse to Jove's Command We won't permit his lifted Hand To lay his angry Thunder down. Horat. *Od. iii.* lib. i. ver. 38.

(169) Gen. vi. 5, 6.

(170) Isaiah, v. & passim alibi, the Prophets and Psalms.

(171) Rom. x. 2.

(172) Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim. See Erasmus, *Chil. i.* Cent. v. n. 4.

(173) Note. That it is affirmed, that some Socinians have turned Socinists, by reason of the Difficulties they have found in the Hypothesis of a material principle existing by itself, and distinct from God.

(174) Father Mallebranche, *Méditations Chrétiennes*, 12^e Méditation, n. 3, pag. m. 140.

(175) Id. ibid. n. 5, pag. 141, 142.

A FICTITIOUS Dispute between *Epicurus* and a Pagan Priest.

Advantage would have been to dispute with a Priest. Let us give a Specimen of it: Let us suppose that *Epicurus* told him, You call me impious, because I teach, That the Gods do not meddle with the Government of the World; and I charge you with not knowing how to reason, and, besides, with doing the Gods a great Injury. Is it consonant to the Light of Reason, to believe that *Jupiter* has an absolute Power over the Universe; he who is Son of *Saturn*, and Grandson to Heaven? Is it for an Upright-Deity, as he was, to govern Matter, which is an eternal and independent Being? Know that whatever has a Beginning, is as new as what was done yesterday and to day in comparison of Eternity. Do not therefore subvert all order, by subjecting the Matter of the Universe to so young a God. Let us come to the other Point: Answer me, pray; are the Gods pleased with their Administration, or no? Mind well my Dilemma: If they are pleased with what happens under their Providence, then they delight in Evil; if they are displeased with it, then they are unhappy. Now it clashes with common Notions, that they should love what is Evil, and that they should not be happy. They do not like Evil, would the Priest answer; nay, they look upon it as a great Offence, which they punish severely: And from hence proceed Plagues, Wars, Famines, Shipwrecks, Inundations, &c. I conclude from your Answer, would *Epicurus* reply, that they are unhappy: For nothing can make one's Life more unhappy, than to be continually exposed to Injuries, and continually obliged to revenge them. Sin never ceases among Men; therefore there is not one Moment in the Day wherein the Gods have not some Affronts put upon them. The Plague, War, and the other Evils you have mentioned, never cease upon Earth: For if they end from Time to Time in one Country, they never cease with respect to all Nations; and so the Gods have no sooner taken Revenge of one Nation, but they must begin to punish another: Their Work is never at an end. What a Life is this? Could one with a greater Torment to one's mortal Enemy (176) I had much rather attribute to them a quiet Condition, void of care. But, would the Priest say, you suppose then, that they see the Disorders of Mankind unconcerned, and without endeavouring to redress them: Does this Indifference do them much Credit? Are they not younger than the Heaven? would *Epicurus* reply; do not you say, that the most ancient of the Gods, who reigns at present, accounts the Heaven his Grandfather? They did not then make the World; and therefore it is not for them to concern themselves with what passes upon Earth, or elsewhere. They know that Matter exists from all Eternity, and that the fatal Necessity of self-existing Beings cannot be changed: They therefore let the Stream run on, and do not undertake to reform an immutable Order. Neither ought we to wonder that their Perfections are limited, since you confess that those of Matter, which exists eternally, are very small. Your *Jupiter*, and his Assistants in the Celestial Council, have little Reason to pretend to punish Leudness; since they themselves are so unfaithful to their Wives, and have deflowered so many Virgins. You cannot deny however (would the Priest answer) but the Doctrine of Providence is of great Force to keep the People in their Duty. That is not the thing in question now, would *Epicurus* reply: Do not change the State of our Dispute. We seek not what may have been established as an useful Invention, but what truly flows from the Light of Reason.

(176) Hostibus
eveniunt talia
dona meis.

[U] There is nothing more wretched, than *Epicurus's* way of explaining the Liberty of human Actions. There is no System, from which the fatal Necessity of all things flows more inevitably, than from that which *Epicurus* borrowed of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*: For what they said, that the World had formed itself by Chance, or by the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, did not exclude the Direction of an intelligent Cause; and did not signify, that the Production of the World was not a Consequence of the eternal and necessary Laws of the Motion of corporeal Principles. And indeed, it is certain that *Democritus* attributed all things to a necessitating Destiny: Quam duæ sententiae fuissent veterum philosophorum, una eorum qui censerent, omnia ita fato fieri, ut id fatum vim necessitatis asserret, in qua sententia *DEMOCRITUS*, *HERACLITUS*, *EMPEDO-*

cles, *ARISTOTELES* fuit: altera eorum, quibus viderentur sine ullo fato esse animorum motus voluntarii: *CHRYSSIPPUS* tanquam honorarius arbiter, &c. (177). — There have been two Opinions amongst the ancient Philosophers; one that made every thing so dependant upon Fate, as to imply a necessity; on this side stood *DEMOCRITUS*, *HERACLITUS*, *EMPEDOCLEAS*, *ARISTOTELIS*: The other, which maintained that the Actions of the Mind were voluntary, and not influenced by Fate. *EPICURUS* not liking an Opinion which seemed to overthrow all Morality, and reduce the humane Soul to the Condition of a Machine, abandoned in that Particular the System of Atoms, and sided with those who admitted Freedom in the Will of Man. He declared against fatal Necessity, and even took unnecessary Precautions: For lest it should be inferred, that if every Proposition is either true or false, all happens by Fatality; he denied that every Proposition was either true or false (178). However, though he had granted that, no Body could have reasonably concluded from thence the Necessity of Fate. Consider well how *Cicero* shews him the Truth of what I have said: Licet enim *EPICURUS* concedenti, omne enunciatio aut verum aut falsum esse, non vereri ne omnia fato fieri sit necesse. Non enim æternis causis naturæ necessitate manantibus verum est id quod ita enunciat, Descendit in Academiam *CARNEADES*, nec tamen sine causis. Sed interest inter causas fortuito ategressas, & inter causas cohibentes in se efficientiam naturalem. Ita & semper verum fuit, Morietur *EPICURUS*, quum duo & septuaginta annos vixerit, Archonte *PITHARATO*: neque tamen erant causæ fatales cur ita accideret: sed quod ita cecidisset, certe casum sicut cecidit fuit (179). — Had *EPICURUS* granted that every Proposition was either true or false, there would have been reason to fear that all things must necessarily be determined by Fate. The Truth of this Proposition, *CARNEADES* entered the Schools, depend not upon Causes flowing from a Necessity of Nature, and yet some cause of it's Truth there must be. But there is a difference between accidental Causes, and Causes that carry with them a Nature of Necessity. Thus it was always true, *EPICURUS* will die, at the Age of seventy two, under the Administration of *PITHARATUS*; yet was there no Necessity why it should so happen; but since it did so happen, it is certain it was to happen accordingly. This Doctrine of *Cicero* has been fully explained in the Courses of Philosophy of the Jesuits, who of all Philosophers are the most zealous in maintaining that duarum propositionum contradictoriarum de futuro contingenti, altera est determinate vera, altera falsa. — Of two contradictory Propositions concerning a future Contingent the one is absolutely true, the other false. And nevertheless we see few Men that are greater Sticklers for the Doctrine of the Liberty of Indifference. From whence we may conclude, that there are means to reconcile the Free-will of Man with the Hypothesis, That every Proposition is either true or false. But because *EPICURUS* was not well assured of this Matter, he was afraid to intangle himself if he did not deny that Doctrine: He was not acquainted with all the Consequences of it; and therefore, to go upon sure Grounds, he chose to stand upon the Negative. *CHRYSSIPPUS* had no clearer Notions of it; for he believed, that unless he proved that every Proposition is either true or false, he could never prove that all things happen by the Force of Destiny: Contendit omnes nervos *CHRYSSIPPUS*, ut persuaderet omne æternum aut verum esse aut falsum. Ut enim *EPICURUS* veretur, ne, si hoc conceperit, concedendum sit fato fieri quæcumque fiant (si enim alterutrum ex æternitate verum sit, esse id etiam certum: & si certum, etiam necessarium: ita & necessitatem & fatum confirmari putat) sic *CHRYSSIPPUS* metuit, ne, si non obtinuerit, omne quod enuncietur, aut verum esse aut falsum, omnia fato fieri possint ex causis æternis rerum futurarum (180). — *CHRYSSIPPUS* labours with all his Might to evince that every Proposition is either true or false. For as *EPICURUS* feared, that if he made this Confession, he must likewise allow an absolute Fatality, (for if either side be eternally true, it must be certain: if certain, necessary: and thus be imagined Fate and Necessity would be established) so *CHRYSSIPPUS* was afraid, that, unless he gained this point, viz. that every Proposition was either true or false, all things would

(177) *Cicero*, de
Fato, cap. xvii.
Ser. bellus,
Citat. (183).

(178) See *Cicero*,
de Naturæ
lib. i, cap. xii,
& seq. de *Academ.*
lib. ii, cap. xlii.

(179) Id. de
Fato, cap. iii.

(180) Id. lib.
cap. x.

'would not be subject to Fate from the eternal Causes of future things.' Neither of these two great Philosophers apprehended, that the Truth of this Maxim, *Every Proposition is either true or false*, is independent upon what was called *Fatum*; and therefore it could not serve as a Proof for the Existence of *Fatum*, as *Chrysippus* pretended, and *Epicurus* feared. *Chrysippus* could not have granted, without doing himself Prejudice, that there are Propositions that are neither true nor false; but he got nothing by establishing the contrary: For whether there be free Causes or no, it is equally true that this Proposition, *The Great Mogul will go to-morrow a hunting, or he will not go*, is either true or false. It is with a great deal of Reason that this Discourse of *Tiresias* has been accounted ridiculous (181), viz. *All I shall say, shall either happen or not; for the Great Apollo bestows on me the Faculty of prophesying!*

O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non:
Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo (182).

*Ulysses, what I sing shall be the fate
Of Things to come, I read the leaves of Fate.*

If it was possible there was no God, it would nevertheless be certain, that whatever the greatest Fool in the World should foretel, should either happen or not happen: This was not observed by *Chrysippus* or *Epicurus*.

But let us see what *Epicurus* invented to extricate himself from the Inconveniences which arise from the Notion of Fate. He gave his Atoms a Motion of Declination, wherein he established the Seat, Source, and Principle of free Actions; pretending, that by this means there were Events independent of fatal Necessity. Before him, no other Motion was admitted in Atoms, but that of Weight, and that of Reflexion: the first of which was always in perpendicular Lines, and in the Vacuum was ever the same; nor was it changed but when an Atom struck against another. Now *Epicurus* supposed, that even in the midst of the Vacuum Atoms did somewhat decline from the direct Line, and from thence, said he, proceeded Liberty. Sed *Epicurus* declinatione atomi vitari fati necessitatem putat: itaque tertius quidam motus oritur, extra pondus & plagam, quum declinat atomus inter vallo minimo, id appellat *εὐδύχλον*: quam declinationem sine causa fieri, si minus verbis, re cogitur constiteri. . . . Hanc *Epicurus* rationem induxit ob eam rem, quod veritus est, ne, si semper atomus gravitate ferretur naturali ac necessaria, nihil liberum nobis esset, quum ita moveretur animus, ut atomorum motu cohereret. Hinc Democritus auctor atomorum accipere maluit necessitate omnia fieri, quam à corporibus individuis naturales motus avellere

(183) Cicero, de Fato, cap. x.

(183). — *Epicurus* by the Declination of Atoms thinks to escape the Doctrine of Necessity, for which reason he superadds a third Motion to that of Gravity, and Impulse, whereby the Atom deviates a little, as he expresses himself, from its direction; which deviation he is forced to confess, if not expressly, yet in reality to be without Cause. . . . *Epicurus* introduced this Argument, because he was afraid, lest, if the Atom should be always carried on by a natural and necessary Gravity, Liberty would thereby be entirely destroyed, since the Motion of the Mind would be necessarily determined by that of the Atom. For which reason Democritus, the Author of this System of Atoms, chose rather to admit the Doctrine of Fatality, than to deprive Bodies of their natural Motions. Let us remark by the way, that this was not the only Motive that induced him to invent that Motion of Declination: He likewise made use of it to explain the Concourse of Atoms; for he saw well enough, that by supposing that they all moved with equal Celerity in direct Lines, which all tended from higher to lower, he should never be able to explain how they could have met: And so that the Production of the World had been impossible. He therefore was obliged to suppose, that they declined from the direct Line (184). *Lucretius* describes this double use of the Motion of Declination.

(184) See Cicero, lib. i, de Finib. cap. vi.

Illud in his quoque Te rebus cognoscere avemus:
Corpora cum deorsum rectum per Inane feruntur,
Ponderibus propriis incerto tempore ferme,
Incertisque locis spatia decedere paullum:

Tantum quod Momen mutatum dicere possis.
Quod nisi Declinare solerent, omnia deorsum,
Imbris uti guttae, caderent per Inane profundum:
Nec foret Offensus natus, nec Plaga creata
Principiis: ita nil unquam Natura creasset (185).

(185) *Lucret.*
lib. ii, ver. 216.

Denique si semper motus connectitur omnis,
Et vetere exoritur semper novus ordine certo,
Nec Declinando faciunt Primordia motus
Principium quoddam, quod Fati foedera rumpat,
Ex infinito ne causam causa sequatur:
Libera per terras unde hæc animantibus extat,
Unde est hæc (inquam) fatis avolsa Voluntas,
Per quam progredimur, quo ducit quemque volup-
tas (186)?

(186) *Id. ibid.*
ver. 251.

Quare in Seminibus quoque idem fateare necesse sit
Esse aliam præter Plagas, & Pondera causam
Motibus, unde hæc est nobis innata potestas:
De nihilo quoniam fieri Nil posse videmus.
Pondus enim prohibet, ne Plagis omnia fiant,
Externa quasi vi, sed ne Mens ipsa necessum
Intestinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis:
Et devicta quasi cogatur ferre, patique:
Id facit exiguum CLINAMEN Principiorum
Nec regione loci certa, nec tempore certo (187).

(187) *Id. ibid.*
284.

Uncertain when or where,
But Seeds in downward Motion must decline
A very little from th' exactest Line.
For did they still move straight, they needs must fall
Like drops of Rain, dissolv'd and scatter'd all;
For ever tumbling thro' the mighty Space,
And never join to make one single Mass.

Besides, did all things move in a strait Line,
Did still one Motion to another join
In certain order, and no Seed decline,
And make a Motion fit to dissipate
The well wrought Chain of Causes and strong Fate;
Whence comes this perfect Freedom of the Mind?
Whence comes the Will so free and unconfin'd
Above the Pow'r of Fate, by which we go
Where'er we please, and what we will we do?

Therefore we must confess, as these things prove,
There is another Cause by which things move,
Besides dull Weight and Stroke, from whence is wrought
This Pow'r, for nothing can arise from nought.
For Weight forbids that things be only join'd
By Stroke and outward Force; and left the Mind
Should be by strong Necessity confin'd,
And, overcome, endure Fate's rigid Laws,
This little DECLINATION is the Cause.

CREECH.

If it was necessary to expose the Absurdities of this Doctrine, I could shew several: For, in the first place, what can be more unworthy of a Philosopher, than to suppose *high* and *low* in an infinite Space? This is nevertheless what *Epicurus* supposed; for he pretended that all Atoms moved from higher to lower. If he had supposed that they moved in all manner of right Lines, he had assigned a good Reason for their concourse, without being obliged to the pretended Motion of Declination. Secondly, That Motion forced him to contradict himself: For he taught, that Nothing was made out of Nothing, and yet the Declination of Atoms, according to him, depended upon no Cause, and therefore proceeded from Nothing. This Consequence is the stronger, in that we have seen (188), that *Lucretius* confesses, that the free Actions

(188) *Abstr.*
Citat. (187).

Actions of our Souls would proceed from Nothing, if Atoms had not a Motion of Declination. He pretends that they depend neither upon the Motion of Weight, nor the Motion of Repercussion of Atoms; for in such a Case he would be forced to acknowledge, that they are comprehended in the Concatenation of eternal and necessary Causes; and consequently that they are subjected to the fatal Necessity from which he designs to free them. And the Reason why, according to him, they do not proceed from Nothing, though they do not any ways depend either on the Gravitation or Repercussion of Atoms, is because Atoms have a Motion of Declination. From thence I conclude, that this Motion proceeds from Nothing; or, which is the same, that it has no Cause (189), and so I throw *Epicurus* into the Abyss he endeavoured to avoid. If he answers, That it is as much the Nature of Atoms to decline, as to move downwards, and to strike one another as often as they meet: I reply, that their Declination is of no use to human Liberty, and does not hinder Fatality; and I maintain, *ad hominem*, that all the Fatality of the Stoics is preserved; for he owns that the Motion from Gravitation, and that of Repercussion, do inevitably introduce fatal Necessity. Thirdly, It is absurd to suppose, that a Being that has neither Reason, Sensation, nor Will, should deviate from a straight Line in a void Space; and that is does not always deviate from it, but at certain Times, and in certain undetermined Points of the Space (190). For a fourth Absurdity, I alledge the manifest Disproportion between the Nature of Liberty, and the Motion, whatever it be, of an Atom which neither knows what it does, where it is, or that it exists. What Consequence is there between these two Propositions, *The Soul of Man is composed of Atoms, which moving necessarily in straight Lines, decline a little from the right Way: therefore the Soul of Man is a free Agent?* Cicero has made a right Judgment of this Hypothesis of *Epicurus*, when he says, That it were less shameful to own we cannot answer our Adversary, than to have recourse to such Answers as these. 'Hoc per sepe facitis, ut cum aliquid non verisimile dicatis, & effugere reprehensionem velitis, afferatis aliquid, quod omnino ne fieri quidem possit: ut satius fuerit illud ipsum de quo ambigebatur, concedere, quam tam impudenter resistere: velut *Epicurus* cum videret, si atomi ferrentur in locum inferiorem suapte pondere, nihil fore in nostra potestate, quod esset earum motus certus & necessarius, invenit quo modo necessitatem effugeret, quod videlicet *Democritum* fugerat: ait Atomum, cum pondere, & gravitate directò deorsum feratur, declinare paululum. Hoc dicere turpius est, quam illud quod vult, non posse defendere (191). — It is a common thing with you, when you have advanced something that seems improbable, and would avoid Reproach, to alledge something which is altogether impossible, so that it would be much better to give up the Point in debate, than defend it in so bare-faced a manner: like *Epicurus*, who, when he saw, that if the Atoms were carried downwards by their own Weight, the Freedom of Action would be lost, since their Motion was determined and necessary, found out an Expedient which had escaped *Democritus*. He says, that an Atom, though carried directly downwards by its own Gravity, has a little Declination; which Subterfuge is more base, than to advance what he is not able to defend.' He has very happily described the Perplexity wherein that Philosopher found himself. 'Nec quum hæc ita sint, est causa cur *Epicurus* fatum extimecat, & ab atomis petat præsidium, easque de via deducat, & uno tempore suscipiat res duas inenodabiles: unum, ut sine causa fiat aliquid, ex quo existit, ut de nihilo quippiam fiat: quod nec ipsi, nec cuiquam Physico placet: alterum, ut quum duo individua per inanitatem ferantur, alterum è regione moveatur, alterum declinet (192). — Nor, as the Case stands, has *Epicurus* any reason to dread Fatality, or fly for Refuge to Atoms, endeavour to strain them to his Purpose, and plunge himself at once into two inextricable Difficulties; the one, that there may be an Effect without a Cause, from whence it would follow, that something may arise out of nothing, which is neither agreeable to himself, nor any Philosopher;

'the other, that when two Individuals are carried thro' the Vacuum, the one should move direct, and the other decline.' It was easy, methinks, to puzzle him. How can you pretend, might one have said to him, that the Liberty of Man is founded upon a Motion of Atoms, which is performed without any Liberty? Can the Cause give what it has not? Can a hundred Atoms, which decline without knowing what they do, form a Judgment, whereby the Soul may, with Knowledge, be determined to the Choice of either of two Things that present themselves? *Epicurus* might from thence have known, how much it concerned him to ascribe to each Atom an animated and sensitive Nature, as *Democritus* seems to have done (193); and as *Plato* had supposed, that Matter had a Soul, even before God had framed the World. 'Ἀνοσμία γὰρ ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς τῆ κόσμου γενέσεως: ἀνοσμία δὲ, ἐκ ἀσώματου, ἢ δὲ ἀνίμης, ἢ δὲ ἀψυχου. . . . Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἔτε σῶμα τὸ ἀσώματον, ἔτε ψυχὴν τὸ ἀψυχον ἐποίησεν. Fuit nimirum antequam mundus nasceretur, materies, non copris eo, non motus, non animæ expers. . . . Etenim Deus neque corpus de incorporeo, neque animam de inanimato redigit (194). . . . Before the Creation there was Matter, indigested indeed, but not void of Substance, Motion, or Soul. . . . For God did not create Body from incorporeal, nor Soul from inanimate Substance.'

We must not forget what *Cicero* mentions, to wit, that *Carneades* invented a Solution, much more subtle than all the Suppositions of the *Epicureans*; which was to assert, That the Soul had a free Motion, of which she was the Cause. 'Acutus *Carneades*, qui docebat posse *Epicureos* suam causam sine hæc commentitia declinatione defendere. Nam quum doceret esse posse quandam animi motum voluntarium, id fuit defendi melius, quam introducere declinationem, cujus præsertim causam reperire non possunt: quo defenso, facile *Chrysippo* possent resistere. . . . (195). De ipsa atomo dici potest, quum per inane moveatur gravitate & pondere, sine causa moveri, quia nulla causa accedat extrinsecus. Rursus autem, ne omnes à physicis irrideamur, si dicamus quicquam fieri sine causa, distinguendum est, & ita dicendum ipsius individui hæc esse naturam, ut pondere & gravitate moveatur, eamque ipsam esse causam cur ita feratur. Similiter ad animorum motus voluntarios non est requirenda externa causa, motus enim voluntarius eam naturam in se ipse continet, ut sit in nostra potestate, nobisque pareat, nec id sine causa. Ejus enim rei causa, ipsa natura est (196). — *Carneades* was more ingenious, who taught that the *Epicureans* might defend their Cause, without this imaginary Declination. For it is more easy to defend a Possibility of the Soul's having a voluntary Motion, than to introduce a Declination, of which no Cause could be assigned. This Point gained, they might easily withstand *Chrysippus*. . . . Of the Atom it may be said, that in being moved through the Void by Gravity, it is moved without Cause, since no exterior Force is applied. But again, that we may not all be the Jest of Philosophers, if we say anything is done without a Cause, a Distinction is to be made in this manner. It is the nature of that Individual to be moved by Gravity, and that this alone is the Cause of it's being moved. In the same manner, no external Cause is required to the voluntary Motion of the Soul, for this voluntary Motion does in itself contain that Nature, being in our Power, and subject to our Controul, and that not without Cause. For it's own Nature is it's Cause.' It is certain, that thus *Carneades* furnished them with an Answer, not only much more solid than what they made use of, but also the most ingenious and the strongest that human Wit can produce. I own one might have asked him, Do these voluntary Actions of the Soul, which are independant upon any external Cause, depend upon the Nature of the Soul, as the Motion from Gravity depends upon the Nature of Atoms, according to *Epicurus*? In that case you do not remove the Fatality of the Stoics; for you admit no Effect, which is not produced by a necessary Cause. Neither *Carneades*, nor any other Heathen Philosopher, was able to make any solid Answer to that Question.

(193) See the Remark [F].

(194) *Plat. de Animæ Procreatione ex Timæo*, pag. 1014. E.

(195) *Cicero, de Fato*, cap. xi.

(196) *Ibid.*

(189) The Ancients objected that to *Epicurus*. 'Ἐκινήσω μὲν γὰρ ὑδὲ ἀσάρκας ἑγκλίνας τὴν ἄπομον συγχωρεῖν, ὅς ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐκκλίνοντι κινήσιν ἐκ τῆ μη δυνάτος. Sane *Epicurus* ne momentaneam quidem atomi inclinationem concedunt, quod eum dicant motum absque causa ex non ente introducere. *Plat. de Anima procreat. ex Timæo*, pag. 1015.

(190) Id facit exiguum clinamen principiorum. Nec regione loci certa, nec tempore certo. *Lucret. ubi supra*, ver. 293.

(191) *Cicero, de Natura Deorum*, lib. i, cap. xxv.

(192) *Idem, de Fato*, cap. ix.

EPISCOPIUS (SIMON) one of the most Learned Men of the XVIIth Century, and the chief Pillar of the *Arminian* Sect, was born at *Amsterdam* in 1583; and having

having gone through his Classic Learning there, went to study at *Leyden* in the Year 1600. He took there his Degree of Master of Arts in 1606. Afterwards he applied himself to the study of Divinity, and made such Progress in it, that in a little Time he was judged fit for the Ministry. The Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* desired he might be advanced to it; but because, during the Disputes between *Gomar* and *Arminius*, he had sided with the latter, he found many Obstacles to his Reception: Whereupon he left the University of *Leyden* in disgust, and went to that of *Franker* in 1609. He did not stay long there; for he perceived, that, having disputed with too much Heat, he had thereby provoked the Professor *Sibrandus Lubertus*, a great *Gomarist*. He therefore left *Franker*, and returned into *Holland*, and was there received Minister in the Year 1610, and presented to a Village (a) in the District of *Rotterdam*. He was one of the Deputies at the Conference held at the *Hague* in 1611, before the States of the Province, between six Anti-Remonstrant and six Remonstrant Ministers; and there he displayed his Wit and Learning to great Advantage. The next Year he was chosen Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, to supply the Place which *Gomar* had voluntarily quitted, and lived peaceably with *Polyander* his Colleague, tho' they had contrary Opinions about Predestination. The Duties of his Office, and the Studies of his Closet, were an easy Burden to him, in comparison of the Insults and Slanders to which he saw himself exposed, during the Troubles of *Arminianism* [A]: for the heat of Division and Hatred seized in a short Time the Minds of the People. The States of *Holland* having invited *Episcopus* to the Synod of *Dort*, that he might take his Place there as the other Professors of the Seven United Provinces, he was one of the First that repaired thither, accompanied with some Remonstrant Ministers; but the Synod would not suffer that any of them should appear in the Assembly as Judges, but as Persons cited. They were forced to yield to this Necessity; and having made their Appearance, *Episcopus*, in a set Speech, declared they were ready to confer with the Synod. He was answered, That the Assembly was not there to confer, but to judge. They excepted against it, and refused to acquiesce in a Decree the Synod had made, That they should explain and defend their Opinions, no farther than the Assembly should think fit. Upon their refusing to submit to those Terms, they were expelled the Synod, and they proceeded to pass Judgment upon them, by their Writings (b). They defended their Cause with the Pen; and it was *Episcopus* who composed most of the Pieces they produced on this Occasion, and which were made public some Time after. They were deprived of their Employments by the Synod; and because they refused to subscribe a Writing, containing a Promise not to exercise any Function of their Ministry in private, directly nor indirectly, they were banished the Dominions of the Republic. *Episcopus* stayed in the *Spanish Netherlands* as long as the Truce lasted [B]; and was not so taken up with the Concerns of his

oppressed

[A] His Studies were an easy Burden, in comparison of the Insults and Slanders to which he saw himself exposed, during the Troubles of *Arminianism*.] The Dispute about Predestination began in the Universities, and soon got up into the Pulpits; from whence it spread into private Families, and carried the same Heat of Division among the Persons intrusted with the Government. 'Ab Academicis cathedris in Ecclesiis, rum primum ambores & postea in vulgus dimanasset, imo etiam Reipublicæ procures quorum erat tanto malo remedium asserre in studia contraria scidisset (1).' All was in an Uproar and Confusion; and in this Conflict, no Man was more exposed to the Imprecations of the Populace, than the most learned among the *Arminians*, because they were looked upon as the first Cause of these Disorders. 'Maximi tempestivum fluctus celeberrimos quoque doctrina inter Remonstrantes seriebant, quibus veri ignara plebs & affectu potius quam judicio duci solita omnem turbarum culpam imputabat (2).' Judge if they spared *Episcopus*, whose Abilities were eminently known. He was insulted at *Amsterdam*, both at Church and in the Street, the second Year of his Professorship at *Leyden*, because, assisting at the Christening of one of his Nieces, he had answered something to the Minister that officiated, who asked, Whether the Doctrine of his Church was not the true and perfect Doctrine of Salvation? *Episcopus*, instead of answering that Question, according to Custom, by a Sign of Acquiescence, used some Expressions, intimating, that he only acquiesced with a certain Restriction. The Minister flew into a Passion, and treated him as a presumptuous young Man. The People grew hot; and *Episcopus*, whom they loaded with Curies both in the Church and in the Street, hardly escaped being beaten, if not stoned to Death. If you ask me why he would explain himself, I will answer, that it was because *Uytendagard*, on a like occasion, having an-

swered only yes, found not long after that he was reproached, in the Streets, with having renounced the Doctrines of the Remonstrants. This first Danger of *Episcopus* was soon followed by a second; for a Smith, seeing him go by one day, went out of his Forge with an Iron Bar in his Hand, and began to run after him, crying out, *An Arminian, a Disturber of the Church*: *Episcopus* would have been knocked on the Head by that brutish Fellow, if he had not run away, and if other People had not come to his Assistance. The Author I quote (3), says, that the nineteenth of February, 1617, the House of *Episcopus*'s elder Brother was plundered by the Mob of *Amsterdam*, under the false Pretence that several *Arminians* heard a Sermon there. These are the inevitable Consequences of Disputes in Divinity, when the Spirit of Moderation does not confine them within the Compaſs of the Audience, and when People alarm and terrify the Populace. This ought to teach us a thing that will never be praſſified, viz. That we ought never to come to That, but in Cases of extream Necessity. This ought to be the *Ancora sacra* of the Ancients (4); which was never used but in the last Extremity.

[B] He stayed in the *Spanish Netherlands* as long as the Truce lasted.] Henry IV had mediated a Twelve-Years Truce between *Spain* and the United Provinces in 1609. As soon as it was expired, the War began again in 1621. *Episcopus* and his Colleagues were banished in 1618; and from that time till the renewing of the War they lived at *Antwerp*. The Reason they have given for it, and which is very probable, is, that they were thereby more at hand to take care of their Churches and Families. But some of their Enemies had the Malice to accuse them, that they chose that Dwelling-place only with design to plot with the *Spaniards* against the Reformed Religion, and the Liberty of their Country. It is a great Pleasure, and a great Convenience to be in the Party triumphant;

(1) Steph. Curcellæus, Pref. in Opera Episcopi.

(2) Id. ibid.

(a) Called Bleswick.

(b) Cum Synodus libertatem illam limitibus istis circumſcribere vellet, quæ tum ipsa satis esse posse & debere judicaret; ipsi vero tam iniquis conditionibus quibus cum iam suam proferrent, per conscientiam acquiescere non possent, tandem à Synodo sunt eiectioni, tamquam indigni cum quibus ipsa ulterius quicquam ageret Synodus, quæ se ad eos ex scriptis ipsorum judicandos accinxit. Steph. Curcellæus Pref. Oper. Episcopi.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Sic, in Eristis, the Prov. Sacram. ant. tam solvere, which is the 24th of the 19 Century of the 1st Ch. lib.

(c) Taken from the Preface to his Works, composed by Curcellæus. Note, that I do not warrant the Facts I borrow from thence, either in the Body, or in the Remarks of this Article.

oppressed Party, but that he wrote against the Church of Rome, in Defence of the Common Cause of the Protestants [C]. When the War between the Spaniards and the Dutch broke out again, he went into France; and, by his Writings, endeavoured as much as in him lay to strengthen and comfort his Brethren [D]: And at last, a more favourable Time being come, he returned into Holland in 1626, in order to be Minister of the Remonstrant Church at Rotterdam. Here he married the next Year [E], and removed to Amsterdam in 1634, to govern the College which those of his Sect had erected there. He died in that Employment the fourth of April 1643, of a retention of Urine, having lost his Sight some Weeks before [c]. He composed several Books after his return into Holland, wherein he did not always use that moderate Style, which his Principles of Toleration, joined to the Evangelical Duties, exacted from him in a most particular Manner. His Friends endeavour to excuse him in that Particular [F]. It is said his

triumphant; but generally it lays an Obligation on one to calumniate the other Party: For, because the Victory we gain is attended with many Violences against the depressed Party, it is necessary, in order to justify them, and to hinder honest Minds from pitying the persecuted, to publish against them the most odious Accusations. I do not apply this to the Arminians, I DECLARE IT EXPRESSLY, AND IN CAPITAL LETTERS: But these are the Words of one of them. 'Antuerpiæ durantibus inter Hispaniarum regem & Ordines induciis domicilium eligunt, non ut cum patriæ hostibus consilia agerent, aut adversus religionem reformatam quicquam molirentur, quemadmodum malevoli quidam miserie illorum insulantes dictitabant: sed quia propinquus erat ille locus, & ex quo Ecclesiis suis dilectis & familiis commodius quam ex remotiore prospicere poterant (5). — They took up their Residence at Antwerp, whilst the Truce subsisted between the King of Spain and the States-General, not to cabal with the Enemies of their Country, or conspire against the Reformed Religion, as some, to insult over their Distress, maliciously gave out; but because the Place was near, and from thence they might keep a more commodious Watch over their dear Churches and Families.'

[C] He wrote against the Church of Rome, in Defence of the Common Cause of the Protestants. He not only, in concert with his Fellow-Exiles, composed a Confession of Faith, which was soon followed by a Book called, *Antidotum adversus Synodi Dordracenæ Canones*, but he disputed likewise with great vigour against Peter Wadingus. He was a Jesuit (6), who did him a thousand Kindnesses; and who, taking Advantage of his Discontent, endeavoured to draw him into the Bosom of his Church. He displayed the most captious Arguments of the Controversists of his Party; and, without being discouraged by the Answers that were made him, he changed their Dispute, which was by way of Conversation, into a Controversy in writing. He composed two Letters, the one upon the Rule of Faith, the other upon the Worship of Images, and sent them to the Refugee Professor; who did not fail to write a most solid Answer to them immediately (7). It was not published till after his Death, viz. in the Year 1644. It has, since that, been inserted in the Edition of all his Works, in Folio.

[D] He endeavoured by his Writings to strengthen and comfort his Brethren. I do not speak only of several private Letters which he sent into Holland, but likewise of the Works he composed for the Public during his stay in France. Of this Number are his Remarks upon some Chapters of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans; his *Bodekerus ineptiens*, his *Examen Thesum Jacobi Capelli*; and his Reply to Cameron, &c. (8).

[E] Here he married the next Year. It was with the Widow (9) of Henry de Nielles, Minister at Rotterdam, Brother to that Charles de Nielles, whom the Remonstrants looked upon as one of their chief Confessors. He was a long time in Prison; and several of his Letters are to be seen among those the Remonstrants have published. He recovered his Liberty, and was Minister at Amsterdam (10); Episcopus lost his Wife towards the end of the Year 1641, and never had any Children by her (11).

[F] His Friends endeavoured to excuse the Sharpness of his Style. Curcellæus not being able to deny, that Episcopus might have written some things with more Moderation (12), adds, that several Reasons prompted him to that way of writing. In the first place, says he, Episcopus was never the Aggressor;

he never attacked any body, but only repelled those that attacked him. Secondly, the Writings he confused were sometimes very violent; an Instance of which is the Book the Professors at Leyden published under the Title of *Confessionis Remonstrantium Censura*, and it is pretended they were obliged by very powerful Motives to speak in such a Tone. It was necessary to persuade the World, that the Anti-Remonstrant Doctors had justly condemned the Arminians in the Synod of Dort, and justly excited the Magistrates to use great Severity against that Party. This Synodical Condemnation, this fiery Zeal in exasperating the Magistrates, were two things that might blemish the Reputation of those Gentlemen, if it should appear that the condemned Party was only guilty of small Errors: And therefore, to save the Credit of the Judges, it was necessary to give an odious Character of that Party. Now because the World began to say, that the five famous Articles were not a sufficient Reason to persecute People, they were obliged to maintain, that the Confession of the Remonstrants was full of execrable Heresies; that every thing in it was corrupted from the beginning to the end, and that the very Title was a Sore; And thereupon to grow mighty angry. 'Quam (Confessionis Remonstrantium Censuram) acerbissimam esse, nemo qui vel obiter inflexerit negare potest. Nempe eximtionis suæ interesse putabant, ne injuste primum Remonstrantes in Synodo Dordracenâ condemnassent, & postea Magistratus ad eos persequendos instigasse crederentur. Jam enim vulgo dictitabatur non satis esse causæ in quinque illis decantatis de Prædestinatione articulis, cur ita eos sæviretur, cum in iis totum Christianum Orbem, excepta duntaxat Calvinii schola, Remonstrantes secum conspirantem haberent. Ideo persuasum omnibus voluerunt Professores isti Confessionem illorum horrendis hæresibus scaturire, nihil in ea à capite ad calcem, imo ne in titulo quidem, sani esse (13). —

Which (Censure of the Remonstrants Confession) every one at first Sight must allow to be very bitter. They thought it concerned their Reputation, to make the World believe, that in the first Place they had not condemned the Remonstrants in the Synod of Dort without Cause, nor, in the second place, spirited up the Magistrates to persecute them. For it was already publicly given out, that there was nothing in those memorable Articles concerning Predestination that deserved so harsh a Treatment, since the Remonstrants therein had the Concurrence of the whole Christian World, except the Calvinists. Wherefore those Professors laboured to persuade Mankind, that their Confession swarmed with dreadful Heresies, that from the beginning to the end, not even excepting the Title Page, there was nothing Orthodox to be found. Thus that Author insinuates, that the Professors of Leyden wrote so sharply out of meer Policy, and that their Anger was a feigned Passion, intended only to remove a public Scandal, and clear their own Reputation. Thirdly, he says, that Episcopus lost all Patience, when he saw that these Gentlemen pried into the secret Intentions, and most intimate Recesses of the Heart, when they found nothing to carp at in the Expressions of the Confession of Faith they censured. Here is an infallible way to make one's Adversary appear an Heretic; for tho' he speaks the Language of the Orthodox, it may be said, that he conceals in his Heart the Poison of Heresy (14). 'Imo quod omnes modestie limites excedit, cum in confessionis verbis & phrasibus nihil occurrebat quod cum specie aliqua admordere possent, in Dei nomen iura temerario ausu in-

(13) Ibid.

(14) See, against the Proceedings of such Men, several Passages of the Plantation du Jankefene, and the Preface to Janus Colonus Relecta.

(c) Steeph. Curcellæus, ubi supra.

(6) He was an Irishman. See Alegambe.

(7) See the Preface to that Work of Episcopus.

(8) Ex Prefatione, Steph. Curcellæi.

(9) Her Name was Mary Pefser.

(10) Ex Curcellæo, ubi supra.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Quia et si forte quædam lenius dici poterint, quam ab eo factum fuerit, gravissimas tamen ita scribendi causas habuerit. Ibid.

his Works have been approved in *England* by the Episcopal Party; but that there are now some Authors in that Kingdom, who make it their Business to run them down, as if they were dangerous Books. It cannot be denied, that the Distinction he observes, in saying, That certain Articles, which have always been accounted fundamental, are true, but that the Belief of them is not absolutely necessary to Salvation, may have very dangerous Consequences. The learned Father *Mabillon* has lately been censured, upon occasion of *Episcopus's* Works [G]. The *Arminians* made a remarkable Step in the Year 1690, which shews how much they are concerned for the Honour of that Minister: For it is known that they engaged one of their Professors publicly to charge *Mr Jurieu* with Calumny, for having spoken ill of *Episcopus* [H]. I forgot to say, that the Posthumous Works of that Learned *Arminian* were sent to *Curcellæus* by *Francis Limborch*, Son-in-law to *Rembert Episcopus*, Brother to our *Simon* (d); and that in the Preface, which has furnished me with this Article, there is no mention made of the

(d) Steph. Cur.
cel. ibid.

Journey

(15) *Curcellæus*,
ibid.
volantes suspicionem lectoribus ingerere studuerunt, an ita ex animo sentirent Remonstrantes prout oratione sua professantur. Nihil ergo mirum si adeo barbara & Christianis plane indigna agendi ratio D. Episcopium moverit ut duro nodo durum cuneum adhiberet, & sordida illa censura ulcera acriori apologiæ sale & aceto aliquando perficeretur: quod etiam adversus unum aut alterum Censoribus illis similem usurpavit (15). — Nay, what exceeds all Bounds of Modesty, when nothing occurred, either in the Words or Phrases of the Confession, which they could, with any shew of Reason, condemn, they endeavoured, by arrogantly assuming a Power which only belongs to God, the Searcher of Hearts, to make the Reader doubt whether the Remonstrants did, in their own Breasts, believe what they there professed. No wonder therefore if a Proceeding so barbarous and unbecoming Christians, should move Episcopus to apply a harsh Medicine to so rancorous a Sore, or practise the most proper Methods to defeat their Calumny, as he had done in the Case of others of the same Stamp with those Censors. Though these Excuses were better than they are, one might still say with Reason, that those who have need of them, are less to be commended than those that do not want them.

* Avis important
à Mr Arnaud
sur le Projet
d'une Nouvelle
Bibliothèque
d'Auteurs Jan-
senistes.

(16) Pag. 16.

[G] Father *Mabillon* has been censured on account of *Episcopus's* Works. A Letter printed in 1691, with the Title of * Important Advice to Mr Arnauld, about the Project of a new Library of *Janseist* Authors, contains what follows (16). 'Father *Mabillon*, in his Treatise of Monastical Studies, has given a very great Encomium to *Episcopus's* Theological Institutions, wherein, you know, Socinianism is countenanced. Mr *Nicole* was no sooner informed of that fine Commendation, but he pressed that the Author might be advertised of it, that he might strike it out: But there was no Remedy, the Book being already published. Several young Abbots had already asked the *Paris* Bookellers for the Works of that *Arminian*, the reading of which was so expressly recommended by Father *Mabillon*. It is a great Happiness the Bookellers have none of them, there being no Divine so opposite to St *Augustin's* Doctrine, and even to that of the whole Church, as *Episcopus*, who has even introduced in his Party the Toleration of Religions. Here, Sir, is the Abstract of that Father. I cannot forbear saying in this Place, that if some Things had been retrenched out of *Episcopus's* Theological Institutions, which were so highly esteemed by *Grotius*, that he ever carried them about him, one might use them with Profit in Divinity. That Work is divided into four Books, whose Order and Method is quite different from what is commonly in Use. The Style is fine; the Manner of treating the Subjects is answerable to the Style; and one would not lose his Time in perusing it, if it was purged of some Places, wherein he speaks either against the Catholics, or in favour of his Sect. What Purgation, I beseech you, can one make of an Author, who calls in Question the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, not judging the Belief of those Mysteries to be necessary to Salvation, because, according to him, they are not clearly revealed in Scripture. He passes the same Judgment upon our other Mysteries: From whence he concludes, that there is no Reason to reject the Socinians from Communion. Father *Mabillon* would be more excusable, if he had not read *Episcopus's* Book: But he has owned himself, that

he had borrowed it of the Library-keeper to the Archbishoph of *Rheims* (17), and that he kept it above two Months. The Author of the Advice speaks, two Pages lower, of a Regular Canon, who told his Friends, that the reading of *Grotius* had begun to open his Eyes. He is not the only Man of his Community that speaks thus: Several of them dogmatize; and there are some who read in private the Works of *Curcellæus*, which contain an Abridgment of the Theology of *Arminius*, and a good Part of that of the Socinians. It is much to be feared, that the excessive Praises Father *Mabillon* has given to *Episcopus's* Theological Institutions will set some *Benedictines* in quest of his Works, or of *Curcellæus's* Theology.

[H] The *Arminians* . . . engaged one of their Professors publicly to charge *Mr Jurieu* with Calumny, for having spoken ill of *Episcopus*. Mr *le Clerc*, Professor in the College of the *Arminians* at *Amsterdam*, and one of the most learned Men of this Age, was ordered, they say, by his Superiors, to publish a Letter addressed to *Mr Jurieu*, wherein he sets forth, That those who are never so little acquainted with *Episcopus's* Writings, and the Society of the Remonstrants, do not want a Justification of either: And as for those who have not read that Author, nor ever conversed with any Remonstrant, if they were so unjust as to judge upon *Mr Jurieu's* bare Accusation without enquiring further into the Matter in Question, they do not deserve that one should endeavour to undeceive them; they would be utter Strangers to Equity, and would, in all probability, have their Ears shut against all manner of Justification: That he is persuaded, that there is no equitable Person, either in the United Provinces or elsewhere, that is inclined to believe that Accuser upon his bare Word: That therefore it is not to undeceive the Public he addresses this Letter to *Mr Jurieu*, but only to endeavour, if possible, to make him reflect with himself, and engage him to ask Pardon of God for the Sin he has committed, in calumniating his Neighbour in so odious a Manner. That one thing might give hopes, that he would be induced to give Glory to God after the reading of this Letter, which is, that in what he says there appears more inconsiderate Zeal and Obstinacy, than Artifice and Premeditation: For, after all, to accuse without Proof a famous Author, whose Books are in every Body's Hands, of having entertained Opinions which he absolutely rejects, and which have no necessary Connexion with his Principles, is not the Way to persuade any Body.

After this Preamble, Mr *le Clerc* comes to the Point. You accuse, says he, *Episcopus* of two things: First, of being a Socinian; Secondly, of being an Enemy to the Christian Religion. This last Article is but a consequence of the other, according to your Way of Reasoning; so that if I should prove that the first is a gross Calumny, I shall, by your own Principles, convince you of accusing, without Reason, of the most detestable Hypocrisy that can be imagined, a Person who always professed to believe in JESUS CHRIST, and who has given signal Proofs of his Faith. The more heinous the Accusation is, the clearer the Proofs ought to be, and yet you bring none that has the least Probability. He shews afterwards, that as to the Trinity, and the Sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST, *Episcopus's* Opinion was very remote from that of the Socinians; He mentions several of his Books, wherein he has clearly explained

(17) Judge by this how scarce *Episcopus's* Works are in France, since the *Benedictines* are obliged to borrow them of a Prelate who has been very tedious in collecting such Books as are most difficult to be found. See the Catalogue of his Library, printed at Paris, in 1693, in Folio.

SOME Passages out of a Letter of Mr *le Clerc*.

Journey *Episcopus* took into France in 1615, about which his Enemies spread many false Reports [1]; but instead of mentioning that actual Journey, they only speak of an imaginary one about the Year 1610.

(18) Viz. Book VI, Sect. I, cap. ii, & iii.

REFLEXIONS upon that Letter, and the Consequences of it.

(19) This ought to be understood with relation only to common Practice; for otherwise the Canon-Law, as well as the Civil, subjects a Calumniator to the *Lex Talionis*.

explained his Sentiments about those two Capital Points, and confuted the *Socinians*: He proves, that Mr *Jurieu* has unfaithfully quoted two Passages of *Episcopus*; the one touching the Mystery of the Trinity, and the other touching the eternal Torments of the Reprobate: And having thus confuted the first Accusation, he as easily overthrows the second; not only because it is but a Consequence of the first, but because *Episcopus's* Morals and Writings are a most clear Evidence, that he was virtuous, conscientious, and zealous for the Christian Religion. He marks the Place of his Institutions (18), 'wherein the Truth of the Christian Religion is so clearly and strongly proved, that if Libertines weighed well his Reasons, it might be hoped that there would be no more of them in the World: And you treat him, Sir, as an Enemy to Christianity; it is thus Mr *le Clerc* speaks to Mr *Jurieu*, when it does not appear that you have so much as perused his Writings, or examined his Morals? In Truth, nothing but the Distracted of that blind Zeal, which has possessed you so long, can make me say, Forgive him, O Lord, For indeed you know not what you do. You could not have pitched upon a better way to pass for a Man little acquainted with the Duties, either of Christianity or Civil Society, than by speaking at that rate. There is none, except some few silly Women loaden with Sins, and who go to a Sermon without understanding any thing in it, or indeed in the Gospel, that can be imposed upon by you.'

This signal step of the Remonstrants is a manifest Sign that *Episcopus* had been calumniated; for there is no likelihood that Mr *le Clerc* would have put his Name to the Letter I mention, if he had thought it possible that Mr *Jurieu* could justify his Accusations; but what was only a Sign, or, if you please, a strong Presumption of *Episcopus's* Innocence, is become a clear Demonstration by the silence of the Accuser. Every Body knows how much he ought to value his Reputation; therefore nothing but the absolute Impossibility of maintaining his Accusation has obliged him to be silent, and patiently to suffer the public shame Mr *le Clerc's* Letter has cast upon him. After this, who will say that Mr *Jurieu* is so possessed with the Spirit of Revenge, that he never gave an Instance of Patience? The most easy Soul in the World would not have suffered, as he has done, without opening his Mouth, the atrocious Injury of the *Arminian* Professor: An Injury however, which, supposing *Episcopus's* Innocence, is but an Act of Justice. It may perhaps be wondered, that the Superiors of the Accuser did not interest themselves in his Honour, as much as all the *Arminian* Party have been concerned for the honour of *Episcopus*. As soon as the latter was accused, his Party stirred to manifest his Innocence to the Public; but no Body has obliged the Accuser to purge himself before the whole World, and to wipe off the infamous Note of being a Calumniator, with which Mr *le Clerc* has stigmatized him. But this different Conduct ought not to be surprising: The Honour of *Episcopus* is of greater Consequence to his whole Party, than the Honour of Mr *Jurieu* to the *Walloon* Churches. And besides, though according to Reason all the Infamy an accused Person should deserve, if he was justly accused, ought to redound to him who calumniates him; yet People judge otherwise according to the Canon Law (19). To find Heresies in a Book, tho' there be none, passes often for a sign of Zeal; a Man comes off with a Caution not to be so forward for the future; nay, sometimes he comes off without such a Reproof. It is therefore more necessary to fly to the Assistance of a Doctor unjustly accused, than to the help of a false Informer against Heresy.

Two solid Reasons have engaged me to make this Remark. First, It is the chief Design and Business of this Dictionary to correct false Matters of Fact; inasmuch, that without an Affection, and a Respect of Persons, which would very justly have been blamed, I could not have passed over in Silence the diffamatory Untruth which has been published against *Simon Episcopus*. Secondly, There being an Occasion to

shew Mr *Jurieu* in a fair Light, I had been an ill Husband if I had neglected it. It is honourable in him to repair, by his Silence, the Injury he had done to the Memory of that learned Man. He might have invented a hundred Cavils, Tricks, and Equivocations, to maintain his Accusation; and he might have been sure, that abundance of People would have believed, upon his Word, all he had pleased to say of the *Arminian* Minister. Mr *le Clerc* was under an Obligation with the Public not to reply. Who therefore can deny, that Mr *Jurieu* deserves great Commendations for chusing to be silent, and to moderate his Resentment, rather than to take Advantage of his inventing Faculty, the favourable Prepossessions of his Readers, and Mr *le Clerc's* Promise? I own, he would still be more to be commended, if, instead of being silent, he had publicly acknowledged that he was mistaken: but a Man does not arrive at one Step to such a Pitch of Heroical Virtue: that is to be attained by degrees; and it is a good Beginning not to reply to the Apology of that Person one has calumniated.

[1] He made a Journey into France, about which his Enemies spread many false Reports. They said he had had secret Conferences with Father *Coton*, in order to contrive with him the Ruin of the Reformed Church, and of the United Provinces. They maintained he affected to have no Conversation with Mr *du Moulin*, Minister of Paris, and that he did not so much as pay him a Visit. He protests, that these are Impostures, and that he had never seen Father *Coton* but once, and that too by meer Chance, when that Jesuit coming from the King's Palace went into his Coach. 'Utinam Deus hoc illis non impu-
'tet! imprimis chorago ipsorum Plancius, qui eo impudentia devenit, ut qua clam qua palam affirmare non dubitaverit, secreta me & arcana consilia agita-
'tisse cum Patre Jesuitarum *Cotone*, in perniciem Reip. & Ecclesie nostrae: cum ego cum non nisi
'semel redeuntem à Rege & currum suum ascendente-
'tem, idque obiter & in transcurfu, viderim (20). —

'May God not lay it to their charge, more especially I wish it may not lie heavy on Plancius their Leader, who has had the impudence, both in Public and in Private, to affirm that I had secretly engaged with the Jesuit *Coton* in Councils pernicious to the Church and State, though I never saw him but once, and that accidentally as he came from the King, and was getting into his Coach.' Taking to witness the Person to whom he writes, he declares, that nothing is more false than the Affection he is charged with, in relation to *Du Moulin*; and he observes, that *Plancius*, one of the Ministers of *Amsterdam*, was the Author of those Calumnies. Lastly, he says, that every Body began to know the Falsity of the second Accusation. 'Neque hoc solum, sed & quod colloquium cum D. *Molinæo* studio declina-
'verim: neque unquam de compellendo eo cogitavi-
'rim: Quam rem falsam & vanam esse, tu, si ita videbitur, testimonio tuo confirmare potes, & quic-
'quid ea in re à te & me factum est verbulo signifi-
'ficare, etiamsi forte opus non sit futurum. Manifestum enim hujusmodi mendacium vanitate sua propria diffuit tandem, & sponte sua extinguitur atque evanescit (21).'

Without making any Application to the Subject in question, I observe, that, generally speaking, the Heads of Parties, in Disputes of Literature or Religion, do not spend Money enough in maintaining Spies. Not but that they are extremely curious to know whatever their Adversaries say or do; but they easily believe all Reports, and are too forward to confirm them with the Weight of their Testimonies. Zeal makes People often persuade themselves, that an Heretic is capable of the most infamous Plots; and from this Persuasion, they easily pass on to another, which is, that they fancy that he actually contrives all the Machinations of which they suppose him to be capable. As soon as they have got this in their Head, they practise what the Scripture says, *From the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh* (22), and change their own Suspicions and Surmises into public Discourses, and formal Accusations.

E P P E N D O R F

EPPENDORF (HENRY), a German Nobleman [A], would have been at this day altogether unknown in the Republic of Letters, if he had not had a great Dispute with Erasmus. He maintained that Quarrel with great Vigour; and perhaps never did the Great Erasmus meet with an Adversary that reduced him to so disagreeable Terms of Accommodation. The Articles of this Pacification not having been observed, Eppendorf made great Complaints of it; and published a Book, which contains the History of that Dispute [B]. Therein we learn, that he went out of his Country

(1) Apud Joannem Sererium.

(2) Erasmus, Epist. liii, lib. 30, pag. 1940.

(3) Mr Pachetier des Murs, born at Rheims, and dwelling at Paris, where he has a fine Library, has been so kind as to make them, and to send them to me in a most obliging manner by Mr Fannin.

(4) too for those of Basil, and 200 for those of Strasbourg.

(5) Cum tamen, says Eppendorf, vix ovum ovum simile efficit, sic per omnia referebat Erasmus.

[A] A German Nobleman.] Here is what we find about it in the Book he intitled, *Ad D. Erasmi Roterodami libellum, cui titulus, adversus mendacium & obtestationem utilis Admonitio, justa Querela;* and which he printed at Haguenau (1) in 1531. 'Natus sum in agro cui gens mea nomen dedit, non longe à Friburgo Urbe Misniae celebri: avos, atavos, parentes item (quibus & claris & optimis progenies sum) tam soleo jactare quam aliis suas laudes exprobro. Quid enim mea refert qua lena, quove aut Sacerdote aut Monacho, quibusve à heruiliis quis propeferit, modo ingenii dotibusdamna, quæ non sua culpa accidunt, pendat superetque? I was born in a Country to which my Family gave its Name, not far from Friburg, a famous City of Misnia; my Ancestors and Parents (tho' great and good) I as seldom boast of, as I reflect on others for the meanness of their Extradition. For what does it concern me from what Whore, what Priest, or Monk, or from what Dumb-bell a Man springs, if, by the Endowments of his Mind, he retrieve and surmount those Misfortunes for which he himself is not to be blamed. Methinks I see here a tacit Reflexion on Erasmus's being a Bastard. Note, that Eppendorf was accused of boasting of his Nobility, tho' he was Son to a Plebeian. 'Dux (Saxonie) non admittit hominem, negans se velle eum agnoscere qui non agnosceret patrem suum. Jactavit enim se nobilem quum sit plebeus (2). — The Duke (of Saxony) would not admit him; saying he would not own the Man who denied his own Father. For he boasted of his Nobility, tho' he is a Plebeian.'

[B] He published a Book, which contains the History of that Dispute with Erasmus.] You have seen the Title of it, and the Year it was printed in, in the foregoing Remark. It is a book I have not read, but I have had long Abstracts sent me out of it (3), which have acquainted me as fully with the State of this Dispute, as if I had used my own Eyes. Eppendorf was the Plaintiff in this Controversy; having made his Complaint against Erasmus before the Magistrates of Basil, who promised to do justice. The thing in question was an injurious Letter, of which he accused Erasmus of being the Author. He demanded three Things, besides the Retraction of the Letter: I. That Erasmus should dedicate a Book to him; II. That he should write in his Favour to the Duke of Saxony; III. That to repair the Injury he had done him, he should be obliged to give Three hundred Ducats to the Poor (4). Erasmus answered, that he disowned the Letter (5); and that if Eppendorf gave him Marks of his Friendship, he would not scruple to dedicate a Book to him. He promised to write to the Duke of Saxony; but would promise nothing as to the last Point. Here is more at large, and in Latin, what he answered. 'Ad quam postulationem sic respondit (Erasmus): Epistolam quam prælegit non agnosco, nec arbitror me scripsisse talia nec exemplar in meis schedis reperio, & epistola ducis, si proferatur, testabitur me talia non scripsisse, tantum admonui ducem, ut illum ad honestam functionem ab ocio revocaret, aut certe quietem mihi ab illo impetraret; de inscriptione libelli, si videro animum illius factum amicum, non gravabor, majora facturus amicitie nomine: quam sit illi princeps iratus nescio, aut quas irarum causas habeat mihi non constat: habebat Eppendorphius Emserum hostem capitale apud principem: si ex mea querela Princeps factus est alienor, non gravabor hoc meis litteris civiliter scriptis mitigare quatenus licet cum tantis principibus agere. De elemosynis ipse curabo cum mihi Deus in mentem miserit, nec mea refert quomodo hic aut Friburgi vixerit, quo sanctius vixit hoc magis gaudeo: de aureis quos postulet sibi dari præstat filere, ne videatur ob hanc causam intendisse litem; agat amice & destinat populum in me concitare, uberius illi prodesse possum officiis quam si dem 200 aureos. — To which demand Erasmus

VOL. H.

made this Reply. I disown the Letter which he read, nor do I imagine I wrote any such thing, neither do I find any Copy thereof amongst my Papers, and if the Duke's Letter be produced, it will witness that I did write no such thing; I only requested the Duke to give him some honest Employment, that he might have something to do, or at least prevail with him not to give me any future Molestation. As to the Dedication of a Book, if I find he has laid aside all Animosity, I shall not scruple to do it; I should not stick at greater things when Friendship is the Case; I am ignorant of the Prince's anger, and the Causes he may have are secrets to me; Eppendorf had an implacable Enemy with the Prince in Emser: but if my quarrel has been the Cause of his Disgrace, I shall not refuse by Letter to intercede for him in the best manner I can, so far as may be consistent for me to act with such great Princes. As to the Alms, as God shall please to direct my choice, I will be answerable; nor does it concern me how he lived here or at Friburg; the more uprightly he lived, the more am I rejoiced. With respect to the Ducats he demands, it were better to be silent, lest he should be thought to have founded his quarrel upon them. Let him act like a Friend, and cease to stir up the Multitude against me; my Services may be of more value to him than two hundred Ducats. Beatus Rhenanus, who took upon him the Office of Mediator in this Quarrel, put Erasmus's Answer into the Hands of Eppendorf. The latter finding himself wronged as to the second Article, since it was previously required of him, that he should promise his Friendship to a Person that had affronted him; Erasmus was forced to engage himself to dedicate a Book to him without any Condition, under this Form. 'Erasmus Roterodamus Henrico Eppendorphio S. D. Divites divitibus mittunt equos, auleas, gemmas & aurum, muta nimirum munera nec duratura, postremo quæ nec meliorem, nec ornatiorem reddunt eum cui mittuntur, & pauperiorem illum à quo proficiuntur: inter eos vero quos litterarum communis amor fœderavit aliud donorum genus commutare decet, quæ nec exhauriant largientem & fructum simul ac decus afferant accipienti. Proinde libellam mitto, tuo dicatum nominis litterarum societatis olim inter nos inite monumentum, quam ego perpetuum esse vehementer cupio, nec tantum permittemus malis linguis ut nostram amicitiam Musarum auspiciis conciliatam dirimant, utcumque moliti sunt nos inter nos committere: sed non te remorabor amplius, quo tibi vacet audire quid loquatur libellus. — Erasmus Roterodamus to Henry Eppendorf, Greeting. The Wealthy to the Wealthy send Horses, Tapestry, Jewels, and Gold, dumb Presents these and of short Duration, such moreover as make the Receiver neither better nor more valuable, and yet impoverish the Giver. But amongst those whom a common Love of Learning has united, there ought to be an Intercourse of a different kind of Presents, such as drain not the Giver, yet enoble and enrich the Receiver. To you therefore I send this Treatise, dedicated to your Name, as a Monument of that Literary Alliance, into which we formerly entered, and which I earnestly desire may be perpetual. Let us not pay so much regard to malicious Tongues as to suffer them to dissolve a Friendship so happily formed under the influence of the Muses, however some have laboured to sow discord between us. But I will not detain you any longer. Eppendorf, satisfied upon the two first Articles, was not so upon the third. He found a great deal of Artifice in Erasmus's pretending he did not understand to what use the Money was destined, which was exacted from him (6). Eppendorf complained, that he was accused of stirring up the Populace; three Days being spent in this Dispute, the Decision of it was at last referred to the Judgment of two Arbitrators, to wit, Bonifacius Amerbach, and Rhenanus; who, in the presence of Lewis Bersus, and Henry Glareanus, pronounced this Sentence: 'Quo-

(6) Cum articuli mei habent propter impetum & innocentiam & simplicitatem meam pauperibus esse largiendam pecuniam. Too' it is expressed in my Articles, that, in regard of my unquestioned Innocence and Integrity, the Money should be distributed amongst the poor.

try to perfect himself in the Sciences; that he had been the Disciple of the famous Zasius, Professor of the Civil Law; That he had lived a long time at *Straßburg*; and, that

niam ex consensu utriusque nobis jus fecistis dissidii inter vos amice componendi, visum est nobis ut D. Erasmus ad evitandam molestiam & alendam Christianam concordiam præstet duos articulos sicut scripto recepit: pro tertio eodem animo non gravabitur in subsidium pauperum dare florenos circiter viginti, nostro arbitrio dispensandos, & hæc facienda censuimus citra notam alterutrius, tantum ut utrinque offensis, querelis & suspicionibus abolitis, de integro certamen inter vos sit benevolentiae, cum oblivione Preteritorum omnium perinde quasi nihil esset aut dictum aut factum. D. Henricus Eppendorffus premit, si quid scriptum: & utrique liberum relinquitur, an vicissim aliquo benevolentiae symbolo an potius mutuo animo contenti esse velint. Actum Basilæ postredie purificationis anno MDXXVIII. — Since by mutual Consent you have empowered us to make an amicable determination of the Quarrel betwixt you; It appears reasonable to us, that Erasmus, to avoid Contention, and to promote Christian Concord, perform the two Articles which he received in writing, and from the same Motives, with respect to the third, he will not scruple to give about twenty Florins for the relief of the Poor, to be disposed of as we shall think proper; and these things we judge ought to be admitted by both Parties without Alteration, that so, all Animositities, Quarrels, and Jealousies being forgot on both sides, as tho' nothing of that Nature had ever subsisted, ye may enter afresh into a contest of good Nature. If Eppendorff has wrote any thing, let him suppress it, and we leave it free to both, to abuse the Exchange of some token of Reconciliation, or rest satisfied with the Assurance of each other. Done at Basil the Day after Candlemas-day 1528. The contending Parties acquiesced in the Sentence, and embraced one another as a Mark of their Reconciliation. The next Day they were brought to dine together; but the War was like to break out again: For, as they rose from Table, Eppendorff having desired Erasmus to get ready the Letter he had promised to write to the Duke of Saxony, and Erasmus answering he would write to the Chancellor only, there arose a high contest between them, and they parted that Day very ill satisfied with one another. However, the next Day Erasmus wrote to the Prince, and sent his Letter open to Eppendorff, who was well pleased with it. Not long after, some Reports were spread, injurious to Erasmus, as if had consented to a shameful Accommodation. You will see how he complained of the Rhodomontades of his Adversary. The Quotation is pretty long, because I have a mind to comprehend in it what belongs to the Agreement, according to Erasmus's Way of telling it. My Reader may compare together the Narratives of each Party. 'Opinor Dilectum tibi narrasse de reatu meo. Ego hac in re obsecundavi consilio Beati Rhenani, & Ludovici Berii. Alioqui sciebam illum nihil acturum. Fumos hominis jam olim novi. Sed Beati ingenio semper abusus est ad hujusmodi dramata. Turbam amoliti sumus qualibuscunque conditionibus, pacem iniquam æquo bello præferentes. Nihil omisum est, compromissum est. Adhibiti duo testes. Arbitri datis dextris stipulati sunt obsequium. Pronunciatum est de scripto arbitrium. Assensus utrique. Subscriptus manu utrique. Deinde bibimus ex eodem poculo, fracto inter nos pane, datæ dextræ. Ominatus sum amicitiam fore perpetuam. Annuat ille, & comprobavit. Exhibuit est omnibus convivium *ἐξελίον*. In habitu petiit epistolam ad Ducem. Id præter pacta præstiti, ne quam darem occasionem. Petiit præfationem in librum ipsi dicandum. Id, quamquam absurdum & ineptum, tamen autore Bonifacio feci. Quid consecutum est? Mox dicitur misisse famulum proprium, qui sub nundinas vulgaret atrocem rumorem, Erasmus esse damnatum Basilæ, conditionibus gravissimis, ut scriberet librum & epistolam contra seipsum, deinde daret pecuniam. Et hic ante abitum iactavit se adigisse Erasmus ad conditiones, ad quas ipse nollet descendere pro tribus millibus aureorum. Hic rumor mirum quantum exhilaravit pseudo-evangelicos. Qui triumphi! Quæ exultatio de nihilo! Hæc ego suspicabar futura, sed neque Beato, neque Bero potui persuadere, qualis esset artifex (7). — I suppose *Disius* has informed you of my

(7) Erasmus, Epist. xlvii, lib. 30, pag. 1033. It is dated from Basil, Apr. 1528.

Case. In this Matter I followed the Advice of Beatus Rhenanus, and Lewis Bero; otherwise I knew he would do nothing. I had long been acquainted with his Levity. But he has always abused the good Nature of Rhenanus on such Occasions. We sought a Pacification on any Terms, preferring an ignoble Peace to a just War. No Stone was left unturned: the Matter was made up. Two Witnesses were called. The Mediators in a friendly manner drew up the Articles of Reconciliation. The Award was read. We both gave our Approbation, and both subscribed it. Afterwards we drank out of the same Cup, broke Bread together, and joined Hands. I looked on that as an Omen of a lasting Friendship. He signified his Assent by his Behaviour. A Friendly Entertainment was provided for us all. At his departure he required a Letter to the Duke. Though not contained in the Stipulations, I wrote it, to avoid giving him a handle of Reproach. He demanded a Preface to a Book that was to be inscribed to him; This, tho' absurd and ridiculous, I consented to at the Instance of Amerbachius. What was the Consequence? he is reported to have sent his Servant soon after to publish a scandalous Rumour at the Fair, that Erasmus had been censured at Basil, and sentenced to write a Book and an Epistle against himself, and fined into the bargain. Even here, before his Departure, he boasted to have compelled Erasmus to such Terms as he would not submit to for three thousand Ducats. It is surprising how agreeable this Report was to the Pseudo-Evangelists. What Triumphs! What Rejoycings for nothing! I suspected all this would happen, but could neither persuade Rhenanus nor Bero, what a Shuffler he was.

This Peace was ill observed: For there was hardly ever a Cessation of Hostilities in Words and Manuscripts, and at last Books entered into the Quarrel. Erasmus having published one, wherein Eppendorff was ill treated, his Adversary confuted the same in the Book printed at Haguenau in the Year 1531, whose Title I have given. We may observe, that these Literary Wars much resemble those of Princes: Each of the contending Parties boasts of their having religiously observed the Treaty of Peace, and charges the other with a Thousand Infractions. Eppendorff sets forth, that after the Agreement he was informed Erasmus continued to defame him (8), and therefore he did but follow the Dictates of Prudence in defending himself. He would not believe any such Reports, till Erasmus's Letters were shewn to him. 'Respondi me nihil horum expectare ab Erasmo, nec putare eum bonorum & præclarorum virorum arbitrium violaturum: quid dicam, literas mittunt huius animi testes, quæ apud amicos, alterum item ex iudicibus coram appello: quid mihi post pactum accidat, injurias tam atroces diu sustinere non posse. Et tamen interim expectat Dominus Erasmus à me multas salutes, honorificam mentionem, literas amicas: nec saltem has efflagitat, verum etiam urgere me vult ut in omnibus conviviis eum per ora hominum veham. In Utopia forsitan offendentur qui pro tam insignibus maleficiis bonas gratias referunt. Officii ducat quod par pari non retulerim: post initam concordiam non scripsi unam litteram in Erasmus, & quæ ante concordiam ad tuendum nomen meum adornaram, concordia sic iubente suppressi. — I answered, that I expected no such treatment from Erasmus, and that I could not imagine he would have broke through the Determination of so good and so eminent Men. What shall I say? The Letters, which they send, confirm his Design: I complain to my Friends; Appeal to one of the Referees. I inform him what has happened since the Agreement; that I cannot long put up such glaring Affronts. Yet Erasmus expects from me a World of Complaisance, that I should speak of him with Honour, and write to him with Respect; nor does he only demand this, but would oblige me to extol him in all Companies above the rest of Mankind. In Utopia perhaps Persons may be found who return Civility for such notorious ill usage. Let him think I have used him civilly in not making a suitable return. Since the Reconciliation, I have not wrote one Letter against Erasmus, and what I had published before in my own Justification, for the sake

(8) Nomen meum ignominiose in libellum transfundere.

that he stood neuter between the violent Factions which *Luther's* Reformation raised in Germany [C]. It must be confessed, That, in order to get Satisfaction for an injurious Writing published against him, he made use of a most effectual Means to restrain the

moft

(9) Qui videtur
hac potissimum
de causa venisse
Augustum ut in
excelebritate ho-
minum femina-
ret sua mendaci-
que non aliter ex-
se gignit quam a-
renam a filium. E-
rasmus, Ep. LIII,
Libri XXX,
pag. 194C.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Id. ibid.

'of Peace I had suppressed.' Now if we consult *Erasmus*, he will tell us, that his Adversary broke the Peace even before they went out of the Place where it was signed; and that he was a noted Liar, who had been at the Diet of *Ausburg* in the Year 1530, with Design only to vent his Falsities there (9). Scriptis ad me Dux, ut Julii literis fidem haberem. Julius scripsit amantissime doctissimeque multa, quorum hæc erat summa, ut præfationi adderem libellum Epiphendorpio dicatum, veluti ex fœdere, quoniam ille multis modis violavit fœdus, priusquam exiret Basileam, nec post deflitterat de me hostiliter & scribere & loqui, subinde recitans furiosum librum, nesci in me scripsit. Nec in aliud querebat librum, nisi ut iterum glorietur, ad quas condiciones adegisset *Erasmum*. Sperabat ex arbitratorum sententia nonnihil prædæ: id quoniam fessellit, factus est ex inimico inimicior, & quum nemo nesciret, illum omnia fecisse contra pacta, tamen perinde petit suum jus, quasi omnia præstiterit, nec pudet quicquam. Decreveram omnia perperit potius, quam levissimi hominis nomine meas chartas contaminare, sed posteaquam ille nullum facit mentiendi finem, causæ summam perstrinxit excusulo libello, nè toties fatigem amanuenses meos (10). — The Duke wrote to me to give credit to the Letters of Pflug, which indeed contained many things full of Learning and Friendship, of which this is the Sum: that in Compliance with the Pacification I should write a Preface to the Book which was to be dedicated to Epiphendorf. The reason of all this is; Epiphendorf, even before he left Basil, had violated the Treaty in several Respects, and had not from that time ceased, either in Writing or Conversation, to treat me like an Enemy, every now and then mentioning what a furious Treatise he had wrote against me. Nor had he any other Design in demanding this Treatise and Dedication, than to have an Opportunity of boasting, to what Terms he had again reduced *Erasmus*. He hoped for some Booty from the Determination of the Arbitrators; but, failing in that, he was the more exasperated; and tho' every one is sensible that he has done every thing contrary to the agreement, yet he impudently demands Justice to be done him, as if he had performed all that was required of him. I was determined to abide the worst rather than fully my Papers with the Name of so trifling a Man, but since he makes no end of misrepresenting the Cause, I have published the whole State of the Matter, that I may not be obliged to give my Amanuenses a second trouble. To understand the Beginning of this Passage, we must know, that Epiphendorf, not having been able to speak to the Duke of Saxony, nor willing to tell his Reasons to *Simon Pistorius*, to whom that Prince had referred him, obtained that he might tell them to *Julius Pflug*. Tandem improbitate sua perfecit, ut Dux causam delegaret *Julio Pflug*, cujus aures Epiphendorpius noster explevit innumeris mendaciis, quod erat illi bonum atque commodum, quod *Julius* nec Epiphendorpius nosset, nec causam (11). — At last by his unjust Artifice he obtained of the Duke to refer the management of the Affair to *Julius Pflug*, whose Ears Epiphendorf had filled with a multitude of Lies, as best suited with his own Interest, Pflug being neither acquainted with him nor the Matter in Debate. He made the best of his Case known to him, and by the Favour of a thousand Lies (according to *Erasmus's* Assertion); after which the Duke of Saxony wrote to *Erasmus*, to give Credit to the Letter of *Julius Pflug*.

[C] He stood neuter between the Factions . . . which the Reformation raised in Germany.] Without doubt he was of the Opinion of those who believed, that the Church of *Rome* wanted Reformation, and that the Protestants did not reform it well: So that he displeased both Parties, and they went so far as to charge him with being a Pensioner to the Papists and Lutherans at the same time. He represents himself as a Man who, not knowing well as yet which Party had most Justice on their Side, expected that Time would clear the Matter. These are his Words: Oblatae sunt nuper literæ scriptæ ad principem quendam virum, ubi nephandissimus scurra scripserat

me quingentos aureos habere à Lutheranis totidemque à Pontificiis, ut vocant, utroque à me emungi auro atque haberi ludibrio, me enim neque novum neque vetus Evangelium curare. Quid facerem? Risi impudentiam nebulonis: nec ita multo post in colloquium accersitus rogatusque ab eo qui Romanæ sedis plurimum favebat quidnam mihi de præsentium statu videretur? Prodidici libere quæ tum in animo haberem: Rursum Evangelicis aperui quæ mihi pro meo plusquam juvenili capto, temere aut exigi aut novari viderentur, non admodum bonam gratiam apud utroque iniens. Volui in hunc usque diem ab negotio illo quod Evangelicum vocant esse integer, precans saltem ut in fatali nunc illa & memorabili rerum immutatione nobis miseris mortalibus eveniat quod fastidium scilicet bonumque sit. Nec nomen alicuius scilicet daturus nisi novus aliquis Solon huc me perperurit, tum scias me saniori subscripturum parti etiam si vita impendenda sit. — Letters were lately shown me which had been written to a certain great Man, wherein a most scurrilous Scophant had affirmed, that I received five hundred Crowns from the Lutherans, and the same Sum from the Papists, as they are called; that I bought them both of their Money, and made a jest of them, since I had no regard for either Religion. What could I do? I laughed at the Fellow's Impudence. Soon after being invited into Company, and asked by one who zealously espoused the Church of *Rome*, what my Opinion was of the present State of Affairs? I freely discovered my Sentiments: I have likewise declared to the Evangelists what Demands or Innovations, according to my weak Apprehension, they seemed too unwisely to insist on, nor did I carry any extraordinary Favour with either. I have chose to this Day to keep my self clear of those Engagements which they call Evangelic, praying however that in this fatal and memorable Change, we poor Mortals may only reap the good Effects thereof, nor would I enlist myself in any Sect, unless some new Solon should arise; then should I not fail to declare for the sounder Party. To judge of things according to the Principles of natural Light, the Course Epiphendorf took was the most reasonable. He had a Mind to see the End of this Affair, before he sided either with the Party that maintained Abuses, or with the Party that opposed them. He thought both too hot, and the Storm too fierce; so that he said with *Cicero*, *Quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo* (12); and he loved Peace too well, to embark in this religious War. But it was in vain that he hoped to stand upon the Shore a quiet Spectator of the Boisterousness of that Sea: For he found himself more exposed to the Storm, than if he had been in either of the Fleets. This is the inevitable Fate of those who pretend to keep a Neutrality during the Civil-Wars, either of Church or State. They are exposed to the Insults of both Parties at once; they get Enemies without procuring themselves Friends: Whereas by espousing with Zeal either of the two Causes, they have Friends as well as Enemies. A deplorable Destiny of Man, a manifest Vanity of Philosophical Reason! It makes us look upon the Tranquillity of the Soul, and the Calmness of the Passions, as the end of all our Labours, and the most precious Fruit of our most painful Meditations; and yet Experience shews, that as to the World, there is no Condition more unfortunate, than that of Friends who will not devote themselves to the Waves of Factions: Nor any Condition less uneasy, than that of such Men as howl with the Wolves, and follow the Torrent of the most boisterous Passions. Among other Advantages, they have that of not knowing that they are in the wrong: For no Men are less capable of seeing the Faults of their Faction, and the Good that may be found in the other Party, than those who are transported with a fiery Zeal, and a quick Resentment, and under the Power of strong Prejudices. *Beati pacifici*, says the Scripture (13), *Blessed are the Peace-makers*: Which is most true as to the other World, but in this they are miserable: They will not be a Hammer, and therefore they are an Anvil, upon which both Sides beat continually.

[H] He

(12) Cicero, ad Atticum, Epist. VII, lib. viii.

INCONVENIENCES of a State of Neutrality and Moderation.

(13) Matth. v, 9.

most slanderer Authors [D].

[D] He made use of a most effectual Means to restrain the most slanderer Authors.] He brought an Action before the Judges; and, among other Reparations of the Injury done him, demanded that the Aggressor might be adjudged to pay a Fine for the benefit of the Poor. This is a most efficacious Remedy against the Spleen of many Writers. They are more quarrelsome, and more difficult to be reconciled than Soldiers. It is, say they, because Soldiers decide their Quarrels with Sword in Hand at the hazard of their Lives; but Authors that quarrel, do not expose themselves to the hazard of spilling their Blood; it costs them only some Paper and Ink. If they exposed their Skin to the Point of a Sword, as they do to the Point of a Pen, they would be more pacific. We

may say likewise, that if their Purse ran any hazard for every Affront they should give, their Style would be more civil, and therefore our Eppendorf had recourse to a good Method. Authors ought to be allowed to criticize one another, as to Erudition, or a false Reasoning: For these are Things out of the Cognizance of Civil Judges. But it were to be wished, that they would put the Rigour of the Laws in Execution, and at least inflict Pecuniary Mulcts on such Authors who attack the Reputation of their Neighbours, and do them other Injuries. This would banish out of Books an infinite number of diffamatory Expressions, and introduce Moderation into the Controversies of Parnassus, where it is but little known.

ERASMUS (DIDIER, in Latin, DESIDERIUS) was born at Rotterdam the twenty eighth day of October 1467 [A]. It cannot be denied that he was a Bastard [B]: And it was an ill grounded Scruple not to dare to publish it in the Beginning

[A] He was born . . . the twenty eighth of October 1467.] I fix Erasmus's Birth to this Year, not because I am ignorant that many place it in the Year 1465, but because I chuse to conform myself to the Inscription of his Statue at Rotterdam, wherein it is probable they have not put 1467, rather than 1465, without a due Examination which of the two was properest. Mr Joli has made use of the same Observation. 'It is not likely, says he (1), that he was born in 1465, as some hold, because in his Epitaph, which is at Basil, it is said, that he died, being above seventy Years old (2), the twelfth of July 1536, which could not be if he was born in 1467; for that Inscription of Rotterdam is to be more depended upon than any thing else, it being to be supposed that the Time of his Birth was better known at Rotterdam, which was his native Place, than at Basil, where he was a Stranger; especially considering that one can gather no Certainty about it, either from his Writings or even from his Letters; by which it appears he was not truly informed of it himself, and that some Errors have been committed as to the Date of those Lettets, by those that have copied and printed them.' The last Part of this Passage is necessary to the first: For if Erasmus had known exactly the Year of his Birth, it had been as easy to set it down right on his Tomb at Basil, as on his Statue at Rotterdam. I am inclined to believe, he did not know it precisely, but only in such a Manner as he thought he knew the Day of his Birth; which, in the Beginning of his Life, he contents himself to fix on the Eve of St Simon and St Jude (3), in *vigilia Simonis & Jude*. But on the other Hand, I do not doubt but he placed his Birth before the Year 1467. Hence it is that Bonifacius Amerbach, his Heir, Jerom Frobenius and Nicolas Episcopus, his Executors, chose in his Epitaph the undetermined Expression of *Jam Septuagenarius*, which is more proper for a Man that died the twelfth of July 1536, when he is supposed to have been born before the Twenty eighth of October 1467, than when he is supposed to be born that Day. Beatus Rhenanus sufficiently intimates, that Erasmus's Friends could not learn any certain Information from him about it: He intimates it sufficiently, I say, though not without ascribing to David, what Moses said of the Duration of our Life. 'Vixit ad septuagesimum annum quem communem humanæ vitæ terminum regius propheta David statuit, aut certe non multum est supergressus, nam de anno quo natus est apud Batavos nobis non constat: de die constat qui fuit ad quintum Kalend. Novembr. Apostolis Simoni & Judæ sacer (4). — He lived to the Age of seventy Years (which the Royal Prophet David fixes as the common Limit of human Life) or however could not much exceed it. The Year, in which he was born, is not certainly known to us, tho' we are certain with regard to the Day, which was the Twenty eighth of October, the Festival of St Simon and Jude.' The Passage following will be a Confirmation of it. I have taken it out of a Letter which Erasmus wrote to a Professor (5), who defamed him in a cruel manner. Erasmus declares to him that if he attacks him publicly, he will let him know

that though he be near seventy Years old, he has still good Teeth and Claws. 'Quod si cognovero, quod equidem non spero, te vel tantillum contra me publicare, experieris (ni fallor) Erasmus jam 70 annos natum neque edentulum esse omnino neque exunguem.' This Letter, dated the ninth of January 1535, is the Sixty eighth of the thirtieth Book of the London Edition. It may be objected, that this Month of January belongs (6) to the Year 1536. Well, let it be so; it will remain true however by this Passage, that Erasmus thought he was born before the Year 1467. I own he was not always of that Opinion; for in the nineteenth Letter of the second Book, dated February 1516, he says, he is only in the Forty ninth Year of his Age, *annum ago non plus quam undequingagesimum*. The first Letter (7) he wrote to James de Horn the seventeenth of April 1519, says, that he was in the Fifty third Year of his Age, which shews he was born Year 1537, in 1466.

Erasmus's Birth does not only run upon the Years 1465, and 1467, but is tossed up and down through the Mistakes of Printers, if not of Authors themselves. Chytraeus (8) fixes it to the Year 1466; Magirus (9) (10) to the Year 1467; see the *Chronological Index of Bucheler* on the Year 1465: And Father Theophilus Raynaud has placed it in the Year 1469 (10). Nor are the Opinions less various about Erasmus's Death: Konig (11) places it in the Year 1526; the Author of the Notes upon Priolo in 1546; Moreri in 1516, the eleventh of July. Du Verdier Van Privas (12), and Hofman, commit this last Fault. Melchior Adam fixes it to the sixth of the Ides of July, (which is the tenth). They have put under the Print of Erasmus, which is before his Epistles, printed at London, that he died the thirtieth of July. In the Edition of his Life, in 120, there are some Pieces in the Beginning, and among the rest the Story of the pretended Relinquish of the Money that was taken from him at Dover (13); at the End of which it is said, that he died on the Day of the Ides of July, which is the fifteenth. We must no more trust Inscriptions, either in Marble or Brasse, since People falsify so many Ways that of Erasmus's Tomb, which contains in large Characters the Date of the fourth of the Ides of July, that is, the twelfth of that Month. It shews also, that Bonifacius Amerbach was Heir to Erasmus; and that Jerom Frobenius and Nicolas Episcopus were his Executors: Therefore Melchior Adam (14), Swert (15), Magirus (16), and Bullart (17), do not truly copy the Epitaph; for they bestow equally upon those three Persons the Quality of Heirs. Freberus does the same in his Theatre, pag. 848. and Catherine in the Art of Printing, pag. 6. It is a vexatious thing that the Mistakes of Transcribers should extend even to sepulchral Inscriptions; for in other Matters such Mistakes might occasion Disputes very hard to be determined. There are some Writers, such as he who composed *Les Delices de la Hollande* (18), who are mistaken as to the place of Erasmus's Death: they say, that it was at Friburg in Alsace.

[B] It cannot be denied that he was a Bastard.] He owns himself that his Father and Mother were never married. It is true, he says, that his Mother granted

(1) Joli Voyage de Munster, pag. 144.

VARIOUS Opinions concerning the time of the Birth and Death of Erasmus.

(2) He is mistaken: The Epitaph says, *Jam septuagenarius*, almost seventy Years old; a Title which belongs to a Man, as soon as he is past sixty nine Years of Age. However, the Objection remains good, since the Inscription of the Epitaph is inconsistent with Erasmus's Birth on Oct. 28, 1467, as it is set down in the Inscription of the Statue.

(3) That is the 27th of October, and yet most Authors place his Birth-day on the 28th of October, according to the Inscription at Rotterdam.

(4) Beatus Rhenanus, Epist. dedicat. Origin.

(5) His Name was Peter Curtius, and he taught Rhetoric at Rome.

(6) The Year did not always begin in January; but since Erasmus's Will is dated Febr. 12, 1536, he has followed our way of reckoning, else his Will must be referred to the Year 1537.

(7) This is the XXXIId of the Vth Book.

(8) Chron. Saxo.

(9) Eponymol. pag. 317.

(10) See Remark [D].

(11) Biblioth. Vet. & Novæ, pag. 277.

(12) Protopogon. Tom. III, pag. 242.

(13) See Remark [B].

(14) In Vita E.

(15) Athen. Belg. pag. 207.

(16) Eponymol. pag. 319.

(17) Academiæ Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 162.

(18) Pag. 156. Edit. 1685. See also Il Coronamento Polico, Tom. V, pag. 763.

gining of the XVIIth Century [C]; for the Thing was then too well known. But one may well deny some odious Circumstances, which *Erasmus's* Enemies have published concerning

CIRCUMSTANCES concerning *Erasmus's* Father and Mother.

(19) *Erasmus*, in vita sua, à Merula anno 1615. vulgata.

(20) In Tractatu de libera hominis Nativitate, seu de Liberis Naturalibus.

(21) It is a Town in Brabant, three Leagues from Breda.

(22) Dated the 18th of October, 1606, and thro' an Error of the Press it is marked the 27th, instead of the 28th of the 11th Century, in the Edition in 1650.

(23) *Baudius* uses the Word *Eutrapelia*, which answers to that; witness this Passage of Mr le Camus, Bishop of Bellai, in his Poems against Mr. Dreincourt: Truly that Phraic, of Blants given to the Virgin Mary, is so facetious, that it seems that, in gathering those fine Pearls, you study to practise the Virtue of *Eutrapelia*.

(24) There is a false Story current about these three Authors; to wit, That they were Bastards of the same Mother, who thought she had no Occasion to repent, by reason of the Services they had done the Church.

(25) Valer. Andr. Biblioth. Belg. page 175.

(26) Theatre-urbium Holl. pag 284.

the last Favour only upon Hopes, and, as some pretend, upon a Promise of Marriage: *Clam habuit rem cum dicta Margareta, spe conjugii, & sunt qui dicant intercessisse verba* (19). But whatever it be, he was born illegitimate, and was never legitimated *per subsequentem matrimonium*: Therefore, as long as the World endures, he will be justly ranked among the number of illustrious Bastards. *Pontus Heuterus* has not forgot him in the long List he has given us of that sort of Bastards (20), and so far he cannot be accused of having followed the passionate Humour which appears in his Writings; but he ought to have explained himself a little more exactly than he has done, on the Character of him to whom *Erasmus* owed his Life. He calls *Erasmus* a Priest's Son: That is true in a certain Sense; as it is true that a Person, that becomes a Monarch, communicates the Quality of Royal Issue to the Children he has already. However since, according to the Maxim of the Civilians, we ought to extend whatever is favourable, and contract whatever is not so; we ought never to call one simply and absolutely a Priest's Son, that is not begot by a Man actually a Priest at the Time of the Generation: For it is a greater Dishonour to be an illegitimate Son of a Man actually a Priest. This is *Erasmus's* Case: Nay, he pretends, that his Father's going into Orders was occasioned by his Grief upon the false News he received at Rome, that his Mistress was dead: that having found out the cheat at his return, he lived very chaffly in relation to that Damsel; who, for her Part, had no other Thoughts than to give a good Education to their common Son, without desiring to marry.

This is what we find in a Life of *Erasmus*, which some pretend was composed by himself, and published by *Merula* in 1607, from the Original which *Erasmus* had entrusted with *Conradus Goclenius*, Professor in the Latin Tongue at Louvain. This is a Piece composed with the utmost Negligence, and wherein we find nothing but a great Simplicity, without any particular Detail. The only thing you learn there, touching *Erasmus's* Mother, is, that her Name was *Elizabeth*; that she was of *Sevenberghen* (21), and Daughter of a certain Physician called *Peter*, *Filius Medici cujusdam Petri*. As for the Father, one cannot learn from thence from whence he came, nor where he dwelt; Wherefore the Reader will do well to have recourse to a Letter of *Baudius* (22), wherein we find, I. That *Erasmus's* Father was a Burgher and Inhabitant of *Torgou*, of an honest Family, tolerably learned considering those Days, and of a merry, facetious Humour, which got him the Surname of *Praet*, or *Facetious* (23). II. That the Time of his Mistress's Lying-in drawing near, it was thought fit to send her to *Rotterdam*, the better to conceal the Matter; and that the Father gave his Name of *Gerard* to the Child. III. That, bating this Irregularity, *Erasmus's* Mother was blameless; and might with *Dido* say,

Huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpæ.

This only Error stains my spotless Life.

It is certain that her Sin, very different however from those committed by profligate, leud, Women, has produced to excellent a Man, that, if she had lived long enough to see the extraordinary Merit of her Son, she would have had more Reason than the Mother of *Peter Lombard*, of *Gratian*, and of *Comestor* (24), to use the Answer which is ascribed to the latter: For twenty Authors like those three are not worth one half of *Erasmus*. But she died of the Plague, when her Son was in the thirteenth Year of his Age.

According to *Baudius*, the good Man, *Gerard*, took Care of his Son's Christening: However *Erasmus's* Life says, that *Gerard*, not being able to change the Resolution of his Father, Mother, and Brothers, who would have him by all means turn Priest, he withdrew privately out of his Country, sent them Word they would never see him again, and went to Rome, leaving with Child the Person he designed to marry. *Valerius Andreas Desfelius* (25) copies very exactly what *Baudius* had said in Praise of *Erasmus's* Father; but *Boxhornius* (26) makes a notable Alteration in it; for he would have that good Priest to have been fir-

VOL. II. No. LVI.

named *Praet* on account of his eloquent Sermons. To justify this Alteration of *Baudius's* Passage, it had been requisite to bestow on the Sermons of *Erasmus's* Father the Character of those of *Menot*, *Maillard*, *Barlette*, the little Father *Andrew*, &c. For the Term of *Facundia*, which *Boxhornius* uses, does not answer the Virtue of *Eutrapelia*. I would fain know where he has learned, that *Gerard* was of *Sevenberghen*? *Erasmus's* Life says this of his Mother only; and *Baudius* contents himself to assure us, that the Father was a Burgher and Inhabitant of *Torgou*. *Valerius Andreas* joins what they affirm separately: *Patrem habuit*, says he, *Gerardum Septimontanum, civem & incolam urbis Gaudanæ*. Mr *Sackendorf* is mistaken, when he says (27), that a young Man of *Rotterdam* was *Erasmus's* Father.

[C] It was an ill grounded Scruple not to dare to publish it in the beginning of the XVIIth Century.] The forementioned Letter of *Baudius* shews, that *Merula* had great Scruples to contend with, before he fully resolved to publish the Writing entrusted with *Goclenius*; he was a long time under an Apprehension of wronging *Erasmus's* Memory, and, by the Discovery of this Secret, of incurring the Indignation of the Partisans of that great Man. *Baudius* represented to him, by solid Reasons, that the best Way was to print it: 'Nec est quod in eo pertimeas offensam' 'cujusquam probi, quasi scilicet invidiosa proditiōe' 'detexeris quædam arcana digna sacro silentio'

'nec ipse alio animo seriem vitæ suæ penes principem' 'amicorum deposuit, quàm ut se rebus humanis' 'exempto posteritas hujus horribilis secreti particeps' 'esset' (28). — You have no Reason to be afraid of thereby giving offence to any honest Man, as if by a malicious Discovery you had brought to light Things which ought not to have been revealed. . . . Nor did he with any other design deposit the History of his Life in the Hands of his most valuable Friend, than that after his Death, Posterity might be informed of the infamous Secret. But since he forgets the Reason I am going to mention, it is likely he was ignorant that *Erasmus* had already been reflected on for being a Priest's Son. That Reason is, that there was nothing got by the Suppression of that Life of *Erasmus*; and that, on the contrary, its Publication might serve to extenuate the common Report, about his Father's and Mother's Miscarriage, which had already been made public with aggravating and false Circumstances. There is no doubt but *Baudius* would have made use of that Reason, if he had known what was in *Loofius's* Catalogue, printed in 1581; and in *Pontus Heuterus's* Book printed in 1600. I do not mention what *Desfelius* quotes from *Paulus Jovius*; and I do not wonder *Baudius* was not acquainted with the Contents of the Letters of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*. You will see presently what I mean. *Baudius* was not obliged to know a Book of *Desfelius*, which was not yet printed; and I think he deserves to be excused for not having believed that *Paulus Jovius* had said any thing of *Erasmus's* Illegitimacy: For a very learned Man has assured me, I. That no such Thing is found in *Paulus Jovius's* Works, and that therefore *Desfelius* misquotes him. II. That the first Man that divulged this Secret in a public Writing, concerning the Birth of *Erasmus*, is the Author who concealed himself under the Name of *Philalethes* (29). 'John Herold, in his *Philopseudes*, or Apologetical Answer, in Opposition to the Dialogue published under the Name of *Philalethes* against *Erasmus's* Memory, about five Years after his Death, finds himself very much embarrassed about the Objection touching *Erasmus's* Birth; and not being able to get clear of it, he seems at first to yield, by saying, Ut donemus te verum dicere, per Christum dic, rogo, an parum videatur tibi homo ille optimus a te toties lacessitus, nisi hanc quoque notam addas. — Suppose we grant that what you say is true: For Heaven's sake, do you think that good Man has not been sufficiently reviled by you, but you must likewise fix this mark upon him. His Adversary, without calling *Erasmus* positively a Priest's Son, said, that he was ex condemnato concubitu natus. Herold protests against the enormity of the Slander, and says, That among all those who had till then written against *Erasmus*, none had ever

(27) Histor. Lutheran. lib. 1, pag. 142.

(28) *Baudius*, Epist. xxviii, Centur. II.

(29) That is, in his Opinion, Hortensio Landò. See the Article LANDO, *Reh.* [A].

concerning his Birth D]. Being nine Years old he was sent to *Deventer*, where he made a very considerable Progress in his Studies; for it is not true, as many believe, that he was slow in learning [E]. At fourteen Years of Age, having lost both Father and Mother,

(30) These Words are taken from a Memoir of Mr de la Moignon; I shall quote it again in the Remark [L].

(31) Reverfius (Roma) facris initiatus est: unde parente paracho, Gaudane civitatis vicino, natum fuiffe, præpoftere Jo- vius fcriptit. Valer. Andr. ubi fupra.

Note, That Erasmus fays in his Life, That his Father turned Priest before he returned into his Country. Bullart, Académ. des Scien. Tom. II, pag. 160, fays the fame thing with Valerius Andreas.

(32) I believe it is that which was made by a Priest a Native of Tergou, called Cornelius Loofen, printed at Mentz in 1581.

(33) Th. Rayn. Erotem. de Libris, pag. 25.

REFLEXIONS on the Alterations of Transcribers. Faults of the Bernardine Friar St Remuuld.

(34) He fould have faid Raynaud.

(35) Abreg. du Thref. Chron. Tom. III, ad Ann. 1536, pag. 289 & 290, Edit. 1660.

PATIN quoted and censured.

(36) Letter 277, Tom. II.

‘thought to reproach him with any fuch Thing. He ‘was in the right (30).’

[D] One may deny some odious Circumstances concerning his Birth.] Erasmus's Enemies have made his Birth much more scandalous than indeed it was. Several Roman Catholics acknowledge it: Among the reft, Valerius Andreas, who having faid, that Gerard went into Orders upon his return from Rome, concludes from thence, that Paulus Jovius was very much in the wrong, to write that Erasmus was Son to one that was a Curate near Tergou (31). Father Theophilus Raynaud has published the fame Falſity, upon the Credit of a Catalogue of the illuſtrious Writers of Germany (32). ‘Erasmus ſi joculari de joculari homine in ſcelere licet, non fuiſſe filium Regis, licet is, qui eum genuit, fuerit coronatus, ut de alio quodam dixit Petrus Bleſ. Epiſt 21, fuiſſe, inquam, Erasmus patre Gondani (read Goudani) in Batavia oppidi prope Roterodamum, Parocho genitum, ex famula, catalogus illuſtrium Germaniæ Scriptorum prodiit, &c (33). That is, If it may be allowed, in a criminal Matter, to jeſt upon a Jeſter, we may ſay, that Erasmus, though he was not a King's Son, had nevertheless a crowned Head to his Father; that is to ſay, a Curate of Tergou, a Town in Holland, near Rotterdam; who having got his Maid with Child, in order to conceal the Crime, ſent her to Rotterdam, where ſhe was delivered of Erasmus in 1469. We ſhall ſee, by and by, that Scaliger ſays yet worſe of Erasmus's Father.

To give an Inſtance of the Alterations which Accounts of Facts undergo, by paſſing from hand to hand from one Compiler to another, I ſhall ſhow here how Peter of St Remuuld has copied a Paſſage of that Jeſuit. ‘Erasmus, ſays he, was not a King's Son, tho' he that got him was crowned; for the Curate of his Birth-Place was his Father, who got him by his Maid, if we may believe Father Theophilus Regnaud (34). He was called at firſt Gherardus Gherardi; but he would be called Defiderius Erasmus, taking a Pleaſure in changing his Name, to which he was invited by ſeveral others; particularly by Capnio, who was called before Reuchlin, which ſignifies Smoak; by Peter Martyr, called before Vermilius; by Martin Bucer, who diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of Aretius Felinus, &c (35). That honeſt Bernardine Friar does not ſo much as know the Name of the Jeſuit he copies; but beſides, he falſly aſcribes to him the having ſaid, that Erasmus was born in his Father's Pariſh. The Inſtances he gives, of the changing of Names, contain ſeveral Miſtakes. If the Word imitatus has been miſprinted inſtead of imitated, as it is very likely, the Author quotes Reuchlin very prepoſterouſly; Reuchlin, I ſay, who lived before, not after, Erasmus. If this be not an Error of the Preſs, Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer are miſquoted as Precedents, ſince Erasmus lived before them. Add to this, that Peter Martyr did not change the Name of Vermilius into that of Martyr: For all his Life-time he was called Petrus Martyr Vermilius; the two firſt being his Chriſtian Names, the other the Name of his Family. It is true, that either for Brevity ſake, or for other Reaſons, he has oftener been quoted by the Name of Martyr, than by that of Vermilius. As for Bucer, he never took the Name of Aretius Felinus, but in the Title of ſome Books: And therefore there is no Conformity between what he has done, and our Erasmus's changing his Name.

Theophilus Raynaud's Words have diſpleaſed his great Admirer, Guy Patin: ‘I wonder, ſays he (36), how a learned Man, ſuch as Father Theophilus Raynaud, can be guilty of the ſame Slanders. It is true that Erasmus was a Baſtard, and a Priest's Son, as it is eaſy to be ſeen in his Life written by himſelf: Nevertheless the Friars are not the firſt that have reproached him with the Miſfortune of his Birth; but Scaliger in his Ciceronianus, and after him the whole Brotherhood of the Cows.’ That Author had ſaid before, ‘That Erasmus was never a Monk, but only a Novice in a College of Regular Canons of St Auguſtin; where his Guardian had ſent him at fourteen Years of Age, with Deſign to keep him there, and to enjoy his Eſtate: But the Spark, ſays

‘he, had no mind to be a Friar: Though ſome ſay he entered himſelf into that Order.’

There are ſome Things to be cenſured in this: I. It does not become a Man, who takes Erasmus's Part with ſo much Heat as that Phyſician, to own, without the Explanation I have given before, that That great Man was a Priest's Son. II. It is true indeed that Juſtus Caſar Scaliger has reproached him with it; but not in his Ciceronianus, or rather in the two Harangues he has made againſt Erasmus's Ciceronianus (37). III. Laſtly, It is moſt true that Erasmus entered himſelf into the Order of the Regular Canons of St Auguſtin. I own he had a great mind to get out of their Hands before the end of his Noviciate; and that his entering into Vows was much leſs an Act of his Free Will, than the Effect of his natural Baſhfulneſs, which hindered him from defeating, by his Knowledge and Inclination, all the various Arts they uſed to blind his Mind: But at laſt he yielded his Neck to the Yoke, as he owns it himſelf in his Life (38), and in a long Letter to Lambert Grunnius. ‘In ſumma, vicerunt improbitate. Adoleſcens & animo abhorrens & verbis reluctans coactus eſt capſtrum accipere, non aliter quam bello capti vincienda manus victori præbent, ut diutinis victi tormentis faciant, non quod volunt, ſed quod collabuit potenti- (39). — In ſhort, their importunity prevailed. The Youth, notwithstanding his Averſion, notwithstanding he declared his Reluctance, was forced to ſubmit his Neck to the Yoke, as Slaves taken in War ſtretch forth their Hands to their Conqueror, and receive his Chains, as thoſe who are wearied out with continual Torments do, not what they chuſe, but what a ſtronger is pleaſed to command.’ And when Providence ſent him a Deliverer, who freed him from his Cloyſter, I mean a Biſhop of Cambray, who had a mind to have his Company in his Journey to Rome, he did not content himſelf with his Biſhop's Leave, but added to it that of his Prior (40), and kept the Habit of his Order for ſeveral Years: ‘Nec horum quicquam fatum eſt, ſays he (41), ſpeaking of himſelf to Grunnius, niſi permiſſu atque adeo juſſu Epilcopi ordinarii, permiſſu Præpoſiti, tum domeſtici tum generalis, denique cum pace totius Sodalitatis. Quamquam autem eſſet libera conſcientia, ſciſtæque ſe voto adacto non teneri, illud tamen interim dedit . . . ne veſtem mutaret.’

[E] It is not true that Erasmus was ſlow in Learning.] There is a Tradition current in Holland, which ſeems to me to be ill grounded, and which is, That Erasmus was at firſt ſo heavy and ſlow an Underſtanding, that it was many Years before they could make him learn any thing: And People make uſe of this Inſtance to comfort the Parents of ſuch Children as do not improve. This puts me in mind of Moliere's Play, called, *Le Malade Imaginaire*; where Monſieur Dyſcours ſays of his Son Thomas, ‘That when he was young, he was not what People call brisk and ſprightly; that he always appeared ſedate, quiet, and ſullen; that he never ſpoke a Word, and never minded boyiſh Play; that they had much ado to teach him to read, and that he was nine Years old when he could ſcarce tell the Letters. Good, ſaid the Father to himſelf; Backward Trees bear the beſt Fruit: It is harder to engrave on Marble, than to write on Sand; but then the firſt retains Things much longer: And this ſlowneſs of Apprehenſion, this Heavineſs of Fancy, is a ſign of a ſound Judgment to come (42).’ It is ſaid, that Thomas Aquinas, who has been ſo vaſt and penetrating a Wit, was accounted a great Blockhead while he was at School, and that his School-Fellows called him the *mute Ox*. Suarez, who was one of the moſt ſubtle School-Men of the XVIIth Century, went through his Courſe of Philoſophy with ſo little Succeſs, that he thought he ſhould never be able to attain to any competent Knowledge in it (43). Therefore, though what ſo many honeſt People ſay of Erasmus ſhould be true, there would be no Reaſon to be ſurprized at it; but the Queſtion is, if this be not a Fable? For my Part, I believe it is; and the Ground I go upon, is what I have read in an Harangue of David Chytraus (44), beſides ſome other Teſtimonies.

Chytraus

(37) Theſe two Pieces of Scaliger are intitled, the one, Pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Deſid. Erasmus Roterodamum, Oratio I. The other, Contra Deſid. Erasmus Roterodamum, Oratio II.

(38) Parochem abire ante profeſſionem parum pudor humanus, parum neceſſitas coarctat. — I was diſſuaded from my Deſire of quitting the Place before the Time of my Probation was expired, partly by Modeſty, partly by Neceſſity.

(39) Epiſt. Epil. v. lib. iv, pag. 1291.

(40) Admiſſit auctoritatem Prioris & Generalis. Id. in Vita ſua.

(41) Id. Epiſt. v. lib. iv, pag. 1291.

(42) See the Remark [A] of the Arminian XENOCRATES.

(43) Alegambe, Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 136.

(44) De Inſtitutione Weſtphalia.

Mother, he was put under the Tuition of Guardians, who used him very ill. They forced him to embrace a Religious Life: He shewed a long time a great Aversion for it; but at last he was forced to enter among the Regular Canons in the Monastery of *Stein*, near *Tergou*. Some time after, with the Permission of his Superiors, and in the Habit of his Order, he attended the Bishop of *Cambray*; but finding he could not much depend upon that Prelate's Protection, he got himself sent to *Paris*. Having studied in that famous City, in the College of *Montaigne*, he went into *England*, where he found many People that did him Justice, and was wonderfully pleased with the Learning, and other Advantages of that Country [F]; but not seeing the Effect of those Promises by which he had been invited thither, he took a Journey to *Italy*. He continued above a Year at *Bologna*; from whence he went to *Venice*, where he published his *Adagia*; afterwards to *Padua*, and at last to *Rome*, where his Reputation was great. He might have settled there to Advantage, if the magnificent Promises of his Friends in *England* had not engaged him to return thither towards the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry VIII*. He would have stay'd there the Remainder of his Life, if he had found what had been promised him; but being disappointed, he went over into *Flan-* (b) Who was af-
ders, where he was made Counsellor to *Charles* (b) of *Austria* (c). I forgot to mention, terwards the Em-
that he took his Degrees of Doctor in Divinity in the University of *Turin*. He lived peror Charles V.
several Years at *Basil*, and published there a great many Books. He went from thence (c) Taken out of
when the Mass was abolished there, and retired to *Friburg* in *Brissgau*, which he left his Life written
some by himself.

Cytræus relates, That *Rodolphus Agricola* having read the Exercises of the Scholars of his Friend *He- gius*, who had made his School at *Deventer* very famous, found that of *Erasmus* the best of them all, and desired to see that young Scholar, who was then fourteen Years old (45). He was called out of the School to salute *Agricola*, who taking him behind the Head, and looking attentively upon him, said to him, *You will be, one Day a great Man*. If *Erasmus* had not employed some witty Strokes, and shewn a forward Judgment, *Agricola* would not have had the Curiosity to see him. Therefore there must have been some ingenious and nice Turns, which argued much (46) with so good a Judge as *Agricola*. How can a Scholar be called backward and dull-witted, when at twelve or fourteen Years of Age he gives such Proofs of his Capacity? Neither must we forget, that in those Days People did not hurry the Studies of Youth as they do at present, and that the Barbarity of the Schools was very great.

What I am going to say, after *Beatus Rhenanus*, will, perhaps, better confute the Tradition I am now contending against. That Author relates, that *John Sintbeimus*, one of the best Masters in the College of *Deventer*, was so well satisfied with *Erasmus*'s Progress, that he one Day embraced and kissed him, saying, *Cheer up, You will one Day attain the biggest Pitch of Learning* (47). *Erasmus* was not then fourteen Years old. He was nine when his Mother carried him to *Deventer*, having fetched him from *Utrecht*, where he was a Singing-boy in the Cathedral. His Wit shone presently: He apprehended in an Instant whatever was taught him, and retained it well, so that he surpassed all his Companions. He had *Terence* and *Horace* at his fingers ends, so happy was his Memory, and so subtle his Wit. Ingenium *Erasmii* mox eluxit, quum statim quæ docebantur perciperet & fideliter retineret æquales suos omnes superans. . . . Fuit memoriâ felicissimâ, nam puer totum *Terentium* & *Horatium* memoriter complexus est (48). *Terentii* Comœdiæ puer non secus tenebat ac digitos suos, memoriâ namque fuit tenacissimâ; ingenio perspicacissimo (49). This we have from *Rhenanus*, who, without doubt, deserves more Credit than a popular Opinion, which I find can have no other Ground than these Words of *Erasmus*'s Life: *His Father sent him to School as soon as he was four Years old; he made no Progress during the first Years in those unpleasant Studies, for which he was sent to Deventer*. This is intricate and hard to be understood: For what unpleasant Studies, and for which he was not born, could he be put upon at the Age of five or six Years? Was he not born to learn to read and write, to decline and conjugate in *Latin*? I suppose he means something else; Music, perhaps, or such other Exercise of a Singing-boy. But though he had made no Progress in that, the Tradition I confute would nevertheless remain false.

[F] He was wonderfully pleased with the Learning, and other Advantages of *England*. He looked upon *England* as his own Country by Adoption, and de-

sired to serve it as much as his own Country by Birth. Neque tamen defeci nec unquam desecturus sum ab eximio Mecenatæ meo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Verum in consilio constitutus confido futurum ut utrique satisfaciam patriæ, tum ei in qua natus sum, tum ei in quam sum cooptatus (50). I never have, nor ever shall be, unmindful of my excellent Patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury. And being situated on the Confines, I hope I shall discharge the Duties which I owe to both my Countries, to that wherein I was born, and to that into which I have been adopted. He shews in several Places that he was charmed with that Country, where he had found several illustrious Mecenatæ's and the Triumph of the Sciences. Apud Anglos triumphant bonæ literæ (51), *vestra studia* (52). He ingenuously confesses (53), that the flourishing State of Learning, with which he had congratulated *England*, began to make him somewhat jealous and uneasy. And even he pretends, that the learned Men, with which it abounded, might well raise the Envy of *Italy* (54). He observes (55), that this Honour was an ancient Privilege of that Nation, and informs us, that the great Lords there distinguished themselves by the Culture and Improvement of the Sciences: This is an Advantage, wherein, to this Day, the *English* Nobility surpass all other Nations. It is pleasant to read the Difference he makes between the Meals and Feasts of the Churchmen, and those of the Nobility. The first were only remarkable for hard drinking, Noise, scurrilous low Jests, and raging Scandal; whereas, among Noblemen, the Sciences and religious Matters furnished the Company with Table-Talk. O miras rerum humanarum vicissitudines! Olim litterarum ardor penes religionis professores erat: nunc illis magna ex parte ventri, luxui, pecuniæque vacantibus amor eruditionis ad principes profanos ac proceres aulicos demigrat. Nam quæ Schola, quod Monasterium usquam tam multos habet insigni probitate doctrinæque præditos quam vestra habet aula? An non optimo jure nos nostri pudeat? Sacerdotum ac Theologorum convivia madent vinolentia, scurrilibus opplentur jocis, tumultu parum sobrio perstreperunt, virulentis obsecrationibus scatent: & ad principum mensas modestè disputatur de iis quæ ad eruditionem ac pietatem faciunt (56). This was the great Character he gave of *England*, when he spoke seriously. Nor did he make a Description of it less agreeable when he took up his jovial Stile. See what he writes to *Andretin*, to invite him into that Country. Si Britannia dotes satis pernosces, Pause, næ tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres: & si podagra tua non fineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. Nam ut è plurimis unum quiddam attingam: sunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, & quas tu tuis camenis facillè anteponas. Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omnium oculis excipieris: sive discedas aliquo, oculis dimitteris: redis, redduntur suavia: venit ad te, propinantur suavia: disceditur abs te, dividuntur basia: occurrunt alicubi, basiatu affatim; denique quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia.

(45) Others, as Melchior Adam, in Vita *Erasmii*, say he was then but twelve Years old.

(46) Bucholcer, Ind. Chron. pag. m. 420, says, that *Agricola* preferred that Exercise to the rest, Propter inventionis acumen, orationis puritatem & figuræ apte cû siccis intersticiis. — For the Strength of Invention, the Purity of Stile, and the delicate mixture of Rhetorical Flowers. Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 175, and Melchior Adam, in Vita *Erasmii*, make use of the same Words.

(47) Complexus aliquando puerum, made ingenio *Erasmii*, inquit, tu ad summum eruditionis fastigium olim pervenies, Amulque oculum dedit & dimisit. Beat. Rhenan. Epist. præfixa Operib. *Erasmii*. Edit. 1540.

(48) Id. ibid.

(49) Id. Epist. Dedicat. Operib. Originis præfixa.

(b) Who was afterwards the Emperor Charles V.

(c) Taken out of his Life written by himself.

(50) *Erasmii*. Epist. xix, lib. ii.

(51) Id. lib. xvi, Epist. xix.

(52) Ibid. Epist. xx.

(53) Ibid. Epist. xxvii.

(54) Ibid. Epist. xli.

(55) Ibid. Epist. xxvii.

(56) Ibid. Epist. xxvi, lib. vi.

(d) In the Article
ROTTER-
DAM.

some Years after for his Health-sake, and returned to *Basil* [G], where he died the 12th of July 1536. He was honourably interred, and his Memory is still very much respected there [H]. We shall see elsewhere (d) how it is honoured in his own Country, and whether *Rotterdam* can be denied the Honour of being his Birth-Place. It would be needless to remark, that he was one of the greatest Men that ever was in the Commonwealth of Learning; this being a Truth little contested. He had many Enemies; and among others, *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*, who published the most abusive Reproaches against him, tho' not that of being a *Bastard* [I]. The occasion of this Quarrel is not faithfully

(57) Ibid. Epist.
x. lib. v. pag.
315.

'Quæ si tu, Fauste, gustâsses semel quam sint mollis-
'cula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decen-
'nium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque
'in Angliâ peregrinari (57). — If you did but suf-
'ficiently know, my Faustus, the Pleasures of England,
'you would haste hither with Wings at your Feet, or
'if your Gout would not permit you to do that, you
'would wish yourself a *Dædalus*. To mention only
'one Pleasure out of Multitudes: Here are Nymphs
'beautiful as Angels, lovely and debonaire; you would
'readily confess, that your Muses are not to be com-
'pared to them. Besides, we have a Custom, which
'can never be sufficiently commended. Wherever you
'go you shall be welcomed with Kisses from them all;
'and when you depart you shall be dismissed with as
'endearing a Farewell: Return, the same sweet Wel-
'come shall be repeated. Do they take their Leave
'of you, Kisses are interchanged at parting. Where-
'ever you meet them, you feast on their rosy Lips.
'In a word, all Places you enter are full of Kisses,
'which, my Friend, had you once but tasted, how soft,
'how fragrant they are, you would not, I am positive,
'like Solon, desire to live ten Years, but till Death,
'in England.' You see he did not like English Women less than English Men.

[G] He left *Friburg* some Years after for his Health-
sake, and returned to *Basil*. Mary, Queen of Hun-
gary, and Governess of the Low Countries, invited
him to come to *Brabant*; which made him remove
to *Basil*, both to print there his *Ecclesiastes*, which
he had not yet finished, and to get quit of the Re-
mains of a long Fit of Illness. He lodged with *Je-
rome Frobenius*, his old Friend, his Design being to
go by Water into the *Netherlands*, as soon as his Book
should be printed, and his Health permit him. In
the mean time he was attacked with a mortal Disease.
This is what we find in a Letter of *Rhenanus* (58);
but *Erasmus* says somewhere, that he designed, when
he left *Basil*, to retire to *Bezançon*. And what is to
be noted, is, that though he was at *Basil* with most
sincere Friends, he had rather have died somewhere else;
the Reason he gives for it, is, because they were of
another Persuasion. 'Si mea bene novisses, debebas
'illi respondere, me necessario valetudinis causâ reli-
'quissæ *Friburgum*, hoc animo, ut *Ecclesiastâ* absoluto
'Besontium peterem, ne non essem in ditione Cæ-
'saris, sed hic ingravescens valetudo cogit hybernare.
'Hic enim, quamquam sum apud amicos sincerissimos,
'quales *Friburgi* non habebam, tamen ob dogmatum
'differentiam malim alibi finire vitam. Utinam *Bra-*
'bantia esset vicinior (59). — If you had been well
'acquainted with the State of my Affairs, you should
'have answered him, that I was forced to leave *Fri-*
'burg for the sake of my Health, with a Design to go
'to *Bezançon*, as soon as I had finished my *Ecclesiastes*,
'that I might be in the Emperor's Territories; but
'my Illness increasing, I am obliged to winter here.
'Where, though I live with the sincerest Friends, and
'such as I had not at *Friburg*, yet, in regard of the
'Difference of Opinions, I could chuse to finish my
'Life elsewhere. I wish *Brabant* was nearer.'

[H] *Erasmus's* Memory is very much respected at
Basil. Travellers do not speak less of *Erasmus*, when
Basil falls under their Pen, than when they mention
Rotterdam; so that it may be said, that he makes his
Burying no less famous than his Birth-place. And in-
deed it must be confessed, that he made a more con-
siderable Stay in the first of those two Towns, than
in any other Place. I say, a more considerable Stay,
not perhaps as to the length of Time, but at least
for the Importance of his Performances. He had
liked *Basil* extremely (60); he left it sometimes, but
returned to it again: *Hic illius arma, hic currus*
fuit (61). The Revolution that happened there in
1529, in Matters of Religion, was the only Reason
that hindered him from settling there for good and
all. 'Obscurum esse non potest mihi non omnia pro-

'bari quæ isti (Evangelici) faciunt, quæ si probassem
'non tanto meo tum periculo tum dispendio reli-
'quissæ civitatem cui tot annis assueveram, sed jam
'pridem ipsorum sodalitis totus adhærerem (62). —
'It is notorious, that I approved not all that those Evan-
'gelics do; which had I done, I should never have
'left a City wherein I had lived so many Years, and
'after suffering Losses, and running apparent Hazards,
'but should long before this have entirely embraced
'their Party.' However, they shew at *Basil* the House
wherein he died (63); they call that *Erasmus's* Col-
lege, wherein the Professors in Divinity read their
Lectures in Winter-time, and wherein the Aca-
demical Assemblies are sometimes held. *Erasmus's* Closet
is one of the greatest Rarities of the City; wherein
are to be seen, his Ring, his Seal, his Sword, his
Knife, his Bodkin, his Will written with his own
Hand, his Picture by *Holbein*, which is a Master-
piece, &c. The Magistrates bought that Closet in
1661, and gave Nine thousand Crowns for it to the De-
scendants of *Bonifacius Amerbach*, *Erasmus's* Heir (64).
They made a Present of it to the University, if we
may credit *Mr Patin* (65); but another Traveller
says, they received a Consideration of a thousand
Crowns for it. See the *Travels to Switzerland*, of the
Sieurs Reboulet and Labruce.

[I] *Julius Scaliger* published the most abusive Re-
proaches against him, though not that of being a
Bastard. Some People will easily imagine, that this
modern *Julius Cæsar* knew nothing of *Erasmus's*
Birth; for he if had, will they say, he would not have
failed to have called him *Son of a Whore* in the two
Invectives he published against him, and which he
stuffed with the most bitter Reproaches and Slanders
that a passionate Declaimer can muster up. Not that
Erasmus had done him the least Injury: He only
had blamed the excessive Prepossession of those who
were then called *Ciceronians*, who thought that there
was no Salvation for the Latin out of the Writings
of *Cicero* (66); and had, at the same Time, observed
some Spots in that Sun of the Roman Eloquence.
Thereupon *Scaliger* cried out, Murder, Parricide,
Triple Parricide; threw all manner of Filth on *Eras-*
mus's Head; called him a hundred times Drunkard;
and maintained, that *Erasmus*, getting his Livelihood
by being a Corrector to *Aldus Manucius*, overlooked
many Faults when he was drunk. 'Non tu in Aldi
'Officina quæstum scilicet corrigendis exemplaribus?
'Nonne errores ii qui tum illis in libris legeban-
'tur haud tam erant librorum atramento quam tuo
'confecti vino? Haud tam illorum somnum olebant,
'quam tuam exhalabant crapulam (67)?' In a Word,
his Exclamations and Invectives were no less, than
those *Cicero* made use of at the Discovery of a hor-
rible Conspiracy against the Commonwealth.

Sacrilegum strueret cum Catilina nefas,
Cum gener atque focer diris concurreret armis,
Mœstaque civili cæde maderet humus (68).

When Cataline the impious Storm prepar'd,
When Rome's great Lords in hostile Terrors stood;
And their griev'd Country mourn'd in Tears of Blood.

To see all the Storms *Scaliger* has raised, one would
be apt to enquire, Whether *Erasmus* was not some
profligate Fellow that deserved the Gallows.

Minxerit in patrios cineres; an triste bidental
Moverit incestus (69)?

Whether he piss'd upon his Father's Grave,
Or robb'd a Shrine.

(62) *Erasm.*
Epist. ad Fratres
German. infor-
rioris.

(63) *Relat.*
Histo. de
Charles Patin,
pag. 130.

(64) *Mr Patin*
calls him only
Legatee.

(65) Ibid. pag.
123.

(66) *Farvelas*
had for some
time the same
Prepossession for
the Roman Histo-
ry of *Cæsesar*;
saying, One
could no more
be saved out of
the Roman Histo-
ry, than out of
the *Romish*
Church.

(67) *Jul Cæsar.*
Scaliger. Orat. II.

(68) *Mart. lib.*
ix, Epig. lxxii.

(69) *Horat. de*
Arte Poet. vers.
470.

(60) See his 10th
Letter of the 24th
Book.

(61) This was
said by *Virgil*.
Æneid. lib. i.
ver. 16, about
Carthage, in re-
spect to *Juno*.

fully related in the *Scaligerana* [K]. This is somewhat surprizing; for who could

Or if he was not some *Wifigoth* or *Ostrogoth* Captain, who had resolved to exterminate all Sciences and Liberal Arts, and to fire all Libraries? Judge if one can forbear laughing, when one finds that the only Cause of that furious Passion, which breaks forth and rages in those two Declamations of *Scaliger* (which deserve more to be called *Steluteutics* than those of *Gregory Nazianzen* against *Julian the Apostate*), is, That *Erasmus* did combat a pernicious Superstition, which crept into the Commonwealth of Learning, and which would have laid in Irons the Study of Eloquence. But leaving that Subject, which has been so nobly, and so agreeably touched in the twelfth Dialogue of *Balzac*, shall we allow the Conclusion, that if *Scaliger* had been informed that his Adversary was a Bastard, he would have made a strange Uproar about it? I cannot admit that Conclusion, and this is the Ground I go upon.

Among *Julius Cæsar Scaliger's* Letters which his Son had suppressed, there is a very long one (70), wherein he justifies his first Passion by one that is perhaps greater. It is then he calls *Erasmus* Son of a Whore; and declares, that his not having done it before, was not because he had not heard of the Thing, but because he was not assured of it, and because he would not venture the Credit of his true Accusations, by mixing them with uncertain ones. It may be objected, That this is somewhat doubtful, and that *Scaliger* seems too angry in his two Invektives, not to give his Readers Reason to think, that a small Uncertainty, in such a Report, would not have hindered him from making use of it against *Erasmus*; that he might have secured himself a Retreat under the Cannon of common Fame, in Imitation of passionate Satirists, since he does not appear to have been so scrupulous in other Hear-says, that had no more Probability than this: That therefore what he says in relation to that, is nothing but a Trick common enough among railing Writers; who if they learn something against the Reputation of their Adversaries, after the Publication of their first Satires, claim an Honour to themselves for not having mentioned it; and turn into a rational Silence one which was altogether involuntary. I have nothing to answer to these Conjectures, save only, that it was not long after *Scaliger* had sent his second Oration to the Printers that he wrote the Letter I have just now quoted (71). But let us come to the Point, and the Passage in that Letter. The Author aggravates in it the Crime both of the Father and Mother of *Erasmus*, making her a Prostitute, and him a concubinary Priest, condemned at last to Punishment, after the repeated Canonical Censures, which he had incurred by his Relapses, had proved ineffectual. 'Ego vero mentiri? quod te putidum atque nocturnum caput, spurium in illa Oratione appellare ausus non sum? Neque enim incerti quidquam à me adferri debuit. Verum hoc erat tamen. At non constabat. Eras tunc atque etiam nunc spurius es Erasme, hoc multi mihi è commilitonibus retulerunt nostris. Verum ei rumori fidem non habui neque obiecti tibi, ne vera comper-tague cætera dicenti mihi omnia fides non habetur. Nunc populares tui, aliquot etiam vicini viri boni nobiles ex incesto natum concubitu, sordidis parentibus, altero sacrificulo, altera prostituta; qui pater tuus semel atque iterum à Pontifice castigatus, cum ex illius præceptionibus ad vetera scelera nova propensione fieret irritior exilio multatus vertit solum (72). — I a Liar? What! because in that Oration I did not adventure to call thee a Bastard, thou base-born Muckworm? I ought not indeed to advance any Uncertainties; and though this was true, I was not thoroughly assured of it. Thou wast, Erasmus, and art still, a Bastard. This I had been informed of by several of my Fellow-Soldiers, but I gave no Credit to their Report, nor did I object it to thee, least the less Credit should have been given to all the rest which was true. Now thy own Countrymen, and some of thy very Neighbours, Men of Probity and Distinction, have assured me, that thou art of incestuous Birth, of contemptible Parents, the one a beggarly Priest and the other a Whore. Thy Father, for his Incurrigibility, having been chastised by the Pope over and over, was banished.'

VOL. II.

[K] The Occasion of this Quarrel is not faithfully related in the *Scaligerana*.] We have seen with what Bitterness *Erasmus* was inveighed against: Let us now see what *Joseph Scaliger* says about that Quarrel. 'My Father, says he, has made an Oration against *Erasmus*, who since wrote, that my Father was not the Author of that Oration, quia miles erat. My Father made another, wherein he fell into a great Passion. *Erasmus*, knowing that he would print it, procured some of his Friends, who bought up all the Copies they could find, in order to suppress them; inasmuch, that there is none now to be had. My Father was sensible afterwards of his Folly in writing against *Erasmus*. . . . He had written many Epistles against *Erasmus*, which were printed; but I have caused them to be suppressed, and have by me the Copies which have cost me Seventy two golden Crowns, Thirty six Double Pistoles: I have ordered *Jonas* to burn them after my Death. My Father attacked *Erasmus* like a Soldier. Afterwards, when he had studied, he found that *Erasmus* was a great Man. Perhaps my Father had not either read, or did not understand *Erasmus*. . . . Pœnituit patrem adversus illum scripsisse, he saw his Fault, sed fuerat irritatus cum vocaretur ab Erasmo miles quasi per contemptum, ut Amphitheatrum (73) vocat Dominos Plebsum & Lanovium, milites per contemptum. . . . Duas Epistolas scriperat (*Erasmus*) ad amicos quas ipsius amici ad patrem miserunt: unam illarum curavit pater excudi in qua mirabatur suo libro militem respondisse, ut Vassatensis Plebsum tractavit tanquam miratus militem posse sacra tractare. — My Father was concerned that he had wrote against him. He saw his Error. But he was provoked at being called a Soldier, as it were, out of Contempt: As the Amphitheatrum calls Mess. Du Plebsis and Launoi Soldiers, by way of Contempt. *Erasmus* wrote two Letters to his Friends, who communicated them to my Father, one of which he procured to be published, wherein it was said, he was surprized to see his Book answered by a Soldier, as Vassatensis treated Du Plebsis, as tho' he had been astonished that a Soldier should write concerning Religion.' My Reader easily perceives, by the frequent Repetitions of the same Thing, that this is taken out of the Book called *Scaligerana*, which contains the domestic Conversations of *Scaliger*. The Article concerning *Erasmus*, which is in it, contains several honourable Things, and much truer than some of those I have just mentioned.

For, I. It is not true, that *Julius Cæsar Scaliger's* Provocation was founded on some Word of Contempt used by *Erasmus* against him, since his first Oration against the *Ciceronianus*, full of passionate Invektives, was composed before *Erasmus* had either done or spoke any thing against him; and perhaps, even before he had heard so much as his Name mentioned (74). Therefore *Scaliger's* Passion could not proceed from any Injury he had received from *Erasmus*, unless with relation to most to the second Writing. II. It does not appear by that second Writing, either that *Erasmus* called *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* a Soldier, or that the latter took it as an Affront. That would not have been a Provocation to that Prince of Verona; for he valued himself upon having been in the Wars, and nothing could be more honourable to him, than to pass for a Soldier and an Author at the same time. He himself had boasted, in an insulting manner, that though he was a young Man and a Soldier, he had taught his Adversary his Lesson about an Aphorism of *Hippocrates*. 'Hem Erasme quanto pudore tuo, quanto gloriæ tuæ periculo ab juvene homine, à rudi Oratore, à non Oratore, à MILITE . . . docearis (75). — What Shame, what Reproach, O *Erasmus*, to thy Fame, to be corrected by a young Man, by a raw undisciplined Orator, by a SOLDIER.' But whatever Notion he had about it, it is certain that there is no Proof that *Erasmus* provoked him by calling him a Soldier.

I have two very good Reasons for it: The first, That in the second Oration of *Scaliger*, we find no Complaint or Reply that has any Relation to that Reproach; and that, on the contrary, we find in it some Passages (76) wherein the Author obviates the Objections, which he thinks his Confession of having in

learned,

(70) It is the 12th in the Edition of Toulouze. He wrote it to Arnould Ferron, who did not approve his publishing of many Invektives against Erasmus.

(71) See his Letters, pag. 35.

(72) Jul. Cæsar Scaliger, Epist. xv, pag. 45.

(73) He means of Book of the Jesuit Scribanus, intitled, Amphitheatrum Honoris.

(74) We see in *Scaliger's* second Oration, pag. 32, that *Erasmus* desired a Dutchman to enquire what sort of a Man *Scaliger* was.

(75) Oat. 17.

(76) Pag. 16, 17, 42, Edit. Tholof. 1620.

could be better acquainted with the Truth of this Passage, than the Son of the Aggressor? *Erasmus* was sensibly touched with that Invektive, and endeavoured to suppress the printed Copies of it [L]. He mistook for some Time the true

learned, among Military Men, certain Passages he has published to blast *Erasmus's* Reputation, would furnish his Adversary with. This will be better understood, if it be remembered, That *Erasmus* had given it out, that *Scaliger* was not the Author of the Oration published under his Name. *Scaliger*, who was highly offended at it, confused that Pretence of *Erasmus*; and because he feared he had fortified it, by confessing he had born Arms, as if a Man, who had not passed all his Life-time in his Closet, was not capable of being an Orator, he obviated that Objection; which proves invincibly that *Erasmus* had not made use of it. My other Proof is taken out of *Erasmus's* own Letter, which *Scaliger* published at the Head of his second Oration, and which his Son mentions, as we have seen before. The two Friends, to whom *Erasmus* had written it, jointly communicated it to *Scaliger*, without adding to it any Word of Civility or Advice. In this Letter *Erasmus* says, that he had it from very good Hands, that the Oration *Scaliger* had published against him, was not *Scaliger's* Performance (77); but he does not say a Word of what *Joseph Scaliger* attributes to him, That he wondered a Soldier had answered his Book.

How can we, after this, depend upon what your learned Men tell us in their Chimney Corners. Here is one of the first Rate, who at every Turn repeats, concerning his Father, two or three Falsities, which public and original Pieces evidently confute. He pretends that *Erasmus* denied *Scaliger* to have been the Author of the Oration, because *Scaliger* was a Soldier: He pretends that thereby *Erasmus* did very much provoke *Scaliger*: He pretends that *Erasmus* wondered a Soldier could answer him: And lastly, he pretends that this his Wonder is expressed in a Letter, which *Scaliger's* Father caused to be printed. All which is positively false; though, upon his single Testimony, given out as Truth by all other Authors, particularly by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, in his laborious and most useful Collection, intitled, *Censura celebriorum Autorum* (78), and by *Magirus*, in his *Eponymologium* (79), &c. The Excuses *Joseph Scaliger* alleges, that his Father attacked *Erasmus* as a Soldier, and before he had studied, and that perhaps he neither had read nor understood *Erasmus*, seem to be frivolous: For the Oration against the *Ciceronianus* was printed in 1531; by which Time the Author was Forty seven Years old, had studied much, was acquainted with the Writings of his Adversary, and had a great deal of Erudition. He had studied with marvellous Application while he bore Arms, and it was then a pretty long while since he had wholly dedicated himself to Learning, as the Author of the *Scaligerana* informs us himself (80). What he says of the Suppression of his Father's Letters against *Erasmus*, and which very exact Writers (81) have understood of the two Orations, (because he would, indeed, have likewise been at the Expence of suppressing the Orations, if he had not been persuaded that they had already disappeared, and been bought up) is generous, and ought to be accounted true; though his Intention was defeated, by the Care Mr de Mauvais took to cause the Orations and Letters in question to be printed at *Toulouse* in 1620. For the rest, it is not in Conversation only that *Scaliger* committed these Faults: You will find a good part of them in his Answer to *Scippius* (82), that is, in a most elaborate Piece, well knowing he had to do with the most formidable Critic in the World.

I wish some Body would inform us where, when, and by whose Care, the Edition *Joseph Scaliger* suppressed was made. The Sorrow he speaks of, agrees very well with a Letter his Father wrote to *Omphalius* (83), and with the Verses he composed on the Death of *Erasmus*, and which begin with *Tunc etiam moreris*: Though not with some Passages of his Books. (84) wherein he treats him very rudely, and that too sometimes upon a false Supposition.

But after all, might not that great Uneasiness, at the Reproach of being a Soldier, be no more than a romantic Fiction that has no Foundation in History?

For my Part, I find no other Original of it but a Letter (85), wherein *Julius Caesar Scaliger* relates, That during the Contests which arose at *Paris*, about the Licence to print his first Oration, *Erasmus's* Friends found means to get a Copy of it, and to transmit it to him secretly; and that having perused it, he con-jured them, by all that was most sacred to them, to oppose the printing of it, otherwise the Glory he had acquired with so much Labour, which was common to them with him, would be blasted and ruined by a unknown young Man, and a foreign Soldier. *Unius juvenis ignoti militis peregrini opera*. It is therefore certain at least that *Scaliger* was informed, that *Erasmus*, writing to his Friends, called him a Soldier; but it is false that *Scaliger* was the more exasperated by it. What increased his Indignation, was only his being despised by *Erasmus*, who did not vouchsafe to answer him, and by whom he was treated as a voluntary Cuckold, with relation to the Oration, of which he knew himself to be the true Father. This contempt was the most cruel method of Revenge, that *Erasmus* could put in practice. He had reckoned upon the Honour of being *Erasmus's* Antagonist, and thereby to get a great Name in the Commonwealth of Learning; but he was disappointed at this Time, and obliged to seek out another Door to the Palace of Fame. Who could forbear being enraged at it? *Julius Scaliger* made an Oration thereupon: 'Est mihi perfecta oratio qua rutiliciti quorundam respondebam qui ita discurrant, Erasmus a scribendo manum abstinuisse qui me indignum putaret quicum loqueretur' (86). 'I have wrote an Oration in answer to certain abusive People, who have given it out that Erasmus had laid down his Pen, as thinking me below his Notice.'

[L] *Erasmus* was sensibly touched with *Scaliger's* Invektive and endeavoured to suppress the printed Copies. Those who have printed *Erasmus's* Life in *Holland*, with several of his Letters not till then published, own (87), that he caused his Emisaries to collect and burn all the Copies of the second Oration, which *Scaliger* had published against him at *Paris*; inasmuch, say they, that it is now no where to be found. This last Circumstance was false, when the Edition I make use of was printed; for it was printed in 1642, and the two Orations of *Scaliger* had been reprinted at *Toulouse* in 1620, or 1621. Whatever it be, they confirm what we find in the *Scaligerana*, touching *Erasmus's* Design against the second Oration of *Scaliger's* in which Design he was so successful, that some Years after it was not to be found with any of the Schoolmasters in *Paris*. 'Curavi conquiri Parisiis apud omnes Pedantes, nemo habet: per emisarios 7. aut 8. curavit omnia exemplaria conquiri & comburi' (88). 'I caused an enquiry to be made for it amongst all the Schoolmasters of *Paris*, but to no Effect, he having by seven or eight Emisaries collected and destroyed them all.' This ought to persuade us of the Truth of what *Scaliger*, the Father, says in a Letter to *Arnoul Ferron* (89), That a Dutchman, by *Erasmus's* Instigation, burnt, wherever he came, as many Copies as he could recover of his first Oration, either buying or borrowing them. By this it appears, that both the Orations had been exposed to near the same Fate. Why then does *Joseph Scaliger*, and those who have published *Erasmus's* Life, mention this thorough search, and burning of the printed Copies, with relation only to the second Oration? I believe *Erasmus's* Emisaries were more diligent against the latter, than against the other, and that this is the Reason why the first only was reprinted at *Cologne* in 1600; for if those that published it could have found the second, they would infallibly have printed them both together. *Joseph Scaliger* tells us, That the first Oration was printed by the Jesuits, with his Epistle concerning his Father's Life, curtailed where they thought fit. I do not know whether he means the *Cologne* Edition of 1600, which, according to *Draudius* (90), and the Catalogue of *Thuanus's* Library (91), contains no other Additions than some Divine Poems of *Julius Caesar Scaliger*; or whether he speaks of another. In this last

(77) *Julius Scaliger* Lutetiae edit in me orationem impudentissimam mendaciam ac furiosam convitiis differtam, cujus tamen ipsum non esse autorem multis ac certis argumentis compertum habeo. Sed hoc calcamentum ab alio mihi non ignoto confutum ille inquit. Note, That instead of inquit, it should be read inquit.

(78) Printed at London, 1690, in Folio.

(79) Printed at Frankfurt, and at Leipzig, 1687, in 4to. L'Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans, qui a été donnée en Account of it in December, 1688.

(80) Epistola, de Vetus. Gentis Scaligeræ, & Jul. Cæs. Scalig. Vita.

(81) Baillet, Jugem des Scav. Tom. II, pag. 13, & Tom. III, pag. 134. Beauval. Hist. des Ouvrages des Scavans, ubi supra, pag. 339.

(82) I shall quote the Passage in the Remarks [L] and [M].

(83) It is the 17th in the *Toulouse* Edition. The Author shews in it his Inclination to be reconciled with *Erasmus*.

(84) Poëtic lib. iii, cap. lxxxiii, & lib. iv, cap. i. Not. in Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. iv, cap. viii. (Vide Voßium, de Idol. lib. iv, cap. 13.) Exercit. in Cardan. 239, & alibi, ut patet ex indice, voce *Erasmus*.

(85) It is the 12th in the *Toulouse* Edition.

(86) Epist. xiii, pag. m. 30, 31.

(87) In a little Memorandum inserted in the 32d Page of the *Leiden* Edition, 1642.

(88) *Scaligerana*, pag. 74.

(89) It is the 12th in the *Toulouse* Edition.

(90) Biblioth. Classica, pag. 1327, 1444, Edit. 1625.

(91) Part II, pag. 367.

true Author [M], and, with extream Confidence, fathered it upon another, which deserves

last Case it would appear, that they had succeeded better in the suppressing the second Oration, than in suppressing the first.

This is all I could say upon this Matter in my Project of this Dictionary: I have at present something to add to it, by the Favour of the illustrious Abbot (92), who sent me some Remarks of Monsieur de la Monnoie. I have learned thereby, that Erasmus could not procure the Copies of the second Oration of Scaliger to be suppressed; for he was dead when it came out: You will see the Proof of it in the following Words (93).

The first Declaration of Julius Scaliger against Erasmus, sent to Paris in 1529, was printed there in 8vo, by Peter Vidoué, with a Licence of Lieutenant Morin, dated the first of September 1531. The second, though finished by the Twenty fifth of September 1535, was not printed by the same Vidoué till 1537. There is before it a Letter from Hubert Sufanneau (94), to Hubert de Pradine, wherein he mentions that second Piece of Scaliger against Erasmus, about which he discoursed with Scaliger himself at Agen. Inter colloquendum, says he, de oratione sua adversus Erasmus secunda percunctatus est. Legisse dixi sed manu scriptam. Ibi illi sub-
 ratus: O amici, inquit, si uquam ulli amici sunt, jam pridem exisse oportuit, ante complures menses opusculum in hoc Lutetiam missum, & huc ad me propter viam perlongam, & non satis tutam raro admodum nuncii adferuntur. Proinde te per Musas, Sufannee, rogo, atque etiam multis precibus obsecro, si qui sunt Lutetiae tua mandata curaturi, commendatione editionis maturitatem adjuva.

During the Conversation, says he, he enquired about his second Oration against Erasmus: I said I only had read it in Manuscript. At which with some Emotion, O Friends, says he, if there be any such things as Friends! That discourse ought, before this Time, to have appeared in Public, being sent to Paris some Months ago to that purpose; by reason of the distance, and danger of the way, I seldom get any Information from thence. Wherefore, O my Friends, I most earnestly, and by the respect you have for Learning, entreat you: If you have any Correspondent at Paris on whom you can rely, to use your Interest with him to forward the Impression. After which, Sufanneau recommends to his Friend to forward that Edition, and to chuse P. Vidoué for the Printer. The Letter is from Bourdeaux the fifth of June, without the date of the Year. It is certain it cannot be 1535, since Erasmus's Letter ad Merbolum & Laurentiam, to which that second Inveictive serves for an Answer, was not delivered to Scaliger till the twelfth of September of that Year, as he tells us himself in the Epistle Dedicatory. It must therefore of necessity be the Year 1536. The Care of Sufanneau and his Friend was effectual; the Piece did probably come out towards the end of the same Year, though the Bookseller, to preserve the longer the Grace of Novelty to the Edition, caused the Date of the following Year to be put to it in these Words: Venit Lutetiae ex regione gymnastii Remensis, apud P. Vidouéum, MDXXXVII. This Oration follows the first; and the Copies of it are not so scarce, but that several may be found still: I have one of them myself, and I remember I have seen above four others. The Case being thus, to speak henceforward with exactness, we must say, that Erasmus did no other ways contribute to the burning of the Copies of the second Oration, than because out of Respect to him, and even, perhaps, at his Desire, his Partizans threw into the Flames all the Copies they could find (95). For we must remember, that Erasmus was not ignorant that Scaliger had written another Inveictive: Scaliger rursus evomuit nescio quid libelli in me quemadmodum & Petrus Curisus. Neutrum vidi. — Scaliger has again discharged his Malice against me in print, as also Peter Curisus. But I have seen neither of their Productions. Thus he speaks in a Letter dated the eleventh of March 1536 (96). I suppose his Emisaries acquainted him that the second Oration was in the Press, as soon as the Manuscript was come to Paris: Wherefore he spoke of that Piece the eleventh of March 1536, as if it had already been printed; not knowing how negligent Scaliger's Friends, or the Booksellers, had been about the Im-

pression (97). We shall see presently that his Son was little acquainted with the Circumstances of this famous Quarrel.

Let us first lay down these two Things. I. That a Letter of Erasmus, written the eighteenth of March 1535, and communicated to Scaliger the twelfth of September of the same Year, determined the latter to compose a second Oration against the former, which was finished before the 25th of the same Month (98).

II. That in the Month of June 1536, that second Oration was not yet printed (99), though the Author thought it had been published some Months before (100). We must conclude from all this, that Julius Caesar Scaliger's Son is mistaken, when he says, I. That Erasmus caused the Copies of the second Oration to be burnt. II. That after that Execution he wrote a Letter, wherein, by way of Contempt, he called his Adversary a Soldier, and thereby accused him of being incapable of composing such Orations. III. That Scaliger, being acquainted with it, wrote a third Oration, the Edition of which was interrupted by Erasmus's Death. IV. That Erasmus being adverted of that third Oration wrote in 1535 (101), that Scaliger threatened him with some Book. Every Body may find out, without my help, the Anachronisms and other Mistakes of Joseph Scaliger: wherefore I content myself to set down his own Words. Erasmus, qui

ubique gentium ἀτακτως habuit, in quibus etiam mercenarios non paucos, tantum abest, ut aliter, quam Scaligerum vocaverit, ut quia monitus erat eum fere semper militasse, hoc solo argumento negare ausus sit eum auctorem fuisse orationis, quam pro Cicerone adversus illum scripsit; idque testatus est Epistola, quam ad amicos duos scripsit. Quod coegit Julium aliam orationem scribere, qua se prioris auctorem asserit; quae una cum epistola illa Lutetiae apud Vidoveum edita est. Sed Erasmus homo vaferrimus per emissarios suos omnia exemplaria magnis sumptibus conquesta flammis aboleri curavit. Unum exemplar Josephus reliquit Aginni. Neque ullum praeter illud postea nancisci, aut videre potuit. Tanta fuit emissariorum Erasmi diligentia. Quam autem postea in alia Epistola eum per contumeliam militem vocaret, & hoc solo alii vellet persuadere tantum eruditionis illi non fuisse, ut ejusmodi orationes meditari potuisset, ob eam causam Julius ad tertiam orationem commentandam animum appulit, cujus editionem mors Erasmi interpellavit: & cum reliquis operibus ejus in direptione suppellectilis primo bello civili perierit. De hac tertia oratione monitus ab emissariis ita scribit ab Damianum a Goes, anno MDXXXV. Ajunt Doletum quendam in me scribere. Minitatur nescio quid & Julius Scaliger (102).

Erasmus, who had his Emisseries in all Parts, and some that he kept in regular Pay, is so far from treating Scaliger otherwise than he had called him, that having heard he had been much in the Army, from that sole Argument he dared deny him to have been the Author of that Oration, which he had wrote against him in defense of Cicero, as his Letter to his Friends testifies; which obliged my Father to write another Oration, wherein he asserts that he was Author of the former; which together with that Letter was published at Paris by Vidoué. But Erasmus, a crafty Man, by his Emisseries, caused all the Copies to be bought up at an extravagant Price, and destroyed them in the Flames. One Copy was left by Joseph Scaliger at Agen, and so great was the Industry of the Emisseries, that not one besides that could afterwards be found. Having in another Epistle again called him a Soldier by way of Contempt, and by this one reason endeavoured to persuade others, that he had not so much Learning as was requisite for the composing such Orations; Julius Scaliger set himself about making a Third, the publishing of which was prevented by the Death of Erasmus, and perished with the rest of his Works, when his House was plundered in the first Civil War. Erasmus being informed by his Emisseries of this third Oration, he writes thus to Damian de Goes in the Year MDXXXV. It is said that one Doletus has wrote something against me, and that Scaliger threatens me with something. I know not what to think of the Menace Erasmus mentions in his Letter to Damianus de Goes; for Julius Caesar Scaliger protests, he thought no more of that

(97) See, above, in Citat. (94) the Page of Sufanneau's Letter.

(98) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the second Oration.

(99) See, above, Sufanneau's Letter.

(100) Earn . . . mueri nisi P. Rubrio . . . Spe roque esse Lutetiam in vulgus editam. Scalig. Epist. xiv. pag. 35. It has no Date, but the first of Jan. 1536 is mentioned in it, according to the present way of reckoning.

(101) That Letter is the 6th of the 30th Book.

(102) Confutat. Fabulae Bordonum, pag. 278 & seq.

(92) The Abbot Nicolle. See the Rem. [B] of the Article BALBUS BALBI, at the third Paragraph.

(93) They are taken out of the Memoir of Mr. de la Monnoie.

(94) La Croix du Maine calls him Hubert Sufan, but Sufanneau was his true Name. His Letter to Hubert de Pradine has not been printed.

(95) It is certain, that both the Orations were so served. Nostorum orationum exulta exemplaria. Jul. Caesar. Scalig. Epist. xvi. pag. 55.

(96) It is the 5th of the 27th Book, pag. 1566.

serves to be observed. Those who have denied, that they had a Design at Rome to make him a Cardinal, have been in the wrong [N]. The Report that was current at Paris, that

(103) Coactus feci ut de interio descenderem in certamen quod à me jam decertatum esset. Epist. Dedicat. II, Orot. Veterum inimicitiarum memoriam quæ à me sane depositæ essent renovarent. Epist. 14, pag. 34.

(104) Epist. ad Goclenium edita cum Vita Erasmi, pag. m. 326. It is the 16th of the 30th Book in the London Edition.

(105) He offers, in the second Oration, to produce the Original written with his own Hand, full of Rasures, &c.

(106) Erasmus, Epist. lxx, lib. xxx, pag. 1059, dated the second of Sept. 1535.

(107) See Jul. Cæsar. Scalig. Epist. xiv, pag. 35.

(108) Confutat. Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. 280.

(109) In Iconibus.

(110) Istoria de Poët. Græc. pag. 150.

(111) Erasmus, Epist. iii, & iv, lib. xxiii.

(112) Sentimenta d' Erasme, pag. 22, 23.

that Quarrel (103), when, on the twelfth of September 1535, he received the Letter Erasmus had written to Marbelius and John Laurentia. Now Erasmus's Letter to Damianus de Goes, is dated the Twenty first of May 1535.

[M] He mistook for some Time the true Author.] Let us lay a Word of the Confidence with which Erasmus affirmed, that Scaliger had only lent his Name to the first of these two Orations. I know it, said he, by several certain Proofs, multis ac certis argumentis compertum habeo. He had affirmed in other Letters (104), that Alexander was the true Author, and that he was as sure or it as of his own Existence; but that he thought fit to dissemble it, not to render him more furious by the Discovery of the Cheat. 'Julii Scaligeri libellum tam scio illius (Aleandri) esse quam scio me vivere. Id tamen dissimulandum est ne magis insaniam prodito fucio.' He repeats the same thing, and fortifies it with Reasons in the Fifty eighth Letter of the thirtieth Book. However, it was most true, that no other but Julius Cæsar Scaliger had composed that Oration (105). From whence it appears, that the most learned are mistaken in the fathering Books upon such and such Authors; and if Erasmus, who was all Meekness and Modesty, has pronounced a false Judgment with so much Confidence in a Case of this Nature, we must give no manner of Credit to what some fierce, haughty, passionate, opinionated, and fanatic Spirits may declaim, with a magisterial Tone, upon the like occasion. Erasmus was guilty of the same Mistake with respect to another Book; for he fathered upon Alexander a Piece, which had been published with the Name of Stephen Dolet. 'Alexander denuo emisit librum fuciosum sub nomine Doleti (106).' However, it was not true that Alexander was the Author of it: For that Book was really composed by him, whose Name was in the Title Page (107). This Fault of Erasmus is more pardonable, than that which Joseph Scaliger has committed in these Words: 'Nihil Erasmus tam serio affectavit quam ex militia ejus (Julii Scaligeri) eum literarum imperitum probare, quum tamen aliter se sentire apud amicos dissimulare non potuerit: quod quadam ad Conradum Goclenium epistola testatur: 'Julii, inquit, Scaligeri libellum tam scio illius esse, quam scio me vivere. Id tamen dissimulandum est, ne magis insaniam prodito fucio. Vides credidisse, & dissimulasse, ex quo conscientiam hominis æstimare licet (108). — Erasmus affected nothing so much, as, from his (Julius Scaliger's) having been in the Army, to prove that he was no Scholar, though he could not dissemble a quite contrary Opinion amongst his Friends, a proof of which may be found in his Letter to Conrad Goclenius. I know, says he, the Libel of Scaliger to be his as well as that I live; but the Mask is not to be thrown off, lest I should thereby exasperate him the more. You see he knew it, yet pretended he did not; whence you may form an Opinion of his Honesty.' It is most certain, that by his (illius) we must understand Alexander, and that therefore, after having committed that Mistake, there was no Reason to charge the Fraud upon Erasmus.

[N] They who have denied, that they had a Design at Rome to make him a Cardinal, have been in the wrong.] Boissard (109) affirms, that it was reported that Erasmus had refused the Cardinalship, and that the other Ecclesiastics had looked upon as a Miracle the Refusal of a Dignity so much sought after. Lorenzo Crafft (110) pretends, that this was a Story, more to be laughed at than credited: But he exposed himself to the Laughter of his Readers, since it was Erasmus's own Fault, if he was not made a Cardinal. He would undoubtedly have attained that Dignity under Pope Hadrian VI, if he had gone to Rome, to make his Court to him, as he was powerfully solicited to do by that Pope himself, who was his Countryman, his Friend and School-fellow (111). 'He excused his not undertaking that Journey, both because of his great Infirmities, and principally to stop the Mouth of his Enemies, who would report every where that he was gone a Hunting after the Dignities of the Church (112).' But under Pope Paul III, the thing went further: The Cardinalship was a ripe

Fruit for Erasmus, who might have gathered it if he had but reached his Hand. It is what he acquaints us with himself. 'Quum itauisset (Paulus III.) in futuram Synodum aliquot eruditos in Cardinalium ordinem allegere, propositum est & de Erasmo. Sed objiciebantur impedimenta, valetudo ad obeunda munia inutilis, ac census tenuis. Aiunt enim esse Senatusconsultum quo submoventur ab ea dignitate quibus annui redditus sunt infra tria ducatorum millia. Nunc hoc agunt ut me onerent præposituris, ut hinc jussu censu parato doner purpureo galero (113). — Paul III designing to advance in the succeeding Synod some learned Men to the Dignity of Cardinals: a Proposal was made in favour of Erasmus. But the ill state of his Health, and the narrowness of his Circumstances, were made Objections; for it is said there is a Decree, whereby those are secluded whose yearly income does not amount to Three thousand Ducats. Now they intend to load me with Benefices, that my Income may thereby be sufficiently large to qualify me for receiving the Hat.' He affirms in the same Letter, that he had a Friend at Rome, who stirred very much in that Affair, although he had often written to him, that he had no Thoughts of Benefices or Pensions, being sensible of his approaching End. We find the same thing in another Letter (114), with a more express Declaration of Erasmus's Reluctance. 'Paulo III visum est . . . itaque nunc Magno ambitu agitur ut me præposituris onerent, reclamantem, ac manibus pedibque reculantem, ac perpetuo etiam recusaturum. — It was the Intention of Paul III: for which reason they now earnestly press me to accept of Benefices, not only against my Inclination, but against an unchangeable Resolution.' Rhenanus speaks not only of this Design of Paul III, but says also, that That Pope bestowed the Provostship of Deventer upon Erasmus, and desired the Queen of Hungary, Governors of the Low-Countries, to secure the Possession of it to him; but Erasmus, not caring for that Benefice, did not send the Pope's Letter to that Princess (115). Mr Joly (116) quotes the Testimony of Peter Bembo, and that of Mr de la Rochebeaucourt, Bishop of Poitiers, and several Letters of Erasmus (117), to confirm what I have said, and which Lorenzo Crafft pretended to be ridiculous. Another Writer (118) quotes two or three Letters on the same subject, which do not say, as he pretends, 'That Erasmus was designed the first, and nominated to fill the eminent Dignity of Cardinal, and that Lewis XI, a Doctor of Louvain, who was his Friend, and since a Bishop, was sent to him by Pope Paul III, with Letters of Credence, which assured him of it.' Nevertheless, the thing is true, so far as it has been proved before by Erasmus's own Words. I do not find this Lewis XI in the Letters quoted (119), but only one Lewis Berus, a Canon of Basil (120), who had delivered to the Pope a Letter from Erasmus, and whom the Pope sent back to Erasmus, to be more fully informed of his Intentions. A Man must be very penetrating, to find there an Express sent to Erasmus by Paul III, to acquaint him that he was the first that was nominated to be a Cardinal. If he had received any such Message, he would have mentioned it in the two Letters I have quoted; for that had been more positive, than to say, that they endeavoured to remove one of the Obstacles to his Promotion, by seeking for him Benefices, and Supplies, as for a poor Cardinal. I am very much mistaken, if Mr Richard has not taken these Words, He was designed the first, and nominated, &c. out of a Letter he does not quote: It is the Sixty eighth of the thirtieth Book, wherein Erasmus relates, that Paul III, having charged two Cardinals to exhort the learned Men of Germany to succour Religion, one of these Cardinals had resolved to name Erasmus the first. But how vastly distant this is from a Nomination to the Cardinalship, notified by an Express from the Pope! Nothing is more ordinary, than to stretch the Sense of what one quotes; the Reason of which is, that That great Inconvenience is seldom to be avoided, without a diligent Application, which reduces an Author to compose but few Pages in a Day.

We may now judge whether Mr Patin, the Son, has hit upon the right Cause, when he has said, 'That if

(113) Erasmus, Epist. xxviii, lib. xxvii.

(114) The 10th of the 27th Book.

(115) Epist. præfixa Operi Erasmi.

(116) Avis pour l'Institution des Evêques, pag. 99.

(117) Some of the Letters he quotes do not mention the thing in Question.

(118) J. Richard, Prior of Beaulieu Ste Avoise, pag. 57, of the Sentimens d'Erasme.

(119) The Index of Erasmus's Letters, in the London Edition, which is very exact, and very useful, does not mention any Lewis XI.

(120) Epist. xxvii, lib. xxvii.

that they were printing a new Edition of his Works at Rotterdam was ill grounded [O]. They promised his Life [P]; but that Promise has not yet been accomplished. Of all his Works, those that have been printed ofteneft are his *Colloquies* [Q], and his *Praise of Folly*

it had not been for the untimely Death of the Pope, Erasmus had been raised to the first Honours of the Church (121). Without doubt he means Hadrian VI. Now we see, that Erasmus's want of Ambition, not the short Life of that Pope, hindered him from being a Cardinal.

[O] The report . . . that they were about a new Edition of his Works at Rotterdam was ill grounded. It is Guy Patin who tells us, that this Report was current at Paris. 'I hear, says he (122), that those of Rotterdam, out of the Respect they have for the Memory of him who has been the Honour of their Country, cause, at their own Expence, all the Works of Erasmus to be new printed. That Piece of News rejoices me very much. There is still some Virtue in the World, and some honest, generous, Persons. I pray God it may be true.'

[P] They promised his Life. Let us hear Mr Patin again. 'We have here an honest Man who is writing the Life of honest Erasmus, who has been a great and excellent Person, and died at Basil the twelfth of July, 1536. He has had the Misfortune not to please the Monks; but this is common to him, with so many honest Men, that I think no body ought to be concerned at it (123). He spoke of the same Work a Year after: 'We have here a very learned Man of Quality and Probity, who has almost finished the Life of Erasmus; and thereby you see, that there are still some honest Men in the World who cherish Virtue. It is now two hundred Years since he was at Nure, for he was born in the Year 1467; and, in my Opinion, next to St Austin and St Thomas Aquinas, he has been the greatest Wit among the Christians, whatever the Monks can say to the contrary, who are his Enemies, because he has exposed them, and made them too well known to the World (124).'

Several good Reasons induce me to believe, that the Life Mr Patin speaks of is not that which Mr Mercier, Sub-Principal of the College of Navarre, has published at Paris, with Erasmus's Colloquies commented upon, and castrated. I could be easily persuaded that it is that of which Mr Battier, a learned Man of Basil in Switzerland, spoke to Mr Colomies in 1668 (125). He told him, That Mr Joly, a Canon of Notre-Dame in Paris, was writing Erasmus's Life; for which Purpose he had read over Seven times all the Works of that great Man. Here is then a Life of Erasmus, to be inserted in Mr Almeloveen's *Bibliotheca promissa & latens* (126). The Life of Erasmus, promised by Mallincroft (127). Dean of Munster, is also a Piece for the same *Bibliothèque*. That Dean had written the Life of Erasmus in a Chronological Order; which is an excellent Method, and which clears a thousand Difficulties; as may be seen in the Life of Cicero, composed by Francis Fabricius. It were to be wished, that the Life of Erasmus might be drawn up after that Model, and that the first Edition of all his Works should be exactly set down in it; for the most learned are sometimes mistaken about it (128). Verbeiden gave a great Idea of a Manuscript preserved as a Relic by Otto Weickman of Nimwegen, and containing Erasmus's Life written with Erasmus's own Hand. It is that which Merula published five Years after (129). A very laborious and exact Author (130) has placed among the Writers of the Life of Erasmus, Merula and Scriverius, who have been no more than the Editors of some Pieces composed by others; and yet he has forgot to mention among them Bentus Rhenanus, who has actually composed a fine Discourse on the Life of that illustrious Person. That little Fault is only in the tenth Index, for the Body of the Book is right in that Particular.

There is a Report (131), That Mr Joly has delivered his Life of Erasmus into the Hands of the Examiners of Books, in order to get their Approbation, and obtain afterwards a Licence to print it. Let us wish that News may prove true; and that those Gentlemen may not be so hard with Mr Joly, as they are with so many Writers who complain, that their Manuscripts are detained too long, and that many things are struck out of them. See the *Nouvelles de la*

Republique des Lettres, the third Article of February, 1685.

[Q] Of all his Works his Colloquies have been ofteneft printed. Messieurs Hofman and Moreri say, that a little after the Edition which Erasmus caused to be made of his Colloquies at Basil, being sixty Years old, Colineus, who reprinted them at Paris, in 1527, printed 24000 Copies of them; which, according to Mr Hofman, were all sold. A Passage so singular as that required an Account somewhat better circumstantiated; so that those two Gentlemen would hardly clear themselves in this Place of a Fault of Omission. They ought to have acquainted us, that That Bookfeller made use of a Stratagem to increase the Sale; which however he might have expected should be great, because his Edition was very fair, and the Volume very small. His Stratagem was to raise a Report, that That Book would be prohibited: 'Colineus quidam excuderat, ut aiunt, ad 24 millia Colloquiorum in modum enchiridii, sed eleganter. Id fecerat non studio mei, sed amore quæstus. Quid multis? nihil erat in manibus præter Colloquia. Præcesserat nescio quis rumor, fore à typographo studiose sparsus, fore ut hoc opus interdiceretur, ea res acuit emptorum aviditatem. Itaque Bedda, &c

(132). — One Colineus, as it is reported, printed off Twenty four thousand copies of the Colloquies, in form of a Manual, but very neatly. This he did not out of Respect for me, but for the sake of Lucre. In short, the Colloquies were universally read. A rumour was industriously spread, perhaps by the contrivance of the Bookfeller, that this Work would be prohibited. This gave an Edge to the Curiosity of the Buyers. Whereupon, &c. The Apprehension People had of it made every Body buy it betimes; which quick Sale caused Bedda, Erasmus's declared Enemy, to solicit the Interdiction of his Colloquies; which he obtained: But in all Probability this Prohibition did Colineus more good than harm. We see thereby, that the Tricks, like that which the Author of *La Religion des Hollandois* ascribes to a Bookfeller of Amsterdam, with respect to a Socinian Book, did not begin in Holland. He pretends, that That Book was sentenced to be burnt at the Bookfeller's request, in order to raise the Price of it. It was not this sort of Cheats of which Erasmus complained most; for they played him Tricks of a far greater Consequence. They published with his Name some Books, of which he was not the Author (132*); they sold to Bookfellers some Manuscripts he had dictated only for domestic Uses: And all this was done for Lucre-sake, because it was presumed his Name alone would sell off a bad Book. It was in this manner his Colloquies were first published (133). He never had by him either the Original or a Copy; but one Holotius, having got a Manuscript Copy of it, sold it for a good Sum of Money to Frabenius, who caused it to be printed a long time before the Year 1522 (134). The Author was very much displeased at it; but not being able to suppress the Book, endeavoured to put it in a better Condition, by Additions done in haste: 'Colloquia me invito atque etiam irato prodierunt. Quibus adjecti quædam in gratiam typographi, levi sane brachio, ut qui uno die interdum tria absolverim colloquia (135). — The Colloquies were published without either my Knowledge or Consent: To which I made some Additions for the sake of the Printer; but in too great a hurry, finishing sometimes three Colloquies in one day.' You may see in the thirty third, and in the forty second Letter of the twenty first Book, his Justification concerning his Colloquies; of the usefulness of which he also writ a Letter worth the Perusal, and which is generally printed at the End of that Book. But above all, it is necessary to read the Memorial he sent to the Divines of Louvain, wherein, among other things, he represents, that one ought to consider well what Persons he brings upon the Stage (136): For the Rules of Dialogue requiring, that each of the Interlocutors speak with the Character of the Author, but conformably to his Character, nothing could be more unjust than to father upon Authors what they put in the Mouths of the Persons they bring in: Otherwise

9 T one

(121) Charles Patin, Relat. Hist. pag. 129.

(122) Tom. I, pag. 116, dated Aug. 15, 1657.

(123) Tom. III, Letter CDLVIII, dated Sept. 2, 1667.

(124) Tom. III, Letter CDLXXXVI, dated Sept. 23, 1668.

(125) Colomies, Biblioth. choisie, pag. 139.

(126) It is a Catalogue of Books that have been promised the Public, and have not been printed. It was printed at Tergou, in 1692. A German named Rudolphus Martinus Meulubruus, published in 1690, *Accessiones* to that *Bibliothèque promissa & latens*. See the *Acta* of Leipzig, 1699, pag. 359.

(127) In Præfati. Traditus de Arte Typographica.

(128) See Remark [R].

(129) That Life of Erasmus contains an Advertisement to the Reader, in the Edition I make make use of, (which is of Leyden 1642) wherein we find that the Original is in the Library of Jerom de Backere.

(130) Teiffier, Catalog. Auct. pag. 373.

(131) This is written in 1699.

(132) Erasmus, Epist. xxix, lib. xix. Note, That in the Book intitled, *Sentiments d'Erasmus*, p. 73, this Letter is said to be directed, Alphonse Valdes, in 1626; but it is Alphonse Valdes, in 1529.

(132*) Id. Epist. xlii. lib. xxix.

(133) Id. ibid.

(134) Epist. Erasmus, lib. lib. lib. xxx.

(135) Erasmus, Purgat. adv. r. Epist. Lutheri, pag. 54, 55.

(136) Idem, Elogium, lib. lib. lib. xxx.

Folly [R]. It was with great difficulty that he suffered his Picture to be drawn [S]; but at last he consented. *Holbein*, a famous Painter, and his particular Friend, drew it, and *Beza* honoured it with an Epigram which has been commended (e). *Erasmus* not embracing *Luther's* Reformation, and yet condemning many things practised by the Papists, drew upon himself a thousand Reproaches both from the Catholics and Protestants [T]. No Man was ever more averse than he to the furious Temper of

(e) See a Criticism upon it in the Remark [S].

one must believe a Writer to be a *Turk*, when he makes a *Turk* speak according to his Principles. 'Nisi forte, si Turcam loquentem facerem, mihi imputandum putent quidquid ille dixerit (137).' It is worth one's while to see what he says to excuse the Discourses he ascribes to *Folly*, in *Moriae Encomio*; for that is very judicious: 'Non perpendit id quod in dialogis est potissimum, personæ decorum . . . quasi verò si quis Ethnicum cum Christiano loquentem faciat, nefas sit Ethnicum quicquam dicere quod abhorreat à doctrina Christiana (138). — They do not consider the most essential Part of Dialogue, the propriety of the Characters . . . As if, when you introduce a Heathen talking with a Christian, it would be criminal to make the Heathen speak any thing repugnant to the Doctrine of Christianity.' Add to this *Lyftrius's* Commentary upon the Preface of the *Encomium Moriae*. The only Objection that can be made to it is, that a Writer of Dialogues, or such like Author, who under the Fiction of a borrowed Person has a Mind to disclose his Thoughts, ought to choose such Subjects as by the Laws of Probability will not engage them to say any thing which is not edifying. This is all the Objection that can be raised: if this also be added to it, that whoever makes Heretics advance the strongest Arguments that can be urged for their Heresy, pleads the Cause of his own Heart, or falls into a rash and ridiculous Judgment. Be this as it will, few Books have made so much noise as *Erasmus's* Colloquies. They have been publicly read in the Schools; in divers Places they have been prohibited to be read (139), or even to be sold (140). The Cardinals and Prelates delegated by Pope *Paul III.*, for the Reformation of Abuses, found it concerned their Commission to forbid the teaching of *Erasmus's* Colloquies in the Schools (141). They have been translated into divers Languages (142), commented, castrated, &c. (143). I remember a Passage in *Erasmus's* Letters, in which he complains that his Colloquies devalued by a Jacobine Friar were published at *Paris*, with a Preface forged by the Corrupter under *Erasmus's* Name: 'Lutetie rursus Dominicanus quidam corrupt mea colloquia, & addidit Præfationem meo nomine in qua damno me ipsum (144).'

(137) Id. ibid.

(138) Id. chil. 2, cent. 2, n. 40.

(139) At Paris, in 1528. *Erasmus*, Epist. lxx, libri xx. Epist. xxix, libri xix.

(140) In England, in 1528. Idem, Ep. xxxiii, libri xxi. At Dole, in 1536. Idem, Epist. lv, libri xxvii.

(141) Steilian. lib. xii.

(142) See Colomieu, Biblioth. choisl. pag. 140, 142.

(143) Baillet, Jugem. for les Critiq. Tom. III, pag. 152.

(144) *Erasmus*, Epist. xxxii, lib. xxi: it is dated Easter-day 1526.

(145) In Indice Chronolog.

(146) Pag. m. 457.

(147) He tells us in his second *Chiliad*, at the fortieth Proverb of the second Century, that he wrote it in seven days, without the help of any book.

(148) Epistle Dedicatory of the Edition of this Book which he published at *Basil* in 1676 in 8vo, with *Holbein's* Figures.

(149) The XVth of the Xth Book, dated from *Louvain* in the year 1512. This and the following Passage were communicated to me in a Memoir of *Mr de la Monnaie*.

'mentarios, quod antea profuerat non intelligi (150).' See what the modern Author says who has criticized *Maimbourg's* History of Calvinism (151).

[S] It was with great difficulty he suffered himself to be drawn. It was because he was little pleased with his own Face: *Ac ne facie quidem propria delectabatur, vixque extortum est amicorum precibus ut se pingi pateretur*. This he says himself in his Life: but this must be understood only of the first time, since it is certain *Holbein* painted him several Times (152). He drew him only at half length, which occasioned an Epigram of *Theodore Beza*, that has been much approved. *Du-Verdier Vau-Privas*, at page 2392 of the third Volume of his *Prosopographia*, falsely attributes it to *Buchanan*, and gives it as an Epitaph. *Beza* owns himself the Author of it, speaking of *Erasmus* in his *Icones*. The Epigram is as follows.

(150) *Erasmus*, Epist. at Botolæmum.

(151) *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique générale du Calvinisme de Maimbourg*, pag. 757.

(152) See *Holbein's* Life, at the beginning of *Patris Edition of the Encomium Moriae*.

Ingens ingentem quem personat orbis *Erasmus*,
Hic tibi dimidium picta tabella refert.
At cur non totum? mirari define lector,
Integra nam totum terra nec ipsa capit.

One half this Canvas shews of that great Sage,
Whom Worlds proclaim the wonder of the Age.
Why not the whole? Cease, Reader, thy Surprise,
Him the whole Earth's not able to comprize.

I agree there must be some Wit to make these four Verses, and that they seem to belie the Maxim, that a Thought cannot be fine unless it be true; but, all things considered, I should rather maintain that there is false Wit in this Epigram, since it terminates in a wrong Thought, than to destroy that Maxim. I prove that *Beza's* is a wrong Thought, because a Painter has no more difficulty to draw the full length of a learned Man or Hero, whose Fame is spread far and near, than that of a mean Person who is known only in his own Village. So that the reason alledged by the Poet, why *Erasmus* was only drawn at half length, is perfectly chimerical (153). There are some who have looked for other Subtilties, and those a little malicious in the Epigram; as if the Poet had alluded to that kind of Neutrality, which it seems *Erasmus* would have preserved between the Pope and the Lutherans (154): but even that would be false Wit; for it is impossible such a reason as that should make it hard to draw the Thighs of a Man. I must not forget that in the Latin Translation of *Lewis Guicciardin* (155) there is an Addition importing, that they kept at *Rotterdam*, in a public Place, a Picture of *Erasmus*, representing him very naturally just as he was four Years before his Death; that this Picture was sent by the Senate and People of *Basil*, and that it is the same upon which *Beza* had made so subtle an Epigram, *Ingens ingentem*, &c. All those I have consulted, have answered me, that they never heard of such a Present made by the Gentlemen of *Basil* to those of *Rotterdam*, nor that the Picture of *Erasmus* was ever kept in a public Place in that City. Only I am informed that there is an excellent Original Piece of him, by the famous *Holbein*, to be seen at the House of *Mr Brakel Rear Admiral of the Maese* (156). I have read in *Vafari*, at page 307 of the third Part of the Lives of the Painters, that *Albert Durer* had made a Print of *Erasmus's* Head.

(153) *Emilius*, Professor at Utrecht, has imitated this Thought of *Theodore Beza* in the Distich which he put under the Print of *Mrs Scherman*. Non nisi dimidii spectator imagine virgo Maxima quod totum nulla tabella capit. You were but half the Maid; to each in all, The largest Tablet would be far too small.

(154) Apud *Verheiden*, Eclog. præf. Theolog. pag. 19.

(155) Pag. 308, *Arrhem*. Edit. 1616. The Author of that Latin Version is named *Regnerus Pincelias Zircanus*.

(156) He was killed in a Sea Fight in the Channel, July 10, 1690.

[T] He drew a thousand Reproaches upon himself, both from the Catholic and Protestant Party. The Question is not to examine here, whether *Erasmus's* Conduct with respect to Religion was good or no. I shall only observe that he seems to me to be one of those Witnesses for the Truth, who were wishing for a Reformation in the Church, but who did not think it was to be procured by erecting another Society to be supported by Leagues, and that should pass immediately à verbis ad verbera, from Words to Blows. He had too narrow an Idea of the Divine Providence, not sufficiently considering

of certain Divines, who approve of violent Actions, and delight to spirit up War; but he was a Lover of Peace, knowing the value of it [U]. He was too much concerned at the Libels published against him, as it appears by the Complaints he made against the Printers of those Libels [X]. He has been thought the Author of several Books

considering that it leads us to the same end, sometimes by one way, sometimes by another. So that with his *non amo veritatem seditionis*. — I hate seditious Truths, he rested in the Mire, and falsely imagined the best way was to secure the main Point, since Luther's way of writing, and the Wars which accompanied his Reformation, was an Argument that the time of Relief was not yet come. 'Si Lutherus omnia bene scripsisset, mihi tamen magnopere displiceret seditiosa libertas. Ego vel falli malim in nonnullis, quam tanto orbis tumultu pro veritate digladiari' (157). — Had all that Luther wrote been 'good, his seditious Freedom would still have been disagreeable to me. I would rather submit to some Errors than raise a Civil-War, and put the whole World in an uproar for the sake of Truth.' But in vain did he live and die in the Romish Communion, and undergo many Reflexions from some zealous Protestants; he was not the less ill treated both during his Life, and after his Death, by several Catholic Writers, as is sufficiently plain from the single Book of *Gaspar Chicocius* (158). It is pity the Author of Erasmus's Sentiments, published in 1688, went no farther than the first Part. See the Substance of Erasmus's Thoughts concerning the Pacification of the Church, extracted by Mr Seckendorf (159). He has taken them from the Exposition of the Eighty-fourth Psalm, published in 1533. It cannot be denied, that, taking all things together, Erasmus was what they call a Catholic; but he did not see without Joy the first Steps of Luther, and was greatly concerned when he thought Lutheranism near its Ruin. In the Year 1528, he believed Luther had retracted the greatest part of his Doctrines, and had thereby exposed himself to the Contempt of his Brethren as a Dotard. This was a Trouble to Erasmus, because he feared the Monks, being delivered from this Storm, would act new Tragedies. He opened his Heart upon this Subject to *Gattinara*, Chancellor of Charles V. 'Indies mitescit febris Lutherana, adeo ut ipse Lutherus de singulis propemodum scribat palinodias, ac ceteris habeatur ob hoc ipsum hæreticus ac delirius. Sed vereor ne quorundam monachorum stolidi improbitas excitet nobis aliam tragediam' (160). — Luther's Fever abates daily, inasmuch that he recants almost all that he has said, and is therefore accounted by the rest a Heretic and a Madman; but I fear lest the ill-advised Zeal of certain Monks should give birth to another Tragedy. To this refers what he wrote the same Year to a Count of the Empire. 'Si inclinatus fuisset Lutherana, quod ut fati ipsi sedulo dant operam, exoriatur intolerabilis Pseudomonachorum tyrannis' (161). — If Luther's Faction, as they strenuously endeavour to effect it, should decline, we shall be plagued with the insufferable Tyranny of Mock-Monks. He had already been loaded with Reproaches by Luther and some others of that Party: nevertheless he did not desire the Downfall of that Sect; but was glad they kept the Monks in play, and held them within due Bounds. The next Year he wrote two Letters, which are very dissembling to the Lutherans (162). Luther publicly charged him with Atheism, in 1534.

[U] He was a Lover of Peace, and knew the Value of it. One of the finest Dissertations that can be seen is that of Erasmus upon the Proverb, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. — Want of Experience makes War sweet. He makes it appear therein, that he had profoundly weighed the most important Principles of Reason and the Gospel, and the most common Causes of Wars. He proves, that the Wickedness of some particular Persons, and the Folly of the People, are the Source of almost every War, and that a thing so blameable in its Causes, is commonly followed by a very pernicious Effect. He pretends, that those, whose Professions ought to lead them to dissuade from War, are the Instigators of it. 'Si quis exactius rem excutiat, reperiet omnia fere Christianorum bella vel è stultitia, vel è malitia nasci. Nonnulli juvenes, & rerum imperiti, majorum malis exemplis, historiarum, quas de stultis prodidere stulti monumentis, ad hoc inflammati, dehinc

instigantibus adulatorum hortatibus, extimulantibus Jureconsultis ac Theologis, assentantibus, aut conventibus Episcopis, fortassis & exigentibus, temere magis quam malitiose bellum suscipiunt, & tanto totius orbis malo dicunt bellum rem esse modis omnibus fugiendam. Alios occultum odium, alios ambitio, alios animi feritas in bellum impellit. Quandoquidem ne nostra quidem Ilias quicquam præterquam stultorum Regum & Populorum continet iras' (164). — If any one would examine this matter more thoroughly, he would find, that all the Wars in Christendom have been owing, either to Folly, or to Malice. Some unexperienced young Men, misled by the ill Example of former Reigns, inflamed by historical Traditions, propagated from Fool to Fool, or hurried on by the Persuasion of Flatterers, the Instigation of Lawyers and Divines, with the Conivance, and perhaps Influence, of Bishops, have engaged themselves in Wars, more out of Rashness than Malice, and, from so universal a Calamity, learn that War is an ill which ought by all possible means to be avoided. Others precipitate themselves into War from Hatred, others from Ambition, and some from a Savageness of Mind. Nor is our Iliad any thing else but a Detail of the Quarrels of foolish Princes and their Subjects. He goes on; Laws, Statutes, Privileges, are all silenced by the Din of Arms: Princes then find a hundred ways of attaining to arbitrary Power; from whence it happens, that some of them cannot endure Peace. 'Sunt qui non aliam ob causam bellum movent, nisi ut hac via facilius in suos tyrannidem exerceant. Nam pacis temporibus, senatus autoritas, magistratuum dignitas, legum vigor, nonnihil obstant, quo minus liceat principi quicquid libet. At bello suscepto, jam omnis rerum summa ad paucorum libidinem devoluta est. Evehuntur quibus bene vult princeps, dejiciuntur quibus infensus est; exigitur pecuniæ quantum libet. Quid multis? Tum demum sentiunt se vere Monarchas esse. Colludent interim duces, donec infelicem populum usque ad radicem arrolerint. Hoc animo qui sint, an eos putas gravatim arrepturos oblatam quamcunque belli occasionem? — Seme there are whose sole Motive to War is, that it may give them an Opportunity of exercising their Tyranny over their own Subjects with the greater ease; for in times of Peace, the Authority of a Senate, the Dignity of Magistrates, the Force of the Laws, are no small Curb to a Prince's Will. But in War the Management of all Affairs is left to the Caprice of a few. Those who are in their Prince's Favour are raised, those in Displeasure are trampled on. Supplies are demanded in an arbitrary manner. In a word, it is then they find themselves Monarchs in reality. The Chiefs in the mean time juggle together, till the poor People are totally robbed of their Liberty. Can it be imagined, that Men of such a Disposition would not willingly lay hold of the first Opportunity of War, which presented itself? This Dissertation is to be found in the *Adages* of Erasmus, and has been printed apart under the Title of *Bellum*. The Author promises in it a Book he wrote at Rome, under Pope Julius II. I know not whether it was ever printed; it was to have been intitled, *Antipolemus*.

[X] He was too much concerned at the Libels that were wrote against him: this appears by his Complaints against the Printers of those Libels. See the third Letter of the Twenty first Book, where he blames the good Offices that one of his Friends had done a Bookfeller who was like to be punished for publishing some satirical Writings. Erasmus shews his Friend, that such an Indulgence was wrong, because that Man, far from desisting from printing Libels, followed it more than ever. When some endeavoured to justify him, because he did not know how to maintain his Wife and Children (165), let him beg, replied Erasmus, or prostitute his Wife, for that is a less Crime than to ruin the Reputation of his Neighbour. One must be stung to the quick by a Satire to use such Language as this. The Author's Latin will please those

(164) Erasmus; Adag. Chil. iv, cent. i, num. 2; pag. m. 859.

(165) I was told some days since (in 1695), that a certain man, who is continually publishing Satires, gives this reason for it, that he has no other way to maintain his Family.

(157) Erasmus, Epist. xxvi, lib. xvi, pag. 769. See also the second Letter of the first Book, pag. 8, 9.

(158) See the Article SAWICKI, Remark [R]. See also what ALERANDER says thereupon in Remark [I] of his Article.

(159) Hist. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag. 49.

(160) Erasmus, Epist. lxiii, lib. xx, pag. 1024.

(161) Ibid. Epist. lxvii, lib. xx, pag. 1030.

(162) One in *Pseudangelicos*, the other *ad Fratres Germaniae infertoris*.

(163) See Seckendorf, lib. iii, pag. 77.

Books which were none of his [Z]. It is reported that the reading of the *Epistola obsecratorum Virorum* had a great effect upon him [Z]. I shall make a Remark on the Errors of *Moreri* [AA], and another on some Errors which I content my self to point at

those who are good Judges. Wherefore I shall quote it. You will see, that in the beginning of it *Erasmus* represented to his Friend, who was a Protestant, that the Libels and satirical Figures, which the Lutherans filled Europe with, would be a Prejudice to their Party. 'An vos creditis talibus præditiis processurum Evangelii negotium? Magis metuo ne talium stulta malitia & malitiosa stultitia, subvertat cum bonas literas, tum Evangelium, si fieri possit, & vos vestramque civitatem aliquando pertrahat in grave discrimen. Scottus, inquit, habet uxorem & teneros liberos. Num ista excusatio videatur iusta, si scriniis meis effraclis fustulisset aurum? Non opinor. Et tamen hoc quod facit longè sceleratius est. Nisi forte putas mihi famam esse viliorē pecuniā. Si deest unde alat liberos, mendicet. Pudet, inquit. Et huiusmodi facinorum non pudet? Prostituat uxorem, & ad calices vigilanti naso stertat adultero? Nefarium, inquit? Magis nefarium est quod facit. Nulla lex punit capite qui uxorem prostituat, ac capitalem penam denunciant omnes iis qui libellos edunt famulos (166). — Do you imagine the Interest of Religion can be promoted by these Endeavours? I rather fear, that the Folly and Malice, which appear united in such Men, may overturn, if possible, both Learning and Religion, and, one day, bring both you and your City into imminent Danger. Scottus, you say, has a Wife and small Children. Would this Reason held good if he should break open my Trunk, and steal my Gold? I fancy not. Yet what he does is by far more base. Unless you think my Reputation less valuable than my Money. If he has not wherewithal to maintain his Family, let him beg. He is ashamed, you will say. What, and not be ashamed of such monstrous Crimes? Let him turn Bawd, and stand Pimp to his own Wife. That would be abominable, you say. Yet what he acts is more so. No Law makes it capital for a Man to prostitute his Wife; but all denounce Death against the Man who publishes false and scandalous Libels.

[Y] He has been thought the Author of several Books, which were none of his. He made himself a great many Enemies by the Liberty of his Pen. He boldly found fault with the scandalous Lives of the Clergy, for which reason they lost no Opportunity to make him pass for a Heretic, and an impious Man, particularly for an Abettor of *Luther*, charging him with Books which *Luther* was known to be the Author of. 'Quorundam tanta est perversitas ut ea quæ mihi tribuant, quæ *Lutherus* in conventu Cæsaris agnovit pro suis (167). They imputed to him the Book intitled, *Captivitas Babylonica*, because the two first Words in that Work are almost the same with those *Erasmus* had placed in the beginning of a Panyeric. 'Fassus est quosdam fuisse suspicatos hoc opus esse meum quod initium esset. Velim nolim, non admodum abhorrens ab exordio Panyerici mei, quo Philippo ex Hispaniis reverso gratulor qui sic incipit. *celis nolis: bella conjectura* (168). —

He confessed that some suspected this Treatise to be mine, because it begun thus, Velim nolim, which is not much different from the Exordium of my Panyeric, wherein I congratulate Philip upon his return from Spain, which begins thus, Velis nolis: Admirabili well guessed! Was not this a fine Proof? This is the Temper of Men now-a-days who cannot bear that their dangerous whims should be laughed at (169); I say, should be laughed at, in order to preserve our Brethren from those whims: immediately they turn Informers, alleging the most impertinent Proofs in the World, and find Fools enough who either are satisfied with them, or pretend to be so. They attributed to *Erasmus* two other Books which he did not so much as know the Titles of, and in one of which he himself was very ill used. 'Alexander indicavit mihi tribui duos libellos, quorum alteri titulus est *Eubulus*, alteri *Lamentationes Petri*. Emoriar si unquam mihi fuerat auditus titulus antequam ille protulisset. Priorem necdum quivi nancisci. In altero sic tractor, ut si sciam Autorem sim illi gratiam non optimam habiturus (170). — I was informed by Alexander that two Treatises were fathered upon me, the one intitled

Eubulus, the other Peter's Lamentations. Let me die if ever I heard the Titles before be communicated them to me. The first I have not hitherto been able to procure. In the other I have been so freely dealt with, that, if I knew the Author, I should make him none of the most complaisant returns.

In another Letter (171), he says, I. that the Divines of Louvain had charged him with a Satire of *Huttenus* intitled *Nemo*. II. That they had also imputed to him that called *Febris*; and yet, says he, both my Genius and Style are very different from that Piece, cum tamen totus genius totaque phrasis à mea dissentiat. III. That they fathered upon him *Mosellanus's* Oration against the Enemies of the three learned Languages, and *Fisher's* (172) Book against *Faber*, without considering how much the Style of that Prelate differed from that of *Erasmus*, cum tanta sit orationis dissimilitudo. IV. That they attributed to him Sir *Thomas More's* *Utopia*, and a certain Writing in favour of France. V. That for Proof of it, they urged the Conformity of the Style. VI. That he never did, nor ever would, write any thing without putting his Name to it. Nullum adhuc Opus conscripsi: neque conscripturus sum, cui non præfigam meum nomen. Those who shall consider the Words I am going to quote, will have reason to wonder, that any body should be ignorant of the deceitfulness of Proofs taken from the Conformity of Style. 'Impingunt (suspicionem mihi) non alio freti argumento quam stili, qui tamen mei non admodum similis est, nisi meus mihi parum est cognitus: quanguam quid mirum adeo foret, si quid illic aut alibi cum phrasi mea congrueret? cum nemo ferme scribit hinc temporibus, qui non aliquid mei stili referat, propterea quod meæ lucubrations multorum manibus terantur, adeo ut in horum etiam libris qui scribunt adversum me, non raro stili meum agnoscam, meque meis pennis transfigi sentiam (173). — This Suspicion is founded on no other Argument but the Similitude of Style, which is not very great, if I know my own. But where would be the wonder, if here or there a Period should occur, or a Phrase be found that may bear some resemblance to mine? since scarce any one writes now-a-days who has not something of the same turn with myself. For my Writings are in the Hands of most; and in the Writings of my Enemies I can discover instances of my own stile, and often find myself combated with my own Weapons.

[Z] The reading of the *Epistolæ obsecratorum Virorum* (174) had a great effect upon him. It made him laugh so heartily, that a Swelling full of Matter, which he had in Face, broke, and thereby saved him the trouble of having it opened as the Physicians had ordered. I quote my Author's Words: 'Adeo ejus lectione in risum profusus fuit, ut abscessum in facie enatum, quem Medici secare jussuerant, præ nimio risu ruperit.' Simler, who observes this in *Bullinger's* Life, says, that *John James Amian*, a Native of Zurich, lent *Erasmus* the Book which made him laugh so heartily, and so much to his Advantage. Should not this be put among the Influences of the Advantages that accrue by reading?

[AA] I shall make a Remark on the Errors of *Moreri*. The first is this: *Erasmus's* Father ran away with a Physician's Daughter, named *Margaret*, who was then with Child by him. We have shewn before (175), that *Margaret* did not run away with her Galant, and that she only retired to a neighbouring Town to lie in, while he secured himself. The second is saying, that *Erasmus* took the Habit of a Regular Canon in the Monastery of St Augustin of Sion. It is true, his Guardians would have had him gone into that Monastery which was near *Delft*, and the chief House of the Order; but for the present he avoided their Sollicitations, and when he was obliged to comply, it was in the Monastery of *Stein*, near *Tergou*, where he was inrolled in that Militia. I cannot find, either by the Account he gives himself of his own Adventures, in his Life, and in his Letter to *Lambert Grunnius*, or in *Rhenanus's* Prefaces, that he ever studied in the Convent of *Sion*, as *Boxhornius* and *Valerius Andreas* affirm. The third is to say, that at the Age of sixty Years he went to Basil for

(166) Erasmus, Epist. iii, lib. xxi, pag. 1061, written to Gaspar Hedion, in 1524.

(167) Erasmus, Epist. xiv, lib. xvii, pag. 758, col. 2. It was written in the Year 1521.

(168) Ibid.

(169) According to Tertullian's Maxim: Plurima sunt risu digna revinci ne gravitate adoren-tur.

(170) Erasmus, Epist. xiv, lib. xvii, pag. 758.

(171) The first of the elegant Book, written the first of June, 1518.

(172) Bishop of Rochelle.

(173) Erasmus, Epist. i, lib. xi, pag. 54c. See also the first Letter of the twelfth Book.

(174) Quibus non tantum genus dicendi, sed mores quoque Theologorum fuisse perstrinxerunt. — Hæreticæ non solum Stile, sed et Morales of the Divines are evidently centred. Simler, in Vita Bullingeri, folio 6 verso.

(175) In the Rem. [B].

at [BB]. I do not think there was any Reason to say, that *Cælius Rhodiginus* accused *Erasmus* of being a Plagiary [CC].

It might with more reason have been said, That he was accused of having but little knowledge of the Greek Tongue [DD], and of having wrote in haste a great deal of what he printed (f). We have seen (g) that he was reproached with loving excessive Drinking: I do not

(g) In the *Mark* [I], *Cat.* (67).

not

for the Series of the Article shews, that, according to *Moreri*, it was then *Erasmus* took his first Journey to *Basil*. Now it is easy to prove, that this is false in this manner. The sixtieth Year of *Erasmus* coincides either with the Year 1525 or 1527, since his Birth is placed by *Moreri* indefinitely either in the Year 1465 or 1467. If it appears then that *Erasmus* was at *Basil* in the Year 1516, or 1518, as is plain by his Letters (176), then it is evident *Moreri* is mistaken. We have already cited (177) a Man who says, that *Erasmus* went to *Basil* a little after the Installation of *Leo X.* Now that Pope was chosen in the Month of *March*, 1513. The fourth Fault is of the same Nature with the third. He says, that *Erasmus*, being gone to *Basil*, there printed his Colloquies, which were presently sold off. This plainly relates to the first Edition of that Book: but we have seen before, that there had been several Editions of it before the Year 1522. The fifth Fault is in saying, that *Erasmus* being informed the Heretics were returned to *Basil*, where they committed incredible Disorders, he retired to *Friburg*, in the Year 1529. For this is to suppose, that the Protestants had been expelled *Basil* some time before. Now nothing is more fabulous than such a Supposition. Their Party continued increasing from the Year 1522 to the Year 1529, when the other Party was entirely ruined: All the Images, which loaded twelve Carts, having been placed before the Town-House, in nine Piles, and burnt, to put and end to the Differences among the common People, who would have made use of them in their Houses (178). The sixth is: that all the learned Men of the Country carried *Erasmus* upon their Shoulders into the Cathedral Church at *Basil*, where he was interred. Then his Coffin must not have been less than the Bed of the King of *Babylon* mentioned in the third Chapter of *Deuteronomy*; for else all the learned Men of the Canton of *Basil* could not have found a Place for their Shoulders. He should have said, that those who carried the Body studied in the University of *Basil*, and that all the other Students, with all the Professors, and a good Part of the Magistrates, assisted at the Funeral Solemnity. 'Elatum est humeris studiosorum ad ædem Cathedralē atque ibi . . . honorificè sepultus; nam in pompa funebri non Consul modo, sed etiam Senatoribus plerique visabantur, Academiæ Professorum ac studiosorum aberat nemo (179).' I say nothing of his placing his Death on the eleventh of *July* 1516, which are plainly two Errors of the Press. At least it is plain, if *Mr Moreri* put the eleventh of *July* for the twelfth, the Printers made the Year 1516 instead of 1536. *Hofmann* also makes it the eleventh of *July*, and has fallen only into *Moreri*'s third and fourth Fault.

[BB] . . . and another on some Errors which I shall only point at. I shall not now examine whether it be true, as *Boissard* had heard say, that *Erasmus* had been Rector of the University at *Basil*, and that, upon being ill treated by the Students, he had thrown part of the Records that contained the Privileges of that University into the Fire. Nor shall I refute the Story which is in the beginning of *Erasmus*'s Life, and in *Melchior Adam* (180), viz. that *Henry VIII*, King of *England*, ordered him to be searched, and to take from him all the Money they should find upon him, above what was allowed to be carried out of the Kingdom, and that *Erasmus*, coming to the King to complain of it, set him a laughing, and received a Present from him, together with Letters, ordering the Customhouse Officers to restore what they had taken from him. If the thing had happened in this manner, *Erasmus* would not have passed it over in Silence, when he gives an Account in one of his Books (181) how he lost his Money at *Dover*.

[CC] I do not think there was reason to say, that *Cælius Rhodiginus* charged *Erasmus* with being a Plagiary. *Erasmus* complains a little of *Cælius Rhodiginus*, tho' at the same time he highly commends him; he complains of him (182), I say, because he had observed, in the Volume of the *Lectiones Antiquæ*, VOL. II.

some Footsteps of an Author's Ingratitude, who uses the Labours of another, not only without confessing it, but even with an ill Intention against the Person so plundered. And as otherwise he does not complain of *Rhodiginus*'s charging him with any Theft, I am inclined to think the learned *Mr Morhof* has taken one for the other, when he said that *Rhodiginus* brought a little charge against *Erasmus*, as if the latter had robbed him of some Thoughts concerning the *Adages* (183). He adds, *Rhodiginus* ought not to glory in having furnished two or three drops to that Fountain, since he has said but very little upon some Proverbs in his *Lectiones Antiquæ*. It is certain the first Edition of *Rhodiginus*'s Book was many Years later than the Publication of *Erasmus*'s *Adages*. I should add, that the Author being already dead when *Erasmus* made the aforesaid Complaint, it does not appear at what time he could have made the Charge mentioned by *Mr Morhof*, or boast of his Supplies; I say, I should add this, if I did not discover a fraud in *Erasmus*'s Words. He says, that when he was writing that Complaint, he heard of the Death of *Cælius Rhodiginus*. Cum hæc scriberem, ex eruditorum literis cognovi *Rhodiginum* obisse supremum diem (184). But this was added to a new Edition. The Complaint appeared in a preceding Edition and during the Life of *Rhodiginus*.

This particular may be proved by a Letter that *Rhodiginus* wrote to *Erasmus* the Twenty second of *April* 1519 (185). He tells him he was very much surprised to hear that *Erasmus* was angry with him. The Cause of this displeasure, it was said, was, that the Sentiments of *Erasmus* had been criticised in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* with an Air of Authority, and a magisterial Tone: Te, ait, in antiquarum lectionum Commentariis ab ejus sententia diversum abisse, atque id tanquam docere cuperes (186). *Rhodiginus*, having justified himself upon this Point, adds, that he had read some days before the complaint *Erasmus* had inserted in the last Edition of his *Adages*. He affirms, I. That it was the only Work of *Erasmus* he had read when he published his Book: II, That as soon as he had read it, he felt his Bowels in a manner torn out, seeing himself obliged to abandon his Work, having long laboured upon the same Subject. The way he took was to put what he had done into a new dress. Facto tuo, qui occupasti, ad restim mihi rediit res. Evigilare mihi tot noctes perire, haurire lucernarum fulgines, sudoribus toties rigatæ vestes in nihilum recidere . . . nova fuit redordienda tela (187). This was part of the materials of the *Lectiones Antiquæ*. He promises *Erasmus* to dedicate one of the Books to him. All this persuades me more and more that *Mr Morhof* is mistaken.

[DD] He has been accused of having but very little Knowledge of the Greek Tongue. See what I have said in the Remark [E] of the Article CASTELLAN, and add to it the following Passage of *Mr Baillet* (188). 'There is another Point which prejudices that 'Universality of Learning, that some have been willing to attribute to *Erasmus*, and which seems to be better founded; it is pretended that he had only an imperfect and superficial Knowledge of the Greek Tongue. *Mr Hales* says †, that it must be confessed *Erasmus* had a great deal of Subtlety, Exactness; and Facility, in criticising the Latin Authors; but he was not the same with respect to the Greek Writers. The celebrated *Marianus Victorius* ‡, who has given us the Works of *St Jerome*, went yet farther, and said that *Erasmus* knew nothing at all of that Language.' The *Abbot de Billy* might have been joined to these two Evidences; read these Words of *Girac*. 'He is even so blind both in Mind and Body, † says he (189), speaking of *Cassar*, that tho' *Erasmus* is the most faulty Writer in the World, yet he could never discover any of his Faults. Nevertheless he is mistaken in an infinite number of Places; so that the *Abbot de Billy* † seriously affirms, that in the Version which that Author has made of eight of *St Chrysostom*'s epistles, he has reckoned above a hundred and fifty gross Errors: and elsewhere *, he is said to count *

(183) *Morhof*. Polyhistor. p. 8. 254.

(184) *Erasmi*. *Adag. Chil. I.* Cent. I, pag. 16.

(185) It is the 2th in the *Col. Lection of Gudius*'s Letters printed at Utrecht, in 1697.

(186) *Epist.* *Gudii*, pag. 117.

(187) *Idem*. pag. 118.

(188) *Baillet*, Jugem. des Savans, Tom. III, pag. 146.

† *Hales*. Not. ad *Chrysost.* in *Paul.* ad *Hebræos*.

‡ *Mar. Vie.* Rest. Præfat. ad *Hier. Oper.* item post. Scaligeran. pag. 74.

(189) *Girac*, *Replique à Cassar*, Sect. xv, pag. m. 133.

Quod quidem eo magis miror quod in *Chrysostomo* quoque, quo nemo unquam luculentius scripsit, hoc illi nimis quam acedisse deprehendit ac præsertim in octo prioribus in post. ad *Corinth.* *Epist.* homilias in quibus hoc serio affirmare quod cum plurimum tunc errores admixisse. *B. II.* *Obj. Sac. lib. I.* cap. ix.

* *L. cod. c. xix.*

by

(176) The 19th of the second Book; the 53^d and 55th of the third; and the 17th of the fifteenth. Add to this, that *Melchior Adam*, in *Vita Erasmi*, speaking of *Erasmi*'s going out of *Basil*, in 1520, says, that he first came there fifteen Years before, returning from time out of *Braunt*. This is taken out of *Erasmi*'s tenth Letter of the 24th Book.

(177) In the Remark [R].

(178) *Lexicon Hofmanni*, Tom. I, pag. 258, Edit. 1677.

(179) *Rhenanus*, *Epist. Dedicat. Origenis*.

(180) *Mr Patin*, the Son, tells it without confusing it, in the Life of *Erasmi*, prefixed before the *Encomium Mori*, which he printed at *Basil*, in 1676.

(181) In *Catal. Lucubrat* ad *Joan. Botzheim* *Abbatem* *Rhenanus*, in *Epist. prefata* *Opibus Erasmi*.

(182) *Erasmi*, *Chilid.* I, Cent. I, pag. 16, Edit. *Basil*, 1546.

not doubt but this was Calumny; for in the same Place wherein he owns that he did not always keep himself chaste, he protests he was ever temperate [EE], and would have been glad if he could have lived without eating or drinking. What

Matthew

by thousands the Blunders which are to be found in the entire Translation of the Homilies upon St Paul; tho' no Body ever wrote with less Obscurity than St Chrysostom; and those who have compared the Riches and Beauty of his Expression to Gold, might with as much Reason compare the clearness of it to the purest and most polished Crystal, and to the clearest and best of Fountains. Notwithstanding, Erasmus was a very learned Man, and I believe the Faults he committed in translating that great Saint, are owing to the Contempt he had of him, since he was arrived to such a Degree of Insolence, that he was not afraid to boast in a Letter to Bishop Tonstal, that if he were drunk he should write better things than St Chrysostom in his Commentaries upon the Acts. These are the Liberties the Wits of these later Ages give themselves. I have consulted the Letter written to Tonstal, and am convinced by it that Girac did not make use of an Hyperbole; but there is, in the Passage of Erasmus, a little Supplement which seems to insinuate that he did not believe the Writings, he so much despised, to be St Chrysostom's. I have inserted the whole Passage, that the Reader may judge it. 'Ex Chrysostomo in Acta verteram Homilias tres, cujus operæ me pœnituit, quum nihil illic viderem Chrysostomi. Tuo tamen hortatu recepi codicem in manu, sed nihil unquam legi indolius. Ebrius ac stertens scriberem meliora. Habet frigidos, & ineptos sensiculos, nec eos ipsos commodè potest explicare. Ex Commentariis in Epistolam ad Corinthios posteriorem verti Homilias sex, eundem artificem illic loqui sentio. Itaque non est animus bonas horas collocare malè. Aliud spirat Chrysostomus (190).

(190) Erasmus, Epist. lix, lib. xxvi, pag. 1478.

I had translated three Homilies from Chrysostom on the Acts, but am sorry for the trouble I took, since I find nothing of Chrysostom in them: at your Persuasion, I again took up the Book, but never did I read any thing more illiterate. A Man that is drunk or asleep might write better; his Thoughts are low, lifeless, and trivial; nor is he more happy in his manner of explaining them. I have translated six Homilies from his Annotations on the second Epistle to the Corinthians, and find them like the others, and consequently must have no Inclination to throw away my precious time on Trifles. The Spirit of Chrysostom breathes different Things.

[EE] He confesses that he had not lived so chaste as he ought, but protests he had been temperate. This he says in a Letter he wrote in the Year 1524, which contains a fine Description of the Dispositions of his Heart. I shall observe only these two Particulars in it. He affirms that he never was a Slave to Venus; nay, that he had no Leisure for it, because of his laborious Studies; but that in short, the Faults he might have committed of that Nature, were long since over; Age having delivered him from that Tyrant, which also makes old Age very agreeable to him. These last Words have a great deal of Virtue in them, and there are but few Men who can adopt them without a notorious Falshood, so much they follow the Taste of Malherbe, and not that of Sophocles (191)! As to his Sobriety, Erasmus could say nothing more consistent with a Christian Philosopher, or less agreeable to the Practice of Men, than what he has said. 'Et juvenis cibum ac potum semper ita sumpsi, ut pharmacum. Ac sæpe numero doluit, non licere sine cibo potuque perpetuo degere. Veneri nunquam servitum est, nè vacavit quidem in tantis studiorum laboribus. Et si quid fuit hujus mali, jam olim ab eo tyranno me vindicavit ætas, quæ mihi hoc nomine gratissima est (192).

(191) See the Remark [C] of the Article MALHERBE.

(192) Erasmus, Epist. v, lib. xxiii, pag. 1211, f.

In my Youth I always took meat and drink as Physic, and often lamented that Man might not be supported without the use of them. I was never a Slave to Love, nor indeed in such multiplicity of Business had I leisure for it. And if I ever was touched with that Passion, Age has long since freed me from it's Tyranny, for which reason I think myself more happy in being old. Of the two things he advances, one that he had nourished his Body only by a kind of Necessity, and took in his Food as a Remedy or Medicine; the other, that his Studies had not allowed him much leisure; the first is worthy of Credit, and the second is undoubtedly proved by the great number of

Books he published to the World. Now these two Facts being admitted, one cannot reasonably doubt of what he says concerning his Chastity: he does not pretend it was perfect; he confesses he had not always resisted impure Love, but he denies he was in a state of Servitude to that Iniquity; if he was not able always to master it, yet he was never a Slave to it. A Man of much leisure, and addicted to indulge himself, would be suspected of a lye, if he talked in this Manner; for Idleness and good Cheer are the Nurseries of Luxury.

Hæc monitis fugias otia prima meis.

Hæc ut ames faciunt: hæc ut fecere tumentur.

Hæc sunt jucundi causa cibulque mali.

Otia si tollas periere cupidinis arcus, &c. (193).

(193) Ovidius, de Remedio Amoris, ver. 136, & seq.

In the first place, take leave of Idleness.

'Tis this that kind'd first your fond Desire:

'Tis this brings Fuel to the amorous Fire.

Bar Idleness, you ruin Cupid's Game.

Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus, said Terence (194): Disento ventre, distenduntur ea quæ ventri adhaerent, said St Jerome. Let it not be objected that there are sober and laborious Persons who are very subject to Impurity; a few Exceptions to a general Rule, founded upon the occult Qualities of the Constitution, ought not to serve us for a Guide, when we are to judge of our Neighbour: and thus, while we are ignorant that Erasmus was of a Constitution to break through the general Rule, we ought to believe that by neglecting to indulge his Appetite, and applying himself closely to his Studies, he deadened the edge of Love, and preserved himself from Servitude. Add to this, that his Character, the Reputation he had acquired, and the Profession he made to be a wife and honest Man, necessarily engaged him to save Appearances, and not to suffer himself to transgress the Laws of Chastity without great Circumspection; now for this he must be a Man of a great deal of leisure; he must turn his Thoughts, not towards Venus volgiuaga, towards those Thais, who dispatch upon the spot the first comer, but towards Persons who are also careful for the Appearances of things. They require Preliminaries; they will be besieged in Form, and when they surrender it is a Benefice that demands a Residence (195), a thousand Cares great and small: it is a Heaven which does not always preserve the same serene Face; Coldnesses, Jealousies, Complaints, Explanations, Ruptures, Reconciliations, continue to produce changes in it, and that without any Rule.

(194) Terent. Eunuch. Act. iv, Scen. v, ver. 6. See the Remark [I] of the Article EREMITA, n. 4.

(195) See the Citat. (22) of the Article EGIALEA.

In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia: injuriæ,

Suspiciones, inimiciæ, induciæ,

Bellum, pax rursus: incerta hæc si tu postules

Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,

Quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias (196).

(196) Terent. Eunuch. Act. I, Scen. I, ver. 146.

Love is strangely whimsical, full of Affronts, Jealousies, Fears, Parleys, Wars, then Peace again; and for a Man to follow Reason in Love, is the same thing as to follow Reason in Madness.

It is seldom that a man, who once falls under this kind of Engagement, retires without a bit of the Chain which soon forms a new Captivity:

Nec tu, cum obliteris semel, instantique negaris

Parere imperio, rupi jam vincula dicas.

Nam & luctata canis nodum abripit: attamen illi,

Cum fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catenæ (197).

(197) Persius, Sat. I, ver. 157.

Nor think when once thou hast resisted one,

That all thy marks of Servitude are gone:

The struggling Greyhound gnaws his Leash in vain,

If when 'tis broken, still he drags the Chain.

It will be confessed that a Man, who after Erasmus's Example has almost always his Pen and Books in his Hand,

Matthew Slade, Rector of the College of *Amsterdam*, and a great Enemy of the *Arminians* objected against him with so much Violence [FF], was solidly confuted by *Gaspar Barlaeus*, in the Year 1615, in a Work entitled *Bogermannus*, ἐλεγχόμενος. There goes a Report (b), that all the Works of *Erasmus* are going to be printed at *Leyden*, under the Direction of Mr *Le Clerc*. This is a very commendable Undertaking; and all Lovers of Learning ought to wish it may be accomplished (§ 2). It is given out, that this new Edition will contain some Pieces never before printed; and it is to be supposed will be fairer than that which was published at *Basil* in 1540, in Nine Volumes in Folio, and which was dedicated to the Emperor *Charles V.* by *Beatus Rhenanus*.

[§ 2] This new Edition was published in 1703, &c. in eleven Volumes in Folio, REM. CRIT.]

Hand, can never find time for all these things, and that therefore *Erasmus* speaks reasonably when he says his Studies did not allow him to devote himself to Love.

[FF] *Matthew Slade* . . . declaimed violently against *Erasmus*. He wrestled with the utmost Malice a Passage he found in the first Edition of *Erasmus's* Letters, where it seems as if the Author called in question the Authority of *St Paul*. 'Ego sane nec Hieronymo, nec Augustino sic addictus esse vellem, vix etiam Paulo, ut omnia illius scripta tuerer ac probarem' (198). — 'I would not be so bigotted to *St Jerome*, *St Austin*, nay scarcely to *St Paul*, as to espouse and maintain all he has writ.' Note that *Erasmus* added in the other Editions this Salvo, *Ut aliquid dicam hyperbolicè, Hyperbolically speaking.* *Barlaeus* (199) did not fail to exclaim against *Matthew Slade*, who had not the Equity to regard that Salvo. He exaggerated

the Injustice that is committed, when Authors are reproached with Faults they themselves have corrected, and made a good Apology for *Erasmus* upon that Head, as also upon the Accusation which *Slade* had brought against him for favouring Arianism. This was renewing the old complaints published before by the Monks. The Apologist mentions some of their Impertinences, not forgetting (200) that of *John Staudius*, an English Franciscan, and Bishop of *St Asaph*, who complained to the King his Master, that *Erasmus* had put *Sermo* instead of *Verbum*, in the beginning of *St John's* Gospel. He observes (201), that the Sons of *Martin Lydius*, Professor of Divinity at *Franker*, carefully preserved the Manuscript of the Apology pro *Erasmi Theologia*, which their Father had composed.

ERESUS, in the Isle of *Lesbos*, was the Birth place of *Theophrastus* (a). The Barley which grew in this Territory yielded a Meal so white, that they thought it fit to make a Divine Morsel. From hence it is that the Poets feigned, That *Mercury* went to *Eresus* to buy up that Meal for the Bread of the Gods [A]. *Henry Stephens* mentions this upon occasion of the good Tables of the Clergy [B]; but he has not quoted *Athenæus* as he ought to have done. Consult *Hadrian Junius* (b).

[A] The Poets have feigned that *Mercury* went to *Eresus* . . . for the Bread of the Gods. *Archestratus*, a Sicilian Poet, has mentioned this Story in a Poem (1) which treats of good Cheer. The Poem is lost; but *Athenæus* cites several Passages of it, and among others that in Question (2).

[B] *Henry Stephens* mentions this upon occasion of the good Tables of the Clergy. His Words are (3): 'When

'one would express in one word, Wine excellently good, fit for a King to drink, it must be called Priest-Wine; in like manner if we are to speak of fine and exquisite Bread, (such as that of the City of *Eresus*, which *Mercury* took the pains to come down from Heaven, and provide for the Gods, if we believe the Poet *Archestratus*) must we not have recourse to Chapter-Bread?'

ERFURT, Capital of *Thuringia*, and one of the greatest Cities of *Germany* [A], was given to the Archbishops of *Mentz* by the Emperor *Otho* [B], after the Death of *Barcard*, Lord of *Thuringia*. The Emperor consented that his Son *William*, who obtained this Archbishopric, should possess not only the City, but also all *Thuringia*. The Successors of *William* maintained themselves in this Possession till *Lewis the Bearded* seized *Thuringia*, and left it to his Descendants, who have enjoyed it near two Centuries, under the Title of Landgraves. After this it passed by Marriage into the Family of the Marquisses of *Misnia*, which is the same with that of the present Dukes of *Saxony*. Such a long Dispossession has caused the Archbishops of *Mentz* to renounce their Right to *Thuringia*; but they have never quitted their Pretensions to *Erfurt*; of which they have always been acknowledged Lords. It is true, that for a long time, they have had little more than the Title, the Citizens pretending they have purchased, at divers times, all the Rights of the Archbishops, and even maintaining that those Prelates, not being Lords of the Territory, could not possess, in their own Right, an Inch of ground in the City. The Archbishops reassumed more or less Authority according to the variety of Factions which divided the Citizens; but when the City, after it had embraced the Reformation of *Luther*, was put under the Protection of the Dukes of *Saxony*; the Archbishops were no longer able to preserve any Power there.

[A] It is one of the greatest Cities of *Germany*. Nay, it may be affirmed, that by its Compass it surpasses all the Cities of *Germany*. It has also many Places in its Dependence, consisting of three Lordships, and seventy two Villages. It takes its Name from the Castle of *Effort*, situated seven Leagues from it, the Lord of which had a Right of Toll from the City. Many Historians believe, that *St Peter's* Monastery on the Mount was built there by *Dagobert* King of *France*; others by King *Pepin*, Lord of *Thuringia*; and there are still to be seen six Flower-de-Luces upon the Gate of that Monastery (1).

[B] *Erfurt* . . . was given . . . by the Emperor *Otho*. As all the Body of this Article has been taken from an Extract which comes from Mr *Salle*, I contented myself to say with him the Emperor *Otho*; but for fear I should be taxed with extreme Negligence in using so indeterminate a Word, I add here that *Otho* I is the Emperor in question, and I quote an Author for it, who deserves to be credited. The City of *Erfurt*, says he (2), 'was not walled round till the Year 1163, long after the Emperor *Otho* I had given it, together with *Thuringia*, to his Brother *William* (3) Archbishop of *Mentz*.'

[C] The

(198) *Erasmus*, Epist. ad Petrum Barbirium. It is the third of the first Book, and is dated from Bruges, the thirtieth of August, 1521.

(199) *Barlaeus*, in *Bogermanno* *Erasmii*, pag. 4, & seq.

(200) *Ibid.* pag. 58, 59.

(201) *Ibid.* pag. 60.

(a) *Strabo*, lib. xiii, pag. 452.

(b) *Animadv.* lib. iii, cap. iv.

(1) It was intitled, *Γαστρονομία*. It is also quoted under other Titles. See *Athenæus*, lib. i, p. 4.

(2) *Lib. iii*, cap. xxix, p. m. 111.

(3) *Apologie pour Herodote*, pag. m. 204, 205.

(1) *Heis.* Hist. de l'Empire, liv. vi, cap. i, pag. 108, Tom. II, *fr. Dutch* Ed. &c.

(2) *Heis.* *Ibid.* pag. 199.

(3) It is *Otho's* Son in the Extract of the Journal des Savans.

there. *Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, secured that City; but afterwards forsaking the Swedish Party, it was again subdued by the Arms of General *Banner*. The Swedes contented, by the Treaty of *Westphalia*, that it should return to the Obedience of the Archbishops. The Inhabitants pretended, that this was only to be understood of an imaginary Obedience, such as they had paid in latter Times; but the Archbishop of *Mentz* maintained, on the contrary, That by that Article of the Peace, he ought to be invested with all the Rights of a true Lordship. The Emperor declared for him, and put the City of *Erfurt* under the Ban of the Empire. After which, the Archbishop, with the Assistance of the Troops *France* lent him, forced the Inhabitants to submit [C]. So that, at present, he is Master of the City and (a) Citadel (b). The University of *Erfurt*, which had been in so flourishing a Condition, fell to Ruin by the Insolence of the Scholars [D].

(a) It is called St Ciriac, because it was built in a Place where there was formerly a Nunnery of that Name. Journal des Savans. Jan. 19, 1667. The Germans call it Cyriacsburg.

(b) Taken from a Memoir concerning the City of Erfurt, an Extract of which is in the Journal des Savans. Jan. 19, 1667.

[C] The Archbishop of *Mentz*, with the Assistance of the Troops lent him by *France*, forced the Inhabitants of *Erfurt* to submit. Here is another Passage of Mr *Heist* (4). 'Upon this occasion of *Erfurt*, it is just we should remember the Generosity of the Most Christian King, who, in the Year 1664, sent, at his own charge, to *John Philip de Schonborn*, his Ally, Elector of *Mentz*, a powerful Body of Troops, commanded by the Count de *Pradel*, to assist him in the Reduction of the City to his obedience, pursuant to the Ban the Emperor had published against it.' This is sufficient to satisfy those who would have a Narrative supported with the Circumstances of Time, Persons, &c. They are not to blame for this Taste; for without this account is a Body without a Soul, or a Machine out of order: arena sine calce: and yet an infinite number of Authors give us no other accounts than these.

(4) Hist. de l'Empire, livr. vi, chap. 1, pag. 199.

[D] The University of *Erfurt* fell to ruin by the insolence of the Scholars. *Eobanus Hessus* had had fifteen hundred Auditors in that famous University: There *Luther* took his first Degrees, and called it the Paradise of *Germany*. But the State of things was changed: The Citizens not being able to endure any longer the Debaucheries and Insults of the Students, took Arms, besieged the Colleges, made themselves Masters of them, wounded or killed as many of the Scholars as fell into their Hands, and did not rest till they had driven them all out of the City. I shall quote a long Passage of an Oration of *Alstedius* (5), in which he complains bitterly of the disorderly Life of the Students. 'Quam vellem nobis semper ob oculis versaretur catastrophe florentissimæ Academæ *Erfordensis*! Cum

(5) It is intitled, De Providentia Dei circa Scholarum decrementum. It is in his Encyclopædia, vol. 2, 64, and following.

studiosi illic loci se petulantius gererent adversus cives, cum tumultibus nocturnis urbem lacerarent, cum lapidibus testa domosque obruerent, cum fenestras & fores hospitum frangerent, populus magno agmine excitus collegiorum domos admodis bellicis tormentis obedit, expugnavit, ac ut quemque studiosorum juvenum obvium habuit, velut hostem, arripuit, vulneravit, cruciavit, neque prius quievit, quam vitulantium adolescentum multitudo mœnibus urbis effect prodigata. Jacet ex illo die etiamnum, olim florentissima Academia, quam *Lutherus*, qui primam ibi lauream consecutus est, paradisi Germaniæ id ætatis fuisse testatur: in qua *Eobanus Hessus* mille & quingentos auditores habuit: quæ denique id fuit in Germaniâ, quod *Bononia* in Italia, mater scilicet studiorum. — I could sincerely wish we had always before our Eyes the Catastrophe of the most flourishing University of *Erfurt*. The Students therein committing Outrages on the Inhabitants, exasperating the Citizens with nightly Tumults, assaulting their Houses with Stones, breaking their Windows, and forcing their Doors, the People, in a vast body assembled, attacked the Colleges with all the Artillery of War, took them by Force, seized, wounded, or slew all the Students they met, as Enemies, nor ceased till they had driven the whole Multitude of these hot brained Youtbs from the City. From that day to this lies in Ruins the once most flourishing University, which *Luther*, who there received his first Laurels, called the Paradise of *Germany*: Wherein *Eobanus Hessus* had fifteen hundred Students: and which, in a word, was the same in *Germany*, as *Bononia* in *Italy*, the Mother of Studies.

(a) Valer. Andr. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 169.

EREMITA (DANIEL) a Native of *Antwerp*, and Secretary to the Duke of *Florence* (a) about the beginning of the XVIIth Century, was a pretty good Writer [A]; but neither his Morals, nor Conduct, were consistent with the Profession of Learning, to which he had devoted himself. *Scaliger* had conceived a great Esteem for him, and had recommended him to *Casaubon*, which he repented of not long after [B], when he knew that that young Man was turned Catholic. *Casaubon* has given

[A] He was a pretty good Writer. The Panegyric upon the Duke of *Florence* which he published in 1608 was applauded. The Epistola Relatio (1) de Itinere Germanico quod Legatione magni Etruriæ Ducis ad Rodolphum II. Imp. Principisque & Respublicas aliquot Germaniæ anno 1609 peractum fuit, and his Letter de Helvetiorum, Rhetorum, Sedonensium Situ, Republica, & Moribus, deserve to be read. *Scaliger* makes the following judgment of him (2): 'Quas (litteras) ad te ab *** scriptas mihi misisti aliquam bonæ frugis spem faciunt. Interest illud ingenium quibusdam finibus coerceri, in quibus si contineatur & illam luxuriam depascatur, nihil ab eo nisi bonum expectandum est. — The Letters wrote to you by *** which you imparted to me, give me some hopes of a future Harceß. Certain limits ought to be prescribed that Genius, within which if it be restrained, and it's Luxuriancy be retrenched, we may thence expect nothing but what will be praise worthy.' His Latin Verses were inserted into the second Volume of the Select Pieces of the *Flemish* Poets.

(1) Christopher Arnoldus quotes it honourably in the Life of *Marc Velserus*.

(2) Epist. xevil, pag. 243, Edit. Francof. 1628. He wrote it to *Casaubon*: the Letter is dated the fifteenth of August, without the Year; but it is 1603.

[B] *Scaliger* . . . had recommended him to *Casaubon*, which he repented of soon after, when he knew he was turned Catholic. We have just seen what he wrote to *Casaubon* the fifteenth of August 1603, and thus he writes to him the eighth of December of the same Year. 'Proh facinus indignum! quid de *** audio? adeo immutatum ingenium ejus, ut alius ab eo quem tibi

commendavi discederet? Me verò stipitem qui in aliis δὲ ἐνδραχύνω sum, in isto ἐμπατισα, ἐνέφλωσσον. . . . Nescio an unquam quicquam mihi acciderit quod aut justius aut gravius doluerim, tum quia in illa ætacula vulpem non deprehenderim, tum quia à me expresserit ut se tibi commendarem. Sed vix illi qui in te ingratus fuit, & me hominem stultum qui vulpem non hominem tibi commendavi. Obstrinxerat me aliquo privato beneficio, non tamen quod æquaret comitatem qua illum amplexus sum, sed tamen (quæ est παρθεμία mea) quantulumcumque esset quod mihi præstitisset pro magno beneficio habui, neque potui illum splendidius remunerare quam si illi portam aperirem ad amicitiam tuam. — Ob Heavens! What do I hear of ***? Is it possible a Man should be so altered in his Mind, as to become the reverse of what I recommended to you! However quick sighted I may be in other Matters, I must look on my self as a meer stock to be thus overseen. . . . Scarce any thing ever befel me, for which I am more sensibly or more justly uneasy, not only because I could not discover the lurking Fox, but that I should be prevailed on to recommend him to you. Fool that I was to mistake a Fox for a Man; yet were he to him that proves ungrateful to you. I had some private obligations to him, but not equivalent to that humanity wherewith I treated him. I looked on the favour, tho' small, with a grateful Eye, and thought I could not make

given an ample Account of this Adventure [C]. This change in Religion did not hinder *Eremita* from preserving a good Opinion of *Scaliger*; which he gave a public Evidence of, even after *Scaliger* was dead; for he wrote in his defence against the terrible *Scioppius* [D]; but he did not find his Account in it. *Scioppius* confuted him in his usual way, that is to say by publishing a thousand diffamatory Stories concerning the Life of *Daniel Eremita* [E]. The latter died of the French-Pox at Legborn,

(3) In Clavi E. pistolarum Scaligeri, pag. 152. Oculorum Edit. Ultraj. 1661.

'him a more noble return, than opening him a way to your Friendship.' I believe with Mr Colomies (3) that the change of *Daniel Eremita's* Religion is here intended; but I cannot imagine why those who published *Scaliger's* Letters should be so tender of the Memory of that Person, as to put Stars instead of his Name. They have misplaced the two Letters which speak of him; for they reckon that for the ninety seventh in which *Scaliger* makes the Judgment of him mentioned in the preceding Remark, and they reckon for the eighty eighth that wherein he says what I have just now quoted. Mr Colomies, who believed that *Daniel Eremita* was meant in both Letters, ought to have taken notice that they were misplaced; for, according to his Supposition, it is plain the ninety seventh Letter is prior to the eighty eighth. This is evident from another place. *Scaliger* in the ninety seventh informs him, that he has received *Casaubon's* Commentary upon the *Roman History*, and in the eighty fifth he says, that he had already twice informed him of the Reception of that Book: it is certain then that the ninety seventh Letter was writ before the eighty fifth. Now this latter is dated the nineteenth of September 1603: therefore, in order to supply the date of the Year, which is wanting in the ninety seventh Letter, 1603 must be added to 18 Kalend. Septembris set down by the Author. This is what the Publishers of those Letters took no notice of, who have placed it among those of the Year 1604, at a good distance from the eighty eighth Letter dated the eighth of December 1603.

(4) Urgebat optimus & tui obsequissimus Eremita noster. Casaub. Epist. ad Scaligerum. It is the cclxxxiiiid, pag. 324. Edit. Græviana, 1666. It was written in February 1603. Ego illum semper tua maxime gratia habui charissimum, & quibuscunque potui officiis sum prosecutus. Idem, Epistola cclxxxv ad eundem Scaligerum.

(5) Idem. Epist. cclxxxiv.

(6) Idem. Epist. cclxxxv.

(7) Idem. Epist. cclxxxvi, dated the 11th of April, 1603.

'because you were unable to make a Resistance, but because you wished to be conquered.' The greediness of riches, which was observed in him, was no good omen. 'Erat mihi dudum hoc ingenium suspectum propter incredibilem in ea ætate opum suam, quam non levibus notis in eo deprehenderam (8). — I for some time had suspected his Inclination from his incredible Avarice at that Age, which I had discovered by too convincing proofs.' The place they procured him was worth fifty Crowns a Year. 'Collocaveram ipsum in honesta conditione ubi præter victum quinquaginta annuos auros habebat (9).' This Sum at first seemed very great to him, then small, and at last nothing at all. He watched all opportunities to get Money, and particularly had his Eye upon the Episcopal Houses. *Casaubon* hindered him twice from engaging himself; but he did not oppose his entrance into Mr de Vic's Family. The young Man there turned Papist, and went into *Switzerland* with the Ambassador. His Father a good old Man, and a good Protestant, was overwhelmed with grief at this Revolt; he endeavoured to bring back his prodigal Son into the good way; and it seems he made him recant; but it was all fraud. *Casaubon* wrote word to *Leyden*, that *Daniel Eremita* was mad after Images, and the greediest Man in the World of Masses. 'Scito neminem hodie vivere Miferum inexplabilem, aut sitientem, quare illa παλινδραμία simulata fuit, mendax & ὑποκριτική. In dies ejus herus expectatur, quo præsentem veram vocem audiet à me ille Proteus (10). — There is no Man living more greedy after, or boggled to, Masses than he, wherefore that recantation was only a feint. His Master is expelled every day, in whose presence that Proteus shall bear from me the Truth.' Another Artifice this; for his Design was only upon a Pension. He had been heard to say, that all the Controversies between the Catholics and Protestants seemed indifferent to him, and that for his part, he was ready to accommodate himself to the Times, according to the Interest of his Affairs; and one day he laughed at the folly of those who do not choose the way to Fortune. 'Vir fide dignus & sibi notissimus his diebus narrabat mihi audisse se cum diceret, omnia sibi quæ hodie disputantur æque & probari & improbari, paratunque se ad omnia pro tempore & rerum suarum emolumento. Cum vir pius hanc vocem abominaretur, cachinnos Eremitæ est exceptus, stultitiam eorum αἰσχροῦς ridendis qui nescirent τὰ ἴδια εἰ τι δεινότερον (11). — A Gentleman of Credit, and one that is very intimate with him, some days ago informed me that he had heard him say, that all the present subjects of Controversy were indifferent to him, and that, in compliance with the Times and his own Interests, he could embrace or relinquish any of them. The good Man shewed an abhorrence of such a Principle, but was answered by *Eremita* with a loud laugh, who seemed to deride the folly of those Men, that were ignorant what was best for themselves.'

[D] He wrote for *Scaliger* against *Scioppius*. *Scioppius* assures us that (12) *Daniel Eremita* is the Author of the *Epistola nobilissimi & literatissimi viri Patavio ad Gasp. Sciopium Roman scripta*. Excusa anno 1610. I fancy he is not mistaken.

[E] *Scioppius* confuted him by publishing a thousand diffamatory Stories. It was five Years since *Scioppius* had seen him at Rome: *Eremita*, says he, met him with the two Brothers the *Rubeins*, and two other Flemings, to go to *Tivoli*, and those Gentlemen were horribly scandalized at his Discourses during that little Journey. He talked of nothing but *Petrus*, and *Arctine's* postures, and rudely insulted those who seemed to be shocked with the impurity of that Conversation. Nay more, he drew all kinds of obscene things upon the Walls of the Inn where they lodged. 'In toto illo itinere illud unum agere visus est ut Petronium velut unicum & quemadmodum ipse loquebatur, divinisimum pædærastræ descriptorem, magistrum, & artificem . . . omnibus quotquot sunt, Græcis

(8) Casaubonus, Epist. cclxxxv.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Idem. Epist. cclxxxvii, ad Scaligerum scripta vi Kal. April 1604.

(11) Id. Epist. cclxxxv.

(12) *Scioppius*, in *Opusculi Græbini Amphitoti*. *Sciopium*, pag. 335. This Book was printed in the Year 1611.

Leghorn, in 1613. Some rather think he was poisoned (b). He was naturally ad-
dicted

(b) Oblit Liburnæ ex morbo Gallico, anno à Christo nato 1613. Sunt qui veneno extinctum scribunt. Quid juvat humanos scire
atque evolvere casus, Si fugienda facis & facienda fugis. Swert. *Atten. Belgica*, pag. 203.

(13) Scloppius,
ubi supra, pag.
336, 337.

Græcis ac Latinis Scriptoribus multum ad laudem
anteferret. In quo ne parum profecisse crederetur
non modò obscenissimis picturis diversorii parietes im-
plevit, sed perpetuo varia *ris conviciis* schemata
in ore habuit, & tanquam *Elephantidos* libellorum
commentatorem atque interpretem ageret, *historias*
peccare docentes, quibus vel Hippolyto sibula laxari
ac nequitia persuaderi posset, recitare non cessavit.
Ac si quis ex comitibus ejus nequitiam reprehende-
ret, suasque aures tam impuris & nefandis sermonibus
violare nollet, huic ille hypocritin & pudicitia simu-
lationem invidiosè objiciebat. Nec enim quemquam
mortalium castum ac pudicum esse persuasum habet
conjectura scilicet de animo suo ducta, sed plerò-
que sive propter Dylopiant, sive quod animi satis non
habeant ponalque metuant, suam cujuscunque ge-
neris libidinem dissimulare & occultare credit. Ita-
que verisimile non est quàm se comites ejus gavisos
esse dixerint, simul ac Romam reversi à tam propu-
dioso monstro liberatos se senserunt. Nam placulares
sibi facti videbantur, cum ejusmodi execrabilis tur-
pissimi & impudentissimi scurræ sermones, quos ne-
que *suburræ* puellæ æquo animo audirent, in
aures suas admiserunt (13). — He made it his Bu-
siness, during the whole Journey, to extol Petronius
as the only, or, to use his own Words, as the most
Divine Virtuoso, and Professor in the Science of Pe-
derasty, preferring him to the whole Class of Greek
and Roman Writers, and, to shew himself no unwor-
thy Disciple of so great a Master, he not only filled
the Walls of the Inn with the most obscene Repre-
sentations, but was perpetually baranguing on the va-
rious Postures, and like a Commentator or Translator of
Elephantis never ceased repeating the most lascivious
Stories sufficient to debase the chastest Ear. And if any
of his Companions checked him in his Leudness, and
desired he might be no longer pestered with such odious
and unseemly Discourse, he immediately charged him
with Hypocrisy and counterfeit Modesty. Nor could
he persuade himself that any Man was chaste or mo-
dest, drawing the Conclusion from the Corruptness of
his own Heart, but that many, he believed, out of
Bashfulness, from want of Courage, or from a dread
of Punishment, disguised their several loose Inclina-
tions. Therefore it is not improbable his Companions,
at their return to Rome, should express their Sa-
tisfaction in having got rid of such a Monster of Un-
cleanness. For the hearing such abominable Discourses
from a most base and profligate Wretch, as would even
make the Crew of a Brothel-house to blush, was very
grievous to them. Disappearing some time after, it
was imagined his Misery had forced him to throw him-
self into some Carthusian Monastery; but it was known
he was retired to Sienna, where he made his Court to
the Archbishop Ascanio Piccolomini, who recom-
mended him to Silvio Piccolomini Great Chamberlain of
the Duke of Florence; and by that means he obtained
a Pension from that Prince, as a Reward for a
Penegryric he made upon the Marriage of the Great
Duke with Magdalen of Austria. He solicited so
much to be sent into Germany with the Deputy who
was going to notify to several Princes of the Empire,
and Imperial Cities, the Death of the Grand Duke's
Father, that he obtained his Request. To which the
Reasons of Silvio Piccolomini contributed not a little,
who represented that such a Man being a German might
upon divers Occasions serve at the same time for a
good Interpreter, and a good Spy. Eremita boasted
in a letter written from Augsburg, that he was one of
the Envoys of the Great Duke, which seemed a ridi-
culous thing to Leonard le Coq Confessor to Christina
of Lorrain, Great Duchess of Tuscany. Upon his re-
turn to Florence he told a hundred Stories of the
Drunkenness of the Germans, in order to make his Court
to the Italians. He made the latter very merry when
he told them of the Studies of Maurice Landgrave of
Hesse, and of the Verses that Prince made in honour of
the Youth who took the Degree of Bachelor. He
told them that this Landgrave, with the Marquis of
Anspach, and the Prince of Anhalt, had drunk the Health
of the King of France, and the King of England, and
Destruction to the King of Spain, and had made that

Health go round, and drank it to the Great Duke's
Envoy. Florentiam reversus, nihil prius habuit,
quam Germaniam veluti porcorum patriam Italiam,
quorum in eo gratiam aucupabatur, describere, quan-
tumque Principes Germani quotidie potare ac vo-
mere soleant, satis festivo commemorare: sed in nul-
la historia tam faventes expertus est auditores, quam
cum de Grammatica Mauritiæ Hassæ Landgraviæ,
deque carminibus, quibus ille novis Baccalaureis &
Magistris honorem gratulari soleat, narravit. Hoc
enim Italiam, præsertimque Florentinam, usque adeo in-
solens ac novum videtur, ut id ad Ovidii Metamor-
phoses rectissime adjici posse existimant. Cum por-
rò ex eodem Aretologo suo audiret, quod idem
Landgravius simul cum Marbione Brandenburgico
Onspaciensi, & Christiano Anhaltino, pro salute Re-
gum Galliarum & Angliarum, proque peste ac mala morte
Regis Catholici votivum poculum circumtulit, idque
legato Florentino propinare nihil veritus fuerit, non
videtur Itali tam barbam immanitatem satis pro-
merito execrari posse (14). — At his return to
Florence he made it his Business to paint Germany
to the Italians as a Country of Hogs (by which
means he insinuated himself into their favour), and
with a great deal of Humour to recount how much
the German Princes daily used to guzzle and spew.
But in none of his Discourses did he more divert his
Audience, than when he spoke of the Grammar wrote
by Maurice Landgrave of Hesse, and his Verses where-
with he used to compliment the Bachelors and Ma-
sters of Arts. For this seems to the Italians, and e-
specially the Florentines, so whimsical and new, that
they think it justly intitled to a Place at the end of Ovid's
Metamorphoses. But when they hear him relate that
the said Landgrave, with the Marquis of Branden-
burg Anspach, and the Prince of Anhalt, had drunk
a Health to the Kings of England and France, and to
the Downfall and Destruction of the King of Spain,
the Italians imagine that such a savage Insult could
not be sufficiently detested. He was very kind to
the Lutheran Nobility who went from Germany to
Florence: those young Gentlemen were very glad to
find there a Fleming who understood Italian, and in-
formed them of the Customs of the Country, and
they willingly took up their Lodging with his Land-
lord. By this means, he made good Cheer at a little
charge, and then he introduced them to the Courtizans,
where they had the goodness to defray his Expences,
without which he would have found it difficult to have
satisfied Nature. Cum illud nescio quid satietatem
ejus, tentare cœpit, venasque inflavit tetra libido,
quia non habet infelix Quintilla quod dæ possit, le-
nonis opera ei navanda, & adventibus ad ipsam
perducendis, amicam sibi propitiâ morigeramque
facit (15). — When his Mistress was palled, and
his Veins still burned with raging Lust, not having
wherewith to satisfy her avaritious Temper, he turned
Pander, and by introducing Strangers to her, made
her more obsequious and complying. One Day he led, to
the Lodgings of a Woman of Pleasure, a Catholic who
had received the Communion the Day before, and not
being in a humour to relapse so soon into Sin, and
suspecting he was carrying him to a Brothel, was
in suspense whether he should go in. Eremita swore
to him it was the place where he kept his Library,
and his Study. He believed his Oath and went in:
the Woman was abroad, but yet he knew by several
Signs it was an ill place. When he complained of this
to Eremita, he laughed at him, whether he ridiculed
his Scruples, or took him for a Hypocrite. He col-
lected together all the political Disquisitions and Pa-
quinades he could find and gave them to the Luthe-
ran Gentlemen, who, with this Traffic, imagined them-
selves transformed into perfect Statesmen, and highly
extolled the Name of Daniel Eremita. Quidquid
consultationum ac relationum de rebus politicis un-
deunde corrogare potuit (sicut ejusmodi frivolorum,
quos vocant discursuum plena est Italia) tum præci-
puè paquinor live satyrarum, quibus summi Pontifices,
Cardinales, omnis Clerus, præcipuè Jesuitæ consu-
meliosissimè ac plerumque mendacissimè infamantur,
cum eis communicat. Et illi postea mercibus ejus-
modi

(14) Sclopp. ibid.
pag. 341, 342.

(15) Sclopp. ibi
supra, pag. 343.

dicted to Slander, which he shewed by his Account of *Germany* [F]. The way of writing a Panegyric, which is ascribed to him, has been put in practice by several Orators [G].

(16) Ibid. pag. 345. 'modi onusti, plurimumque sibi de tantarum rerum scientia . . . gratulantes, consummatissimos politicos se factos putant (16). Besides *Eremita* set up for a consummate skill in Affairs of Government, and promised a Commentary which was to excel all that had ever been written upon *Tacitus*. 'Parum adhuc profecisse se putat nisi etiam Florentinis imponat, seque ingentem *Statistam*, quem vulgo dicunt, sive politicum & civilis scientiæ imprimis gnarum videri faciat. Eo consilio passim jactat, se commentarios politicos in *Tacitum* moliri, quibus cornicoculum configat (17). — He thinks the Progress he has made insufficient, unless he can impose likewise on the Florentines, and persuade them that he is a great Statesman, and profound Politician. In order thereto he has given it out in all Places, that he is composing Political Remarks upon *Tacitus*, which shall cut out all that have gone before them.' He hated the Inquisition exceedingly, and had wrote a Letter to the Great Duke's Secretary, in which he terribly inveighed against the Inquisitors, who had forced him to retrench several things in his Panegyric which they judged to be impious and void of Christianity. 'Atque quidem specimen vel hodie Panegyricus ejus nobis exhiberet, nisi non pauca, im-pietatem & omnis Christianæ religionis vacuitatem redolentia Inquisitores inde sustulissent: quod quidem usque eo Eremitæ doluit, ut Epistola Laurentio Usimbardo Magni Ducis Secretario inscripta do-lentissimè & rabiosissimè in Inquisitorum ruditatem, barbariem, inficitiam ac Tyrannidem invectus fuerit (18). — His Panegyric would at this Day have given us a Proof of his Atheism, had not the Inquisitors lopped off a multitude of its Parts, that favoured strong of Impiety and Irreligion; which so much vexed Eremita, that in his Letter to Laurence Usimbardo, Secretary to the Grand Duke, he exclaimed most furiously against their Ignorance, Barbarity, and Tyranny.' Fear of what might come made him hate that formidable Tribunal, no less than his Resentment for what was past. He got an ugly Distemper among the Women, and from that time he turned his Amours another way. 'Criminis nomine quàm habeat Eremita, cur ab Inquisitione metuat, nequa-quàm ignorant ii, qui eum sciunt, ex quo Scabiem ei Gallicam affricuit

(17) Id. ibid. 'ftris atque valvis, in cubiculum earum ut admitte-retur contendit, ac postquam nihil profecit, irritus & exclusus ostium occutare, ac benè diu turpissi-mum ante ædes convicium eis facere non desistit (21). But when he had seriously reflected upon the Incon-veniences of being burned alive, he relented a little to-ward the Ladies of Pleasure, and overlooked the fear of a second venereal Distemper. 'Mox tamen ut fa-tietatem hominis, postquam se alicubi in Magni ali-cujus amici flore Liberi faucisset, libido distenta rursum tentare cepit, quod à mala illa Bestia, quam Vivicomburium dicunt, male metueret, utcumque in gratiam cum Suburbanis puellis redit, & recidivi Gallicani illius morbi periculum infra fiduciam posu-it, fraudavitque animum dissidentem (22). As he treated the History of JESUS CHRIST as a Fable, he took a delight to rail against the Inquisitors and Cler-gy, of whom he had a thousand Stories to tell, which he expressed comically (23). One Day *Scipio de la Scala*, not being able to bear his abusive Tongue, boxed him sufficiently. 'Cum more suo Eremita scurraretur & de Inquisitorum fama atque honore ita, uti dixi, im-probissimè maledicentissimeque detrahere nec moni-tus desineret, Scaliger, qui tum aderat, scurram pug-nis & colaphis ita accepit, & os ejus ferreum adeo molle reddidit, ut, &c (24). This is the Idea *Scioppius* gives us of *Daniel Eremita*. I do not say whe-ther it is a true one or no; but this I know, that *Scioppius* was a very satirical Man. But *Casaubon* has told us (25) some things which make these Stories of *Scioppius* pretty probable.

(18) Ibid. pag. 351, 352. 'Famæ non nimium bonæ puella, Quales in media sedent Suburra, totî propemodum femineo, & quemadmodum ipse ferid censet, sequiori sexui inimicum esse factum, & illud Umbri Callimachi suum fecisse: Hostis si quis erit nobis, amet ipse puellas, Gaudeat in puero si quis amicus erit (19).

(19) Ibid. pag. 352. Another thing gave him an Aversion for the fair Sex. Being informed that a Company of Singing-Women were come to Florence at the time of the Great Duke's Marriage, in order to get something by playing on In-struments, and perhaps also by some less lawful Me-thods; he went with a rich *Sicilian* to their Lodg-ings, and did his utmost to be admitted into their Chamber; but not being able to succeed, to be re-venged of them, he sang a long time at their Door the most scandalous things he could invent. They complained of it to the Great Ducheis, which had such an Effect, that *Eremita* was committed to Pri-son, and would never have come out but to go to the Gallies, if *Scipio de la Scala* had not interceded for him: but by his Interest he escaped with the Strapado (20). 'Auxit ejus erga mulieres odium, quod propter ipsas non ut prius Penalem, sed pænè Capitalem in fraudem incidisse se persensit. Cum enim Cithari-strias sive Fidicinas quasdam mulieres satis speciosas, quæ occasione nuptiarum Magni Ducis ex arte, at-que haud scio an etiam ex corpore suo, quæstum facturæ Florentiam venerant, in hospitio *Coronæ* di-vertere accepisset, comite Sileio quodam Equite, eo-demque Lutheranò, quod is bene nummatus non minus in se lenonem ac perdustorem suum, quàm in ipsas amicas liberalis fore videretur, ad diversio-rium illarum venit, omnique vi diruptis pænè clau-

(20) Cum plus semel sursum Chorda sub-ductus ac vicif-sim demissus fuisset nec paulo molestius quam Petronii sui Eu-molpus oscilla-tionis genere lu-fisset — Having been several times bowled up by the Cord, and let down again, he underwent a more troublesome swing-ing Bout, than *Eumolpus*, in his favourite *Petronius*. *Scioppius*, in Opor. Grub. Am-phot. Sciop. pag. 360.

(21) Ibid. pag. 359. 'But when he had seriously reflected upon the Incon-veniences of being burned alive, he relented a little to-ward the Ladies of Pleasure, and overlooked the fear of a second venereal Distemper. 'Mox tamen ut fa-tietatem hominis, postquam se alicubi in Magni ali-cujus amici flore Liberi faucisset, libido distenta rursum tentare cepit, quod à mala illa Bestia, quam Vivicomburium dicunt, male metueret, utcumque in gratiam cum Suburbanis puellis redit, & recidivi Gallicani illius morbi periculum infra fiduciam posu-it, fraudavitque animum dissidentem (22). As he treated the History of JESUS CHRIST as a Fable, he took a delight to rail against the Inquisitors and Cler-gy, of whom he had a thousand Stories to tell, which he expressed comically (23). One Day *Scipio de la Scala*, not being able to bear his abusive Tongue, boxed him sufficiently. 'Cum more suo Eremita scurraretur & de Inquisitorum fama atque honore ita, uti dixi, im-probissimè maledicentissimeque detrahere nec moni-tus desineret, Scaliger, qui tum aderat, scurram pug-nis & colaphis ita accepit, & os ejus ferreum adeo molle reddidit, ut, &c (24). This is the Idea *Scioppius* gives us of *Daniel Eremita*. I do not say whe-ther it is a true one or no; but this I know, that *Scioppius* was a very satirical Man. But *Casaubon* has told us (25) some things which make these Stories of *Scioppius* pretty probable.

[F] He was inclined to Scandal; which he shewed by his Accounts of *Germany*.] The Letter he publish-ed relishes of Satire. *Conringius* does not determine whether the Scandals which are in it against certain Courts of the Empire are false; but he confesses they may make one blush. 'Nonnihil illa Epistola simile quid habet famosis Literis, siquidem quædam de Ger-manicis Principibus eorumque aulis scripsit, quæ pu-dorem incutiant. An falso an vero scripserit animo, nescio (26). I have already mentioned the Re-proaches *Scioppius* makes to *Eremita* for having divert-ed the *Italians* with Stories of the drunken humour he observed in *Germany*. It is a comfort to the *Ita-lians*, loaded with a thousand Satires on Account of their Letchery, to oppose their Sobriety to the Drun-kennels of the northern Nations, from whence proceed the Lampoons against them: and methinks even the religious Controversies are sometimes mixed with these mutual Reproaches. It cannot be denied that the Chri-tians of Europe are addicted to two great Vices, Drun-kennels and Lewdness. The first of these two Vices reigns in cold Countries, the other in hot: *Bacchus* and *Venus* in this manner dividing the Nations between them. It happens that the Reformation having di-vided into two this part of Christianity, the Portion subjected to *Venus* remains as it was before, but the best part of *Bacchus's* share has renounced Popery. From hence it is that *Spain* and *Italy* are more for-ward to run down Drunkenness, and to object it as a great Crime to the northern Nations (27); as if this could compensate for Crimes of Incontinency, and hinder one Religion from silencing the other by Reproaches of Immorality. The Question is not to examine here if *Bacchus* encroaches upon *Venus*, or *Venus* upon *Bacchus* (28). It is enough for me to have explained by this little Commentary the flattery of *Daniel Eremita*. *Casaubon* and *Scioppius*, so op-posite every where else, would easily have agreed in the chief Lines of his Picture. 'Homo procax & dicax, according to *Casaubon* (29), quales esse so-lent qui per gradus syncrètismi in apostasiam labun-tur. — He is a pert satirical Fellow, such as they usually are, who are gradually lead into Apo-stasy by ill Company.'

[G] The way of composing a Panegyric, which has been ascribed to him, is practised by many Orators.] That Method consisted in reading attentively the an-cient Panegyricists, and collecting their Phrases and Thoughts, and then applying them to the Subject they undertook to praise: this is the Practice of an in-finite number of People. There is in their Pieces scarce any Encomium which is not to be found in the ancient Panegyricists. *Pliny* has almost exhausted all

(26) *Conringius*, Dissert. MSS. Rerum PP apud Masgrium, Epo-nymol. pag. 320. (27) I have heard say, that a Fle-mish Monk told his Auditors, that God would judge Drunken-ness according to the Ideas of the Spaniards and Italians; and Lewdness accord-ing to the Ideas of the northern Nations. (28) See the Re-mark [I]. (29) Epist. cccclviii. pag. 551, apud Ma-grium, Epo-nymol. pag. 321. I quote this, be-cause it does not agree with the Edition I make use of.

The learned *Conringius* is mistaken, when he says that *Eremita* lived to old Age [H].

They are printing at *Utrecht* some small Pieces of *Daniel Eremita*, and among the rest, his Treatise *de aulica & civili vita*. They were in Manuscript in the Duke of *Florence's* Library, and thither the Original is to be returned as soon as the Edition is finished. Mr *Grævius* will confute in the Preface the Slanders of *Scioppius*; this he has promised me in a Letter he honoured me with in the Month of *June 1699*. For the rest, the words I used in one of my Remarks, viz. *It is not the Question to examine here whether Bacchus encroaches more upon Venus, or Venus upon Bacchus* (c), have induced a Man of Wit, and a great Traveller, to write me word, he could wish I had not omitted that Inquiry. He desired me to mention it in the second Edition, tho' it were only to refute certain things which he had often heard asserted in *Spain* and *Italy*. I cannot wholly comply with his Desire, nor absolutely refuse his Request, therefore shall add, below, some Collections and Notes relating to the Hints he has communicated to me [I].

Most

(c) In the Remark [F] of this Article. Citat. (28).

all the Ideas of the Perfection of a Prince. They little examine now, if the Prince they are to praise is adorned with the Qualifications so nobly expressed in ancient Authors: they suppose he has them; after this Supposition the Thoughts and Expressions cost them little; they are found ready made in other Panegyrics: all the Difficulty consists in making some little Alterations according to Times and Places. *Daniel Eremita*, if we may believe his Adversary, would have been strangely perplexed if he had had a second Panegyric to make a little after the first; for he exhausted all his Collections in the first, and he would have wanted a considerable time to gather fresh Flowers. *Scioppius's* Expressions are so fine that they deserve to be quoted here. 'Quoniam à multis jam annis legendis Panegyricarum Orationum Scriptoris vetustis, itemque Marcialis, Aufonii & similium præfatiunculis pedestri sermone contextis, quasdam sententiarum verborumque argutias floresque laboriosè compertat, Magni Ducis & Magdalene Austriacæ nuptias occasionem suam ratus est, qua suam facundiam illis, qui patricias artes istas ac solemnem Criticis hodierni fucum ignorant, venditaret. Edidit ergo panegyricum, in quo omnem suam scientiam ita consumpsit; ut si repente nec opinantur novæ alicujus Orationis scribendæ necessitas imposita fuisset, omnino jejunos, secus nudosque, & ab omni cum verborum . . . tum sententiarum quoque instructo fragitiosissime imparatus futurus fuerit &c (30).

(30) Scioppius, Oper. Græv. Amphot. Scloppian. pag. 338.

By reading for several Years the ancient Writers of Panegyrics, and the Prefaces of Martial, Aufonius, and such like, in Prose, he had writ much Pains thrown together some tolerable Turns, both of Words and Sentences. The Nuptials of the Grand Duke and Magdalene of Austria he thought was the fairest Opportunity to dispose of his Rhetoric to those that are unacquainted with that Patrician Cunning, and the common Drollery of modern Would-be-Critics. He therefore published his Panegyric, wherein he expended his whole Stock of Knowledge, so that had any sudden and unexpected Occasion obliged him to write an Oration, he would have been poor, insipid, jejune, and most terribly at a loss both for Words and the Management of his Periods.

[H] *Conringius* in making him live to old Age is mistaken. *Scaliger* and *Cassaubon* speak of him as a young Man in 1603 (31): and as he died in the Year 1613, he can never be spoke of in the manner *Conringius* has done. 'Diu in Italia vixit, ibique in aula Florentina tandem consenuit (32). — He lived a long time in Italy, and grew old in the Court of Florence.'

(31) See the Remarks [B] and [C].
(32) *Conringius*, Differt. MSS. Rerum PP. apud Magir. Eponymol. pag. 320.

[I] Some Collections and Notes relating to the Hints he has communicated to me. He wrote to me, that being upon the Spot in such places of Europe as are most devoted to the Roman Catholic Religion, he took a Pleasure in observing to them the enormous and unbridled Licentiousness which is predominant there. They perceived, that his Intent was to draw Consequences from this in favour of the Protestants: but they did not fail to tell him that he was mistaken; that Religion was not concerned in the Matter; that the Vices in question are Vices of the Climate, and not Vices of Religion; that if Italy was Protestant it would be addicted to the same Vices as at present, and that the same Judgment ought to be made of the northern Crowns if they were Catholics. They added, that the Catholics of Germany

loved drinking neither more nor less than the Protestants of the same Country, and that the difference of Religion between the Poles and the Muscovites, does not hinder them from having a prodigious Inclination to Drunkenness (33). That however an Allowance is to be made. Forgive us, said they to him, our Failing for the sake of our Sobriety, and we will pass over your Drunkenness: you will get by the Change; for it will not be in favour of the Chastity of cold Countries that we shall forgive your Intemperance in drinking. Such a Chastity is a Chimera. They are as leud in the northern Countries as the southern, and all the Advantage that the former can claim respects only the Sin against Nature; for as for the other, it reigns there no less than in Italy. To prove this Paradox they alledged the Effects of good Chear and Wine. They confessed, that the Food in hot Countries is more juicy, and disperses the spirituous Parts more freely and plentifully over the whole Body, which Parts easily disengage themselves from the Flegm and heavy Parts by Digestion and Circulation: the Sun has already done half the Work before the Stomach begins to act. But what is wanting in the Quality of the Aliments in cold Countries, they make up in the Quantity. There they eat much, and drink more; whereas the Inhabitants of hot Countries eat but little, and instead of Wine they drink cooling Liquors; by which means they weaken the Powers of Venus just as the others augment them by their hard drinking. The Person who wrote me this was greatly surprized at such a Discourse as this; and as by his Travels, much more considerable than those of *Ulysses*, he has deserved the Elogy made upon that Greek Prince (34), viz. that he had compared the Customs of several Nations, he could not endure to be referred to Experience. Inform yourself of this, say they, from those who have travelled into cold Countries; they will tell you they have found the Fair Sex there more frail, and more easy to be prevailed upon, than in hot Countries. They wondered at the Easiness and Rapidity of their Conquests; they met the critical Moment after the first Request; and this makes them put the following good Advice among the Instructions they give those who travel to the same Places. When some Inconveniences, or other important Reasons, prevent you from improving the Opportunity, take care you do not press your Suit with the Ardour of a Man who would obtain what he asks; you may be taken at your Word, and Shame and Reproach will follow. Some pretend, continued they, that this Readiness to grant the last Favours does not proceed from Leudness, but from a simple, lazy, and easy Temper; but this is false; if you take away their Money, you would find them all Fire and Flame. Not at all, replied my Traveller, I know the Truth of the Matter, and that these are all idle Stories. This is the Substance of his Letter, and my Compilations, or Remarks, are as follow:

I. I shall cite, in the first Place, a Passage of *Sorbiere*, in which the Toleration, granted at *Rome*, for Houses of Prostitution, is compared with that in *Holland* for Drunkenness. This is one of the things *Sorbiere* answered, to confute the Hopes they had entertained, that his Journey to *Rome* would promote his return to the Protestant Communion. 'The Faults, says he, of some private Persons ought to do no Injury to the Public, nor the Licences of certain Governments affect

(31) See *Matthias à Michow*, lib. ii. cap. iii. de *Sarmatia Europæa*.

(34) Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδων ἅπαντα καὶ νόον ἔχων. Multorum autem hominum vidit urbes & mores cognovit. Wand' rince from Clime to Clime observed fr-y'd; Their Manners noted, and their States survey'd. Homer. Odyss. lib. i. ver. 3. See also *Heracle de Arte Poetica*, ver. 142, where he has translated that Greek Verse of the Odyssie, in this manner. Qui mores hominum reulorum vidit & urbes.

Most disinterested Persons will undoubtedly confess what he has asserted, That Leudnefs prevails

* affect the Strictness which is observed in the Courts of Conscience, where that is condemned which the Reasons of a wife Government do not punish with temporal Penalties with the same Rigour. You need not doubt, Sir, that what I hint to you, and which it seems you reproach *Italy* with, has been often examined, and that by good old Men, who had no Interest in the Connivance, and that if human things had been capable of the Perfection which you do well to wish for, they would not have endeavoured it in this Particular. But in every Country Men have vicious Inclinations, and private Intemperances, which it is very hard to correct, without running the hazard of spoiling some other things which are useful. It is for this Reason, in my Opinion, that in all the North Sobriety is esteemed a small Virtue, or at least Drunkenness is tolerated, if not counted a Piece of Gallantry, and the Effect of indispensable Civility. And yet this does not hinder you from thinking, that the true Religion is harboured there. I know very well, that the Protestant Preachers declaim against it, but the Magistrates tolerate it; believing, with some Probability, that without a Permission of this Defect Men would remain in an unsociable State, as elsewhere they apprehend worse Vices than those they suffer. Courcelles, an Arminian Professor at *Amsterdam*, confuted that, among other Reasons, with this: That it is one thing to connive at a Vice, which it is impossible to root out, and another to authorize it by Laws, or public Permissions (35). And that, among Protestants, the Magistracy, and the Office of Pastor are not joined in one single Person, as they are in the Pope.

II. I say, in the second Place, that those, who accuse the Inhabitants of cold Countries with being as leud as the Inhabitants of hot Climates, leave them one great Advantage, since they except the Sin against Nature. But they were not satisfied with this Advantage in a Dispute which arose between a *German* and an *Italian*; the former pretending, that even with respect to Fornication in general, *Italy* was most disorderly. 'Lepida est inter Italum & Germanum altercatio . . . ille nimiam hanc bibendi consuetudinem, tanquam probrosam objiciebat, ille inconcessam Venereim exprobrabat, tanto perniciosiorem ebrietate, quanto leges severiores in eam latæ. Sed elegans Epigramma apponam:

Ut nos vina juvant, sic vos Venus improba vexat,
Proposita est Veneri Julia, nulla mero (36).

(36) Dempsterus, Parolipom. ad Rostinum de Antiqu. Romanis, lib. v, cap. xxx, pag. m. 266.

— There is a merry Dispute between an *Italian* and a *German*; . . . the former objected against the Excess of drinking as infamous. The other upbraided him with unlawful Love, by so much more pernicious, as the Laws against it were the more severe; I shall subjoin a beautiful Epigram:

Lust is your Curse, our Joys are sparkling Wine,
For there's no *Julian Law* against the Vine.

III. It is certain, that there are Travellers who have been such Lovers of Scandal, as to publish, that the Women have no great Virtue in cold Countries, but quickly yield to Temptation. I shall only cite a *French Gentleman*, whose Account has just been reprinted at *Amsterdam*. 'It is no extraordinary thing, says he (37), to see fine Women in *Denmark*: the Country Women are generally very pretty, and the young Girls are most of them very free, easy, and gay. . . . They set off their Hair in great Rolls. . . . Their fair Tresses would make an amorous Poet say many fine new Things. The Virtue of the *Danish* Women seems made for their Beauty: that is, it suffers them to use it, and will not let it be a useless Treasure; and yet this is not a vicious Inclination in them; it is a negligent Easiness, and I am persuaded that they sin only because they have not Power enough to forbid Men from sinning.' To this may be opposed the Testimony of another *Frenchman*, who assures us, that the *Danish* Women are so grave and modest, that they leave no hope to those who visit them. They lay no Snare for the Eye, says he, they neither show their Breasts nor Hair; they have nothing of

(37) Memoires du Chevalier de Beaujeu, liv. i, chap. ii, pag. 58, Edit. of Amsterdam, 1700.

the Coquet in their Walk or Gestures. He expresses all this with more Force in his *Latin*. 'Cæterum illæ sua nimia gravitate atque modestia omnem amorem, & familiaritatis spem, & occasionem excludunt. Nullæ ibi prætereunt oculis insidize tenduntur, nullum est incendendi, aut vibrandi sese lenocinium; non pectus detegunt, non capillos crispant, ac ne offendunt quidem (38).' This Writer deserves the more Credit, as upon other Occasions he has taken a Pleasure to expose the Incontinence of the People of the North; particularly he attacks the Clergy. He tells a Story (39) of an old *Swedish* Minister, who was in such a merry Humour, after having well emptied his large Cup, that he was heard to sing several leud Songs. This Minister was a Man of Learning, and had a Daughter who spoke *Latin*. He used to divert himself with other Women, though he had a Wife of his own. The Author, upon this, makes the following Reflexion, viz. that *Luther* was in the wrong to pretend, that the Marriage of the Priests would restrain their Lasciviousness. 'Deprehendimus hujusmodi homines, tametsi litteratos, & fenes, & in oculis omnium positos, cum five vino, five cervisia incauerunt, non in ineptas tantum voces, sed in turpes etiam atque incestas efferri. Circumferatur (inquit) ille cantharus: adducatur virgo nuda. Atque hoc carmen canens repetebat, addebatque, en inquit, cantilena quam juvenes personabamus. Didicimus postea, illum hac etiam ætate petulco more in vices suas insilire. At enim uxorem habebat, in quam libidinem istam desumpere poterat. I nunc, & Luthero crede, nefandorum sacerdotum lasciviam matrimonio compesci posse (40).' The Author does not stop here; he adds several other things to his first Remark. It cannot be imagined, says he (41), how much the Love of drinking, and Women, prevails upon the greatest Part of these Men. As to the first, it is notoriously true, *de potu manifestum est*; and I have observed as to the second, that there is nothing they inculcate more upon the most virtuous Divines than the Necessity of Marriage, if they desire to live chastly and piously. 'De altero verò observavi, nihil magis castissimis Theologis inculcari, quam hanc matrimonii necessitatem omnibus, qui calce, ac pede vivere cupiant, esse subeundam. Hanc doctrinam adolescentulis ipsis, qui nondum puberes sunt, & nondum de Venere cogitant, in infimis scholis insinuant (42).' They insinuate this Doctrine in the lowest Classes to the School-boys, who, being of a tender Age, have no Thoughts of Love. They spread among the People a false Report, that Pope *Urban VIII* proposes to marry, and that all the Cardinals have the same Intention. Eo denique amentie ac impudentie deventerunt perversissimi Doctores, ut apud populum rumores spargant, Urbanum hunc VIII. Pontificem Romanum de uxore ducenda cogitare, idemque consilium omnium Cardinalium animos subuisse; quam stolidissimam fabulam non in hac modo Suecia, quæ longius ab hominibus abest, sed jam in ipsa Dania audieramus (43). Is not this to insinuate, that, according to these Doctors, the Reformation of the Church would not be carried on in an auspicious manner, unless it began by abolishing Celibacy, and by the Celebration of the Marriage of the Sovereign Pontiff, and all the Members of the sacred College? And is not this to pretend, that those very Doctors prove in their own Persons such an Incapacity of abstaining from the other Sex, that they think none can live chastly without Marriage? But let us go on to hear Mr *Ogier*. Another Minister, says he, excusing himself, that he could not lodge us so conveniently at his House as he could have wished, alledged, that he was almost quite ruined, and his Life was a Burden to him. When he was asked the Reason of it, he replied, I have lost my Wife: 'Suas quippe fortunas pene esse subverfas vitamque sibi invilam: cum rogarem, quid rei esset: uxorem, inquit, non habeo amplius (44).' Perhaps, said Mr *Ogier*, you are not allowed to marry a second time. I am allowed, returned he, sighing, but must wait till the Year of mourning is expired. The Author adds, that by considering what he had seen, and what he had inquired into, he judges, that the Law of Celibacy is the only Obstacle that hinders them from being reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. 'Hunc solum matrimonii & concubii obicem eos à nostra communione

(38) Carolus Gæsius, in Itinere Danico, pag. 344 35.

(39) Idem. in Itinere Suecico, pag. 209.

(40) Id. ibid.

(41) Mirum est tam potus, quam concubitus libido in plerisque his hominibus ardeat. Id. ibid.

(42) Id. ibid.

(43) Id. ibid. pag. 210.

(44) Id. ibid.

prevails more in hot countries than cold.

'munione dividere.' When he speaks so much to the Disadvantage of the *Suedes*, with respect to Continency, does he not deserve to be credited in the things he acknowledges concerning the Chastity of the *Danish* Women? So that I justly opposed Mr *Ogier* to the *Sieur Beaujeu*. I confess there is one specious Objection may be raised against me. Mr *Ogier* speaks of what he saw in the Year 1634, and the other of what he saw in the Year 1679. This is an Interval more than sufficient to change the whole Face of Affairs in the Republic of Decencies. The Modes, which tend to suppress the Laws of Austerity and Modesty, make so surprizing a Progress, that a Traveller, who goes twice into the same Country, thinks himself transported into a new World; for when he compares the Conduct of the Maids and young Wives with what their Mothers formerly observed, he sees almost a total Change.

EFFECTS of
Wine with re-
lation to Impu-
rity.

IV. Generally speaking, there is nothing material to be said against what the *Italians* object, that Wine and good Cheer excite to Impurity: it is the constant Doctrine of the ancient Pagans and Fathers; confirmed by the experience of all Ages and Places. There is nothing the Ascetic Writers recommend with more vehemence, than fasting and abstinence to those who are devoted to Celibacy. *Tertullian* exaggerates almost every thing, and at last he proceeds to condemn several sorts of Food, and presses more than he ought the use of dry Meats. Nevertheless he ought not to be charged with an Hyperbole, when he observes the Connexion between Gluttony and Lust, by reminding us of the Situation of the Organs. But this is better represented in the Language he makes use of. 'Monstrum haberetur libido sine gula, cum duo hæc tam unita atque concreta sint, ut si disjungi omnino possent, ipsi prius ventri pudenda non adhererent. Specta corpus & una regio est. Denique pro dispositione membrorum ordo vitiorum: prior venter, & statim cetera signa substructa lascivia est: per edam citatem falacitas transit (45).' *Clemens Alexandrinus* remarks that, not to irritate the venereal Passion, it is good not to eat Flesh, and he quotes an Author who says, that Wine and Flesh render the Body more strong, and the Soul more weak. Τὰς δὲ αὖ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ ἀσκήσεως χάριν σαρκωδίας ἀποχόρτο, καὶ τὴν μὴ σφραγῆν περὶ τὰ ἀρετῆστα τὴν σάρκα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ, φησὶν Ἀνδρόκυδης, καὶ σαρκῶν ἐμπορεύσεις, σῶμα μὲν βρωματικὸν ἀπεργάζονται, ψυχὴν δὲ νοχλεστικὴν. Fortasse autem ex his, qui sunt præditi cognitione, exercitationis quoque gratia abstinerit à carnibus aliquis, & ne caro nimis luxuriat, & nimio impetu feratur ad rem Venerem. Vinum enim, inquit Androcydes, & carnis ingurgitationes, corpus quidem robustum efficiunt, animam verò debiliorem (46). There are several sentences in the Greek Poets of the same nature. Consult *Erasmus* upon the Proverb Sine Cerere & Baccho Friget Venus (47). Especially they judged that Wine prompted to Lechery, and from thence *Aristophanes* called it the Milk of *Venus* (48). The ancient Romans prohibited it very strictly to the Women, because they considered it as an incentive to Adultery: 'Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur: quia proximus à Libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconcessam Venerem esse consuevit (49).'

(45) *Tertullian*,
de Jejun. cap. i,
pag. 544.

(46) *Clem.*
Alexandr. Strom.
lib. vii. pag.
718. C.

(47) It is the
xxviii of the
111d Century of
the 11d Cbistad.

(48) *Athen. lib.*
x, pag. 444.

(49) *Valer.*
Maxim. lib. ii.
cap. i, n. 5, pag.
m. 134.

(50) *Martial.*
Epigram. lxxvi.
lib. iv.

Villica vel duri compressa est nupta coloni
Incaluit quoties faucia vena mero (50).

When'er the Bowl had fir'd his bloated Veins,
The Farmer's Wife allay'd his lustful Pains.

(51) *Cornel.*
Nepos, in Vita
Alcibiad. sub fin.

(52) *Janus Geb-*
hardus.

(53) *Theron Aristo-*
phan. in Acharn.

The *Thracians* were anciently stigmatized as a Nation equally abandoned to drunkenness and leudness: 'Fuisse apud *Thracas* (*Alcibiadem*) homines vinolentos & rebulque veneris deditos (51).' They are *Cornelius Nepos's* Words. One of his Commentators (52) has collected together a great number of Authorities to prove the Connexion between those two Vices. He has cited a Scholiast (53), who says, that the Tradition of the *Pballus* joined to *Bacchus* was founded upon venereal Actions being a Consequence of Wine.

He does not forget *Agrippina*, that abominable Woman, who to preserve her Authority endeavoured to contract an incestuous Commerce with the Emperor her Son: she took her opportunity, when he had well drunk, to shew herself to him with all her Allurements, and made her first Steps (54).

All these things favour the Opinion of those who pretend that Lasciviousness obtains no less in the Northern, than in the Southern Climate: for it is certain they eat much more Flesh, and drink more Wine in cold Countries, than any where else: Nay, the strongest Wines are not sufficient; they also consume a prodigious quantity of Brandy, and take great care to feed upon Aliments proper to warm them. These are great Obstacles to Chastity. What Opinion then must one have of those young Women in *Flanders*, who drink down the Officers of a Garrison (55)? If their Heads are strong enough to bear a great deal of Wine without being drunk, does it follow that they are secured from passing to the other debauch? It is to be feared the strength of the superior part is the weakness of the inferior. And what is more likely than the supposed Answer of one of these Heroines of *Bacchus* to an Officer; If we were as much Mistresses of Love, as we are of *Bacchus*, you should not do your business so well as you do in this Country. If they had read *Ovid*, they would have known that the Bottle was long since looked upon as the great Rouser of *Cupid*.

(54) See Tacitus,
Annal. lib. xiv,
cap. ii.

(55) See the Fo-
retteriana, pag.
177, and follow-
ing, Dutch Edit.

Dant etiam positis aditum convivia mensis:

Est aliquid, præter vina, quod inde petas.

Sæpe illic positi, teneris adducta lacertis

Purpureus Bacchi cornua prebit amor.

Vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas,

Permanet, & capto stat gravis ille loco.

Ille quidem pennas velociter excutit udas:

Sed tamen & spargi pectus amore noceat.

Vina parant animos, faciuntque caloribus aptos:

Cura fugit, multo diluiturque mero.

Illic sæpe animos juvenum rapuere puella:

Et Venus in vinis, ignis in igne fuit (56).

In Feasts, as at our Shows, new means abound,
More Pleasure there than that of Wine is found.

The Paphian Goddess there her ambush lays,

And Love betwixt the Horns of *Bacchus* plays.

There *Cupid's* purpl'd Wings no Flight afford,

But wet with Wine he flutters on the board.

He shakes his Pinions, but he cannot move,

Fix'd he remains and turns a maudlin Love.

Wine warms the Blood, and makes the Spirits flow;

Care flies, and wrinkles from the forehead go.

Love sparkles in the Cup, and fills it higher,

Wine feeds the Flames, and Fuel adds to Fire.

DRYDEN.

A German Writer I have quoted gives his Evidence in favour of the pretension of the *Italians*. He confesses two things: first, that Wine is the forerunner and incentive of Lust; secondly, that the coldness of the Air increases the Violence of this Passion, by turning inwards the heat of the Body, and that Wine is like Oil, which being diffused over the internal Fire, provokes it to a great vehemence. These are his Words (57): 'Ebricitatis pedissequa est Libido, Bacchusque certus Veneris hortator & armiger Apuleio appellatur, neque fortius homines in Venerem stimulantur, quam cum mero alioque generosiore potu incaluerunt. . . . Alterum (frigidò cœlo esse natum) intendendam ad libidinem non minimum conferre norunt omnes, præsertim cum interiore parte per frigoris cohibitus calor vino, quasi suffuso oleo, gravior succendatur' (58). Another German laments (59) the Corruption which reigns in certain Colleges among the Scholars, and says it is most remarkable in *Suevia* vinosa.

(57) *Janus Geb-*
hardus, Not. ad
Cornel. Nepos.
in Alcib. n. 67,
pag. m. 154.

(58) *Idem, ibid.*
pag. 155.

(59) *Lyfius, in*
Polygamia tri-
umphat. pag.
352.

V. But,

V. But, here is one thing which does not favour the pretension of the *Italians*: they drink too much in cold Countries; and by this excess they destroy what Wine moderately taken had produced: the Remedy arises from the height of the Distemper; for as it is true that a Man elevated with Wine finds himself more inclined and disposed to transgress the Laws of Chastity; so it is also true that a Man perfectly drunk has no great disposition that way. *Ovid*, who was capable to give Aphorisms upon this subject, as certain as those of *Hippocrates*, shall be my voucher here.

Quid tibi præcipiam de Bacchi munere, quæris?
Spe brevius monitis expedire meis.
Vina potant animum Veneri, ni plurima sumas;
Ut stupcant multo corda sepulta mero.
Nutritur vento, vento refingitur ignis.
Lenis alit flammam, grandior aura necat.
Aut nulla ebrietas, aut tanta sit, ut tibi curas
Eripiat: si qua est inter utramque, nocet (60).

(60) Ovidius, de Remedio Amoris, sub. fin. ver. 803.

Would you that I my Thoughts on Wine declare,
Short my Advice, and few my Precepts are.
With Moderation drank, it warms the Blood,
But the Heart sinks beneath too great a load.
A gentle breath of Wind but fans the Fire,
Whose Flames would in a ruder blast expire.
Drink not too deep; but if you should transgress
Drown all your Cares; there is no Mean in Drunkenness.

I shall add to this the Testimony of a modern Author, whose Wit will be admired as long as there are good judges in the World. I speak of *Michael de Montagne*. He observes that they began to drink less in France: 'Is it, asks he (61), that in some things we are going to be reformed? Certainly no: but it may be that we are much more given to Fornication, than our Fathers. There are two things which destroy each other's vigour. One weakens the Stomach; and on the other hand, Sobriety serves to render us more complaisant, and proper for the exercise of Love.' I should be to blame if I did not cite the Great *Aristotle*, who says, that too much drinking disqualifies for the venerable Act, for which he gives several Reasons. *Athenæus* mentions this, in the place where he speaks of the Drunkenness of *Alexander the Great*, a Vice, says he, which perhaps was the Cause of his little Inclination to the Love of Women (62): Μή ποτ' ἐν δὴδ τῷτο ἡδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια εἶχεν ὀρμὴν ἐκρυπτοῦσαι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἡμέραις συστικοῖς τῶν τοιούτων τὴν γοῶν. Ob immodicam forte illam vini appetentiam, ad Venerem ideo proclivis non fuit (*Alexander*) quoniam, ut explicat *Aristoteles* in questionibus physicis, hominum ejusmodi genitura in aquam eliquescat.

(61) Montagne, Essais, lib. II, cap. II, p. m. 20.

(62) Athen. lib. x, cap. x, pag. 434.

VI. Upon the whole, I think it cannot be denied that the Vices of the South make more Progress in the North, than the Northern Vices do in the South; and consequently it must be said that *Bacchus* does not encroach upon *Venus*, so much as the latter does upon

Bacchus. Drunkenness is abhorred in most of the hot Countries; it is looked upon as infamous: the most outrageous Name you can give to a Spaniard is to call him Drunkard; and I have been told, that if a Master should call his Footman by that Name, he might complain to the Magistrates, and have satisfaction, though otherwise he bears with great patience, and without a Right of complaining, the Terms of Rascal, Scoundrel, Dog, &c. It does not appear that Fornication is treated in this manner in any Country in the World: Men in the most frozen Parts are at Liberty to divert themselves in amorous sports, without any injury to their Reputation, and, far from being ashamed of it, they glory in it, and ridicule those who live otherwise. The Empire of *Venus* ought not, like the Earth, to be divided into five Zones, one Torrid, two Temperate, two Frigid: they are all Torrid Zones, with this only difference of more and less (63). Never Monarchy was more universal than this; no corner of the World has been exempt from the Yoke of it: there are some particular Persons who aspire to a state of Independence, and who even bind themselves by a Vow not to acknowledge this Sovereign; but they are sometimes the most faithful subjects of that Empire. The Pagans professed to believe that the Monarchy of *Venus* extended farther than that of any other Deity. Heaven was the lot of *Jupiter*, *Neptune* ruled in the Sea, and *Pluto* in Hell; but *Venus* governed in all those three Worlds, the whole animated Nature being her Lot:

(63) Compare the Remark [E] of the Article BO-REAS.

Illis, quibus superas omnes, cape tela, Cupido,
Inque Dei pectus celeres molire sagittas,
Cui triplicis cessit fortuna novissima regni.
Tu superos, ipsumque Jovem, tu numina ponti:
Tartara quid cessant? cur non matrisque, tumque
Victa domas, ipsumque regit qui numina ponti.
Imperium profers! agitur pars tertia mundi.

Dixit *Venus*. Ille pharetram

Solvit, & arbitrio matris de mille sagittis
Unam seposuit: sed quâ nec acutior ulla,
Nec minus incerta est, nec quæ magis audiat arcum:
Oppositoque genu curvavit flexile cornu,
Inque cor hamata percussit arundine Ditem (64).

(64) Ovidius, Metam. lib. v, ver. 365.

Go send a conquering dart

At once quite thro' the gloomy Tyrant's Heart.
Great Jove himself, and all the Gods above,
Neptune, and all his Court submit to Love.
Shall Hell be free? Enlarge our Empire, Boy,
Let's now at length the World's third part enjoy.

She spoke, the winged Boy, with eager cares,
One, and the surest, swiftest shaft prepare:
Then bends and shoots; the whirling Reed soon found,
And on his Heart impress'd a fatal wound.

ESCHYLUS, in *Latin Æschylus*, a Tragic Poet, was of *Athens* [A]. There are a thousand Disputes about the Year of his Birth [B]; but it may be certainly known

when

(A) Suetonius, lib. vi, cap. xix.

[A] He was of Athens. Macrobius (1) who makes him a Sicilian is mistaken: nor can it be said he speaks of another *Æschylus*; for he speaks of him who made a Tragedy intitled *Ætina*. Now it is certain that he who wrote that Tragedy is the same with him that was vanquished by *Sophocles*, and who, out of vexation, banished himself from Athens his native City, and retired to *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*. *Hiero* built at that time the City of *Ætina*, which was the reason of *Æschylus*'s writing a Tragedy of that Name (2). The learned *Giraldi* would not have stumbled as he has done, if he had minded this particular. He pretends (3) that the *Æschylus* of *Macrobius* was of Sicily, and different from him of whom we have some Tragedies extant. Nay, he does not know whether *Athenæus* did not speak of that other Sicilian *Æschylus*, in saying (4) that *Æschylus* made use of Sicilian Terms. I do not understand the meaning of these words, *Fuit*

(2) Scholiastes, in Vita Æschyli.

(3) In D'alogis, Post. Græc.

(4) Athen. lib. ix.

Cyrenæus (*Æschylus*) familiaris *Callimachi*. *Athenæus* lib. viii. They are in *Valerius Maximus Variarum* upon the twelfth Chapter of the ninth Book. They are ascribed to *Colerus*.

[B] There are a thousand disputes upon the Year of his Birth. The Life of *Æschylus* composed by his Scholiast imports that he was born in the XLth Olympiad, and gave proofs of his valour in the Battle of *Salamis*. These two Facts are incompatible: for that Battle was fought the last Year of the LXXIVth Olympiad (5). Could *Æschylus* behave like a good Soldier at the Age of 140 Years, or thereabouts? It is not disputed among the Critics whether the number of forty has been soited into the Life of *Æschylus* by ignorant Transcribers: all confess it; but the question is what other number to substitute in the room of this. *Casaubon* (6) makes it 63; *Samuel Petit* (7) 65; *Meursius* (8) 70. This last Opinion cannot be defended,

(5) According to others, the first of the LXXVth Olympiad. A difference, which may arise from the last Months of an Olympiad, and the first of the following, answering to the same Year of the Romans.

(6) De Satyricis Poëtis, lib. i, cap. v, apud Stanleium Not. in Æschyl. pag. 702, 703.

(7) Miscellan. lib. iii, cap. xiv, apud eund. ibid.

(8) De Archont. apud eundem, pag. 704.

(a) Scholiastes, in Vita Æschyl.

(b) Fought the second Year of the LXXIII Olympiad.

(c) In the Lives of the Greek Poets. See also Mr. Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poètes, Tom. 1, pag. 143, & seq.

when he flourished, since it is agreed (a) he signalized his Courage at the Battles of *Marathon* (b), *Salamis* and *Platea*. He informed the public that he applied himself to the writing of Tragedies by the command of *Bacchus* [C]. Some have said, that he never set himself to work till he was drunk [D]. They meant perhaps that he indulged in such a manner the raving Transports of his Imagination, that he wrote more like a Man in Liquor than like a sober Man. The Character of his Genius has been admirably well drawn by Mr *le Fevre* of *Saumur* (c). This Poet is not indeed the Inventor of Tragedy; but he made several Alterations in it [E], which carried it so near to Perfection, that he deserves more Praise than those that preceded him. Upon some Occasions he did not shew respect enough to Religion, which drew upon him a Prosecution that had like to have been fatal to him [F]. The vexation to see his Plays less acceptable

ed, since Æschylus signalized himself at the Battle of *Marathon* the second Year of the LXXIII Olympiad, according to the Author of his Life. *Vossius* corrects it as *Mæurius* does, and, not to be perplexed with the objection, he supposes that the Scholiast has marked, not his Birth, but the flourishing State of Æschylus (g). But this is wrong; the Scholiast uses the word *γεννηθείς*. *Stanley*, depending upon the Arundelian Marbles, places the Birth of this Poet in the fourth Year of the LXXIII Olympiad. According to these Marbles Æschylus died at the Age of sixty nine Years, when *Callias* was *Archon*, that is to say, the first Year of the LXXXth Olympiad. The Consequence that *Stanley* (10) draws from this principle is right. Mr *Barnes*, in the Life of *Euripides*, follows the same Marbles relating to the Life of Æschylus.

[C] He informed the Public that he applied himself to the writing Tragedies by the command of *Bacchus*.] When he was a Youth he was sent into the Country to look after the Vineyards. He dreamt one Night that *Bacchus* commanded him to write Tragedies: as soon as it was day he obeyed the Deity, and happily succeeded in it without any trouble. *Ἐφ' ἧ δὲ Αἰσχύλου μυστικὸν ἐν καθύδρῳ ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσον σαρκῶδες, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάτα καλεῖσθαι τετραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἢ ἡμέτερος (πεῖθεσθαι γὰρ εἰδέναι) ῥῆσα ἢ δὴ παρρησιῶν ποιεῖν.* Hoc autem ipse de se scriptum reliquit, pueri sibi olim dum uvas custodiret, in agro dormienti *Bacchum* imperasse ut tragediam scriberet, seque cum primum illuxisset dicto audientem periclitatum quid in ea se posset, omniaque se minimo negotio consecutum (11).

[D] Some say he did not set about his Work till he was drunk.] This is what *Chameleon* had observed in his Book of the Life of Æschylus. Μεθύων δὲ ἐποίησε τὰς τετραγῳδίας Αἰσχύλου, ὡς φησι *Χαμελέον* (12). From hence they reproached him with making good Tragedies without knowing what he did. *Sophocles* gives him this rub: *Σοφοκλῆς ἐν ὀνειδίζεν αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδώς γὰρ. Quapropter et Sophocles objectit etiam si ea traderet scriptis quæ oporteret, id tamen inscientem facere (13).* He was happy to hit the point of perfection by chance, and in the dark, which so many others can never do with all their Study.

There is another fault objected to him, that he was the first who introduced drunken Folks into a dramatic Performance, as if he would justify his own defects by imputing them to the Heroes of his Tragedy (14). *Chameleon* is not the only witness to be called for this; *Callisthenes* having said the same thing. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς τὸν Αἰσχύλον δὲ Καλλισθένης ἐφ' ἧ λέγων, τὰς τετραγῳδίας ἐν οἶνῳ γράφειν, ἐξορμῶντα καὶ ἀναδερμαίνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν. Non enim ut Æschylum dixit alicubi *Callisthenes* tragedias scripsisse quum vino prolutus incalesceret (15). *Plutarch* relates the same, and pretends that all Æschylus's Pieces, not excepting that which they looked upon as an Enthufiasm of the God *Mars* (16), were the effect of a *Bacchic* Inspiration (17). To avoid all Equivocation, I must inform the Reader, that by a *Bacchic* Inspiration, I mean a real and true Drunkenness without Metaphor, and not such transports as *Horace* mentions in the nineteenth Ode of the second Book, and in the twenty fifth of the third, where it is plain he means the Enthufiasm of the God of Poetry. See Mr *Dacier's* Commentary: where you will find that *Bacchus* and *Apollo* were the same God.

[E] He made several Alterations in Tragedy.] *Horace* has not taken notice of them all:

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ

Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thep̄is
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti sæcibus ora.
Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, & modicis intravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno (18)

*Thep̄is, the first Professor of the Art,
In Baskins taught to tread; his Stage a Cart,
His Actors grim with filth, and rude in every
part.*

*Next Æschylus did greater Art express,
He built a Stage and taught them how to dress;
In decent Motions he his parts convey'd,
And taught them how to look like what they play'd.*

Upon which Mr *Dacier* makes this Note. 'It is not so easy to invent as to add to the Inventions of others. The Alterations that *Thep̄is* had made in Tragedy, gave Æschylus an occasion to make new ones, and more considerable. He gave his Actors a Mask: for *persona* is here a Mask, and not a person or Actor, dressed them in trailing Robes, put Baskins upon their Feet; instead of a Cart, got a Stage built of a moderate height, and changed entirely the file, which became grave and serious, whereas before it was burlesque, λέξις γελοία; but I wonder that *Horace* says nothing of the more important Alterations which *Aristotle* attributes to Æschylus; for he says in his Treatise of Poetry, that he added an Actor to that of *Thep̄is*, that he diminished the Songs of the Chorus, and that he invented a first Part, πρῶταγωνιστὴν λόγον. This deserved to be mentioned (19). They ascribe to Æschylus an Innovation little consistent with his Poetic Rapture. The Ancients give him the praise of being the first to remove from the Eyes of the Spectators all Murders and terrible Objects (20). So then it was he that first practised the rule of not staining the Stage with Blood. Mr *Dacier* pretends that those who find this rule not observed in Æschylus's Tragedies, are mistaken. Concerning what he says after *Aristotle*, that Æschylus diminished the Chorus, I have one word to add. An unhappy accident gave occasion to this Reform. In the Tragedy of the *Eumenides* (a piece of Æschylus) the Chorus composed of fifty Persons appearing upon the Stage in frightful Habits (21) so terrified the Spectators, that the Women with Child miscarried, and the Children swooned away. Whereupon a Law was made, reducing the number of the Chorus to fifteen (22). *Philophrastus* (23) hath spoken very advantageously of the Reformation of the Stage, invented and perfected by Æschylus. The Decorations, the Machines, Tombs, Altars, Apparitions, Furies, and Trumpets, which appeared upon the Stage were the invention of this Poet (24).

[F] He did not shew respect enough to Religion upon some occasions, which drew upon him a Prosecution that had like to have been fatal to him.] He had been condemned for an impious Man, on account of a dramatic Piece, and they were upon the point of stoning him, when his Brother *Amyntas* turning up his sleeve, shewed the People that he had lost a Hand in the Service of the Common-Wealth. *Amyntas*, had been maimed in this manner at the Battle of *Salamis*, where he had signalized himself above all the Athenians (25). The Judges, in consideration of his Valour, and the Friendship he expressed to his Brother, shewed mercy to Æschylus, and acquitted him in this manner. *Ælian* tells the Story (26). I have read somewhere (27) that he would have been stoned upon the Stage, if he had not fled

(18) Hæret. de Arte Poet. ver. 275.

(16) *Dacier*, in *Horace*, Tom. X, pag. 209, Edit. of Hæret.

(20) *Dacier*, ib. pag. 254, upon the Words of *Horace*. Nec pueri coram populo Mædem trucidet, &c. De Arte Poet. ver. 185.

(21) Æschylus was the first who put Serpents about the Heads of the Furies instead of Hair.

(22) See the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, in *Equit.* & *Julius Pollux*, lib. 10, cap. 37, apud *Stenleum*, pag. 704, 707.

(23) *Philophrastus* in *Vita Apollinis*, lib. vi, cap. vi.

(24) *Vita Æschylus*, Edition of *Robertellus* per *Andr.* apud *Stenleum*, pag. 702.

(25) See *Dionysius Siculus*, lib. 2, cap. xxvii.

(26) *Var. Hæret.* lib. 8, cap. xix.

(27) Apud *Beroneum*, Not. ad *Malale* *Chronic.* con. pag. 14.

(g) *Vossius*, de Poet. Græc. pag. 23.

(10) Not in Æschyl. pag. 704.

(11) *Pausanias*, lib. 1, pag. 19.

(12) *Athen.* lib. 3, pag. 22, & lib. 2, pag. 423.

(13) *Id.* ibid.

(14) *Athen.* lib. 2, pag. 423.

(15) *Lucian.* in *Demosthenis* *Encomio*, Oper. Tom. II, pag. m. 924.

(16) It is intitled, *Ἐπτα ἐξ Ὁδυσσεύς*. See contra *Thebais*.

(17) *Plut.* *Symposium* lib. vii, *Cum.* 2, x, pag. 715. *Stanley*, Not. in Æschyl. pag. 701, has very ingeniously referred this *Palætes* instead of *μυστικόν* *Ἀρσένος* *ἔνθα* *Ἀρσένος*.

acceptable to the *Athenians* than those of *Sophocles*, who was much younger than himself [G], made him leave his Country and retire to *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse* (d). This is not without it's Difficulties [H]. He lived but three Years after his Arrival in *Sicily*

fled to the Altar of *Bacchus*, and that afterwards they accused him before the Judges for reflecting in one of his Tragedies upon the Mysteries of *Ceres*. *Plato* is much in the right, for not allowing any Tragedies to be acted, in which the Gods are abused, as they were in some Verses he cites: he also forbids the Tutors to use such Books for the instruction of their Pupils (28). The Verses I speak of were *Æschylus's*. In which he cruelly rallies the Gods: introducing *Theitis* as speaking almost in this manner. * *Apollo* on my Wedding-day sung a Hymn, in which he assured me, that I should have a Son that should live long without any Distemper; he filled me with joy by his Praises and the great hopes he gave me. I thought he would have been a true Prophet, and yet it is he himself that has killed my dear Son. No Men take so much Liberty in broaching impious Maxims, as those who write dramatic Pieces; for if you call them to an account for it, they may answer that they only make the prophane, or those that are enraged with their Fortune, speak according to the Rules of Probability. It is very certain that the Author of a Tragedy ought not to be charged with believing every thing he exhibits: but there are some affectations which discover what may be put to his account: however there are certain Plays, which may justly be prohibited the Stage, whether the Author does or does not declare his own sentiments therein. *Cirano Bergerac* inserted some Impieties in his *Agrippina*, which caused it to be suppressed (29).

[G] His Pieces pleased the *Athenians* less than those of *Sophocles*, who was much younger than himself. This is a disgrace to which the greatest Authors are subject. Some raise themselves in such a manner above their Rivals, that the public Voice loudly proclaims their Sovereignty in the Science they have cultivated. One reigns in dramatic Pieces, another in Romances, &c: unhappily, this Empire is not always for Life. There comes a rising Sun, who by little and little draws all the applause to himself; and then the great Author, who wore the Crown many Years, sees himself degraded by a young Man, which is as a hundred stabs to him, against which it is but a poor comfort to him to complain of the ill taste and injustice of the Public, and to appeal from them to the judgment of Posterity (30).

The Poet, who describes so well the disadvantages of a long Life (31), ought not to have forgot that it exposes Authors of the first Rank to this terrible disgrace. They ought to die as soon their Glory is arrived at it's Meridian, and not give time to a new Star to gain an ascendancy over them (32). However it is pretended, that *Sophocles's* triumph over *Æschylus* was attended with a remarkable Circumstance. The Contest had been appointed in honour of a famous Solemnity which was then celebrating (33). *Cimon*, who was chief Actor in this Festival, nominated the Judges, one of each Tribe, and this was the first time *Sophocles* had presented a dramatic Piece to the Public. What a killing blow must this be to *Æschylus*, to see himself vanquished by a first Essay, he, a Veteran, covered over with Glory, and proud of several poetical Triumphs! This made him fly from his Native Country.

*Nίκησαν δὲ τὸ Σοφοκλῆς, λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περὶ τῇ γένεσιν καὶ βαρύνει ἐν τῇ πόλει, χρόνον ἢ πολὺν Ἀθηνῶν διαγαγὼν, εἰς οὐρανὸν δὲ ὄρνυ' εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅπου καὶ τελευτήσας περὶ Γέλαν τὴν πατρίαν. Victore Sophocle, Æschylum fama tenet discruciatum, atque id iniquo animo ferentem non diu Athenis hæsisse, inde profectum fuisse ex indignatione in Siciliam, ubi defunctus quoque & circa Gelam humatus est (34). — It is said, that, after the Victory had been obtained by *Sophocles*, *Æschylus* did greatly and highly resent the affront: he stayed not long at Athens, but went into Sicily, where he died and was buried near Gela.* The Scholiast relates this; it is true he adds that others will have it that it was *Simonides*, and not *Sophocles* who triumphed over *Æschylus*. The Dispute between *Simonides* and *Æschylus* was not of Tragedy against Tragedy, but of Elegy against Elegy. Wherein *Simonides* contended on his strong, and *Æschylus* on his weak side. A gigantic Imagination like that of *Æschylus*, a turn of Wit like his, his Affectation of the strained Sublime, were not fit for Elegy (35). It is observed that Women in love never appeared in his Tragedies; he would have drawn that Passion ill: but he was inimitable when he was to represent a Woman transported with Fury. * *Fœminam amantem nunquam exhibuit, sicut ab Aristophane in Ranis oblatum est: at in exprimenda infania usque ad stuporem simul & commilationem elicendum, qui Castandæ orationem in Agamemnone legerit nemo unquam superatum agnosceret* (36). As to the rest, it must be confessed the subject of that Elegy was favourable to *Æschylus*; for it was to be composed in honour of those who lost their Lives at the Battle of *Marathon*: now he had a particular concern in that Battle, having given proofs of his Courage therein, and he preferred the Glory of that to all he had acquired by his Verses: See the following Remark. I must observe, by the way, that every body has not understood *Suidas*, when he said that *Æschylus* retired into Sicily, because the Benches broke while one of his Tragedies was acting. Some have taken it in a literal Sense, not considering that in such a sense the Adventure would do a great deal of honour to *Æschylus*; it would be a sign that his Pieces drew such a Crowd of Spectators together, that the seats not being able to bear them broke under them. The thing must be taken as *Scaliger* has understood it; that is to say, that *Æschylus's* Play, upon this occasion, was condemned and exploded. *Eamden forsan occasionem innuit Suidas qui Æschylum in Siciliam demigrasse refert, quod dum fabulam exhibuerit ruerent subsellia sua τὸ μέγεθ' ἢ τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἐπιδεικνυμένων αὐτοῦ, Subsellia frangere dicebatur, qui ut Comici loquuntur non fletit, sed excidit, hoc est non placuit, sicut à viro doctissimo Josepho Scaligero jam diu monitum est Aulon, lect. Nec me movet quod alii aliter Juvenalis verba fregit subsellia versa, sunt interpretati* (37).

[H] This is not without it's difficulties. I have already said, that according to the Arundelian Marbles the Birth of *Æschylus* must be placed in the last Year of the LXIII Olympiad, and his Death in the first Year of the LXXXIII. Now according to *Diodorus Siculus* (38) we must place the Death of *Hiero* in the second Year of the LXXXVIII Olympiad: therefore it is not true, as so many People affirm, that *Æschylus* retired to King *Hiero*, and died three Years after. He survived that Prince about twelve Years. I know not whether we might not suppose that he retired twice into Sicily, and that the Authors who speak of him do not distinguish those two Journeys. It is agreed that the Victory *Sophocles* obtained over him forced him to go to *Hiero's* Court. At which time *Sophocles* began to enter the Lists, and might be about twenty eight Years old. This dispute falls upon the last Years of the LXXVII Olympiad. *Hiero* died three Years after more or less. It is probable that *Æschylus* upon the loss of so good a Patron left Sicily, and returned into his own Country, from whence he was driven again by some fresh discontents some Years after. What better retreat could he choose than Sicily, where no doubt he had left some Friends when he departed from it the first time? Note, it was the Inhabitants of *Gela* that built him a Monument (39). If *Hiero* had been then alive, would he not have had the Honour of that Monument? And it is probable he would have built it in *Catanea* his favourite City, which he had ordered to be called *Ætina* (40). Here is a new difficulty. In the beginning of the LXXVI Olympiad (41), he would have the City of *Catanea* change both it's Name and Inhabitants, and hastened the settlement of that new City. Now Authors say that when *Æschylus* retired to *Hiero's* Court, he found him busy in building the City of *Ætina*, and that he made a Poem upon this new Town. He did not then retreat thither out of vexation at *Sophocles's* triumph; for that young Poet did not vanquish him till after the middle of the LXXVII Olympiad (42). Of all the parts of ancient History, that which concerns learned Men is without Contradiction the most confused, and the most inaccessible to the exact Calculations of a Chronologer.

(28) Plato, de Resub. lib. ii. sub fin.

(29) Ser la Guerre des Auteurs, par Gucret, pag. m. 155.

(30) This is what Æschylus did when he fell. I confess, said he, my Works to Time. Athen. lib. viii, pag. 374.

(31) Juvenal. Sat. X, ver. 190, & seq.

(32) Hæc data poena diu viventibus. Id. ibid. ver. 243.

(33) It was the Discovery and Translation of the Bones of Theus. Plat. in Cimonæ, pag. 483.

(34) Plot. lib. F.

(d) Scholiast. in Vita Æschyli.

(35) See Mr le Fevre, in the Life of Æschylus.

(36) Stanleyus, pag. 706. The Passage of Aristophanes, in Ranis, is in the second Scene of the fourth Act, pag. 243.

(37) Stanleyus, pag. 707.

(38) Died Scul. lib. xi, cap. lxxv.

(39) See the Remark [I].

(40) Diod. Sicul. lib. xi, cap. xlix.

(41) Ibid.

(42) Anno tertio Olympiadis septuagesime septime. Samuel Petit. Miscellon. lib. iii, cap. xviii, pag. 173.

Sicily. The Inhabitants of Gela erected a Monument to him with a fine Inscription [I]. The Athenians publickly expressed the particular Esteem they had for his Tragedies [K]. We have but seven of them remaining, tho' he composed a very great number: The best Edition of *Eschylus*, is that of London in 1663 [L]. See in

[I] The Inhabitants of Gela erected a Tomb for him with a fine Inscription. The Words of the Scholiast who has written the Life of *Eschylus* are. Ἀποθανόντα δὲ Γελῶσι πολυτελῶς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνημασι θάψαντες, ἐτίμησαν μέγα λοπρεπῶς ἐπιγράφαντες ὕτως:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
Μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλαι.
Ἀλλήν δ' εὐδόμενον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἀνείποι
Καὶ βαθυχαυτῆις Μῆδος ἐπισαμνῶ.

Mortuum Geloi inter publica monumenta sepelientes magnificè honorarunt, hoc inscribentes Epitaphium:

Euphorione patre & patria *Eschylus* ortus Athenis
Mortuus ad læti conditur arva Gelæ,
Virtutis specimen, Marathonie campe, fateris
Atque experte tuo, Mede comate, malo.

The Inhabitants of Gela buried him in a magnificent Manner amongst the Public Monuments, and inscribed this Epitaph on his Tomb.

Eschylus, Euphorion's Son, whom Athens bore,
Lies here interred on Gela's fruitful Shore.
The Plains of Marathon his Worth record,
And heaps of Medes, that fell beneath his Sword.

Pausanias does not leave us room to doubt that *Eschylus* himself was the Author of this Epitaph. I shall produce his Words, because *Remulus Amasæus* has misunderstood them. Φρονῆσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μαλιστα εἰκόλει. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὅς οἱ τὸ βίῃ προσεδόκατο ἢ τελευτῇ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν ἰδένος δόξης ἐς τοσούτον ἥκων ἐπὶ ποίνῃσι. καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας δὲ δὲ, τὸ τε ὄνομα προτίδεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρείας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος καὶ Μῆδων τὰς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάτας. Nullam autem fuisse viatoriam qua sint magis Athenienses gloriati, quam ea quam ex Marathonica pugna sunt adepti, hinc præcipuè ut credam adducor; quid *Eschylus*, cum propè jam esset ut à vita decederet, qui de seipso antè proposita conticuerat, vir tanta in pœssi nominis celebritate, cuiusque virtus navalibus præliis antè ad Artemisium & Salaminem enituerat, de Marathonica pugna cum suum carmen ederet, in ipsa operis fronte suum & patriæ nomen inscripsit: Marathonium enim salum, & Persas qui illuc descenderunt, suæ testes virtutis citat (43). The Translator, in my Opinion, is three times mistaken. I. When he says that *Eschylus* never spoke of himself before. II. In presupposing that That Poet signalized himself at the Naval Battle of Artemisium, and that of Salamis, before he did so at the Battle Marathon. III. When he imagines that *Eschylus* placed at the beginning of a Poem upon the Battle of Marathon, what is mentioned by *Pausanias*. This is not the drift of the Greek Author: his Design was to prove that the Victory of Marathon was that in which the Athenians gloried most; to this end he alleges that *Eschylus*, perceiving himself near Death, laid aside every thing else, and contented himself with writing his Name, and the Name of his Country, adding that Marathon and the Medes who lost their Lives there were the Evidence of his Valour. Nevertheless he had obtained great Fame by his Poems, and was present at the Battles of Artemisium and Salamis. When one compares the Words of *Pausanias* with the Epitaph of *Eschylus*, one cannot doubt that he had a view to that Epitaph. But if any one will obstinately question whether that Poet was the Author of the Inscription which the Inhabitants of Gela engraved upon the Tomb, he may be referred to *Athenæus* (44), who observes that *Eschylus*, having acquired a great Reputation by his Verses, yet did not make choice of

that part of his Glory for the subject of his Epitaph, but rather what he had obtained by his Valour (45). For a Proof of this *Athenæus* quotes the two last Verses of the Epitaph mentioned above.

[K] The Athenians publickly expressed the Esteem they had for his Tragedies. They made a public Decree that his Tragedies should be acted after his Death, and he was the only one whose Performances were thus honoured (46). Therefore they introduce him boasting that his Poems did not die with him, as those of *Euripides* expired with their Author (47). *Philostratus* observes in the sixth Chapter of the sixth Book of *Apollonius's* Life, that the Athenians considered *Eschylus* as the Father of Tragedy, and he seems to say that after his Death they invoked him in the Feasts of *Bacchus*. Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεώτα ἐς Διονύσια, in *Dionysii festis etiam mortuum invocant*: so *Rhinuccinus* has translated it. *Morellus* has rendered it *convocant*. *Vigener* translates it, *being still used to invoke him at the Games and Feasts of Dionysius*. But without doubt he meant no more than that they invited him to those Feasts, in as much as his Tragedies were ordered by a public Decree to be then acted, by which he obtained fresh Triumphs. Consult *Vossius* at the thirtieth Page of his Treatise of the Greek Poets. *Quintilian* diminishes his Honour a little; for he only says they permitted *Eschylus's* Tragedies to be acted at Athens after they were corrected, and he observes that several of those who corrected them carried away the Prize. Of this number were *Euphorion* and *Bion* the Sons of *Eschylus* (48). The Scholiast who has written the Life of *Eschylus* gives another turn to the Athenian Decree: he pretends that they ordered that those who would act *Eschylus's* Tragedies should have a Chorus allowed them (49). He says also that it was the custom of all the Tragic Poets to go to the Tomb of *Eschylus*, in honour of his Memory, and that they acted their Pieces there. Once more, *Quintilian* was not a Man that would mention these Stories; for he degrades that Poet from the Rank that others give him. Some (50) set him above *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, others without determining the Superiority will have it that each of these three Poets excelled in certain things (51). But this is the Judgment of *Quintilian*. Tragedias primus in lucem *Eschylus* protulit, sublimis & gravis, & grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium: sed rudis in perificatione & incompositus propter quod correctas ejus fabulas in certamen deferre posterioribus Poëtis Athenienses permiserunt; suntque eo modo multi coronati. Sed longe clarius illustraverunt hoc opus *Sophocles* & *Euripides*: quorum in dispari dicendi via uter sit poeta melior, inter plurimos quaeritur (52). — *Eschylus* was the first that offered Tragedies to the Public: he was Majestic and Sublime, and often lofty to a Fault. But in many Places he is uncouth and loose; for which reason the Athenians permitted his Plays when corrected to be represented in the Games by the later Poets, by which means many carried off the Prize. But *Sophocles* and *Euripides* brought that Work to far greater Perfection. It is a question whether of them excels in their different way. *Menedemus* the Philosopher always assigned the first Rank to *Eschylus*. See his Life in *Diogenes Laërtius*, second Book, Section 133.

[L] The best Edition of *Eschylus* is that of London (53). *Thomas Stanley* published it in 1663, in Folio. He added a Latin Translation to it, and a learned Commentary of his own, together with the Notes of the old Scholiast, the Fragments of Pieces lost, the different Readings of the Manuscripts, and the Observations of some learned Critics who have commented on this Poet. The preceding Editions were published in the following Order. The first was that of *Aldus Manutius* at Venice in 1518: it contained only six Tragedies (54). *Turnebus* reprinted them at Paris in the Year 1552, with the variorum Lectiones. The same Year *Francis Robertel* published the seven Tragedies of *Eschylus* at Venice, with his Conjectures, and those of *Michael Sappiani*; and with as many *Scholias* as he could collect together by consulting the old

(45) *Alicius* had the same Taste. See Citat. (51) of the Article ARCHILOCHUS.

(46) Scholiast Aristophanis, apud Stancium, pag. 707.

(47) Aristophanes, in Rana.

(48) Vide Vossium de Poët. Græcis, pag. 32.

(49) Τὴν βουλὴν δίδασκον τὰ Ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἡρώδη λαμβάνειν (ὁμοῖον) quod quicunque fabulas *Eschylus* docere vellet choro (juxta alios auro) daretur.

(50) Aristophanes, in Rana.

(51) Plotarchus apud Stancium, & Phrynicus apud Plotarchum, citante eodem Stancio, pag. 701, 702.

(52) *Quintilianus* lib. 2, cap. 1.

(53) See the Journal des Savans, March 2, 1665.

(54) This included Choephores is wanting in it.

(43) *Pausanias*, lib. 1, pag. 13.

(44) Αἰσχύλος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν, ἔδωκεν ἥττον ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ. ἥτις ἡ μάλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν. καὶ ὡς ἀλλοῦ δ' εὐδόμενον, ὅτι *Eschylus* quamvis maximam famam consecutus esset — ob politiam, nihilo fecius monumentum inscribi fortitudinem maluit, dicens præclarum animi fortis constantiam, &c. *Athen.* lib. 10, pag. 627.

in *Moreri* in what manner that Poet is said to have been killed, viz. By a Tortoise [M], which an Eagle let fall upon his Head. I forgot to observe, that *Salmastius*, discouraged with the difficulties he found in *Æschylus*, has declared, *That this Poet was more obscure than the Holy Scripture* [N]. *Moreri* has committed many Faults [O].

old Copies. Five Years after, *Henry Stephens* published an Edition which surpassed the preceding ones. It contained the whole *Agamemnon* which till then had appeared imperfect: in many places *Æschylus's* Text was corrected, and also the *Scholia* which were enlarged. This was the performance of *Peter Vißorius*. To which were added the Observations of *Henry Stephens*. Lastly, *William Canterus* published a new Edition at *Antwerp* in 1580, in which he corrected an infinite number of Errors, and disposed each Verse in it's proper order, which had never been done before. The Latin Version published by *John Saurmannus*, and printed by *Oporinus*, is good for nothing (55). The Authors of Historical Dictionaries should not omit the History of Editions.

(55) Taken from Stanley's Preface.

(56) Lib. ix, cap. xii.

(57) In Voce Αἰσχύλος & in Voce Χάδων.

(58) In Vita Æschyli.

(59) This does not agree with Valer. Maximus.

(60) Plin. lib. x, cap. iii, pag. m. 391.

(61) De Helenica, pag. 37. Epist. Dedicat.

[M] He was killed . . . by a Tortoise. *Valerius Maximus* (56), cited by *Moreri*, is not the only one who says this: *Suidas* affirms the same in two Places (57): also the Scholiast upon *Æschylus* (58). *Pliny* had said the same before them (59), and with this Circumstance that *Æschylus* went into the open Country in order to shun the Effect of a Prediction which threatened him that Day with the fall of something. Ingenium est ei (aquile) testudines raptas frangere & sublimi jaciendo, quæ fors interemit poetam Æschylum prædictam, satis (ut ferunt) ejus diei ruinam secura cæli fide caventem (60).

[N] *Salmastius* . . . has declared that this Poet is more obscure than the Holy Scripture. These are his Words (61): 'Quis Æschylum possit adfirmare Græcæ nunc scienti magis patere explicabilem quam Evangelia aut Epistolæ Apostolicas? Unus ejus Agamemnon obscuritate superat quantum est librorum sacrorum cum suis Hebraicis & Syriacis, & tota Hellenistica suppellectili vel farragine. — Who can affirm that Æschylus is more intelligible at this Day than the Gospels or Apostolical Epistles? His Agamemnon alone is more perplexed with Obscurities, than the whole Holy Scripture, with all it's Hebraisms, Syriacisms, and the whole Poss of Hellenisms.'

[O] *Moreri* has committed a great number of Faults. Having said that *Æschylus* had shewed in three Battles 'that he was no less a Soldier than a Man of Learning, he adds that, to give a particular Proof of his Courage, it is sufficient to say that he was the Brother of that famous *Cynegirus*, who when both his Hands were cut off, upon going to stop one of

'the Enemies Ships, yet did not desist fighting with the Barbarians. I find four faults in these Words. I. It is no Proof of the Bravery of a Man, that he has a very brave Brother. II. At least this is not so convincing a Proof as to persuade the Reader by the bare proposing of it. III. At least it is not so particular a Proof as that which is taken from the Courage a Man has shewn on three great Occasions. IV. As to *Cynegirus*, he should have kept to what *Herodotus* says of him: that he was killed having had his Hand cut off, the Hand, I say, with which he held one of the Persian Ships. The other things which the Greeks have added are more like the Legends of *Roland*, and *St George*, than History. Who can believe that a Man who had both his Hands cut off should be able to catch a Ship of War with his Teeth and hold her fast? 'Cynegiri quoque militis Atheniensis gloria magnis Scriptorum laudibus celebrata est, qui post prælii innumeras cædes, cum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset, omnium navem dextra manu tenuit, nec prius dimisit quam (manum) amitteret; tum quoque amputata dextra, navem sinistra comprehendit, quam & ipsam cum amisisset, ad postremum morfu navem detinuit. Tantum in eo virtutem fuisse, ut non tot cædibus fatigatus; non duabus manibus amissis victus; truncus ad postremum, veluti & rabida fera, dentibus dimicaverit (62). — Historians likewise bestow uncommon Encomiums on the Bravery of *Cynegirus*, an Athenian Soldier, who, after an incredible Slaughter, having driven his flying Enemies to their Ships, seized one that was laden with his right Hand, nor loosed his hold till his Arm was lopped off, then immediately layed hold of it with his left, which having undergone the same fate with the other, he held it with his Teeth. So great was his Valour, that, not wearied with such a number of Encounters, nor disheartened by the loss of both his Hands, he fought at last with his Teeth like a Wild Beast.' I should as easily believe what *Pliny* says of the *Remora* in the first Chapter of the third Book. *Moreri's* fifth Fault is saying that *Æschylus*, after the Battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, and *Platæa*, applied himself to Tragedy. He has said before (63) that he applied himself to it whilst he was a Youth, and disputed the prize of Tragedy against *Pratinas* about twenty Years before the Battle of *Platæa* (64). VI. The Scholiast does not place the Death of this Poet under the LXXVIIIth Olympiad.

(62) *Justinus*, lib. ii, cap. ix.

(63) *Citat.* (11).

(64) In the LXXth Olympiad. *Suidas*, in Πρατίναν.

ESMENDREVILLE (JOHN DU BOSQ Lord of) President of the Court of Aids at *Roan*, died by the hands of the Executioner, with the Minister *Marlorat* and some others, as one of the principal Authors of the Resistance of that City to the Arms of the King in the first Civil War under *Charles IX* (a). He was worthy of a better Fate, having, in his Person, all the great Qualities that are to be desired in an accomplished Magistrate. He had been educated like the illustrious Men of his Time, who aspired to a thorough Knowledge of the Sciences, and particularly the Civil Law, having travelled on purpose into *Italy* to derive it from it's very fountain Head . . . He was admitted Counsellor and Commissary of the Requests of the Palace of *Roan*, the last Day of June 1544, and from thence was promoted to the Office of Second President of the Court of Aids, in the same City, the 26th of January 1562, which was the very Year of his Death, having been beheaded, and his body hanged the first of November following (b). He left by N. Guyot, his first Wife, three Sons and two Daughters, who had nothing of his Estate. Catherine Guerin, his second Wife, was afterwards married to Robert du Tour. Martin du Bosq, Lord of Bourneville, his younger Brother, who belonged to the Company of the Vidame of Chartres, obtained, by a Decree, the Lordship of Esmendreville, and from him and Isabel le Moine, his Wife, Lady of Surdeval, are descended the other Lords of Esmendreville: He was a Catholic, and is mentioned in the Spanish Catholicon, as a great Leaguer. This Family is ancient [A], and has

(a) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau, Tom. 1, pag. 878, 879.

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 881.

[A] This Family is ancient. He was the Son of LEWIS DU BOSQ, Lord of Radepont, Esmendreville, &c. and his elder Brothers were, 1. LEWIS DU BOSQ, Lord of Radepont, from whom descended the Lords of Radepont and Fleuri; 2. ROBERT DU BOSQ, Lord of Beaumencel, who left only two Daughters. He was Grandson of LEWIS

DU BOSQ, Lord of Radepont, and Great Grandson of ROBIN DU BOSQ, Lord of Esmendreville, Branville, &c. whose Father WILLIAM DU BOSQ, Lord of Ténor, of la Chapelle, and Esmendreville, was a Hostage for King Charles VII, in England, and died the first of November 1430. He was the Son of WILLIAM DU BOSQ, Lord of Coquerbaumont,

(c) Mezerai, Hist. de Charles IX, pag. 86, of the third Volume, in Folio.

has produced several Branches. The President of *Esmendreville* is the Author of some Books [B]. Mezerai calls him *James du Bosq Mandreville* [C], a zealous Huguenot, adds he, but who ruined himself by his ill Oeconomy (c). Mr le Laboureur (d), relates this last Circumstance.

(d) Addit. to Castelnau, ubi supra, pag. 279.

Coqueramont, Fescamp, Esmendreville, &c. who died in the Year 1409, and Grandson of JOHN DU BOSQ, who died in the Year 1381, the Son of MARTIN DU BOSQ, Lord of Tendar, Lord Chief Justice in Eyre of Normandy. This Martin died in the Year 1360, and was Father of two other Sons, viz. 1. of MATTHEW DU BOSQ, Lord of Breteville, who was the Father of SIMON DU BOSQ, Doctor of the Canon-Law, Monk of St Ouen, Abbot of Jumièges, and Chamberlain to the Pope; 2. of NICOLE (1) DU BOSQ, Bishop of Baieux. This Prelate equally advanced the Honour and Possessions of his House; for it was he that bought the Lands of Esmendreville, Espinai, Bois d'Anneboub, and other Estates. . . . He was first Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, afterwards Bishop of Baieux, in the Year 1374, then First President Clerk of the Chamber of Accounts, with a thousand Paris Livres a Year, during his Life. The Letters of his Creation, bearing Date the thirtieth of February, 1398, import, that this Post was given him in Reward of his faithful Services for forty Years. By other Letters, of the last of December, 1380, he was made Counsellor to the King for his Demerits and Subsidies, with a Salary of a thousand gold Franks, continuing (2) still First President of the Chamber of Accounts. He died the nineteenth of September, 1408. He had been employed in two important Embassies, one into Bretagny, in the Year 1394, with the Duke of Burgundy, and the other to Arras, in the Year 1381, for the Negotiation of Peace with the English, at twelve Franks a Day for his Expences. He was buried in the Chapel of St Lewis, in the Church of the Franciscans (3). See, in Mr le Laboureur, divers Branches of this Family.

(1) See the Errata of Mr le Laboureur.

(2) I copy Mr le Laboureur's Word for Word; but it is plain there is a Mistake in the Numbers; for if this Bishop was made First President in 1398, he could not join that Office, in the Year 1380, with that of Counsellor for the Demerits.

(3) Taken from Mr le Laboureur's Additions to Castelnau, Tom. I, pag. 297, & seq.

(4) It is in Mr le Laboureur's *Δικαιωματίας*. This Book is commonly mentioned under the Title De Legitimis Nuptiis.

[B] He is the Author of some Books.] During his Travels into Italy he composed a Latin Book, printed in the Year 1532, intitled, *Joannis Bosqueti Nuptii* (4). Besides this he wrote a Treatise of the Virtue and Properties of the Number seven, and of the Reason why *Justinian* divided his *Pandects* into seven Parts. In which he con-

futes some Opinions which he had seen publicly defended by the famous Dr *Alciat*, his Contemporany; and there are also some other Works of his in Manuscript (5). *Theodorus Beza* (6) makes him the Author of a Book de *Numeris Pompiliis sacris*, which was very displeasing to the Roman Catholics.

(5) Le Laetor, recur, ubi supra, pag. 278.

[C] Mezerai calls him *James du Bosq Mandreville*.] Mr Mezerai is often mistaken in Christian Names. As to the Mistake of *Mandreville* for *Esmendreville*, it is to be accounted for in this manner. The Pronunciation is the same in the greatest Part of the Provinces, and among abundance of People all the Kingdom over, whether you say the President of *Mandreville*, or the President d'*Esmendreville*. Those who would be exact in the least Particulars do not rely upon the Pronunciation; they consult the true Orthography of proper Names. *Thuanus* had not consulted it when he latinized the Name of this President by *Mantrevilla* (7). This is not at all surprizing in comparison of what we see in the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches. *Beza*, who is the Author of it, relates the Proceedings that were carried on, and the Decrees that were made against *Esmendreville*, *Marlorat*, &c. and always calls him *Mantreville*. Is it because the Registers themselves, who drew up those Proceedings, and those Decrees, did not know the true Name of those Criminals? Or did *Theodore Beza* make use of a defective Copy (8)?

(6) Beza, Resp. ad Baldin. pag. 279, Tom. II, Operum.

(7) Thuan. lib. xxxiii, pag. 668, ad Ann. 1562.

[8] (a) In *Beza's Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II, pag. 620, he is called *Mandreville*, and the Index of that Volume supposes it read no otherwise in the whole Volume, wherever mention is made of that unfortunate Magistrate. The Index *Thuanus* calls him *Mantreville*, and d'*Aubigné*, *Mandreville*, Tom. I, pag. 222, of his History, last Edition. But it is probable they said indifferently *Mantreville*, or *Mandreville*, and *Esmendreville*, as *Pajquier*, lib. iii, cap. xxix, of his *Recherches*, calls *Touteville*, the famous Cardinal, Reformer of the University of Paris, called *Esouteville* by *Naudé*, cap. vi. of his Addition to the History of King Lewis XI, pag. 192, of the Edition of 1630. REM. CRIT.]

ESOP, in Latin *Æsopus*, the Name of several ancient Personages whom I shall treat of in separate Articles. I shall begin with him upon whom both the order of Time and his own Merit ought to bestow the first Place.

ESOP, or *Æsop*, the first or chief Author of Fables [A], was a *Phrygian*, and flourished in the time of *Solon*; that is to say, towards the Lth Olympiad (a). His Life, such as *Planudes* has given it us, is so well known to every body, even to the very Children, that That alone might determine me to make no Extracts out of it. But

(a) See the Remark [C].

[A] He is the first or chief Author of Fables.] I would not say, that *Æsop* was the Inventor of them, for *Quintilian* is not of this Opinion. 'Ille quoque fabulæ says he (1), quæ etiam originem non ab *Æsopo* acceperunt, (nam videtur eorum primus autor *Hesiodus*) nomine tamen *Æsopi* maxime celebrantur, ducere animos solent, præcipue rusticorum & imperitorum, qui & simplicius quæ ficta sunt, audiunt, & capiti voluptate, facile iis quibus delectantur consentiunt. — These Fables likewise, which, though they do not derive their Origin from *Æsop* (for *Hesiod* seems to have been the first Author of them), are however known by the Name of *Æsop*, usually command the Attention, especially of the ignorant and rustic Part of Mankind, who listen to Fictions, and being charmed with it's Simplicity, give a ready Assent to that wherewith they are pleased. It is therefore to *Hesiod* I should rather ascribe the Glory of the Invention; but without doubt he left the thing very imperfect. *Æsop* brought it to that Perfection, that he was looked upon as the true Father of this sort of Productions.

(1) Quint. Instit. Orator. lib. v, cap. xi, pag. m. 241.

Æsopus auctor quam materiam repperit, Hanc ego polivi verbis senariis.

The Plan which *Æsop* first design'd I, in Iambics, have refin'd.

Thus *Phædrus* begins his Fables. *Avienus* makes the same Observation in the Preface to his (2). *Priscian* makes use of the Word Inventor with respect to *Æsop*, but a little after he corrects himself, and speaks as he should do. 'Usi sunt ea (Fabula), says he, vetustissimi quoque autores, *Hesiodus*, *Archilochus*, *Plautus*, *Horatius*. Nominantur autem ab inventoribus fabularum aliae *Æsopiæ*, aliae *Cypriæ*, aliae *Libyæ*, aliae *Sybariticæ*, omnes autem communiter *Æsopiæ*; quoniam in conventibus frequenter solebat *Æsopus* fabulis uti. — The most ancient Authors likewise, as *Hesiod*, *Archilochus*, *Plautus*, and *Horace*, made use of Fable. They derive their Names from their Inventors, as *Æsopian*, *Cyprian*, *Libyan*, *Sybaritic*, but all taken together are called *Æsopian*, because in public Debates *Æsop* frequently made use of Fable. This is not exact; for if *Hesiod*, who is more ancient than *Æsop*, made use of Fable, it follows, that *Æsop* was not the Inventor of it. Of the four sorts of Fable mentioned by *Priscian*, three of them are denominated from the Country, and not from the Inventor. Lastly, if all those four kinds are commonly called *Æsopiæ*, because *Æsop* usually spoke by Fables, why was it said, a few Lines before, that the Fables named *Æsopiæ* were so called from the Inventor of them? *Apollonius* is fallen into almost all these Mistakes: καλεῖται δὲ, says he (3), συβαρατινὸς, καὶ Κίλιξ, καὶ Κύπριος πρὸς τὴν εὐρύπλιν μέλας τὴν δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐρανίας.

(2) Hujus Materie ducenti nominis *Æsopi* nominis qui responso Delphici Apollinis monitus ridicula oris est ut legenda firmaret. . . . You know that *Æsop* is our Guide in these Points, and according to the Directions which he received from *Apollon* at Delphi, to establish Fable.

(3) In *Proæceticis*.

But another Reason makes me resolve to have no manner of regard to that Work; which is, that all learned Men are agreed it is a Romance [B], and that the gross Aburdities, found in it, render it unworthy of any Credit. Therefore referring those to Moreri, who desire an Article taken from Planudes, I shall say nothing but what I have from

μαῖα, νικᾷ δὲ μάλλον Ἀίσωπος λέγεσθαι τῷ τῶν Αἰσώπων ἀνὴρα πάντων συγγραφεὶ τὸς μυθῶν. Vocatur autem & Sybaritica, & Cilix, & Cypria accepto ab inventoribus nomine. Verum quoniam Æsopus egregie præter ceteros conscripsit fabulas, evicit ut potius Æsopia diceretur. — It is called, says he, Sybaritic, Cilician, and Cyprian, borrowing it's Name from the Inventor; but because Æsop was eminent above others for writing Fables, the Name of Æsopian prevailed above the rest. Macrobius makes one Remark, which will not be amiss here. He distinguishes between *fabula* and *fabulosa narratio*; he pretends that a Fable is a Narrative absolutely false, and that a *fabulosa Narratio* is a heap of Fictions, built upon a true Foundation. This is the Nature of Epic Poems and Romances. Macrobius gives the Fictions of Æsop for an Example of Fable; and the Accounts of Hesiod, the Rituals, or Books of Religion, for an Instance of *fabulosa Narratio*. In quibusdam & argumentum ex ficto locatur, & per mendacia ipse relationis ordo contextitur, ut sunt illæ Æsopiæ fabulæ elegantia fictionis illustres. At in aliis argumentum quidem fundatur veri soliditate: sed hæc ipsa veritas per quædam composita & ficta profertur, & hoc jam vocatur *fabulosa narratio*, non *fabula*, ut sunt *cerimoniarum sacra*, ut Hesiodi & Orphei quæ de Deorum progenie ac rebus narratur (4). — In some both the Argument is fictitious, and the whole Superstructure is connected by Fiction: such are the Fables of Æsop, admirable for the Beauty of Invention. But in others the Argument is founded on solid Truth, but that Truth is afterwards compounded and wrought up with Fiction; and this then receives the Name of a *fabulosa Narratio*, not of a Fable: such are the sacred Solemnities, the Accounts of Hesiod and Orpheus concerning the Descent and Exploits of the Gods. Freinhemius did not well comprehend Macrobius's Thought, when he brings it to explain the Passage in Priscian, where it is said, that Hesiod, Archilochus, &c. made use of Fable. Whereupon Freinhemius makes this Observation, that there is a great Difference between Hesiod's Fables and those of Æsop: Hesiod's are *fabulous Narrations*; Æsop's are properly a Fable (5). He takes this Distinction in Macrobius's Sense, and quotes him: this is wrong; for when Quintilian, Priscian, and others say, that Hesiod used Fable; they mean he made use of the Fictions of the *Apologue*: not thinking of the *fabulous Narrations* he has sung upon the Birth and Actions of the Gods (6). So that the Fables of Hesiod here in question, and those of Æsop, are of the same Nature.

[B] All learned Men agree, that his Life, by Planudes, is a Romance. It is with reason that the Reader is told in the Moreri, printed in Holland, that Planudes had not written the Life of Æsop, but collected a Heap of Lies and Aburdities. Mr de la Fontaine was not ignorant of the Judgment of the Public upon that Life of Æsop. I hardly know any body, says he (7), who does not look upon what Planudes has left us as *fabulous*; yet he follows him, and even says, that *after all he finds but little Certainty in the Criticism upon that Work of Planudes*. It is partly founded, continues he, upon what passes between Xanthus and Æsop, in which there are too many Trifles. He answers, that such things happen to all wise Men. But if that Answer appeared sufficiently solid to him, why has he retrenched from Planudes's Work what seemed to him too childish, or was in some manner inconsistent with Decency? Thus Mr de la Fontaine approves, by his Actions, a Criticism he condemns by his Words. This is not the only thing he is to be charged with; it may be maintained against him, that the Historical Fables, Lycæus, King of Babylon, Cotemporary with Nestor, King of Egypt, and such like ignorant Passages, are the chief Reasons for rejecting the Life of Æsop. Mr de la Fontaine did not retrench that for this Reason: As Planudes, says he (8), lived in an Age in which the Memory of the things which happened to Æsop might not be yet forgotten, I supposed

be knew, by Tradition, what he has transmitted to us. If Planudes had lived two hundred Years after Æsop, his Knowledge from Tradition would have been very uncertain. A Man, who is upon his Guard, believes but little, concerning the Life of a private Person, the Traditions of two Ages. He asks, if the Facts related were committed to writing at the time they were fresh; and if it is told him no, but the Memory of them is preserved from Father to Son by word of Mouth, he knows well, that in such a case a wise Man will be a Sceptic. With much more reason should Planudes's Facts be rejected, if they come only from Tradition, since he did not come into the World till eighteen Ages after Æsop, more or less. If Mr de la Fontaine had minded this, would he have said, that Planudes lived in an Age, in which the Memory of the things that happened to Æsop might not yet be forgotten. Some body has very well observed, that, in things which concern the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Jews of the VIth Century are no more to be believed than the Jews of the XVIIth; I mean the Jews who only quote Traditions handed down by Word of Mouth. We may say the same thing concerning Æsop. He was not known with more Certainty by Tradition to the Greek Monks of the XIIIth or XIVth Century, than he is to those of the present time.

I forgot the gross Ignorance of Planudes in point of Chronology. He did not know, that Æsop lived a long time before Euripides, but has introduced Æsop alledging two or three Verses of Euripides, and even naming Euripides. From whence we conclude, that all the rude things Æsop said to his Master's Wife, the first time he saw her, are the Invention of Planudes; and if he forged that first Conversation, he might also forge other things. He supposes, that Xanthus, the Philosopher, having bought Æsop, was blamed for it by his Wife, on account of the prodigious Deformity of that Slave, and that Æsop said to her thereupon. Σὺ, ὦ δούλω, ἐβόη τὸν ἀλδοσφορὸν ἀνέσασθαι σοὶ δέλον νύον, εὐσεμῶς ἴσῃ, σφριγῶν, ἐν ἔδει γυμνὴν σε καὶ τῷ βαλανίῳ θάσασθαι, καὶ σοὶ προσπαίξεν τὰ εἰς ἀσχυνὴν τῷ φιλοσοφῷ; Εὐρίπιδην, χρυσὸν ἰγὼ σε φημί τὸ σῶμα τοιαῦτα λέγων. Tu, o domina, velles philosophum emisse tibi servum juvenem, bono habitu, vigentem, qui ne nudam in balneo spectaret & tecum luderet in dedecus philosophi; O Euripides, aureum ego tuum inquam ostalia dicens (9). — You wish, Madam, your Husband had bought you a young, handsome lusty Fellow, who should see you naked in the Bath, and play with you at a Game fatal to the Honour of your Husband. O Euripides, thy Mouth was of Gold to pronounce the Words thou hast done! Upon which he repeated Euripides's Verses against Women. Is it not true, that Planudes, having a Common-place in his Head, makes Æsop speak in this manner without Judgment? I have read, in Mr Menage (10), that this chronological Error has been observed by Meziriac and Father Vavassour. As to the latter, as I have his Book de Ludicra Distine, I can verify Mr Menage's Quotation. It is very just; for these are the Words of that Jesuit (11): 'Quale autem, Balzac, putas quod Æsopo primum in herilem domum ingresso, cumque hero (12) colloquenti sententiam affingit Euripidis adversus mulieres, atque ipsum etiam Euripidem appellari nomine facit qui octoginta (13) minimum annis natus est postquam Æsopus vivere desit? — What an Absurdity, my Friend, must it appear in him to put into Æsop's Mouth, at his first Entrance into his Master's House, and whilst he talked to his Master, a Sentence of Euripides, and to make him call him by Name, when Euripides was not born till at least eighty Years after Æsop died.' As for the Life of Æsop by the learned Meziriac, it has been impossible for me to get it. I am no otherwise acquainted with it than by these Words of Mr Pellisson, in the Catalogue of Meziriac's Works (14): 'The true Life of Æsop l'Academie Françoise, p. m. 26a nudes

(9) Planudes, in Vita Æsopi, pag. m. 25.

(10) In Diog. Laërt. lib. i, dium. 72.

(11) Vavass. de ludicra Distine, pag. 19.

(12) It should be hera.

(13) Tois des not agree with the Extract of Æsop's Fables published by Le-Strange: Among others Father Vavassour observes, that they make Æsop cite Euripides, tho' he lived near 200 years before Euripides. The Anachronism is a little gross. Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans, Decembre 1692, pag. 153.

(14) Histoire de Meziriac's Works (14): The true Life of Æsop l'Academie Françoise, p. m. 26a nudes

(4) Macrobius, in Somn. Scipion. lib. i, cap. ii.

(5) Freinhem. in Notia ad Fabulis Phædri, tit.

(6) Consider the words of Mr Menage in Laërt. lib. i, num. 72. Dicitur est Æsopus λογοποιός, non quod primus muta loqui docuerit, nam ante eum Hesiodus hoc fecerat in sermone Luciniae ad Accipitrem, sed quia præcipue hoc scribendi genus sectatus est. Æsop had the name of *Fabulist* given him, not because he first taught the dum's part of the Creation to talk; for Hesiod had done this before him, in his Dialogue between the Night-ingale and Hawk; but because he followed this method of writing in a more peculiar manner.

(7) La Fontaine's Preface to his Fables choisies.

(8) Ibid.

(b) That is to say, borrowed from ancient Authors.

(c) In *Convivio Sapientum*, pag. 150.

from very good Hands (b). *Plutarch* assures us (c), I. That *Cræsus* sent *Æsop* [C] to *Periander*, Tyrant of *Corinth*, and to the Oracle of *Delpbi*. II. That *Socrates* found no other Expedient to obey the God of Dreams, without doing an Injury to his Profession, than to turn *Æsop*'s Fables into Verse (d) [D]. III. That *Æsop* and *Solon* saw each other at the Court of *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia* (e). IV. That the Inhabitants of *Delpbi* having cruelly and unjustly put *Æsop* to Death [E], and finding themselves,

(d) De Audientia Poëtarum, p. 164.

(e) In Vita Solonis, pag. 94.

exposed

nudes is held to be fabulous by the Learned. See the Remark [O].

[C] *Plutarch* assures us, that *Cræsus* sent *Æsop*. I find it probable, that *Æsop* was at the Court of *Cræsus*, tho' I have read, in *Seibus Calvifius*, that he flourished in the third Year of the XLVth Olympiad, that he died the fourth Year of the LIIIrd, and that *Cræsus* ascended the Throne the second Year of the LIVth. In vain does *Calvifius* cite *Suidas*: I rather depend upon *Plutarch*, who observes, in divers Places, that *Æsop* appeared at the Court of *Cræsus*, and went several Journeys for that Prince. *Madam Scuderi* (15) then might well make him meet *Solon*; and several other great Men at that Court; I say he might suppose this without making use of the Privilege of Anachronisms, which the Writers of Romances are allowed no less than the Poets. She has made *Æsop* maintain his Character excellently well, whose ingenious Fables, says she, conceal a solid and serious Moral, under plain and merry Inventions. I am afraid Mr de la Fontaine has not adjusted his reckoning in an historical Performance so well as *Madam Scuderi* has done in a Romance. He places (16) the Birth of *Æsop* towards the LVIIth Olympiad: now we find, that *Cræsus* lost his Kingdom and Liberty in the LVIIIth Olympiad: where then shall we place what passed between *Cræsus* and *Æsop*, even according to Mr de la Fontaine himself? I have said, that I preferred the Authority of *Plutarch* to that of *Suidas*, nor do I repent of it, for there is nothing but inconsistent Intricacies in *Suidas*. On one side he says, the Inhabitants of *Delpbi* threw *Æsop* down a Precipice in the LIVth Olympiad; and on the other, that *Æsop* composed two Books towards the middle of the XLth Olympiad, concerning his Adventures at *Delpbi*. He adds, that *Æsop* lived with *Cræsus* (17), with the Advantage of sharing in the Friendship of that Prince. *Scaliger* (18) pretends, that the latter of these two Passages refutes the other. His Reason is, that a Man who writes a History of what happened to him at *Delpbi* could not have been thrown down a Precipice at *Delpbi*. But this is no Proof that *Suidas* is mistaken as to the first Passage. *Æsop* might have been at *Delpbi* more than once, and the History of his Adventures might only relate to his first Journey: to confute *Suidas* he should have said, I. That a Man of *Æsop*'s Condition could not be of any Note in his Youth; that therefore he must have been at least thirty Years of Age, when, in the XLth Olympiad, he wrote the History of his Travels to *Delpbi*. So then he must have been Eighty six Years old when those of *Delpbi* threw him down a Precipice in the LIVth Olympiad. Now it is absurd to make him so old. II. If *Æsop* had been of such Importance as to publish his Adventures at *Delpbi*, in the Lth Olympiad, he could not have lived till the Reign of *Cræsus*. The Authority then of *Suidas* is nothing here. That of *Eusebius* is of more weight; who places the Death of *Æsop* in the fourth Year of the LIVth Olympiad.

[D] *Socrates* found no other expedient to obey the God of Dreams . . . than to turn *Æsop*'s Fables into Verse. To understand this Matter fully we must have recourse to *Plato*, who will inform us that *Socrates* was often advised in a Dream to apply himself to the Exercises of the Muses (19). He took this for an Admonition to continue in his Profession, believing that Philosophy was the great and true employment of the Muses. But when he saw himself condemned to Death, he thought that perhaps Poetry was the Exercise intended by his Dreams. So that to act surely he resolved to obey the Orders of the God of Dreams by interpreting them in the common Sense. "Ασφαλέστερον γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀπέναντι πρὶν ἀποσιώσασθαι ποιήματα ποιούμενον τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ. Tullius enim fore arbitratum antequam à vita migraret ab hoc me officio liberare, et parentem in somno prœmata facere (20). Therefore he made Verses, and began with a Poem in honour of the God (21) whose

Festival was then celebrating. Afterwards considering that to be a Poet, he must publish Fables, which his Profession did not allow, he turned some of *Æsop*'s Apologues into Verse, the first that came into his Mind (22). This is the account *Socrates* gave *Cebes* (the very day he was put to Death) of the Poems he had made in Prison. The occasion of writing which *Cebes* had enquired of him. *Plutarch* will explain to us the Medium *Socrates* invented to reconcile the Character of a Poet with that of a Philosopher. Which was to chuse a subject for his Fables containing solid Truths, and excellent rules of Morality. "Ὅθεν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκ τινῶν ἐνυπνίων ποιητικῆς ἀφάμενος, αὐτὸς μὲν, ὅτε δὴ γενομένης ἀνδρείας ἀγωνισθεὶς τὸν ἅπαντα βίον, ἡ περὶ τὰς ἡδὲ εὐφροσύνης λευδῶν δημιουργῶς. τὰς δὲ διὰ δίσκων τοῖς ἑσπερίαις μὲν ἐνέμιεν, ὡς ποίησιν ἐκ ὧν ἡ λευδὸς μὴ ἀποσεί. Itaque *Socrates* quibuscumque somniis ad scribendum carmen compulsus, quum ipse, ut qui per omnem vitam pro veritate decertasset, facultate probabilia mendacia fabricandi destitueretur, *Æsopi* fabellas argumentum sibi delegit: postquam non putans eam à qua abesset mendacium (23). — *Socrates* being directed in several Dreams to apply himself to Poetry, but having been all his Life-time a Champion for Truth, he was at a loss how to proceed in the management of Fiction. He therefore chose for his Subject the Fables of *Æsop*, thinking nothing could be Poetry where Fiction was not an Ingredient. Mr de la Fontaine, a Man of all France who knew how to give a happy turn to a Tale, did not think himself obliged to follow, in a servile manner, *Plato*'s Narrative. The Reader will judge by the following Remarks if the turn he has given to this account be as just as it ought to be coming from such a Pen.

I. The beginning and end of Mr de la Fontaine's Narrative do not seem adapted to each other (24). The Fables which are attributed to *Æsop* were hardly published when *Socrates* thought fit to dress them in the Livery of the Muses. This is the beginning. He spent the last Moments of his Life, to turn them into Verse. This is the end. The beginning intimates a great deal of Impatience in *Socrates*: The end informs us that he stayed till the hour of his Death: and as he lived seventy Years it is easy to know he was in no great haste, for it cannot be said *Æsop*'s Fables did not appear till the last Years of *Socrates*'s Life: they were published during the Life of the Author, and about a hundred Years passed between the Death of *Æsop*, and the Birth of *Socrates*. Judge then if one may say that hardly were those Fables published when *Socrates* thought fit to turn them into Verse. II. Mr de la Fontaine has spun in such a manner the Thread of his Narrative, that it does not appear by it whether *Socrates* translated *Æsop*'s Fables the very day of his Death, or some days before, and the first seems more probable by it than the last. Nevertheless the first is false. III. The Author advances that *Socrates* had the dream after his Condemnation; and yet *Socrates* did not say this to *Cebes*. IV. The Author supposes that *Socrates* was warned in a dream to apply himself to Music, and that he was in Pain about the meaning of such a dream because of the uselessness of Music, with respect to Morality. But it is plain by *Plato*'s Account that *Socrates* never imagined the God of Dreams required him to learn to sing and play on Instruments. That Philosopher always supposed that in a literal Sense his Dreams exhorted him to Poetry.

[E] The Inhabitants of *Delpbi* having put *Æsop* to Death. This History is found in *Plutarch* (25). He says that *Æsop* came to *Delpbi* with great store of Gold and Silver, being ordered by *Cræsus* to offer a great Sacrifice to *Apollo*, and to give every Inhabitant a considerable Sum. The Quarrel, which arose between him and the Inhabitants, caused him to send back to *Cræsus* the Money he had received of him, after he had ended his Sacrifice, judging those, he had appointed it for, were unworthy of it. The *Delpbians* contrived hereupon

(22) *Plato*, in *Phædon*, pag. 46, C.

(23) *Plutarch*, de audientia Poëtarum, pag. 10, C.

(24) La Fontaine, Preface to Fables choisies.

(25) *Plut* de solonis Vita, pag. 557.

(15) See the 4th part of the Grand Cyrus.

(16) In *Æsop*'s Life.

(17) Διότι οὐκ ἀποσιώσας τοὺς Κροίσου Φιλίστους.

(18) Animadv. in Euseb. n. 1453, pag. 92, 93.

(19) Μουσικὴν τοῖς καὶ ἑγὼ ἐξέτερον. Fac multam atque exercitum. *Plato* in *Phædon*, pag. m. 45, C. It appears by what follows, that (μῦθος) is to be taken for Poetry, that Art over which the Muses preside.

(20) *Plato*, ibid.

(21) It was *Apollo*.

exposed, by Injustice, to divers Plagues, they published that they were ready to make satisfaction to the Memory of *Æsop* (f). V. That having compromised this with a Man of *Samos*, they were delivered from the Evil that afflicted them. One may easily know, by the Conversation that *Æsop* and *Solon* had together, that the former talked like a perfect Courtier, and the latter like a true Philosopher [F]. Notwithstanding this, it must be confessed that *Æsop* used the most judicious and the most ingenious Lessons that could be contrived against the Vices of Mankind [G]. Those who have said that his Apologues are the most useful of all the Fables of Antiquity [H], make a right Judgment of things. The Answer he made to *Cbilo* is admirable

(f) De Sera Numinis Vindicta, pag. 556, 557.

(26) He was called *Idmon* according to *Plutarch*, and *Tadmon*, according to *Herodotus*, lib. ii, cap. 234, who says that he was the Son of a Son of *Tadmon*, whom *Æsop* had served at the same time with *Rhodope* the Courtesan.

(27) *Plut. de Sera Numinis Vindicta*, p. 557, d.

(28) *Plut. in Solone*, pag. 94.

(29) *Horat. de Arte Poetica*, ver. 343.

hereupon to accuse him of Sacrilege, and pretending to have convicted him of it, threw him from the top of a Rock. The Gods provoked by this action chastised them for it by a Pestilence and Famine: so that to make these Plagues cease, they gave notice in all the Assemblies of *Greece*, that if any Body in honour of *Æsop* would come and demand Justice for his Death they would give him Satisfaction. In the third Generation a Man of *Samos* (26) presented himself, who had no other Relation to *Æsop*, than being descended from some Persons that had bought that Writer of Fables at *Samos*. The *Delpbians* gave Satisfaction to this Man, and were thereby delivered from the Diseases and Famine that tormented them. Καὶ τὸν τινὰς δίκας δόντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάγησαν. Huic pro delicto satis dedisse *Delpbos*, itaque eos malis liberatos fuisse (27).

[F] If *Æsop* spoke like a Courtier, *Solon* spoke like a true Philosopher. *Solon* abated nothing of his rigid Maxims before *Cræsus*: he discoursed with him of the Vanity of humane Greatness in the same Tone, as if he had been comforting a poor sick Man, nor had he any Complaisance for the Prejudices of a Monarch, insatuated with a Persuasion that Riches are the source of Happiness. This displeased *Cræsus* to such a Degree, that he dismissed *Solon* without any mark of his Esteem. *Æsop*, who had been sent for by that Prince, was very much respected at Court: he was concerned for *Solon's* Disgrace, and talking with him as a Friend, you see, *Solon*, said he either we must not come near Kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable to them. That is not the Point, replied *Solon*, you should either say nothing to them, or tell them what is useful. Οὐδὲ λαχόντοῖς Αἰσώπου (ἐπύχευε γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεις γεγονώς, μεταπειρῶντο ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καὶ τιμώμενος) ἤχρησεν τῷ Σόλωνι, μηδεμίαν τυχάντι φιλικὴν φιλίας, καὶ ἀρετρίαν αὐτῶν, ὃ Σόλων (ἐπὶ) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δὲ ὡς ἡδίστα ὀμιλεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σόλων, Μὰ Δι' (εἶπεν) ἀλλ' ὡς ἡκιστα ἢ ὡς ἀρίστα. Erat eadem tempestate Sardibus fabularum scriptor *Æsopus*, quem *Cræsus* acutum in honore habebat. Hic vicem *Solonis* doluit illiberaliter dimissi, monebatur enim, cum regibus, *Solon* (inquit) est aut nequaquam aut quam jucundissimè agendum. Cui *Solon*, Minime, inquit, imò nequaquam aut quam optime (28). It must be confessed this caution of *Æsop* argues a Man well acquainted with the Court and Great Men: but *Solon's* answer is the true Lesson of Divines who direct the Conscience of Princes.

[G] *Æsop* employed the most judicious and most ingenious Lessons he could devise against the Vices of Men. Can there be more happy Inventions than the Images made use of by *Æsop* to instruct Mankind? they are very proper for Children, and not without their use to Persons in Years: they have all that is necessary to the Perfection of a Precept, I mean the mixture of the profitable and delightful.

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo (29).

But he's the Man, he with a Genius writes,
Who joins them both, who profits and delights.

Anlus Gallius has expressed this very well in the Twentieth Chapter of the second Book of his *Noctes Atticæ*. *Æsopus* ille è Phrygia fabulator haud immeritò sapiens exillimatus est: quum utilia monitu suasque erant, non severe, non imperiosè præcepit & censuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus, res salubriter ac prospicienter animadversas, in mentes animosque hominum cum audiendi quadam illecebra induit. — *Æsop* the

Phrygian Fabulist was justly esteemed wise, since he did not deliver or enjoin his useful Precepts in a pedantic imperious Manner, as is usual with Philosophers, but contrived agreeable and entertaining Fables, whereby he instilled into the Mind a fondness for profitable and prudent Advice. In all times they have been made to succeed the Tales of Nurfes. *Æsopi fabellas quæ fabulis nutricularum proximè succedunt narrare sermone puro & nihil se supra modum extollente, deinde eandem gracilitatem stylo exigere condiscant* (30). And they have never fallen into Contempt. Our Age, as delicate and haughty as they are, admire and value them, and dress them up in a hundred Shapes. The inimitable *la Fontaine* in our Days has added great Honour and Lustre to them. And they speak with great Encomiums of the Work of an English Wit upon the same Fables. His Name is *Sir Roger l'Estrange*. See what *Mr de Beauval* says of it in his Journal of the Month of December 1692.

[H] His Apologues are the most useful of all the Fables of Antiquity. *Plato* makes this Judgment of them; for having banished *Homer* from his Commonwealth, he has given *Æsop* an honourable place in it. He wishes that Children would suck in those Fables with their Milk, and recommends them to the Nurfes to teach them, for one cannot be too soon accustomed to Wisdom and Virtue. I borrow these Words from *Mr de la Fontaine's* Preface, who justly speaks in this manner: for tho' *Plato* names no Fabulist, whose Inventions he would have Children learn, it is enough that he says, there are Fables to be rejected, and Fables to be retained, and that he puts among the Fables to be rejected such as represent the Gods as Authors of divers blameable Actions. Such, he adds, are the Fables of *Homer* and *Hesiod*. From whence it may be inferred that he puts *Æsop's* Fables among those that are to be retained: now he recommends the Fables of this kind in the following manner (31): Τὰς δὲ ἐγκριθέντας (μυθὰς) παίσσοντες καὶ τὰς τροφὰς τε καὶ μνῆρας λέγειν τοῖς παῖσι καὶ πλάττειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς μυθοῖς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σώματα ταῖς χερσίν. Quas denique elegerimus (Fabulas) per nutrices & matres pueris narrandas curabimus, ut ipsorum animi fabulis multo magis informantur quam corpora manibus.

— Especial care shall be taken that the Fables, which we have approved, be read to the Children by their Mothers and Nurfes, that their minds may be formed with far greater care by the Fables, than their Bodies by Hands. *Apollonius Tyanaeus* expresses himself more clearly than *Plato* upon the preference of *Æsop's* Fables: they are more proper, says he (32), than all other Fables, to inspire us with Wisdom: for those of the Poets only infect the Ears of the Auditors; they represent the infamous Amours of the Gods, their Intells, their Quarrels, and a thousand other Crimes: they offer to our view, Fathers devouring their Children: those who hear such things related by the Poets as certain Truths, learn to lust after Women, Riches, Dominion; to believe they commit no Crime in gratifying their most inordinate Desires, since they do but imitate the Gods. *Æsop*, not content with rejecting this kind of Fables, in behalf of Wisdom, has invented a new method. *Apollonius*, continuing his Parallel, shews by many other Arguments how much *Æsop's* Fables excel those of the Poets; after which he tells a Story he had learnt from his Mother in his Infancy. That *Æsop* being a Shepherd, and feeding his Flock near a Temple of *Mercury*, often begged of that God with ardent Vows the enjoyment of Wisdom. He had a great number of Competitors; what was the Consequence? They all went into *Mercury's* Temple, each carrying rich Offerings in their Hands. *Æsop*, who was poor, was the only one who had nothing valuable to offer: he only presented a little Honey

(30) *Quintil. Institut. lib. i, cap. ix.*

(31) *Plato, de Republica, lib. ii, p. m. 604, E.*

(32) *Sto Philostratus in the Life of Apollonius, lib. v, cap. vi.*

Whether the Ancients gave Fable a divine Original.

admirable [I]. There is no probability that the Fables, which now bear his Name, are the same which he made. They proceed from him for the most part as to Matter and Thought; but the Words are another's [K]. If all the Fables of the Poets had been like

(33) He had not taken the pains to make a No-
gay of them: Would it be just, said he to *Mer-
cury*, that I should neglect my Flock, while I should mind No-
gays.

(34) La Fontaine ubi supra.

ney and Milk, and some Flowers, which were not so much as tied together (33). *Mercury*, in the distribution of Wisdom, regarded the value of the Offerings: according to this Proportion he gave to one Philosophy, to another Rhetoric, to another Astronomy, to another Poetry. He did not remember *Æsop* till after he had made his Distribution, and at the same time recollecting a Fable, the *Hours* had told him in his Cradle, he gave *Æsop* the Gift of inventing Fables, which was the only thing left in the House of Wisdom. An angry Critic relying upon this account of *Philophrastus* would have quarrelled with Mr de la Fontaine, for saying, *I do not know why the Ancients did not make these same Fables come down from Heaven, and why they did not appoint a God over them, as well as over Eloquence and Poetry* (34). One might have remembered this Passage in *Philophrastus*, and yet have spoke as Mr de la Fontaine has done: for there was never any well established Tradition among the Ancients, concerning the divine Original of the Apologue. I shall not cite *Strabo*; for though his Apology for Fables comprehends the Fictions of *Æsop*, it is certain it is principally designed in Vindication of those of *Homer*. It is a strange sort of Apology, since *Strabo* ingenuously confesses that it was necessary the Legislators and Commonwealths should adopt the Tales of the Poets, in order to impress Sentiments of Religion upon the Minds of the People: for you are not to imagine, says he, that Women, and the Common People, can be led to Faith and Piety by philosophical Discourses; there is need of Superstition to do this, and without Fables Superstition can never be produced; it was therefore necessary to invent Fables in order to make use of them as Spectres and Phantoms to terrify the ignorant. Philosophy is only for a few. Fables are a public Benefit: they fill the Theaters. Οὐ γὰρ ὅχλον τε γυναικῶν, καὶ πάντας χυδαῖς ἀλλήδης ἐπαγαγεῖν λόγῳ δύνατον φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προκαλεσασθαι πρὸς εὐσεβείαν, καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ πίστιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ διὰ δεισιδαιμονίας τῶτο δ' ἐκ ἀνεν μυστοποιίας, καὶ τερατείαις. Κεραιὸς γὰρ, καὶ αἰγίς, καὶ τρίακτα, καὶ λαμπάδες, καὶ δρακόντες, καὶ θυρολόγια τῶν οἰῶν ὅπλα μύθοι, καὶ πάντα θεολογία ἀρχαῖκή. ταῦτα δ' ἀπεδείκνυτο οἱ τὰς πολιτείας καταστράμνοντες μορμολύκας τινὰς πρὸς τὴν νηπιόφροναν. . . . Ἀυτὴ μὲν ἐν πρὸς ὀλίγῃς, ἡ δὲ ποιητικὴ δημοφιλέστερα, καὶ δεῖατρα πολλῶν δυναμένη. Fieri enim non potest, ut mulierum, ac promiscue turbæ multitudo, Philosophicæ oratione excitetur: necaturque ad religionem, pietatem, ac fidem: sed superstitionis præterea ad hoc opus est quæ incuti sine fabularum portentis nequit. Etenim fulmen, ægis, trident, facies, angues, hæcque Deorum thyrsis præfixæ, atque uniuersa præca theologia, fabulæ sunt, receptæ à civitatum autoribus; quibus veluti larvis insipientium animos terrent. . . . Verum hæc ipsa (Philosophia) ad paucos pertinet: poetica in publicum utilior est, quæ etiam theatra implere valet (35).

(35) *Strabo*, lib. 1, p. 13.

(36) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 1, num. 72, in *Chilone*.

(37) *Ibidem*, *ibid.* num. 90. See the Index *Achilleus* of Mr. Dreincourt, num. 377.

THE World a Wheel of Fortune.

[I] The answer he gave *Chilo* is admirable. *Chilo* one of the seven Wise Men of Greece was already an old Man in the LIId Olympiad (36), when *Æsop* was in his Bloom. *Chilo*, it is not well known where and when, having asked *Æsop* what was the Employment of *Jupiter*, received this Answer: *he lowers things that are high, and raises those that are low. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Αἰσώπου πρὸς δεῖναι, ὁ Ζεὺς τί ἐστὶν ποιεῖν, τοῦ δὲ φάσαι, τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψηλῶν. Ferunt eum & *Æsopum* interrogasse quidnam faceret *Jupiter*, illumque respondisse, excelsa humiliat, & humilia extollit (37). Without doubt this answer is an exact Epitome of the History of Mankind. Take that History at which end you please, and follow the Course of it, from the beginning to end, you will see every where Instances of the Alternative meant by *Æsop*. The World is a true Wheel of Fortune, where every thing by turns ascends and descends, and wherein we ought to admire the depths of a wise Providence, and the Activity of our Passions. Does a Man grow rich, his Children, brought up in Wealth, are puffed up with Vanity, become prodigal, and ruin themselves. The Children*

of the latter, having nothing to trust to but their Industry, labour Day and Night to enrich themselves, and succeed accordingly. A Kingdom acquires great Power; they grow proud, and treat their Neighbours haughtily: each fearing to be subdued, to secure themselves from Danger, make such formidable Leagues, that they humble the Prince who had raised himself so high. This Rule is not without its Exceptions; for there are Families and States who preserve their Grandeur a long time. The Roman Commonwealth, which pulled down so many Sovereigns, encreased in Greatness for many Ages. The Pagans were so thoroughly persuaded that Heaven purposely humbled high things, that they feigned there were some Gods, who were filled with Jealousy at the Prosperity of Men. The Philosophers themselves, who denied a Providence, acknowledged I know not what which affected to overthrow great things.

Usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam
Obterit, & pulcros falces, sævæque secures
Proculcare ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur (38).

(38) *Lucret. lib. 5. ver. 1233.*

And hence we fancy unseen Powers in things,
Whose Force and Will such strange Confusion brings,
It spurns and overthrows our greatest Kings.

CREECH.

If Man was not an undisciplinable Animal, would he not have been cured of his Pride, after so many Proofs of *Æsop's* Maxim reiterated in every Country, and every Age? two thousand Years hence, if the World should last so long, the continual Revolutions of the Wheel will have made no changes in the Heart of Man. Why then are they repeated without Intermission or end? here it becomes us to adore in humble Silence the Wisdom of the Governor of the Universe, acknowledging at the same time the infinite Corruption of our Nature, and its Servitude under the Yoke of machinal Impressions, an inveterate Disease which yields to nothing but the miraculous Operations of Grace. If we understood the full extent of this Servitude, and the Nature of the Laws of the Union of the Soul with the Body, one might write a Book upon the Causes of the Reciprocal contained in *Æsop's* Answer; I say a Book, which might be intitled, *De centro oscillationis moralis*, in which one might reason upon Principles almost as necessary as those of Mr *Hugens* and other Philosophers, who have treated *De centro oscillationis*, or of the Vibrations of Pendulums.

[K] His Fables are derived from him as to the Matter; but the words are another's. I mean of *Planudes*. This is the Opinion of a very good Critic. ' Verificum ac prope certum videtur *says* he (39), *Planudem* partim auribus accepisse à majoribus natu com-
menta *Æsopica*, partim legendo diversis ex auctori-
bus mutuatum: quædam etiam invenisse per se & concinnasse ad arbitrium suum: etiam ἐπιμύθητον & appendiculam illam explicatricem fabulæ subiecisse plerumque ex suo sensu: omnia porro verbis complexum fuisse propriis & suis. — It seems probable, and almost certain, says he, that *Planudes* collected the Fables of *Æsop* partly from his Ancestors, partly from reading several Authors, that some were his own Invention, that he added the Moral and Explication of the Fable, and often agreeably to his own fancy, and that the whole was put into his own Form and Words. He confirms his Conjecture by the conformity of Style which is observed between the Life of *Æsop*, and the Fables of *Æsop*. Now no body is ignorant that *Planudes* is the Author of that Life. It is remarkable that *Henry Stephens*, in his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*, never cited *Æsop's* Fables (40); which shews that he took them for the Work of a modern Greek. The Reader will not be sorry to find here some other proofs of *Francis Favosser's* Opinion. That learned Jesuit observes (41), that there is mention made of the *Piræus* in one of *Æsop's* Fables: now the *Piræus* was not built till about the LXXVth Olympiad; before that time the *Phalerum* was the Port of the *Athenians*: so that it would have been the *Phalerum*, and not the *Piræus*, that *Æsop*

(39) *Franciscus Vavassor, de le-
dica dictione*, pag. 21.

(40) *Faber Vavassor, de le-
dica dictione*, makes this Remark.

(41) *Ibidem*, pag. 19.

like his, *Strabo* would have had no need to have undertaken an *Apology* for them [L]. It is not easy to comprehend why *Seneca* lays it down, for Matter of Fact, that the *Romans* had not yet attempted this kind of Compositions [M]. The Athenians erected a Statue to *Æsop* (g). Some think it is he, who under the Name of *Lockman* is become so famous among the *Eastern Nations*. He has been placed in the Number of Persons that are risen from the Dead [N].

Since the first Edition of this Work, I have read *Æsop's Life* composed by *Meziriac*. Out of which the Reader will find some Extracts below [O].

Æsop would have mentioned: *Æsop*, I say, who died (42) long before *Themistocles* built the Piræus. We find in the Explanation of one of *Æsop's* Fables these words of St James (43). God resisteth the proud, but giveth Grace to the humble. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι κύει οὐκ ἐπερφηνοῖς ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ διδωσὶ χάριν, *Fabula declarat quod Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam*. From whence we may conclude, that *Planudes* made that Fable, or at least added that Explanation to it. If it is not *Planudes*, it is some other Christian, or at least a Jew (44). Nor can it be said that there are certain common notions which may as well come from the Pen of a *Phrygian*, as from that of *Solomon*, or *Planudes*; for besides that it is very rare, that two Persons should chance to light upon the same words, and the same disposition of Letters, to express the same thought, it is certain that *Æsop* would not have put κύει into the Maxim here in question. That word is taken for God only in the LXX, and in the Authors who follow them (45).

Father *Vassaff* is not the first who has taken *Planudes* for the Author of *Æsop's* Fables now extant. *Nevelet*, who published in 1610 a Collection of Fables, declared himself of this Opinion. Ex MSS. illis quos habui ne unicus quidem vulgatas jam habuit *Æsopi* fabulas quas à *Planude*, ut *Æsopi* Vita est, scriptas existimo (46). — Of all the MSS. in my Possession, not one had the Fables of *Æsop* which now are published, which I imagine to be written by *Planudes*, as well as *Æsop's* Life. The Manuscripts he speaks of were in the Library of *Heidelberg*, and had furnished him with about 136 Fables, which he added to those of *Æsop* already printed. But if he added those 136 Fables to those of *Æsop*, it was not that he thought him the Author of them; for he confesses he knows not who to attribute them to, and that they seem to be of several Authors: those wherein the Monastic Life is applauded he ascribes to certain Monks (47). Father *Vassaff* (48) observes, that there are 150 Fables in the Compilation of *Æsop's* done by *Planudes*, and that three are wanting therein, which Antiquity ascribed to *Æsop* (49). *Nevelet's* Collection contains 296 Fables of *Æsop*.

Note, the observation concerning the word κύει needs an amendment. Father *Vassaff* pretends that it is peculiar to the seventy Interpreters to make use of this word for God, and that therefore *Æsop* would not have used it in that sense. Adde quod horum Interpretum proprium fuit pro κυεῖν hic, ut ubique vertunt, usurpare: quod *Æsopum* facere non convenit, sed τὸν Θεὸν appellare, seu τὸ Θεῖον (50). I believe he is right with respect to *Æsop*; but I am not of the same Opinion I was at the first Edition of this Work: Knowing at present that a Pagan Author, who lived since the Apostles, has given to God the Name of κύριος, and has even joined it with that of εὐαγγέλιον, as they have done in the Litany of the Church. *Arrian* is this Author; his words are: Νῦν δὲ τρέμοντας τὸ ὀρνιθόειον κρατῶμεν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δέομεθα αὐτοῦ, κύριε ἐλέησον, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελεῖσθαι. At nunc tremebundi moramur aviculam, & Deum implorantes rogamus ipsum supplices: Miserere mei Domine, da ut possim evadere (51). It must be remembered that he observes in the same Chapter, that those who went to consult a Diviner gave him the Name of κύριος; let us quote this. Διὰ τὸ τοιαυτὸν μὲν τὰς Μάντιες κληρονομίῳ κύριε τὸν πατέρα; ἰδωμεν. ἐπεκδυσάμεθα. καὶ κύριε, ὡς ἡ τυχὴν θίλει; ἔπειτα εἴπη κληρονομίῳ αὐτῶν αὐτὴν κληρονομίαν ἐληφότες, εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ. That is to say, Therefore we flatter the Diviners: My Lord, shall I inherit my Father's Estate? Let us see, let us consult the Entrails of the Victims. Yea, my Lord! what is the Will of Fortune? and when be

VOL. II. No. LVII.

has answered, you shall inherit, we thank him as if we received the inheritance from him. *Arrian* justly ridicules that Practice.

[L] If all the Fables of the Poets had been like his, *Strabo* would have had no need to have undertaken an *Apology* for them. We have already seen (52) what that *Apology* is. The Author has forgot the chief Point in it. Which *Plato* and *Apollonius Tyanæus* touched upon, when they said that those, who see the Gods commit all manner of enormous Crimes, are apt to believe there is no harm in doing the same (53). What could *Strabo* answer to this objection? His Rhetoric taught him to conceal his knowledge of such Objections being made against the Fables of the Poets.

[M] *Seneca* lays it down for Matter of Fact, that the *Romans* had never attempted this kind of Compositions. These are *Seneca's* words: Non audeo te usque eo producere ut fabellas quoque & *Æsopos* logos, intentatum Romanis ingenii opus, solita tibi venustate connectas (54). — I dare not proceed so far as to point out Fables, and the Stories of *Æsop*, as a proper subject to employ your elegant Pen, it being a task not biberio attempted by a Roman Genius. When *Seneca* said this, had they not seen at *Rome* the Fables of *Phædrus*, which is an incomparable Work? In answer to this question, *Lipsius* says, *Phædrus* was nota Romanis, and that *Seneca* speaks only of Roman Wits, Romanis ingenii. I can hardly think so great a Man as *Lipsius* would take up with so sorry a reason as this. Did not the Comedies of *Terence*, who was born in *Africa*, pass for the production of a Roman Author? Why should not the Fables of *Phædrus*, born in *Ithrace*, and freed by an Emperor, have the same Fate? It is certain *Seneca* opposes the Latin Tongue to the Greek Tongue: therefore his meaning is, that there had been none but Greek Books upon the subject of the Apologies. Shall we say that *Phædrus* did not publish his Fables himself, and therefore they might yet be a private Manuscript in *Seneca's* time? This is neither probable, nor consistent with all the Author's preambles: It must be said then that *Seneca* forgot there was such a Book in the World as the Fables of *Phædrus*. Men as learned as himself in these latter Ages have been subject to such mistakes.

[N] He has been placed among Persons that are risen from the dead. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Hephestion*, perhaps spoke fully of it: but we know no more of it now than those two Lines: ὧς αἰσώσῃ ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἀνελῶσε καὶ συνέμαχῃ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι περὶ Θερμοπύλης. As *Æsop*, killed by the Inhabitants of *Delphi*, rose again, and fought with the Greeks at the Pass of *Thermopylae* (55). If I am not mistaken, this was the Title of a Chapter in the Work, of which *Photius* has preserved some Extracts, and was not unlike a Chapter of the Chronicle of the ancient Worthies. *Scaliger* (56), having cited the Greek words above, justly cries out *Nugæ Græculorum*; but I do not understand what he had said before he quotes them, *Nugatur Græculus Alexander apud Photium* 252. He seems to tax here one *Alexander* who had made a Collection of wonderful things (57). But besides that *Photius* places him under the number 129, he does not tell us that this Author spoke of *Æsop*. If we may believe an Author of the XVIth Century, *Plato* the Comic had mentioned that Resurrection (58). Let us say rather, if *Suidas* is to be credited (59).

[O] The Life of *Æsop* composed by *Meziriac*. . . We shall give . . . some Extracts of it. It is a small Book printed at *Bourg in Bresse*, in the Year 1632. It contains only forty Pages in 16°. And is become extremely scarce. Mr *Simon de Valbebert* (60), Librarian-keeper to the Abbot *Bignon*, has been so kind as to send me his copy; from which I have taken what follows. It is more probable that *Æsop* was born at *Cotiaum*, a Town in *Phrygia*, than that he was born

(g) *Phædrus*, Fabul. X, lib. III.

(52) In *Remarke* [H].

(53) See *Remarke* [H], Citat. [32], and les *Penées* sur les Comètes, pag. 559.

(54) *Seneca*, de Consolat. ad Polibium, cap. 27.

(55) *Photius*, in Biblioth. n. 190, pag. 489.

(56) *Scaliger*, Animadv. in Eusebium, n. 1453, pag. 93.

(57) Θανυσάων αναγνώστη. Admirabilium Collectio. *Photius*, n. 189, p. 468.

(58) Porro ex Græcis sunt qui *Æsopum* hunc revivisse fabulantur, quod Comicum item *Plato* significavit. There are moreover some Grecians, who pretend that this *Æsop* was resurrected to Life, which *Plato* the Comician likewise mentions. *Cæli Rhodigini*, lib. xv, cap. xxvi, pag. m. 824.

(59) In *Avast*, Evast, See, before, a Note of Francis Portus, which contains a Passage of the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*.

(60) See the Epistle Dedicatory of the Origines de la Langue Française de Mr Menage, Edit. 1694, at Fol.

(42) In the LIV Olympiad, according to *Vossius*, *ibidem*. See above, Rem. [C].

(43) *Epist.* cap. iv, ver. 6.

(44) The same Sentence is in the third chapter of the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*.

(45) See Father *Vassaff*, p. 19, 20; and the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Dec. 1684, Art. I, towards the end.

(46) *Isaacus Nicolaus Neveletus*, in Prefatione.

(47) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(48) De ludicra Dictione, p. 16.

(49) *Lucian* in Philomito, speaks of one. *Aul. Gellius*, lib. II, cap. xxix, speaks of another. *Ælian*, Var. Hist. lib. x, cap. v, speaks of another. But this last seems not to have been an *Apologue*.

(50) *Vassaff*, ubi supra, p. 20.

(51) *Arrianus*, in *Epicteto*, lib. II, cap. vii, p. m. 85. Mr du Rondel furnished me with this Passage.

(61) Meziriac ex
Aphthonio.

(62) Idem, ex
Schol. Aristoph.
in Aves, Hero-
doto, & Plutar-
cho.

(63) Idem, ex
Phædro.

(64) Meziriac
had said before,
that Æsop met
them at the
Court of Cræsus.

(65) Idem, ex
Plutarcho.

(a) Suidas in
Alwazeg.

(1) Voß de Hist.
Græc. pag. 316.

(a) See his Notes
upon the LIVth
Letter of the 2th
book of Symma-
chus, Edit. 1601.

(1) It is at the
beginning of his
Commentary
upon Quintus
Curtius.

at *Sardis*, or in the *Isle of Samos*, or at *Mesambria* in *Tbrace*. The first Master he served was one *Zemarchus*, or *Demarchus*, surnamed *Caræus*, a Native and Inhabitant of *Athens* (61). It is therefore probable that it was there he learned the purity of the Greek Tongue as in its Source, and became acquainted with Moral Philosophy which was then in Esteem . . . in process of time, he was sold to *Xanthus*, a native of the *Isle of Samos*, and afterwards to the Philosopher *Idmon* or *Iadmon*, who was also a *Samian* by Nation, and who made him free (62). After recovering his Liberty, he soon obtained a very great Reputation among the Greeks . . . so that the report of his extraordinary wisdom having reached the Ears of *Cræsus*, he sent for him, and taking an Affection for him, engaged him by his Benefits to devote himself to his service as long as he should live. . . . He travelled through *Greece*, either for his own pleasure, or for the particular Affairs of *Cræsus*, and passing by *Athens* (63), a little after *Pisistratus* had usurped the Sovereign Power, and abolished the popular Government; and seeing that the *Athenians* bore the Yoke with great impatience . . . he told them the Fable of the Frogs who asked a King of *Jupiter*. . . . He met again with the seven wise Men of *Greece* (64) in the City of *Corinth* at the Court of *Periander the Tyrant* (65). . . . Some re-

late (66) that to shew that human Life is full of Misery, and that one Pleasure is accompanied with a thousand Pains, Æsop used to say that *Prometheus*, having taken a piece of Clay to knead and form a Man out of it, diluted it not with Water, but with Tears. Here is an Authority which confirms the Opinion of *Xenophanes*, that the evil surpasses the good.

I pass by some other particulars mentioned by *Meziriac*, which may be found in the Remarks upon this Article. He concludes his little Book with these words: 'Certainly if it is agreed that this (67) is a genuine Work of Æsop, it must be confessed we have no writings more antient than these, except the Books of *Moses*, and some others of the Old Testament.' With all the respect due to the Memory of this learned Man, I must observe that he ends his Book with a very gross mistake; for who does not know that the Poems of *Homer* and *Hesiod* were before any thing that Æsop could be Author of? Does he not confess himself (68) that the honour of the invention of Fables is due to the Poet *Hesiod*? How comes it to pass then that a few Pages after he makes Æsop elder than *Hesiod*? Meer heedlessness.

Note, that *Mr Menage* (69) falsely ascribes to him the having confuted the chronological blunder of *Planudes* with respect to the Quotation of *Euripides*.

(66) Idem, ex
Themistio.

(67) That is to
say, the Fables
which appear
under his name.

(68) Idem, ex
Quintiliano.

(69) See Remark
[B], Citat. (10).

ESOP, or Æsop, Author of a Panegyric upon *Mitbridates*, was Reader to that Prince. He also wrote a Piece upon *Helen* (a), in which he mentioned a thing that has all the Air of a Fable [A]. *Moreri's* Article of this Æsop is full of falsities [B].

[A] He mentioned a thing which has all the air of a Fable. He said, that in a Fish named *Pan*, there is found a Stone called *Afterites*, which the Rays of the Sun will set on Fire. He added that they make good Philtres of it. *Suidas* informs us of this. It is probable Æsop spoke of this Philtre, because, to excuse *Helen*, he feigned that *Paris* could not carry her away till he had by some extraordinary Methods caused her to love him.

[B] *Moreri's* Article . . . is full of falsities. I. We find in it, that Æsop the Greek Historian wrote the History of *Alexander the Great* in Letters. So *Moreri* has translated this Latin of *Vossius*, *Vitam Alexandri Magni literis prodidit* (1). No doubt he imagined that this Æsop was one of *Alexander's* Retinue, and that he wrote the News of the Army to his Friends, and that the Collection of those Letters was afterwards a History of that Conqueror. II. *Moreri* adds, that he is different (he speaks of the Epistolary Historian) from him mentioned by *Diogenes Laërtius* in the Life of *Chilo*. A Man, who must have known that *Diogenes Laërtius* spoke there of Æsop the Phrygian, would not have expressed himself as *Moreri* has done; for besides

that Æsop ought to be characterized by the wonderful Talent he had for Fable, you must know that *Moreri* had just given a long Article of Æsop the Phrygian. Therefore he believed the Person named Æsop, whom he speaks of in the following Article, differs from Æsop the Phrygian; so that it is undeniable he was ignorant that the Æsop in *Chilo's* Life is the same that gained so much fame by his Fables. This then may be deemed his second falsity. The III^d consists in saying, that Æsop the Author of *Mitbridates's* Panegyric was *Pompey's* Friend. He cites *Suidas* and *Vossius*: not that he consulted the first of those two Authors: he saw him quoted by the latter, and that was enough for him. The cause of his mistake was this; he had read in *Vossius* these words (2): '*Pompeii familiari* (3) ac *Mithridatici belli scriptori subdatur Mithridatis anagnosis Æsopus, cui Mithridatis encomium nomen perit. — To this Favourite of Pompey, and Writer of the Mithridatic War, may be subjoined, Æsop Reader to Mitbridates, who gained a Name by his Panegyric upon Mitbridates.*' He thought this signified that Æsop was *Pompey's* Friend. So exact was he in examining attentively what he copied.

(2) Idem, pag.
521, 529.

(3) He means
Theophrastus the
Historian, whom
he had mention-
ed just before.

(4) Adversus
lib. ii. cap. 2.

ESOP, or Æsop, a Greek Author of a romantic History of *Alexander the Great*. It is not known in what time he lived. His Work has been translated into Latin by one *Julius Valerius*, who is not much better known than Æsop. The Manuscript of this Translation was in the Hands of *Francis Juret* (a), and *Gaspar Bartbius* (b). The latter attributes the whole Performance to a Monk. I shall relate [A] what he and *Freinshemius* have said of it.

[A] I shall relate what *Bartbius* and *Freinshemius* have said of it. The learned *Freinshemius*, in the Catalogue he has given us of all the Authors of the History of *Alexander*, has the following words (1). '*JULIUS VALERIUS*. Latinam fecit historiam fabulosam de *Alexandro*, quæ ab aliis Æsopo, ab aliis *Callistheni* adscripta fuit. Unde fabulas suas certatim hauserunt *Antoninus*, *Vincentius*, *Urspergensis*, alii. Precium videbatur adscribere hoc loco judicium *C. Barthii* ex 2, 10. *Adversariorum*. Talia multa in non inrudito Monacho sunt, qui vitam *Alexandri* Magni prodigiis mendacis factam edidit ante aliquamulta secula: quæ fabula tantum olim fidei habuit, ut à prudentibus etiam scriptoribus sit testimonio citata, qualis sane ante plus quam quatuor secula fuit in *Anglia* *Silvester Giraldu*, qui non dubitavit ejus cellionis auctoritate uti. An ea egregia historia edita unquam sit nescio, nos in charta scriptam habemus, sed tanti vix æstimamus, ut in Bibliothecam recipiamus. Est idem auctor quem Æsopum vocat, & interpretatum à *Julio Valerio Francisco*

Juretus ad *Symmachi* lib. 1. Epist. 54. Editione quidam priore. Ego vero neque de auctore neque de interprete credo *Romani* Græcive hominis esse, maxima enim in eo Græci sermonis ignorantia, nec ulla *Romani* notitia est. Hactenus *Barthius*. Typis excusa est *Germanice*, anno 1486. *Argentorati*. Citatur & *Salmasio* ad *Solinum* pag. 1025. vetus scriptor qui res *Alexandri* fabulose composuit. — *JULIUS VALERIUS*. He wrote a romantic History in Latin concerning *Alexander*, which by some is ascribed to Æsop, by some to *Callisthenes*, whence *Antoninus*, *Vincentius*, *Urspergensis*, and others, have borrowed their Fictions. It may not be improper in this place to mention the Opinion of *Bartbius* from 2. 10. of the *Adversaria*. Many such instances are to be found in a learned Monk, who several Centuries ago published the Life of *Alexander the Great*, larded with monstrous Fictions, which Romance had formerly so much Credit, that it was quoted as authentic, by Writers of good Sense, such as *Silvester Giraldu* above four Centuries ago in *England*, who did not scruple

seruple to use the authority of that Monk. Whether this notable piece has been ever published or no, I cannot tell. I have it in Manuscript, but scarce think it worth a place in my Library. It is the same Author whom Franciscus Juret calls *Æsop*, and says was translated by Julius Valerius, *Symmach. lib. 1. Ep. 54. in a former Edition*. I imagine that neither the Author nor the Translator were either Greek or Roman. It betrays the grossest Ignorance in Greek,

and as little Knowledge of Latin. *Thus far Barthius. It was printed in high Dutch at Strasburg 1486. He is quoted also by Salmastius upon Solinus, p. 1025, as an ancient Writer who composed a romantic History of the Actions of Alexander.* It is very probable this Romance was forged during the barbarous ages; and as any thing was good enough for such Critics as *Vincent de Beauvais*, it is no wonder so ill a Book should be valued at such a rate.

ESOP, or *Æsop* (CLODIUS), a celebrated Comedian flourished in the VIIth Century of Rome. He and *Roscus* were the best Actors the ancient Romans ever had; he for Tragedy, and *Roscus* for Comedy. *Cicero* put himself under their Discipline to perfect himself in the Action of an Orator (a). *Æsop* spent prodigious Sums of Money. There has been much discourse concerning an Entertainment he made, at which he had an earthen Dish served up that cost ten thousand Livres [A]. This Dish was filled only with Birds that had learned to sing or talk. Each of which cost six hundred Livres. *Æsop's* Son was no less extravagant than his Father. He was not content with giving his Guests birds which cost the most, as those are that are taught to sing; but he also gave them dissolved Pearls to drink. Some speak of this as if it was his common Custom [B]; but others insinuate that he gave them dissolved Pearls to drink but once

(a) Plutarch. in Vita Ciceronis, pag. 63.

[A] There has been much talk of an Entertainment.] We have this account in *Pliny*, in the following words according to Father *Hardouin's* Edition. 'Maxime insignis est in hac memoria Clodii *Æsopi* tragici histrionis patina HS. centum taxata: in qua posuit aves cantu aliquo aut humano sermone vocales HS. sex singulas coemptas: nulla alia inductus suavitatis nisi ut in his imitationem hominis manderet, ne quæstus quidem suos reveritus illos opimos & voce meritos

(1) Plin. lib. x, cap. 11, pag. m. 443.

(2) See the Corrections of the 10th Book, num. 62, 63.

(3) De Pallio, p. m. 32. See upon this the Commentaries of Salmastius, where you will find the Corrections of Father Hardouin.

(4) Non sit tamen, ut verum fatetur, facile inter duos judicium torpiditudo: nisi quod minus est summas rerum nature opes quam hominum linguas consille. Plin. lib. X, cap. LI

and scarcer, he would have filled his Dish with greater joy. Read what follows. 'O miserabiles quorum palatum nisi ad pretiosos cibos non excitatur. Pretiosos autem non eximius sapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo, sed vanitas & difficultas parandi facit (5). — Wretches! whose Appetites can only relish pretious Meats. But it is not the exquisite Taste, or any peculiar Delicacy, but Vanity, and the difficulty of procuring them that gives them a value.' *Petronius* has very well touched upon this part of Luxury in his *alea phasiacis petita Colchis, &c.*

(5) Seneca, Conf. ad Helvium, cap. ix.

[B] He gave . . . his guests dissolved Pearls to drink: some speak of this as his common Custom.] *Valerius Maximus* mentions it upon this foot. 'Huic (6) nimirum magis *Æsopus* tragædus, says he (7), in adoptionem dare filium suum, quam bonorum suorum heredem relinquere debuit non solum perditæ, sed etiam furiosæ luxuriæ juvenem: quem constat cantu commendabiles aviculas immanibus emptas prætiis in cena pro fœculis ponere, acetoque liquatos magnæ summæ uniones potionibus aspergere solum, amplissimum patrimonium tanquam amarum aliquam sarcinam quam celerrime abicere cupientem. — To him ought *Æsop* the Player rather to have given his Son in Adoption, than have left him heir to his Wealth, a young Man, not only of a desperate, but a furious Luxury. For it is certain, that he bought up at most extravagant prices Birds that could sing or talk, to have them served up at Table instead of Fig-Peckers, and used to mix with his Liquors Pearls of high rate dissolved in Vinegar, as though he had laboured to squander away an immense Patrimony, as if it had been some troublesome incumbrance.' I believe I am not mistaken in affirming that two things are confounded in this Passage which ought to be distinguished. He ought not to have charged *Æsop's* Son with the expence of dissolved Pearls, and that of singing Birds: the latter ought to be put to the Father's account, and the other to the account of the Son: *Pliny* and *Tertullian* are my warrants: they distinguish the Luxury of the Father from the Luxury of the Son: they charge the Father with having spent vast Sums for the fashion of a certain Dish, and filling it with Birds that had learned to sing and speak; they say nothing of his dissolving Pearls to drink. They charge the Son with that piece of prodigality, but do not impute the other to him. See *Pliny* at the place I have cited (8); you will find he adds to the words already related, *Dignus proflus filio à quo devoratas diximus margaritas.* — In every respect worthy his Son whom we have mentioned to have drunk Pearls. We shall see in the following Remark the Passage to which he refers his Reader. But *Tertullian's* words are: 'Qua (gula) *Æsopus* histrio ex avibus ejusdem pretiositatis ut canoris & loquacibus, quibusque centum millium patinam conficavit. Filios ejus post tale pulpamentum potuit sumptuosius efurire: margaritas namque vel ipso nomine pretiosas dehausit, credo, ne mendicis patre cœnasset (9). — By which Luxury *Æsop* the Player feasted on Birds.

(6) That is, to *Caius Sergius* Crata, whose prodigious Gluttony he had been representing.

(7) Val. Maxim. lib. IX, cap. 13 num. 2.

(8) Lib. X, cap. LI, pag. 443.

(9) *Tertullianus*, de Pallio, pag. m. 56.

once [C]. *Horace* mentions only one Pearl of great value [D], which *Æſop's* Son drank dissolved in Vinegar. *Æſop*, notwithstanding his vast Expenses, died worth almost two Millions (b). It is said he acted the Passions so well upon the Stage, and with so much vehemency, that he would fall into violent Raptures or Transports. One day he killed a Man during these transports [E]. *Moreri* has committed here several gross Blunders [F].

(b) *Æsopum* in pari arte ducen-
ties fextertium
reliquisse filio
constat. *Macrob.*
Saturn. lib. ii,

Birds of the same vast value, as being taught to sing
 sweetly and talk, for the serving up of which he expend-
 ed an hundred thousand Sesterces in a Dish. His Son
 after such a ragout was still more prodigally luxurious,
 for he swallowed down valuable Pearls, lest, as I
 suppose, he should sup with less Grandeur than his
 Father.

[C.] Others say he gave them Pearls to drink but once. Weigh well the words here under, and I am confident you will find, that they shew that *Æsop's* Son fell into this excess but one day that he entertained his Friends. Consider chiefly the comparison that *Pliny* has made between the Son of that Comedian and *Cleopatra*, and you will find that he did not believe that Excess was repeated; for if it had, then he would have been very much to blame not to have said so; for the inferiority he designed to give *Cleopatra* would have been much more sensible by it. 'Non ferrent tamen hanc palmam, (Antoniuss & Cleopatra) spoliabunturque etiam luxuriae gloria. Prior id fecerat Romæ in unioibus magnæ taxationis Clodius Tragedi *Æsopi* filius, relictus ab eo in amplis opibus heres, ne Triumviratu suo nimis superbat Antonius, pene hiltironi comparatus, & quidem nulla sponsione ad hoc productus, quo magis regium fiat: sed ut experiretur in gloria palati, quid sapient margarite: atque ut mire placeretur, ne solus hoc fecit, singulos unioes convivis quoque absorbendis dedit (10). — Yet *Antony* and *Cleopatra* will not carry off this prize, but be robbed even of the glory of Luxury. *Clodius*, Son of *Æsop* the Player, and heir to his vast Fortune, had done the same before at Rome with Pearls of high value. Let not *Antony* pride himself in his Triumvirate, being a degree below a Player, who was not prompted by any engagement to shew his Grandeur, but to experience, in the glory of his Palace, the taste of a Pearl, and as he found it to be wonderfully pleasant, that he might not engraft the noble pleasure to himself, be distributed to each guest a Gem to be drank down in the same manner.'

[G.] *Horace speaks only of one Pearl of great value.*] Let us imagine two Men, one of whom swallows a Pearl in the presence of the Friends he is entertaining, and the other, not content with this, makes each of his guests also do the same, we shall find a very notable difference between these two Feasts: the latter will appear infinitely more sumptuous than the first, all other things being equal. Wherefore if *Æsop's* Son did what *Pliny* imputes to him, it is certain his Feast is much more remarkable, than if he alone had swallowed a Pearl. I go farther, and say that the chief singularity of that Feast, and the Circumstance for which it will be most remembered, was, that each of the guests there drank a dissolved Pearl. Whence comes it then that *Horace* says nothing of this particular and remarkable Circumstance? It is certain that if *Pliny* had forgot it, he would have shewed, that between two remarkable things he did not know how to choose the best, and would have neglected his Advantages, for being to prove that a common Citizen of *Rome*, a Player's Son, had out-done *Cleopatra*, he would have passed over in silence what chiefly heightened the Action of a Citizen above that of a great Queen. The same objection lies against *Horace*: his Argument would have been much stronger, if he had said of *Æsop's* Son all that *Pliny* has said. Why then did he forget it? Why should he choose between two notable Facts that which is least so? Why should he neglect the Advantages of his proof, and of his moral Reflexion? It will be said perhaps that he knew no more of the prodigality of that Player's Son than what he has said of it. But this raises a difficulty. How is it possible this Man's Feast should come to the Knowledge of *Horace*, by the least remarkable Circumstance of it; by a very singular Fact, I confess, if it is considered in itself, but little singular if compared with the other Fact. Be that as it will, let us see the words of this Poet:

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ

(Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet) aceto
Diluit insignem baccham: qui sanior, ac si
Illud idem in rapidum flumen, jaceretve clo-
cam (11)?

*A costly Jewel from Metella's Ear,
Æsop's loose Son dissolv'd in Vinegar,
And drank it down, and then profusely laugh'd,
To think he drank a Province at a draught.
Was't not as mad as to have thrown the Gem
Into a Common-Shore or muddy Stream?*

CREECH.

An old Scholiast upon *Horace* says that this *Metella* was the Wife of *Æsop's* Son. Others (12) say she was not his Wife, but that he was honoured with her favours, and that she made him a present of that Pearl, which was worth twenty five thousand Crowns. They add that she might be the Sister of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, married to *L. Lucullus*. We shall examine this in another place (13).

[E] *He one Day killed a Man during these Transports.* The thing deserves to be told. Let us see what *Plutarch* says of it. Τὸν δὲ Αἰσωπὸν τῶτον ἰσορῶν ὑποκρινόμενον ἐν θεατρῷ τὸν περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τῷ θυέτι βαλόμενον Ἀτρεΐδα, τὸν υπερβὴν τινὲς ἄνθρω παραδραμόντος ἔξω τὸν ἑαυτὸ λογιζομέν διὰ τὸ πάθος ὄντα τὸν σκίσσιντρον πατάξει καὶ ἀνελεῖν. Hanc *Æsopum* tradunt dum in theatro agit *Atræa* de puniendo deliberantem *Thyestis* ita fuisse motum, ut impos mentis mīdium quemdam qui repente prætercurreret feriret sceptro, & occideret (14). — It is reported that this *Æsop*, as he was acting the part of *Atræus*, meditating Revenge against *Thyestes*, was so transported, that he struck with his Sceptre a Servant who chanced to cross the Stage, and killed him.

[F] *Mereri* has committed here several gross blunders. I. It is false that *Æsop* the Comedian was a Tragic Poet. II. He was upon his Decline (15), when, in the Year of Rome 698, *Pompey's* Theatre was dedicated. A good Chronologer then would not have placed him towards the Year of Rome 700. III. The Authors quoted by *Mereri* do not say that *Æsop* was *Cicero's* Friend. If he would speak of this Friendship, he should have quoted other People, and for want of quoting them he deserves in some Respects the Title of a Deceiver. He should have cited *Cicero* himself: I have already quoted the place where he calls him *noſter Æſopus* (16), and where he mentions a very particular Adventure, that *Æſop*, being now quite worn out, yet would appear at the magnificent Games *Pompey* exhibited to the People at the Dedication of his Theatre: but he tired all the Spectators, and his Voice entirely failed him when he was reciting that part of the Oath, in which are expreſſed the Penalties the falſe Swearer was to undergo. In another Letter *Cicero* deſires his Brother *Quintus* to enquire after a Slave that had run away from *Æſop's* Houſe. *Æſopi tradigat noſtri familiaris Licinius ſervus tibi notus auſugit* (17). *Macrobius* alſo might be quoted in this Matter. * Hiſtrionem non inter turpes habitos * *Cicero* teſtimonio eſt, quem nullus ignorat Roſcius * & *Æſopo* hiſtrionibus tam familiariter uſum, ut reſ rationeſque eorum fua ſollertia tueretur, quod cum aliis multis tum ex epitollis quoque eſus declaratur. (18) — *Cicero* proves that *Players* were not looked on as contemptible Perſons, ſince every one knows, he was ſo intimate with *Roſcius* and *Æſop* the Actors, that he vigorously maintained their Affairs and Cauſes, as appears in his Epistles as well as in many other Places. IV. What *Mereri* ſays of *Æſop's* often accompanying *Cicero* when he went to hear *Hortenſius's* Orations, as *Valerius Maximus* obſerves, is a notorious Falſhood. *Charles Stephens* was in this an ill guide to *Mereri*: He affirms the ſame, and cites *Valerius Maximus*, who only ſays that *Roſcius* and *Æſop* went to hear *Hortenſius* (19). V. *Mereri* reports ill what *Pliny* had ſaid concerning *Æſop's* Luxury. He was

cap. x. Ducenties Sestertium, according to Galsendus, in Abaco Sestertiorum are 1861111 livres, some few pence.

(11) Horat. Sat.
III, lib. ii, ver.
239.

(12) Mr Darier
upon this Passage
in *Horace*, *Tome*
VII, p 301.

(13) In the Article *ME TEL*
LA, Rem. [*A*]

is (14) Plutarch. in
t- Cicer. Vita,
et pag. 863.

(1c) Honoris
caussa in lee-
nam red'erant si
quos ego honoris
caussa de scena
decesse arbitra-
bar. Delicæ
vero tue nollet
Æsopus ejusmodi
fuit ut ei desinere
per omnes ho-
mines liceret. Is
jurare cum ex-
pisset, vox eum
defecit in illo
loco, si sciens
falso Cicero,
*Ediss. I, Libri
VII. ad Famil.*

(16) See the preceding Citation.

(17) Idem, *Epist.*
II, lib. I, ad
Quintum fra-
trem.

(18) Macrobi. Sa-
turn. lib. ii, cap.

(10) Valet. Max.
Libr. VIII, Cap.
X, num. 2.

(20) See Remark [A].

(21) In hac (pans) ferorum jeciorum, phasianorum & pavonum cerebella, LINGUAS phoenicopterum, murænarum lactes a Parthia utque fretoque Hispanico per navarchos ac tritremes petitarum, commiscuit. In that dish be mixed the livers of Scare fowls, the brains of Pheasants and Peacocks, the tongues of Phœnicopteris, and the rows of Lampreys, for which the Fishermen and Masters of boats, ranched the Seas from Parthia to the Straits of Gibraltar. Suetonius, in Vitellio, cap. xiii.

ignorant that instead of *Sexcentum Sestertium*, it should be read *Centum Sestertium* (20). Must he not wonder at the prodigious Sum he makes the price of a Dish amount to? and if ten thousand Livres, which is the price of it according to Father Hardouin's Calculation, supposing it should be red *Centum*, is something incredible, how monstrous would it be to say, by retaining the reading, *Sexcentum*, that each Great Sestertice was worth twenty five Crowns? must not Moreri admit it as an unavoidable Consequence, that *Æsop's* earthen Dish cost Forty five thousand Livres? Farther, what he calls the Great Sestertice is equal to a thousand Sestertices. Now I find that, according to the most exact Authors, the value of a thousand Sestertices is much more than Twenty five Crowns. A thousand Sestertices according to *Cassendus* are worth Ninety three Livres, one Sol, one Denier; according to Father Hardouin they are worth a hundred Livres. So that Moreri is wrong in every respect. VI. It is not true that *Æsop's* Dish was full of Bird's Tongues; it was filled with the Birds themselves. One would think that Moreri would confound this with the Luxury of *Vitellius* (21), or had taken one for the other. VII. *Pliny* does not say, that those Tongues cost six Crowns a piece. He says in the good Editions, that each Bird cost six thousand Sestertices, that is six hundred Livres according to Father Hardouin's Calculations; and in the common Editions he says that each Bird cost six Sestertices, *nummis sex*. Nothing can be more divert-

ing than Moreri's Translation of these Latin Words. He thought that the *nummus* of *Pliny* was a French Crown, and that it was only one Sestertice, that is about two Sols or two pence French Money. From whence it appears that this common reading imputes two Absurdities to *Pliny*; for in that Case he would have said that the best singing, or talking Birds, cost but about twelve pence a piece, and that *Æsop* by buying this sort of Birds was guilty of a notorious act of Luxury and Prodigality. VIII. No Body has said, no not *Valerius Maximus* himself, that *Æsop's* Son put powder of Pearl into all his Drink. This is to surpass honest *Valerius Maximus*, by a thousand Degrees, who was too well versed in Hyperbole, when he mentioned this as the common practice of that extravagant Son. IX. What is most wonderful is to pretend, as Moreri has done, that the Pearls he might take out of his Mistress's Ears would be powder enough for all the drinks he should use. X. And what is more strange is to see that he depends upon the Testimony of *Horace*, and even quotes the Verses of that Poet, wherein he says expressly, that *Æsop's* Son dissolved a Pearl in Vinegar and swallowed it. Therefore this was a thing done in a Moment, which according to *Horace* was not repeated. XI. *Horace* does not observe that *Metella* was a Mistress to *Æsop's* Son. XII. Lastly, he should not have quoted the thirtieth Book of *Pliny*, but the tenth.

ESPAGNE (JOHN D') a Native of *Dauphiné*, and Minister of the French Church in *London*, in the XVIIth Century, has published several small Tracts [A], and among others, one intituled, *Erreurs populaires és points généraux qui concernent l'intelligence de la Religion*.

It is acknowledged that he has very well explained the Doctrine of the Eucharist. He has criticised very freely a Book of *Calvin*, without any regard to the public and extraordinary Favour that Work had been honoured with [B].

(1) The *Hogue* Edition, 1674, contains but two Vols in 12mo.

(2) *Bibliothèque de Dauphiné*, p. 87.

[A] He published several little Tracts. They were collected together in the *Geneva* Edition 167... which is in three Volumes (1), in 12mo. This Author deserves to be read: his Book of popular Errors contains very good things. He dedicated it to *Charles I* King of *England*: he informs us in his Epistle Dedicatory, that the first of his Books was published by the command of King *James*. This shews that Mr *Allard* (2) is not exact as to the times, when he says that *John Despagne* was a Minister at *London* in 1662.

[B] He has criticised... a Work of *Calvin*, without any regard to the public Favour it had been honoured with. This Book of *Calvin* is a Catechism divided

into Fifty five Sections. It serves for a Text to one of the Sunday's Sermons in the Churches of the *Geneva* Confession, and is one of their Liturgical Books. It was received with Applause as soon as it came out and has been translated into several Languages. * Eodem anno, that is in the Year 1540 (3), scriptum (Calvinus) Catechismus Gallicæ & Latine... * quem tanti fecerunt Calvinistæ, ut non modo vernaculis plurimis linguæ, utpote Germanicæ, Anglicæ, Scoticæ, Belgicæ, Hispanicæ, sed etiam Hebræicæ donatus sit ab *Emanuelle Træmelio*, & Græcæ ab *Henrico Stephano* (4). This is the Book *John d'Espagne* criticised.

(3) I shall examine this Date in Remark [B] of the Article SCHULTINGIUS.

(4) Natalis Alexander, Histor. Eccles. Tom. VIII, pag. 155, Folio.

ESPAGNET (JOHN D') President of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, was a learned Man of the XVIIth Century. He relished the new Philosophy, and gave public Marks of the Progress he had made in it [A]. He published in 1616 an old Manuscript,

[A] He gave public marks of the Progress he had made in the new Philosophy. They ascribe a Book to him intituled, *La Philosophie naturelle des Anciens rétablie en sa pureté* (1).

Let us enlarge this Remark a little, which was too short in the first Edition. (2) In the Year 1623, there was printed at *Paris* a Book intituled *Enchyridion Physicæ repositæ*, which is known to be the Work of *John d'Espagnet*, President of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, both because some Persons of his Acquaintance have affirmed it, and also they conjecture the same, because at the beginning of the Book there is this device, *Spes mea est in agno*, and before the Treatise of Chemistry, *Pene nos unda Tagi*, which are two Anagrams of his Name. This Book may be said to be the first that appeared in *France*, wherein there is a complete System of Physics contrary to that of *Aristotle*. Nevertheless the Author pretends that he has only re-established the ancient Philosophy: Though he has added many things of his own Invention. He confutes the Opinion of first matter (*Materia Prima*), which was held to be extended every where without being any where perceived, and incessantly desiring the Union of Forms without having any, being the basis and support of Contraries, to wit of the Elements which

are said to be produced out of it. He shews that this System of Nature is an imaginary one, that there is no contrariety in the Elements, and that that which is observed in them proceeds from the excess of their Qualities, and that when they are tempered there is no contrariety in them. Nevertheless he believes that there is a *Materia prima* from whence the Elements result and become the second Matter of things, which are Earth and Water, for he holds neither the Air nor the Fire for Elements. The Elements according to his opinion are not transformed into each other: Water only becomes Vapour and Vapour Water by Circulation. He places the true Fire of the World in the Sun (3), which he calls not only the Eye of the Universe, but the Eye of the Creator of the Universe, by which he beholds in a sensible manner his Creatures, and which is the first Agent of the World. In the rest of his Book there are abundance of curious Particulars concerning the Origin of things, their subsistence and sundry Alterations, relating to the design this new Philosopher had to treat of Chemical things. Therefore he subjoins another Treatise intituled, *Arcanum Hermeticæ Philosophiæ opus*, in which he speaks of the Matter of the Philosopher's Stone and it's Digestions, of the Degrees of Fire, of the Figure of the Vessels,

(3) Note he thinks the light of the Sun and all other light is spiritual, and that our material fire is in some sort spiritual. See de la Perfection de l'Homme, p. 250

script, intituled *le Rozier des Guerres* [B], and added to it a Treatise of his own upon the Institution of a young Prince. It is of him that Father *Abram* speaks in his Commentary upon *Cicero's* Orations [C].

I had forgot to observe, that in publishing the *Rozier des Guerres*, he did not imitate those who change the old Language of the Manuscripts they publish. He followed his Original with the utmost Exactness, and even kept punctually to the old Spelling. The Reason he gave for it will serve to confirm a Remark I have made upon the new Edition of Cardinal *d'Offat's* Letters (a) [D].

(a) See the Article *OSSAT*, in the Text towards the end.

and Furnace, of the Composition of the Elixir and it's Multiplication. . . . This Book was translated into French some Years ago under the Title of *La Philosophie des Anciens restablée en sa pureté*.

[E] He published . . . a Manuscript intituled *le Rozier des Guerres*. It was found at *Nerac* in the King's Closet. Mr *d'Espagnet* thought his Edition was the first, but he was mistaken. This Book had been printed in Folio in 1523; and that Edition is larger than that of 1616. In the Manuscript of *Nerac* there was wanting all the second Part, and the three last Chapters of the first (4). The Prologue alone is enough to convince us that *Lewis XI* is not the Author of that Work (5), as is assured in the Title: yet he speaks in it, to give Instructions to the Dauphin his Son. See the *Bibliothèque Choise* of Mr *Colin* (6), and the Remark [Z] of the Article *LEWIS XI*.

(4) See *Naudé*, Addition à l'Histoire de *Louis XI*, pag. 72; and in *Syntagm. de Studio Militari*, pag. m. 73.

(5) *Naudé*, *ibid.*

(6) Pag. 16.

(7) *Abram* in *Cicero*, *Orat. 7^{em}*, l. 1, p. 294, vol. 2.

[C] It is of him that Father *Abram* speaks in his Commentary upon *Cicero's* Orations. I make this Remark in favour of those who would be at a loss at the reading of these Words; *Atque etiam nunc pueros à sagis rapi solere, Et demonibus devoveri testatur Spagnetus in sua præfatione ad Petrum Anchoranum* (7). This signifies that the President *d'Espagnet*, in the Preface he had put to a Book of *Peter de Lancre*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, testifies that Witches steal Children and consecrate them to the Devil.

[D] He retains punctually the old Spelling. The reason he gives for it will serve to confirm a Remark I made upon the new Edition of Cardinal *d'Offat's* Letters. This little Tract, *du Rozier*, says he (8), seemed to me so good that I would not embellish or disguise it, but have left it in it's native Simplicity: and tho' the Language of it is not in use in this Age, yet it may be understood, being so full of good sense and meaning, that with all its Jargon it may silence the affected Language of the Court and Bar. I have also carefully preferred the Spelling, because in adding or diminishing a Letter, a Word often is changed, and of old made new. By this means, in my Judgment, they have corrupted the Language of *Philip de Commines* in his History: thinking to mend the Spelling, and polish the Diction, they have destroyed the marks of it's Antiquity, so that the Style of his Book is not the Style of his Age, as we may judge both by this little Manuscript, and by many others of the same Age, which are to be found in famous Libraries, especially by the History of *Charles VI*, written by *John Juvenal des Ursins*, and lately published by the *Sieur de Godefroy*. I imagine this Error proceeds from the insufficiency of the Correctors, who pretending to correct the Spelling have falsified it, and thereby render themselves Plagiaries.

(8) *Essays*, in his Advertisement to the Reader.

ESPINE (JOHN DE L') a Minister of the Reformed Church. See SPINA.

ESSARS (CHARLOTTE DES) Mistress of *Henry* the IV, King of *France*, and afterwards of the Cardinal de *Guise* (a), was married to the Marshal de l'*HOSPITAL*, as I have said elsewhere (b); but I must rectify here a Mistake which escaped me [A], and must add that this Lady meddled too much with great Intrigues [B].

(a) See Remark [B] of the Article *GUISE* (*Lewis* de *Lorraine* Cardinal de).

(b) In Remark [B] of the Article of that Marshal.

[A] I must rectify here a mistake which escaped me. Trusting to Father *Anselme*, I thought that the Marshal de l'*Hospital* had married to his second Wife *Frances Mignot* in the Year 1633, from whence I concluded that he had repudiated his first Wife *Charlotte des Essars*, and I made some Reflexions upon this Subject. I drew this Consequence from Father *Anselme's* having placed the Death of *Charlotte des Essars* in the Year 1651. Since the second Edition of this Dictionary, I have been informed that the Marshal's second Marriage was contracted in the Year 1653 (1). Therefore it cannot be pretended that the first was declared void. I had resolved to suppress my Reflexions; but some Persons, for whom I have much deference, have advised me to let them stand: they represented to me that they were only false in the particular Application of them to *Charlotte des Essars*, and that, provided I informed my Readers they were to be rectified in that respect, it would not be amiss to preserve a Passage which might justly be applied on many Occasions.

(1) See the Errata of Father *Anselme*.

[B] She meddled too much with great Intrigues. I shall give but one instance of it. She had a Son in the Service of the Duke of *Lorraine*; a Son I say who called himself the Chevalier de *Remorantin*, whom she had by the Cardinal de *Guise*. She thought that the way to advance him would be to do some Service to the Duke of *Lorraine* by reconciling him to *France*, and getting him settled in his Dominions again. To this end she engaged Monsieur du *Hallier*, her Husband, who commanded in *Lorraine*, to advise the Court of *France* to treat with the Duke, and at the same time she solicited the Princes de *Cantecroix*, whom the Duke had espoused, tho' he was already married, to use all her Power to persuade him to an Accommodation (2). A Negotiation was agreed on by both Parties, which terminated in the Treaty of

(2) *Mémoires de Beauvau*, pag. 70, 71.

St Germain in 1641; but the Duke not performing his Promises, and not finding himself in a Condition to maintain himself, retired with his Troops to his old Post between the *Sambre* and the *Meuse*. To colour at least his Retreat, he dispatched a Courier to Cardinal *Ricblieu*, to inform him that what had made him retire, was not that he intended to violate his Treaty, but that the fear *Madam du Hallier* had created in him, that there was a Design to seize him, was the only cause of it. To prove that this fear was not without Foundation, he sent him a Note written with that Lady's own Hand, to the Lady Superiour of the Congregation of *Nanci*, named *Angelica*, her great Confident, in which she desired her to let him know that the Court took such umbrage at his Conduct, that they were thinking of the means of seizing his Person. The Cardinal was so incensed, that *Madam du Hallier* should presume to give such Information, that her Husband who was then employed in recovering the small places of *Lorraine*, and set down before *Cbaté*, received an Order from the King, by an express Courier, to send his Wife to one of his Houses, to change the Major of the Garrison of *Nanci*, and to put one in his place named *Belaupel*, who was not his Friend, and after the Reduction of *Cbaté* to come to Court, and give an account of his own and his Wife's Actions (3). . . . (3) *Ibid*, p. 76. *Monf. du Hallier* exactly obeyed the King's Commands, and as he was always beloved by him, and esteemed of an incorruptible Fidelity, he was sent back some time after into *Lorraine* with an Order to retake all the places that had been surrendered to the Duke, and reduce them to his Majesty's Obedience. As for his Wife, whose Ambition they had reason to distrust, she was obliged to remain in the House she had been banished to (4).

(4) *Ibid*, p. 77.

ESSE

ESSÉ (ANDREW DE MONTALEMBERT LORD) one of the most noble and ancient Families of Poitou, commanded in Landrecy, when the Emperor Charles the Vth besieged the Place in 1543. He defended it so well, with a Garrison overwhelmed with misery and ruined Fortifications, that the Emperor was obliged to retire, the fifth of November, after a Siege of three Months and a half. In reward of this Service, d'Essé obtained the Post of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to Francis I. He was sent into Scotland by Henry II, to command the Army which that Prince sent thither to the Assistance of the Scots against the English. He behaved with great Bravery, and at his return was made Knight of the Order. ' It was he also that defended Teroüenne against the Army of Charles V; and at last was killed in the Breach, after he had withstood three furious Assaults which lasted ten Hours. By his Death he was deprived of the Dignity of a Marshal of France, which was designed for him according to du Bouche, Author of the Annals of Aquitain. Mezerai says, in the History of France, ' That he is the immortal Honour of Perigord, being mistaken with respect to the Name of his Country, since he was of Poitou. Brantome speaks largely of him under the Name of d'Essé (a).

(a) Taken from a Letter in the *Mémoire Galant* of Aug. 1705, pag. 317, & seq.

ESTAMPES (a), in Latin *Stampe*, a City of France in the *Beauvais*, with the Title of Duchy; it is situated upon the River *Juine*, between *Paris* and *Orleans* in a pretty fruitful Country. It has a Bailiwick, Provostship, Election, Marshalsea, and Granary of Salt, two Collegiate Churches of Royal Foundation, one under the Title of *Nôtre Dame*, with a Dignitary and ten or eleven Canons, and the other under the Title of *Sainte Croix*, with two Dignitaries and nineteen Canons, five Parishes and several Religious Houses. King Robert laid the first Foundations of the Castle of *Estampes*, which was destroyed at the Request of the Inhabitants in the beginning of the Reign of Henry IV. The Prince of Condé put part of the Troops that d'Andelot had brought out of Germany into Garrison here in 1562, who, for the six Weeks they continued there, cruelly oppressed the Inhabitants, and especially the Ecclesiastics. This City is of the ancient Domain of the Crown. King Charles IV, erected it into an Earldom, in favour of his Cousin Charles d'Evreux, before it was a Barony, as appears by the Letters creating it an Earldom, dated in the Month of September 1327. Upon its return to Charles VII he gave it in 1421 to Richard of Bretagne, and afterwards, upon its being re-united to the Crown, Lewis XI gave it to John de Foix. The Letters of Donation are of the Month of April 1498. Gaston de Foix, Son of John, having been killed at the battle of Ravenna, Anne of Bretagne, Wife of Lewis XII, became Countess of *Estampes*, by the Donation of it from the King her Husband, in the Month of June 1513. After the Death of that Princess, which happened the Year following, the Earldom of *Estampes* devolved to Madam Claude of France, her eldest Daughter, who was afterwards married to Francis I, then Duke of Valois. This good Princess being dead the King gave it to John de la Barre. After his Death, Francis I erected *Estampes* into a Duchy, in favour of John de la Brosse of Bretagne, and Anne de Puiffelleu his Wife, who was greatly in the King's Favour. Her Name is well known in History. Henry II. dispossessed them of this Duchy in 1553, to gratify with it Diana of Poitiers, his Favourite, Wife of Lewis de Brezé, Great Seneschal of Normandy. Charles IX coming to the Crown, he restored it to John de la Brosse in the Month of April 1562. He dying without Issue, Henry III gratified Duke John Casimir with it in 1576; but he renouncing it the following Year, the King gave it, by Engagement, to the Dukes of Montpensier, from whom he took it again to give it to Margaret de Valois, his Sister, Queen of Navarre, and that Princess bestowed it some years after upon Gabriel de Estrée, Dukes of Beaufort, who left it to César Duke of Vendosme, Natural Son to King Henry IV. The illustrious Posterity of this Prince are still in Possession of it. Some pretend that Artus Gouffier, Great Master of France, was Count d'Estampes. The Act of Donation is not to be found: if that were so, the Possession of Madam Claude of France was interrupted: However, that Lord did not enjoy it long, he dying in 1518. During the Troubles of 1652, the City of *Estampes*, to the great regret of the Inhabitants, always loyal to their King, was, by a perfidious Man, delivered to the Army of the Princes; but was immediately besieged by the King's Army, who, after they had been six Weeks before the City, and made several Attacks, in which great Numbers were killed on both sides, were at last forced to raise the Siege, to march against the Duke of Lorraine, who was coming to the Assistance of the Princes with an Army of nine or ten thousand Men.

(a) See the Advertisement on the second Edition.

COUNCILS of ESTAMPES.

The City of *Estampes* has been honoured with several Provincial, and one National Council. It is not known what was the Cause of the first: it was held in 1048, and convened by Gerduin, Archbishop of Sens; what follows is found in the Life of the Archbishops of Sens. Gerduinus Synodum Stampis habuit anno 1048, in qua Imbertus Parisiensis,

risiensis, Ysambertus Aurelianensis, Maynardus Trecentis, Hugo Niuernensis, Gilbertus Antistodorenensis, & Galiborius Meldensis, adsuere Rege Henrico presente. The second was assembled by Richerius, Archbishop of Sens, in the Year 1092, on Account of the Ordination of *Ives des Chartres*, performed by Urban II. The Archbishop pretended, that *Ives* was guilty of High-Treason, for getting himself ordained out of the Kingdom without the King's Permission; and therefore that he ought to be deposed. The third was held in 1112. *Diambert*, Archbishop of Sens, presided in it. At first Complaint was made of the ill Conduct of the Bishop of *Troies*, upon which the Council wrote to him. Afterwards they proceeded to the Consecration of a Bishop of *Nevers*, and then made several Regulations for the Reformation of Manners. The National Council held at *Estampes* in 1130, was assembled by the Care of *Lewis the Burley*; it was to know what part he should take between Pope *Innocent II* and *Peter de Leon*, called *Anacletus II*. *St Bernard*, who was present at it, said openly, that *Innocent* had been canonically elected, and that they could not legally proceed to a new Election. The whole Council conformed to the Judgment of *St Bernard*, and *Innocent* was acknowledged for the true and lawful Successor of *St Peter*. The Pope came on purpose from *Chartres* to *Estampes*, to give the Inhabitants Marks of his Thankfulness; he staid there two Days, and lodged in the Abbey of *Morigni* of *St Benet's* Order, half a quarter of a League from *Estampes*. This is what we learn from the Chronicle of that Abbey, who never acknowledged any other Superior than the Archbishop of Sens. *Lewis the Young*, before his Journey into the East, assembled his Parliament at *Estampes*, and left the Regency of the Kingdom to *Ralph*, Count of *Vermandois*, and to *Suger*, Abbot of *St Denis*. In the Contest between *Alexander III* and Cardinal *Osavian*, who took the Name of *Victor*, the same Prince assembled the Gallican Church at *Estampes* in 1160, to know whom he ought to acknowledge, and, upon the Judgment of the Bishops, the King adhered to *Alexander*.

ESTAMPES (ANNE DE PISSELEU DUCHESS D') Mistress of Francis I. That Prince fell in Love with her soon after he was released from his Confinement. She was then Maid of Honour to the Queen Regent (a), and was called *Mademoiselle de Heilli* [A]. She followed that Princess, who went to meet the King her Son upon the Frontiers of Spain [B]. The King diverted himself with her as much as he pleased, and tho' no body doubted of it, yet he found out a Husband for her, whom he created Duke of *Estampes* [C]. This Marriage did not prevent her from keeping her former Post with the King. She rose to the highest Degree of Favour [D], which continued during the King's

(a) Louïse of Savoy, Mother of Francis I.

(1) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoires de Caillon, Tom. I, pag. 863.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Varillas, Hist. de François I, Liv. VI, p. m. 101, at the year 1525.

(4) Brantôme, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, p. 394.

[A] She . . . was called *Mademoiselle de Heilli*. She was the Daughter of WILLIAM DE PISSELEU, Lord of Heilli, and of Anne Sanguin, his second Wife (1). He was married three times, and had thirty Children. He was the Son of JOHN DE PISSELEU, Lord of Heilli, who had the Honour to be one of the Knights at the Coronation of Lewis XI, and who was considerable enough to marry Joanna de Dreux, a Princess of the Royal Blood, after the Death of Mary de Hargicourt, his first Wife, the Mother of William, Father of the Dukes of *Estampes* (2).

[B] She had followed the Queen-Regent . . . to the Frontiers of Spain. According to Mr Varillas (3), the Regent excited this new Passion in the King, without intending it, by carrying as far as the Mount Marfan the young Anne de Pisseleu, who was called *Madam Heilli*, to meet him, and who was just come into the Family of that Princess in quality of a Maid of Honour. All the Historians agree, that the Regent went as far as Bayonne, and Mr Varillas had affirmed the same ten Pages before. Why then does he shorten the Journey here? Does he mean, that she left her Maids of Honour at Mount Marfan, and pursued her Journey to Bayonne without this Part of her Train? But is not this giving out Paradoxes at Pleasure? The Author of the Galantries of the Kings of France having only copied Varillas, with respect to Francis I, ask me not if he stops at Mount Marfan. I cannot persuade myself but that Brantôme is mistaken when he pretends, that *Madam*, the Regent, presented *Madam Heilli* to King Francis upon his Return from Spain to Bourdeaux (4).

[C] The King found out a Husband for her. She married John de Brosse, the Son of René de Brosse, and Joanna, the Daughter of Philip de Comines. This René had followed the Duke of Bourbon, and was killed at the Battle of Pavia, the Twenty fourth of February, 1525. By an Arrêt of the Parliament of Paris, made the thirteenth Day of April, 1522, he had been condemned to lose his Head, and afterwards to be hanged, and his Estate to be confiscated. He was descended from John de Brosse and Nicole de Chatillon,

surnamed of Bretagne, Countess of Pentheur, a very rich Heiress, which John de Brosse was the only Son of John de Brosse, Marshal of France, who descended from Father to Son from the ancient Viscounts of Limoges. John de Brosse, the Son of René, imploring in vain the Benefit of the Treaty of Madrid, to enter again upon the Possession of the Estate his Father had lost by his Rebellion, and finding no other Method of obtaining it, but that of becoming a Cuckold, he resolved to marry *Madam de Heilli*. The King, in Consideration of this Marriage, restored his Estate to him, and added the Duchy of *Estampes* to it (5), and also made him Knight of the Order, and Governor of Bretagne. The new Duke of *Estampes* was not the happier for all this; for besides that all his Wealth and Grandeur were derived to him from a poisoned Spring, in which he durst not behold himself for fear of seeing a Monster in his own Person, he enjoyed them with so little Pleasure, that, as he only served for a Cover to his Wife, he not only possessed them no otherwise than in Name, but also paid very dear for them (6). Having no Children, his Estate went to Sebastian of Luxembourg, Viscount de Martigues, his Sister Charlotte's Son, and Father of an only Daughter, who was the Wife of Emanuel of Lorraine, Duke of Mercœur (7).

[D] She rose to the highest Degree of Favour. Which she made use of to enrich her Family. By her Recommendation Anthony Sanguin, her Uncle, became Abbot of Fleury, Bishop of Orleans, Cardinal, and at last Archbishop of Toulouse. She gave to Charles, her second Brother, the Abbey of Bourgueil, and Bishopric of Condom. Francis, her third Brother, was Abbot of St Cornille of Compiègne, and Bishop of Amiens; and the fourth, named William, was provided with the Bishopric of Pamiers. Two of her Sisters were Abbesses, one of Maubuisson, and the other of St Paul in Beauvoisis: she married the others into the Families of Barbançon, Canni, and of Chabot Jarnac, and the last and best beloved had no Children by Francis de Bretagne, Count de Vertus and Guello, Baron of Aumont. From Adrian de Pisseleu, Lord of Heilli, her

(5) Take from Mr le Laboureur ubi supra.

(6) Ibid. p. 364.

(7) Ibidem.

King's life: Her furious Jealousy against the Dauphin's Mistress (b), put her upon a notorious Act of Treachery [E], in which the Cardinal of Lorraine screened her from the Punishment

(b) It was Diana de Poitiers, Widow of the Great Seneschal of Normandy.

(8) Ibidem.

eldest Brother, are descended the other Lords of Heillit, down to the present time (8). There are some Historians who pretend, that this Duches, the Constable of Mommorenci, and the Admiral Chabot, had the best share in the Management of Affairs (9); and that Charles V, fearing to be stopped at the Court of Francis I, found no better Expedient than to gain this Woman, who absolutely governed the King (10). He gained her by the Present of a rich Ring, which he let fall on purpose that the Duches might take it up, and that he might tell her, in a gallant manner, that he would not take what had fallen into so good Hands (11). Mezerai rejects this as a meer Story (12); but he confesses (13), that the King could refuse nothing to that Lady, and that she had Credit enough, to contribute very much to restore the Admiral Chabot to favour, who had been degraded, and declared unworthy of his Offices by a solemn Arrêt:

(9) Varillas, ubi supra, lib. ix, pag. m. 370.

(10) Idem, pag. 389.

(11) Idem, pag. 390, 391.

(12) Mezerai, Hist. de France, in folio, Tom. II, pag. 1007.

(13) Idem, pag. 1000, at the year 1540.

(14) Idem, pag. 1014, at the year 1543.

(15) Varillas, Hist. de France, in folio, Liv. IX, pag. 397.

(16) Idem, pag. 413.

2. To ruin the Chancellor Poyet. His Misfortune, as it is reported, says he (14), speaking of this Chancellor, came out of the Lady's Anti-Chamber. The Duches had obtained Letters Royal for la Renaudie, who was at Law with du Tillet, and who carried them to the Seal, with a Recommendation from that Lady. The Chancellor, who supported du Tillet, refused to seal, unless some Alterations were made in it of some things which were not to his Mind. The Lady, being informed of this, was provoked at the Contempt to the last Degree, and cruelly revenged it; for she persuaded the King to commit the Chancellor to Prison, and afterwards a thundering Arrêt of Parliament was issued out against him. Some Historians say (15), that she had a great Share in the Disgrace of the Constable; but they also say, that the Queen of Navarre joined with that Duches to ruin the Chancellor. La Renaudie's Letters Royal were shewed to the King, with the Alterations that Poyet had made in them, and they represented to that Prince, that this struck at his Authority (16). He was contented to tell la Renaudie to carry back his Letters to the Chancellor, and to command him positively, in his Majesty's Name, to dispatch them without any Alteration. La Renaudie returned to the Chancellor, and delivered his Message in an arrogant Style, in the Presence of the Queen of Navarre, who was then soliciting him for one of her Domestics, convicted of having carried off a very rich Heiress. The Chancellor . . . took la Renaudie's Letters, and shewing them to the Queen of Navarre, added, *This is the good Ladies do at Court; they are not satisfied with exercising their Empire there, but proceed to violate the Laws, and dictate to the most consummate Magistrates in the Exercise of their Office.* Though the Chancellor intended what he said only against the Duches, yet, unhappily for him, the Queen of Navarre took it also to herself, because the Terms were equivocal, and might extend as well to the Solicitation she had been making to the Chancellor for the Rape her Servant had committed, as to the Violence they did him, in forcing him to seal la Renaudie's Letters. . . . No sooner was she out of the Chancellor's House, than she went directly to the Duches, to inform her of that Magistrate's Resentment; nor did she leave her till they had concerted the means to discredit him with the King. It must be confessed, it is a great Unhappiness that the Fate of People, their Favour, their Disgrace, should depend upon the Fancy of a Coquet, who scandalizes a whole Kingdom by the criminal Conversation she openly maintains with the Prince: but if any body should pretend to be surprized and astonished at it, and should cry out, *ô tempora, ô mores*, he would justly pass for a Stranger to the World. For he would admire, as an extraordinary thing, what was always very common, and is so still (17), and, according to all appearances, will be so to the end of the World. What comforts the discontented Mind is, that these Coquet Powers are very much exposed to the Wheel of Fortune (18).

(17) Casus multis hic cognitus. Et è medio fortune ductus acervo. Juvenal. Sat. XIII, ver. 9.

(18) See Remark [1] of the Article ESOP, the first.

VOL. II.

she could not hope that her Husband would take her again, or because the Dauphin's Mistress would have the whole Power; the Duches, I say, in this Situation, held Intelligence with Charles V. She was not ignorant of the hatred there was between the two Brothers, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans: this furnished her with Overtures for her Negotiations: she inclined the Emperor to favour the Faction of the Duke of Orleans; and as soon as she knew his Imperial Majesty was disposed to give that young Prince the Investiture of the Milanese, or Low-Countries, she entered into so strict a Correspondence with the Emperor, that there was no Secret passed, either at Court, or in the Council, which he was not punctually informed of: and indeed the first Letter he received, by the Count's means (19), did him so signal a Service, that it saved his Person and his whole Army (20). He was then in Champagne with a very powerful Army; but he wanted Provisions, so that the Soldiers were upon the Point of deserting, when the Count writ him a Note, the Substance of which was, that the Dauphin had large Stores of all sorts of Provisions, for the Substantion of his Army, in Epernay: that the Town was weak of itself; but the French imagined the Emperor would not attempt to surprize it, the River Marne being between it and him: that there had been an Order given to break down the only Bridge by which they could pass; but that the Duches had so artfully eluded the Execution of it, that the Bridge was still in a Condition to be serviceable: from whence the Count concluded, that his Imperial Majesty had nothing to do but to make haste, in order to have wherewithal to refresh his own Army, and to throw the French Army into the same Straits from whence he had been delivered. The Emperor made use of this Information, and appeared before Epernay, when it was least expected, the terrified Inhabitants of which opened the Gates to him. He was still in the Transports of this Conquest, which restored his Affairs, when he received a second Note from the Count, telling him that there was in Chateau Thierry another Magazine of Meal and Corn, no less considerable than that of Epernay. That there were then no Troops appointed to guard it; and that if the Dauphin lost it, it would be impossible for him to follow his Imperial Majesty's Army so close as to prevent its principal Progress. The Emperor, allured by the prodigious Benefit he received from the first Advice, turned towards Chateau-Thierry, which he forced with very little Loss, the Inhabitants, who had received no supply of Troops, not being able to withstand the Assault. The abundance of all things which was found therein, even beyond the Hopes of the Imperialists, &c. (21). The Court of France, reduced to strange Extremities, did all that could be done in such a Conjunction: but the Secret, which should have been the Soul of this great Affair, was not kept, and France would infallibly have changed its Master, if something superior to humane Reason had not prevented the approaching Revolution it was threatened with. The Dauphin acted entirely in concert with the King, his Father, and the King took no Measures which the Duches did not immediately give the Emperor notice of by the Count de Bussy (22). The Conformation was so great in Paris, that the richest Citizens fled with their most valuable Effects, some towards Orleans, and others to the side of Rean (23). One Woman was the cause of all this Disorder (24). Dux famina fassi. A Woman would at that time have overthrown the Monarchy, if Charles the Fifth's Head had not turned giddy, or if secret Jealousies had not arose between him and Henry VIII, King of England (25), with whom he had before-hand divided the whole Kingdom. Francis I came off at an easy rate, and found himself at Peace in the Month of September the same Year (26).

As Mr Varillas always took a Pleasure in telling things that are uncommon and wonderful, I should not much depend upon his Account, if I did not find the Substance of the same in Mezerai. The French Army, says he (27), had Plenty of Provisions, while

(19) It was the Count de Bussy, who managed the Duches's affairs, and negotiated for her with Charles V. He was of the House of Longueval.

(20) Varillas, Hist. de France, in folio, Liv. XI, pag. 101, at the year 1544.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Ibid. pag. 103.

(23) Ibid. pag. 104.

(24) The Description Mezerai has made, Tom. II, in folio, pag. 1031, of the consternation of the Parisians, is dismal. The run aways were plundered upon the road, and the women ravished.

(25) He was at the same time upon the coast of Picardy, taking towns.

(26) The Treaty of Crepi was concluded the 18th of Sept. 1544.

(27) Vol. II, in the folio, pag. 1031.

(c) See Remarks
[C], [F], and
[A].

Punishment it deserved [F], and which would have brought *France* under the Power of Foreigners, if *Charles V* had known how to improve the Opportunity. As she had used her Husband very ill (c), she had no resource after the Death of *Francis I*, and saw herself reduced to spend the rest of her Life in a Country-Seat [G]. It is said she lived there in the Reformed Religion [H]. The Duke of *Estampes* had caused Informa-

tations

(28) Mezerai speaks more positively in the Life of Henry II. Nicholas Bossu-Longueval, says he, pag. 1058, Vol. II, who was of the Lady *Estampes's* Caval, accused not without Reason of having advised the Imperialists to take *Epinal* and *Chateau-Thierry*, redeemed his life by his fine house at *Marchez* near *Laon*, which he gave to the Abp of *Rheims* by a pretended sale. See the following Remark.

(29) Varillas, Hist. de Hen. II, Livr. I, pag. 67, at the year 1547.

(30) He proposed this by *Nicolas de Peloué* his Sister's son, one of the Cardinal's Domestic.

(31) Varillas, ubi supra, Livr. I, pag. 68.

(32) Mezerai, Tom. II, in folio, pag. 1058.

(33) That is, *Diana of Poitiers*, Mistress to Henry II.

the Imperialists were in such want of every thing, that, in a few Days, they must have perished, if the Treason of a Woman had not restored them to Strength and Vigour. There were at that time two Parties at Court, that of the Lady d'*Estampes*, the King's Mistress, and that of *Diana de Poitiers*, the Dauphin's Mistress. The former of these Ladies, stimulated with a furious Jealousy against the other, adhered to the Interests of the Duke of *Orleans*, that she might have a Support in that Prince, if the King should die and informed the Emperor of all that passed in the Council, trusting to the fine Promises he made her, that in case a Peace could be concluded, he would make the Duke of *Orleans* one of the most powerful Princes in Europe. And it is said (28), that when he was in such pressing Necessities, that he could no otherwise have saved his Life and Army, than by surrendering it into the Hands of his Enemies, she gave him Advice that there was a great Quantity of Provisions at *Epernay*, one of the Magazines of our Camp, and that the Dauphin having commanded a Captain of Foot to break down the Bridge, and throw into the River all the Provisions they could not carry off in three Days, she retarded the Execution of this Order by the Contrivance of *Longueval*, who was her Confidant, and intimate Friend. So that the Enemy, finding store of Provisions and Plunder in this Town, and still a greater in *Chateau-Thierry*, which they surprized by Advice from the same Lady, refreshed themselves to the full, &c.

[F] In which the Cardinal of Lorraine screened her from the Punishment she deserved.] I shall make use of *Varillas's* Words to explain this whole Mystery of Iniquity. Here is what he says in relating the State of Affairs, the first Year of the Reign of Henry II. 'The Count de *Bossu* was the principal Cause of the Progresses the Emperor made in *Champaign* before the Treaty of *Crespi*, and it was imagined that the sole Protection of the Duchefs of *Estampes* was capable of exempting him from Punishment. After the Favour of that Lady expired with the King, they thought of bringing *Bossu* to Justice; and it was believed, that his Prosecution would serve to maintain the Reputation of *France*, by letting Foreigners know, that if the Emperor had advanced so near the Capital City, it was only by means of an infamous Treason, the Punishment of which had been deferred, but not omitted. *Bossu* was not wanting to himself in such a dangerous Juncture, and knowing himself guilty, fought for Protection from the Cardinal of Lorraine alone (29). He let him know, that he would give him his Castle of *Marchez*, provided his Person and other Effects in France were secured to him (30). This Proposal was accepted: the Cardinal solicited *Bossu's* Pardon. 'The Expedient, which was of most service to him, was to shew the King, that the Count de *Bossu's* Crime was common to him with the Duchefs of *Estampes*; and that consequently he could not be legally prosecuted, without involving the Duchefs in the same, and blemishing the beginning of his Reign with a remarkable and unnecessary Affront to the Memory of his Father, by leaving to the Vengeance of public Justice the Object he had so tenderly loved for near Twenty two Years. The King yielded to this Reason, though it was not an unanswerable one, and *Bossu* got happily off (31).

[G] She found herself reduced to spend the rest of her Days in a Country-seat.] Here is what Mezerai says of it, speaking of the Alterations at Court after the Death of *Francis I*. 'As for the Lady d'*Estampes*, she retired to one of her Houses, despised by all, and by her Husband himself, who was *Jobn de Brosse*, where she lived yet some Years in the secret Exercise of the Reformed Religion, corrupting abundance of other Persons by her Example (32). Mr *Varillas* reasons at large upon the Motives which induced the Seneschal's Lady (33) not to carry her Revenge to the utmost Extremity, and he concludes with these

Words (34): 'Be that as it will, she was contented to shew an Indifference for every thing that concerned the Duchefs, and left her peaceably to enjoy what she had got in the preceding Reign, although there was enough in her Conduct to have exposed her to the Rigour of the Laws. It was easy to see, that the Duchefs of *Estampes* was happier in this Point than any body, or even herself could have thought, since every Courtier concluded she would be ruined. She retired to one of the Country Houses she had purchased; where she bore the Absence and Hatred of the Duke of *Estampes*, her Husband, with the less Trouble, as she never had much Value for him. Private Memoirs do not discover the Cause of this; but if it is allowed to conjecture from the Verbal Process of that Duke against her, which is found among the Manuscripts of *Lomenie*, one would think that either he had but little Sense, or was very insensible (35), since he contributed to his own Infamy, by defaming his Wife with as much Care, as Persons of his Quality, if they are prudent, take to establish or increase their Reputation.'

[H] It is said she lived there in the Reformed Religion.] We have already seen what Mezerai says upon this Particular: he is not so copious as *Varillas*, who seeks for the Motives of it, and relates several Circumstances. 'The Judgments of God, says he (36), are terrible against habitual Sins, and particularly against those which are contrary to Purity. The Duchefs of *Estampes* had lived One and twenty Years in a public Disorder, and Calvinism appeared to her the properest of all the Sects to stifle the Remorse of her Conscience, because on the one hand it took away the Necessity of Confession; and on the other hand it declared, that all Men were equally Enemies to God, and were only distinguished one from another by an imputative Justice. Nothing was more commodious to encourage the Duchefs of *Estampes* in her Crimes than these two Maxims; and she became so thoroughly convinced of the Truth of them, that she not only turned Calvinist, but she protected also, as much as she could, without too much discovering herself, those that had been seized for the new Heresy, and would have been irretrievably condemned to the Stake. For this she had need of all her Charms, and all her Art; for though the Love *Francis I* had for her the first time he saw her at *Mount Marfan*, where she accompanied the Duchefs of *Angoulême*, his Mother, in Quality of Maid of Honour, was not diminished: nevertheless, in all Probability, if he had known that she had been a Calvinist, he would have spared her as little as he did his Valet de Chambre *Mitron*, whom he reprov'd in such a manner for the same Fault, that he ran mad, and, upon going out of the *Louvre*, threw himself headlong in the first Well he could light upon. But after the Death of *Francis I*, the Duchefs of *Estampes* did not think herself obliged to observe such a profound Dissimulation as she had done before. She lived like a Calvinist at her House in the Country; and the only Precaution she took was not to keep a Minister. She went no more to Mass but upon solemn Days, and was not content with perverting those of her Domestic, who had the weakness to change their Religion to please her, and with turning away the rest; but farther, she spent only so much of the great Estate she had got while she was in favour, as was absolutely necessary for the Subsistence of her Family, putting the remainder in a place which was then called *la Boite à Perrete*, that is to say, into the Hands of those who distributed it among poor Calvinists, or who employed it in corrupting poor Mechanics, or country People, who made no scruple to renounce the ancient Religion; because, when they gave them Money, they assured them they should want nothing for the future, provided they embraced the new Religion, and persevered in it.'

(34) *Varillas*, ubi supra, p. 34, at the year 1547.

(35) These words shall be examined in the Remark [K].

(36) Hist. de Henri II, livr. 4, p. 34.

I shall

mations to be made against her [I], in which a wonderful thing happened, viz. Henry II underwent the Interrogatories in Favour of that unhappy Husband. Mr Varillas was ignorant

REFLEXIONS upon this Account of *Varillas* concerning the Calvinism of the Dukes of *Estampes*.

(37) Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. i, pag. m. 22.

(38) It is very probable the Count du Bussy lay with her. Weigh well *Mazarin's* Expressions above, Citat. (27). See also Remark [I], and consult *Branche's* Vie de *Henri II*, pag. 6.

(39) Hebr. xi, 31.

(40) Tom. I, liv. i, p. 8, 9.

(41) *Varillas*, Hist. de *Hen. II*, liv. i, pag. 56.

I shall make two Reflexions upon this Account. The first is my wonder at the Silence of *Theodore Beza*. If it is true, that the Dukes of *Estampes* was so extremely charitable towards those of the Reformed Religion, and contributed so largely to increase the number of the Protestants, certainly he must have known it. How comes it to pass then, that his History of the Churches, wherein there are abundance of things of less Importance, should have nothing concerning that Lady? I grant, that for political Reasons he may have affected not to join her with the Queen of *Navarre*, as *Maimbourg* has done (37), in persuading *Francis I* to hear the Protestant Preachers. I grant, he might think it would reflect Dishonour upon the Reformation, if it was confessed, that That Lady, actually immersed in a public Adultery, favoured the new Religion; but I ask, why should he observe the same Conduct with respect to the good Offices she did the Cause during her Retirement? Was it a Scandal to the Reformation, that such a Woman should make Profession of it? A Woman I say, who had criminally lost her Virginity; who afterwards had been false to her Husband, to her Galant (38), to her King, to her Country; who had abused his Favour to commit a thousand Acts of Injustice; to whom, in short, all France might impute the Misfortune of so many Families ruined, and so many Women ravished, the Shame of an injurious Treaty of Peace, and the loss of a very favourable Opportunity to destroy the Army of *Charles V*, and gloriously to revenge all the Affronts they had received of that mortal Enemy of the French Name? But, besides that *Theodore Beza* might be ignorant of the detestable Intrigues of that Duchess with *Charles V*, and the black and vile Ingratitude she was guilty of to a King, who loved her so tenderly, would we have this Minister more nice than the Scriptures? Did the Evangelists make any difficulty of publishing, that *Mary Magdalen* followed *JESUS CHRIST*? Did not the Apostles place *Rabab*, the Harlot (39), among the Cloud of the most Illustrious Witnesses that the Old Testament can furnish us with, for the support of our Faith? What harm could it do the Reformed Churches, that their Historian should confess, that a Mistress of the Great King *Francis I*, convinced of the Vanities of the Court, should renounce the Papal Superstitions, and give Glory to Truth, in order to expiate her past Guilt? I conclude then, that *Theodore Beza*, and such as he, having made no mention of a Fact they could not be ignorant of, and which they had no good Reason to suppress, we ought to suspend our Belief of it, till good Proof is brought for it. I know, that the modern Author of the History of the Edict of *Nantz* assures us (40), that this Duchess openly favoured the Lutherans, and that after the King's Death she lived very much retired, in all the Exercises of the Protestant Religion, protesting with all her Power those that made Profession of it; but as I am persuaded he says this only upon *Mezerai's* Word, I do not alter my Opinion.

My second Reflexion is concerning the Controversies, with which Mr *Varillas* has intermeddled in such a manner, as to provoke some choleric Divines to give him a thousand hard Names. I do not believe, that any Sect of Christians have Doctrines which can fit a Woman sunk into a habit of Adultery in the sight of the World; but of all the Western Communions none should have been less to the Taste of *Francis* the First's Mistress, than what they call Calvinism; for that proclaims open War, not only with Adultery and Gallantry, but also with the Vanities of the Court, Gaming, Dancing, and loose Discourse. Judge if such a Gospel as this could be a great Temptation to our Dukes of *Estampes*. The Historian's two Reasons are very bad ones; for Confession is not the only means to awaken the Conscience, nor is it a very forcible means to awaken it. *Diana of Poitiers* was no better than the Dukes of *Estampes*, though *Varillas* informs us (41), that she had a prodigious Aversion for the Anti-Catholics. Nay more: That Author confesses, that, during the Life of *Francis I*, that Duchess durst not declare her Sentiments. She was forced then to submit to the Austerities of the Roman Discipline, Fasts, Confession, &c. What would she have got by following internally the System of *Calvin*? If she

found any thing commodious in it, she was not allowed to take the Benefit of it: so that the whole Charm of it was taken away, and the Allurement lost its Force. Add to this, that she could not inwardly adhere to Calvinism, without believing, that, by assisting at Mass, she committed the greatest of all Crimes, and consequently nothing was more likely to torment her Conscience, than to follow the Faith of the Reformers in a Court where she was obliged to profess regularly the Catholic Religion. For as to the Doctrine of Imputative Justice, Mr *Varillas* judges of it, as a blind Man does of Colours, since all the Protestants acknowledge, that That Justice is of no Service without Repentance: therefore it is not true, that it is the only thing which distinguishes the good Men from the bad.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, I have discovered that *Florimond de Remond* has said something of the pretended Lutheranism of the Dukes of *Estampes*. He places her in the number of those Ladies that the Lutherans had inveigled, and who gave them Access to the Queen of *Navarre*, Sister to *Francis I*. He puts into the same Catalogue the Lady *Cani*, and the Lady *Pisseleu*, Sister to this Duchess, and he affirms, that these gained some others. The Conquest of these simple Souls, adds he, and of this weak Sex, was very easy; for the Rigour of the Laws, and Rules of the Church, and particularly the Trouble of Confession, was insupportable to many among them (42). But besides that he quotes no Author, he inserts so little upon this Fact, gives so few Particulars, is so destitute of Circumstances, that I cannot change my Opinion. I fancy his Authorities were reduced to a loose Hear-say, which he had a mind to make the most of, in order to decant upon a common Topic, viz. the Stratagem of the old Serpent to deceive the first Woman. Upon which the Historian has collected I know not how many moral Reflexions and Authorities. But this is a pitiful Common-place which has this defect, that it may be retorted by every Sect. See the General Criticism of the History of Calvinism (43).

[I] The Duke of *Estampes* ordered Informations to be taken against her.] We shall find Mr *Varillas* to be mistaken again: 'She lived, says he (44), in such a Misunderstanding with the Duke, her Husband, that he caused a juridical Enquiry to be made after her Conduct since her Marriage: This could be imputed to nothing but Jealousy, which forced him to take such shameful Measures, in order to be revenged of his Wife, when she should lose the Protection of the King.' If *Varillas* had well read the Manuscripts which he boasts were communicated to him, he would not have reasoned as he has done upon the Motives of the Duke of *Estampes*. He would have known, that the Enquiries into the Duchess's Conduct were made long after the Death of *Francis I*, and that the Husband's Design was not to make it known, that his Spouse had not kept her conjugal Vows. He must have been the weakest of all Men, if he had thought there wanted Informations to prove him a Cuckold. All France was persuaded of it, would have sworn to it, and would have laughed at any body that should have questioned it. The Enquiry therefore was not a Matter of Jealousy, nor did it tend to a Design of Revenge after the Decease of *Francis I*. I have already said, that it was made after the Death of that Prince. And I add, that it tended not to discover the Damage the Duke of *Estampes* had suffered in his Honour, by his Wife's Conduct, but what he had suffered in his Estate, in order to collect Proofs for a Law-Suit. Mr *le Laboureur* will inform us of this. 'The Duke, says he (45), not only had but a bare Title to the Estate that *Francis I* gave him, but also paid the Interest of it out of his own. Here is a Proof of it from the very Mouth, and attested upon Oath, in Court, by King *Henry II*, whom he intreated to depose in his Favour in the Law-Suit he had with *Odet de Bretagne*, Count de *Vertus*, his Cousin, as Heir of *Francis de Bretagne*, his elder Brother, Count de *Vertus*; which *Francis* having married *Charlotte de Pisseleu*, Sister to the Dukes of *Estampes*, she obliged the Duke, her Husband, to do her what

(42) *Florimond de Remond*, Hist. de la naissance & progrès de l'Herésie, liv. vii, cap. iii, pag. m.

(43) At the 73th Paragraph of the XXth Letter, 3d Edit. See also the Remark [D] of the Article GREGORY I.

(44) *Varillas*, Hist. de *Francis I*, liv. xi, pag. 96.

(45) *Le Laboureur*, Addit. aux Mémoires de *Castelnau*, Tom. I, pag. 864.

(d) In the Article POITIERES (DIANA).

ignorant both of the Time and Motives of this Adventure [K]. I shall examine, in another Place (d), the other Chronological Faults that he and his Transcriber (e) have committed.

(e) The Author of the Galanteries des Rois de France.

Justice she thought fit upon her Pretensions, on Account of *Magdalen de Brosse de Bretagne*, her Grandmother. And besides the leave of inquiring further into the matter, which the King granted him the third of June, 1556, at Paris, he also did him the Favour to undergo the Interrogatory the twelfth of the said Month, at the House commonly called the *Maison Maigret*, in the Street *St Avoise*, which he gave afterwards to the Constable *Montmorenci*, in Presence of whom he declared, That the Duke of *Eftampes* had often told him, that he very much feared the Marriage of the Count de *Vertus*, with the Sister of the Lady d'*Eftampes*, was done at his Expence. . . . That there was a common Report, that *Longueval* managed all the Affairs of that Duke's (46), and that the Duke often complained that he made him do many things to his Disadvantage. That the Honours which the said *Longueval* had had are sufficiently known, and came by the Favour of the said Duke's. That the Duke often complained, that the said Lady received the Income of his Government of *Bretagne*, that he enjoyed nothing himself. That he was most aggrieved by the Contracts that were made for the Lady d'*Avignon*. That the Duke several times complained to him. . . . that he was forced to do many things, and make Contracts to the Injury of himself and Family according to the Pleasure of the said Lady, the said *Longueval*, and others, their Agents & wherefore, &c.

(46) See Remark [E] Citat. (19).

(47) *Varillas*, Hist. de François I, Liv. XI, pag. 98, at the year 1544.

[K] *Varillas* was ignorant of the Time and Motives of this Adventure.] This evidently appears by our preceding Remark; but here are new Proofs of it. 'In Read, says he (47), speaking of the Duke's of *Eftampes*, of humouring, whilst he was in Favour, the Duke, her Husband, whose Temper, little inclined to, and almost insensible of, the Pleasures of Love, would have been amused by any trifling Marks of the King's Liberality, or any empty Employments, provided he had them when he wanted them, he slighted him to that degree, till he was transported beyond all Decency, and by the strangest Caprice that ever jealousy inspired a Man with, published himself his own Dishonour by the Juridical Enquiry into his Wife's Conduct, mentioned before. This Proceeding, which rendered them irreconcilable, deprived the Duke's of all Hope of ever returning to her Husband, and reduced her to such a Degree of Misery, that the Seneschal's Lady, after the Death of the King, might have employed the same Husband as an Instrument to torment her, till her Revenge should be fully satiated.' Here we find Mr *Varillas* fully persuaded that [the Juridical Enquiry of the Duke of *Eftampes* was already made in the Year 1544, in the Life-time of Francis I; and yet it was not made till 1556. So that all his fine Reasonings, built thereon, are no more than meer Chimeras. It is a dangerous Rock for Historians, who look too much into the Motives of the Conduct of Courts, without sufficiently consulting Chronology. Farther, we see this Historian perfectly satisfied that a strange jealous Humour prompted the Duke to inform, in a Juridical Way, against his Wife; and yet those Informations proceeded only from a Desire to get the better in a considerable Law-Suit. For the rest, Mr *Varillas* is not the only one that pretends this Husband had the weakness to expose his own Dishonour to the Eyes of the World. The Abbot de *St Real* was of the same Opinion. His Words are (48): 'What

(48) *Cesario*, *Entretien I*, pag. 21, *Hague Edit.* 1635.

(49) Mr *Le Laboureur* seems to me much more credible: he says, *Addit. à Costellau*, Tom. I, pag. 364, that the Duke pleaded not against his Wife, but against the Count de *Ver*us his Cousin.

you said of *Cæsar*, who would not accuse his Wife's Galant, puts me in mind of another Husband. I have heard talked of some time ago, who was not so nice. I mean the Husband of the charming Duke's of *Eftampes*, first Mistress to Francis I. After the Death of that Prince, the good Man would receive a Process against her (49), which he could not pursue till then, because of the Consideration the King had, during his whole Life, for that Lady; and being to prove that Impossibility in Court, he caused an Information to be taken, in which Henry II, and the principal Persons of the Court, testified, at his Request, in the most decent Terms they could find, the great Power of that Lady over

the late King, and the strict Friendship there was between her and that Prince.' Mr *le Laboureur* is not far from this way of judging: 'The poor Duke, says he (50), must have suffered much to have been obliged to leave to Posterity that injurious Monument of his Misfortune and Disgrace.' Mr *Varillas* then has some Associates, though they do not express themselves so forcibly as he has done, when he assures us (51), 'That the Duke of *Eftampes* must have had very little Understanding, or a very great Insensibility, since he contributed to his own Infamy, by exclaiming against his Wife with as much Care as Persons of his Quality, if they are prudent, take to establish or increase their Reputation.'

With Submission to these Gentlemen, I think they are a little in the wrong in the Sentence they pronounce against this Duke. His was not the case of those Husband who dishonour themselves by publishing their being Cuckolds. When a Man is a Cuckold by a superiour Power, and demonstrates to the World by public Steps, that he is no voluntary Cuckold, but is enraged that he cannot revenge the Insult done him, he openly preserves both his Honour and his Reputation. If the Quality of Sovereign does not blot out the Infamy with respect to a Mistress, at least it does so with respect to a Husband who boldly expresses his Indignation; and a Husband is so far from dishonouring himself by giving public Proofs of the Contempt he has conceived for his Wife, that on the contrary he would dishonour himself if he served her for a Cover, and prevented her Leudness being known, by fathering the Children she should have by the Prince. I know Courtiers call the ill humour of That Husband a Polly, who has not the Address to arrive at Pensions, Polls, and Governments of Provinces, by a ready consent that his Wife should indulge her Sovereign with the last Favours; but I know also that, on the other side, they despise the voluntary Cuckold who has this Address, and cruelly rally him upon his Horn of Plenty, and it is so true that, even according to the corrupt Judgment of the Age, a Husband does himself an Honour in not conniving at his Wife who is become Mistress to a Prince, that it would be thought an Encomium upon him to observe this Conduct of his in an Epitaph, Funeral Oration, or such like Pieces; and they would not dare to commend the contrary Behaviour of those who should have dissembled such an Affront in order to make their Fortunes. Mankind is greatly depraved, but not to such a Degree, that the Traffic, a Husband should make by his Wife, should be looked upon as an honourable Action. It is indeed a means too commonly made use of to acquire Riches; it was known to old *Rome* (52), and has been in Practice ever since; and yet it is not altogether void of the contempt, and shame it deserves.

Besides, it must be considered there is a difference between our Duke of *Eftampes* and *Cæsar*, or any other private Person who goes to Law in order to be declared a Cuckold. The Amours of *Cæsar's* Wife were not public: the Accused did not confess the Fact; the same may be said of the Causes of Adultery, which sometimes come into our Courts. But as for the Duke's of *Eftampes*, she did not deny being Francis the First's Mistress: the King denied it still less (53); so that their Commerce passed all over Europe for a certain and incontestable Fact. Therefore the Duke made no Additions to his Infamy by his Enquiry; and he ought not to be taken for a Man of Insensibility, or little Understanding on account of the Information: he ought not to be compared to those Husbands who publish domestic Adventures, which it is in their Power to hide behind the Curtain. A Juridical Enquiry is not a Monument so much to be feared as an History. Now the Duke of *Eftampes* might be firmly persuaded that a hundred good Historians would eternize his Wife's Adultery; and since the Enquiry might be of great service to him in a Law-Suit of Consequence, he is to be commended for having taken it: for in not taking it he did not hinder his disgrace, if any disgrace there was, from being as public as before.

(50) Item, pag. 805.

(51) Hist. de Henri II, Liv. I, pag. m. 34.

JUSTIFICATION of the Duke of *Eftampes* concerning the Inquiry against his Wife.

(52) *Scintille* & c. cavete regis ultro Penelope facili potiori trade. Horat. Sat. V, Lib. II, vers. 75.

(53) See the following Remarks.

I have

mitted. I can hardly believe that *Francis I* should ever say seriously that he did not lie with that Lady [L], and I very much question whether she desired that it should be credited.

If what a learned Man has related be true, *Francis* the First's Love for her did not begin at the Time above-mentioned (f), that is to say, upon that Prince's return into *France* (f) In the Remark [B]. from his Confinement at *Madrid*; for that learned Man supposes she was the King's Mistress before the Constable of *Bourbon* entered into the Party of *Charles V*; now he did this in 1523, and *Francis I* was not set at Liberty till 1526.

I have one thing more to say, which alone would be sufficient for his Justification. Which is, that he did not make Enquiries to prove his being a Cuckold, but to prove that his Wife had spent great part of his Estate. Could one blame a Man who, in a Law-Suit for the recovery of that Estate, makes it appear by judicial Proceedings that his Wife had unjustly taken it from him. It is observed, unless it be narrowly looked into, that no Women are more complaisant towards their Husbands, than those that sit them with a pair of Horns. See thereupon one of the Tales of *Mr de la Fontaine* (54). Therefore the Duke of *Estampes* Adversaries might have pretended that his Wife had made over to him several Gifts and Benefits, that he might patiently bear the ill Name she had given him. So that he was obliged to prove judicially that she had caused him very great losses.

Wherefore he is not to be blamed for adding to the Title of Cuckold in Chronicle, that of Cuckold upon Record; for the latter was eminently contained in the former, and not being able to aggravate his dishonour, it might save him a great damage. Blame as much as you please those, who having no reason to fear their disgrace should be inserted in the Annals of the State, carry it to be registered in the Parliament Rolls; but do not blame those who do this, when they are sure not to escape the Pen of the most sincere Historians. The Count de *Buffi Rabutin* received a Letter in 1668, wherein there is a Man mentioned who was in the former of these Cases. These are his Words, *As to the Letter of Madam de . . . to Monsieur de . . . it has not been banded about. The Husband shewed it to the King and carried it to the Parliament, so that, not being a Cuckold in Chronicle, he shall be one upon Record* (54).

[L] I can hardly believe that *Francis I* should ever seriously say that he did not lie with that Lady. The Author I contradict here is not of weight enough to give me any scruple upon the Liberty I take with him. These are his Words: 'King *Francis* then being set at Liberty, and returning out of *Spain*, the Regent his Mother came to meet him at *Bordeaux*, accompanied with several Ladies, among whom was *Ann de Pisseleu* who was afterwards Countess of *Pontievre*, and then Duchess of *Estampes* on her Husband's Account. A Lady who was afterwards always in the King's Favour, for he did for her what he had denied to others, and tho' dishonest Suspitions were raised of that Intimacy, yet the King cleared himself, protesting that he only loved that Lady for her gracefulness and good humour. However it is thought he lay with her, since he was inclined to the love of Women, which was the only

Vice that Prince was affected with (56). It is not probable that Prince should ever think of protesting in earnest that nothing dishonest had ever passed between him, and the Duchess of *Estampes*. He had too much Sense, and too great Knowledge of the World, not to know that no Body would credit such Protections, when his Inclination to the fair Sex was so public; and besides, as Matters then stood, he would have feared to make himself contemptible to his whole Court if he had passed for a young Prince, who had had a fine young Lady so long without asking or receiving any Favours from her. The Protection they impute to him, would be more probable, if he had begun to favour the Duchess when they had both been of mature Age; but he appeared to be in Love with her as soon as he was released out of Prison, when he was but Thirty two Years old, and *Mademoiselle de Heilly* was a young Maid full of Charms. What likelihood is there, that he did not press her to come to a Conclusion, and did not soon obtain his Point? If the fair one had been of an invincible Virtue, no doubt he would have directed his Sighs to another Object before the end of the Year. But I know no Author, who is so simple as to commend our *Ann de Pisseleu* for her Chastity. The Credulity of the Author I confuse stopped in the middle of it's Course; for if he was persuaded that *Francis I* protested his Innocence, he did not suppose that Protection was to be believed. If it deserved Credit, and if besides the Duchess had been of the Protestant Party, they would have had in their Communion the greatest instance of Chastity that had ever appeared upon the Earth. In that case this Duchess would have excelled, with respect to this Virtue, not only the Virgins in the Martyrology, but also the Heroines of Romance. Let not this Parallel be wondered at; for I am not the first who has said (57) that the Examples of Virtue, which were feigned in our great Romances formerly (58), went beyond the Practice of the most Holy Women. For the Heroines in the Romance preserve themselves pure and free from all Spot in a Court-Life, beset by a most accomplished Lover they are in love with, stole away from time to time, and always surrounded with the most dangerous Temptations. The Chastity of Nuns, and martyred Virgins, has not the same Difficulties to overcome, and therefore is less wonderful than that of the Ladies in *Clelia* would have been. But as these at the end of two or three Years, more or less, found the end of all their Troubles in a happy Marriage, their incorruptible Virtue is not equal to that, which must be ascribed to the Duchess of *Estampes*, if the King never enjoyed her.

(56) Du Verdier Vau Privas, Profopogr. Tom. III, pag. 2347.

(57) See the *Abbat de Villiers*, in his *Reflexions sur les Defauts d'Aurui*.

(58) *Callandra*, *Cleopatra*, *Cyrus*, *Clelia*, &c.

EUCLID, a Native of *Megara*, and Disciple of *Socrates* [A], did not follow the Taste of his Master; for instead of addicting himself chiefly to the Doctrine of Morality, he set himself to refine the Subtilties of Logic. He founded a Sect, which passes for

(1) Cicero, Acad. Quest. lib. iv, cap. xlii.

(2) Strabo, lib. ix, circa init. pag. m. 271.

(3) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, in Socrate, m. 47.

[A] He was a Disciple of *Socrates*. Cicero (1), Strabo (2), and *Diogenes Laërtius* (3) testify this; but none of them relate one curious Circumstance which we find in *Aulus Gellius*; viz. that *Euclid* not daring to go to *Athens*, because the *Athenians* had made it Death for the *Megarians* to come thither, went by Night disguised like a Woman, and, after having received *Socrates*'s Instructions, returned the next morning to *Megara* under the same disguise. Note, he had been that Philosopher's Disciple before that severe Decree of the *Athenians* was made. 'Decreto suo Athenienses caverant, ut qui Megaris civis esset, si intulisset Athenas pedem prehenus esset, ut ea res ei homini capitalis esset. . . . Tum Euclides, qui indidem Megaris erat, quique ante id decretum & esse Athenis & audire Socratem consueverat, postquam id decretum sanxerat VOL. II.

runt, sub noctem, quum advesperasceret, tunica longa muliebri indutus & pallio varicolori amictus, & caput rica velatus è domo sua Megaris Athenas ad Socratem commeabat; ut vel noctis aliquo tempore consiliorum sermonumque ejus fieret particeps: rursumque sub lucem millia passuum paulo amplius viginti, eadem veste illa testus redibat (4). *Aulus Gellius* relates in this place, what he had heard from a celebrated Platonic Philosopher named *Taurus*, who was making a Comparison between what was practised towards *Socrates*, and what the Philosophers did then: we see now-a-days, said he, Philosophers going to teach in rich Houses, and waiting till Noon when their Pupils have dissipated the fumes of Wine. At nunc, inquit, videre est Philosophos ultro currere, ut doceant, ad fores juvenum divitum; eosque ibi sedere

(4) *Aul. Gellius*, lib. vi, cap. x.

for a branch, or rather a continuation, of the School of *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides*, and *Zeno Eleates* (a). Those, who followed his Method of philosophizing, were named *Megarians*, *Megarici*, and afterwards *Disputers*, and at last *Dialecticians* (b). His Opinions are little known, and it is pretty difficult to comprehend any thing in his Doctrine of the Nature of Good [B]. He made use of nothing but Conclusions in his Disputes [C], by which we may judge of the ardor and impetuosity he mixed with them. We may also judge of it by the Character of the Temper he inspired his Disciples with. Which was a rage or fury of disputing (c). *Eubulides*, who succeeded him, was the Inventor of divers Sophisms exceedingly captious and perplexing [D]. *Alexinus*, who succeeded *Eubulides*

(a) Cicero, Acad. Quest. lib. iv, cap. xlii.

(b) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 106.

(c) See the Remark [D].

(5) Idem. ibid.

(6) The third of the first Act.

(7) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 106.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Cicero, Acad. Quest. lib. iv, cap. xlii.

(10) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 107.

(11) Cicero, in Quæst. Acad. lib. iv, cap. viii.

(12) Id. de Divinat. lib. ii, cap. liii.

(13) Gassend. de Logic. cap. iiii, pag. 40, Tom. I, Opera.

federe atque opperiri prope ad meridiem, donec discipuli nocturnum omne vinum edormiant (5). This will put some Readers in mind of the Comedy of *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, in which one of the most agreeable Scenes (6) is composed of a Master in Philosophy, a Music Master, a Dancing Master, a Fencing Master, &c. I know not whether *Aristophanes* and *Lucian* ever rallied the Philosophers more cruelly than *Moliere* has done in that place. He represents them as going from House to House like Dancing Masters, and Fencing Masters; and then he supposes they quarrel with other Masters, and are soundly beaten by them. Note, the Civil-Law has been as much debased as Philosophy. Most of the young Men had a Prompter come to them for the Institutes, and did not take the trouble of going to the public Lectures. Mr *le Tellier*, who died Chancellor of France, made Regulations against this abuse.

[B] It is very difficult to comprehend any thing in his Doctrine of the Nature of Good. He made it one under different Names: they call it, added he, sometimes Prudence, sometimes God, sometimes Understanding, and so of the rest (7). He rejected all things contrary to good, and even taught that they had no Existence (8). Thus his Doctrine is represented by *Diogenes Laërtius*; but *Cicero* says of it, 'Euclides Socratis discipulus Megareus, à quo iidem illi Megarici dicti, qui id bonum solum esse dicebant quod esset unum & simile, & idem & semper (9). — Euclides the Disciple of Socrates was of Megara: from him those were called Megarians, who maintained that to be the only good, which was one, similar, eternal, and unchangeable.' Either *Cicero* or *Diogenes Laërtius* have ill described this Doctrine of Euclid; for if there is but one good, and if the good is always like itself, and always one, as *Cicero* supposes, how could it be said that Prudence, God, and Understanding, were the good? do not the Prudence and Understanding of Men differ from God? are they like God? do they make one simple and individual Essence with God? I verily believe neither of these Authors did well comprehend the Doctrine of the Megarians; and that they themselves did not understand it, or not explain it aright. We may discern in it some Rays of what our Divines teach of the Nature of sovereign Good. Our Euclid also seems to have had some small Idea of what they teach concerning the Nature of Evil. They say that Evil is nothing, and that it consists in pure Privation. Whom could the Megarians hope to persuade that Diseases, Troubles, Vices, and every thing contrary to good, are chimeras, which have no Existence? their System in this respect was a Chaos.

[C] He used only Conclusions in his Disputes. These are the words of *Diogenes Laërtius* (10): *Ταῖς τε ἀποδείξεσιν ἐνίστατο, ἢ κατὰ λήμματα, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιπόρον. Ὑεβatur probationibus non his quæ per assumptiones, sed quæ per conclusiones sunt.* This Latin Translation is better than that of *Aldobrandinus* which I shall copy: *Argumentorum conclusiones non sumptionibus, sed conclusionibus resellendis oppugnabat.* To speak more freely: *Aldobrandinus's* Version is good for nothing; in vain he cites *Cicero*, who has observed, that the word *ἀπόδειξις* signifies *argumenti conclusio* (11), and that the word *λήμματα* signifies *sumptio* (12): he shall never persuade me there is Sense in these words, to combat the Conclusions of Arguments, not by refuting the Propositions, but by refuting the Conclusions. *Gassendus* in my Opinion has very well explained the Thought of *Diogenes Laërtius*. 'Duo fere solum, says he (13), novimus ex Laërtio, Unum quod soleret Euclides cæterorum demonstrationes non sumptionibus impugnare, sed conclusionibus dumtaxat, nimirum quasi confectiones forent satis perspicuæ, illationes congrebat, Ergo, Ergo, Er-

go; quæ arguendi ratio, quasi respirare non sinens, est omnium urgentissima, quare & cum hoc modo foret instans, premens, ac vehemens, notatus fuit à Timone quasi quandam litigii, seu contentionis rabiem λίσσαν εἰσενεῖν, Megaricis inspiravisset. Alterum quod, &c. — There are two things, says he, our Knowledge of which is almost entirely owing to Laërtius; the one, that Euclid used to oppose the Propositions of others, not by Assumptions, but by Conclusions only, and, as if the Consequences were sufficiently evident, he crowded Inference upon Inference. Therefore, Therefore, Therefore; which Method of argumentation, not suffering as it were a Man to take Breath, is of all others the most irresistible. He was reprimanded by Timon for his warmth, vehemence, and overbearing, as having thereby inspired the Megarians with a litigious madness. The other, &c. Without doubt nothing is more capable of embarrassing and confounding those who maintain a Thesis, than the vehemence with which a Disputant heaps Conclusions upon one another, Ergo, Ergo, Ergo. This was Euclid's Custom.

[D] *Eubulides* was the inventor of divers Sophisms exceedingly captious and perplexing. These are the Names of them: the Liar, the Deceiver, the Eleuthera, the Veiled, the Sorites, the Horned, the Bald (14). You will find in *Gassendus* (15) a good Explanation of all these Sophisms supported by instances. You will find the same in Mr *Ménage* (16). I shall content myself with shewing what the Liar was. He supposed a Man who said *I lie*, and then he argued in such a manner that from what he said true, he concluded that he lied, and from what he lied in he concluded he spoke Truth. 'Si dicis te mentiri, verum; que dicis, mentiris: dicis autem te mentiri, verum; que dicis, mentiris igitur (17).' To puzzle the more, they made one consider, that in such Reasonings as this, as to the form, the Conclusion was true; how then dare you reject the Conclusion of this, said they, while you admit that of others? *Cicero* observes that *Chrysippus*, who formed himself these Difficulties, could not resolve them. 'Qui potes hanc non probare, quum probaveris ejusdem generis superiorem? Hæc Chrysippea sunt ne ab ipso quidem dissoluta (18). They built the same Sophism upon that which *Epimenides*, who was of the Isle of Crete, had said, that all the Cretans were Liars. He lied then in saying so, concluded they; therefore the Cretans are not Liars, then they deserve to be believed; then the affirmation of *Epimenides* is to be believed; and then the Cretans are Liars. *Aristotle* (19) has acknowledged that these Sophistries are almost inexplicable. *Africanus*, the Cicerilian, having put a Case, in which the knot was insoluble, compares it to the Sophism here in question. *Dixi τῶν ἀπόρων* hanc questionem esse: qui tractatus apud Dialecticos τῷ ψευδομένῳ dicitur, etenim quidquid constituerimus verum esse, falsum reperietur (20). — I said this Argument was one of the Insoluble, called, by Logicians, the Liar: for whatever is laid down for true, will be found to be false.' It is good to see how *Seneca* laughs at those who lost their time in such vain subtilities: 'Quid me detines in eo, quem tu ipse Pseudomonon appellas, de quo tantum librorum compositum est? Ecce tota mihi vita mentitur: hanc coargue, hanc ad verum, si acutus es, redige (21). — Why do you teize me with your Pseudomonon (Liar) on which so many Fables have been composed? Come, Sir, my whole Life is a Lie; let me have a specimen of your Art in disproving this, and shewing it to be true.' Some by too intense an application to these kind of things contracted a consumptive illness that killed them, and this has been put in their Epitaph (22): *Κενδυνεύεις ὃν ποτε οἶσθ' ἡσυχίαν διὰ ταύτας τὰς φροντιστάς, ἀσπερ ὁ Κείος Φιλητας ζήτων τὸν καλέματον ψευδολόγον τῶν λόγων,*

(14) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 108.

(15) Gassend. de Logic. ubi supra.

(16) Ménage in Laërt. lib. ii, n. 108.

(17) Cicero, Acad. Quest. lib. iv, cap. 15, & 29.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Id. ibid.

(21) Seneca, Epist. xli, p. 241.

(22) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(23) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(24) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(25) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(26) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(27) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(28) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(29) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hevelius Illustratus, in Philo.

(21) Ἄνθρωπος φιλο-
μαχίας τῶν διδασκάλων
καὶ μαθητῶν. Vir
acer & conten-
tiosus viribus ac
hervis clausus :
unde & Elenxi-
nus cognominatus
est. Diog. Laërt.
lib. ii, num. 109.

Eubulides, was a great lover of Dispute, and engaged in it with so much vehemence, that he acquired a surname by it (d). *Diodorus*, another Disciple of *Eubulides*, was so intoxicated and insatuated with this sort of Contest, that he died with Grief, because he could not resolve upon the Spot the Dialectical Questions that *Stilpo* had put to him (e). If this Sect had contributed any thing to the illustration of Truth, it ought to be looked upon as a Prodigy; for nothing is more proper to confound and darken things, and to fill the Minds of Readers and Auditors with Doubts, than an Application to the Quintessence and Subtilties of Controversy [E], which degenerate almost always into wrangling,

(e) Id. ibid.

λόγων, ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ διαλυθῆναι. ἰσχυρὸς γὰρ
πάνυ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὰς ζητήσεις γενόμενος,
ἀπέθανεν ὥς τὸ πρὸ τῆς μνημείας αὐτῆς ἐπι-
γραμμὰ θηλοῖ.

Ἐξίνε Φιλητᾶς εἰμὶ λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενος με
ὦλασε, καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπείροισι.

Est itaque periculum, ne ob has curas aliquando, ut *Philetas* Cous, pervestigans ex rationibus, falsas, & mendaces, exolutus pereas. Nam corpore ob id studium valde attenuato is obiit: quod insculptum ejus monumento declarat hoc Epigramma:

Hosper, *Philetas* sum, mendax & captiosa ratio
Me perdidit, vespertinaeque ac nocturnae studiorum
curae.

There is danger, least, like *Philetas* of Co, you be brought by these laborious studies into a Consumption, and lose your Life like him, who in such researches wasted away, as his Epitaph declares:

Philetas I; destroy'd by painful Toils
In search of Subtilties and captious Wiles.

It might be said then, without Hyperbole or Figure, that the Inventions of *Eubulides* were murdering Sophisms. The subtilties of *Stilpo* his Fellow-Disciple were no less killing (23). This brings near to Truth what *Timon* the Phliarian objected to our *Euclid*: His expression *rage of disputing* becomes thereby less hyperbolic.

(23) See the
Text of this Ar-
ticle, at Citat.
(c).

Ἄλλ' ἔ μοι τέττον φλεδόνων μέλει, ἔδ' ἐ γὰρ
ἀλλ' αὖ
Οὐδ' ἐνός, ἔ φαίδωνος, ὅτις γέ μιν, ἔ δ' ἐλ-
δάντω
Εὐκλείδης, Μεγαρεῦσιν ὅς ἐμβαλε λύσαν ἐ-
ισμῶ.

Non ego horum nugatorum curam gero, nec alterius
Cujusquam; non *Phædonis*, quisquis ille sit, nec
litigiosi
Euclidis, qui *Megarensibus* contentionis rabiem in-
vexit (24).

(24) *Timon*,
apud Diog. Laërt.
lib. ii, n. 107,
pag. m. 142.

These Triflers, and their captious Clan, I hate,
Phædo and *Euclid* forward to debate;
From him his Country catch'd th' infectious Rage.

Note, the Schoolmen have tried their skill upon this Matter; you need only see what they say of the Propositions which they call *seipias falsificantes* (25).

(25) See *Arriaga*,
Disput. II, in
Summulas, Sect.
iv, Subject. iv,
pag. m. 21, 22.

As I have already spoke at large of the *Sorites* in another place (26), it is not necessary to repeat it here. I shall only say that the *Sophism*, called the *bald*, seems to me a sort of *Sorites*, and which consisted in asking the precise number of Hairs you must take away from a Man to make him bald. Are one or two sufficient? It must be answered, no: they continued to ask, going from three to four, and from four to five, &c; and if at last you answered *such a number was enough*, you will find yourself obliged to confess that the difference between bald, and not bald, consisted in one single hair. See *Gassendus* at Page forty one of the first Volume of his Works.

(26) See the Re-
mark [O] of the
Article CHRY-
SIPPUS.

[E] Nothing is more proper to obscure Mat-
ters, and raise doubts than an application to the
Quintessence of Controversy.] Among all the philoso-
phical Exercises, there are none in which a moderation
is more necessary than in that of Disputation; for no
sooner are you passed certain bounds, but you fall into

useless trifles, and even irregularities, which give the mind an ill turn, and hinder it from finding Truth. To this may be justly applied the following Words of *Aulus Gellius* (27): 'Hos alioque tales argutae delecta-
' bilisque desidiae aculeos quum audiremus, vel leclita-
' remus: neque in his scrupulis aut emolumentum ali-
' quod solidum ad rationem vitae pertinens, aut finem
' ullum quaerendi videremus: Enniam Neoptole-
' mum probabamus, qui profecto ita ait:

(27) Aul. Gell.
lib. 5, cap. 15.
He says in the
next Chapter.
Ejusdem illius
Enniani Neop-
tolemi . . . confi-
lio utendum est,
qui deustandum
ex Philofohia
cenlet non in
eam ingurgitan-
dum. . . . We
should follow the
Advice of the
same Neoptolemus
in Ennius, to
ste of Philofo-
phy but not in-
timate ourselves
with it.

Philosophandum est paucis: nam omnino haud placet.

'When I heard or read these or such like subtilties, the
' produce of an easy and undisturbed Retirement, but
' found herein no Solidity, nothing that tended to the
' Improvement of Life, nor any end of such enquiries,
' I could not but approve the sentiments of Neoptolemus
' in Ennius, who says:

Philosophy has bounds which it should never pass.

A Disputation well regulated, and confined to proper limits (28), and where an Explanation of things is only intended, is the most useful thing in the World in the search after Truth; Disputation has not been ill re-
sembled to the striking two Flints together, which
fetches out the invisible sparks of Fire (29). But it
is very difficult to keep a just Medium in this office:
and to this chiefly may be applied the Observation of
Tacitus. 'Retinuit quod est difficillimum ex sapientia,
' or in sapientia modum (30), — And what is most
' difficult, he retained a mean in Philosophy.' If this
Passion for disputing be never so little indulged, one
gets a taste of false glory, which engages always to find
subjects of Contradiction, and from thence forward
good sense is no more hearkened to, and one is aban-
doned to the desire of passing for a great Master of sub-
tilties. A Professor may be excused the pains he takes
to awaken by this way the mind of a young Scholar;
but *Euclid*, and his successors, can never be justified
for having made this the principal business of their
whole Lives, and for attempting to distinguish them-
selves by inventions which tended only to confound
the Mind. They were of no service for the correcting
of Vice, or curing any important defect, and besides
they did not in any manner advance the knowledge
of speculative Truths; but were much more proper to
retard it. These are two enormous Faults. *Seneca* has
very well described the first. 'Invenissent forsitan
' necessaria, nisi & superflua quaesissent. Multum illis
' temporis verborum cavillatio eripuit, & captiosae dis-
' putationes, quae acumen irritum exercent. Nectimus
' nodos, & ambiguum significationem verbis alligamus,
' deinde dissolvimus. Tantum nobis vacat? jam vive-
' re, jam mori scimus? Tota illo mente pergendum
' est, ubi provideri debet, ne res nos, non verba deci-
' piant. Quid mihi vocum similitudines distinguis,
' quibus nemo unquam nisi dum disputat, captus est?
' res fallunt: illas discerne. Pro bonis mala amplecti-
' mur. . . . Adulatio quam similis est amicitiae? . . .
' Doce quemadmodum hanc similitudinem dignoscere
' possim. Venit ad me pro amico blandus inimicus:
' vitia nobis sub virtutum nomine obrepunt: temeritas
' sub titulo fortitudinis latet: moderatio vocatur igna-
' via: pro cauto timidus accipitur. In his magno pe-
' riculo erratur: his certas notas imprime. Ceterum
' qui interrogatur, an cornua habeat, non est tam stul-
' tus, ut frontem suam tentet: nec rursus tam ineptus
' aut hebes, ut non habere se nesciat, quod tu illi subti-
' lissima collectione persuaseris. Sic ista sine noxa de-
' cipiunt, quomodo praestigatorum acetabula & calculi,
' in quibus fallacia ipsa delectat. Effice, ut quomodo
' fiat intelligam: perdidit usum. Idem de istis captio-
' nibus dico: quo enim nomine potius sophismata ap-
' pellem? nec ignoranti nocent, nec scientem juvant.
' Si vis utique verborum ambiguitates deducere; hoc

(28) See the *Art
de Penfer*, Part.
III, cap. 10,
" 7, pag. 354,
where the good
and ill Effects of
Disputation are
very well de-
scribed.

(29) Quærit pars
femina flammæ
Abstrusa in venis
silicis.
Some strike from
flashing Flints
their fiery Seeds.

(30) Tacit. in
Vita Agricola,
cap. iv.

nos

ling, obstinacy, fraud, and vain Sophistry. We know nothing of the physical System of these Philosophers, and there is little probability that their Passion for refining dialectical

(31) Seneca, Epist. xlv, pag. m. 240.

* nos doce, beatum non eum esse, quem vulgus appellat (31). — They would perhaps have discovered things necessary, had they not bunted after things superfluous. They squandered away much time in cavilling about Words, in captious debates, which exercise the Wit to no purpose, in starting difficulties, distinguishing them in ambiguous Terms, and solving them afterwards. Have we then so much useless time on our Hands? Do we know how to live, or how to die? Our principal endeavour should be to distinguish Things, not Words. To what end all this nicety shown about Words, with which no Man, unless while he is disputing, can be taken up? Facts deceive, distinguish them. We embrace the bad instead of the good. . . . How nearly does Flattery resemble Friendship? Teach me to judge of these Resemblances. A sowing Fox would appear a Friend. Vice creeps upon us under the Name of Virtue. Temerity conceals itself under the Name of Courage. Indolence is termed Moderation, and Cowardice passes for Caution. Error in these cases is of dangerous Consequence. Fix your Criteria here. But the Man, who is asked whether he has Horns, cannot be Fool enough to feel his brows, nor so stupidly credulous as to imagine he has what you by a Chain of subtilties would persuade him. Error in this case is harmless, like the Juggler's box and balls, where the fallacy is entertaining. Make me to know how it is to be done, I have lost the use of it. I say the same of those Querks; for by what other Name should those Sophisms be called, which neither make him that understands them the better, nor him that does not the worse? But if you will deal in Ambiguities, teach us this, That the Man is not happy, whom the Vulgar call so. Nothing can be finer, or more judicious, than these words of Seneca. Let us pass to the second Fault.

(32) In the Remarks [E], [F], [Q], of his Article.

A Spirit of Disputation easily degenerates into a false subtilty. Those who cultivate it fall into their own snare; and after having confounded their Adversary, they find themselves incapable to resist the Sophisms they have invented, and which may be turned against their own Doctrines. See what I have said of Chrysippus (32): who is a great instance of what I have observed. He professed himself a dogmatical Philosopher, and yet laboured almost as much for the interest of Scepticism as Carneades who professed to affirm nothing. Both sacrificed chiefly to the subtilties of their own Wit, they were in no great Pain about Truth, provided they had the Pleasure to make their Objections sparkle and triumph. He who said that, by too much disputing, we lose sight of Truth (33), was no Fool. How many are there who enjoy a profound Tranquillity in a firm Belief of the Doctrine of Truth, who would be full of doubts if they were to hear the reasons on both sides of the question? And how many are there, who, instead of clearing up their doubts, would involve themselves more deeply therein, if they were to hearken to the answers and replies of two subtle Disputants? The former, I mean those who have no doubts, would complain of the ill offices which disputing had done them, and would curse it in much the same terms as the Orator used to express the Power of Eloquence.

(33) Niniom altercando veritas amittitur.

* Malam, inquit, crucem importunæ isti eloquentiæ, quæ me securum animi, compositumque in alteram partem, jam suspensum, & utroque trahentem malè perdidit, quasi in foro disceptaretis apud Judicem, adeo me contorto pugnacique isto genere dicendi exanimastis (34). — A mischief seize that unreasonable Eloquence, which has deluded me from a determined Tranquillity of Mind into a state of suspense and uncertainty, and was brought down upon me, as though you had been actually engaged at the Bar before a Judge. The latter, I mean those who have some doubts, would complain that they are much more fluctuating than before, and would say to the two Antagonists what Terence puts into the Mouth of one of his Actors, *Fecisti probe: Incertior sum multo quam dudum* (35). — Thank you, Gentlemen. I am more uncertain than ever. It was St Augustin's Opinion that subtle logical Disputes were so much to be feared, that the Grace of God should be begged by public Processions that we might not be exposed to them. *Facere non possum, quin hic referam, quæ de Beato Augustino, viro Διαλεκτικώτατῳ, quique de Logica*

(34) Famian. Strada, Proluf. II, lib. ii, pag. m. 242.

(35) Terentius, in Phormione, Act. II, Scen. III, ver. 18, & 19.

* plures libros reliquit, tradit Beatus Ambrosius Serm. 92. illius scilicet pertinaciam & disputationis acrimoniam supplicationibus publicis compescendam, & quasi averruncandam exilimasse (36). — I cannot in this place forbear mentioning what St Ambrose says of St Augustin (a very subtle Logician), that public Prayers ought to be put up to restrain or rather extirpate his furious fondness for Disputation. It is an Instrument which may be of good use against Lies; but it will not stop there; for after having destroyed Error it attacks Truth: it is like those corrosive Powders, which, after having eaten the proud Flesh of a Wound, would prey upon the quick Flesh, and eat into the very Bones if they were let alone. But not to go so far off, let us be content to consider the ill effect of disputing for the reasons that Montagne gives us. Our disputes, says he (37), ought to be as much prohibited and punished, as other verbal Crimes. What Vices do they not awaken and promote, being always commanded and governed by Passion? we quarrel first with the Arguments, and then with the Men. We learn only to dispute, that we may contradict, and each contradicting and contradicting, the Fruit of disputing is the loss and ruin of Truth. Therefore Plato, in his Commonwealth, forbids the exercise of it to unskillful and dissipated Minds. . . . What will be the Consequence? One runs to the East, another as far as the West: they lose the Principal, and put it aside in the crowd of Incidents. At the end of an Hour's storming, they know not what they look for: one is high, another low, another wide. One catches at a word or simile. Another is insensible of what is said in Opposition to him, so eager is he in his Course, and thinks of following himself, not you. One, finding himself weak, fears every thing, refuses every thing, and in the beginning confounds and puzzles his subject: or, in the heat of the debate, stops short, and grows silent through a peevish Ignorance, affecting an insolent Contempt, or a foolish Modesty, shunning Contention. One, provided he strikes, cares not how much he lays himself open. Another counts his Words and reckons them for Arguments. Another makes advantage of his Voice and Lungs. Here is one that concludes against himself: and another stuns you with Prefaces and useless Digressions. Another falls into downright railing, and picks a quarrel with his Adversary to free himself from the Society and Argument of a Wit that bears hard upon him. And this last Man sees nothing in Reason, but incloses you with his dialectical Clauses, and the Formalities of his Art.

(36) Menag. in Diogen. Laert. lib. vii, n. 83, pag. 296.

(37) Montagne, Essai, liv. iii, cap. viii, pag. m. 252, 253. See what the Author of the Art de Penfer, Part III, cap. xix, n. 7, pag. 306, has said of these Thoughts of Montagne.

It may very justly be said that the Spirit and Character of our Euclid, and his Successors, have prevailed in the Christian Schools ever since the famous Dialectician Abelard. But what has been produced by it in favour of Truth? What philosophical Doctrines have the Nominalists and Realists, the Thomists and Scotists cleared? What have they done but multiply Opinions, and found out the Art of maintaining, pro and con, by the help of sundry barbarous Terms? What one maintains, the other denies; and they have all of them Distinctions and Subtleties ready at Hand to prevent their being put to silence. They have by turns made the most contrary Opinions triumph: now this is the natural Consequence of this Method of philosophizing. Mr Robault has admirably well described it. There is, says he (38), an invincible stubbornness observed in most of those who have gone thro' their Course of Philosophy, and who probably are fallen into such a pernicious disposition of Mind, only because they have not been used to convincing Truths, and see that those, who maintain any Doctrine whatsoever in public, always triumph over those who endeavour to prove the contrary; so that with them all things pass for probabilities. They do not look upon Study as a means to arrive at the Discovery of any new Truths; but as a witty sport in which People exercise themselves, the end of which is so to confound true with false, by means of certain subtilties, that they may equally defend one or the other, without ever appearing forced to give up, by any Arguments, any extravagant Opinion they may maintain. And indeed this

(38) Robault, Preface to his Physics.

cal Ideas, should leave them either a desire, or leisure to explain the Effects of Nature. I have read in *Aristotle* (f), that they taught, that there was no Power separate from it's Act; that is to say, that a Cause, which does not actually produce an Effect, has not the Power to produce it. This is one of the impious Paradoxes of the Spinofists, which *Aristotle* has well confuted (g). I refer to the Supplement EUCLID the Geometrician, and shall observe the Errors of Father *Rapin* [F].

(f) *Aristot. Metaphyt. Lib. IX, cap. iii.*

(g) *Id. ibid.*

is the common success of all public Actions, where often, in the same Pulpit, opinions perfectly contrary are alternately proposed and equally triumph without the Matter in hand being explained, or any Truth being better established. I say nothing of an evil infinitely more considerable, which this disputing and dialectician spirit has produced. It has passed from the Chairs of the Philosophers into the Schools of Divinity, and has turned the most important Points of the Christian Morality into Problems (39); for what Doctrine of Morality have not the loose Casuists shaken, and so obscured, that the only way to arrive at certainty, is to hearken solely to the simplicity of the Scriptures without any manner of regard to the subtle and captious reasonings of those Doctors?

(39) See the Article L O Y O L A Remark [S].

We shall see in the following Remark some thoughts of Father *Rapin*, which represent no less the defect of our Philosophers of *Megara*, than that of the Schoolmen.

[F] I shall observe some Errors of Father *Rapin*. But first I shall shew his fair side (40): 'The most lively and subtle Wits are not always the properest for Philosophy. The imagination had better be a little heavy, than suffer itself to evaporate into too refined Speculations. The plain good sense of *Socrates* triumphed over all the Arts, and all the subtilty of the Sophists. Philosophy did not become abstract till it ceased to be solid: they stuck to formalities when they had no longer any thing real to say, nor did they ever think of having recourse to subtilties, till they had no hopes of making pure Reason prevail. That *Protagoras*, who first fought for captious Arguments, assumed this subtle air only because he had a wrong turn of Mind. . . . They spoiled all, says *Seneca* †, by refining every thing. For in order to make a vain Ostentation of Wit, they forsook the most essential parts of the Sciences: they began to weaken the Truth of things by the Artifice of Words, making use of Sophistry, when they were at a loss for good reasons. By this new Art *Nauphibanes* and *Parmenides* overthrew every thing. . . . So that the simplicity of Reason was corrupted by the Artifice of Discourse, and they ridiculed Truth instead of treating it with respect. This was the Error of the *Spaniards* of the last Century: they did by Philosophy as they did by Politics: both which by their speculative Genius they carried up to inconceivable subtilties, every Scholar refining upon his Master. From whence happened such a disorder as *Seneca* complains of ‡: Disputation became all the Fruit of Philosophy, and they made use of it, not so much to cure the Soul, as to exercise the Wit.' All this is good and true: and our *Euclid* and *Eubulides* might have seen themselves in it. But let us see what Father *Rapin* says particularly of them.

(40) *Rapin*, Reflexions sur la Philosophie, n. 28, pag. m. 358, 359.

† Habet hoc ingenium humanum ut cum ad solida non succurrat, in subtilibus atteratur. *Verul. de Augm. Scien.*

‡ Vide quantum mali fecerit nimia subtilitas & quam infesta sit veritati. *Seneca, Epist. XCVIII.*

‡ Philosophia non in remedium animi, sed in exercitationem ingenii inventa. *Seneca, Lib. VII, cap. i, de Benef.*

puting *, by that captious and sophistical Logic which he taught them, which *Socrates* did not approve of: because there was no sincerity in it's manner. It was *Euclid* and his Disciple *Eubulides*, who invented these Sophisms, which were afterwards so famous in the Schools, mentioned by *Diogenes Laërtius* †; and which after all have nothing real but their subtilty; as the Dilemma, the horned Argument, the Elestra, the Sorites, the celebrated *Megaric* Interrogations (41), which *Plutarch* speaks of; and all those Cavils of their making, which rendered Dialectics so contemptible at *Athens*, that *Socrates* was obliged to turn it into ridicule, in his Discourses against the Sophists, to undeceive the Minds of the People. It was of this *Euclid* that *Demosthenes* learned the Art of the Dilemma, and that earnestness which made him so vehement in the Character of Eloquence he assumed (42). There are six Faults in this Passage. I. *Socrates* was dead when the Logic of *Euclid* appeared; so that he was in no Condition to condemn it. II. The Dilemma was not placed by *Diogenes Laërtius* among the Sophisms invented by *Euclid* and *Eubulides*. I do not believe that other Authors include it in that List; and indeed it is false that the Dilemma is a Sophism. It is as good a way of reasoning as the Syllogism; and if there are false Dilemmas, there are also Syllogisms of that ill quality: but under pretence that there may be sophisticated Syllogisms, they would be very much mistaken that should say a Syllogism is a Sophism. Apply all this to the Dilemma, and you will find that our Father *Rapin* is mistaken, both as to his Quotation, and as to the Matter itself. III. If *Socrates* could not disapprove of *Euclid's* Dialectic, much less could he ridicule that of *Eubulides*, the Disciple and Successor of *Euclid*. IV. *Demosthenes* learned of *Eubulides*, and not of *Euclid*, the Art of Reasoning. This is what *Apuleius* (43), and *Diogenes Laërtius* (44), both testify. V. After having put the Dilemma among the Sophisms which rendered Dialectic so contemptible at *Athens*, that *Socrates* was forced to turn it into ridicule, he ought not to have assigned it for one cause of that Character of Eloquence which made *Demosthenes* admired (45). VI. It was not by the Dilemma, but by the Enthymem that That Orator distinguished himself; whether you take the Enthymem according to the Idea of Rhetoricians, or according to the Idea of Logicians. I pass over Father *Rapin's* Quotation of *Peter Ramus*. He should have cited *Laërtius*.

* *Abocav ipse* 125. *Rom. lib. i. Dialect. cap. vii.*

† *Diog. lib. ii.*

(41) See Remark [G] of the Article CHRYSIPPUS.

(42) *Rapin*, Reflexions sur la Logique, num. 3, pag. 372.

(43) *Apuleius*, in *Apologia*, pag. m. 283.

(44) *Diog. Laërt.* in *Euclid*, lib. ii, num. 108.

(45) Nothing was more admirable in this Orator than his vehemence.

Let us justify the first of these six Censures. It is certain that the Disciples of *Socrates* founded no School during their Master's Life, and that *Euclid* did not leave *Athens* till after *Socrates's* Death (46). At which time he retired to *Megara*, and founded a School of Philosophy, and consequently the Dialectic he taught, and to which he gave a new air of subtilty, was after the Death of *Socrates*. Note, by the way, that he received at his House in *Megara* *Plato* and the other *Athenian* Philosophers (47), when the same Tyranny which had destroyed *Socrates* forced them to retire to some place of safety.

(46) See *Plato* in *Phaedon*, where he says that *Euclid* was present at *Socrates's* last Discourses.

(47) *Diog. Laërt.* lib. ii, num. 106. *Helychius Illustrius*, in *Euclidea*.

EUDO, Duke of *Aquitain*, cotemporary with *Charles Martel*, was concerned in the greatest Transactions of his Time. We are not well acquainted with the particulars of his Pedigree; but it is probable he was the Son of *Bertrand*, Duke of *Aquitain*, and younger Brother to *St Hubert* (a). He took Advantage of the Troubles of the Court of *France*, and the Calamities *Spain* was involved in by the Invasion of the *Saracens*; for whilst the latter thought of nothing but the securing of their new Acquisitions, and *France* attempted, in vain, to subdue *Austrasia*, where the Mayors of the Palace had made themselves independant; he seized not only the first and second *Aquitain*, between the *Loire* and the *Garonne*, but also all the Country of *Tboulouse* and *Ufex*. In the mean time, the *Gascans* spread themselves all over the Country, between the *Garonne*, the Ocean, and the *Pyrenean* Mountains. It is not to be wondered at, if *Eudo*, having such Forces, saw himself courted by *Chilperic II*, King of *France*. *Rinfroi*, Mayor of the Palace, had endeavoured, with the Assistance of the *Frisons*, to bring the Kingdom

(a) See *Audigier*, Orig. des *François*, Tom II, pag. 226.

VOL. II.

10 F

of

of *Austrasia* under the Obedience of the Crown of *France*; but *Charles Martel* attacked him so seasonably in the *Ardennes* in 716, that he put him to flight. *Cbilperic* and *Rinfroi*, his Mayor, were forced to fly, and being defeated again the next Year, they were under terrible Apprehensions from *Charles Martel*. In this distress they had recourse to the Duke of *Aquitain*, and far from quarrelling with him for his Usurpations, and Power, they declared him a Sovereign Prince [A], inviting him into a Confederacy with them against the boundless and rebellious Ambition of their Enemy. *Eudo* assembled all his Forces, and marched to join *Cbilperic's* Army near *Paris*; and after they were beaten, he led the unfortunate King into *Aquitain*, who wanted such a Retreat to secure himself from the wicked Attempts of the Conqueror. For that Conqueror was opening a way to that Usurpation, which afterwards took place in the solemnest Manner (b). *Cbilperic's* retreat into *Aquitain*, and his defeat near *Soissons*, happened in the Year 719. *Charles* pursued him as far as *Touraine*. Some time after he sent Ambassadors to *Eudo*, to demand *Cbilperic*. *Eudo* would not surrender him, but upon express Condition that he should be treated according to his Dignity. He made him magnificent Presents; and it was, perhaps, by his means that That Prince did not die in a Monastery. Two Years after he did the Nation a signal Service by the Victory he obtained near *Tboulouse*, over the *Saracens*. Those Infidels, aspiring to the Conquest of the Gauls, had no sooner made themselves Masters of *Narbonne*; but they advanced to *Tboulouse*, and laid Siege to it. If they had not lost *Zaman* their General, and a great part of their Army before this Place, it is easy to guess what they would have done. This defeat did not hinder them from returning soon after, and seizing *Carcaffonne*, *Nismes*, and all *Septimania*, as far as the *Rhône*: So that *Eudo*, who did not think it reasonable to let *Charles Martel* take such large Steps towards usurping the Crown [B], found himself in great perplexity: he was afraid of the *Saracens*; and he would not submit to a Man who had no more Right to the Sovereign Authority than himself. The precautions which he took were, on the one hand, secretly to favour the Cabals which were forming in *Neustria* (c), and on the other, to enter into an Alliance with *Munuza*, a brave Moorish General, to whom the *Saracens* had trusted *Cerdagne*. *Munuza* being desperately in Love with the Daughter of *Eudo* [C], who was a very beautiful Lady, to obtain her engaged to revolt: Therefore *Eudo*, believing that the *Saracens* could take no Advantage of his Absence, being sufficiently taken up at home with the work *Munuza* would cut out for them, made an Irruption into *Neustria*. This Enterprize did not succeed; he was vanquished (d) by *Charles Martel*, and his Country plundered by the victorious Army. His Son-in-law was still more unfortunate, as we shall shew in it's place (e): He perished

(b) When *Pepin* his Son caused the lawful King to be deposed, and himself chosen in his place in the year 752.

(c) Thus the western part of the French Monarchy was called.

(d) In 381.

(e) See the Article *MUNUZA*.

[A] *Cbilperic* and his Mayor . . . declared him a Sovereign Prince. I might have said they declared him King; for thus *Fredegarius* speaks of it: 'Cbilpericus itaque & Raganfredus legationem ad Eudonem ducem dirigunt, auxilium postulantes, rogant: REGNUM & munera tradunt. — Cbilperic iberefore and Rinfroi send Ambassadors to Eudo, with Presents, and the Investiture of the Crown, to desire his Assistance.' It must not be imagined that *regnum* signifies there a meer Ornament for the Head, named a Crown, sent to the Duke of *Aquitain*; it must be understood the Dignity and Authority which the Crown is a Symbol of: thus *Valesius* understands it. 'Ut suo, says he (1), summoque jure ac regia potestate in Aquitania dominaretur provincia regie ditioni exempta. — That he might reign in the Province of *Aquitain*, by his own supreme Authority, and regal Power, it being rendered independent of the King's Authority.' I make this Remark after a modern Author (2), who seems to charge the learned Father *le Cointe* with thinking that they only sent *Eudo* a Crown without conferring the Royal Authority upon him. In the Passage cited by that Father (3), I agree that *regnum* signifies a Crown, but not a Crown without Relation to the Sovereign Power. *Reginon* confirms my opinion, when he says, under the Year 735, that *Charles Martel* deprived *Eudo* both of his Kingdom and his Life, *Eudonem regno simul & vita privavit*. The modern Author cites for a third witness an Inscription of *St Maximin*, which denotes that, in 710, under *Eudo*, the most pious King of the French, and in the time of the descent of the *Saracens*, they removed the Body of *St Mary Magdalene*: 'Anno nativitat's Domini 710, sexta die mensis Decembris . . . regnante Odoino piissimo rege Francorum, tempore infestationis gentis peridæ Saracenorum. But this Authority has two great Defects: one, that the Year 710 is not a time when an Inundation of *Saracens* was feared in Gaul; the other, that *Eudo* at most was but King of *Aquitain*, and here is an Inscription which treats him as King of the French. I wonder Mr *Audigier* should

not perceive a fault in the Figures 710. It is not in his Book an Error of the Press; but however, it is a Fault. *Catell*, in quoting this Inscription, has pointed it in such a manner that it falls upon the Year 716 (4). *Anno nativitat's Domini septuagesimo decimo sexto, die mensis Decembris, &c.* I have read in *Bellesforest* (5), that in the Year 741 the *Saracens* destroyed the City of *Aix* in *Provence*, at which time *Girarde Rouffillon*, Earl of *Burgundy* and *Provence*, removed from *Aix* to *Vezelai*, the Body of the blessed *Mary Magdalene*. [B] He did not think it reasonable to let *Charles Martel* take such large steps towards usurping the Crown. I do not know well whether to resent or despise the bare partiality of so many Writers, who treat all such as opposed the Ambition of *Charles Martel*, and *Pepin*, as turbulent and rebellious Persons. Those same Authors would have turned the Tables, if Fortune had declared for these pretended Rebels, and the Titles of Factions, Disturbers of the public Peace, Perfidious, and Traitors, would have been reserved for the *Martels* and the *Pepins*: So true it is that there are People every where among Historians as well as among the Populace.

Sed quid Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam ut semper, & odit Damnos. Idem populus si Nortia Tusco Favisset; si oppressa foret seculus senectus Principis, hæc ipsa Sejanum diceret hora Augulum, (6)

But the same very Mob, that rascal Crowd, Had cry'd Sejanus, with a shout as loud; Had his Designs, by Fortune's Favour blest, Succeeded, and the Prince's Age oppress'd. DRYDEN.

[C] *Munuza* became desperately in love with the Daughter of *Eudo*. The mistakes of some Authors concerning this matter shall be examined in the Remarks of the Article *MUNUZA*.

[D] They

(4) *Mémoires de l'Hist. de Langue doc.* pag. 574. He borrows it from his Brother *Bernard Guiso* in his Chronicle of the Pope, and in the Life of *Nicholas III*.

(5) *Chronique de France*, fol. 521.

(6) *Juvénal. Sat. X. ver. 73.*

(1) *Adrianus Valesius*, Hist. Francor.

(2) *Audigier*, Origine des Français, Tom. II, pag. 235.

(3) *Romanus Pontifex* in signum imperii utitur regno, & in signum Pontificii utitur mitra. The Pope wears a CROWN, as an Ensign of his Temporal Power, and a Mitre to shew his Ecclesiastical. *Innocent III*, apud *Audigier*, ubi supra.

perished in the Commotions he had raised, and then *Abderama*, who had defeated him, finding nothing to oppose him, penetrated into *Aquitain* with a numerous Army. *Eudo* dispatched Ambassadors to *Charles* to beg his Assistance, but, without waiting for the Arrival of the Succours, he rashly ventured a battle with the *Saracens* as soon as they had passed the *Dordogne* (f). Policy had, perhaps, a greater share than Courage in this Action: He imagined that if he beat *Abderama* before *Charles's* Arrival, he might obtain another Victory over the latter, in Case of need; to say nothing of the Glory he had reason to expect, if he could expel the Infidels without any body to help him. He fought bravely; but at last, after a long resistance, was routed. Though it is said that his loss was very great [D], yet, re-assembling the broken remains of his Army, he advanced towards the Place where *Charles* was to pass the *Loire*, and joining him, they fought the famous Battle in which *Abderama* was killed [E], the seventh of October 732. But he could not be content to leave *Neustria* in Peace; he took Arms again in 735. This was the last time; for he died of Grief the same Year [F], upon *Charles's* entering *Aquitain*, and putting all before him to Fire and Sword. *Hunaud*, his Son, no less ambitious than himself, would not acknowledge *Charles*. This kindled the War afresh, which, after various Successes, at last ended to the disadvantage of *Hunaud*. He was forced to submit, and had his Duchy granted him (g).

(f) *Isidore de Badojos*, cited by *Catel*, *Memoires de l'Hist du Languedoc*, p. 27, says that the battle was fought between the Garonne and the Dordogne. See it also pag. 329.

(g) *St. Corde-mol's History of France*.

(7) *Hist. Arab.* cap. XIV.

(8) Remark [D].

(6) *De Serres*, du Haillan, &c.

(10) See Rem. [K] of the Article *ABDERAMA*.

(11) The *Saracens* entered France, they say, with their Wives and Children.

[D] They say his loss was very great. *Roderic of Toledo* (7) gives a frightful Idea of it, as if God alone knew the numbers of those that perished upon this occasion. I have already observed this in the Article of *ABDERAMA* (8); but these are the Historian's Words: 'Abderamen . . . cum amnes Garumne & Dordonie pertransisset Eudonem de quo diximus inveniit ad prælium præparatum, sed infelicitate præterita comitatus in fugam dilabatur fugitivus, & tot ibi de ejus exercitu ceciderunt quod ejus numerus omni humane scientiæ occultatur. — *Abderama having passed the Dordogne and Garonne found Eudo, of whom we have already spoke, prepared for Battle, but, being pursued by his former ill Fortune, he was totally routed, and the number of his Troops that there fell exceeds all human Conception.* He adds, what is very false, viz. that *Abderama* plundered and burnt the City of *Tours*.

[E] He fought together with *Charles Martel* in the famous Battle, in which *Abderama* was killed. Several Historians (9) give him the greatest share in that glorious Victory (10); for they say it was he that broke into the *Saracen* Camp, where, putting all to the Sword without distinction of Age or Sex (11), he charged

the Enemy in the Rear; upon which imagining they were surrounded on all sides, their courage failed, and they fled away. But if these Historians had no better Authority for this matter, than for what they boldly advance, that *Eudo* brought *Abderama* into France, they deserve no Credit. I know *Fredegarius* has affirmed the latter. See *Catel*, at the third Book of his *Memoires of the History of Languedoc*, where, examining this question, he inclines to the Negative, tho' he confesses that *Ado of Vienna*, the Annals published by *Pythæus*, *Sigebert*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Herman Contract*, and several other Historians, have written that *Eudo*, to oppose *Charles Martel*, had called in the *Saracens* to his Aid. I have confuted this in the Article *ABDERAMA* (12).

[F] He died of Grief the same Year. The *Annals of Fuld* is mistaken in placing his Death under the Year 728. *Rheginon* is also mistaken in the Words above-mentioned, where he says that *Charles Martel* deprived *Eudo* of his Crown and Life. *Fredegarius* gives a more exact account: He says that *Charles*, hearing of the Death of *Eudo*, called a Council, re-passed the *Loire*, marched as far as the *Garonne*, took *Blaise*, &c.

(12) Remark [F].

EVE, the Wife of *Adam*, was so named by her Husband, because she was to be the Mother of all living (a). She was formed out of one of *Adam's* Ribs, and brought to him to be his Wife (b). God blessed them, and commanded them to *encrease and multiply, and replenish the earth* (c), and yet *Adam* did not think upon his conjugal Duty, till after he and his Wife had violated the Prohibition God had laid upon them. It was *Eve* who first disobeyed the Command of God: She suffered herself to be deceived by the Lies and fair Promises of the Serpent [A], and then solicited her Husband to the same Disobedience.

(a) *Genesis* iii, 20.

(b) *Ibid.* chap. ii, ver. 22.

(c) *Ibid.* chap. i, 28.

[A] She suffered herself to be deceived . . . by the fair promises of the Serpent. I should never have done if I was to relate all the Fictions that are to be found in Books concerning this Serpent. I. Some have said (1) it was a true Serpent that tempted *Eve*, and they suppose that at that time the Serpent conversed familiarly with Man, and that he lost the use of his Speech as a punishment for his Malice, in abusing the Simplicity of the Woman; but this opinion is so absurd, that it is surprizing such an Author as *Josephus* should not be ashamed to advance it. I wonder less at this than to see, that so great a Visionary, as *Paracelsus*, should say (2), that not only the first Serpent, by the special Permission of God, had Power to raise *Adam* and *Eve* to a sublime Degree of natural Knowledge, but that even to this Day all sorts of Serpents retain the Knowledge of the highest natural Mysteries by the particular Will of God. II. Some *Rabbins* agree with *Josephus* (3), that the Tempter of *Eve* was a true Serpent; but instead of saying, as that Historian does, that the Serpent tempted the good Woman, pushed on by a Spirit of Envy, by considering the happiness promised to Man in case of Obedience to God, they say, he was urged to it by a Spirit of Lust. He saw *Adam* and *Eve* enjoying one another, as the Laws of Marriage allowed them to do: he saw them both naked in this Exercise; such an Object excited very irregular Passions in him; he wished to be in *Adam's* Place, and hoped he

should enjoy that Happiness, if he should become a Widow: now he believed this his Ambush would be fatal only to the Husband, because the Husband would be the first to eat the Apple; therefore he resolved to lay this Snare for them. Is it possible to vent more inconsistent Impertinence than this? Would a Tempter who had such Motives as these have made the Woman eat the Apple in the absence of her Husband? III. If we believe *Abraham* (4), the Serpent became a Tempter only by the ill Consequences that were drawn from his own Conduct. He had no design to do harm; he did not say a Word to *Eve*; he only had the Faculty, which other Beasts had not, of climbing up the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and eating the Fruit. *Eve*, seeing he was not the worse for it, concluded from thence, there was nothing to apprehend from that Tree, and eat of it without fear of Death. Is not this to despise Holy Scripture more than *Eve* contemned the Command, to explain in this manner an account, in which so particular a mention is made of a Dialogue between the Woman and the Serpent? IV. Some ancient Heretics have dreamed, that the tempting Serpent was a Virtue (5), produced by *Jaldabaoth* under the form of a Serpent. This *Jaldabaoth* was vexed that a Deity greater than himself had made Man walk upright, who before was but a Worm, and had also given him the Knowledge of the superior Deities; for *Jaldabaoth* would willingly have

(4) *Apud Rivinum*, *ibid.* pag. 95, & seq.

(5) *Tertull. de Præscript. Adv. Hæret.* cap. xlviii. Epiphanius. *Hæreses* xxxviii.

obedience. The Inconveniencies of Child-bearing, the Pains of Travail, and Subjection to her Husband, were the Punishments inflicted upon her by God. Adam had no knowledge

passed for the only true God. Therefore out of spite he produced the Serpent of Paradise, to whose Word *Eve* gave Credit as if it had been the Word of the Son of God. These Heretics had a great Veneration for the Serpent; for it is he, say they, who having taken of the Fruit of the Tree communicated the Knowledge of Good and Evil to Mankind. They were called *Opbites*. V. If we believe *St. Augustin* they carried their furious Reveries a great deal farther (6); for they pretended the tempting Serpent was *JESUS CHRIST*; and for that reason they fed a Serpent, which at a word from their Priests would creep upon the Altars, and twist about the Oblations and lick them, and then return into his hole again: and then they believed that *JESUS CHRIST* was come to sanctify their Symbols, and they celebrated their Communion. The most true Opinion, viz. that *Eve* was seduced by the Devil concealed under the Body of a Serpent, has had a thousand Suppositions added to it by the Liberties human Invention has taken. VI. For there are Rabbins (7) who say that *Sammael*, the Prince of the Devils, got upon the back of a Serpent of the bigness of a Camel, and with this Equipage he came to *Eve* to tempt her. VII. Some say (8), the Tempter took an advantage from *Eve*'s not declaring the Prohibition in the same Terms that God had made it in to them. God had forbidden them to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; but *Eve* told the Serpent God had forbidden them to eat of that Tree or to touch it. Now as she passed near the Tree, the Serpent took hold of her, and pushed her against it, and made her observe she did not die for it, and inferred from thence that neither would she die if she eat of it. Several Fathers and some modern Divines (9) condemn *Eve* for not exactly reporting what she had heard from God, and it may be said this was an ill Omen of the memory of Mankind. This probably was the first time that what had been heard said was told again to another: great Alterations were made in it, tho' they were yet in the happy State of Innocence. Is it then to be wondered at, that, every Day, fallen Man gives unfaithful Accounts of things, and that a matter of Fact cannot pass from hand to hand for a few hours without being disguised? This by the way, as also what I am going to add, which is that some Authors pretend, that *Eve* did not know the Prohibition, but from what *Adam* told her, and that *Adam* made her believe out of his own Head, that they were not allowed so much as to touch the Tree, that he made her, I say, believe this, that she might be the more circumspect. Useless Precaution!

(6) August. de Hæres. cap. xvii.

(7) See Rivinus, pag. 5, 43, 44.

(8) Ibid. pag. 73.

(9) Ambrosius, de Paradiso, cap. xii. Rupertus de Trinit. lib. iii. Cajetanus Pererius, Calvinus, Oecolampadius, Lutherus, Gerhardus, apud Rivinum, p. 73, 74.

(10) Apud Rivinum, pag. 103.

(11) Ibidem, pag. 104.

(12) Ibidem, pag. 122.

† The Hebr. is, dying thou shalt die.

(13) See Rivinus, pag. ult.

(14) Horat. de Arte Poët. var. 4.

Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne (14).

A Virgin's Face joined to a Fish's Tail.

The *Sirens* were also a monstrous Composition, with their upper Part resembling a Virgin. Their treacherous and deluding Voice may well be compared to that of the Serpent; but would to God *Eve* had done as *Ulysses* did. She listened too much to the Discourse of this Seducer: not that we are to believe all the fine Compliments that *Alcimus Avitus* reports to have passed on both sides (15). For, according to the Narrative of *Moses*, this great Affair was ended in a very few Words. Never was an Enterprize of such Importance: It concerned the Fate of Mankind for all future Ages: The eternal Felicity, or eternal Damnation, of all Men depended upon it, without reckoning all the Follies and Vanities of the present Life; and nevertheless, never was any Affair so speedily dispatched, never perhaps had the Devil so cheap a Bargain of Man as this was. In all probability the criminal Thoughts of particular Persons, which are of no consequence, cost him more than this, which was decisive for the whole World; and it must be confessed, that the two Heads, with whom God did deposit the Salvation of the Human Race, kept it so ill, that nothing could be worse: they delivered up the Place to the Enemy, almost without a Blow; and instead of fighting for so precious a Trust, at least as much as sinful Man will fight for his Religion or his Country, *pro aris & fœtis*, they made less Resistance than a Child will make for his Toy, that is taken from him. They acted as if a Pin had only been at stake: *sic erat in fatis*. Nevertheless, we must be far from thinking, either that *Moses* has too much abridged that Narrative, or that, according to the Oriental Taste, he conceals that fatal Event under the Veil of Fable. This would be too much exposing the Interests of our fundamental Truths: and after all the great Innocence of *Eve*, and her want of experience in all things, ought to lessen our wonder at her short and feeble Resistance. There is nothing like being excessive wicked and deceitful to prevent being imposed upon. Men of Probity are those that give the easiest into the Snare. Incapable of Fraud, they hardly escape the artful Designs of others. An open Heart cannot suspect in another the Malice and Collusion which he is not conscious of in his own Breast. Therefore it was a Conquest infinitely more profitable than glorious, which the Devil made over the first of all Women, and one might almost, in this manner, expostulate both with him and the Serpent, who was his second:

Egregiam vero laudem & spolia ampla refertis,
Tuque puerque tuus, magnum & memorabile nomen,
Una: dolo divum si fœmina victa duorum est (16).
High Praises, endless Honours, you have won,
And mighty Trophies with your worthy Son,
Two Gods one silly Woman have out-done.

DRYDEN.

For what a modern Author urges, that the good Angels would not have suffered so unequal a Match between a Devil, thoroughly experienced, and a Woman who was but just formed, and who had never seen the Sun rise or set, deserves no other Answer than this, that such an Argument, by proving too much, proves nothing. Quod si hoc totum, says *Be* (17), ab infœcia & imbecillitate mulieris provenisse dixeris, æquum utique fuisset ignaræ & imbecillæ fœminæ succurrisse ex altera parte bonos Angelos. Equi spectatores rerum humanarum haud tulissent tam imparem congressum. Quid enim, si dolo mali Demonis multiscii & in rebus versatissimi victa fuerit imbellis fœmina, quæ Solem nondum orientem vel occidentem viderat recens in lucem edita, & rerum omnium inexperta? Meruit certe tam charum caput quod annexam sibi tenuit humani generis salutem, meruit, inquam, custodiam angelicam, --- Should you alledge, says he, that all this proceeded from the Woman's want of Power and Experience, it might reasonably have been expected, that some good Angels should have assisted in their turn a weak and inexperienced Creature. Impartial Eyes could not have seen so unequal a Rencounter. What wonder if a weak Woman, just ushered into the World, that had

(15) See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, July 1686, pag. 764, where some Faults of Gassendi are observed.

What small Resistance *Eve* made.

(16) Virgil. Æn. lib. iv. vers. 57.

(17) Bernart, Archæol. p. 147. Ed. Amst. 1694.

knowledge of her till after they were expelled the Garden of *Eden* [B]. This is not a necessary Proof that it was incompatible with a State of Innocence [C]. They had many Children: *Cain* was the first-born, and *Abel* the second; as for *Seth*, he was not born till after *Abel* had been killed by *Cain*. All this is unquestionable, since the word of God says it; but as it goes no farther, we may judge as we think fit of the other things which are

* neither seen the Sun risen or set, should be over-powered
* by the Cunning of a well practised Fiend? Surely so
* valuable a Being, on which the Happiness of Man-
* kind depended, deserved the Protection of some Guar-
* dian Angel.

[B] *Adam did not know her 'till after they were driven out of the Garden of Eden.*] None but those who are more guided by their own Imaginations than the Authority of Scripture, will deny that *Adam* and *Eve* came out of the Garden without any carnal Knowledge; and *Cornelius à Lapide* (18) wrongfully charges the Protestants with denying it. I. Therefore I refer those to the fabulous Regions, who say that *Cain* was conceived in the terrestrial Paradise, and that *Eve* was no sooner created than she lost her Virginity; *Adam* enjoying her immediately as soon as he saw her. The Author of the Sibylline Verses maintains, that as an Exemption from all Shame was one of the Privileges of Innocence, Man in that State performed his conjugal Duty in the Sight of the Sun, and as freely as the Brutes (19); but he is an apocryphal Author, and deserves no Credit. The Rabbins who have had the Impudence to say (20), that the Serpent fell in love with *Eve*, by seeing her in the A& with her Husband, and that upon that Sight he formed the black Design of seducing them, are much less to be born than the pretended Sibyl, and those other Rabbins who have said that *Adam* was asleep during the Serpent's Conversation with *Eve* (21), and that he was fallen asleep to refresh himself after his conjugal Exploits. These latter Rabbins are however very extravagant. We shall see others in the following Remark, who, though not free from Fictions, yet do establish the Fact which we maintain with a Father of the Church (22); that *Adam* did not think of celebrating his Nuptials till he was out of Paradise. *Nuptiæ terram replent, virginitas paradysum* (23). — *The World is a State of Matrimony, but Paradise of Virginity.* II. Let us shun also the contrary extremum. Some pretend, that *Adam* deferred the Consummation of his Marriage fifteen Years, or even thirty Years. Others carry the matter farther, and affirm, that *Adam* and *Eve*, by Consent, and to bewail their Sin, did not break through their Continence till the end of a hundred Years. The Reasons which confute this are very good, whether they are taken from the want the World was then in of being peopled, and the Commission they received from God on this Account, or whether they are taken from the Dispositions, their Age, the Constitution of their Bodies, and the first Fires of Concupiscence, must raise in them. 'Probabiliter censet Tornielius in Annal. Cain genitum esse mox post expulsiōem Adæ & Evæ ex Paradiso, scilicet primo anno Mundi & Adæ, tum quia Adam & Eva creati sunt in statura perfecta & habili ad generandum, tum quia post peccatum mox acres libidinis & copulæ stimulus fenserunt, tum quia ipsi erant soli in Mundo, & per eos Deus volebat statim propagari & multiplicari toto orbe genus humanum (24). — *The Conjecture of Tornielius, in his Annals, is not improbable, that Cain was born soon after the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, that is the first Year of the World and Adam, both because Adam and Eve were created in full Stature, proper for Generation; and that after the Fall they were immediately seized with the Stings of Lust, and an Impatience for Enjoyment; because they were the only Couple in the World, and GOD by them designed immediately to people and replenish the World.* III. Those who say that *Adam* had no share in that Continence of several Years, are wretched Dreamers, that do not deserve any regard. They (25) suppose, that he continued excommunicated One hundred and fifty Years for eating the forbidden Fruit, during which time he lived with a Woman, who like himself had been formed out of the Earth, whom they call *Lillia*. They add, that he begot Devils by his Commerce with this Woman, and that at length, when his Excommunication was taken off, he married *Eve*, who came

out of his Head, and begot Men. This Account is more confused than what we find in other Books (26), viz. that *Adam*, desiring to do Penance, kept himself at a Distance from *Eve* for One hundred and thirty Years, and devoted himself to another Woman named *Likitha*, upon whom he begot nothing but Devils. This was a worthy Fruit of such an irregular Penance. But on the other side *Epiphanius* mentions a Sect of Heretics (27), who said, that the Devil had to do with *Eve*, as a Husband with his Wife, and that he begot *Cain* and *Abel* upon her. See Remark [G]. Strange Equivalents these! *Adam* leaves *Eve* to beget Devils upon another Woman, and the Devil associates with *Eve* to beget Men upon her. IV. But what is chiefly to be condemned is the prophane and impious Error of those who say, that the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil was nothing else but the Pleasure of Love: From whence they conclude, that the Fall of our first Parents was only, on the Woman's Part, a Desire to part with her Virginity, and on the Man's Part the Accomplishment of that Desire. *Cornelius Agrippa* is not the first that has vented this Folly. The *Cathari*, the *Manicheans*, the *Priscillianists*, and the *Basilidians*, had broached it long before (28); and it appears by the Book of the Count de *Gabalii*, that it is one of the Doctrines of the *Cabala*, and that the Initiated and the Adepts explain in this manner the History of the Temptation. 'The wise Man easily explains those chaste Figures, says that Author, when he sees that the Taste and Mouth of *Eve* are not punished, and that she brings forth with Pain: he knows that it is not the Taste which is criminal, and discovering what was the first Sin, by the Care the first Sinners took to conceal certain Parts of their Bodies with Leaves, he concludes, that it was not the Will of God that Mankind should multiply by that base way.' *Robert Flud* adopts the same absurd Opinion (29). 'Graviter erravit *Cornelius Agrippa* in declamat. de Orig. peccati & *Robertus Flud*, sub nomine anagrammatizato *Rudolphi Otreb. in tract. Theologico-Philosophico, de vita, morte, & resurrectione, lib. 2. cap. 2. §. 3.* dum tradunt, primum & originale peccatum aliud nihil fuisse, quam copulam carnalem viri mulierisque, & nullum alium Daemonem Evam tentasse arbitrantur, quam illum de quo ait Job, cujus virtus est in lumbis & in umbilico potestas. A qua etiam opinione non plane alienus videtur Philo Judæus de opific. mundi. fol. 26. & seqq. (30). — *Cornelius Agrippa* in his Declaration on the Origin of Sin, and *Robert Flud* under the anagrammatized Name of *Rudolphus Otreb.* in a Philolophical-Theological Treatise on Life, Death, and the Resurrection, have been guilty of a notorious Error in laying down the first original Sin to be nothing but the carnal Commerce of Man and Woman, and fancying that no other Devil tempted *Eve*, but that whereof Job speaks, whose Virtue is in his Loins, and whose Power is in his Navel. From which Opinion Philo Judæus seems not to differ much.' Though it should be granted that there is something figurative in *Moses*'s account, yet it would be no less certain that it is to be literally understood as to the order of time. Now it is undeniable that the first Embraces of *Adam* and *Eve* are related in Scripture, as after the Sentence that God pronounced against their Crime. *Ryffinius* has solidly confuted the Fable of these Libertines (31). Here are four falsities upon this one point.

[C] This is not a proof that it was incompatible with a State of Innocence. Several of the ancient Fathers, too much prejudiced in favour of Virginity, have pretended (32) that if Man had persevered in Innocence, he would not have entered into the carnal Commerce of Matrimony, and that the Propagation of Mankind would have been effected quite another way; but St *Augustin* has maintained the contrary by strong reasons (33); for, in short, the divine Blessing, the Command to multiply, and the difference between the Sexes, were things preceding the Fall; and it would be absurd to say that Sin was absolutely necessary, that God

(26) See Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. r. Tom. 1, p. 168.

(27) Epiph. Heres. XL.

(28) See Hadrian. Beverlandi, de Peccato Origin. pag. 44. 45.

(29) Jacobus Mollerus, in Tractatu de Heremaphrodito, cap. vi, pag. 176.

(30) See in the Remark [I] what will be quoted of Leo the Hebrew.

(31) In justa Declaratione scelerati libelli Adr. Beverlandi. See also Polygam. Triumphat. pag. 233, & seq. Saldani, Orta Theolog. pag. 558, & seq.

(32) Vide Salianum, Tom. 1, pag. 174.

(33) Augustinus, de Civitate Dei, lib. xiv, cap. xxi, & seq.

(d) See the *Chronicle of Genebrard*.

(e) Sallianus, *Annal. Tom. I.*, pag. 231.

(f) St Romuald, *Abregé du Thre. Chronol.*, at the Year of the World 99.

(g) Apud Salden. *Otia Theol.* pag. 607.

(h) Ibid.

(i) See Rem. [B].

are told us of *Eve*. For instance, that she lay-in every Year (d), and every time had a Son and a Daughter [D]; or even a greater number of Children of both Sexes, and that she lived 940 Years (e) [E]. There is nothing improbable in all this: but what I am going to say relishes altogether of the Romance and the Monkish Conceits, viz. That she instituted a Religious Order of certain young Women who were always to remain Virgins and to preserve unextinguished the Fire that fell from Heaven upon *Abel's* Sacrifice, and which was called *Vesta*, or the *Flame of God* (f). This is the Origin of the Vestal Virgins, according to this fine Story. We shall see in another place that the same is referred to *Noah's* Wife. It is another very gross Fable, to say as they do (g), that *Eve* cut off a Branch of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, of which she made a great Stick, and forced her Husband with it to eat of the Fruit of that Tree. Farther, it is perfectly prophane to say, as some have done (h), that *Eve* herself was the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, whose Fruit was prohibited (i). As to those

might be furnished by human Generations with the number of his Elect (34). It is true St *Augustin* grants that in the State of Innocence, Generation would have been performed without any mixture of Passion, and without the loss of Virginity, and that the natural parts would have been intirely subjected to Reason; so that according to him the Rebellion of those parts was the nearest and most immediate Consequence of the disobedience of our first Parents, as appears by the shame they were seized with upon the spot, and which forced them to make use of Girdles. 'Voluntati membra illa' (in *Paradiso*) ut cætera cuncta fervirent. Ita genitalis arum vas in hoc opus creatum seminaret, ut nunc terram manus (35). Seminaret igitur prolem vir, susciperet femina genitalibus membris quando id opus esset, & quantum opus esset voluntate motis, non libidine concitatis (36). Ita tunc potuisse utero conjugis salva integritate femine genitalis virile semen imitti, sicut nunc potest eadem integritate salva ex utero virginis fluxus menstrui cruoris emitti (37). It seems certain Rabbins attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden Fruit: the mechanic Principles of the new Philosophy would easily furnish them with Arguments to defend this Opinion. Those Doctors add (38) that the Knowledge the Tempter promised our first Parents from this Fruit, was that they should have a desire to couple, the only thing they were Strangers to (39). In this manner the Tree was to open their Eyes: *Adam* was to perceive the Beauty of his Wife which he had not taken notice of before, being too much taken up with intellectual things, and both were to observe the parts designed for the functions of Marriage. In Consequence of which they were to produce other Men, and become like to God in the Power of making new Beings. Can there be a bolder Impiety than what is to be met with in *Abraham* (40); that God, out of jealousy to Man, and that he might be the only Producer, forbid him to eat of the Tree which gave him the Power to beget? To this the Rabbins apply the Proverb *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabri*; and some maintain (41) that *Adam* did very well to eat of the forbidden Fruit, because without it Man would have been like a Beast, not discerning good and evil, and would have had no pre-eminence above the Brutes but the faculty of speaking. The learned *Maimonides* has confuted this extravagance. It seems those People believed the Constitution of *Adam* and *Eve* was such that they wanted the spirituous parts of the forbidden Fruit, to remove some obstructions which rendered them insensible and impotent, as those mentioned under the Title *de frigidis & maleficiatis*.

[D] They pretended that she was delivered every time of a Boy and a Girl. Some thought that *Cain* and *Abel* were twins; but the contrary may easily be proved by *Moses's* Narrative. Nor is it the most commonly received Opinion. They rather choose to imagine that a Son and a Daughter were born at each Birth, and then they suppose that she who was born with *Cain* was married to *Abel*, and the Daughter that was born with *Abel* was married to *Cain*, and in like manner the rest (42). By this means they endeavour to extenuate the Incest as much as possible. But neither this, nor any other reason, required that the Twins should be of different Sexes; for if *Eve* had been delivered the first time of two Boys, and the next time of two Girls, they might have married as well, and with as little Incest as upon the other supposition. However the most common Opinion is, that a Son and Daughter were born together: and they go so far as to tell us the

very Names of the Daughters. *Cain's* Twin Sister was called *Calmana* (43), or *Caimana* (44), or *Debra* (45), or *Azrum* (46): that of *Abel* was named *Delbora* (47), or *Awina* (48). St *Epiphanius*, in his Thirty ninth Heresy, makes mention of *Azura* and *Sava* as two Daughters of *Adam* (49), and he says that *Sava* was *Cain's* Wife. *Cedrenus* and some others make *Asha* to be *Adam's* eldest Daughter, and the Wife of *Cain*. According to *Tostatus*, it was very true that the Rabbins gave *Cain's* Twin Sister for a Wife, but her Name was *Calmana*. See the Remark [F] of the Article *ABEL*. Those who have boldly affirmed these sorts of particulars, deserved, for the Punishment of their rashness and credulity, to be perplexed with a greater variety of Fables than those we have observed in them. A Confusion of Languages ought to be the fate of too daring Enterprizes; now what boldness is it to penetrate beyond the Deluge, and even to the first Origin of things, without the assistance of the only Historian we have left? The Tower of *Babel* might sooner be built, than we at such a distance should be able to find out the Names of *Adam's* Daughters. We ought to adhere in this and several other things only to the Text of *Moses*, seeking for nothing more than what the inspired Writers inform us of. They alone knew the Truth of things; the rest being all fiction. We should say to them as the ancient Poets said to the Muses, *It is your part who know these things to teach us*:

Et meministis enim divæ, & memorare potestis,
Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura (50).

For ye well know, and can record alone
What Fame to future Times conveys but darkly down.

DRYDEN.

We have already confuted those, in the Article of *CAIN*, who say that *Eve* had had but two Children when *Abel* was murdered.

[E] And that she lived 940 Years. If you want Vouchers, they produce three, *Marianus Victor*, *Genebrard*, and *Feuarent* (51): but a hundred thousand such as these are not able to lessen the uncertainty of such a fact. Besides, I see some Authors (52) who think it strange that *Eve* should live ten Years longer than *Adam*, notwithstanding so many Child-bearings, notwithstanding the continual Dominion of her Husband, the Death of *Abel*, the Schism of the *Cainites*, and her continual Grief for her Sin. They are to blame to crowd into this Catalogue *Adam's* Authority over his Wife; for unless they take *Adam* for a bad Husband, it cannot be supposed such an Authority should shorten the Life of *Eve*. However, they must ascribe to that first Woman the best Constitution in the World; for they pretend, since her Husband could live 930 Years, and communicate to his Sons for many generations the Principles of so long a Life (which agrees no less to *Eve* than to him) he must necessarily have been of a very vigorous Constitution. His long penance, they say, and his sorrow for having lost so much happiness for himself, and his posterity, perhaps weakened his Constitution; but it is not known that he was ever sick. Turn the thing which way you will, it will always be an Argument from the greater to the less, to demonstrate, that the Body of *Eve* was better constituted than that of her Husband. 'Quantum porro fuerit Adami robur, quæ firmitas laterum, quis nervorum vigor, quis contextus musculorum docet

(43) Corn. 2. *Lapide*, in *Gene. sim*, pag. 95.

(44) Cornellor. apud Sallian. pag. 178.

(45) Methodius, apud Raderum. Not. in Chron. Alexandr. citante Sallian. pag. 175.

(46) Saidus Patricius, apud Heidegg. Tom. I, pag. 169.

(47) A *Lapide* in *Gene. sim*, pag. 95.

(48) Saidus, ubi supra.

(49) See *Heidegg. ibid.* & Sallian. pag. 183.

(50) Virgil. *Æn. lib. vii*, ver. 645, in imitation of *Homer's* *Iliad*. lib. ii, ver. 285. *Ἡμεῖς γὰρ θεοὶ ἐὰν παραίσι τε ἰδῶμεν πάντα, ἡμεῖς δὲ κλισίῃσιν ἀνθρώπων εἴδῃ τε ἴδμεν.* Vos enim deo estis, ædificæ scilicet omnia, Nos autem hominum solum ædificum nosque quicquam scimus. For *Eve's* wide Region, *Heav's* immensur'd Height, And *Hill's* Abyss hide nothing from your Sight. We were created Mortals, lost in doubts below, But guess by Reason, and but doubt we know. *Pope*.

(51) Sallian. Tom. I, p. 231.

(52) *Ibid.*

those who believe that, if she had not tasted that Fruit, there never would have been any Love between the two Sexes [F], but only Friendship, their Opinion can neither be refuted by solid Reasons, nor supported by good Proofs.

I shall relate two or three other extravagant Fables of the Rabbins. Some of them say, that *Eve* was formed out of her Husband's Tail. They pretend (k) that at first God had given *Adam* a Tail; but perceiving afterwards that it lessened his Beauty, he resolved to cut it off: However he made use of it to produce the Woman, which he presented to the first Man (l). This Woman, they say, was so beautiful, that the Prince of all the Angels fell desperately in love with her (m) [G]; which was the Cause of his falling from a State of Innocence. She alone could satisfy *Adam's* amorous Passion, who had tried all other Methods in vain [H]; and this made him cry out, *This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh* (n). In this wild manner they not only vent their abominable Conceptions; but also found them on Scripture by the most absurd method of interpretation that can be. The Imaginations of a Jewish Author, who lived in the XVIth Century, and who was commonly called *Leo the Hebrew* (o), are no less

(k) See the Bibliotheca Rabbinnica of Bartolocci, Tom. I, pag. 69.

(l) Ibid. Tom. III, pag. 336.

(m) Ibid. Tom. I, pag. 322.

(n) Gen. ii, 23.

(o) He was Son to Rabbi Abraham. See Remark [I] of the Article ABRAHAM.

docet nongentorum & triginta annorum ætas, nullo quod sciat languore debilitata, eademque in multorum sæculorum posteros propagata, est fortassis illam totius corporis firmitatem nonnihil tam diuturna penitentia, tam multiplex tristitia, de tot tantisque bonis sibi suisque amissis, afflixerit (53). — How prodigious the Strength of *Adam* was, how robust his Constitution, how vigorous his Nerves, how compact his Muscles, appears from an Age of 930 Years, never interrupted by any known infirmity, and from his propagating the same to his posterity for many Generations, though it is probable so long a penitence, and such variety of sorrow, for the loss of so many and so important Benefits to himself and his descendants, might somewhat impair the strength of his Constitution.

[F] Some think that, if she had not tasted the forbidden Fruit, there never would have been any Love between the two Sexes. I have quoted (54) St *Augustin's* words, which clearly testify that in his Opinion Fathers would have produced their Children with the same ease that Husbandmen sow their Grounds. It might be objected to him that the Brutes remain in their original state of Creation, and yet they are inclined to propagate their Species with incredible Ardor.

Inde feræ pecudes persultant pabula læta,
Et rapidos trantant amnes (55).

Each Beast forgets his Rage, and entertains
A softer Fury thro' the flow'ry Plains.

What they call *libido*, and all that can be conceived most leud, eager, and passionate, under that word, may be plainly seen among Beasts when they are stimulated by the Fire of Love: and yet they have done nothing to be deprived of their natural State. Therefore it looks as if those impetuous Motions, which are accompanied with Pleasure, and nevertheless subject to Reason, have nothing in them inconsistent with the State of Innocence. St *Augustin* would certainly have secured himself in the essential difference there is between a reasonable Creature, made after the Image of God, and brute Beasts; and it would have been hard to have beat him out of this intrenchment. Let us leave him there undisturbed, and content our selves to observe, that since Man after his Fall was unable to obey the exact dictates of Reason, there was nothing more necessary than to introduce Love into the World; for it cannot be conceived how Mankind could have subsisted without it. The Passions, with respect to the natural benefits of Society, are the same thing as Repentance in celestial concerns, a Plank after Shipwreck; and since Reason was to become so feeble, we could not have had recourse to a better shift than that of the Passions, of which Love is without dispute the principal one, and in some manner the Soul of the World. Hear what *Lucretius* says of it in the sequel of these Verses above.

Ita capta lepore

Te sequitur cupidè, quò quamque inducere pergis.
Denique per maria, ac montes, fluviosque rapaces,
Frondiferasque domos avium, camposque virentes,
Omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem

Efficit, ut cupidè generatim sæcla propagent.

Quæ quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quidquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit lætum, neque amabile quidquam;
Te sociam studeo scribundis versibus esse,
Quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor (56).

(56) Ib. ver. 15, and following.

To thy soft Charms the whole Creation bends,
And Love's vast Empire o'er the World extends.
On Hills, in Streams, and in the wai'ry Main,
On leafy Forests, and the verdant Plain,
Thy genial Pow'r the various Nations moves,
The Realms to people, and indulge their Loves.
Since then all Nature owns thy high Decree,
Since all that's lovely owes it's Birth to thee,
Nature's my Theme, do thou instruct my Song,
Soft as thy Charms to flow, and as thy Impulse strong.

See what has been said upon the usefulness of the Passions and Prejudices by *Maimbourg's* Critic, in the second Volume of his *Nouvelles Lettres*, from page 499 to page 572. See also the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* for the Month of September 1686, Article I, page 989.

[G] The Rabbins say . . . that the Prince of all the Angels fell desperately in Love with her. They give him the Name of *Samaël*, and make him the Father of *Cain*, who, according to their fictions, was no more than *Abel's* Brother by the Mother's side, and there they acknowledge what the Physicians call *Superfæculation*. Read this Latin: 'Ingreditur ad Evam (nempe *Samaël*) equitans super serpentem, & gravidavit eam *Caino*; & deinde ascendit *Adam*, & fecundavit eam *Abele* (57). — *Samaël riding on a Serpent went in to Eve, and got her with Child of Cain; Adam afterwards knew his Wife, and she conceived Abel.* Father *Bartolocci* adds that they suppose all the People of the Earth, except the Jews, are derived from the like Adulteries of *Adam's* Wife. 'Non *Samaël* solum cognovit Evam, sed & serpens ipse antiquus cum Eva coivit, ex cuius semine omnes mundi nationes (Judæis exceptis) provenire dicunt (58). — Not only *Samaël* knew Eve, but the old Serpent had also carnal Knowledge of her, from whose seed, they say, all Nations of the Earth (except the Jews) proceeded.' They also make her the Mother of several *Dæmons*. 'Adamum intra spatium centum triginta annorum *Dæmones* procreasse ex *Lilith*. . . . Evam autem *Dæmonum* concubitus per idem tempus appetiisse, ex qua *Dæmones* nati sunt, volunt (59). — They pretend that *Adam* for one hundred and thirty Years generated *Dæmons* with *Lilith*, and that Eve during the same space courted the embraces of *Dæmons*, which she likewise brought forth.' What is most strange is, that they found all these Chimeras upon the words of Scripture, which they miserably pervert and sophistate.

(57) Bartolocci, Bibl. Rabb. Tom. I, pag. 297, translating a Passage out of *Jalkut* Sect. Bereith, pag. 26.

(58) Id. Ibid.

(59) Id. Ibid. pag. 222.

[H] She alone could satisfy *Adam's* amorous Passion: who had tried all other ways in vain. Let us use the words of an Italian Monk (60): Quid mirum si hæc dicant. — What wonder, if they will say such things as these, viz. 1. That *Adam* carnally knew Eve the very day he was created: 2. That she conceived four Children, *Cain*, *Abel*, and two Daughters: 3. That they made

(60) Id. Ibid. pag. 75, 76.

(p) Leo, the Hebrew, Philosophy of Love, Dialogue III, pag. m. 612, 613.

(q) See the Re- [F] of the Article ADAM.

less extravagant. He pretends (p), that the Man, God made the sixth day of the Creation, was both male and female; which Man, after having reviewed all the Birds and terrestrial Animals, without finding any whose Society, and Aid, could be agreeable and convenient for him, was cast into a profound Sleep, that, being divided into two, he might be delivered from the Solitude which God did not see good for him. After this division, the Woman, who before had no particular Name, was called *Eve*. The Author reconciles his Hypothesis, as well as he can, with the *Androgynes* of *Plato* (q), and imagines that Man would never have sinned, if the two Sexes, which at first were united in *Adam's* person, had not been separated [I]. He pretends also, that in each Sex there

(61) Non coivitt aliqua creatura ante primum hominem. Bartolucci, Bibl. Rabbin. Tom. I, pag. 75.

(62) In Postilla Genes. ad hunc locum.

(63) Leo, the Hebrew, Philosophy of Love, Dial. III, pag. m. 616.

(64) Ibid. pag. 618.

(65) Ibid. pag. 619.

(66) Ibid. pag. 620.

(67) Ibid. pag. 621.

(68) Ibid. pag. 622.

haste to consummate their Marriage, because their Conduct in this respect was to be a rule and example to all the brute Creatures, to endeavour the Multiplication of their Species: 4. That no Creature had performed that function before Man (61): 'Quæ minora æstimantur, cum de protoparente Adamo ita finistre sentiant, ut etiam ipsum nefarie incontinentiæ, quod referre pudet, insimulent? In Jalkut tom. I. n. 24. ante Evæ formationem, omnia jumenta, ferasque campi carnaliter cognovisse aiunt his verbis. . . . dixit R. Eleazar, quid sibi vult, hac vice? (Vulg. hoc nunc) Gen. 2. 23. ad docendum, quod ingressus fuerat Adam super omne jumentum & feram, neque refrigerata est illius concupiscentia, quousque copulata est ei Eva.' Father Bartolucci observes that some modern Rabbins say, that this is to be understood in a metaphorical sense; but he affirms the contrary, since the last words, *quousque copulata est ei Eva*, are to be taken in the literal sense, and the Rabbi's Thought is so clear, that it is a wonder any Christian Authors should strain it to an allegorical meaning. *Salomon Jarchi* (62), continues he, understood it literally.

[I] *Leo the Hebrew* . . . imagines that Man had never sinned, if the two Sexes . . . had not been separated.] *Leo* supposes, that the Serpent could not deceive the Woman while she was joined with the Man, nor deceive the Man and Woman jointly (63). So that the power of sinning was a Consequence of the Division of the two Sexes; a Division which God had made for wise ends, viz. that each of the Sexes might be an help to the other in the Work of Generation. Let us say something of the Allegories added by the same Author to this. He pretends (64) that each Man and Woman is compounded of a masculine and a feminine Part. The Understanding is the masculine Part, the Matter, or Body, the feminine Part. In the beginning there was a very good understanding between these two parts: *The sensual feminine Corporeity was obedient and subject to the Intellectual and masculine Reason: so that there was no manner of Opposition in Man, and his Life was altogether an intellectual one* (65). The prohibition to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, signified that *Adam* should not turn aside his Intellect towards *Acts of Sensuality* (66), nor towards the acquisition of useful things; for corporeal, sensual, and corruptible Objects cause the Intellect, which is too much addicted to them, to become material and corruptible, that is to say, liable to *Condemnation and Punishment* (67). Nevertheless, adds the Jewish Doctor, the Deity did not permit the Obedience of the corporeal feminine Part to the intellectual masculine Part to be constant. God foresaw that the Union of these two parts would render the Essence of Man more and more immortal and perfect; but on the other side that it would be very prejudicial to the corporeal and feminine part, both with respect to the individual Person, and with respect to the propagation of the human Species; for 1. When the Intellect is inflamed with the Knowledge and Love of eternal and divine Things, it neglects the care of the Body, and lets it die before it's time. 2. Those, who are ardently engaged in intellectual Contemplations, despise corporeal Love, and shun the lascivious Act of Generation: so that this intellectual perfection would cause the loss of the human Race. Wherefore God determined to put some moderate division between the feminine sensual Part, and the intellectual masculine Part, that (68) sensuality might prompt the Intellect to certain desires, and corporeal Acts, necessary for the corporeal individual sustentation, and the succession of the Species. And this is what is signified by the Text, when it says, *It is not good that the Man should be alone, let us make him a help before, or over against him*; that is to say,

that the sensual feminine Part should not be so subject to the intellectual as never to make any resistance, but should sometimes draw it to corporeal Things, for the benefit of the individual Being, and the Species. As to the sleep *Adam* fell into, when God took a Rib from him, and formed *Eve* out of it, our Author pretends that it signifies (69) that the primary intellectual watching, and intense Contemplation of *Adam* was interrupted, and that the Intellect began to incline towards the corporeal part, as a Husband to his Wife, and to have a moderate care for the sustentation of it, as of part of itself, and of the Succession of it's kind, for the preservation of the Species: so that the division between the masculine and feminine half, was made for good and necessary ends: and afterwards followed the resistance of the feminine Matter, and the inclination of the masculine Intellect towards it, together with an immoderate pursuit of the corporeal Necessity: And was no longer governed by Reason, as it ought to have been, and as the Creator intended it should be: So that the Intellect yielding and submitting to Matter, and thereby plunging itself into sensuality, Sin followed thereupon. And this is what the History denotes, when it says that the Serpent deceived the Woman, bidding her eat of the forbidden Tree, that she might know Good and Evil: because as soon as they should eat of it, their Eyes would be opened, and they should be as Gods, knowing Good and Evil. Which the Woman seeing, and that the Tree was good to eat, and fine and delectable to the Eye, and a Tree to be desired to make her wife; she eat of the Fruit, and made her Husband eat with her; at which time their Eyes were opened, and they knew they were naked, and they sewed Fig-Leaves together, and made themselves Aprons. The Serpent is the carnal Appetite, which first stimulates and deceives the corporeal feminine Part, when it finds it in any manner separated from the Intellect it's Husband, and resisting his strict Laws, that it may sink into carnal Delights, and blind itself by the Acquisition of superfluous Riches, (which is the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, for the two Reasons mentioned above) shewing her, that thereby their Eyes will be opened, that is to say, that they shall know many such things as the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil discovers to them, and which they did not know before: To wit, several Tricks and Contrivances belonging to lasciviousness and avarice, which before they did not trouble themselves about: telling her also, that they should be like the Gods in this; that is in fertile Generation: for as God is an intelligent Being, and the Heavens are productive causes of Creatures inferior to them, in like manner, Man by continual carnal Meditations would at length beget a numerous progeny. In which case the corporeal feminine Part not only refused to be governed as it ought to be by it's intellectual Husband, but drew him into the sink of corporeal Things, eating the forbidden Fruit with him: and immediately their Eyes were opened: not the intellectual Eyes, for these were rather closed by it, but those of the corporeal fancy towards carnal and lascivious Acts: and then they knew they were naked: that is, they know the disobedience of the carnal Acts to the Intellect: for which cause they covered their genital Parts, as shameful and rebellious to Reason and Wisdom.

Two things may be censured in this Doctrine of *Leo the Hebrew*. The first is that he says plainly enough, *Eve's* first Sin was an Act of Incontinence; from whence it follows, that the Fruit of the Tree she made her Husband eat, was nothing else but her enticing him to enjoy her. In the second place, this

(69) Ibid. pag. 623.

Author

there was a masculine Part as well as a feminine. This Writer's Explications are very improper to account for the Divine Providence, in relation to the Fall of *Adam*, not being far from their Opinion, who think that the first Sin was an Act of lascivious Love. See the Remark [I]. In thus condemning these unbelieving Doctors, we must not spare a Wit of the Church of *Rome*, a Frenchman by Nation: he made a Sonnet which has been printed, and which, to say no worse of it, is extremely prophane [K]; it would be a vain and frivolous Excuse to plead the Privileges of Poetry. The just liberty of Poets does not extend so far; and in how many Cafes would their Maxims against Morality and Religion be lawfully condemned according to the juridical Forms of the Inquisition? See the Remark [I] of the Article *Garaffe*. Another Wit, an Italian, a noble Venetian; in a word, the celebrated *Loredano*: This Wit, I say, deserves to be censured for not consulting the Honour of *Eve* in point of Decency; for he supposes that after she had been driven out of Paradise with her Husband, she exhorted him to perform his conjugal Duty to her, in obedience to the command of God, to increase and multiply (r). The *Decorum* required, that *Adam* should be supposed to demand this. (r) See Remark [I]. There are some other things to be blamed in *Loredano* [L]. A German Author has been infinitely

Author attributes to God a Conduct utterly unworthy of the Sovereign Perfection. He supposes that the Union of the two Sexes, in the first Man, was a State of Immortality and intellectual Life which excluded the unhappy power of sinning, and that nevertheless God soon abolished this State, to remedy two Inconveniences, viz. that Man should too much neglect his Body, and should abstain from the carnal Acts from whence Generations result. God foreseeing these Disorders separated what he had joined before. Had it not been better, may one say to this false Doctor, to have formed the two Sexes apart, than first to unite, and presently after to divide them? Should he finish a Work, and immediately be obliged by the defects of it to undo all again? and if God foresaw the two Consequences of the Conjunction, did he not also foresee the Consequences of the disunion? did he not foresee that the two Sexes, by becoming subject to Sensuality, would be hurried into Intemperance thro' the influence of Pleasure? and were not these inconveniences worse than the two others, and required at least as much to be remedied? methinks this Conduct is something like that of those Judges, who being unwilling formally to set a Prisoner at liberty, nor yet willing to keep him in Prison, indulge him with the benefit of a *laxior custodia*, or privately order the Jaylor to furnish him with an opportunity to make his escape. The feminine Part during it's Conjunction with the masculine was under good a Guard that it could not deviate from it's Duty; but it was separated from it, and thereby put into a Condition to use and abuse it's Liberty. What should we think of a Physician who should employ Incisions and Burnings (the *Ure*, *Sera*) to cure those who are not much addicted to sensual Pleasures, and neglect those who are so addicted; who should expel a contempt of Wine, and leave drunkenness alone (70)? We must therefore reject the Hypothesis of this Jewish Author as abominable.

[K] *A Wit made a prophane Sonnet.* It is easy to see I mean *Sarrafin's* famous Sonnet, *Quand Adam vit cette jeune beauté.* When *Adam* saw that young Beauty. The Conclusion of it is not only too satirical against the fair Sex, but is loose and prophane even to impiety.

*Cber CHARLEVAL, alors en vérité,
Je croy qu'il fut une femme fidelle;
Mais comme qu'on ne l'aurait-elle est,
Elle n'avait qu'un seul homme avec elle.
Or en cela nous nous trompons tous deux,
Car, bien qu'Adam fût jeune & vigoureux,
Bien fait de corps & d'esprit agréable,
Elle aimait mieux, pour s'en faire conter,
Presser l'oreille aux fleurettes du Diable,
Que d'être femme & ne pas coqueter* (71).

(71) *Sarrafin*,
Poésies, pag. 61,
Edit. Paris,
1658, in 12mo.

'That is, Dear *Charleval*, then indeed I believe there was one faithful Wife; for how could she help it, when there was but one Man with her: and yet we are here mistaken; for tho' *Adam* was young, jolly, vigorous, and agreeable, rather than be a Woman and no Coquet, she would listen to the amorous Tales of the Devil.' One would think that

VOL. II.

Sarrafin wrote this in a furious fit of Jealousy, when he had just had an account that his Mistress had been civil to some Sparks that admired her; for this is one of the Caprices of Love. A Man is never more disposed to rail against the fair Sex in general, than when he knows, the Person who loves him and whom he loves hearkens willingly to the Courtship of others, that she consents to familiar Conversation, and is very merry when he is absent, &c. He would have the Woman, that has an amorous Intrigue with him, look down with contempt upon every Body else, and scornfully reject all their Civilities, and become to them ill humoured, rude, cruel, and uncoquable; and when he sees the clean contrary, as it often happens, he grows peevish, and enraged, with so little reason, that all the fair Sex must suffer for it. He inveighs against all Women, charges them with being essentially Coquets, and if at that time he should be writing a Treatise of Logic, when he comes to the Chapter of Universals, he would assign Coquetry for the *proprium quarto modo* of the female Sex, for that propriety *quæ convenit omni, soli, & semper sub-jecto, & cum eo recipitur*. If he were not in Love he would be far from this Injustice, and would see nothing to be condemned in the pleasure they take in being flattered and wheedled, and in their civil and obliging way of answering a Compliment. Nay he is not thus unreasonable when he is deeply in Love, and his Mistress is a Coquet to no Body but himself. Therefore it is Jealousy that makes him exclaim and rave, not only against his unfaithful or pretended unfaithful Mistress, but against all Women in general, as if Coquetry was inseparable from them. Can any thing be more fantastical and blind, than the Caprice of these jealous Lovers? they cannot endure that their Mistresses should express the least Tenderness even for their own Husbands. Thus one of them complains.

*Je penserois n'être pas malheureux,
Si la beauté dont je suis amoureux
Pouvoit enfin se tenir satisfaite,
De mille amans avec un favori:
Mais j'enrage que la coquette
Aime encor jusqu'à son mari* (72).

(72) *Bossi Robustino*, Histoire amoureuse des Gaules.

'That is, I should not be unhappy if the Beauty I admire would be content with a thousand Lovers and one Favourite, but I am mad to think she is Coquet enough to love even her very Husband.'

[L] There are some other things to be blamed in *Loredano*. I consider here only his work of the Life of *Adam*: it is a Book that has been translated out of Italian into French: this Translation, made from the eighth Edition printed at Venice by *Falscasse* (73), was published at Paris in 1695, and reprinted soon after at the French *Amsterdam*. In the *Mercur Galant* for the Month of December of the same Year, there is a very good Criticism upon this Treatise (74). Mr *Bajnage de Beauval* has also made a fine Criticism upon it in the Month of March 1696 (75). One cannot give too bad a Character of such a Book, nor forgive the Author the liberty he has taken to mix so many romantic inventions with such a Subject, Inventions so void of Gravity, and much fitter for a comic History. Let us consider only some of his Thoughts concerning

(73) Preface to the Remark [A] of the Article *LERIUS*.

(74) See the Remark [A] of the Article *LERIUS*.

(75) Art. iv. following.

10 H

infinitely more favourable to this first of all Women; he thinks *Adam's Sin* was greater than that of *Eve*, and that God did not drive her out of Paradise; but that *Adam* only underwent that Punishment. We shall see what Grounds he goes upon [M].

(76) Loredano, Vic d' Adam, pag. 37, 38. Edit. Amst. 1696.

(77) That is when Eve was made.

(78) Loredano, ubi supra, pag. 41.

(79) Ibid. pag. 42.

(80) Ibid. pag. 44.

(81) Ibid. pag. 45.

(82) Ibid. pag. 47.

(83) Ibid. pag.

(84) Ibid. pag. 50.

(85) Ibid. pag. 51.

(86) Ibid. pag. 53.

(87) Ibid. pag. 71.

(88) Ibid. pag. 77.

(89) Ibid. pag. 109.

(90) Ibid. pag. 110.

concerning *Eve*. The Author affirms (76) that 'It was the effect of God's goodness towards *Adam*, to let him sleep at that time (77), well knowing that in a little while he would lose his rest in his Wife's Company . . . *Adam* being endowed with a prophetic Spirit, continues he, could foresee the Evils which the Birth of *Eve* would cause to all Mankind, so that perhaps God excited his sleep, lest he should oppose the Creation of his Wife . . . does it not look as if God by creating only one Woman for *Adam*, intimated to Men that they ought to be content with one Marriage? but perhaps he did it for another reason, that he might not multiply his Sufferings by giving him many Wives, there being commonly nothing more capable of exercising a Man's Patience, and disturbing his Rest, than the cares of Matrimony (78). He supposes (79) that *Eve* was so beautiful that *Adam* was upon the point of adoring her as a Deity (80). No Romance has a more passionate Declaration of Love than that which *Adam* makes here (81). The Author finds no better incident to prevent the Consequences of that *Eagerneſs*, with which the first Man expressed the *tenderneſs* of his Heart, than to feign that God himself appeared and interrupted their Conversation (82). *Adam* warned his Wife not to touch the fatal Fruit which would bring Death into the World (83). 'This Prohibition awakened the Curiosity of *Eve*; for it is enough to forbid a Woman any thing to excite her Curiosity. The Prohibition stimulates and inflames her Desires which are commonly eager for lawful things, but insatiable for what is forbidden. Thus, urged on by that Impatience, which digged the Grave of their Happiness, she leaves *Adam* to enjoy, without Witness, or Reproach, a sight of the Fruit which she esteemed the most exquisite of all, because forbidden (84). He accompanies this with a piece of Morality, to teach Women always to keep under the eye of their Husbands. 'The farther a Woman goes from her Husband, the nearer she approaches to ruin: Such danger is she in of being lost, when she is divided from him, because she gives every body both opportunity and boldness to attempt her. A Woman being alone is exposed to Temptation even from a Serpent. The Moon is eclipsed when she is too near the Sun, but a Woman on the contrary suffers fatal Eclipses in her Chastity when she is at a distance from her Husband (85). I pass over the Compliments which the Author supposes the Serpent in the shape of a young Virgin made to *Eve*; but we may observe, he pretends she framed a Lye in her answer (86); and that she had recourse to Sighs, Tears, Careſſes, and passionate Kisses (87), to prevail with *Adam* to eat the Apple she offered him. Could you guess at the employment Loredano assigns to Almighty God? 'In the mean time, says he (88), God took a walk in the Garden, to enjoy the western Breezes, when towards evening they blow somewhat fresher. This Action of the Divine Majesty did sufficiently denote the uneasiness which the Sin of Man gave him; since to moderate the heat of his just anger, he seemed to beg the assistance of those Winds which are always temperate.' A Pagan Poet would not be excusable to have said such a thing as this of *Jupiter*: but let us leave this, since we have promised to mention only what concerns *Adam's Wife*.

The Author supposes (89) that she endeavoured to alleviate the miseries of her Husband, who from time to time sought for some Consolation in the Arms of his Wife, and that she reminded him of God's command to multiply, and advised him to take great care not to transgress that Commandment. 'Let us endeavour, said she to him (90), to recover, by a numerous Posterity, what we have lost. A weak and slight Consolation this for such great Calamities, but yet necessary, since God has so ordered it. Let us take care of disobeying a second time; our disobedience would be without Excuse; it would discourage the divine Mercy, and we should be forever the Objects of his too just Indignation. Let us follow the Heavenly Will, in procuring the

Propagation of Mankind. This is the way to vanquish Death, which is one day to triumph over our Bodies, since we shall live, in spite of him, in our Children, Grand-Children, and in the Memory of our Posterity. I do not say that therefore we should dry up entirely our Tears: no, my Sorrow for having offended my God shall have no end but with my Life, and my Heart, which is to quit it the last, shall live no longer than my Grief: but we ought to take care that we do not by a new Offence provoke that God, who has treated us so favourably, which would be equally impious, and dangerous to us. *Adam* answered her, smiling, I shall not for the future fear that your Company should be fatal to me since you persuade me to nothing but what is good. . . . It is just to give some Relaxation to our Woes, to relieve a little our Senses depressed with the weight of our Afflictions, and to people the World in obedience to our God; where upon, following his Words with Careſſes, he abandoned his Soul to Pleasure, and for some time lost, in the Arms of his Wife, the remembrance of the fatal Cause of his Grief.' If after *Abel's* Death, his Father and Mother tied themselves down to Continence, it was *Adam* who with an Oath first bound himself, and without consulting his Wife (91). This is imitating the Romances, wherein the Heroines made the first Steps (92); but he had better have conformed to the modern Romances, and the temper of the Jewish Nation, who required a very great modesty on the Woman's side in demanding the conjugal Duty; for if any one asked it so loud that the Neighbours could hear their Conversation upon such a Subject, she might be divorced for it (93).

[M] We shall see what Grounds he goes upon.] So far is he from supposing, as Loredano does, that *Eve* was excited by the Prohibition to covet the forbidden Fruit; that, on the contrary, he says (94), the Serpent tempted her before she thought of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. He adds, I. that she suffered herself to be persuaded that she had not well understood her Husband's Intention, or that her Husband had been deceived by some false Report. II. That believing it was not true that God had given such a Prohibition, she eat of the Fruit, and that her fault consisted in taking her Resolution too hastily in an affair of such Consequence, without consulting her Husband. III. That having sinned through ignorance (95), tho' not through an invincible ignorance, she committed a less grievous Crime than *Adam*; whose Sin was voluntary, and against his Conscience. IV. That *Eve* did not necessarily incur the Punishment of eternal Death; for the Decree of God only signified that Man should die if he sinned against his Conscience, *ſi ſciens prudensque peccaſſet* (96). V. That tho' God might without injustice have inflicted Death on *Eve*, yet he resolved, so great is his Compassion towards his Creatures, to let her live, seeing she had not sinned maliciously. VI. That being exempted from the Punishment included in the divine Decree, she might retain all the Privileges of her former Condition (97), except those which were not consistent with the Infirmities to which God condemned her. VII. That particularly she retained the Privilege of bringing forth Children who had a right to the celestial Blessedness, upon Condition of obeying the new *Adam*. VIII. That as all Mankind were to proceed from *Adam* and *Eve*, *Adam* was preserved alive for no other Reason but because his Preservation was necessary for the Generation of Children. IX. That therefore it was by accident, that the decree of Death was not executed upon him (98); but otherwise he was more severely punished than his Wife. X. That she was not expelled Paradise as he was, but was only obliged to go out of it to find *Adam* in cases of necessity, and then with full Privilege of returning again. XI. That *Adam* and *Eve's* Children were subject to eternal Death, not as proceeding from *Eve* but from *Adam* (100). This is what directly concerns *Eve* in that Book: those who would see the Proofs and Design of this Author, and the Consequences he draws from these new Thoughts, will do well to have recourse to this Book.

(91) Ibid. pag. 141.

(92) See Remark [C] of the Article LONGUS.

(93) Eodem Maim. c. 24, §. 12. & Ammud Golah, seu Liber preceptorum parvum, ubi in glossa additur: si fuerit exigens debitum conjugale a marito suo uxore clara, ita ut ejus vicina audire poterint eam loquentem de re ista. Pelygam. Triumphatrix, pag. 56, col. 1.

(94) See the Book intitled Cogitationes novae de primo & secundo Adamo examini Eruitorum compendiose propoſitae, printed at Amsterdam, apud Eleutherium Alſpiciam, anno Domini 1700, in 8vo, at the 26th Page.

(95) Ibid. pag. 10, 12.

(96) Ibid. pag. 15.

(97) Ibid. pag. 16.

(98) Ib. pag. 18.

(99) Ibid. pag. 19, 20.

(100) Ibid. pag. 23. See also pag. 60, 65, 140, & seq.

It cannot be objected against him, as against *Lo-redano*, that he has not preserved a *decorum* in supposing that *Eve* went to seek her Husband; for it was by pure necessity, since it was impossible for *Adam* to re-enter the terrestrial Paradise: and besides it is very probable, that if this Writer was asked; did *Adam's Wife* make use of her Privilege of remaining in the Garden of *Eden*? He would have answered, no. What should she have done there alone? she would soon have been tired of it: The most charming Landships, the most delicious Gardens, are not agreeable to a Woman who finds no manner of Company or Society there. So-

litude in the finest place upon Earth is burdensome, unless a Man be a Philosopher, or of a contemplative meditating Temper. Therefore it is to be believed, that *Eve*, as well out of her own personal Interest, as because Reason required it, would prefer the Cottage of her exiled Husband to an abode in the Terrestrial Paradise. Wherever *Adam* pitched his Tent, was to her as the Garden of *Eden* (101). There it was her Duty to settle that she might be an assistance to him according to the end of her Creation, and might share with him the Cares of her Family. See the Margin (102).

(101) Apply to this what is said of *Comillus*. *Tarpeia* feda perusta Gallorum fœcibus, Velosque habuit tinte Camillo, Illic Roma fuit. When Gallus Flames the burning City set, At *Vesuvius* Rome with her Camillus danc'd. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. v. ver. 27.

(102) Note, the Author supposes, that *Adam* lived very near the Terrestrial Paradise, and that by God's Command.

EUGENIUS IV, created Pope on the third of March 1431, was of a Plebeian Family of *Venice* (a), and Son to *Angelo Condelmerio*, but not the Nephew of Pope Gregory XII [A], as is said in *Moreri*. He took the Celestine Habit when he was brought to *Rome* by the Nephew of that Pope (b). This Nephew was also a Celestine Monk, and Canon of the Congregation of *St George in Alga*. The brother Monk, he brought to *Rome*, soon insinuated himself into the Favour of Gregory XII, who made him his Treasurer, and then Bishop of *Sienna*, and at last Cardinal. *Martin V* gave him the Legateship of the *Picentine*, and afterwards that of *Bologna*. That Cardinal discharged his Office with great Ability, and succeeded *Martin V* (c). I shall not enlarge upon the Detail of his Actions, which may be seen in *Moreri*; but shall content myself with relating certain Things he has omitted, which highly deserved a Place in his Dictionary. *Eugenius* began his Pontificate with an Action which was attended with ill Consequences. He gave Ear to some Informers, who reported that *Martin V* governed by an insatiable Avarice, had amassed vast Treasures. According to the Advice of these People he caused *Oddo Poccio*, Vice-Chamberlain to *Martin*, to be seized; but he commanded *Stephen Colonna*, General of his Troops, to bring him without Noise, and without exposing him to any Disgrace. This Order was not executed. *Oddo's* House was plundered by the Soldiers, and himself dragged, like a Thief, to the Pope's Palace, in the fight of the whole City. *Eugenius* was very much concerned at this, and by his Threats compelled *Stephen Colonna* to retire to the Prince of *Palestrina*, whom he persuaded to expel the Pope; assuring him that unless he did so, the whole Family of *Colonna* was in danger of being ruined. The Prince giving credit to this Information, and pitying *Martin V's* Friends, who had been severely used, resolved to make himself Master of *Rome*. He seized the *Appian Gate*, and advanced as far as *St Mark's Church*, committing no violence nor meeting with any Resistance: but here he was forced to encounter *Eugenius's* Soldiers, supported by a good Party of the Inhabitants. After a sharp Engagement, in which a great many Lives were lost on both Sides, the Prince of *Palestrina* was forced to retire. But afterwards he committed all kinds of Hostilities. The Pope did the same upon the *Colonna's* and their Adherents. He fell Sick, either being poisoned, or for grief on account of so perplexing a War. Wherefore he thought of nothing but Peace, which being concluded by the Negotiation of *Angelotto Fosco*, a Roman Citizen (d), he recovered his Health (e). This happened a little before the Journey of the Emperor *Sigismund* into *Italy*. The Pope concluded a Treaty with him, received him magnificently at *Rome*, and crowned him there (f). Some time after he was exposed to a terrible Misfortune, which was a perfect Revolution [B]. The Romans took Arms, and

(d) Ex eodem, Platina, ibid.

(e) Naucerus, Generat. xlviii, folio, m. 934.

(f) In the Year 1433.

[A] He was not the Nephew of Pope Gregory XII. Mr de la Rochezay in his *Nomenclator Cardinalium* (1), *Spondanus* in his *Annals of the Church* (2), and an infinite number of other Writers assure us that *Eugenius IV* was the Son of *Gregory* the twelfth's Sister. I believe they are mistaken: my reason is that neither *Platina*, nor *Volaterranus*, give him that Quality, and they could not have been ignorant of it, if it had been true; and *Platina's* Silence is attended with such Circumstances that it amounts to a positive Proof. That Author relates that *Antony Corario*, *Gregory* the Twelfth's Nephew, brought to *Rome* *Gabriel Condelmerio* of the same religious Order with himself (3), and with whom he had lived familiarly from his Youth: *Roman iturus Gabriel Condelmerium*, that is, the same *Eugenius IV*, qui ejusmodi professionis erat, quicum ab ineunte ætate familiariter vixerat secum aliquandiu recusantem duxit (4). Is it possible for any Author with these Circumstances not to say, that such a one is the Nephew of such a one? and observe that *Platina*, mingling together the Preferments of these two Men, always gives *Antony Corario* the Title of the Pope's Nephew, without ever giving it the other. Some unattentive heedless Reader may have been deceived by this, without distinguishing what concerns *Corario*, from what relates to *Condelmerio*, and may have taken the latter for the Nephew of *Gregory XII*, after which Historians have copied

one another without informing themselves more fully of the Matter.

[B] He was exposed to a terrible Misfortune, which was a perfect Revolution. Philip Duke of Milan, being incensed against the Pope, made an Irruption into the Territory of *Rome*. His Cavalry in this Expedition was commanded by *Nicholas Fortebraccio*, a famous Warriour, and who had quitted the Pope's Service in great discontent; for, having demanded his Salary, *Eugenius* told him he ought to think himself sufficiently paid by the Plunder he had got at several places. Enraged at this answer, he fought for a new Master, and being employed by Duke Philip against the Pope, he committed terrible Ravages near *Rome*. The City was under the greatest Consternation; the Pope himself for some time was uncertain where to go. The People came in Crowds to him, complaining of the losses they sustained: and as he was in an ill State of Health, and knew not which way to turn himself, he referred the People to the Cardinal his Nephew, and Chamberlain, an indolent and voluptuous Man, who gave no other answer to those that told him they had lost their Cattle, than this: You confided too much in your Cattle, the Venetians live much more agreeably without all that (5). They were so enraged at this answer, that they immediately began to cry out to Arms and Liberty. They deposed all the Magistrates of *Eugenius's* making, and

(5) Eos nimiam spem in pecoribus collocasse: Venetis quidem sine gregibus & jumentis longe urbaniorum vitam ducere. *Platina*, in *Vita Eugenii* IV, folio 310.

(a) Platina, in *Vita Eugenii IV*.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Ex eodem, ibid.

(1) Pag. 73.

(2) Ad. ann. 1408, n. 63, & ad ann. 1431, n. 4.

(3) That is a Celestine.

(4) Platina, in *Eugenio IV*, fol. 307.

he had much ado to escape their fury by flight; but not being able to maintain themselves in the State of Liberty this Revolution put them into, they were severely chastized. *Eugenius* died the twenty second of *February* 1447, being sixty four Years of Age (g). His Pontificate continued sixteen Years wanting a few Days, and was a true Series of War; for without reckoning the Ecclesiastical Contests, which were very violent between this Pope and the Council of *Basil*, he was embroiled in all the Wars of *Italy*. He persuaded the King of *Hungary* to take Arms against the *Turks*, and provoked the Dauphin to make War with the *Swiss* (b). He was the more accountable for the fatal Consequences of the first of these two Wars, for having sent a Cardinal Legate into *Hungary*, to induce the King to violate a Treaty solemnly concluded with the *Port* (i). The Reflexion he made upon his Destiny is remarkable [C], and a proof of the Vanity that is found in the highest Dignities by those that are possessed of them. It must not be forgot that, to make it appear, he was not wholly addicted to warlike Employments, he affected to perform in Person, and with great Splendor, some religious Ceremonies, and to procure the Embellishment and Reformation of certain Churches in *Rome* [D]. He was a handsome Man, of a venerable Aspect, and always looked downwards when he appeared in public (k). He drank no Wine, and was frugal as to his own Person, though there was a great deal of magnificence in his House (l). He was not learned, but a lover and encourager of learned Men [E]. In his Reign the Cardinals began to keep packs of Dogs and Stables; abandoning themselves to Luxury in their Furniture and Entertainments [F].

(g) Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV. Volaterr. lib. xxii, pag. m. 845, gives him but 63 Years.

(b) Platina, ibid.

(i) See Letter lxxxi of *Aeneas Silvius*.

(k) See Letter lxxxi of *Aeneas Silvius*.

(l) See Letter lxxxi of *Aeneas Silvius*.

(i) Vir aspectu insignis & veneratione dignus. Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV. Vultu aliqui decore, ac venerabili, oculos in publico nunquam attollebat, ut à parente meo qui eum sequebatur accipit. Volaterr. lib. xxii, pag. 845.

(l) Splendidus in victu familie, parvus in suo, & à vino ita alienus ut abstemius merito vocaretur. Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV.

put others in their Places, and seized the Cardinal his Nephew. The Pope seeing himself reduced to such Extremities disguised himself in the Habit of a Monk, and went on Board a Bark to make his escape to *Ofia*. Where he had the happiness to arrive notwithstanding the Stones and Darts thrown at him. Afterwards he retired to *Florence* (6). Some Writers say (7) he was committed to Prison in *St Mary's* Church beyond the *Tyber*; but that, deceiving his Guards, he got into a Fisher-boat, and went down the River to *Ofia*, being pursued and pelted with Arrows by the *Romans*. Volaterran (8) adds that the latter made themselves Masters of the Capitol and the Castle of *St Angelo*. I fancy he goes too far; for Platina, who is followed in this by a great number of Authors, assures us that the Castle of *St Angelo* was not taken. However that be, the Liberty of *Rome* was of no long Duration: the Pope's Authority was re-established in his absence by *John Vitelleschi*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who most severely punished the Mutineers. This Revolution happened in the Month of *June* 1434. It is so remarkable, and so many Authors have mentioned it (9), that I wonder *Moreri* has omitted it. He might have had it from *Spondanus's* Annals (10). *Ambrose de Camaldoli* makes mention of it in his *Hodeporicon*, and when the Abbot de la Roque made an Extract of that Work, he did not forget this Passage (11).

[C] The Reflexion he made upon his Destiny is remarkable. Being at the point of Death, he turned towards the Monks who surrounded the Bed, and with a Voice broken with Sighs declared that it had been much better for the Salvation of his Soul, if he had never been Cardinal or Pope. 'Hic (*Eugenius*) cum effect morti proximis, apud Raynaldum anno M.CCCCXLVII aliquid dixisse memorie proditur, quod nisi poenitentiam ostendat, certè mihi terrorem injicit: Verba sunt: Cumque à religiosis viris cinctus esset, interpancia suspiriis voce, versoque ad eos vultu dixisse fertur: O Gabriel, quando magis conduxisset animæ tuæ salutem, ut nunquam Cardinalatum, nec Pontificatum obtinuisset, sed in tuo monasterio religiosam disciplinam coluisses! Hæc ex vitæ Eugenii auctore, qui tunc claruit, & à Raynaldo laudatur (12). — This *Eugenius*, being at the point of Death, is reported by Raynaldus, in the Year 1447, to have used an Expression, which, if it did not denote his Penitence, does certainly strike me with Terror. Being surrounded with a religious Attendance, with a Voice broken with Sighs, and his Countenance directed to the Company, he is said to have spoke thus: O Gabriel, how much better had it been for thy Soul's safety, hadst thou never been promoted to the Dignity of Cardinal or Pope, but continued a religious Discipline in thy Monastery. This is quoted from the Author of *Eugenius's* Life, who lived at that time, and is cited by Raynaldus.

[D] He affected to perform in Person, and with great Splendor, some religious Ceremonies, and to procure the Embellishment . . . of some Churches in *Rome*.]

This appeared when *Nicholas* of *Tolentino* was canonized, and when *St Silvester's* Mitre was carried from *Avignon* to *Rome*. Read the following Words of *Platina*, in which you will also find that he expelled the Secular Canons from *St John of Lateran*, and established Regular Canons in their stead. 'Interea vero Eugenius ne rem bellicam solum curare videretur Nicolaum Tollerantem Ordinis sancti Augustini miraculis clarum in Sanctos referens: à sancto Petro cum omni clero supplicando ad sanctum Augustinum profectus solennia ipse celebrat astante populo Romano Cardinaliumque omnium cœtu: præterea vero pulsus omnino è sancto Joanne Laterano canonicis secularibus admittisque tantummodo regularibus: & porticum illam extruxit quæ ab ecclesia ad sancta sanctorum: & claustrum ubi sacerdotes habitant restituit: auxit & picturam templi à Martino antea inchoatam. Præterea vero sancti Sylvestri mitteram Romam Avenione delatam ipsemet è Vaticano ad Lateranum detulit magna cum veneratione & litania sacerdotum omnium populi que Romani (13). — In the mean time *Eugenius*, that he might not seem to have his Thoughts solely bent on War, canonized *Nicholas* the *Tolentine* of the Order of *St Austin*, a Man eminent for Miracles; and attended by all the Clergy, went from *St Peter's* to *St Austin's*, where, all the People and the whole Conclave standing by, he performed the Ceremony. He expelled moreover all the Secular Canons from *St John of Lateran*, admitting only Regulars; he built the Piazza from the Church to the Sancta Sanctorum; and repaired the Cloister where the Priests reside. He finished the Painting of the Church, begun before by *Martin*. He moreover with his own Hands carried, from the Vatican to the Lateran, the Mitre of *St Silvester* removed from *Avignon* to *Rome*, with extraordinary Solemnity, all the Clergy and People of *Rome* attending the Procession.'

[E] He was not learned, but he was a lover of learned Men.] According to *Platina* he spoke with more Gravity than Eloquence; he had but little Erudition, he understood History well (14). was liberal to all Men, but especially to learned Men. He took Pleasure in their Conversation; for he had for his Secretaries *Leonard Aretin*, *Charles Aretin*, *Poggio*, *Arispa*, *Blondus*, and *George Trapezuntius*. They make him the Author of several Books: but the Catalogue they give of them (15) contains so many writings that were composed by the Secretaries, that the same Judgment ought to be formed of all the rest. The Remark I have already made against *Ghilini* (16) will also serve for this Place.

[F] It was under his reign that the Cardinals began to be luxurious in their Entertainments. And it is observable that the Cardinal who began this Innovation had been a Physician. Read Volaterran's Words: 'Ludovicum Patriarcham Aquileiensem, cum exercitu Florentinis auxilio misit (*Eugenius* IV) qui tunc ad Anglare oppidum à Picinino duce copiarum Philippi vicecomitis oppugnabatur: ex quo victo-

(13) Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV. fol. 320, verso.

(14) Gravis in dicendo potius quam eloquens, modice literaturæ: multæ cognitionis historicæ præsertim. Id. ibid. folio 321.

(15) See the Nomenclator Cardinalium, pag. 74, and the Bibliotheca Pontificia of Father Jacob, pag. 65, and following.

(16) Is the Article CHARLES V, Rom. [C].

(12) Launolus, Epist. Ultima, Part I, pag. 82, Edit. Cantabrig.

(9) Blondus, St Antonin, Platina, Volaterran, Nauclerus.

(10) Ad. ann. 1434. n. 4.

(11) See the Journal des Savans, March 2, 1682, pag. 79, Dutch Edit.

(6) Ex Platina, in Eugenio IV, fol. 310.

(7) Volaterr. lib. xxii, pag. 814.

(8) Ibid.

(17) Volaterr.
Lib. XXII,
pag. 815.

* *ria potiti sunt. Hic Ludovicus patria Paduanus:*
* *arte medicus, ob sua merita pugnae, in senatum*
* *ascitus, tantos sibi spiritus adsumperat, immemor*
* *generis, ut primus sit ausus cardinalium, canes e-*
* *quoque alere: convivorum, lautitiaeque, ac supel-*
* *lectilis plus quam illi ordini par erat, splendorem*
* *introducere (17). — Eugenius the IV sent Louis*
* *Patriarch of Aquila, with an Army to assist the Flo-*
* *rentines who were besieged at Anglars, by Picinin*

* *General of Philip's Forces, from whom they*
* *gained the Victory. This Louis, Paduan by Birth,*
* *and a Physician by Profession, being raised to the*
* *Dignity of a Senator for his military Services, for-*
* *got his Extration, and became so elate with Pride,*
* *that he was the first of the Cardinals who took the*
* *Freedom to keep Hounds and Horſe, and introduce*
* *the Grandeur of Entertainments, and Equipage, more*
* *than became that Order.*

EUPHRATUS, a Disciple of Plato, arrived to so high a degree of Favour with Perdiccas, King of Macedonia, that he governed as much as the Prince himself. He was a wicked Man, and an Informer, and caused all those to be excluded from the Table of Perdiccas who did not understand Geometry or Philosophy [A]. Parmenio put him to death in the Reign of Philip, Successor to Perdiccas (a).

(a) Taken from
Athenaeus, lib. ix,
sub finem, pag.
508.

[A] Excluding from the Table of Perdiccas, all those who did not understand Geometry or Philosophy. A Court, which like that of Macedonia at that time was just beginning to emerge from Ignorance, no doubt looked upon such a condition as a kind of Tyranny: for if the Professors, who put over the Doors of their Schools, Οὐδὲν ἀγνοῦντας εἰσῆναι, Let none enter that is ignorant of Geometry, required very hard Preliminaries; what must the Courtiers of Perdic-

cus think, when they saw that their Admission to their Prince's Table depended upon such a Law? If only a little acquaintance with the Poets, or History, had been required, they might have fulfilled the Condition; but Euphratus insisted upon being a Geometrician or Philosopher: now these are two Characters, and especially the first, which very few have a relish for, even among those who cultivate the Sciences.

EURYDICE, Wife of Amyntas, King of Macedonia, was the Mother of four Children, viz. three Sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, the Father of Alexander the Great, and a Daughter named Euryone. She was a most detestable Princess, for she fell so desperately in Love with her Son-in-law, that, in order to marry him, she engaged to set him upon the Throne, and murder her Husband [A]. This horrible Conspiracy would have taken effect, if Euryone had not informed the King of Eurydice's Adulteries and pernicious Designs. The King, tho' convinced of his Wife's Crime, did not punish her, pardoning her for the sake of the Children he had had by her. After his Death his Son Alexander succeeded him, but did not live long; for Eurydice, mad with Lust and Ambition, got him murdered. Perdiccas, her second Son, who ascended the Throne, after Alexander's Death, underwent the same fate (a). The Historians, that are extant, tell us no more of her; they do not inform us what became of her, or whether she was punished for her wicked Actions. Nay there are some Historians, who without saying any thing of her, either good or bad, ascribe to other Causes the Death of the two Princes who reigned successively after Amyntas. This is somewhat strange [B]. I shall relate one particular which is to be found in the Orations of Aeschines [C],

(a) Taken from
Justin, lib. vii,
cap. iv, & v.

[A] She fell so desperately in love with her Son-in-Law, that, to marry him, she engaged to set him upon the Throne and murder her Husband. These are the Words of Justin who acquaints us with this horrible Wickedness. * Infidus Eurydice uxoris, quae nuptias generi pacta, occidendum virum, regnumque adultero tradendum susceperat, occupatus fuisset (Amyntas) ni filia pelliculatum matris & sceleris confilia prodidisset (1). — He had infallibly fallen a Sacrifice to the Treachery of his Wife Eurydice, who, having entered into a Contract of marriage with her Son-in-Law, had engaged to murder her Husband, and put the Kingdom into the Adulterer's Hands, had not her Daughter discovered the infamous Intrigues and Designs of the Mother.

(1) Justin, lib.
vii. cap. iv.

[B] This is somewhat strange. The Justin we have is an Abridgment of a general History, written more at large by Trogus Pompeius. No doubt Eurydice's Actions were to be found more particularly in that History, than they now appear in Justin; but above all, there is no question that Trogus Pompeius had read in very good Authors what he relates of her. Whence comes it then that Diodorus Siculus makes no mention of this Queen? how comes he to say that Alexander, Amyntas's eldest Son and Successor (2), was killed by Ptolemy Alorites his Brother (3), and that three Years after (4) the same Ptolemy was served in like manner by Perdiccas (5)? had not he read the same Authors that Trogus Pompeius had consulted? if he had not read them, we may justly complain of his Negligence, and if he had read them we may affirm that he ought not to have suppressed the story of Eurydice. In vain would he pretend it was without Foundation; for we might answer that at

(2) Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvi, cap. li, pag. m. 739.

(3) Idem, lib. xv, cap. lxxi, pag. m. 712, ad ann. 1, Olymp. ciii.

(4) Idem, lib. id.

(5) Idem, lib. xvi, cap. ii.

least he should have said that she was unjustly charged with causing her Sons to be put to Death. To allege that he knew she was guilty, but spared her by his Silence, is very improbable; for what reason could he have to spare a Queen who had been dead, and her Posterity extinct, so long since.

[C] I shall relate one particular, which is to be found in the Orations of Aeschines. [If we knew nothing of Eurydice but from this Passage, we should have a great Esteem for her Memory. We read in this Orator, that this Queen, after the Death of her Son Alexander, found a very perplexing Affair upon her Hands. Pausanias, who was under Banishment, took hold of this Conjecture, and having some Greek Troops at his Command, and many Friends in Macedonia, he resolved to usurp the Crown. Eurydice saw him very soon Master of some Places, and found there was little dependance upon her Friends. Her Subjects were divided, and a very great number inclined to Pausanias. In this sad Extremity she had recourse to Iphicrates the Athenian General, who was near Amphipolis, and putting her Son Perdiccas into his Arms, and Philip her Son upon his Knees, she reminded him that he was their Brother by Adoption, and that there had always been a strict Friendship between the late King Amyntas, and the Republic of Athens; intreating him, that for these reasons he would be pleased to protect her and them, and preserve the Kingdom for them. Iphicrates was so moved with these Supplications, that he drove out Pausanias (6). It would be well for Eurydice, if we had no other account of her; but when Justin's Narrations are called to mind, one is not inclined to commend her for what she did to Iphicrates. The

(6) Taken from
Aeschines' Oration
de falsa Legatione, p. m. 200. See also
Cornelius Nepos,
in Vita Iphicra-
tis, cap. llii.

VOL. II.

10 I

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and criticize something in the Jesuit *Bisselius* [D]. We may observe that *Arabeus*, Prince of the *Lyncistæ*, descended from the *Bacchiades*, was Grandfather by the Mother's side to our *Eurydice* (b).

most ambitious Mother in the World, and the most capable of sacrificing the Lives of her Children to her Ambition, would have done upon such an occasion all that was done by *Eurydice*; for she was under the worst of Apprehensions from *Pausanias*.

[D] I shall criticize something in the Jesuit *Bisselius*.] He openly declares, that *Diodorus Siculus* acts dishonestly in saying nothing of *Eurydice's* Parricides: This is the sense of these Words, *Diodorus*

(7) *Joannes Bisselius, Illustrum Romanum, Decade IV, pag. m. 1118.*

(8) *Idem, ibid. pag. 1287.*

perpetuus Eurydice's parricidiorum dissimulatur (7). I do not object to him, that it cannot be imagined upon what Principle that Historian should have used Dissimulation: contenting my self with saying that he ought to stick close to his first Censure, that he ought to abide by it, that he ought not to refute it by loose and indeterminate Expressions: 'Qui *Diodorus*, says he, in another Place' (8), incertum qua causa studiove, de scelere ac parricidio *Eurydice's* alium flet. — It is uncertain 'for what reason, or with what design, *Diodorus* is 'so supinely silent with respect to the Crimes and 'Parricides of *Eurydice*.' He adds one thing which deserves still more to be censured. 'Et è contrario, in *Perdicam* verbis claris culpam detorquet necati 'hujus *Ptolemæi*, quin & necis *Alexandri* prædecessoris: quando sic loquitur, simili fraude sublatas est 'à *Perdicæ Ptolemæus*, qua fraude scilicet *Alexan-*

der quem paulo superius dixerat, dolo interemptum: nec addit, ab *Eurydice*. — And on the contrary, 'lays the charge of *Ptolemy's* Murder expressly upon *Perdiccas*, as likewise that of his Predecessor *Alexander*; speaking thus; *Ptolemy* was taken off by *Perdiccas*, and by the same sort of Treachery, as had been practised towards *Alexander*, whom he had before mentioned to have been treacherously murdered; but had not said by *Eurydice*.' He is mistaken: *Diodorus* does not at all pretend to charge *Perdiccas* with the Treason by which *Alexander* was cut off: He imputes it only to *Ptolemy Alerites*, as is very evident by the Passage in the fifteenth Book (9). If Father *Bisselius* had known of that Passage in *Diodorus*, he would not have spoken as he has done; he would have known that That Author intended only to say (10), that *Perdiccas* deprived *Ptolemy Alerites* of his Life, by such a piece of Treachery as *Ptolemy* himself had practised to put *Alexander* to Death. By which it appears how necessary it is to know what an Author says in different Places. Besides, what does *Bisselius* mean (11) by citing *Gutberlet*, an Author of yesterday, to prove that the Reign of that *Alexander* continued but one Year, and that of *Ptolemy Alerites* three Years? should he not have proved these things by *Diodorus Siculus* (12)?

(9) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xv, cap. lxxi.*

(10) In Book xvi, chap. ii.

(11) *Bisselius, ubi supra, pag. 1287.*

(12) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xv, cap. lx, lxxi.*

EURYDICE, Daughter of *Amyntas*, the Son of that *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*, who was Brother to *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, married her Uncle (a) *Arideus*, Natural Son to the same *Philip*. Every body knows that this *Arideus* was declared King of *Macedonia* after *Alexander's* death (b). He was not a very fit Person to support that Dignity, and especially in such a troublesome time as that of his Reign. So that he may rather be called a titular than a real King. *Eurydice*, his Wife, had a greater share than himself in the regal Functions (c), especially when she was obliged to oppose *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*; for then she was more jealous of her Authority, than if her Competitor had been of the other Sex (d). She put a great Confidence in *Cassander*, and ordered *Antigonus* and *Polyperchon* to resign the command of the Army to him; for which Reason he executed whatever she enjoined (e). She had the misfortune to be abandoned by her Soldiers when she would have hindered *Olympias* from returning into *Macedonia* (f). Upon this Desertion *Arideus* immediately fell into the hands of *Olympias* (g): *Eurydice*, his Wife, escaped to *Amphipolis*, where she also lost her liberty not long after [A]. *Olympias* shut them both up in a Dungeon, and treated them most inhumanly, and, perceiving that her Cruelty made the *Athenians* murmur, she put *Arideus* to Death by the hands of certain *Thracians*, six Years and a half after *Alexander's* Death. This Rigour was not able to bridle *Eurydice's* Tongue; wherefore *Olympias*, enraged at her Prisoner's incessant boasting, that the Crown belonged to her, would not suffer her to live any longer. She sent her a Sword, a Halter, and a Cup of Hemlock Juice, and gave her liberty to chuse which she pleased of these three kinds of Deaths. *Eurydice*, without a Tear, or losing any thing of her Firmness and Courage, and even before the Messenger returned, took her Girdle and strangled herself, begging of the Gods that the like Presents might be sent to *Olympias* (h). After *Olympias's* Death, *Cassander* made a Royal Funeral for *Arideus*, and *Eurydice* (i).

(a) *Cyna, Philip's Daughter, was Eurydice's Mother. See the Prolegomena of Freinthemius upon Quintus Curtius, chap. iv.*

(b) *Quintus Curtius, lib. x, cap. vii. Justin. lib. xiii, cap. iii.*

(c) *See Justin, lib. xiv, cap. v.*

(d) *See Justin, ibid.*

(e) Quo beneficio devinctus *Cassander*, nihil non ex arbitrio muliebri audacie gerit. — *Cassander*, in return to these extraordinary Favours, readily executes the Designs of an ambitious Woman. Id. *ibid.*

(f) *Justin. lib. xvi, cap. v.*

(g) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xix, cap. xii.*

(h) Taken from *Diodor. Siculus, ibid.*

(i) *Idem. lib. xix, cap. liii.*

[A] She lost her Liberty not long after.] It is said in the Supplement to *Moreri* that she was made Prisoner in a Battle. That is not true. I say nothing of other Omissions, and want of exactness: the Reader will observe them by comparing the two Articles together. But I say, the Father of our *Eurydice* was not *Amyntas* III (1). It is uncertain whether he was ever King, and if he was not, he ought not to have distinguished him by a numerical Epithet: if he was, he ought to have said *Amyntas* IV. The reason of this uncertainty is, that *Justin* (2) observes that *Per-*

diccas left a Son under Age, of whom *Philip* was Guardian for some time. I will not tell my Readers that if, on the one hand, Women, generally speaking, are much more tender than Men; it is true, on the other, that those of them who are cruel and ambitious exceed Men in those two Vices. *Optimi corruptio pessima*. When Luxury is the reigning Vice, it is much worse; for then they spare neither the Lives of their Husbands nor Children. We have an instance of this in the other *Eurydice* (3).

(1) That of the preceding Article.

(1) Thus he is reckoned in the Supplement to *Moreri*.

(2) *Justin. lib. vii, cap. v.*

(a) *Plutarch. de Libera educatione, in fin. pag. 24.*

(b) It contains four Greek Verbs.

EURYDICE, an *Illyrian* Lady; *Plutarch* praises her, and recommends her for a Pattern, because, though she was of a barbarous Country, and advanced in Years, yet she applied herself to Study, that she might be capable of instructing her Children (a). She consecrated an Inscription to the Muses, which confirms this Account (b), and which is preserved in *Plutarch* (c). By this we are informed, that there was a City in *Illyria*, named *Hierapolis* (d), not mentioned by Geographers. One of *Plutarch's* Commentators

(c) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

(d) See the Remark.

Commentators has committed some Mistakes [A].

[A] One of Plutarch's Commentators has committed some mistakes. His Name was *Westphalus*; he was Rector of the College at *Hamburg*. His Book, printed at *Hamburg* in 1665, is intitled, *Plutarchi Chæronensis de puerorum educatione Libellus analysi logica, grammatica, ethica, politica, & historica illustratus*. In which we find (1) that our *Eurydice* was a Queen, and a little after (2) that she was the Wife of *Orpheus*. These two Titles are not consistent with one another (3); and besides, the Wife of *Orpheus* had no need of teaching her Children herself; for their Father, who was a Man of Learning, would have discharged that Office. If he had

died before her, my Remark would be an ill one; but it is well known she died young before her Husband (4). The Commentator (5) affirms, without any proof, that she was born in *Illyria*. What does he mean by observing that *Hierapolis*, a City of *Asia*, was situated over against *Laodicea*? Does *Plutarch* mean That *Hierapolis* in these Words, *Εὐρυδικὴ Ἱεραπολῖτις*, *Eurydice Hierapolitana*? Is it not an *Illyrian* Woman who speaks? he ought to have endeavoured to discover this City of the *Illyrians*, or at least he ought to have said that the Geographers knew nothing of it.

(4) Virgil. *Geor.* lib. iv, ver. 453, calls her puella.

(5) Pag. 403.

EURIPIDES, a Greek Poet, one of those who excelled in Tragedy, was born the first Year of the LXXXvth Olympiad, in the Island of *Salamis*, whither his Father and Mother retired [A], a little before *Xerxes* invaded *Attica*. There is a Dispute about their Quality [B]; some make them Noble, others Plebeian. A certain Oracle, misunderstood, occasioned *Euripides* to be brought up, like those whom the *Greeks* destined for *Wrestlers* [C]; but the Event shewed, that he was fitter for other things:

(1) In Greek *Θῆβαις*, a sort of Division in Athens.

(2) Spon, *Voilage de Grece*, Tom. II, pag. m. 478.

(3) Mr Spon, *ibid.* pag. 477, observes, that *Stobæus* and other Authors place *Phlya* under the Cecropian Tribe: as for himself he puts it under the Ptolemaid, upon the Authority of a Marble, and of *Hesychius*.

(4) Le Fevre, *vis des Poëtes Grecs*, pag. m. 27.

(5) *Suidas*, in *Eurypidēs*, & *Manuel Moschopolus*, in *vita Euripidis*.

(6) *Id.* *ibid.* *Hesychius Illustratus*, in *Εὐρυπιδῆς*, & *Thom. Magister*, in *vita Euripidis*.

(7) *Joſua Barnesius*, in *vita Euripidis*. Edit. Cantabrigiæ 1604, præfixa, n. 3.

(8) *Lib. ii.*

(9) In *vita Euripidis*, pag. 24.

(10) *Stobæus*, in *Sermone xxi* *vij*, folio 243, apud *Barnesium*, *ibid.* pag. 4.

(11) *Τὸν Εὐρυπιδῆν τὴν τῆς λαχωνοειδῆς τριάδος*. Ad *Euripide filio eleum venditricis*. *Aristoph.* in *Theophrastus*, pag. m. 722.

Ἀργία γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὡς γυναικὶς δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Ἀτ' ἐν ἀγροίοις λαχωνοὶς αὐτῶν παραφύει. Ἀγροστὶς enim nos, ὁ mulieres, affert malis, utpote inter agrestia olera ipse enutritus. *Id.* *ibid.* pag. 776. *Aul. Gell.* lib. xv, cap. xx, quæstio *thesi* *Perf.*

[A] He was born in the Isle of *Salamis*, whither his Father and Mother retired. The Father of *Euripides* was named *Mnesarchus*. He was an Athenian, of the *Oenoide* Tribe, and of the Borough, or People, (1) called *Phyle*. This I find in the Life of *Euripides*, composed by the learned Mr *Barnes*, and placed at the Head of his excellent Edition of that Poet. But other learned Men (2) assure us, that *Phlya* of the *Ptolemaid* Tribe (3), was the Birth-place of *Euripides*. I should rather say it was the Birth-place of *Mnesarchus* the Father of *Euripides*, and expressly assign the Isle of *Salamis* for the Country of this Poet. Mr *Le Fevre* had done better to have expressed himself so than to say, that the place of his Birth was called *Phlya*, a Borough of *Attica* (4). I know that *Clito*, *Euripides*'s Mother, was accidentally delivered of him at *Salamis*, having fled thither with many other Athenians, when it was thought proper to abandon the City of *Athens* at the time of *Xerxes*'s Invasion. I know also that this is a good reason to affirm that *Euripides* is an Athenian, and of the same Country as his Father. But after all we are willing to know where great Men are born, and therefore it is not enough to tell us the Country of their Fathers, upon such Occasions as these where the Children are born during the Flight or Journey of their Mothers. *Clito* was big with *Euripides* when she left *Athens*, together with her Husband, to fly to *Salamis* (5): she was delivered the very day that the *Greeks* defeated the Fleet of the *Persian* King near that Island (6), and it is pretended that because that Victory was obtained near *Euripides*, the Child, *Clito* brought into the World, was called *Euripides* (7). This Etymology does not agree with *Suidas*, who makes mention of two *Euripides* different from this, and older than ours. They were both Tragic Poets, and the one was Nephew to the other. Add to this, that there is mention made of an Athenian Captain named *Xenophon* the Son of *Euripides*, in the second Year of the Peloponnesian War. *Thucydides*, who speaks of him (8), would probably have added, that this was *Euripides* the Poet, if it had been so. His silence makes me believe Mr *Barnes* (9) is in the wrong to suppose that this *Xenophon* was the Son of our *Euripides*.

[B] There is a dispute about their quality. Some say that *Mnesarchus*, the Father of *Euripides*, was a Boeotian, who in all probability had suffered in his own Country the Punishment of Bankrupts (10). They used in some parts of *Boeotia* to carry Persons who did not pay their debts into an open place: where they were commanded to lie down, and throw a Bushel. This was a mark of Infamy. As to *Clito*, the Wife of *Mnesarchus*, they pretend she was an Herb-Woman, for which they depend not only upon the authority of a Comic Poet, a Slanderer by Profession, but also upon that of an Historian. The Comic Poet is *Aristophanes* (11): the Historian's Name may be seen in these words of the twentieth Chapter of the fifteenth Book of *Aulus Gellius*. 'Euripidi Poëtæ matrem Theopompus agrestia olera vendentem victum quæsisse dicit. — Theopompus says, that the Mother of Euripides the Poet got her living by selling Greens.' Add to this the Testimony of *Valerius Maximus*:

'Quam matrem Euripides, aut quem patrem Demosthenes habuerit, ipsorum quoque seculo ignotum fuit: alterius autem matrem olera, alterius patrem cultelæ venditasse, omnium pene doctorem literæ loquuntur (12). — The Mother of Euripides, and the Father of Demosthenes, were unknown even in their own Ages; but the greatest part of Authors agree that the former sold Herbs, and the latter Knives.' *Suidas* says nothing particularly concerning the Birth of *Mnesarchus*; but he says it is not true that *Euripides*'s Mother sold Herbs: she was, says he, very noble as is proved by *Philcorus*. Οὐκ ἀλλήδεις δὲ ὡς λαχωνοποιῶν ἢ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς. καὶ γὰρ τῶν σφόδρα εὐγενῶν ἐν τῷ γένει ὡς ἀποδείκνυσσι Φιλόχορος. He confesses that *Mnesarchus* and his Wife fled into *Boeotia*, and afterwards dwelt in *Attica*. This gives rather an ill than a good Impression, confirming in some manner what is said by *Stobæus*. Note, that *Aristophanes*, to give the greater Edge to his satirical strokes, supposes that *Euripides*'s Mother sold nothing but bad Herbs. 'Hæc est (scandix) quam Aristophanes Euripidi Poëtæ objicit joculariter, matrem ejus ne olus quidem legitimum venditasse sed scandicem (13). — This is the Scandix about which *Aristophanes* jeers *Euripides* the Poet, as if his Mother had not sold good Greens, but (Scandix) wild Chervils.' Father *Hardouin*'s Notes inform, us in what place *Aristophanes* has made this jest, and also what the Scholiast observes, with other Particulars. He cites the fourth Scene of the second Act of the Comedy *Acharnenses*, p. 394. He might also have quoted the same Poet in *Equitibus*, Act. I, Sc. I, pag. 289; and in *Cerealiis*, p. 786, G, and p. 790, F. Mr *Drelincourt* gave me this Information.

[C] An Oracle misunderstood occasioned *Euripides* to be brought up like those whom the *Greeks* destined for *Wrestlers*. If it was true, as Mr *Barnes* pretends, that the Oracle of *Apollo* was consulted upon the Fate of *Euripides*, while *Clito* was big with him, it would be probable that she was not an Herb-Woman; for the Husband of such a Woman would hardly think fit to trouble *Apollo* about the Fortune of a Child unborn. 'Quum adhuc *Clito* mater illum in utero gereret, consulenti de eo oraculum patri hoc responsum dedit *Apollo* (14). — Whilst his Mother *Clito* was still with Child of him, his Father consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, and received this Answer.' I do not affirm the fame of a Child of six or seven Years of Age: he might give such particular marks of a great Genius, or great Courage, that his Father, of what Condition soever, might be impatient to know what would become of so hopeful a Child. So, that whilst we are ignorant of the time the Oracle concerning our *Euripides* was delivered, we are able to come to no Conclusion in favour of his Nobility, nor contradict those who make him the Son of an Herb-Woman. Now it is certain that we know nothing concerning the time of it: the Author (15) quoted by Mr *Barnes* does not say a word of it, he only says that the Oracle returned this answer:

(12) *Valer. Maximus*, lib. iii, cap. iv.

(13) *Plin.* lib. xxii, cap. xxii, p. m. 203, 204.

(14) *Barnes* in *vita Euripidis*, n. 3. We shall see below, that *Aulus Gellius* says the Chaldeans made this Prediction after the Birth of *Euripides*.

(15) *Oenomaus*, apud *Eusebium* de *Præpar. Evangel.* lib. vi, cap. xxxiii, pag. m. 227.

*Esa

(a) Suidas in Eὐ-
ριπίδῃ; Manuel
Moichopoulos, in
Vita Euripidis.
See also Aulus
Gellius, lib. xv,
cap. xx.

things: He learnt Rhetoric under *Prodicus*, Moral Philosophy under *Socrates* [D], and Physics under *Anaxagoras*; and when he saw the Persecutions that *Anaxagoras* suffered for having dogmatized against the popular Opinions, he abandoned Philosophy, and applied himself to Dramatic Poetry (a); he was then eighteen Years of Age (b): but we must not imagine that he neglected, for the rest of his Life, the Study of Moral and

(b) Aul. Gellius,
ubi supra.

Ἔσται σοὶ κύριος Μνησάρχιδης, ὃν τινα πάντες
Ἀνδραποὶ τίσουσιν, καὶ ἐς κλέος ἐσθλὸν ὀρίσει,
καὶ σεβίων ἱερῶν γλυκερὴν χάδιν ἀμφιβα-
λέϊται.

Te, Mnesarche, manet summo cumulandus honore
Filius, ac meritis summa ad fastigia laudis
Conscendens, lætas sacro ex certamine palmas
Auferet.

To thee, Mnesarchus, Fate a Son shall raise,
Whom Greece shall honour, whom the World shall
praise,
And whose victorious Brow the sacred Crown shall
grace.

He might have criticized this Oracle much better than he has done: and I wonder since it was his Business to prove the Deity of *Apollo* an Imposition, that he should take no notice of the lie contained in these three Greek Verses. He must be guilty of great chicanery that denies the Oracle promises here the Crowns that are obtained at the Olympic, Pythian, and other Games. Now we never read that *Euripides* (16) gained any of those sorts of Crowns: for the very first time he offered himself to contend for them, he was refused (17). It will perhaps be said that *Euripides* gained Crowns in poetical Combats. I answer, he won but very few, and that if his Glory be estimated that way, it would be very small (18), and that, after all, dramatic Triumphs ought not to have been promised in such a manner. Therefore *Apollo* may justly be said to be mistaken. Nor was it enough to say, he only gave the Epithet of sacred to Crowns that did not deserve that Title (19). So that when I affirm in the Text of this Remark, that the Oracle was misunderstood, I do not pretend to deny that they assigned the most obvious sense of the Terms; but I say they mistook in not apprehending aright the ill expressed intention of him who had spoke. Wherefore *Mnesarchus* was not to blame in promising himself that his Son would become a great Wrestler; but *Apollo* was to blame to foretell it. However, *Mnesarchus* educated his Son with that view. We shall cite an Author who ascribes that promise only to Fortune-Tellers, Astrologers, in a word, to Chaldeans. 'Patri autem ejus (Euripidis) nato illo' responsum est à Chaldeis, eum puerum, quum adolevisset, victorem in certaminibus fore. Id ei puero fatum esse. Pater interpretatus athletam debere esse, roborato exercitatioque filii sui corpore, Olympiam certaturum eum inter athletas pueros deduxit. Ac primo quidem in certamen per ambiguum ætatem receptus non est. Post Eleusinio & Theseo certamine pugnavit, & coronatus est. Mox, à corporis cura ad excolendi animi studium transgressus, auditor fuit physici *Anaxagoræ* & *Prodic*i rhetoris, in morali autem philosophia *Socratis*, tragediam scribere natus annos duodevinti adortus est (20). — After the Birth of *Euripides*, his Father was answered by the Chaldeans that the Boy, when he was grown up, should be a Victor in the Games. That such was his Fate. His Father imagining that hereby was meant that his Son should be a Champion, having strengthened and exercised his Body, took him to Olympia to contend amongst the young Practitioners. He was at first refused, because they questioned his Age. Afterwards he was admitted a Combatant in the Games of *Thebes*, and those of *Ceres*, and was crowned. Passing afterwards from the Care of his Body, to the Improvement of his Genius, he frequented *Anaxagoras* the Natural Philosopher, *Prodicus* the Rhetorician, and *Socrates* the Moralist. He set himself to write Tragedy at eighteen.

[D] He learned Moral Philosophy under *Socrates*.] I have quoted my Authors for it: but I must observe here that it is very probable they are mistaken; for *Soc-*

rates was younger than *Euripides* by almost thirteen Years. This difference of Age might permit the youngest of these two great Men, when he came to Years of Maturity, to contract an intimate Friendship with the other, and receive benefit by his learned Conversation: but this is not what is called going through a Course of Moral Philosophy under a Professor, being his Scholar, his Disciple. I easily believe, with Mr *Barnes*, that *Socrates* profited very much by the Conversation of *Euripides*: 'Haud bene temporum rationes considerant, says he (21), qui Socratem Euripidis in Moralibus magistrum affirmant, ipso nempe discipulo duodecim fere annis juniorum. Videtur potius ex Euripide multa hausisse, quem & apud Platonem haud raro laudare deprehenditur. — They have not, says he, well weighed the Circumstances of Time, who have made *Socrates* Master in Ethics to *Euripides*, almost twelve Years younger than his Scholar. He seems rather to have borrowed many things from *Euripides*. Of whom he often makes honourable mention, and that in Plato.' I would not question the Truth of what is said in *Diogenes Laërtius* (22), that *Socrates* assisted *Euripides* in writing his Tragedies; and this being granted, I should not be surprized that *Socrates* should hardly ever see a Play, but when a Piece of *Euripides* was to be acted. 'Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης σπάνιον μὲν ἐπιποῖτα τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶπότε δὲ Εὐριπίδης ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς ἠγωνίζετο καὶ οἰοῖτο τραγῳδοῖς, τότε γὰρ ἀρκεῖτο. καὶ Πιερίοι δὲ ἀγωνίζοντο τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ ἐκὶ κατὰ. ἔχαιρε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, δηλοῦντι διὰ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μετέσιν ἀρετὴν. *Socrates* vero raro veniebat in theatra, nisi quando Euripides Tragicæ Poëta cum novis tragædis certaret: tum enim accedere solebat. Et tunc quoque, quum Euripides in Piræo contenderat, eò descendebat. Nam amabat hominem, tum propter sapientiam, tum propter carminum virtutem & bonitatem (23). — *Socrates* seldom appeared at the Theatre, unless when Euripides the Tragic Poet contended with the new Tragedians, at which times he usually attended; and when Euripides had the contest in the Pyram, he was also present, having a peculiar esteem for the Man, in regard both to his Wisdom, and the excellence of his Compositions. Nor should I wonder at this, though I were persuaded the Philosopher had no hand in the Productions of the Poet; for the Tragedies of *Euripides* were so full of fine Morality, that they were infinitely pleasing to *Socrates*. *Euripides* was called the dramatic Philosopher, σκηνικός φιλόσοφος (24). ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς φιλόσοφος (25). For the rest, Father *Schottus* would falsely prove, from *Diogenes Laërtius*, that *Euripides* chose *Socrates* for his Master after the Condemnation of *Anaxagoras*. 'Anaxagora præceptore capitis damnato ad Socratem se in Academiam contulit non intelligendi modo, sed & dicendi magistrum ea tempestate optimum. Ita enim Laërtius *Diogenes* (26). — His Preceptor *Anaxagoras* being condemned to die, he entered himself in the Academy of *Socrates*, the most eminent Master at that time, not only of Reason, but likewise of Oratory; for so says *Diogenes Laërtius*. I shall not copy the long Passage Father *Schottus* has tacked to these words. I only say that the Passage from *Laërtius* affirms no more than this, that it was believed *Socrates* helped *Euripides* to compose his Tragedies, and that after the Condemnation of *Anaxagoras* he became the Disciple of *Archelaus*. The great Error of that Jesuit is his applying to *Euripides* what *Laërtius* had said of *Socrates*; for it must be understood of *Socrates*, that after the Condemnation of *Anaxagoras* he went to hear *Archelaus*. This Error of *Andreas Schottus* is complicated with several others. He did not know that *Euripides*, upon seeing the Danger of *Anaxagoras*, quitted Philosophy, and followed the Stage, not *Socrates* the Philosopher. He did not know that *Euripides* was at that time but eighteen Years of Age: judge, if *Socrates*, who was much younger than *Euripides*, could be the

(21) Barnes in
Vita Euripidis,
n. 13, sub fin.

(22) Lib. ii, in
Socrate, init.

(23) *Ælian* Va.
Hist. lib. ii,
cap. xiii.

(24) *Origenes*
contra Celsum,
lib. iv, pag. 214.
See the next Remark.

(25) *Clem. Alex.*
Stromat. lib. vi,
pag. 571, c.

(26) *Schott.*
Notion *Cleophr.*
nisiore lib. ii,
cap. xv.

(16) See Barnes,
in Vita Euripidis,
pag. 10.

(17) See, below,
Aulus Gellius,
Citat. (20).
However, he says
that Euripides,
after such Re-
fusal, disputed
the Prize, and
won it in less fa-
mous Combats.

(18) See the Re-
mark [I].

(19) *Oenomaus*
makes his Criti-
cism turn upon
ebat, apud Eufe-
bium, Præparat.
Evangel. lib. v,
cap. xxxiii, pag.
228.

(20) Aul. Gell.
lib. xv, cap. xx.

and Natural Philosophy: his Works are a Proof of the contrary [E]. He wrote a great number of Tragedies, which were highly esteemed, both in his Life-time, and after his Death, and there are some very good Judges, who look upon him as the most accomplished of all the Tragic Poets [F]. It is a probable Conjecture, that the reason of his not being mentioned by the Roman Poets, is because the Syllables of

most learned Professor at that time. It is not he, but Plato, who taught in the Academy. *Clement Alexandrinus* (27) and *Eusebius* (28) have erred, with many others, in supposing that *Euripides* had been the Disciple of *Socrates*.

[E] His Works testify the contrary. They are full of moral Aphorisms, as has been observed in the preceding Remark. They also contain many Tenets of Natural Philosophy. See *Diodorus Siculus* (29), who twice recites the Opinions of this Poet in things relating to Natural Philosophy. But nothing is a better proof of the Inclination of *Euripides* to this Science, than the pains he took to know the Opinions of *Heraclitus*. That Philosopher concealed his Writings in the Temple of *Diana*, believing that one day or other they would take them from thence, and publish them as a mysterious Work; but *Euripides* prevented the Effects of these Hopes: he went continually to *Diana's* Temple, and by often reading over what *Heraclitus* had deposited there, got it by heart, and published it to the World. This Account I have from *Tatian*; for as to *Diogenes Laërtius*, he says indeed (30), that our Poet was more curious than *Socrates* to recover *Heraclitus's* Works, since it was he that procured *Socrates's* reading of them; but he says nothing of this diligent Attendance at the Temple of *Diana*. *Tatian's* Words are (31): Οὐτ' ἂν ἐπαίνεσαι καὶ ἀκρὺ-φάνη τὴν ποίησιν ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἀρχαίου νοῦ, μυστηρίου δὲ ὅπως ὑπερὸν ἢ τῶντος ἐκδοῖς γινώσκει. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μελὸν ἐπὶ περὶ τῶν, φασὶν Εὐριπίδην τὴν τραγῳδοποιὴν καλίστην, καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα διὰ μνήμης κατ' ὅλην τὴν Ἡρακλείτου σκέτος σπουδαίως παραδεδωκέναι. Neque hoc in eo laudaverim quod carmina sua in fano Dianæ occultavit (32), ut olim veluti per mysterium ederentur. Nam quibus ista curæ sunt Euripidem Poëtam tragicum ædem Dianæ frequentasse, & paulatim tenebras istas Heracliti relegendo memoriæ prius infixisse produnt. — Nor can I approve his concealing his Works in the Temple of *Diana*, that they might be afterwards published as a Mystery. For they, to whose Care these things are entrusted, give out, that *Euripides*, the Tragic Poet, went frequently thither, and by reading over these bidden Remains of *Heraclitus*, by degrees imprinted them perfectly on his Memory. I add what has been observed by many (33), that *Euripides* often makes it appear by his Tragedies, that he followed the Opinions of his Master *Anaxagoras*. I said before that he was called the Philosopher of the Stage: the fame is confirmed by *Origen*, *Clement Alexandrinus* (34), and *Eusebius* (35). *Vitruvius*, whom I ought to have quoted before them, positively affirms it. 'Euripides auditor *Anaxagoræ* quem Philosophum Athenienses scenicum appellaverunt (36). — *Euripides*, whom the Athenians named the Stage Philosopher, was Scholar to *Anaxagoras*. I do not believe, though *Mr Menage* assures us of it (37), that *Attenæus* and *Diodorus Siculus* also testify the same.

[F] Good Judges . . . look upon him as the most accomplished of all the Tragic Poets. I have said elsewhere (38), that there is a Division among the Critics concerning the Pre-eminence of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. Each of these Poets has their Adherents, who give him the first Place: and there are also some good Judges who will determine nothing concerning it. *Quintilian* seems to be of this Party: and yet it is easy to see that, all things considered, he gives the Preference to *Euripides*. These are his Words (39): 'Longe clarius (quam *Æschylus*) illustratur hoc opus *Sophocles* atque *Euripides*: quorum in dispari dicendi via uter sit Poëta melior, inter plurimos queritur. Idque ego sanè, quoniam ad præsentem materiam nihil pertinet, in judicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis qui se ad agendum comparant, utiliore longe *Euripidem* fore. Namque is & in sermone (quod ipsum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas & cothurnus & sonus *Sophoclis* videtur esse sublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi; & sententiis densus; & in iis

quæ à sapientibus tradita sunt, penè ipsi par; & in dicendo ac respondendo cuilibet eorum qui fuerunt in foro disertis, comparandus. In affectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miseratione constant facile præcipuus. Hunc & admiratus maximè est (ut sæpe testatur) & secutus, quamquam in opere diverso, *Menander*. — *Sophocles* and *Euripides* have by far surpassed *Æschylus* on this Head, and brought the Art to a much greater degree of Perfection. It is a Question much canvassed, to which of these two, in their different manners, the Preference, in Poetry, is due, and as it has no relation to my present Subject, I shall leave it undecided. But this must be acknowledged by all, that, to Persons designed for the Bar, *Euripides* would be far more useful. For his Style (which those find fault with, who think the Majesty, the Air, and the Diction, of *Sophocles* more sublime) is more nearly a-kind to that of an Orator. His Sentences are also thick sown, nor does he fall far short of the Sages themselves, when he handles their Topics. In his Method of arguing and replying he is not inferior to the most eminent Speakers at the Bar. In raising the Passions he is universally admirable, but in that of Compassion inimitable. *Menander*, as he himself testifies, held him in the highest esteem, and copied him, though in a different Work.' *Mr Barnes* has collected (40) several Encomiums which the most learned Men of Antiquity have bestowed upon *Euripides*. Consult him and you will find, that if this Poet did not equal *Sophocles* in Majesty and Grandeur, yet he has made amends for that by so many other Perfections, that he may justly aspire to the first Rank. We shall see presently, that this is confirmed by a Oracle. The Partizans of *Sophocles* glory in the Judgment of *Lucian*: they say he weighed in a Balance the Verses of *Sophocles* and those of *Euripides*, and found the former heavier than the latter, and consequently more excellent, as true Gold is more weighty than counterfeit. 'Lucianus Sophista qui auctor re *Laëtantio* nec *Diis* nec hominibus pepercit unquam in librili suspendit carmina tragicorum Poëtarum, *Sophoclis* scilicet & *Euripidis*, comminisciturque *Sophoclis* versus tanquam plus gravitatis habentes terram petere, *Euripidis* vero veluti leviores ad cælum tendere, tanquam in tragico scribendi genere *Sophocles* sit *Euripidi* præferendus. Nec mirum igitur si *Virgilius* ait,

Sola *Sophocleo* tua carmina digna cothurno,

Hoc est gravi & excocto plus habente medullæ quam corticis, gravitatis quam levitatis (41). — *Lucian* the Sophist, who, according to *Laëtantius*, never spared either Gods or Men, weighed in a Balance the Verses of two Tragic Poets, namely *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and pretends that those of *Sophocles*, as being the heavier, descended, whilst those of *Euripides*, being lighter, mounted; intimating that *Sophocles*, as a Tragic Writer, ought to be preferred to *Euripides*: so wonder therefore *Virgil* should say,

Such Verse as thine a *Sophocles* would own;

That is having more Solidity than Sap, more Force than Flash. In vain did *Mr Barnes* seek for this in *Lucian* (42), and whatever it be, he pretends that Author's Intention was misunderstood. He thinks him more favourable to *Euripides* than to *Sophocles*. He believes, that *Lucian* alludes to what is read in *Homer* (43) of the Fates of *Hector* and *Achilles* being put into a Scale by *Jupiter*. The Scale of *Achilles* being predominant mounted towards Heaven, that of *Hector* sunk towards the Earth. I conjecture, that *Lucian* has been mistaken for *Arifophanes* (44). It is *Arifophanes* (45), who supposes, that *Bacchus* putting a Verse of *Euripides* into the Scales against a Verse of *Æschylus*, always found that of *Æschylus* to weigh most. Now it is certain, that the Design of *Arifophanes* in that

10 K

(41) *Johann Baptistus Pius*, Annotation. postior. cap. xxviii, apud *Barnes* in vita *Euripidis*, p. 19. *Thomas Stanley*, Comment. in *Æschyl.* folio 701, & *Lilius Gyrald.* Poet. Hist. Dial. VII, are also cited by *Mr Barnes*, ibid.

(42) I do not think that *Lucian* has mentioned that. *Mr Drelincourt* writes me word that it may be boldly affirmed, that *Lucian* has said nothing of it.

(43) *Ilid* 2. ver. 212.

(44) *Cælius Rhodiginus* lib. xxiv. cap. xi is probably the source of the mistake.

(45) In *Ranis*, Act. V. Sc. III.

(27) *Admonit. ad Gentes*, pag. 60, A.

(28) *De Præparatione Evangelii*. lib. v, cap. xxxii, pag. 227, A.

(29) *Lib. I*, cap. viii, & xxxviii.

(30) *Lib. II*, in *Socrate*, n. 22.

(31) *Orat. contra Græcos*, pag. 143, B.

(32) *Diog. Laërt.* speaks of that, lib. 9, n. 6. *Mr Menage*, ib. observes against *Mr Cooper*, that *Clement Alexandrinus* says nothing of it.

(33) See *Cassianus*, and *Menage* in *Diogen. Laërt.* lib. ii, n. 10.

(34) See the foregoing Remark, Citation (25).

(35) *Præp. Evangelii*. lib. x, cap. ult. p. 504.

(36) *Vitruv.* lib. viii, in *Præfat.*

(37) In *Diog. Laërt.* lib. ii, n. 10.

(38) In the Article *ESCHYLUS*, Remark [K].

(39) *Instit. Orat.* lib. x, cap. i, p. m. 468, 469.

of his Name had not the Quantity necessary to agree with *Latin Verses* [G]. His Verses did a very great Service to the *Athenian Soldiers*, in the *Island of Sicily* [H], which is a Proof his Pieces met with prodigious Applause, and yet they very seldom carried the

Piece is to shew, that the first Rank among the Tragic Poets is due to *Æschylus*, and the second to *Sophocles*. This is what I observe against the Explication of Mr Barnes.

[G] *The Syllables of his Name were not fit for Latin Verses.* Floridus Sabinus, in his Answer to Beroaldus, who had abused Euripides, among other Observations, makes use of this (46): 'Cumque Virgilius Sophoclem nominavit, hoc nempe versu, *Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*, non ideo factum reor quod eum Euripidi anteponeere voluerit, sed quia id nomen heroico metro melius conveniret. Cui & simile est Propertianum illud ad Lynceum Poëtam,

Define & Æchyleo componere verba cothurno,

'Non Æschylum scilicet quasi aliis præstantiorem nominavit Propertius, quem & rudem in perliquo & incompositum fuisse scimus, ut cujus Fabulas in certamen correctas deferre posterioribus Poëtis permiserint Athenienses, sed quod ab ejus nomine deductum nomen versu recte clauderetur. An cum Horatius de Romano populo sic inquit:

Serus enim Græcis admovit lumina chartis,
Et post Punica bella quietus quærere cœpit,
Quid Sophocles, quid Thæspis & Æschylus utile ferrent *

'An idcirco Euripidem non nominavit, quod vel Theopip eum vel Æschylo duxerit postponendum? hoc ne ipse quidem Beroaldus per somnium affirmaret. — And though Virgil mentioned Sophocles in this Verse *Sola Sophocleo tua*, &c. I do not imagine it was done in preference to Euripides, but because the Word was more proper for Heroic Verse. To which that of Propertius to Lynceus the Poet is nearly akin,

In Æschyl's Buskins strive no more to tread.

'Propertius did not mention Æschylus as superior to others; for we know him to have been often rude and incorrect (since the Athenians permitted succeeding Poets to bring his Compositions, when corrected, to the Contest); but because a Derivative from his Name would make up the Measure of the Verse. When Horace speaks thus,

'Till, Caribage ruin'd, she grew soft in Peace,
And then enquir'd what weighty Sophocles,
What Æschylus, what Thæspis taught the Age,
What good, what profit did commend the Stage.

'Could his Reason for not mentioning Euripides be, that he thought him inferior both to Æschylus and Thæspis? This Beroaldus himself, though asleep, would not affirm.' Mr Barnes adopts this Reason: 'Quod autem Virgilius, says he (47), tanto elogio Sophoclem ornet, Euripidem vero ne nominet quidem, id non tam illius judicio tribuendum (nam & sæpe eum imitatus est ut in 4 annotationibus ostendimus) quam legum metricarum necessitati, quandoquidem, ut supra diximus, Euripides apud Latinos, ut & apud Græcos, fit vox minus apta versui Heroico. — Though Virgil bestows so remarkable a Compliment on Sophocles, and does not so much as mention Euripides, this is not so much owing to his own Opinion (for, as I have proved in the Annotations, he has frequently imitated him) as to the Restraint of Metre, since, as I have before observed, Euripides is a Word very improper for Heroic Verse, both in Greek and Latin.' The God of Verse himself, the Delphian Apollo, was forced to submit to the Laws of Quantity. He found no other Expedient than to renounce Hexameter Verse, and answer in Iambics, when he was to name Euripides. So that if he had known only how to make Hexameters, he must have suppressed the definitive Sentence which adjusted the Precedence between

three illustrious Persons (48). 'Nec absconum prorsus erit in hac controversia Pythii Apollinis iudicium audire qui Chærephonti Tragico Poëtæ de amico suo Socrate consulenti hoc oraculum traditur dedisse (49): — Nor may it be foreign to this Controversy to mention the Answer which the Pythian God is said to have given to Chærephon the Tragic Poet, when he consulted him concerning his Friend Socrates:

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερός γ' Εὐριπίδης,
Ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

That is to say, *Sophocles is wise, Euripides is more so, but the wisest of all Men is Socrates*. Giraldus wonders that the Priestess of Delphi should make use of Iambics for this Answer, and not of Hexameters, according to Custom (50). But she was forced to deviate from Custom, since Necessity has no Law: Euripides and Socrates are two Names altogether unfit for Heroic Verse. All the Muses in a Body could never bend them to it. 'Nec mirari debuit Lilius Gyraldus Pythiam Sacerdotem, Iambico jam trimetro respondisse cum heroico solita esset oracula reddere: nomina enim certe Socrates & Euripides heroico versui aptare nec ipse potuit Apollo, nec Musæ ipsæ (51). — Neither ought Giraldus to have been surprized that the Priestess should here answer in Iambics, where as she was wont to answer only in Hexameters; for Socrates and Euripides are Words that neither Apollo nor the Muses could adapt to Heroics.' Now who can say it is of no great Importance to have one Name rather than another (52)? Here is Euripides, who had perhaps a greater share in the Esteem of Virgil, and the rest of the Poets at the Court of Augustus, than Sophocles; he is, I say, deprived of this Advantage because they could not bring his Name into their Hexameters, and on account of this Impossibility they were forced to immortalize, to his Prejudice, those that were judged inferior to him: but the Laws of Verse pleaded in their Favour. This is one of those Conflicts between Rhyme and Reason so well described by Mr Boileau (53). Horace, being to name a little City of Italy, was not able to do it, but was constrained to describe it by certain Characters: the Name of it was Equitatum which could not be brought into an Hexameter.

Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti & millia rhedis
Manfuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est,
Signis perfacile est (54).

Hence four and twenty Miles, in four Hours time,
To a small Town whose Name won't stand in Rhime,
But by it's Signs with ease it may be known.

Sometimes it is a Happiness to have a Name not reducible to poetic Laws (55).

[H] *His Verses did a signal Service to the Athenian Soldiers in Sicily*] The Athenian Army, commanded by Nicias, suffered all the Miseries in Sicily that ill Fortune can inflict. The Conquerors pushed the Advantages they had gained with the utmost Cruelty: but how inhumanly soever they treated the Athenian Soldiers, they were exceeding kind to all those that could repeat some of the Verses of Euripides to them. Many, who, after escaping from the Battle, wandered from place to place, without knowing what to do, found a Resource by singing the Verses of that Poet. They found means to subsist by it, the People furnishing them with Provisions as a Reward for their Songs. Τότε γὰρ παρὶ τῶν σωθέντων οἰκάδ' εὖ συχνὲς ἀσπασσάσαι τὴν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγείσθαι τὸς μὲν, ὅτι δεινότερος ἀρεΐσσαι, ἐκδιδάξαντες ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμνήνητο, τὸς δ' ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τροφὴς καὶ ὕδατος μέλαθρον τῶν μελῶν ἔσσαντες. Plures autem tunc commemorant, qui solites domum reversi sunt, Euripidem benigne salutavisse, ac prædicasse alios fuisse se manumissos, quod quæ ipsius carmina tenerant memoria, illos ea docuissent, alios palantes

(46) Franc. Floridus Sabinus, Lectionum subelivar. lib. ii, cap. xiii. apud Barnes. in vita Eurip. pag. 17.

† Ita Quintil. Instit. Oratoriæ lib. x. cap. i.

* II Epist. I. ver. 161.

(47) In vita Euripidis, pag. 19.

† Hecub. vers. 593. Orest. vers. 1434. Phœniss. vers. 18, &c.

(48) Barnes. pag. 20.

(49) Suidas, in voce Σοφίας.

(50) Mr Barnes, pag. 20, observes that that Priestess did not always answer in Hexameters: Quinimo fallitur vis docum quod Pythiam potat nonnisi heroicis uti solitam, nam ut cetera tacam extat etiam nam apud Pausaniam Oraculum Delphicum Iambico metro ab ipsa Pythia datum Trisidi Messenias. He puts in the margin, Quare Anton. van Dale hunc errorem errat cum aliis.

I Poët. Hifor. Dialog. VII, folio 271.

(51) Barnes. in vita Eurip. p. 20.

(52) See the Article BALZAC (JOHN LEWIS GUYE DE) Remark [A].

(53) In his Second Satire. Add to it this Exclamation of the Gentlemen of Port Royal, How many have been compelled to lie by rhyme? Act of Thinking, Part III, cap. xix, pag. 356.

(54) Horat. Sat. V, lib. i, ver. 86.

(55) See, before, the end of the Remark [C] of the Article BALZAC.

the Prize [I]. The Emulation, and, at length, Enmity, between him and the great *Sophocles* [K], created him less Uneasiness, than the Jeers of *Aristophanes*, who took a Pleasure to abuse him in his Comedies. It is thought the chief reason of his retiring to the Court of *Archelaus*, King of *Macedonia*, was to see the Comic Poets divert the *Athenians* at his Expence (c). There are several parts in his Tragedies against Women, and it cannot be denied he took Delight in ridiculing the fair Sex: for this reason they gave him the Name of *Woman Hater* (d) [L]. Nevertheless he married

(c) Thomas Magister in ejus Vita.

(d) *Μισογύνος* mulierum odor.

(56) Plat. in Nicom., sub finem, pag. 542. C.

(57) Id. ibid.

(58) Vies des Poët. Grecs, pag. 96.

(59) Gylippos, General of the Lacedemonians, had beaten the Athenians in Sicily.

(60) Aulus Gellius, lib. xvii, cap. iv.

(61) Menander à Philémone nequaquam pariter in certaminibus comidarum ambitu, gratiaque & facilitas sepe vincerebantur. Menander was several times vanquished in the Poetical Games by Philémone, who was far from being his equal as a Writer, but what he wanted in merit, he supplied by his methods and the favour of a famous Cabal.

(62) *Ælian*. Var. Histor. lib. ii, cap. viii.

(63) Thom. Magister says it in vita Euripidis.

(64) Isaac Casaubon, in Agellius, instead of five reads fifteen, because, says he, the Greek Writers testify that Euripides did carry off the prize fifteen times. Barnes, pag. 20.

(65) Athen. lib. xiii, pag. 604.

(66) In vita Euripidis, pag. 27.

palantes post pugnam fuisse cibo & potu adjutos, quum verus illius canerent (56). — It is said, that those, who returned in Safety, in a grateful manner made their Acknowledgements to Euripides, declaring that they had been set at Liberty for teaching their Conquerors what Verses of that Poet they remembered; and that others, who wandered from place to place, were relieved with Meat and Drink in return for singing his Verses. No doubt it was a great Pleasure to Euripides to see many of these unfortunate Men come to him, gratefully acknowledging that his Verses had saved their Life and Liberty. The Sicilians gave another remarkable Proof of their Esteem for Euripides. A *Caunian* Vessel, chased by Pirates, endeavoured to make some Port of Sicily, but could not obtain Permission to enter, till it was known there were some Persons on board that could rehearse Verses of Euripides (57). It must not be forgot, that they were asked if they knew any. This single Question implies more than I can express. Let us quote a Passage of Mr le Fevre (58). 'Euripides must be sensibly affected with the Glory of seeing, every day, some of those unhappy Wretches coming to him and returning him thanks as their Deliverer, telling him that his Verses had changed their ill Fortune, and had been of more service to them, than if they had had a Passport signed by the five Ephori, and the two Kings of Lacedemon (59). Euripides was a great and glorious Poet; but what shall we say of the Sicilians of that time? Were they not generous Men? The world is, such an excellent Example as this has had no effect, and at this day such Histories would pass in France and Spain as the Stories of old Greece, which were always called Lies.'

[I] His Pieces seldom carried the Prize.] Of Seventy five Tragedies that he wrote, only five obtained it. Varro says this. 'Euripidem quoque M. Varro ait cum quinque & septuaginta tragedias scripserit in quinque solis vicisti, cum eum saepe vincerent aliqui Poetæ ignavissimi (60). — Varro says also, that of Seventy five Tragedies which Euripides wrote, five only carried off the Prize; he being often vanquished by the most grovelling Pretenders to Poetry.' Those who vanquished Euripides were commonly wretched Poetasters, as Varro observes. This is not to be wondered at; for at that time the Cabal (61), perhaps more than at present, determined the Fate of Plays, and there were no unfair Methods they did not put in practice to gain the Suffrage of the Judges. See the Indignation of *Ælian* (62) because one *Xenocles*, a Poet of no Merit, was preferred to Euripides, in a Contest of four Plays against four Plays, at the Celebration of the LXXXth Olympiad. It may be imagined there are two Errors in these Words of Varro; for some Authors say Euripides composed Ninety two Tragedies, and vanquished fifteen times (63). Mr Barnes has given us the Titles of Eighty four Plays of this Author. Thus Varro is convicted of Falshood upon one of these two Articles. As to the other, there are Critics who read *quindecim* instead of *quinque* in Aulus Gellius (64): Their Reason is, that by the Testimony of the Greek Authors Euripides gained the Prize fifteen times. This Reason is a weak one, since *Suidas* and *Moschopolus*, who are Greeks, mention only five Victories. Their Authority is worth as much as that of *Thomas Magister*, who reckons up fifteen of them.

[K] There was an Enmity between him and the great *Sophocles*.] It was next to an Impossibility, that two such excellent Poets, aspiring to the same Glory, should love one another. *Athenæus* relates some Particulars of their Quarrel, which are no Honour to them (65). If Euripides wrote the Letters which are ascribed to him, he must have lived in a very good Understanding with *Sophocles*. Mr Barnes (66), who attributes those Letters to Euripides, pretends, those two Poets were a long time at variance, but at last they be-

came good Friends. *Sophocles* expressed a great Esteem for Euripides when he heard the News of his Death. He ordered a Tragedy to be acted, at which he appeared in Mourning, and made his Actors lay aside their Crowns (67). This is indeed a very equivocal Proof of Friendship or Grief. Two great Men, aspiring to the same Glory, that is, to exclude each other from the Superiority, inwardly esteem one another more than they would, but cannot love each other. Does one of them chance to die? the Survivor shall be the first to offer Incense to him. Then he praises and honours him with Heart and Good-will: he is delivered from the Thorns of Competition, and does Justice with a good Grace to the Merit of the Deceased, because he has the Pleasure not to stand any more in fear of him. Add to this, that he would do himself a great Injury in the Eyes of the Public, if he did not appear concerned at their Loss. This would too much discover his Jealousy.

[L] They affected to give him the Title of *Woman-hater*.] *Suidas* and *Moschopolus* assure us, that it was given him on Account of his austere and indifferent Temper. *Ξυδζωπός δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἦν, καὶ ἀμείδης καὶ φεύγων τὰς συνουσίας, ὧν καὶ μισογύνος ἐδοξάσθη* (68). Subtristis autem erat & risui minime deditus, nec coitus appetebat, unde & mulierum odor vocabatur. — He was extremely grave and serious, and industriously declined the Pleasures of Gallantry, for which Reasons he was named the Woman-hater. He neither laughed, nor cared for the Pleasures that are enjoyed with the Fair Sex. This is the Cause of that Epithet. If after this he is seen pointing a hundred Common-places in his Tragedies against Women, and taking a Pleasure to discover the ill Qualities of some of them under general Characters, this did but confirm the Title to him; and there is no question but his Stars having engaged him in an unhappy Marriage, that personal and domestic Reason sed his ill Humour, and furnished him with satirical Thoughts. 'Mulieres fere omnes in majorem modum exolus fuisse dicitur, five quod natura abhorret à mulierum cœtu, five quod duas simul uxores habuerat, quum id decreto ab Atheniensibus factum jus esset; quarum matrimonii pertædebat (69). — He is said to have conceived a violent Aversion to most of the Female Sex, either from a natural Antipathy to their Company, or because he had two Wives at the same time (such Practices being allowed by a Decree of the Athenians) and was thoroughly weary of his Consorts.' But otherwise nothing is more false than to maintain, that having quitted his own Country, because of the disorderly Lives of his two Wives, he conceived a general Hatred against the whole Sex, and endeavoured to expose them all for the Faults of some among them. This is confuted without a Reply, by shewing that he did not leave his Country, till a few Years before his Death, and after the Stage of Athens had echoed a hundred and a hundred times with his Invektives against the Women. 'Hac ignominia motus Euripides in Macedoniam se contulisse dicitur, & perperuo in omne genus mulieres odio exarissime, suarum nimirum uxorum adulterarum gratia. Sed pace Grammaticasticorum liceat dicere, quod & probatur sum, aliud huic nomini originem & causam dari. Euripides enim non modo quia tot scelestas mulieres, tot veneficas, tot adulteras, & viricidas & incestas in scenam induxerit, verum etiam quod tot aculeatis omnem illum sexum confoderet sententiis, apud veteres *μισογύνος* audiebat . . . & plures certe, si non omnes illius Tragediarum, in quibus tantopere mulieres perstringit, actæ erant antequam ad iter in Macedoniam animum applicaret (70). — Euripides, sung with this ignominious Treatment, is said to have withdrawn himself into Macedonia, and from a Resentment of the lewd Practices of his Wives, conceived a perpetual Hatred of the whole Sex: but by the leave of those Would-be-Critics let me say, what I shall

(67) Thom. Magister, ubi supra.

(68) See the Greek Verses quoted by Aulus Gellius, lib. XV, Cap. XX.

(69) Aul. Gell. lib. XV, Cap. XX.

(70) Barnes, pag. 19.

(c) Suidas, in
Εὐριπίδης, Ma-
nuel Moscopulus,
Thomas Magi-
ster, in *Vita Eu-
ripidis*.

(f) Φωράσας δὲ
τὸν αὐτῷ ὑπο-
κριτὴν Κυφισο-
φῶντα ἐπὶ τῇ
γυναικί, καὶ
τῇ ἐντεῦθεν
μὴ φέρων αἰσ-
χύνην, σκνπ-
τόμενος ὑπὸ
τῶν Κομφδο-
ποιῶν ἁφείς τὴν
Ἀθήνησιν δια-
τριβὴν εἰς Μα-

married [*M*], not only before he had experienced at Home the Truth of his theatrical Common-Places, but also after the disorderly Life of his first Wife had forced him to repudiate her: The second he married was at least as leud as the first (*e*). I know not which of the two it was, he found one Day with one of his own Actors, but probably it was the last, since the Ignominy this exposed him to, and the frequent Raillery of the Comic Poets on this account, made him leave *Athens* (*f*). Some say, that making use of the Permission they had at *Athens*, of having two Wives, he took two together, and made so unlucky a Choice, that they exercised his Patience to the utmost, causing him to conceive an Aversion for the whole Sex (*g*). However he met with a very good Reception at the Court of *Archelaus*. That Prince was a lover of learned Men, and, by his Bounty, drew many to him. He raised *Euripides* to great Honours [*N*]. The Age of this Poet, and the Chastity which many ascribe to him,

(g.) Aulus Cel-
lius. *Lib. XV,*
Cap. XX.

shall soon prove, namely, that the Origin of this Name was owing to another Cause. For Euripides was not so much distinguished by the Name of Woman-hater, for introducing so many vicious Women, so many Sorceresses, Adulteresses, Murderers of Husbands, and incestuous Characters of that Sex, as for those severe Reflexions wherewith he had so frequently lashed the whole Female Part of the Creation . . . Besides, a great Number, if not all, of his Tragedies, wherein he treats them with so much Severity, were acted before he ever thought of going into Macedonia. It must be remembered, that if Euripides has brought some very wicked Women upon the Stage, he has also brought Heroines upon it, making an honourable mention of the Fair Sex upon many occasions: but this did not efface the Character he had obtained; the Remembrance of an Injury destroying that of a Benefit. Let us observe the same in Latin with Mr Barnes. "Quamquam idem cum res ferret haud

* *Ad Troad.*
ver. 651, & Me-
nalip. ver. 54.
Protesilaum, ver.
5, &c.

(71) Ibidem.

minus honorificis fœminas tellimonis ornaverit,
plurimas Heroínas ob virtutem eximias fabulis suis
populo exhibendo, ut ostendimus plus femel in *an-*
notationibus nostris *, manifest tam affixum Poëtæ
vocabulum, quia plus mordent pauce offensusculæ,
quam multa beneficia (71). Let it be remembered
also, that *Æriophanes*, by seeming to defend the Fair
Sex against *Euripides*, has abused them more than *Eur-*
ipides did. I peak of the Comedy wherein *Æriophanes*
supposes the Women to bring their Action against *Eur-*
ipides. * Fatendum est in *TheMopboriazus* non tam
Euripidem, adversus quem Drama illud institutum
putatur, quam totum fœmineum genus hunc Comi-
cum perfingere videri; peculiari sibi cavillandi cha-
racterē usum, & quasi genus suo obsecundatum. Dum
enim Euripidē à mulieribus condemnatum fingit,
quod de iis male esset in suis tragœdiis locutus,
multo plus iustus sexus flagitia in unica illa Comœ-
dia profert, quam in omnibus suis Tragediis *Eur-*
ipides unquam memoraverit, atque ita Euripidem ac-
cusando absolvit, mulieres vero laudando excusando.

(72) Barnes.
pag. 4.

que maxime denigrat (72). — It must be allowed, that, in the Thesmophoriazuse, the Poet does not seem so much to lash Euripides, against whom the Plot of that Piece is thought to be laid, as the whole Female Sex, indulging his peculiar Fondness for finding fault, and forwarded therein by the Strength of his Fancy. For, at the same time that he supposes Euripides was condemned by the Ladies, for speaking disrespectfully of them in his Tragedies, he publishes more Enormities of that Sex in that single Comedy, than Euripides had ever mentioned in all his Tragedies. Thus by arraigning Euripides, he acquits him, and by seeming to declare himself an Advocate for the Women, he blackens their Characters the more. But would you see a Man, who has laid more against the Fair Sex in three Words than ever Euripides had done in fifty Tragedies, consider this Answer of Sophocles. Being asked one day, why the Women he brought upon the Stage were good and honest Women, whereas Euripides introduced none but what were very bad. He answered, Euripides represents them as they really are, and I as they ought to be. *Ἐρ-
tur Sophocles non nihil de hac questione haud minus in feminas aculeatum strinxisse, interrogatus enim quandoquidem Euripidis personæ mulieres malæ essent, cur ipsius ð contra forent bonæ. Αὐτὸς μὲν ἔχον ποιεῖν οἷας δεῖ, Εὐριπίδης δὲ οἷας εἰ-
σιν (73).* Note, that Aristotle relates in general, and without any Dilinction of Sexes, that Sophocles

(72) Ibid. p. 17.

said, I represent Persons such as they ought to be, and Euripides represents them such as they are (74).

[*M*] *Nevertheless be married.*] This very Man, who shunned a Female Commerce so much (75), grew tractable betimes, and engaged himself by Contract at the Age of Twenty three Years (76), in order to secure his Chastity. *Ut castitati quam unice colebat melius confuleret* (77). The Woman he married was named *Chærina* (78): he had three Sons by her. After he had repudiated her, he married another, whose Name I know not. The Author of the Index to the *Athenæus* of *Delechamp*, says, that *Euripides* lost, in one Day, his Wife, two Sons and a Daughter, and refers to Page 60, where no such thing is to be found; but at Page 61, it appears, that *Euripides*, going to *Icara* made an Epigram upon a Disfalter, that happened at the House of a Countryman, where a Woman, two Sons and a Daughter, died by eating Mushrooms. Judge to what a Man is exposed, that depends upon the makers of Indexes. If *Athenæus* is to be believed, we should have no very good opinion of *Euripides*'s Chastity. He assures us, that this Poet was a great lover of Women (79), and that *Sophocles* hearing some body say, *Euripides* hated them furiously, In his Tragedies, replied he, *I grant he does, but, in Bed, he loves them passionately*. Ἰερώνυμος γὰρ ἐν ἰσορικοῖς τοῦτον ἑστὶ μισθόνος ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδους, ἐν τῇ ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἐπὶ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς ἐστί, ἐργὴ τῇ κλινῇ φιλοπόνος. Hieronymus in hisloricis Commentariis scribit, cum Sophocli diceret quidam Euripidem feminas averſari, eum respondisse, in tragediis quidem, at in cubili esse illarum amantissimum (80). Stobæus (81) says the same, and borrows it from *Serinus*'s Books. See the Remark [R]. I have cited a Passage of *Aulus Gellius*, which informs us, that *Euripides* had two Wives at the same time. It is the twentieth Chapter of the fifteenth Book.

[N] *Archeolus raised him to great Honours.*] He made him, according to *Solinus*, first Minister of State. * *Hic Archeolus in tantum literarum mire amator fuit,* ut Euripidi tragico Consiliorum summam concederet: * *cujus suprema non contentus prosequi sumptu ferneris, crines tonsus est, et maciorem quem animo conceperat vultu publicavit* (82). — *This Archeolus was so passionate an Admirer of Learning, that he be entrusted Euripides, the tragic Poet, with the sole Administration of Affairs, whose Funeral he did not only solemnize in the most magnificent manner, but likewise cut his Hair, and by his dress outwardly declared to the World the concern which he inwardly felt.* * *Thomas Magister says very near the same, tho' not so expressly. Ab illo (Archeolo) benefissime susceptus est, honoribusque ausus ad summam dignitatem pervenit* (83). Can there be a clearer Demonstration of a great Esteem, than what *Archeolus* did to a Man who had affronted *Euripides*? the Man's Name was *Decamichus*: He had offended the Poet, by telling him that he had a stinking Breath. *Euripides* was not at a loss for a reply: he assigned glorious Cause to this fault of his Breath, viz. the Fidelity with which he had kept the Secrets, that had been entrusted with him. *Εὐριπίδης ἀνδιδίχοντος αὐτῷ τίνος, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα δυνάμεθς ἡρ, πολλὰ γὰρ, εἶπεν, αὐτῷ ἀπορρητὰ ἐγκρατεσθαι.* *Euripides* quum oris graveolentia illi à quodam obiectetur, multa enim, dixit, secreta in eo computrue- runt (84). — *Euripides, being reproached by a certain Person, with having a stinking Breath, answered, it might*

(74) Aristot. de
Poët. Cap. xxv,
pag. m. 518, É.

(75) Φεύγων
τὰς συνουσίας,
qui congressus
fugiebat. Suidas,
in Εὐρυπίδης.

(76) It is *Parnet's*
Conjecture, pag.
24.

(77) Barnes. ubi
supra, pag. 24.

(78) Suidas, ubi
supra.

(79) Φιλεγγύνης
δ' ἦν καὶ Εὐρι-
πίδης ὁ τρα-
γῆς. Fuit &
mulierosus Euri-
pides. *Athen.*
Lib. XIII, pag.
557. See also
pag. 603.

(80) Athen. lib.
xiii, pag. 557.

(81) Sermone de
Intemperantia.

(82) Solin. cap.
ix, pag. m. 26.

(S₃) Thom. Magister, ubi supra.

(84) Stobaeus,
Serm. XXXIX,
περὶ ἀποψῆς
των.

should prevent us from affording too easy a Belief to the Story of his Adventures in Macedonia [O]. Here he came to a tragical End; for as he was walking in a Wood, and, according to his Custom, in a deep Meditation, the Intenfeness of his Thoughts, no doubt, led him on too far, till he was met alone by the Prince's Dogs, who was then out a hunting. Those cursed Dogs tore him in pieces. *Archelaus* buried him in a magnificent manner [P]. The *Athenians* were so grieved at the News of his Death, that the whole City went into Mourning (b). *Philemon*, a Friend of his, was so moved with it, that he declared, if he thought, as some assured him, that the dead preserve a sense

(b) *Tho. Magist. ubi supra.*

of

might well be so, when such a number of Secrets had lain so long buried in his Mouth. *Archelaus*, not thinking him sufficiently revenged by this answer, delivered up *Decannichus* to him, that he might atone for the Offence, by being soundly lashed. It is pretended, that *Euripides* made use of the King's Permission accordingly, and there is no doubt of it, if the Testimony of *Aristotle* may be relied on: his Words are: *Τῆς Ἀρχαίας δ' ἐπιθέσεως Δεκαννίχου ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο παραζύνων τὸς ἐπιδεμένους πρῶτος. αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ὅτι, αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μασιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ ὃ δ' Εὐριπίδης ἐχθαλέπαινον εἰπόντος τι αὐτῷ εἰς δυσωδίαν τὸ ζυμῆτος*: That is to say, *Decannichus* was at the Head of the Conspiracy formed against *Archelaus*, for he was the first to provoke and irritate those who murdered that Prince; the cause of his Rage was, that *Archelaus* had delivered him up to *Euripides* to be scourged, and the cause of *Euripides*'s anger was, that *Decannichus* had said something of the disagreeableness of his Breath (85). Mr *Barnes* would have no Credit given to *Aristotle*: his reason is, that *Archelaus* was not killed till six Years after *Euripides*'s Death (86). This reason has no weight with me; for it is easy to conceive, that the Death of the Poet might not extinguish the resentment of *Decannichus* against the King. Suppose as much as you please, tho' *Aristotle* does not say so, that *Decannichus* was the cause of poor *Euripides*'s Death: this will not hinder it from being very probable, that the anger of this Man against the Prince, who had subjected him to so grievous an affront, was kept in full Vigour, and prompted him at the end of six Years to improve the opportunities of Revenge, which presented themselves. We shall see, below, whether he was the Cause of *Euripides*'s Death (87).

We must not forget the golden Cup, which was given this Poet by *Archelaus*, with an honourable Enticement. That Prince, having refused it to one who had begged it, sent it to *Euripides*, telling the other: Thou art fit to ask, but unworthy to receive; but as for him, he deserves to receive without asking. Σὺ μὲν (εἶπεν) αἰτεῖν ἐπιτήδειος εἰ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνειν. ἔτος δὲ λαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ αἰτεῖν. Tu quidem, inquit, ad petendum idoneus es, non ad accipiendum: ille autem ad accipiendum etiam non petens (88).

[O] We must not easily believe the Story of his Adventures in Macedonia.] He was Seventy two Years of Age when he went to the Macedonian Court, and it is acknowledged that he was always free from criminal Amours, Σκαλῖνς Κυπρίδας ἀλλήτριος (89). However, let us relate what is said of him. It is pretended (90), that at an Entertainment of the Macedonian King with his Friends, *Euripides*, having drank too freely, fell a kissing the Poet *Agathon*, who sat by him, and who was about forty Years of Age, and that, upon the Prince's asking him, if he thought *Agathon* was still an agreeable Object, he answered, Ναὶ μὲν Δία, εἰ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ἐὰν τῶν καλῶν καλλίσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μετόπισθον. Per Jovem, inquit, omnino, non enim ver solum formosorum est pulchrum, verum etiam autumnus (91). — By Jupiter, I think he is very amiable, for the Autumn of beautiful Persons has something lovely in it. *Plutarch* pretends, that it was *Archelaus* who said this, in order to excuse *Euripides* for caressing a Man with a good Beard (92); but in other places (93) he imputes this Thought to *Euripides*: So true it is, that it was his Practice to make the same History serve several ends. He fathered it sometimes upon one, sometimes upon another, made use of it more ways than one, and even makes Alterations in it as there is occasion (94). Neque enim inusitatum *Plutarcho* casion (94).

VOL. II.

dem res & sententias aliquando narrando variare, aliquando diversis authoribus tribuere, non memoria lapsus, sed ut in rem suam quam præfens ornat, torqueat (95). — It is no uncommon thing with *Plutarch* to vary, in the Narration, the same Circumstances and Sayings, ascribing them sometimes to one Person, and sometimes to another, as may best tally to his present Purposes, which Variation ought not to be construed a Slip of the Memory. The learned *Schefferus* was ignorant of *Plutarch*'s Variations concerning the Autumn of handsome Persons; he thinks that *Plutarch* always ascribed that Thought to *Archelaus*; and yet, in one of the places cited by him (96), it is plain *Euripides* pronounced that Saying on account of his killing *Agathon*. See *Caillus Rhodiginus* (97), who has censured one of *Plutarch*'s Translators for misunderstanding a Place in the Life of *Alcibiades*, where this Saying of *Euripides* is related. The Adventure at this Feast is not the worst Fault of our Poet. It is said (98), that he was in love with *Agathon*, and that to please him he composed the Tragedy of *Chrysis*. It is also said, that he had leud Commerce with the Minion of *Archelaus*; and that as he was going to him by night he was met by the Women, and torn to pieces. Others say he was going to meet the Wife of *Nicomachus* the *Arethusean*. Οἱ δὲ, ἰσχυροῦσαν ἔχ' ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γυναικῶν νύκτας διασπασθῆναι, περιεφύμενον δωρὶ πρὸς Κρατερὸν τὸν ἐρωμένον Ἀρχαίαν, καὶ γὰρ σκῆψιν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐρωτάς, οἱ δὲ, πρὸς τὴν γεμετήν Νικομήνην τὴν Ἀρεθυσίαν. Alii vero non à canibus, sed à mulieribus noctu laceratum fuisse tradunt, dum intempesta nocte ad Craterum *Archelai* delicias iret. Nam illum & hujusmodi amoribus additum fuisse ferunt. Alii vero, ad uxorem *Nicomachi Arethusei* (99). These are the things I intended in the Text of this Remark.

[P] *Archelaus* made a magnificent Funeral for him.] Without doubt the following words in an Epitaph of *Euripides*, Ἀλλ' ἐμολος Πιλλαιῶν ὅπ' ἤριος, cæspite Pellæo astitit, induced Mr *Barnes* to say, that the Macedonian King would have this Poet buried in his Capital City. Designaverat inter Macedonicorum regum tumulos *Euripidem* reponere, atque ita paulo post in urbe Pella quam nonnulli *Beræam* putant, Macedoniæ metropoli nobile illi extructum sepulchrum (100). — He intended to bury *Euripides* amongst the Tombs of the Macedonian Kings, and accordingly soon after a magnificent Tomb was erected for him in the City Pella, which some take to be *Beræa*, the Metropolis of Macedonia. See, above, the Passage out of *Solinus* (101), and add to it the words of *Aulus Gellius* which I am going to quote. He declares at the same time the veneration they had for *Euripides* at Athens, and in Macedonia. The Athenians sent Embassadors into Macedonia to have his Bones, and could not obtain them. Sepulcrum autem ejus & memoriam Macedones eo dignati sunt honore, ut in gloriam quoque loco prædicarent, ἔποτε σὸν μνημῆμα Εὐριπίδης ὤλετο πῶ, quod egregius poeta morte obita sepultus in eorum terra foret. Quamobrem quum legati ad eos ab Atheniensibus missi petissent, ut ossa Athenas in terram illius patriam permitterent, transferri maximo consensu Macedones in ea re deneganda perstiterunt (102). — The Macedonians had that veneration for his Tomb and Memory, as to declare to his Honour, that after his Death that excellent Poet should be buried, and lie for ever amongst them; wherefore when the Athenian Embassadors came to desire leave to transfer his Bones to Athens, his native Country: the Macedonians with one consent determined to refuse them. It appears by a Passage in *Viruvius* (103), that the Tomb of *Euripides* was in 103.

(95) *B rnef. ubi supra, pag. 30.*

(96) *Schefferus, in Ælian. lib. xiii, cap. iv, cited Plutarch in Amatorio, (where the Saying is attributed to Euripides) and in Apophth. Lacon. This is not found in the Apophthegms of the Lacedæmonians.*

(97) *Antiq. Lect. Lib. XXIV, cap. xii.*

(98) *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. II, cap. xxi.*

(99) *Suidas, ubi supra.*

(100) *Barnes, ubi supra, pag. 32.*

(101) Citation (82).

(102) *Ant. Gell. lib. xi, cap. x.*

(103) *Lib. VIII, cap. iii, pag. m.*

(85) *Aristot. lib. v, de Republica, cap. x, pag. m. 305, F.*

(86) *Barnes, ubi supra, num. 30, sub fin.*

(87) In the Remark [R], where he is not named among those who are charged with the death of that Poet.

(88) *Plutarch. de vitio Pudent. pag. 531, D.*

(89) *Dionysius Byzantinus, in Anthologia, lib. III, folio 274.*

(90) *Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. XIII, cap. iv.*

(91) *Idem, ibid.*

(92) *Plutarch. in Apophth. p. 177, A.*

(93) *Idem, in Vita Alcibiadis, p. 192, A; & in Amatorio, pag. 770, C.*

(94) See, before, Remark [M] of the Article *ACHILLES*, between the Citations (137) and (138).

of things, he would hang himself to enjoy the Sight of Euripides [Q]. This great Poet was near Seventy five Years of Age when he died; the Circumstances of his Death are variously reported [R], he never was with Plato, in Egypt [S], whatever Mr le

the open Contry, at the Confluence of two little Rivers whose Waters were far unlike each other. The Water of one was mortal, whilst that of the other was so good that Travellers chose that place to dine at. Now could this have been said, if the Tomb of Euripides had been in the Capital City of Macedonia?

(104) Lib. xxxi, cap. ii, sub fin.

(105) Plut. in Lycurgo, sub fin. pag. 59.

(106) Plut. libid.

(107) Pausanias, lib. i. pag. 2.

(108) Lib. vii, pag. 256.

(109) Barnef. ubi supra, pag. 33. He cites Caelius Rhodiginus. Antiq. Lect. lib. xxi, cap. x; & Gyradius Poet. Hist. dial. vii, fol. 268. I have not found this in my edition of Rhodiginus, (which is of Francfort 1666) at the place put down. He should have cited lib. xxiv, cap. x.

(110) Tho. Magister, ubi supra.

And in that case would not, Vitruvius and Pliny (104) have better described the Situation of those two Rivers? Would they not have said, either that they ran through the City of Pella, or very near it? And would Plutarch have said that this Poet was interred near *Arctufia* (105)? Lightning fell upon the Tomb of Euripides, which was looked upon as a glorious accident, Lycurgus being the only Person to whom such a thing had ever happened: "Ὁς ἀπολόγημα καὶ μαρτυρεῖν μέγα εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαθῶν τὸν ἔδ-
κευσαν, τὸ μὲν συμπιεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ τελευτῆς, καὶ γενέσθαι δὲ τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ ὁσιωτάτῳ πρότερον συνέπεσε. Hoc quidem sup-
petit magnum argumentum & testimonium studiosis Euripidis, quod soli ei post fata evenit & delatum fuerit illud, quod Diis gratissimo, & sanctissimo viro ante venerat (106). — The admirers of Euripides have this convincing Proof and Testimony of his worth; that to him alone after Death the same thing happened, which before had happened to a most virtuous Man, and distinguished by the favour of the Gods. The Athenians, not being able to get the Bones of Euripides, they erected a stately Cinerary to him (107) which was standing in Pausanias's time. Those are grossly mistaken who have said that the Argians also erected one to him. Caelius Rhodiginus, & ab eo deceptus Lilius Giraldus, aliud Euripidis sepulchrum memorat in medio Argivorum foro; & Palinthum nuncupatum ex Strabone refert; sed optandum est ut inter tot lectiones antiquas nullos novos errores proleminaret Caelii incuria, nam Strabo (108) hoc sepulchrum Danaï fuisse ait, quamquam eodem loco Euripidem authorem laudat (109). — Rhodiginus, and Giraldus, who by him was lead into the same mistake, mentions another Sepulchre of Euripides in the Forum at Argos; and says that Strabo calls it Palinthum; but it were to be wished that amongst so many lacubrations, Rhodiginus had not through want of care interperpetrated new blunders, for Strabo says this was Danaus's Sepulchre, though he mentions Euripides in the same place."

[Q] Philemon declared that he would hang himself to enjoy the Sight of Euripides. The Verses of this tender, but a little too unbelieving, Friend, deserve a place here. Tantopere autem Philemon cum adamavit, ut hæc de eo dicere non dubitaverit

Εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν οἱ τε θνήσκοντες
Αἰσθῆσιν εἶχον ἄνδρες, ὥς φασὶν τινες,
Ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀμύνειν, ὥς ἰδέναι Εὐεπίδῳ.

Si sensum haberent mortui, ut quidam volunt,
Finire vitam mihi laqueo meam velim,
Ut pascere oculos intuendo Euripidem (110).

Philemon loved him to that excess that he did not scruple to say,

If Shades have Sense, as some pretend,
A friendly cord my Life should end,
That I once more might see my Friend.

[R] The Circumstances of his Death are variously reported. The Reader may have seen in the Body of this Article, that the King being a hunting, some of the Dogs fell upon Euripides who was musing (111) in a Wood, and tore him to pieces. This is taken from Thomas Magister in the Life of this Poet. See also Diodorus Siculus, chap. 103 of the 13th Book. Others say it was not by accident he was exposed to the fury of the Dogs, but that they were purposely let loose upon him, and that by the Artifices of two Poets (112) who were jealous of his Glory, who hired the keeper of the King's Dogs with a Sum of

(111) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τινὶ ἀλσὶ Φροντικῶν ἴτυ-
χα. Quando forte fortuna per nos quoddam cogitandum ambularet.

(112) Arides, a Macedonian, and Cræteas, a Thes-
salian.

Money to do it (113). Valerius Maximus only says (114) Scitae, in that Euripides having supped with the King, and returning home, was so torn by Dogs, that he died of his Wounds (114). Aulus Gellius says expressly, that this ill turn was done him by some envious Person.

Is cum in Macedonia apud Archelaum regem esset utereturque eo rex familiariter, rediens nocte ab ejus cena canibus à quodam zelumulo immixtis dilaceratus est, & ex his vulneribus mors secuta est (115). — Being in Macedonia with Archelaus, who treated him with great familiarity, as he returned from supping with the King, he was miserably torn by Dogs, let loose by some envious Person, and died of the Wounds. I shall not repeat what I have touched upon in the Remark [O], that it is said, as he was going at an unreasonable Hour to visit a Man or Woman with an ill Design, he fell into the Hands of certain Women, who struck him down, and killed him; but I may very well insert here Mr le Fevre's Reflexion upon it. Others, say, he (116), would make us believe, that he was torn to pieces by Women to revenge the Honour of their Sex, whom he never mentioned without reproach. But it is very probable this History was copied from the Fable of Orpheus.

Let us finish this Remark with a little piece of Learning which Erasmus will furnish us with (117). There was in Macedonia a Village called the Thracian Village, because it was inhabited by People of that Nation. A Dog of Archelaus happening one day to stray, came to this Village, where he was sacrificed and eat according to the Custom of the Inhabitants. The King, being informed of it, condemned them to pay a Talent as a Fine. Not being in a Condition to raise this Sum, they begged Euripides to get it remitted, and by his intercession they obtained their Request. But he was punished for it not long after, for he was killed in a Forest by the King's Dogs (118), and they were persuaded that the Dogs which destroyed him were descended from the Dog that the Thracians sacrificed. This gave rise to a Proverb among the Macedonians (119). Here is another piece of Eru-
dition of the same Erasmus: he pretends (120) that the Proverb, *Promerit canes*, owes its Original to the revenge which Promeras, an Officer of Archelaus, took upon Euripides for an ill turn that Poet had done him. He set the Dogs upon him, which tore him to pieces. Erasmus forgot to tell us what we learn from Stephanus Byzantinus. The unfortunate Euripides being very ill used by Dogs in a place of Macedonia called *Bormiscus*. He did not die upon the spot, but never recovered of those Wounds. Βορμίσκος χωρίον Μακεδονίας ἐν ᾧ καὶ σὸς πᾶσι τῶν γέγονεν Εὐεπίδης. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀνγμάτων ἀβή-
ρισστα αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν. Bormiscus, oppidum (re-
giuncula, according to Berkelius) Macedonia, ubi à canibus discerptus fuit Euripides. . . . ex moribus oerò, quam agrotaret, ajunt obisse. I make no doubt but the 597th and 598th Verses of Ovid's *Ibis*, upon which Mr de Boissieu had no Observations to make, refer to the tragical end of our Poet:

Utque cothurnatum vatem tutela Dianæ
Dilaniet vigilum te quoque turba canum.

Thine be the Fate of that fam'd bushin'd Bard
Butcher'd by Dogs, Diana's fury Guard.

[S] He never was with Plato in Egypt. Authors are not agreed upon the Year of Plato's Birth, but one may without fear of erring place it in the LXXXVIIIth or LXXXIXth Olympiad. I would advise no body to contradict Mr Barnes, who assures us (121) that Plato was but seventeen Years of Age when Euripides went into Macedonia; and but twenty, at Euripides's Death. How absurd is it to say, as Laërtius has done, that Euripides followed Plato in his Travels into Egypt (122)! If they had been there together, it would have been just and decent that Euripides, a venerable old Man should have been the Leader, and that Plato, who was but a young Man, should follow him as his Disciple, just as the young English Lords, and the young German Counts, go beyond the Alps with a Governour.

(113) Scitae, in Edipide; & Manuel Mocho-
pul. in vita Eu-
ripidis.

(114) Val. Max. lib. ix, cap. xii, ext. 4.

(115) A. Gallus, lib. xv, cap. xii.

(116) Vie des Poët. Græc. pag. m. 98, 99.

(117) Upon the Proverb *Kanēs Promerit*. Cuius vindictam. *Alleg.* Chel. I, Cent. vii, n. 47. p. m. 245.

(118) Cum Euripides in hys quadam solis el-
set, & Archelaus venatu reventur, canes Euripidem exilium discerptum de-
voraverunt. *Erst. Alleg.* ubi supra.

He is wrong to say they devoted him, this is con-
futed by what we have said of the Tomb of Euripides.

(119) See above, Citation (117).

(120) Chel. II, Cent. vii, n. 88, pag. 561. Apollonius says in general of the same thing, Cent. xvi, num. 70.

(121) In vita Euripidis, p. 57.

(122) Ovidi Gen. et Euripidis autem Euripidis in Egyptum.

Mr le Fevre may say to the contrary. We have but twenty of his Tragedies remaining, though he composed Ninety two (i), he loved to intermix Sentences [T], full of good Morality, by which he gives his own Character; for he was a severe, grave Man, and indifferent to Pleasure. He used to shut himself up in a dismal Cave, to compose his Works [U]. However all his Maxims were not good. He broached one upon the Sanctity of an Oath [X], which seemed so unguarded, that they called him to an Account

(i) *Suidas*, who relates this, says also that according to others he made but 75. Mr *Barnes* found the titles of 84 Pieces of *Euripides*. See his Edition, pag. 55.

Governour. But let us leave the absurd inconsistency of maintaining, that *Plato* and *Euripides* were together in *Egypt*. *Euripides* went out of *Athens* harassed by the Jells of the comic Poets, and retired to the Court of *Archelaus*: when he was about seventy two Years of Age. It is certain his Journey into *Egypt* was not posterior to that of *Macedonia*: therefore, it must either be a Chimera, or it was before the seventy second Year of *Euripides*. Now it cannot be denied, that during the five or six Years preceding this Journey into *Macedonia*, *Euripides* was in his own Country. He exhibited his *Orestes* when he was sixty nine Years old (123). He received at *Athens* at the Age of sixty seven (124) the acknowledgments of those who had saved their Lives in *Sicily*, by repeating his Verses. Is it credible that at seventy Years of Age he should undertake to travel into *Egypt*? And if that absurdity will go down with some, let them tell me then how it is possible that *Plato*, who was not yet twenty Years of Age, should accompany him into *Egypt*, he who did not take this Journey till after (125) the Death of *Socrates* (126), which was some Years after that of *Euripides*; he, in a word, who did not undertake a Journey, into *Egypt* till after he had seen *Italy* (127), and who did not leave *Athens* till he was twenty eight Years of Age (128)? Though *Diogenes Laërtius* should swear to the Journey in question, he would deserve no Credit against the clear and solid reasons that are borrowed from Chronology. With much more reason ought such a Fable to be rejected, which he relates only upon hearsay. And nevertheless you see *Joseph Scaliger*, Mr *le Fevre*, Mr *Magnage*, very positive of this Journey of *Euripides* into *Egypt* in Company with *Plato*. I do not pretend to excuse *Laërtius*; for when a hearsay is manifestly false, it ought not to be told without contradicting it. *Laërtius* furnishes me with a proof against his hearsay. He observes that *Euripides* fell sick in *Egypt*, and that the Priests cured him by Sea Medicines; which made him say some time after,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.

Mare universa proluit hominum mala.

The briny Waves all human Ills dispel.

This is the 1193d Verse of his Tragedy of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which was prior to the fifty ninth Year of *Euripides*'s Life, since the Tragedy of *Orestes* which he exhibited in his sixty ninth Year was the last Piece he composed at *Athens* (129). Therefore his Journey into *Egypt* must necessarily be before his sixty ninth Year, and so *Plato* would have gone into *Egypt* before he was fourteen Years of Age; which is absurd. The learned Men of *England* (130) have not been so easily imposed upon as those of *France*: they have not affirmed, as the great *Scaliger* does: '*Plato*, *Eudoxus*, *Euripides* protectionis in *Aegyptum* focii planetarum curriculum ab *Aegyptiis* didicere; & primi omnium *Græcorum* populares suos id docuerunt, *Plato* quidem in *Timæo*, *Eudoxus* in *ἐνόπτερον*, *Euripides* in *Thyeste*. Verba sunt magni *Scaligeri* in *Notis* ad *Sphaeram* *Manilii* (131). — *Plato*, *Eudoxus*, and *Euripides*, made a Voyage together into *Egypt*, and from the *Egyptians* learned the Course of the Planets, and were the first of all the *Grecians*, who taught the same to their Countrymen, *Plato* in his *Timæus*, *Eudoxus* in his *ἐνόπτερον*, *Euripides* in his *Thyestes*. These are the words of the great *Scaliger* in his Remarks on the *Sphere* of *Manilius*. They do not say as Mr *le Fevre* (132), that *Euripides* after he had learned Rhetoric from *Prodicus*, travelled into *Egypt* with *Plato*, to enjoy the Conversation of the Priests of that Country, who had at that time a little more Reputation of good Literature than the Priests of *Spain* or *Italy*. There had passed above thirty Years between *Euripides*'s learning Rhetoric, and the

Birth of *Plato*. Which aggravates the Error of Mr *le Fevre*.

[T] He loved to deliver moral Sentences. The thing needs no proof: it is but reading what is still extant of his. But if any one is desirous of Testimonies for it, let him add to the Passage of *Quintilian* cited before (133) these words of *Cicero* (134): *Cui (Euripidi) tu quantum credas nescio: ego certe singulos ejus versus singula ejus testimonia puto*. As many Verses of *Euripides*, so many Maxims and Sentences in *Cicero*'s Opinion. Can it be thought strange after this, that That illustrious Orator should prepare himself for Death by reading *Euripides*? It is observed (135) that the Assassins who pursued him, and murdered him, found him reading in his Litter the *Medea* of *Euripides*. Now as the best things spoil a Book if they are not managed with discretion, there may perhaps have been great reason to condemn in this Poet the too frequent use of Philosophical Aphorisms. Particularly his *Hecuba* is found to philosophize to excess and unseasonably. *Τὸν Εὐεπίδην καταμεμψόμεθα ὅτι παρὰ καιρὸν αὐτῷ ἔκλεβεν φιλοσοφίαν. Euripidem vituperare sollemus, quod intempestivius apud illum philosophetur Hecuba* (136).

[U] He shut himself up in a dismal Cave to compose his Works. It was in the Isle of *Salamis*: *Aulus Gellius* had the curiosity to enter into it. '*Philochorus* refert, says he (137), in insula *Salamine* speluncam esse tetram & horridam quam nos vidimus, in qua *Euripides* tragædias scriptavit. — *Philochorus* reports, that there is in the Island *Salamis* a gloomy dismal Cave, that we have seen, in which *Euripides* composed his Tragedies.'

[X] He broached one Maxim upon the Sanctity of an Oath. He introduces *Hippolytus* guarded with a distinction, when he was put in mind of his Oath:

Ἡ γλῶσσο' ἀμώμοχ', ἢ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοστον (138).

Lingua juravit, mens vero manet injurata.

I swore with my Tongue, not with the Mind (139).

This is exactly the Sophistry, or rather the Treason of mental Reservations. There was one *Hygieanon* who could not bear this Verse, he charged *Euripides* with impiety, as a teacher and protector of perjury. The Poet demanded to be tried by his proper Judges, appealing to the jurisdiction of the Judges appointed over all Theatrical Controversies, declaring that he had given, or was ready to give, an account of his Faith and Doctrine, before that Tribunal; and that it was there, and not before the usual Courts, that he ought to be accused. *Ἐφ' ἧς αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ ἀγῶνι κρίσεις εἰς τὰ δίκασθαι ἀγοντα: ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν δαδῶκεναι λόγον ἢ δώσειν εἰ βέλεται κατηγορεῖν. Dixit enim injuste agere ex *Dionysiaco* certamine judicia in forum traducentem, ibi enim se reddidisse rationem aut redditurum si voluerit accusare* (140). *Aristotle*, who informs us of this Circumstance, goes no farther: his subject not permitting him to tell us what followed, or what was the issue of the Cause: but if *Euripides* got off by contesting the jurisdiction of the Court, and had nothing better to allege in his defence, it must be confessed his Cause was bad enough, and he has found Friends and Advocates who have pleaded much better for him than he did himself. I do not reckon *Cicero* as one of his Apologists; for he has not taken the pains to justify that the distinction of *Hippolytus* was within the limits of the Rule he (*Cicero*) had just laid down; he is content to mention that distinction in general with an adverb of praise: '*Non falsum jurare perjurare est, says he* (141), sed quod ex animi tui sententia juraris, sicut verbis concepitur more nostro, id non facere perjurium est. Scitè enim *Euripides*, juravi lingua, mentem injuratum gero. — To falsify

(133) Rem. [F] Citation (39).

(134) *Epist. viii.*, lib. xvi ad Famil.

(135) *Ptolemaeus* Hephaest lib. vi. Variae Histor. apud Photium, pag. 485.

(136) Theo, in Progymnasticis, cap. i, pag. 4.

(137) Lib. xv, cap. xx.

(138) It is the 612th verse of *Hippolytus*.

(139) See Balzac's Prince, n. 262, pag. 191.

(140) *Aristot.* Rhetor. lib. ii, cap. xv, pag. m. 464.

(141) *Cicero*, Officior. lib. iii, cap. 29.

(123) *Barnes*, pag. 28, ex Scholiaste Eurip. & Joan. Meursio.

(124) *Barnes*, ibid.

(125) *Diog. Laërt.* in Platone, num. 6.

(126) See Remark [DD].

(127) *Diog. Laërt.* in Platone, n. 6. *Cicero*, V de Finibus, says the contrary; but as *Apuleius* observes that *Plato* went twice into *Italy*, and the second time after his journey into *Egypt*, it is easy to reconcile *Cicero* with *Hermodorus* in *Diogenes Laërtius*.

(128) *Diogen. Laërt.* in Platone, num. 6.

(129) *Barnes*, ubi supra, p. 30.

(130) See *Barnes*, ibid. pag. 27.

(131) *Menagius* ad *Diog. Laërt.* lib. iii, num. 6, pag. 140. Since he cites this without finding fault with it, he is an accomplice with *Scaliger* and *le Fevre* of *Sasmar*, in their errors.

(132) *Vies des Poët. Grecs*, pag. 97.

Account for it. Upon another Occasion he dogmatized so gravely in Defence of covetous Men, that the whole Audience were moved at it [Y]. Another time they were offended to such a Degree at the two first Verses of his *Menalippus*, which seemed to attack the Existence of the greatest of all the Gods [Z], that he was forced to alter them. He has vented some impious Propositions, which made him pass with some for an *Atheist* [AA]. I shall not enter into the Examination of this Point, but shall only observe in general, that it is altogether absurd to charge the Author

of

'sly one's Oath is not always perjury; but when a Man swears to the performance of any thing purely from his own choice, and in form, he is then perjured if he does not perform it. The distinction therefore of Euripides is ingenious enough.

What tho' my Tongue was bound, my Mind was free.

The Scholiast upon *Euripides* has given a much better explanation of it; he pretends the Poet's intention was this. When *Hippolytus* was sworn, he did not well understand the thing in question: Matters were disguised to him; he understood them in a certain manner, and swore according to the best of his Understanding. After this the affair was shewn him in another Light, and it was pretended that he was bound by his Oath: he answered that it was never his intention to swear to that, and therefore his Tongue only had sworn. This case seems to me to be very different from Equivocations, and mental Reservations. According to this Hypothesis *Hippolytus* ought to enjoy the prerogatives of Ignorance, which clears a Man in Law. 'Si certum est eum qui juravit, aliquod factum supposuisse, quod revera se ita non habere, ac nisi id credidisset non fuisse juraturum, non obligabit iuramentum (142).' But nevertheless the Maxim of *Euripides*, generally speaking, is a very bad one: there is no sort of perjury but may be excused by it. May not those who use Equivocations say, that their Heart and Tongue did not agree; that one swore, but the other did not swear? Mr *Barnes* to justify *Euripides* observes (143) among other things, that *Hippolytus* chose rather to die than to violate this verbal Oath.

[Y] He dogmatized so gravely in defence of covetous Men, that the whole Audience were moved at it.] The Actor would have been driven off the Stage, if *Euripides* had not come himself, and begged the People to have a little patience, assuring them they should soon see the miserable end of that Miser, whose Maxims had so much shocked the Audience. We owe this Particular to *Seneca*. He relates in Latin Verse the Maxims of that covetous Man, and then adds: 'Cum hi novissimi mi versus in tragedia Euripidis pronuntiati essent, totus populus ad ejciendum & actorem & carmen confurrexit uno impetu: donec Euripides in medium ipse profuit, petens, ut expectarent, viderentque quem admirator auri exitum faceret. Dabat in illa fabula pœnas Bellerophon, quas in sua quisque dat. Nulla enim avaritia sine pœna est, quamvis factis sit ipsa pœnam (144). — These last Verses being spoke in a Tragedy of *Euripides*, the whole Audience rose with one consent to expel the Actor, and condemn the Passage, till *Euripides* appeared on the Stage, and intreated them to wait with patience the exit of this admirer of Gold. Bellerophon in that Play suffered the same Punishment which is usually inflicted on others of that stamp. For Avarice never escapes without Punishment, although it is a sufficient Punishment of itself.' We ought in Equity to be satisfied with such an Apology as this. The same Poet makes use of it for his *Ixion*. Some Persons found fault with him for bringing so wicked and impious a Man as that upon the Stage: Take notice, replied he, that before I let him go off I will tie him to a Wheel.

Ὅσπερ ὁ Εὐερείδης εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὴν τὸν Ἰξίωνα λοιδορῶντα ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ μαρὸν, οὐ μὲν τοι πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξήγαγον τὸ τεργὴν περιπαῶσαι. Quemadmodum Euripides fertur Ixionem ut impium flagitiosumque conviciantibus dixisse, Enimvero non ante eum a scena exiit, quam rotæ affigerem (145). This was the finest part of Tragedy; persecuted Virtue was seen to be triumphant, and wicked Men were at last punished: but nevertheless it was to be feared, that certain Examples, and certain Discourses should become infectious. See the Reflexion *Aristophanes* throws upon our *Euripides* (146) on account of his *Phædra*. Note, that in the *Menagiana* the two charges against *Euripides* are con-

founded together; for there it is said (147), 'that the five Judges appointed by the Athenians to regulate the differences which might arise concerning the Stage . . . having (148) one day summoned *Euripides* to give an account of a Verse in one of his Plays, wherein he makes the Actor say he had sworn with his Tongue, but not with his Mind; *Euripides* defended himself by saying, that they should wait till the end of his Play, when they would see that the Actor broke upon the Wheel.'

[Z] They were so offended at the two first Verses of his *Menalippus* . . . that he was forced to alter them.]

The proof of this may be seen in *Plutarch*: I shall relate his words at length, because they shew us what weight the Pagans laid upon Tradition (149), when they were to prove the existence of a Deity. *Plutarch* confesses openly that it was dangerous not to insist upon that proof, and difficult to find one more certain. The Philosophers of this Age are not reduced to such a strait; they give evident proofs, and much more demonstrative than can be furnished from Tradition. But let us hear *Plutarch* (150): 'You seem to me to start a great and bold question, or rather to touch upon a point, which ought not to be meddled with, viz. the Opinion and Belief we have of the Gods, by demanding the proof and reason of each Particular. For the ancient Faith, we have derived down from our ancestors, ought to be sufficient, nor can we imagine, or find out a better, or more convincing proof.'

For surely all the Wit of human Brain

This part of Knowledge never could attain.

So that Tradition being the Foundation and common Basis of all Religion, if once the Authority and Belief of it be shaken in one respect, it becomes uncertain and suspected in all others. No doubt you have heard how *Euripides* was hissed and insulted for beginning his Tragedy of *Menalippus* in these words,

— — — *Jupiter, if his Name be so,*
For 'tis by hearsay only that I know.

He was mighty fond of this Tragedy, as being exquisitely well writ, but was forced, by the Clamour and Complaints of the People, to alter the first Lines into what it is at present,

Love, for we own he has received that Name
From Truth alone, and not from common Fame.

[AA] Some represent him as an *Atheist*.] In this manner *Plutarch* among the Ancients, and *Brown* (151) among the Moderns, speak of *Euripides*. See the Remark [H] of the Article CRITIAS. *Aristophanes* says one thing which puts me in mind of the fear some were under at *Ephesus*, from the preachers of the Gospel (152). He introduces (153) a Widow who got her living by selling holy Nolegays; but, says she, since *Euripides* by his impious Verses has persuaded People that there are no Gods, I sell hardly any thing at all. Let it be remembered that the Pagan Gods were so ridiculous, that a Man might laugh at them without being an *Atheist*. So that the Passage of *Euripides*, quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, proves nothing: I mean that in which the Poet says, if the Gods were called to an account for their Adulteries, *Neptune* and *Jupiter* himself would be forced to leave their Temples, pursuant to the sentence which would be pronounced against them; but he adds, I do not suppose it will ever come to this pass (154): 'Ἡ δὲ ἐν Ἰῶνι τῷ δράματι γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκκυλλῇ τῷ δεικτρῷ τὸς Οὐρανῷ.

Πῶς ἐν δίκαιον, τὰς νόμους ἡμᾶς βέλτοῖς
πράττας, αὐτὸς ἀδίκας ἐβλάσαντι.

Et,

(142) Grotius, de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. ii, cap. xiii, n. 4. In the Note he applies his Maxim to Hippolytus.

(143) In vita Euripid. p. 22.

(144) Seneca, Epist. cxv. pag. m. 452.

(145) Plutarch. de audiendis Poëtis, pag. 19.

(146) In Ranis, Act. IV, Sc. II, pag. m. 243.

(147) Menagiana, pag. m. 119.

(148) Ibid. pag. 120.

(149) See the Penfices diverses sur les Comètes, num. 137.

(150) Plot. in Anactorio, pag. 756.

(151) Reliq. Medici, t. xiv. Vide Notes in eum locum.

(152) Act. xix, 24, and following.

(153) In Theophrastis, pag. m. 777.

(154) Clem. Alexandrinus Ad. mont. ad Gentem, pag. 50.

of a Tragedy with the Sentiments he makes his Actors express upon the Stage [BB]. The manner in which Euripides received the Advice of the People, about the Correction of a Passage in one of his Tragedies, and his Answer to a Poet who boasted of his easy way of composing, are capable of a good and ill Construction [CC]: He was accused

Εἰ, δ' ἐ γὰρ ἔσαι, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρῆσσομαι
Δίκας βίαιον δώσας ἀνθρώποις γάμον,
Σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, Ζεὺς θ' ὅς ἐγανὲς κρατεῖ,
Ναὺς τίνοντες ἀδίκῃ κενώσετε.

Jam verò in dramate, cui nomen est Ion, capite nudo Deos in theatrum inducit.

An hoc videtur, qui datis mortalibus
Leges, ut ipsi criminis sitis rei?
Quod si (futurum quod quidem nunquam reor)
Reddenda vobis ratio sit stupri & probri:
Neptunus, & tu, rexque Jupiter poli,
Templis relictis jure abibitis foras.

In his Tragedy, named Ion, he introduces the Gods bare-headed.

Ought you who Laws prescribe those Laws transgress?
O should the Hour but come, tho' vain the Thought,
Yet in Imagination let it come,
When all your Rapes should meet a righteous doom:
Theu, Neptune, and the mighty thunderer Jove,
Might mourn your Temples, and your Altars, lost.

(155) Methode
de lire chrétien-
nement les Pœ-
tes, Tom. I,
Pag. 173.

Father Thomassin (155) reasons justly upon the Contradiction which appears in the Conduct of the Pagans. They adored the same Deities in their Temples, which were ridiculed with impunity upon the Stage.

(156) Quinetium
Euseb. 14 Præp.
cap. 6, refert A-
naxagoram ab
Euripide Atheo
idecirco impugna-
tum. Theoph.
Raynaud. Theol.
Natur. Distinct.
V, num. 155,
pag. m. 525.

Observe a gross Mistake of Theophilus Raynaud. He says that Euripides the Atheist attacked the Philosopher Anaxagoras upon the Doctrine of the Unity of God (156); and he cites the sixth Chapter of the fourteenth Book of Eusebius's *Preparatio Evangelica*. He should have cited the sixteenth Chapter; but that would not have mended the Matter; for Eusebius, abridging the account Plutarch has given us concerning the Opinions of the Ancients upon the nature of God, says only that Euripides not daring to give his Opinion, for fear of the Court of Areopagus, insinuates it by introducing Sisyphus who denied that there were any Gods. Plutarch afterwards makes Anaxagoras the first who had orthodox sentiments of the Deity. This is all Eusebius says (157).

(157) Euseb.
Præp. Lib. xiv,
cap. xvi, p. 753.

[BB] It is absurd to charge the Author of a Tragedy with the Sentiments he makes his Actors express upon the Stage. Mr Barnes observes that, to support the Character of Sisyphus, it was necessary Euripides should make him reason like an Atheist, and therefore that Plutarch had no reason to find there the Trick of an Author; the Trick, I say, of safely delivering his own opinion under the name of another (158). 'Miror autem plurimum quid tanto viro persuaserit hæc vasse ab Euripide dicta sub Sisyphi persona, & poetæ ipsius esse sensus, cum nemo unquam exitit nostro poetæ pientior, ut ex innumeris ejus locis colligi potest, & Sisyphi characterem maxime decuit impie loqui: ut observavimus ad Bellerophon. (159). — I am much surprized what could persuade so great a Man, that Euripides had used a vicious cunning in speaking his own opinion in the Person of Sisyphus, when there never was a Man who paid a greater regard to Religion, as may be gathered from an infinite number of Passages in his Works, and it was highly agreeable to the Character of Sisyphus to speak prophetically, as I have observed on Bellerophon.' Grotius has judiciously said (160), 'Multa tragediis sunt non ex poetæ sensu dicta, sed congruenter personæ quæ loquens inducitur. — There are many things in Tragedies which are not agreeable to the Sense of the Poet, but to the Character of the Person introduced.' See la Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam démontrée (161), and what I have already said in the Remark [2] of the Article ERASMUS.

(158) Barnes.
Not. in Euripid.
Sisyphi Fragm.
pag. 492.

(159) The Frag-
ments of this
Piece contain the
Discourse of a
Man who posi-
tively denies a
Providence, under
pretence that
wicked men are
richer than good
men.

(160) In Prefat.
ad Excerpta,
apud Barnes. in
Vita Euripidis,
pag. 22.

(161) In the
Preface, p. 210.

[CC] Two things . . . which are capable of a good or ill Construction. One day the People of Athens desiring him to strike out a certain Passage in a Tragedy of his: he came upon the Stage and told the People, I do not compose my Works to learn of you

but to teach you. He complained once to the Poet Alceſtis, that for the last three Days he had not been able to make above three Verses, tho' he had studied with great Application; the other answered with an Air of Vanity, that he had made a hundred with ease: But, replied Euripides, there is this difference between your's and mine, that mine will continue thro' the utmost extent of time, and your's will perish in three Days. Valerius Maximus puts a favourable Interpretation upon all this. He can see no Footsteps of Pride in it. He finds nothing but that reasonable Confidence which a great Man ought to have in his own Merit. Nay, he assures us that, as to the first particular, they judged of it in Athens just as he judges.

Nec Euripides quidem Athenis, says he (162), arrogans visus est, cum postulante populo, ut ex tragedia quandam sententiam tolleretur, progressus in scenam dixit: Se, ut eum doceret, non ut ab eo diceretur, fabulas componere solere. Laudanda profecto fiducia est, quæ æstimationem sui certo pondere examinat, tantum sibi arrogans, quantum à contemptu & insolentia distare satis est. Itaque etiam quod Alceſtidi tragico poetæ respondit, probabile: apud quem cum quæreretur, quod eo triduo non ultra tres versus maximo impenso labore deducere potuisset, atque is se centum perfacile scripsisse gloriaretur: Sed hoc, inquit, interest, quod tui in triduum tantummodo, mei verò in omne tempus sufficient. Alterius enim fecundi cursus scripta intra primas memoriz metas corruerunt, alterius cunctante stylo elucubratum opus per omne ævi tempus plenis gloriæ velis feretur. — Nor did Euripides appear insolent at Athens, who, when the People demanded that he should strike out such a Sentence from one of his Tragedies, came on the Stage, and told them, that he wrote to teach, and not to learn. That assurance is certainly commendable which carefully weighs a Man's own worth, and assumes so much as will secure him from Contempt on one hand, or Insolence on the other. For which reason, the answer, which he gave to Alceſtis, the Tragic Poet, ought by no means to be condemned. Euripides had complained to him that in three Days he had not been able to write above three Verses, tho' he had laboured to his utmost; Alceſtis boasted that he had wrote a hundred with the greatest ease. But here, says Euripides, is the difference; your's will only live three Days, but mine to Eternity. For the over hasty Writings of the one perish in an Age; but the elaborate Works, and mature Productions of the other will be carried on the Wings of Fame for ever. No body is obliged to submit his own opinion to the Judgment of this Latin Writer, or to believe upon his Word, that the insulting Declaration of Euripides was well received at Athens. Therefore it is no wonder that Grotius, following his own Judgment, finds too much Haughtiness and Self-love, in these answers of the Greek Poet. He is only to be blamed, in pretending, that the Latin Author has produced them as a proof of Pride. At least, this is the fault Mr Barnes has reproached him with (163); after which, he makes this Reflexion upon the latter part of the Passage in Valerius Maximus: 'Vere hæc quidem Valerius, nam quum hodie ne tres quidem versus nedom unicus ullus ex innumeris jactabundi istius poetæ extemporanei versibus superesse videatur, sed neque ullum illorum vestigium ad Valerium ætatem perduravit, ad quam tamen omnia Euripidis opera solva & integra permanerunt, etiam post Valerii tempora jam mille & octingentos annos supersunt plures istius fabulæ integræ quam omnes Æschyli, Sophoclis, & Aristophanis tragediæ & comediæ simul sumptæ. — Valerius had reason to make this Assertion, since at this Day there are not three, not even one, of that vain-glorious Poet's extemporaneous Verses extant, nor did any Marks of them reach the times of Valerius, to which however all the Works of Euripides were conveyed safe and entire; nay, eighteen hundred Years after the Age of Valerius, there still survive more entire Plays of that Poet, than all the Tragedies and Comedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes taken together.' Methinks, there are two

EURIPIDES
made Verses
with difficulty.

(162) Val. M. x.
lib. iii, cap. vii,
ext. num. i.

(163) Lilius Gyraldus inco-
gnitum dixit
quod Poetam no-
strum arrogan-
tem & superbum
Valerius Maximus
prodat, quum ta-
men nobilis is
author in eo ca-
pit & loco quem
Gyraldus delin-
nat, nihil omni-
no tale in eo plane
contrarium statu-
at. Barnes. in
Vita Euripid.
pag. 20.

accused of abusing *Medea*, out of Complaisance to the *Corinthians* [DD]. It is not true that in his *Palamedes* there is a tacit Insinuation of Reproach concerning the Death of *Socrates* [EE]. I wonder that a Particular we find in *Eusebius*, is mentioned by so few Authors [FF]. *Moreri* has committed some gross Mistakes [GG]. The best Edition

things, which deserve censure in this Discourse. One is, that *Valerius Maximus* having lived under *Tiberius*, it cannot be said in the Year 1694, that he lived 1800 Years ago. The other, that there are still extant seven Tragedies of *Æschylus*, as many of *Sophocles*, and eleven Comedies of *Aristophanes*. All which together exceed in number the twenty Tragedies of *Euripides*, which we have left.

[DD] He is charged with having injured *Medea* out of Complaisance to the *Corinthians*. It is said the *Corinthians* killed *Medea*'s Sons, and a long time after got *Euripides* to suppose that she had killed them herself. They add, that, by the great Reputation of this Poet, such a Fiction prevailed over the Truth (164), and that the City of *Corinth* discharged itself of the Infamy of their Crime, upon the Memory of the innocent *Medea*. The Author I cite does not say, this Translation of Scandal cost the *Corinthians* any thing but a Request, but others affirm it cost them five Talents. Which Sum they paid *Euripides*, if *Parminiscus* is to be believed (165). There are several Authors who say *Medea* did not kill her Children, and on the contrary that not being able to carry them with her, when she fled from *Corinth*, she took care to secure them in a Temple, where she hoped they would find an inviolable Sanctuary; but that the *Corinthians* murdered them there (166). It is alleged (167) in defence of *Euripides*, that he was not the first that charged *Medea* with the murder of her Children, since *Carcinus* (168) introduces her pleading her Cause against those who accused her of it, and *Apollodorus* (169) says positively that she killed the two Sons she had by *Jason*. Of these two Witnesses the first only can be of any service, for the latter lived 250 Years after *Euripides*. As to *Carcinus* he was before that Poet; he had a Son named *Zenocles*, who disputed the Tragic Prize with *Euripides* (170).

[EE] It is not true that in his *Palamedes*, there is a tacit Reproach concerning the Death of *Socrates*. The most uniform opinion in Authors, concerning the time of *Euripides*, is that he was born the first Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, and lived about Seventy five Years. So that his Death must be placed in the XCIIIrd Olympiad, as *Suidas* has done. Now it is certain that *Socrates* did not die till the XCVth Olympiad; so then it is not true that *Euripides* reproached the Athenians with the punishment of that Philosopher. Note, that *Diodorus Siculus* having said, that *Apollodorus* placed the Death of *Euripides* in the same Year with the Death of *Sophocles*, that is to say, in the third Year of the XCIII Olympiad, adds, that, according to others, *Euripides* had been torn in pieces by Dogs in *Macedonia* some time before (171). Observe also, I beseech you, these Words of Mr le Fevre (172): I am very well assured that *Aristophanes* exhibited the Comedy called *Frogs* in that same Olympiad XCII, and in that Play he speaks of *Euripides* as one who was already dead. *Samuel Petit* pretends to prove (173), that this piece appeared in the third Year of XCIII Olympiad. That is enough for me. I add, that the anonymous Author, who has given a Description of the Olympiads, puts under the XCIII the Contest between *Euripides* and *Xenocles*, in which Contest *Palamedes* was one of the four Tragedies produced by *Euripides* (174). Add to this the Authority of *Philochorus*, who wrote a particular Book upon the Life of *Euripides* (175). He says, in direct Terms, that the Execution of *Socrates* happened after the Death of that great Poet (176): and yet they had the boldness to publish, and that a great while ago, that *Euripides* drew Tears from all the Spectators by two Verses in his *Palamedes* pointing at the Death of *Socrates*. The story is as follows. Ὅσον λοιπὸν ἐκέλευσαν μὲν ἄνα δημοσίᾳ, οἷον ἐν κοινῷ θεάτρῳ, λέγων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἀμείλει λέγεται τι τοιοῦτον, ὥς ὅτι Εὐριπίδης βολόμενος εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δειδύκτος, ἀπαλάσσεσθαι Παλαμήδην, ἵνα διὰ τὰς σχολῆς καὶ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν εἰς τὸν Σωκράτην, καὶ εἰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων ἐκάνετο ἐκάνετο τῶν ἑλλήνων τὸν ἄριστον, ὃς ἐν, ἐρονεύσατο. καὶ νοῦσαν, τὸ θεῖον ἄπαν ἐδάκρυσε, δίδυμι περὶ Σω-

κράτης ἠνίκτετο (177). Unde post edixerunt, ne quis in postero Socratis publice, ut in communi theatro, meminisset. Narratur autem hujusmodi quiddam accidisse: Euripidem, cum aliquid de eo dicere vellet, nec id tamen auderet, finxisse fabulam de *Palamede*, ut sub ejus persona occasionem haberet obsecrare ad Socratis interitum & factum Atheniensium alludendi, his verbis: 'Occidistis, occidistis Græcorum optimum.' Animadvertente autem populo, hæc verba ad Socratem pertinere: ortam in toto theatro esse complorationem. — For which reason they ordered that no one should speak openly, as on the public Theatre, concerning *Socrates*; which however is said to have been done, for *Euripides* being desirous to say something of him, but afraid to do it, composed his *Palamedes*, that he might have an opportunity, under that Mask, of alluding to the Death of *Socrates*, and the proceeding of the Athenians. Ye have slain, ye have slain the best of Greeks. Whereupon the whole Theatre burst into Tears, perceiving that the Words were applied to *Socrates*. *Diogenes Laërtius* (178) has related in a few words the principal Part of this false Adventure. Several of our most learned Moderns have adopted the same (179).

By the true date of *Euripides*'s Death, *Cælius Rhodiginus* may be convicted of a notorious Falsity. He says (180), that the game of Cockals contained a number which rose to forty, and was called *Euripides*; and he gives this reason for it, that *Euripides* was one of the forty Magistrates, established in Athens after the Expulsion of the thirty Tyrants. How could he be one of those forty, when he died before *Lysander* made himself Master of Athens? *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, have adopted this Error of *Rhodiginus*'s entire.

[FF] Few have made mention of a thing which is to be found in *Eusebius*. By that account it looks as if *Euripides* had an Apartment in the Citadel of Athens, with a Pension from the Public. I shall relate the words of *Oenomaus*: and the learned may put what Construction they please upon them. Εἰ μὲν δὲ ὁ κρότος ἱκανὸς κριτῆς, καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τράπεζα, ἔδην ἐτι λέγων, βλέπων ἐν Ἀκροπόλει θωπεύοντα τὸν Εὐριπίδην, καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄνα καὶ τὸν Μακεδόνων δῆμον ἐπιφορῶντα. Si ergo vel isti plausus, vel instructa in Arce mensa, idonei sunt hoc in genera arbitri, nihil addo: novi enim & in Arce Euripidem cenasse & Atheniensium atque Macedonum plausu celebratum eundem fuisse (181). — If therefore that Applause, and his Table in the Citadel, may be allowed in this Case as a sufficient Authority, I have nothing more to add: for I have known *Euripides* to sup in the Citadel, and honoured with the Acclamations of the Athenians and Macedonians.

[GG] *Moreri* has made some very gross mistakes. I. He ought not to have said, that our Poet was called the tragic Philosopher, but the Philosopher of the Stage. II. Instead of affirming that he was born at *Phlia* (182), he should have said in the Isle of *Salamis*. III. Since he was born the first Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, it is absurd to say he lived in that Olympiad; for that Expression is used to denote the time when a Man is most famous. IV. I have already observed (183) the Error of those who make him go into Egypt with *Plato*; V. And who affirm particularly, that he went thither after he had finished his Study of Rhetoric. VI. He would find it hard to prove that *Decamnichus* was the cause of *Euripides*'s Death. The Authors who have preserved the Names of those that are charged with setting the Dogs upon him, never mention this *Decamnichus*. Therefore I wonder that Mr le Fevre insists so much upon this Name. VII. However, he should not have placed *Decamnichus*'s Revenge against *Euripides* after the Death of *Archelaus*. Mr le Fevre took care to avoid this; and if *Moreri* had been a good Copier, he would have done the same: for it is certain *Euripides* died some Years before that Prince. VIII. To say, that *Euripides* died in the XCIII Olympiad at the Age of about Seventy five Years, when he had said before, that he lived in the LXXVth Olympiad,

(177) Anonymus, in Argumento Cræticis Socratis cui titulus Euripidis, pag. 232.

(178) Lib. II, in Socrate, n. 44.

(179) Daniel Heinsius, among others, in Delic. Tragicæ, Senecæ, apud Barnc. pag. 15.

(180) Antip. Lection. lib. II, cap. XXVI, pag. 115. Mr. Barnes, pag. 23, has observed this blunder, which he attributes not only to Rhodiginus, but also to Eusebius in Homer. fol. 1289, lin. 61.

(181) Oenomaus, apud Eusebium de Prep. Evang. lib. V, cap. XXXIII, pag. 228.

(182) See the Remark [A].

(183) See the Remark [B].

(164) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. V, cap. XXI.

(165) Apud Scholiasten Euripidis in Medæa, ver. 9. Mr Barnes, pag. 15, assures us that Plutarch, in the Life of Alexander, relates the same thing from Parmeniscus. I cannot find this in Plutarch.

(166) Parmeniscus & Didymus, apud Scholiasten Euripidis. lib. I. ver. 273. Didymus citat Creophylus. See Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. V, cap. XXI. & Apollodorus, Biblioth. lib. I.

(167) Barncf. in vita Euripidis, pag. 25.

(168) Apud Aristotel. Rhetor. lib. II, cap. XXIII, pag. 447.

(169) Biblioth. lib. I.

(170) Barncf. ubi supra.

(171) Diodor. Sicul. lib. XIII, cap. CIII, pag. m. 554.

(172) Vie des Poët. Grecs, pag. 85.

(173) Miscellan. lib. I, cap. XIV.

(174) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. II, cap. VIII, where it should be read ἀνεκδοκόν, and not ἔκταν, and then it will be found the XCIII Olympiad. See Schefferus in hunc locum Æliani.

(175) Suidas, in Φιλώκορος.

(176) Apud Diog. Laërt. lib. II, in Socrate, n. 44.

Edition of *Euripides*, is that which a Doctor of Cambridge published in Folio, in the Year 1694 [HH].

Olympiad, is to be ignorant of the Rudiments of his own Business as well as of Arithmetic. The worst Historians would never say, that a Man who lives in the LXXVth Olympiad, (that is, who is then in his flourishing State) and who dies in the XCIIIrd Olympiad, dies almost at the Age of Seventy five Years. Such a Man would at least have lived one entire Century. IX. He should not have said that this Poet retired after the Year of Rome 338, to Archelaus King of Macedonia: for since it must be affirmed that he died in the Year 348 of Rome, he was obliged to prove that he lived about ten Years at the Macedonian Court: a falsity condemned by all Authors, seeing they make *Euripides* stay but about three Years at Archelaus's Court. And we have already seen (184), that at Sixty nine Years of Age he exhibited his Orestes at Athens. X. The Citation of *Diodorus Siculus* l. 13. and that of *Aulus Gellius* l. 11. c. 4. are altogether unnecessary.

[HH] The best Edition . . . is that which a Doctor of Cambridge, published in Folio in 1694. His Name is *Joshua Barnes*. He has added *Scholæ* to it, and all the Fragments he could meet with. Many things he has illustrated by very learned Notes, and has prefixed to the Book a Life of *Euripides* full of Erudition.

I shall say a word or two of some of the former Editions. *Gesner* (185) observes that the first Edition of eighteen Tragedies of *Euripides*, is that of Venice by *Aldus Manutius*. It is in Greek only: he sets down neither the Year nor the size of it. I know from another Hand that *Aldus* printed this Poet without a Latin Version in the Year 1503, in 8vo. *Hervae*

renewed this Edition at Basil in 1537, in 8vo, and in the Years 1544, and 1551 (186). They added to it a Latin Translation, word for word, in the Basil Edition by *Robert Winter* in the Year 1541 (187). The Translator conceals himself under the borrowed Name of *Dorotheus Camillus* (188). *John Oporin* printed an Edition of *Euripides* in Folio, in 1562, in Greek and Latin, containing the Notes and Prefaces of *Gaspard Stiblinus*, the Prolegomena of *James Micyllus*, and some Remarks of *John Brodæus*. The Edition of *Plantinus*, in 16mo, at Antwerp, 1571, contains one thing which was wanting in the preceding Editions: the Verses are there distinguished, each being placed in it's Line, according to its measure and length. *William Canterus* made this Division. *Paul Stephens* published *Euripides* in Greek and Latin, with the ancient Scholiast, and the Commentaries of *Brodæus*, *Canterus*, *Stiblinus*, and *Portus*, in the Year 1602, in 4to. The Edition I use is of Heidelberg, by *Jerom Commelinus*, 1597, in 8vo. It is in Greek and Latin: the Verses are ranged according to the order which *Canterus* assigned them: the Translation was revised by *Emilius Portus*: they added to the nineteen Tragedies of *Euripides*, the beginning of the twentieth intituled *Danaë*. Some Tragedies have been published separately, which were translated by different Hands. They printed four (189) at Antwerp, in 1581, translated into Latin Verse by *Ratallerus*. *Erasmus* translated into Iambic Verse, *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and this Version was printed at Venice, by *Aldus*, in 1507, in 8vo. *Florent Christiamus* has translated into Latin Verse, *Andromacha* and the *Cyclop*.

(186) See the Catalogue of the Library of Nicolas Heinflus, Part II, pag. 118.

(187) *Gesner*. Biblioth. folio 229, verso.

(188) *Id. ibid.*

(189) *Viz. Phænissæ, Hippolytus, Corontus, & Andromacha.*

(a) Others make her the Daughter of *Phœnix*. *Apollodorus*, l. iii, init.

(b) See *Ovid*. *Metam. lib. ii*, Fab. xiii, ver. 835, & seq.

EUROPA, the Daughter of *Agenor* (a), King of Tyre. The Poets have feigned that *Jupiter* disguised himself in the Shape of a Bull to carry off this Princess, and that he conveyed her into the Isle of Crete (b), where he had three Sons by her. Those who reduce the poetical Fictions, as near as possible, into historical Truths, say, that *Taurus*, General of the Troops of *Asterius*, King of Crete, having taken the City of Tyre, pillaged it, and carried away a great Number of the Female Inhabitants Prisoners, and among the rest *Europa* the King's Daughter [A]. She married *Asterius*, who, having no Children by her, adopted those she had had by her Lover [B]. They pretended that *Jupiter* enjoyed her the first time under a Plane Tree [C], which, from

[A] *Taurus* General of the Troops . . . carried away . . . *Europa* the King's Daughter. I have followed the opinion of *Meursius*, though it is confirmed only by the single Testimony of *Tzetzes* (1), and though a great number of Authors maintain that *Taurus* was King of Crete. This is the Title that is given him by the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Eustathius*, and *Cedrenus* (2). Be that as it will, *Taurus*, either King of Crete, or only Commander of the Troops of the Cretan King, made War with *Agenor*, and took from him the City of Tyre, and his Daughter *Europa* (3). He was a Native of *Gnosus* a City of Crete (4), and built in that Island the City of *Gortys* (5). Giving it the Name of his Mother.

[B] *Asterius* . . . not having Children by her, adopted those she had had by her Lover. It is justly suspected (6), that he was but a Child when *Europa* was carried away by *Jupiter*. When he married her, she was the Mother of *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*, three Boys of *Jupiter's* begetting. *Asterius* adopted them, and left his Kingdom to *Minos*. This is what we find in *Diodorus Siculus* (7). *Apollodorus* says very near the same in his third Book. It is true the Prince who married her is not called there *Asterius*, but *Asterion*. In *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, those three Children are not the Sons of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, but of *Asterius* and *Europa*, of *Asterius*, I say, who married her after *Jupiter* had enjoyed her. *St. Austin* says that it was *Xanthus*, King of Crete, who carried away *Europa*, and had by her *Rhadamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*. He owns they give that Monarch other Names: 'Per eos annos, says he (8), à Rege 'Xantho Cretensium, cujus apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, & inde geniti 'Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon & Minos, quos magis ex eadem muliere filios Jovis esse vulgatum est. —

About that time, says he, *Europa* is reported to

'have been carried away by *Xanthus*, King of Crete, (tho' his Name, I find, is changed by some Authors) and had by her *Rhadamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, tho' they are more commonly taken for the Sons of 'of *Jupiter* and *Europa*. *Nonnus* pretends that *Jupiter* having got *Europa* with Child, married her, big as she was, to a very rich Person, viz. to *Asterion*.

Καὶ ζαδὸς ὠδίνος ἐν ἐγύμνα νύμφη
καλλίπην Ἀστερίου βαδυνάτω παρακοίτη
Ζεὺς πόσις.

Et sancti partus suam gravidam Nympham
Reliquit Asterioni opulento conjugi
Jupiter maritus (9).

Big with immortal Seed and Birth Divine,
To rich Asterion Jove the Fair resign'd.

This is the frequent practice of Kings: they marry to wealthy Men the Fair they have enjoyed as long as they pleased. *Lyophron* (10) insinuates, that it was for *Asterion's* sake that *Europa* was carried away.

[C] It was pretended that *Jupiter* enjoyed her under a Plane Tree. I think *Theophrastus* and *Pliny* are the only ancient Authors that can be cited for it. *Pliny* says (11): 'Est Gortynæ in insula Creta, juxta fontem Platanus una, insignis utriusque lingue monumētis, nunquam folia dimittens: statimque ei Græciæ fabulosis superstit, Jovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse: cu vero non alia ejusdem generis esset in Cypro. Sed ex ea primum in ipsa Creta (ut est natura hominum novitatis avida). Platani fatæ regenerare vitium: quandoquidem commendatio arboris ejus non alia major est quam fo-

(9) *Nonnus*, *Dionys. lib. i*, ver. 353.

(10) In *Cassandri*, ver. 1300.

(11) *Plin. lib. xii*, cap. i.

There

(184) Above, in Remark [S], *Citat.* (123).

(185) *Gesner*. in Biblioth. folio 229, verso.

(1) In *Lyophron*, apud *Meursium* in Creta, pag. 125.

(2) Apud *Meursium*, *ibid.* pag. 251.

(3) *Chronicon Alexandrinum*: *Palæphatus*, (cap. xvi.) *Eustathius* ad *Dionysium*: *Cedrenus*, apud *Meursium*, *ibid.*

(4) *Palæphat. & Tzetzes*, *ibid.*

(5) *Chronicon Alexandrinum*: *Eustathius*, *Cedrenus*, apud *Meursium*, *ibid.*

(6) *Meursius*, *ibid.* pag. 124.

(7) *Diod. Sicul.* lib. iv, lib. lxxii.

(8) *August. de Civit. Dei*, lib. xviii, cap. xii.

from that Time, had a particular Privilege, viz. of preserving it's fine Leaves all the Year. It was also said that *Europa*, having lost her Maidenhead, immediately went and washed herself in a certain Water, which had a wonderful Property [D].

There is, at Gortyna, in the Island of Crete, near a Fountain, one Plane Tree, which never loses its Leaves, and which is famous in the Monuments of both Languages. The fabulous Greeks immediately pretended, that Jupiter lay with Europa under this Tree, as if there had not been another of the same nature in Cyprus. But, as Mankind is naturally fond of Novelty, they planted slips of this Tree in Crete, which still retained the fault of that from whence they were derived; for the greatest Recommendation of the Plane Tree is, that it keeps off the Sun in Summer, and admits it in the Winter.' These *πρωταίης* words seem to imply that Europa was upon the Tree, when Jupiter diverted himself with her the first time; and it is said, there are Medals which favour this Explication. *Ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγεται παλαιάν τινά εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτυνίᾳ πρὸς πηγῇ τινὶ τὴν ἑκαλλοβολεῖν. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταύτῃ εἰμίτῃ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸ Ζεὺς. In Creta insula quæ Gortynensi platano apud fontem quendam seorsum asseverant quæ nunquam folia deperdit. Jovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse fabulantur (12).* But to pass this by, let us consider Pliny's Expression. I confess I do not understand the entire Force of it. He observes very ingeniously that fabulous Greece was not wanting to itself upon seeing a Plane Tree of so singular a Nature: it presently laid hold of this opportunity to build Fictions upon it, and supposed that this Tree was not possessed of such a Privilege, but for affording it's shade to the greatest of the Gods, whilst he took possession of a Maidenhead. Pliny confutes this Chimeræ for this reason, that, in the Isle of Cyprus, there was a Plane Tree of the same nature. So far every thing is plain: but he adds, that they were desirous to have Plants from this Plane Tree, first in divers Places of the Island of Crete, and then in Italy, and that the Planes, which were derived from this Tree, propagated the same Defects; for what is most valuable in this kind of Trees, is to keep off the Sun in Summer, and to admit him in Winter. Here is a thought of Pliny which seems to me very confused. Probably it is because I do not understand it: tho' perhaps it may be a very fine and delicate one. The most natural Sense that I can find is this. All the Planes derived from this had the same fault of never losing their Leaves; they were deprived of the chief Perfection of the Trees of this kind, that is to say, they had not the property of giving Passage to the Sun in Winter, and of being impenetrable to his Rays in Summer. I find two great Inconveniences in taking Pliny's Text in this manner: one is, that there is no probability that, in the Isle of Crete and in Italy, there were many Planes which preserved their Verdure all the Year: the other is, that it cannot be conceived to be a Perfection in a Tree to lose it's Leaves in the Winter. Is not the Laurel the Symbol of Victory, because it has not this pretended Perfection? What Service can it be, that a Tree is without Leaves in the cold Season? Is it that one may sit under it's Branches without losing the warmth of the Sun? but what People are so simple, as to go into the Sun in cold weather under a Tree full of Branches? do they not look out for a Wall or a Hedge, which on one side guards them from the Winds, and on the other receives the Rays of the Sun? No doubt, *Du Pinet*, was sensible of this difficulty; but instead of

endeavouring to solve it, he skips over it. His Version is as follows. ' *At Cortina*, a City in the Isle ' of *Crete*, is to be seen another Plane Tree near a ' very fine Fountain, on which account it is celebra- ' ted both by Greeks and Latins. For this Plane ' Tree is always green Summer and Winter: so ' that the Poets, who leave nothing untouched, say, it ' was under this Plane Tree that *Jupiter* deflowered ' the Princess *Europa*: as if there were no other ' Plane Trees in *Cyprus* of the same nature with this. ' But as Men are always curious of new things, ' the Cretans, desiring to have Plants from this Plane ' Tree, set scyons from it in many Places, and find- ' ing that these replanted Plane Trees served only to ' keep off the heat of the Sun in Summer, but ' lost their leaves in Winter; they were confuted in ' their opinion concerning the deflowering of *Europa*.

[D] *It is said she went to wash herself in a certain Water, which had a wonderful Property.* I have been forced to use the Word *Water*, because the Authors who tell us this Story neither use the Words *River* nor *Fountain*; and therefore the learned *Meursius* speaks of this *Water*, after he has mentioned all the *Rivers* and *Fountains* of the *Isle of Crete*. 'Et hi, *says he* (13), 'quidem fontes pariter fluvium in hac insula memorantur, præter quos & aqua fuit, cui si qui pluvius tempore infunderet, illi sicci permanebant. Solon. De Flum. 'Εν Κρήτῃ ὁχετός ὕδατος ἔστιν, ὃν οἱ διαβαίνοντες, ὅσους τὸ Διός, ἄρροχοι διασέσωσιν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τῷ ὁχετῷ εἴσιν. In *Crete* aqua rivus est, quem qui transeunt, pluvie Jove, sicci faciunt, quamvis quidem sunt in rivis. Et Europa, post concubium cum Jove, cap. 129. ferebatur. Antigonus Caristius, Hist. Mirab. cæ. 102. Καὶ περὶ τὴ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὕδασις, ἣ οἱ ἑπερχομίζοντες, ὅταν ὑπὸ τῆς, διασέσωσιν ἄρροχοι. παραδεδωσάν τῃ τοῖς Κρησὶν, ἀπ' ἐκείνου λίσσασάν τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς Διὸς μίθου. Item de aqua in *Crete*, cui infunderet, dum pluit, sicci manent: ac tradi apud Cretenses, eâ se Europam quandam abluisse, postquam cum Jove rem habuisset. — These are the *Fountains* and *Rivers*: taken notice of in *Crete*, besides which there was a *Water*, into which they who entered, whilist it rained, remained dry. *Europa* is said to have washed there, after she had lain with *Jupiter*.' In favour of those who do not understand Latin, I must tell them the Privileges of this *Water*. Those who went into it, whilist it rained, did not wet themselves. The Authors, cited by *Meursius*, do not say, that *Jupiter* bestowed this Privilege in consideration of the Service this *Water* did *Europa*, or rather in consideration of the Honour *Europa* condescended to do the *Waters*; but without doubt the Inhabitants of *Crete* had recourse to that Cause. I wonder they have not given us the exact Situation of that *Water*; for since they knew where the Plane Tree stood, under which the amorous *Mythry* was celebrated (14), they must have known also where *Europa* bathed herself, when the Sport was over. To conclude: I observe that *Europa* entered the *Isle of Crete*, by the Mouth of the River that ran through *Gortyna*. *Gortynum* annis Lethæus præterfluit: quo *Europa* tauri domo Gortynii ferunt veritatem (15). — The River *Lethe* runs by *Gortina*, through which *Europa* is said to have been carried upon a bull's Back.

(13) Metastasis,
in Creta, pag. 52.

(14) Est Gortynae
in insula Creta
JUXTA FON-
TEM platanus
una, &c. *Plin.*
lib. xii, cap. i,
See, above, the
Remark [C].
Citat. (11).

(15) Solin. cap.
xi.

EUSTACHE (DAVID), a Minister of the Protestant Church at *Montpellier*, and a Native of *Dauphiné* (a), published some Sermons, and some controversial Writings [A], which gained him Reputation. He assisted at the National Synod at *London*, as Deputy of the Province of *Lower Languedoc*, in the Year 1659, and was nominated, by the Assembly, to carry to the King the Letter they had written to his Majesty. He harangued that Monarch, who was then at *Toulouse*, and also the Queen-Mother, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, and came off with Applause. He died some Years after, leaving only two Daughters.

[A] He published some Sermons, and some controverſial Writings.] He published *Les Remedes ſalutaires contre la ſeparation d'avec Dieu*, in the Year 1645. *La Viſtoire de la Foy. An Answer to Father Meynier, a Jeſuit*, his Conference with Diſdier Barnuel, Cu-

rate of Entraigues (1). This is all the *Bibliothèque* of Dauphiné says of him. I add to this, that *David Eustache* is the Author of a Book divided into two Parts, which serves for an Answer to the Question that was asked the Protestants, *Where was your Church before*

(1) Allard,
Biblioth de
Dauphiné, p. 94

before Luther? He published, in 1660, a little anonymous Book, intitled, *L'Orateur Tertulle convaincu*: it is an Answer to the Harangue supposed to be made by the *wise Men of the pretended Reformed Religion*, to the Queen *Maria Theresia*, upon her Entrance into the Kingdom, wherein they declared, that being informed she had expressed a great concern, that part of the King her Husband's Subjects were Heretics, they came to lessen that concern by embracing her

Majesty's Religion, and that this they did after having been satisfied, by the Testimony of their most famous Authors, that one may be saved in the *Romish Religion*. It was not doubted but the Jesuit *Meynier* was the Author of that Harangue. He took great delight in that common Topic, and pushed it much farther some time after, in a Book which he intituled *Mon- tauban justifié* (2).

(2) See the Remark of the Article *MON- TAUBAN*.

EXPERIENS (PHILIP CALLIMACHUS), was one of those learned *Italians* who formed an Academy in the XVth Century, and gave themselves a new Name: He changed that of *Geminianus* (a), into *Callimachus*. Pope *Paul II* suspected some great Mystery in it: and looking upon that Company of learned Men, as a Gang of Conspirators, he committed them to Prison, and put them to the Rack, with great Cruelty (b). It was upon this Occasion that *Platina* was so severely treated, as we shall see in his Article. *Callimachus* was reckoned the Head of the Conspiracy, and in vain did *Platina* argue the Incapacity of that Man for such an Enterprize [A], and also the Hatred that there was between him and *Callimachus*: he was treated as one of the Conspirators. When they had sufficiently tormented these unfortunate Men, and discovered the Chimera of the pretended Plot, they were set at Liberty. *Callimachus*, full of Rage, abandon'd *Italy*, and retired into *Poland*, where the Court was extremely dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Pope (c). King *Casimir* gave him an honourable Reception, and made him Preceptor to his Son *Albert*; he also employed him in several Embassies (d). *Callimachus* insinuated himself, in such a manner, into the good Opinion of his Pupil, that he had great Credit in his Reign. This was very grievous to the *Poles*, and especially after the Battle they lost in *Moldavia*. They imagined *Cal-*

(a) This Surname fitted him, because he was born at *Sangemini* in *Tuscany*.

(b) See *Platina*, in the Life of *Paul II*.

(c) *Jovius*, Elog. cap. xli.

(d) *Spondan.* Annal. ad anm. 1496, num. 6.

limachus

[A] In vain did *Platina* urge the Incapacity of that Person. *Platina* speaks very contemptuously of *Callimachus*: he represents him, both for Body and Mind, as a Man void of the Qualifications necessary for a Conspirator. He is, says he, a fat unwieldy Fellow, that can hardly stir, and besides, has lost his Sight. It is hard to reconcile this with the Credit of *Callimachus* at the *Polish* Court, and with the Intrigues which made him so odious to the *Poles*. It is not improbable that *Platina* speaks like a Rhetorician and an Enemy. I mean that he cries down *Callimachus*, to confute the Accusation that was brought against himself, and because he hated him. 'Respondeo me nunquam consilium *Callimachi* participem fuisse, quippe cum inter nos simulatus esse haud parva (1). —

(1) *Platina*, in *Paulo II*, fol. m. 357, verso.

(2) *Spondan.* ad anm. 1496, sub fin.

(3) *Platina*, ubi supra, fol. 356, verso.

(4) *Jovius*, Elog. cap. xli.

(5) Ea nominum invidiosa populo, in pastor offensi, quasi occulte conspirationis visera esset, *Platina* & *Callimachus* tanquam impios & maleficos tormentis excruciat. *Oliv.* *Ferrarius*, *Præf.* pag. 88.

'I answer, that I had never been associated with *Callimachus* in any design, there being a considerable misunderstanding betwixt us.' *Spondanus* (2) cannot believe that a Man, such as *Platina* describes *Callimachus* to be, could have made himself so acceptable at the Court of the *Polish* Kings. Let the Reader determine this. *Platina's* Words are. 'Tum ego cum viderem omnia armis & tumultu circumsonare, veritus ne quid gravius ob formidinem & iram in nos consuleretur, rationes attuli quamobrem crederem *Callimachus* nil tale aliquid unquam molitum nedium mediatum fuisse, qui cum consilio, lingua, manu, sollicitudine, opibus, copiis, clientelis, armis, pecuniis, oculis postremo careret. Cæculus enim & P. Lentulo somniculosior, ac L. Crasso ob adipem tardior (3). — When I saw therefore, that all was in an uproar, and that we were in the utmost danger from all Parts, fearing least amidst this Alarm, and in the Height of Passion, we should have found a more severe Usage, I gave my Reasons why I thought that *Callimachus* never would nor ever had designed to engage in such Attempts, having neither Conduct, Elocution, Courage, Foresight, Substance, Forces, Friends, nor Money: in short, that he was half blind; that he was more drowsy than P. Lentulus, and more unwieldy than M. Crassus.' I wonder at one thing, that *Platina*, who names several of those who were put to the Torture for this Conspiracy, does not say whether *Callimachus* was one of the Number. According to *Paul Jovius* he was one of them. 'Ipse ante alios desumpti Græci nominis reus tormentis & carcere penas daret (4). — He particularly was condemned for assuming a Greek Name, put to the Rack, and imprisoned.' *Olivarius Ferrarius* may incline us to believe, that *Callimachus* was not imprisoned, though he assures the contrary (5): for he observes that *Callimachus* was not at Rome when the News of this pretended Conspiracy was carried to the Pope. 'Nam cum falso rumore delatus fuisset *Callimachus* Umbraticus vir, inermis

& abdomine tardus adversus Sacrorum Regem conspirasse, jamque multos affectas habere, & ad urbem perendam resque immutandas festinare, iterum *Platina* in vincla conjectus est tanquam conjurationis conficius (6). — A false Rumour being spread, that *Callimachus*, a harmless, weak, unwieldy Man, had conspired against the Pope, had got together a great number of Followers, and was marching in all haste to lay waste the City, and subvert the Government, *Platina* was again put in Irons as an Accomplice.' I am very much afraid that *Ferrarius* gives us here a falsified Relation. The reason of my Suspicion is, that *Platina* speaks of two false Alarms given at the same time: one was the pretended Conspiracy of *Callimachus*; the other was a pretended Insurrection not far from *Rome*. It was reported that *Luke Totius* (7), who had been driven out of *Rome*, and had retired to *Naples*, was coming back, accompanied with many other Exiles. Whereupon the Pope was apprehensive of being oppressed both within and without. It is plain, that he who was said to be advancing with all speed to lay waste *Rome*, could not be *Callimachus*, and consequently *Ferrarius* seems to be under a Mistake. A better Judgment may be formed of this if the following Words of *Platina* are considered. 'Nunciatum ei (*Paulo*) quosdam adolescentes duce *Callimacho* in eum conspirasse; cui præ timore vix respiranti, nescio quo fato novus etiam terror additur. Advolat etiam quidam cognomento philosophus homo facinorosus & exul, qui vitam primo & reditum in patriam deprecatus nunciat, ac falso quidem, *Lucam Totium* Romanum civem *Neapoli* exultantem, cum multis exulibus in nemoribus *Veliteris* à se visum, ac paulo post affuturum. Timere *Paulus* ac magis trepidare tum cepit: veritus ne domi & foris opprimeretur (8). — The Pope being informed, that some young Men, under the Command of *Callimachus*, had formed a Conspiracy against him, was thereby struck half dead with fear, and by some ill Fate, or other his Fright was doubled. There came in also in great haste a notorious wicked Fellow, surnamed the Philosopher, one that had been banished; who having first sued for his Life, and Liberty to return into his Country, declared, and that falsely, that he had seen, in the Woods of *Velitra*, *Totius*, a Citizen of *Rome*, banished to *Naples*, with many other Exiles; and that he would be at *Rome* immediately. *Paul* began then to be seized with terror, fearing he should be attacked both within the Walls and without.' It is plain from this, that, according to the false Alarm, the danger they feared from *Callimachus* was already in the City itself, and that it was *Totius* who was advancing towards the City. Logicians make too much use of the Art of distinguishing, and Orators are in the other extrem.

(6) *Idem*, ibid.

(7) Other Editions say *Tortius*.

(8) *Platina*, ubi supra.

VOL. II.

10 N

[B] The

(e) Ex Jovio Elogio, cap. xli.

(f) And not 1496, as Moseri says.

(g) In Biblioth. vet. & nova, pag. 355.

(h) He was successively Palatine, and Castellan of Cracow, and Great Marshal of Poland. *Pol. Mich. Brutus, ubi infra.*

(i) Joh. Mich. Brutus, Epistol. lib. iv, pag. 546, Edit. 1698.

(k) Popelin. Hist. dea kili. p. 430.

limachus was the Cause of that bloody Loss, and that he had advised the King to expose the greatest part of the Nobility to Slaughter [B]; that he had advised it, I say, as the most effectual Means to establish an arbitrary Government in Poland. The Indignation they conceived against him, on this account, alarmed him to such a Degree, that, not daring to appear abroad, he concealed himself at the House of an intimate Friend in a Village. He died in this Retirement, they durst not divulge his Death, but dried his Body by the heat of a Furnace, and kept it in a Cupboard. King *Albert*, being informed of this, ordered it to be carried to *Cracow*, and to be buried in the Church of the Trinity, where he erected a brazen Tomb over him (e). This is the Account given by *Paul Jovius* [C]; but the *Polish* Historians say nothing like it. They assure us, that *Callimachus* died in Peace and Quietness at *Cracow*, the first of November, 1496 (f), and was honourably interred there. Mr *Konig* (g) supposes, without Reason, that *Philip Callimachus*, and *Callimachus Experiens*, were two Authors. *Callimachus* composed some Histories, which are tolerably good [D].

There is a Letter of his, in which he complains that the Diet of *Petricow* had resolved to deliver him up to the Pope, and in which he affirms that his Enemies could not have treated him with so much Cruelty, if *Andrew Sborow* (b) had been at the Diet (i). This he wrote to that *Polish* Lord. Those who pretend to say, with *la Popeliniere*, that he lived about the Year 1552, are grossly mistaken (k).

[B] The Poles . . . imagined . . . he had advised the King to expose the greatest part of the Nobility to Slaughter. Paul Jovius mentions it as a certain Matter of Fact. 'Callimachus ab Alberto . . . post Casimir patris interitum, ad summum familiaritatis, atque potentia locum evectus est, tanta Polonorum consuetudine, odioque ut eum tanquam impium, & Moldavice cladis autorem, tyrannidemque impotentis imperio exercendam Regi suaderet, aula extruserint. Maligno enim judicio nobilitatem, quod imperata pecunie, & suscepto bello adversa esset, sævo hosti objectandam esse censuerat, ut nemo demum superesset, qui libertatis per manum tradita jura tueretur (9). — After the Death of Casimir, his Son Albert raised Callimachus to the highest degree of Familiarity and Power; whereat the Poles were so surprized and exasperated that they expelled him the Court, as a wicked Man, who had been the Cause of that dreadful Loss which they had sustained in Moldavia, and had counselled the King to render himself arbitrary. For he had, in the most iniquitous manner, advised the exposing to the Fury of the Enemy those who had opposed the levying of Money, and the undertaking of the War, that none might survive to defend the Cause of Liberty.' This is giving a black Idea of this Person, and whoever could be guilty of such Wickedness might also have done what Paul II suspected.

[C] This is the Account given by Paul Jovius. It has been justly said, that he is not sufficient to balance the Polish Writers, and that he took too much Pleasure in collecting together popular Traditions (10). 'Ejus obitus Jovius in Elogiis, ex vulgi fabulis, ut affolet, Vilnæ (11) in exilio contigisse refert: quem auctores Poloni quibus magis credendum placide

Cracoviae contigisse, & amplo funere honestatum esse asserunt. — Jovius, from vulgar Reports, according to his custom, says that Callimachus died at Vilna in exile; but the Polish Writers, whose Authority ought rather to be credited, affirm, he died at Cracow in peace, and was there enter'd with great Magnificence.' Vossius (12) makes the same Judgment of Paul Jovius.

[D] He composed some Histories which are tolerably good. The Relation of what the Venetians did to engage the Persians and Tartars in a War with the Turks, the Life of Attila, and the History of Ladislaus, King of Hungary, killed at the Battle of Varnes, are the principal Works of Callimachus. In this latter History he has excelled all those, who since Tacitus have set up for Historians. This is the Judgment of Paul Jovius. 'Adeo eleganter ejus gravissimi muneris legis implevisse existimatur, ut omnes qui à Cornelio Tacito per tot secula id scribendi genus attigerint meo judicio superarint (13).' This History of Ladislaus was written at the Desire of Matthias Hunniades, King of Hungary, who magnificently rewarded the Author of it (14).

This Man managed his Affairs successfully in those cold Countries. He went thither poor, and grew very rich there. 'Ad hos Callimachus Geminianensis meus familiaris penetravit, ubi & literis & ingenii solertia ex paupere dives magnopere apud eos reges quibus erat dilectus ante hos annos decessit (15). — Callimachus, my intimate Friend, made his way thither, where, by his Learning and his Address, he raised himself a plentiful Fortune from mean Circumstances, and died greatly esteemed by the Kings that employed him.' Consult the Thirtieth Book of Martin Cromerus's History of Poland.

(12) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 620.

(13) Jovius, ubi supra.

(14) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 619.

(15) Volaterranus, lib. vii, cap. de Polonia, pag. 257.

(a) Ezek. i. 3.

(b) Epiphanius, in vita Ezechielis.

(c) Ezek. i. 2.

(d) Epiphanius, ubi supra.

(e) Idem, ibid.

EZEKIEL, one of the four great Prophets, whose Writings make a part of the Old Testament, was the Son of *Buzi* the Priest (a), and descended from a High-Priest (b). He was carried to *Babylon* with King *Jechonias*, and began to prophesy five Years after (c), which he continued to do for twenty Years together (d). He was killed by the Commander of the Jews in those Parts, an idolatrous Man who could not bear the Reproofs of the Prophet (e). *Ezekiel* was buried in the Sepulchre of *Sem* [A], to which great Crowds of People resorted, from a Principle of Devotion. One Day the *Chaldeans* formed a Design of cutting these devout People to pieces; but they found in *Ezekiel* another *Moses* [B]. This is what is inserted in the Life of this great Prophet,

[A] *Ezekiel* was buried in the Sepulchre of *Sem*. The Author I cite (1) assures us, that this Tomb is still to be seen, composed of two Caves; but an Author who lived under the Reign of *Constantine* (2) relates, that *Ezekiel's* Sepulchre was the same with that of *Job*, *Jesse*, and *David*, near *Bethlehem*. *Benjamin Tudelenus* (3) says, that King *Jechonias*, having been set at Liberty, went with Thirty five thousand Jews, to build a magnificent Vault upon *Ezekiel's* Tomb, between the Chobar and the Euphrates. He pretends that *Jechonias*, and all those who had followed him, were to be seen painted on the Walls of the Vault. The Picture of *Jechonias* was the first, and that of *Ezekiel* the last. We shall mention, below,

what that Author says of the Pilgrimages and Devotions which were performed at that Monument.

[B] The *Chaldeans* found in *Ezekiel* another *Moses*. The *Chaldeans* were under some Apprehensions at the sight of such a concourse of Pilgrims; wherefore they resolved one Day to put an end to those Assemblies, by putting all those to the Sword who were about the Tomb; but the Prophet stopp'd the Waters of the River, and ordered it so, that when the *Israelites* had gained the farther side, all the *Chaldeans* that durst follow them were drowned. He obtained also for the same Devotees, who were dying for hunger, a great multitude of Fish. It is pretended that, during his Life, he was transported out of *Chaldea* into *Judea*, in

(1) Epiphanius, (aut qui sub nomine Epiphani scriptis Vitas Prophetarum) in vita Ezechielis.

(2) Scriptor Itinerarii Hierosolymitani, apud Huet. Demonst. Evangel. p. 458, Edit. Lips. 1694.

(3) In Itinerario, pag. 8, & seq.

Prophet, attributed to St *Epiphanius*. He also mentions some other Miracles of the same Prophet. The Jews, infatuated with their Superstitions, and absurd Whims, have told a thousand strange things about his Tomb [C]. Some of their Doctors have given out,

(4) *Ex Epiphanius, in vita Ezechielis.*

in order to convince the Unbelievers (4). If *Abraham* had depended upon that, he might have said that *Ezekiel* prophesied both in *Canaan* and *Chaldea*; he might, I say, have maintained it without fear of being refuted in the manner that Mr *Huet* refutes him. 'Facebat etiam *Abraham* qui *Ezechiel* & in terra *Canaan*, & extra eam vaticinium esse docet, cum quinto demum post deportationem suam anno futura prædicere aggressus sit (5). — *Little Credit* deserves *Abraham*, who says that *Ezekiel* prophesied both in *Canaan* and out of it, since he did not begin till the fifth Year after he had been taken Captive.'

(5) *Huet. Dem. Evang. p. 458.*

(6) *In Itinerario, pag. 782, & seq.*

[C] *The Jews tell a thousand strange things about Ezekiel's Tomb.* Benjamin *Tudensis*, who lived in the XIIth Century, assures us (6), that even to his time the Tomb of that Prophet had been looked upon as a holy Place; that they came thither to pray out of the most distant Countries; that those devout Pilgrimages began with the Year and continued till the Feast of Expiation; that the chief of the Jewish People did not fail to come from *Bagdat* to that Sanctuary, and pitch their Tents twelve Miles round it; that the Arabian Merchants held a Fair there; that upon the Day of Expiation they exposed to view a great Book written with the Prophet's own Hand, and read it; and that after the Prophet himself had lighted a Lamp upon his Sepulchre, they had never suffered it to go out, taking great care to supply it with Oil and Cotton; as often as there was occasion; that there was a very fine Library there, to which all those, who died without Children, bequeathed their Books; that even the Sons of the Mahometan Lords went thither to pray, such Veneration had they for *Ezekiel*; that all the Arabians did the same; and so much was this holy Place respected on account of the blessed *Ezekiel*, that even in time of War, neither Mahometans nor Jews would do any Body there an Injury.

(7) *R. Petachias Ratibonensis. He lived in the XII Century: his Travels were published in Hebrew and Latin by Mr. Wagnier, in 1687.*

Another Rabbi (7) tells us still more wonderful things; A King of *Babylon* being desirous to see the Relics of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, that great worker of Miracles, they answered him that it was impossible: As he was a Saint, you cannot, said they, dig him up. This answer not satisfying him, they desired him to make a Trial upon the Sepulchre of *Baruch* the Disciple of *Ezekiel*. Therefore he gave orders for *Baruch* to be dug up; but all those who attempted it fell down dead. By the advice of an *Israelite*, he commanded the Jewsto dig him up; they prepared themselves for the work by a fast of three days, and effected it without any Damage; the King, finding that it was too much for one place to have the Sepulchre of *Ezekiel* and that of *Baruch*, ordered the Coffin of the latter to be carried elsewhere. When they had carried it one mile, the Bearers had not strength to go a step farther: the Horses and Mules they would have made use of were under the same Incapacity (8). The Rabbi *Solomon* explained in this manner the Prodigy: It is here, said he, this is the place the Prophet chuses to be buried in. They acquiesced in his Interpretation, and built there a fine Monument to *Baruch*. What follows, relates to the Tomb of *Ezekiel*. It is situated in a Wood at a Day's Journey, or half a Day's Journey, from *Bagdat*, surrounded with a Wall, and accompanied with a fine Edifice: there is only one small Door in the Wall which the Jews keep the Key of: when they would go in by this Door, they are forced to creep upon all four, the Door is so low; but the day of the Feast of Tabernacles, a Day when prodigious Crowds of People throng thither (9), the Gate enlarges and rises of itself, so as Persons, mounted on Camels, may enter in by it; as soon as the Feast is over, the Door returns to its former Condition, and that in the sight of all the People, who are there to bring their Offering to *Ezekiel's* Tomb. There are no Evils, against which they recommended themselves with greater Devotion, or more frequently to the Intercession of this Prophet, than that of Barrenness. A Man who finds himself unable to beget Children, or a Woman who perceives herself not able to conceive, generally have recourse, and make their Vows at the Tomb of this Prophet. They also have recourse to it for the Barrenness of their Cattle (10). A Prince who had a barren Mare, and

(9) *The number of the Jews that come there is from 60 to 80000 men. Peregrin. R. Petachias, apud Joh. Christoph. Wagnier, in Epiphanius, Exercit. IV, pag. 179.*

(10) *Compare with this what is read in Dr Burnet's Supplement to his Travels, pag. 193, of Beasts blessed at Rome upon St Anthony's Day.*

who lived four Days Journey from this Sepulchre, engaged himself by a Vow to consecrate the Colt to the Prophet, if his Mare should have one. The Mare brought a Colt, which the Prince kept himself, finding it a very fine one. But the Colt ran away, and went of himself directly to *Ezekiel's* Tomb, where the Door in the Wall opened also of itself to let him enter. The Prince not being able to find his Colt, tho' he had searched every where with the utmost Diligence for him, his Vow suggested to him, that perhaps he should hear of him at the Prophet's Tomb. He found him there accordingly, but could not get him out, the Door being too narrow to let him pass through. Whereupon, by the advice of a Jew, he laid pieces of Silver upon the Tomb, and when he had laid to the value of the Colt, the Door widened as much as was requisite. 'Pauxillatim successive coufique Argentum monumento ingessit quoad pretium equavit, & dilatata porta, pullus egressus est (12).' All the *Ismaelites*, who go to *Mabomet's* Sepulchre, pass by that of *Ezekiel*, and there leave their Offerings, making this Prayer to him, *My Lord Ezekiel, if I return in good Health I will give you such or such a thing* (12). Those, who undertake a long Journey, deposit upon this Tomb what they have most valuable, and say, *My Lord Ezekiel, keep for me this precious Deposit till I return, and suffer none but my Heirs to touch it*. Many of these Deposits have had time to rot there. They also leave Books at the same Tomb: a Man was struck blind for having attempted to steal one away. This place is richly adorned; and thirty Lamps are kept in it burning Night and Day. The money, arising from Vows, is laid out in the Reparation of the Synagogue, and to marry Orphans, and for the Maintenance of certain poor Scholars. The Presents and the *ex voto's* are so numerous, that there are two hundred Persons appointed to keep them by turns. Formerly there was a Pillar of Fire upon the Prophet's Tomb; but some prophane Persons having mixed themselves with the eighty thousand devout Pilgrims that were assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles, the fiery Column disappeared (13).

Here are a great many Fables; but from hence we may certainly infer this Truth: that the Invocation of the Saints has been long since a Practice of the Jews; for not to insist upon other Proofs, we see here the Rabbi *Petachias* making Offerings and Prayers to *Ezekiel*, and pretending they wrought a great Miracle. 'Ipse R. Petachias ad *Ezechielis* sepulchrum se contulit, obryzum, five auri grana manibus secum afferens. Ea cum ex manibus forte fortuna excidissent, Domine *Ezechiel*, inquit, tui honoris causa excessi, (& ceu fateri me par erat, dona mea quæ tibi litteram, mecum attuli.) Sed amissi grana (aurea, hinc rei destinata, improvide) & perierunt illa, nihilo minus ubicunque locorum jacent, tua sunt. (Dixerat hæc) & mox conspicit oculis suis, e longinquo, aliquid sideris instar micare: cum gemmam esse suspicaretur, eo se contulit, & rem scrutatus est, reperitque grana sua aurea, ac proinde *Ezechielis* sepulchro illa dedicavit (14). — Rabbi *Petachias* himself went to the Sepulchre of *Ezekiel*, carrying in his Hand some grains of fine Gold; as they had accidentally dropt out of his Hand, Lord *Ezekiel*, says he, for thy sake came I hither, and according to my Duty I brought with me a present for an Offering; but through my negligence have I lost the grains of Gold destined for that purpose: they indeed are lost; but wherever they be, be they thine. Having thus spoke, he turned his Eyes, and at a great distance beheld something glitter like a Star: imagining it to be a Gem he directed his way thither, and having examined it found it to be his grains of Gold, and dedicated them to the Sepulchre of *Ezekiel*. They would not publish these Fables among the Jews, if they looked upon the Invocation of Saints as a thing prohibited. The Protestants have reason to lament the shameful Credulity of this People, and the confidence of their Writers in publishing a hundred thousand foolish Stories; but every one ought to learn by what passes in his own Party, that in this place the Declivity is very slippery. How many things are practised by the Protestants now-a-days, which would not have been

(11) *Petach. Peregrin. pag. 180.*

(12) *Domine Ezechiel si sanus saluque rediero dabo tibi hoc aut illud. Ibid. pag. 181.*

(13) *Taken from the Travels of the Rabbi Petachias, pag. 182.*

(14) *Ibid. pag. 180, 181.*

REFLECTIONS upon the Inclination of People to Credulity.

